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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AMONG THE NORTHERN CAYAPO

A thesis presented

by

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to

The Department of Social Relations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Social Anthropology

DRAFT

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Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

March 7, 1966

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CHAPTER I

TERRITORY, ECONOMY AND ECOLOGY

A. The Northern Cayapo in relation to other Ge groups: the name "Cayapo"

The Northern Cayapo belong to the linguistic and cultural group of Central Brazilian tribes known collectively as the Northwestern Ge. Among the Northwestern Ge, the Northern Cayapo are more closely related to the Apinaye than to the Eastern Timbira, Suya, or the Southern Cayapo, a linguistically and culturally distinct group now apparently extinct. Wilbert, in a preliminary glottochronological survey, estimates an average time depth of six or seven centuries for the separation of the Northern Cayapo (whom he calls "Coroa") from the Apinaye and the same length of time for the separation of the Apinaye from the Eastern Timbira and the Suya. The Southern Cayapo are placed at a distance of eleven centuries from the Suya and nineteen from the Northern Cayapo (Wilbert 1962: 22).

The Northwestern Ge are to be distinguished from the Central Ge, composed predominantly of the Awkẽ-Sherente

and Akwẽ-Shavante, and the so-called Southern Ge of the South of Brazil, whose linguistic and cultural affiliation with the Northwest and Central Ge is far more distant than the relationship between the latter two groups.

The name "Cayapo"[1] came into use in the second half of the 17th century to designate the tribe now known in ethnographic literature as the "Southern Cayapo."[2] Its extension to the groups now known collectively as "Northern Cayapo" was first suggested by Cunha Mattos in 1824, when he announced that the "Gradaus" of the "Sertão between the Tocantins and the Araguaia. . .below Sta. Maria"[3] were "Cayapo in origin" (Cunha Mattos 1824: reprinted 1874: 361, 392, 393; 1875: 18).

Cunha Mattos was mistaken; as already noted, the Southern Cayapo, although a Northwestern Ge people, were linguistically and culturally distinct from the Northern Cayapo. Cunha Mattos's thesis, however, was taken up and given currency

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[1]Also spelled Kayapo, Caiapo, and Kaiapo The etymology of the term is Tupi: Kaya = "monkey"; po = "like", "resembling".

[2]The term "Cayapo" as used hereafter will refer to the Northern Cayapo unless otherwise specified

[3]This location is almost certainly wrong: the Gradau, or Pau d'Arco, have lived only on the west bank of the Araguaya from as early as 1859 on. Krause badly mistranslates this report (Krause 1911: 368). "Gradau," also spelled "Gradaho," is the Caraja term for the Cayapo, and has been applied to the easternmost group of Cayapo, the Irã'ã mrax-re, in many Brazilian sources

by the French explorer Castelnau Although the latter had not visited the "Gradaho," as he called them, he asserted in his account of his 1844 expedition to Central Brazil that some of the "old" (i.e., Southern) Cayapo had simply "withdrawn down river" from their homeland around the sources of the Araguaya, and had become known north of the Ilha do Bananal as "Gradaho," all the while remaining "the same people, speaking the same language." (Castelnau 1850 Part I, Vol. II: 115). The credit for exploding this once widely-accepted theory and for establishing the ethnographic distinction between the Northern and Southern Cayapo, belongs to Nimuendaju (Nimuendaju 1952: 427)

Few Cayapo whom I have met understand, much less use the terms "Cayapo" or "Gradaho" (Gradau). The Cayapo term for themselves is mẽ-bê-ngô-kre.[1] Mẽ bê ngô kre is used at varying levels of contrast, not only to denote the Cayapo as distinguished from all other tribes, but, depending on the content, to include other Northwestern Ge such as the Gavião

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[1] mẽ = collective term indicating social group or category; bê = indicator of state of being; ngô = "water"; kre = "space," "hole," "expanse"); mẽ bê ngô kre = "people of the expanse of water" or "people of the watery place." The Cayapo cannot explain this designation. Perhaps it refers to the Araguaya or Xingu rivers and dates from a time when the Northern Cayapo were drawing apart from the Timbira groups to the east of the Araguaya and Tocantins, in which case their association with the former rivers would have symbolized their separation westward from the other groups.

or Canella in contrast to linguistically alien groups such as the Caraja, or to denote all Indians as opposed to Brazilians.

B. History and Territorial distribution

Lowie gives the following summary of Northern Cayapo history and geography in the Handbook of South American Indians:

> The Northern Cayapo. . .formerly designated in Matto Grosso as Coroa and in Para as Caraja, figured west of the Araguaya as Cradaho. . . Since the 17th century, the several hordes have been found from the lower Xingu River southward to the vicinity of Cuyaba, reaching the affluents of the Tapajoz River on the west and the Araguaya River on the east. (Lowie 1946a: 478)

Lowie's 17th century date is not supported by any primary historical sources known to me, and probably represents an inference from the single 18th century reference to the Cayapo, a report by a hostile tribe in 1750 of the location of a group of Cayapo in the area still inhabited by the westernmost groups of Cayapo (Goroti-re).[1] No direct contact was made with any Northern Cayapo group until the mid-19th century, and the earlier 19th century sources give only vague indications of

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[1] I have prepared a comprehensive review and critique of all the available documents and historical sources on the Northern Cayapo in which this and other points relating to Lowie's and Nimuendaju's version of Cayapo history are discussed in full (Turner, "The Northern Cayapo," m.s , Ch. I: Special Examination paper, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University 1962)

the Cayapo groups to which they refer. For these reasons it is hard to form a clear picture of the number and geographical distribution of Northern Cayapo bands until the middle of the 19th century, although the earlier sources strongly support the hypothesis that the 19th century distribution represented a pattern which had been stable for at least a century previous.

In the late 19th century, the territory of the Northern Cayapo extended southward from about 6° S. lat., between the west bank of the Araguaya in the east to the eastern banks of the Tapajos, São Manoel and Paranatinga in the west. Their frontier followed the Paranatinga south as far as 12° or 13° S. lat. From that point their southern boundary followed a diagonal course northeastward from the Paranatinga through the valleys of the Manitsaua Missu and Rio Liberdade (western and eastern tributaries of the Xingu) to rejoin the Araguaya at approximately 9° S. lat. Except for the encroachments of Brazilian settlement along the west bank of the Araguaya, especially around Conceição, and the westward movement of the western Cayapo bands during the 20th century, this area remains the Cayapo territory at the present time. As Nimuendaju pointed out in 1932,

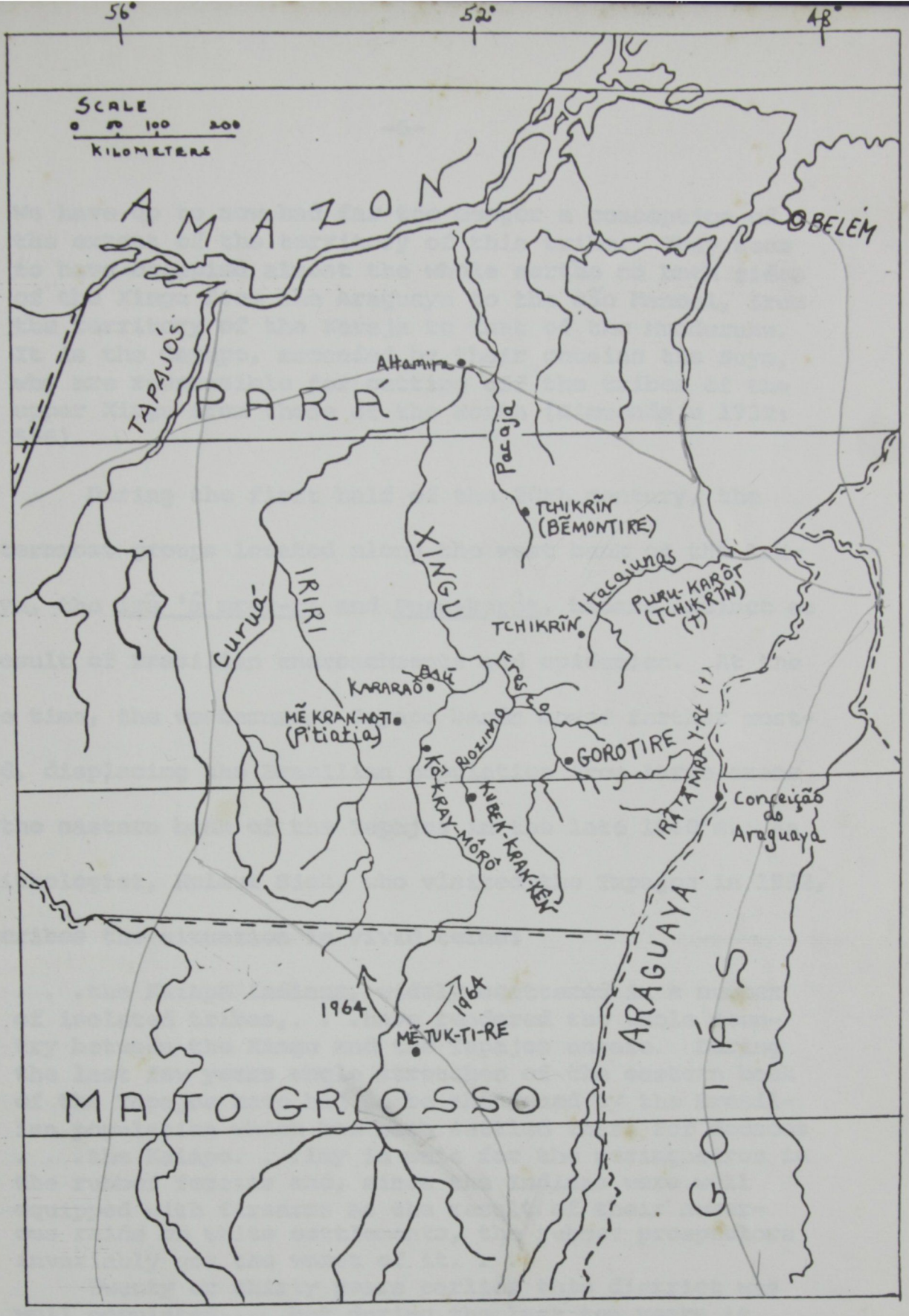

FIG. 1: The Territory of the Cayapo

> We have up to now had far too meager a conception of the extent of the territory of this tribe. They seem to have occupied almost the whole sertão on both sides of the Xingu from the Araguaya to the São Manoel, from the territory of the Karaja to that of the Mundurukú. It is the Cayapo, seconded by their cousins the Suyá, who are responsible for cutting off the tribes of the upper Xingu from those of the North (Nimuendaju 1932: 556).

During the first half of the 20th century, the easternmost groups located along the west bank of the Araguaya, the Irã 'ã mrav-re and Puku-karêt, became extinct as a result of Brazilian encroachments and epidemics. At the same time, the westernmost Cayapo bands moved farther westward, displacing the Brazilian population from large areas of the eastern bank of the Tapajos in the late 1940's. An ornithologist, Helmut Sick, who visited the Tapajos in 1952, describes the situation in vivid terms:

> . . .the Kaiapo Indians, widely scattered in a number of isolated tribes,. . .have rendered the whole country between the Xingu and the Tapajos unsafe. During the last few years whole stretches of the eastern bank of the Tapajos have had to be abandoned by the Brazilian population which had been settled there for decades . . .the Kaiapo. . .lay in wait for the seringueiros in the rubber forests and, since the Indians were well equipped with firearms as the result of their numerous raids on white settlements, the rubber prospectors invariably got the worst of it. . .
>
> Twenty or thirty years earlier this district was well populated. . .but during the last ten years it had been completely depopulated by the Kaiapos. Half ruined settlements were to be found all along the bank of the river. . .(Sick 1960: 205-206).

The western bands responsible for the raiding on the Tapajos were pacified in the 1950's (Villas-Boas 1954; Moreira Neto 1959), and are now settled along western tributaries of the Xingu, in the basins of the Curua, Iriri, Manitsaua-Missu, or the Xingu itself. The extinction of the eastern groups and the territorial expansion of the western bands has shifted the center of Cayapo territory to the west and south in the last fifty years, until it now lies close to the Xingu itself at roughly 8° S. lat.

C. Ecology and natural resources[1]

The territory of the Cayapo occupies the southern fringe of the Amazon valley, in the zone where it slopes up into the central Brazilian plateau. Most of Cayapo country is slightly over 1,000 feet in altitude (Hammond 1954: 78) and is broken by low ridges of heavily eroded mountains. Floria alternates between areas of semi-deciduous rain forest and savanna grassland with low scrub and xerophytic vegetation. Cayapo land is less arid and richer in forest resources than

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[1] My wife, Joan B. Turner, is preparing her doctoral dissertation on the subject of Cayapo ecology and its relation to Cayapo culture and social structure, so I will pass over these subjects briefly here. I am indebted to her for many references and suggestions in the writing of this section, although the specific points and conclusions expressed in it are solely my own responsibility.

the galeria forest country of the Timbira and Central Ge to the east and south. Rainfall is between 60 and 80 inches per year (Hammond 1954: 78). The forests in Cayapo land are not of the galeria type common in Central Brazil, which hug the banks of streams in narrow bands. They cover large, irregular areas, and account for roughly fifty per cent of the land area.

> The Ge and other aboriginal peoples of the savannas and margins of the Amazon valley and sub-Andean rain forests have often been treated in anthropological writings on South America as "marginal" tribes, both culturally and economically impoverished by comparison with the Tropical Forest peoples. This conception overlooks a crucial ecological fact, namely, that the marginal zone in which forest and savanna meet and intermingle (e.g., the Ge, and preeminently the Cayapo territory), is markedly richer in both plant and animal resources than either the interior of the forest or the high savanna where forest is entirely lacking (Allee 1931: 102). The ecological zone occupied by the Ge is richer and more desirable than either the tropical forest itself or the high plains of areas like the Chaco or Patagonia. Cayapo villages are always built in the savanna within a few hundred yards of the edge of the forest, in order to facilitate the exploitation of both ecological milieus.

D. Economy and sexual division of labor

Horticulture. The Cayapo practice slash-and-burn horticulture on forest land near the village. Men slash the gardens. It is preferred that the oldest men set fire to them, although this does not constitute a prescriptive rule. Men may also assist the women with the planting of the gardens, but thereafter all garden work (limited weeding, harvesting, and transport of garden produce back to the village) is done by women. Every mature woman has her own garden; the normal practice is for an individual woman to have two or even three gardens, slashed in different years, since weeds and secondary growth cut the productivity of gardens in their second year and force their abandonment after three years.

Crops include sweet and bitter manios, several varieties of yams and sweet potatoes, a number of kinds of bananas, squash, maize, and fava beans.[1] It is not certain whether fava beans were an aboriginal crop. Sweet potatoes, squash, fava, and maize are seasonal crops, but the others provide a steady source of food throughout the year.

[1]Mangoes, papayes, and rice have recently been acquired from the Brazilians by the Goroti-re

Women plant cotton in the savanna on the outskirts of the village in large thickets which seem to be used in common by all the women of the village

There is ample agricultural land for the population of a Cayapo village in the surrounding forest, and there is no institution of land "ownership." A woman whose husband has slashed a garden and who plants it is considered to have exclusive rights to its produce, but not to "own" the land itself in the sense of retaining rights to it after she has ceased to use it for food-growing purposes

Land. 7

The nuclear family is the unit of production and consumption for horticultural and all other economic purposes. Although the Cayapo residential unit is the matrilocal extended family household, there is no institutionalized cooperation between the nuclear families of the household beyond the cooperation of the women of the household in building the house itself. Each mature woman with a husband and children of her own has her own gardens and prepares their produce for the consumption of her own husband and children. Women of the same household may cooperate in making ki, the earth ovens in which the Cayapo bake their food, but this is neither a constant nor an exclusive feature of the relations between women of the same household Women may make ki for themselves

alone, or may cooperate with women from neighboring houses rather than others from their own household The firewood and stones or lumps of hard clay used in the earth ovens are gathered by the women

Food preparation. All food preparation and cooking is the task of women Bitter manioc requires the most elaborate preparation of any Cayapo foodstuff. The root is first cut into pieces and grated on a piece of wood into which sharp stones have been set with resinous pitch from certain trees. The grated mass is then squeezed to expel as much of the bitter juice as possible The Cayapo use several methods to squeeze out the juice The normal method is to place the grated root in a small open-sided pouch or sack of plaited buriti-palm leaf fiber, which has a hand grip at each end. The sack, which is about one foot long, is then twisted by a single woman, rotating her hands in opposite directions, to wring out the juice. In a short time, a woman can prepare ample manioc paste or dough for her family by this method The Cayapo may press the grated manioc between leaves or strips of bast (inner bark of certain trees) if no buriti hand press is available The Cayapo also know how to manufacture and use the tipiti, the large cylindrical manioc press used by most tribes of the Amazon rain forest. The Cayapo

name for the tipiti is the same as their name for the two-handed buriti twist press: kri'o. In spite of the efficiency of the tipiti in pressing large amounts of grated manioc at a time, it is rarely used by the Cayapo The reason appears to be that the two-handed twist press is more convenient for small amounts of manioc Because each woman only prepares enough manioc at a time for the meals of her own husband and children, there is no advantage and some inconvenience in using the larger and more complex tipiti.[1] The only occasions on which I heard Cayapo women express a desire for a tipiti was when they were preparing large amounts of manioc for a ceremonial feast.

After the dough has been prepared in the press it is placed in a thin layer on banana leaves, which are then folded over the dough into a square envelope for baking in the ki, or Cayapo earth oven. Maize, sweet manioc, or plantain bananas (Port. banana comprida) may be grated or pounded into dough and prepared as cakes in the same way. To make the

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[1] The Cayapo example casts doubt upon the feasibility of using the tipiti as an index of the level of technological or cultural development in the Amazon basin (cf. Dole 1960) or as a causal factor in determining family and kinship structure (cf. Murphy 1956: 422). Among the Cayapo, family and kinship structure override considerations of economic maximization (i.e., attaining an optimal ratio between the sheer amount of pressed manioc dough and the amount of labor put into the pressing process) to determine the preference for the small hand press over the tipiti, even though the Cayapo are technologically capable of manufacturing and using the latter.

oven, the envelopes of leaves containing the dough are placed on a layer of heated rocks and are covered with more heated rocks, more banana leaves, and a final layer of dirt. Sweet potatoes, squash, and yams are also baked whole in ki. Pieces of game or fish may be mixed with the manioc or maize cakes before baking to make meat pies. Meat, fish, maize, sweet potatoes, or yams may be roasted on a grate of sticks over a fire or thrown directly onto the burning wood or embers. Before the arrival of Brazilian metal trade pots, food was boiled in wooden mortars filled with water, into which hot stones were dropped. (The Cayapo lack pottery.) The Cayapo usually do without salt, but they occasionally manufacture a bitter salty ash from burned palmito bark.

Gathering of food is done mostly by women. The Cayapo make use of a number of wild forest and savanna products, including wild honey, palmito, babassu, inaja and Brazil nuts, the piki, jatoba, and tucum fruits, the asai and bacaba berries, wild cocoa, wild banana, wild yam, and many other fruits, roots, and berries. Honey and palmito are gathered with the help of stone axes (now being superseded by steel axes) Babassu and Brazil nuts, honey and palmito are the items most frequently gathered by men. A number of raw materials

are also the object of systematic gathering activities. Urucu and genipapo, from which red and black body paint is made, are collected by both men and women, and urucu may be grown in the gardens by the women. Hard woods for bows, clubs, and lances, arrow canes, and buriti palm leaves for weaving mats must often be brought by the men from a considerable distance. Medicinal plants and the brightly-colored eggshells of certain birds, used in ceremonial decoration, are also gathered by men.

Hunting and fishing. The chief food-getting activities of men are hunting and fishing. Hunting is now done primarily with firearms but until recent years the bow and arrow was the principal hunting weapon, supplemented by the club for the slower large animals like wild boar (peccari). Cayapo land abounds in game animals ranging from the tapir, peccari, wild pig (Port. caitetu), and deer through the capyvara, anteater, tortoise, river turtles and their eggs, armadillo, paca, coati, and monkey in size and desirability. Carnivores like the wolf, dog, wildcat, panther, ocelot, jaguar, and otter are not eaten.[1] Sloths, howler monkeys, insects, and reptiles (except for the tortoise and river turtle) are also

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[1] Jaguar is eaten under ritual circumstances by boys of the ngaydiu-re age grade: see p. 140.

considered inedible. All birds are eaten with the exception of the carrion vulture. Hunting is carried out only for meat or for the feathers of birds used in ceremonial decorations: The Cayapo make no use of skins. Animal bones are used for the points of arrows and lances.

Hunting is usually done individually but all the men of a men's house or age set may go on a collective hunt for one or two days. They always announce their returns from such hunts by whooping in unison while still far from the village and firing arrows into the plaza, causing the women and children in the village to cower in their houses. Collective hunts by all the men of the village, lasting for approximately one month, accompany the ends of name-giving ceremonies, which culminate in gigantic feasts in which the food gathered on the hunt (mostly tortoises which can be kept fresh for an extended period) is consumed.

Fishing is done chiefly with bow and arrow, but in the dry season, when rivers and streams fall to their lowest point and tend to form series of small pools connected by shallow trickles, the men may carry out a collective fish-poisoning effort by damming off one of the pools and beating vines with a poisonous or suffocating sap in the water. In terms of the effort expended cutting and beating the vines,

and the number of men involved, the yield of fish from this method is small, and it is only carried out two or three times a year at the most. It is accompanied by a ceremony called the "water" ceremony (ngô-re).

Manufactured articles. Men make all hunting and war weapons, mats, baskets, manioc presses, grain storage pouches, and women's baby-carrying slings (the latter three items made, like sleeping mats, from buriti palm-leaf fiber), gourd vessels for water carrying and the storage of items such as feathers, all ceremonial regalia, stone axes, lip plugs of wood or rock crystal, and children's mother-of-pearl mussel shell necklaces. Women make all cotton articles, such as the webbed cotton leg and arm bands worn by children and the cord slings worn by girls of the adolescent (no kurexa-re) age grade. Women also make the narrow, high-sided wooden mortars used for pounding corn or lumps of dried manioc or bananas into flour. The club-like pestles used in the mortars are made only by men. Matrilocal residential houses of the aboriginal type are built solely by women, although now that the Cayapo are adopting the neo-Brazilian house form, house construction has become the business of men. Men always build the men's houses in the center of the plaza.

Making fire. The Cayapo usually preserve embers from their fires with which they rekindle them the next day. If the embers of a woman's fire die, she borrows an ember or brand from a neighbor. The method used to make fire if no embers or brands are available (e.g., on treks) is based on friction, using a light, rough-grained wood. A thick rod of the wood, roughly three feet long and one and one-half inches in diameter, is prepared with shallow sockets in its upper surface. It is held on the ground under the feet of the user, who stands and twirls a thinner stick, about four feet long and one-half inch in diameter, in one of the sockets between his palms. Two men usually cooperate, taking turns twirling the stick to maintain the friction, until the heat is sufficient to ignite a bit of dry tinder. Only men make fire in this way.

E. Seasonal variation and settlement pattern.

The mode of ecological adjustment and the pattern of social organization of Cayapo communities varies markedly from the rainy season (October - April) to the dry season (May - September). During the rainy season all the members of the community reside together in the main village, except

for ceremonial hunts[1] by the younger and older men's age sets or collective babassu-nut gathering expeditions by the young men's age set: such expeditions or hunts usually last about a month. In the dry season, the village may separate into groups which go on hunting and gathering treks for periods of up to three months. The organizational basis of the dry season trekking groups is the mature men's society (tehêt), led by one or more chiefs. Men's societies are not formed on the basis of matrilineal kinship, so that the organization of treks on the basis of men's society affiliation, with each man's wife and children accompanying him and his men's society, requires that the matrilocal extended family households which form the basic residential groups within the main village be split up on treks. Two men's societies may go on trek together, but they construct separate groups of shelters in their camps. The youths of the young men's age set (mẽ nẽxõ nu-re), who sleep apart from the matrilocal households in the men's houses in the base village, sleep together in a clearing in front of the camp shelters while on trek.

In spite of the extended periods involved in dry season treks, the trekking groups may never travel farther

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[1] See p.216.

than one or two days' journey from the village and may return to it at intervals to collect supplies from the gardens. Only one or two miles may be covered between camps, and the group may remain in a camp for several days.

Men's societies have names, but on dry season treks they give themselves different names, usually based on animals of the kakrit ("minor and unimportant") category,[1] which includes small game, household pets, and inedible creatures like sloths and reptiles. For example, the men's society named mẽ djudjê-tuk-ti ("the black bow men") called itself on trek mẽ mru-kran-nhêrê ("the cat people"). All the members of a trekking group also give themselves new personal names based on a common theme, of the form "(an animal's) body part": for example, each individual would name himself "deer-eye," "frog-eye," etc.[2]

The sociological form of the seasonal oscillation in community structure is thus that when the village divides, it separates into its component men's societies, and when it comes together as a united community, the men of all the men's

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[1]The Cayapo term for this category of animals is mru kakrit. The ritual significance of the category and the species it includes are given on p. 172.

[2]The same self-naming practice is observed on the men's collective hunts and women's gathering forays: see p.328.

societies are united in the men's house in opposition to the women, who are reunited within their matrilocal extended family households on the periphery of the plaza. # The oscillation between the men's society and the village as the basic social unit, and the social separation of men from the matrilocal household as the concomitant of the unity of the men's societies and thus of the village, are fundamental properties of Cayapo social organization, and are reflected in all its manifestations, among which ecological adaptation is by no means the primary or determining factor.

F. Ecological pressure and social organization

The Cayapo possess a flexible and diversified economy which, in conjunction with the richness of their natural environment and the abundant productivity of their horticulture even under their relatively insouciant methods, provides them with an ample margin of subsistence. A rough quantitative estimate of the size of their subsistence margin may be made by weighing the population sizes of Cayapo communities against the productivity of the available resource base. Carneiro has calculated for the Kuikuru of the Upper Xingu that they could indefinitely maintain a population of 1,500 in a single village on the basis of their horticulture, which

is virtually identical with that of the Cayapo, without ever having to move the village as a result of soil exhaustion (Carneiro 1960). The Cayapo make a much fuller use of their natural plant and animal resources than the Kuikuru in two respects (although roughly the same resources are available to both groups). In the first place, the Cayapo rely heavily upon hunting, whereas the Kuikuru, as Kinguanos, eat no game animals except the paca (a large rodent).[1] In the second place, the Kuikuru do not disperse from their village on prolonged gathering treks during the dry season, as do the Cayapo. The Cayapo, in short, rely less heavily on horticulture than the Kuikuru and therefore should be able to support even more than 1,500 people indefinitely in the same spot. Two further factors remove even this limit as a practical economic constraint. Few Cayapo groups attain a size of 1500 or maintain it for long (most vary in size from 75 to 750), and even the largest groups shift their village sites every five to ten years. The motive for moving the village has nothing to do with economic pressure or "nomadism" (cf. Villas-Boas 1954: 84), but stems from the Cayapo belief

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[1] Private conversations with anthropologists who have recently conducted field work in the Upper Xingu, including Professor Egon Schaden and Sr. Roque de Barros Laraia.

that it is unhealthy to remain in a spot where a number of people have died.[1] That economic factors such as exhaustion of the productivity of the village gardens are not involved in the moving of villages is demonstrated by the fact that the Cayapo often build a new village at the same distance from their old gardens as the abandoned village, in order to continue to use the same gardens (Krause 1911: 512; Villas-Boas 1954: 84). In the light of these factors, it is probably a conservative guess that the Cayapo could easily support communities of 2,000 people on the basis of their present level of economic activity. This implies that a village of 250 is normally utilizing only one-eighth of its available resources. A sizeable proportion of these resources--fish, game, and most wild plant foods--are mobilizable on a daily basis with no prior planning or organization. The Cayapo annually demonstrate, on their dry season treks, that they are capable of supporting themselves in groups surpassing one hundred in size on the basis of hunting, fishing, and gathering alone. On the other hand, it is clear from examples like the Kuikuru that the Cayapo could easily exist on their horticulture alone, supposing a minimal intake of game and fish to

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[1] See p.395 for a discussion of this custom in the context of Cayapo beliefs and practices relating to the dead.

supply the necessary level of protein. With a double economy, either half of which could suffice if necessary for their full support, and a margin of subsistence that often surpasses a ratio of eight-to-one, the Cayapo are able to get by without working very hard or very efficiently at either gardening or hunting and gathering.

One result of this economic situation is that the Cayapo have a large amount of leisure time at their disposal. Large amounts of leisure are prerequisites for the celebration of most Cayapo ceremonies, which may last from two to four months, during which period there may be almost daily ceremonial activity by all the men (or women).[1] Much leisure is also occupied with informal or semi-formal social activities such as visiting, gossiping, or delousing among women, or sitting in the men's house conversing, listening to orations, or participating in debates among the men. On a busy day, the Cayapo arise and eat breakfast at dawn or shortly before, go hunting, fishing, or gardening (according to sex) during the morning and early afternoon, and return to the village by mid-afternoon. The women prepare the evening meal

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[1] See Ch. IV, Section A, for an example of such a ceremony, with indications of the amounts of time expended in ceremonial activity over a four-month period.

while the men sit together in the men's house, singing, talking, and listening to orations by the chiefs and older men. After dinner in the late afternoon, the men may return to the men's house or sit around with their families until retiring an hour or two after dark. Women may go to their gardens, five days in a week, but men rarely go hunting or fishing that often. They may organize collective treks or hunts for periods of one or more days or occupy their time with ceremonial activity or sports for considerable portions of each day, and two or three full days in a week during one of the major ceremonies, which often last for three months. Even when there is no ceremony underway, men spend a great deal of time just sitting around the men's house talking or making artifacts. There are marked individual variations in the degree of enterprise shown by different individuals as hunters and fisherman. One man I noticed did not go hunting or fishing for two weeks at a time His family relied on what the wife brought home from her garden and a share of the game or fish brought in by kinsmen. Other men went hunting several times a week. The women are more regular in their trips to their gardens and gathering forays into the forest or savanna. On their visits to their gardens, they spend relatively little time cultivating or weeding

their gardens and pass most of their time sitting with their children, eating the midday meal, or conversing with other women. For both men and women, in sum, the daily routine of economic activities is relatively easy and undemanding, and permits large amounts of free time for non-economic activities.

In view of the size of the Cayapo margin of subsistence and the considerable amounts of leisure time allowed them by their economy, it would seem obvious that neither the size of existing Cayapo communities nor other specific features of Cayapo social organization, such as matrilocality or dual organization, can be accounted for on the basis of ecological pressures or economic constraints. Yet the very lack of economic constraints, coupled with the vast uninhabited tracts of virgin forest and savanna which surround every Cayapo village, constitute factors of crucial sociological significance, which have profound effects on every aspect of Cayapo social life. If every nuclear family, and every men's society with its dependents, is able to exist independently of the rest of society and in fact does so for all or part of every year, and if an infinite supply of free land is available beyond the confines of the village, the

fragmentation of the community becomes a constant threat, renewed with every dispute or personal enmity that develops within the village. The lack of "rootedness" to a territorially fixed economic structure is one of the major factors contributing to the high political volatility and proneness to segmentation of Cayapo communities.

The general implications of this brief survey of Cayapo economics can be stated in contrast to Leach's conclusions concerning the relationship of economic factors and social structure in Pul Eliya (Leach 1961). I have asserted that in spite of the lack of economic differentiation, economic forces constitute factors of vital importance in Cayapo society (cf. Fortes 1945: X, as cited by Leach 1961: 8). On the other hand, "property relations" and land tenure, the economic relations stressed by Leach, scarcely exist among the Cayapo. Rather than constitute the basis of corporate grouping or the foundation for the continuity of society between one generation and the next, which Leach stressed as the social functions of economic relations in Pul Eliya, Cayapo economic relations represent one of the major centrifugal forces in Cayapo society. The unity and cohesion of Cayapo communities is not based on economic interdependence, but on social relations between groups which remain economically

independent. In Cayapo society, social relations, far from constituting mere epiphenomena constrained into essential congruence with economic relations (1961: 9, 305), are in certain respects not only independent of economic forces but opposed to them. The antithesis between economic and social relations is decried by Leach as a theological doctrine which leads "by a series of strictly logical steps, to [a conception] of human society as composed of equilibrium systems structured according to ideal legal rules" (1961: 7-8). The Cayapo case demonstrates that this very antithesis often lies at the root of the instability and disequilibrium of the systems of ideal legal rules of which society is always, in some sense, composed. Leach calls for a recognition of the effects of economic factors upon social structure as a means of getting round the equilibrium bias he asserts is implicit in the theoretical antithesis of economic and social relations, but paradoxically proceeds to stress only those economic relations which serve to preserve the equilibrium of the system! It is here suggested that a more adequate general approach must be based on recognising the dialectical relationship of economic and social factors, which involves stressing their independence rather than their essential congruence, a course which, as the example of Pul Eliya shows, results merely in

the translation of the equilibrium bias assailed by Leach into economic terms.

CHAPTER II

THE SPATIAL FORM OF THE VILLAGE

It is impossible to discuss any aspect of Cayapo social life for long without referring to the plan of the village, as several references in the last chapter have already demonstrated. The formal layout of Cayapo villages directly embodies and reflects not only the fundamental principles of Cayapo social organization but the political structure of each individual community.

At the peak of its historical development, the Cayapo village has two men's houses in the eastern and western halves of its circular central plaza, whose periphery is defined by one or more[1] rings of matrilocal extended family houses. Cayapo communities go through a historical cycle of development characterized by alternate phases of coalescence and segmentation, paralleling the seasonal variation of the settlement pattern described above. To my knowledge, no Cayapo village currently includes

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[1]The large Irã̃ 'ã̃ mray-re village of Amiu-ti, with eighty houses and 750 people, was reported to be built in three concentric rings of houses around its central plaza by Coudreau (1897: 206; see also Krause 1911: 370).

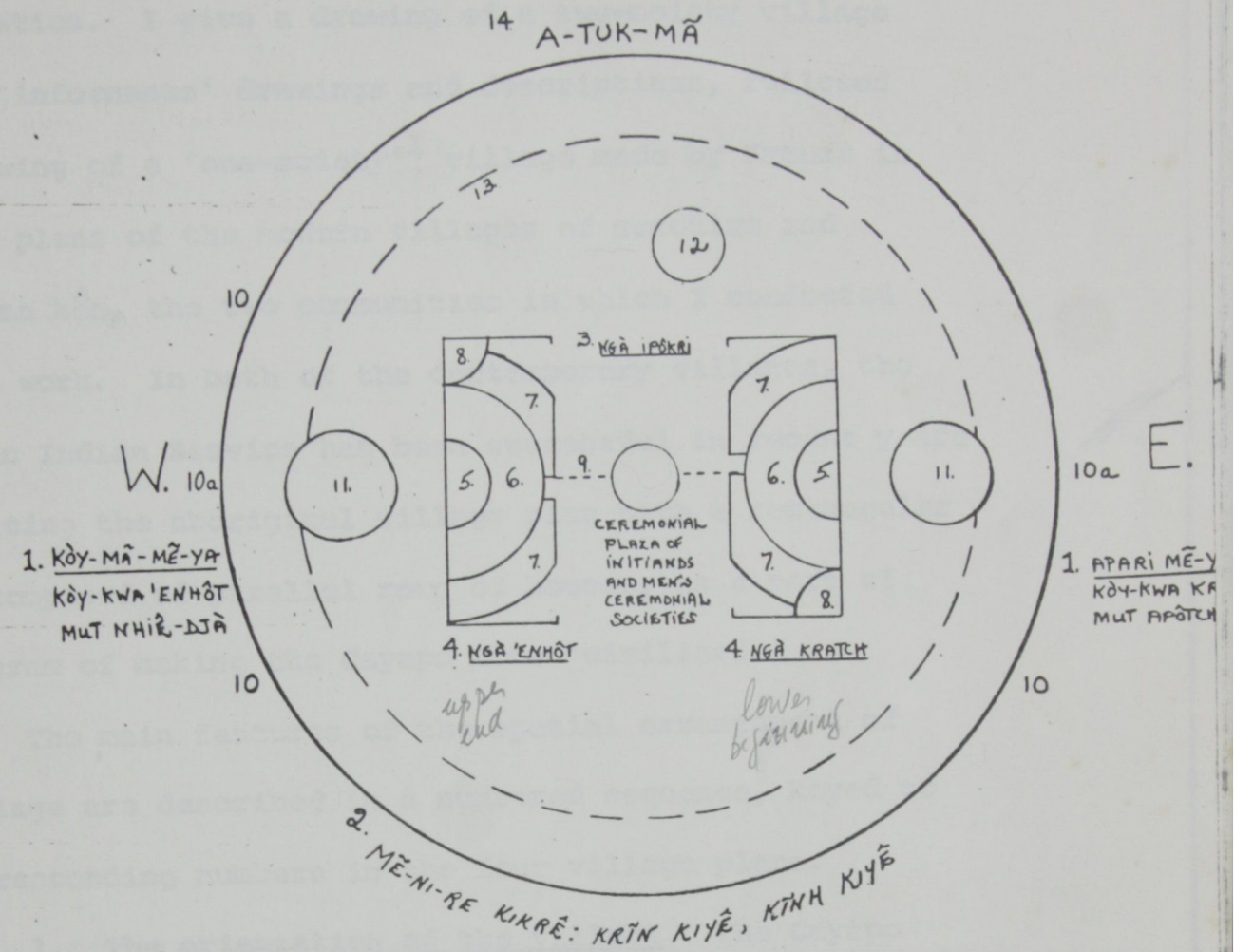

FIG. 2

The Plan of the Village

numbers correspond to captions in text

both moieties. I give a drawing of a two-moiety village based on informants' drawings and descriptions, followed by a drawing of a "one-moiety"[1] village made by Krause in 1903 and plans of the modern villages of Gorotire and Kuben kran kêñ, the two communities in which I conducted my field work. In both of the contemporary villages, the Brazilian Indian Service has been successful in recent years in replacing the aboriginal village plan with a rectangular layout composed of parallel rows of houses, as a part of its program of making the Cayapo more "civilized."

The main features of the spatial arrangement of the village are described in a numbered sequence, keyed to the corresponding numbers in the four village plans.

1. <u>The orientation of the village</u>. The Cayapo have two cardinal points, East and West, referred to as

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[1]To speak of a community as consisting of a "single moiety" is ungainly if not contradictory, but this is the way in which the Cayapo speak of their own single-men's house communities. The members of such villages, e.g., contemporary Gorotire and Kuben kran kêñ, continue to conceive of their communities as fragments of an ideal social unit consisting of both men's houses.

At Kuben kran kêñ or Gorotire, if one asks the name of the single men's house in the plaza, the answer will be "the eastern" or "the western" men's house (respectively). If one then asks how there can be an eastern men's house with no western men's house, the reply is simply that the western men's house now exists only in another village (which may lie to the geographical east), but that "when there are more people," the western men's house will be reconstituted within the same village.

"the place where the sun appears"[1] or "the beginning of the sky"[2] and "the place where the sun goes down"[3] and "the end of the sky,"[4] respectively. North and south are referred to by a single phrase which means "the edge of the sky";[5] gestures or references to landmarks are necessary to indicate whether north or south is meant. The word for "beginning" (kratch) also means "base" or "lower part" and the word for "end ('enhêt) also means "extremity" or "upper part." These meanings are consistent with the terms aratí ("lower") and kèymn ("upper") for the eastern and western zones of the village, respectively.[6] It should be stressed that the terms "upper" and "lower" have no overtly hierarchical connotations, but spring from the conception

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[1]The Cayapo phrase is mut apétch-dìh: mut = sun; apétch = to appear; dìh = place.

[2]In Cayapo, kèy-kwa kratch: kèy-kwa = sky; kratch = "root" or "beginning."

[3]In Cayapo, mut-nhiê-dìh: nhiê = "to cover," "to disappear" (for mut and dìh see note 1).

[4]In Cayapo, kèy-kwa 'enhêt: 'enhêt = "end" or "tip" (for kèy-kwa see note 2).

[5]The Cayapo is kèy-kwa nhirê 'ẽ: -irê = "edge"; 'ẽ = "on" or "at."

[6]The full terms for the eastern and western areas of the village are kèymn nẽ-ya and aratí nẽ-ya: nẽ = prefix indicating collective social group or category; ya = "here."

of the cardinal points as stages in a sequential process (the passage of the sun across the sky). The Cayapo think of the beginning of a process as its "base" or "root" and therefore as its "lower part," while the end of the process is its "tip" or "extremity" and therefore its "upper part": the terms kyatch and 'a phêt epitomise these associations. Apani (lower) and kèyma (upper) are thus appropriate designations for the eastern and western halves of the village because the former is the place where the sun begins its journey and the latter the place where the sun's journey ends.

2. The women's houses (kikre). The periphery of the plaza is formed by long, low huts called kikre, which constitute the dwelling places of matrilocal extended families. The Cayapo apply the term krín (village) in a more specific sense to the women's houses alone. The Cayapo term for a periphery or boundary is kinh[1] and that for a part or section of any object is kivê.[2] women's houses are often referred to as either krín kivê or kinh kivê. The women's houses within a village have a fixed order which is preserved whenever the village is moved to another site.

[1] kinh also means "happiness" and "well being."

[2] kivê = general term for a part or division of any object or group.

3. The central plaza. The Cayapo apply the terms ngà and inêkwi, both of which mean "center," either singly or together (e.g., "ngà inêkwi") to the central plaza to distinguish it from the ring of women's houses around the edge of the plaza.

4. The men's houses. The men's houses are also called ngà (center), followed by an adjective to designate which of the two men's houses is implied. The eastern men's house is referred to as the ngà krptch (literally the "lower center") and the western men's house is called the ngà 'anhêt (the "upper center"). The men's houses open toward the center of the plaza and thus face each other.

5-8. Sitting places of the age sets and men's societies within the men's house. Each age set or men's society (tchêt) has a distinct sitting area within the men's house, and the sitting areas of the various age groups form a certain prescribed geometrical pattern, with the younger groups at the center and the older on the periphery. The groups with distinct sitting places in the men's house are as follows (5 - 8):

5. mã ôk-re (boys from their induction into the ngà until initiation).

6. mẽ pẽrẽ nu-re (youths between initiation and parenthood).

> 7. The men's societies (tchûk), composed of men of the mature men's age grade (mẽ kra-re), membership in which is gained by becoming a father.

8. mẽ hâ ngê-ê-te. The eldest members of the mature men's age grade, who form a separate age set-like grouping apart from the tchât.

9. "The path of the chiefs." Informants, when asked to draw plans of two-moiety villages, drew a path between the two men's houses, which they explained was used by the chiefs as they orated before the men assembled in the two men's houses.

10. The houses of the chiefs. The chiefs of the men's societies of a given men's house have their houses in the part of the village circle corresponding to their men's house. The senior or most influential chief within a men's house has his house at the easternmost or westernmost point of the village circle(10a). This does not mean that the chiefs follow a patrilocal residence rule, merely that their wives build their houses, which remain matrilocal, at the prescribed points in the circle of women's houses.

11. The meeting places of the women's age societies. The women of the village are divided into junior and senior age

societies. A woman joins the society of the appropriate age category in the moiety to which her husband is attached as a member of a man's house. The women's societies meet once a week or less frequently in front of the house of the senior chief of the man's house of their moiety, whose wife is the "chief" of the women's societies of that moiety. The chief activity of the women at these meetings is painting each other. The women's societies' meeting areas are not clearly marked spaces in a physical sense. Informants gave conflicting accounts of the positions of the younger and older women's societies within the meeting areas of two- moiety villages: it is uncertain that the societies of a given moiety had distinct positions within the areas. In single-moiety villages, the younger and older women's societies meet at opposite ends of the plaza, thus replicating the moiety division in two-moiety villages.

12. The women's ceremonial plaza. During the celebration of the annual women's ma bi 'ôk ceremony the women of both moieties gather in a circular area near, but not at, the center of the plaza to sit and sing their ceremonial songs.

13. The ceremonial dancing track. Most Cayapa ceremonies consist predominantly of dances performed in a counterclockwise direction around the periphery of the plaza on a

path immediately in front of the houses. The path is also used for everyday purposes and is not considered especially sacred.

14. A-tuk-mã, the region outside the village. The area beyond the ring of houses which defines the village is called a-tuk-mã. The root -tuk- means "black," "death," and "unconsciousness" and is generally associated with asocial states.[1]

Krause's drawing of a Cayapo village he visited in 1908 indicates the aboriginal form taken by single-moiety villages. The village was a hastily constructed dry season camp and lacked a men's house, but had a men's meeting area in the center of the plaza which served as a "sleeping plaza" for the younger men's age grades (mẽ ôk-re and mẽ nõrõ nu-re); it is labelled 4 in the drawing. In Gorotire and Kuben kran ken, both of which have only a single men's house, the men's house is subdivided into sitting areas for the various men's groups roughly as shown.

Krause visited the village during the women's ceremonial season and found the women's ceremonial plaza in use (labelled 12 in the drawing). As noted above (heading No.11),

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[1]See p.167, n. 2, for a discussion of the meanings of -tuk- and of the term a-tuk-mã.

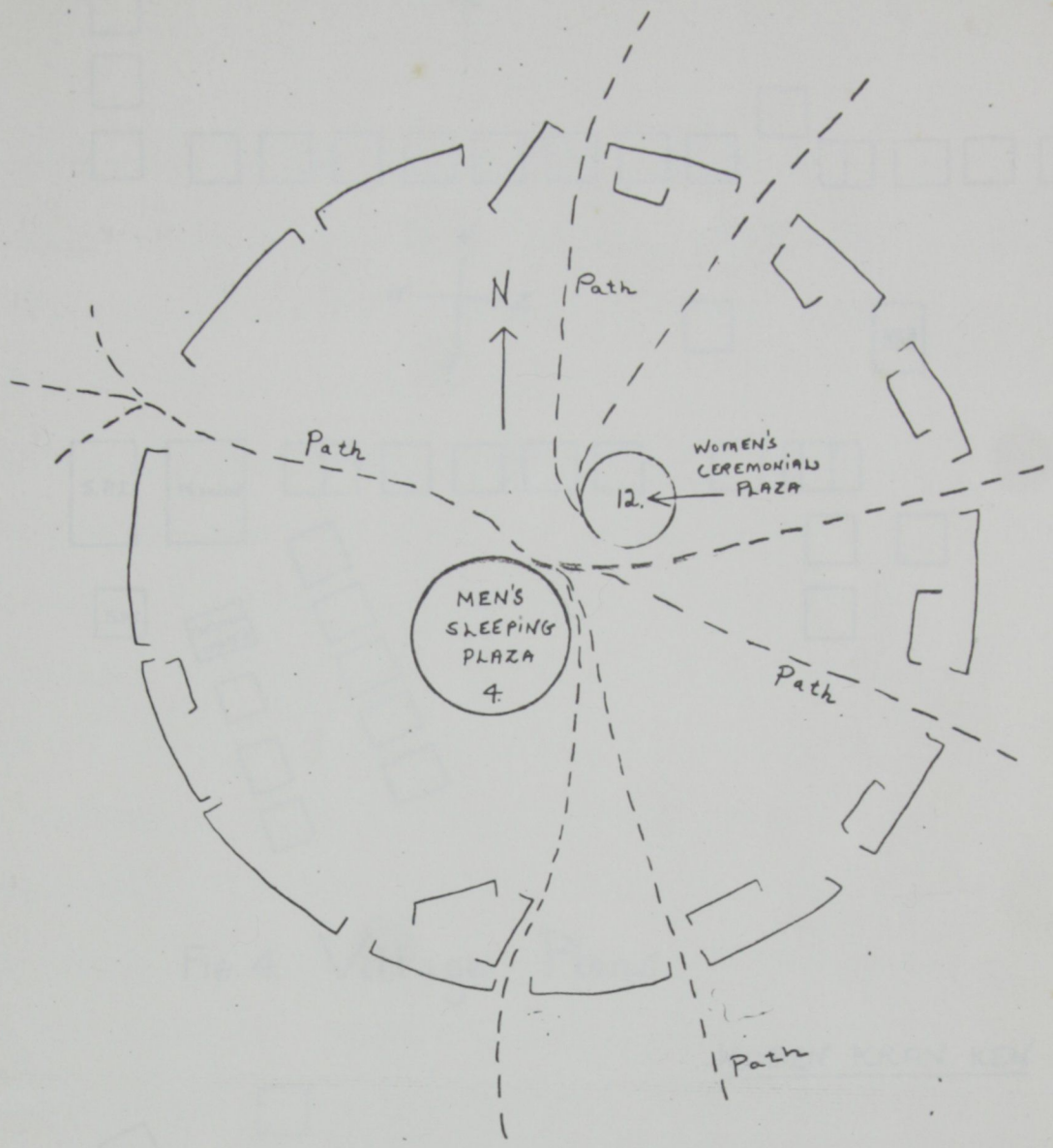


FIG. 3

Single Moiety Village Plan

(after Krause 1911: 372)

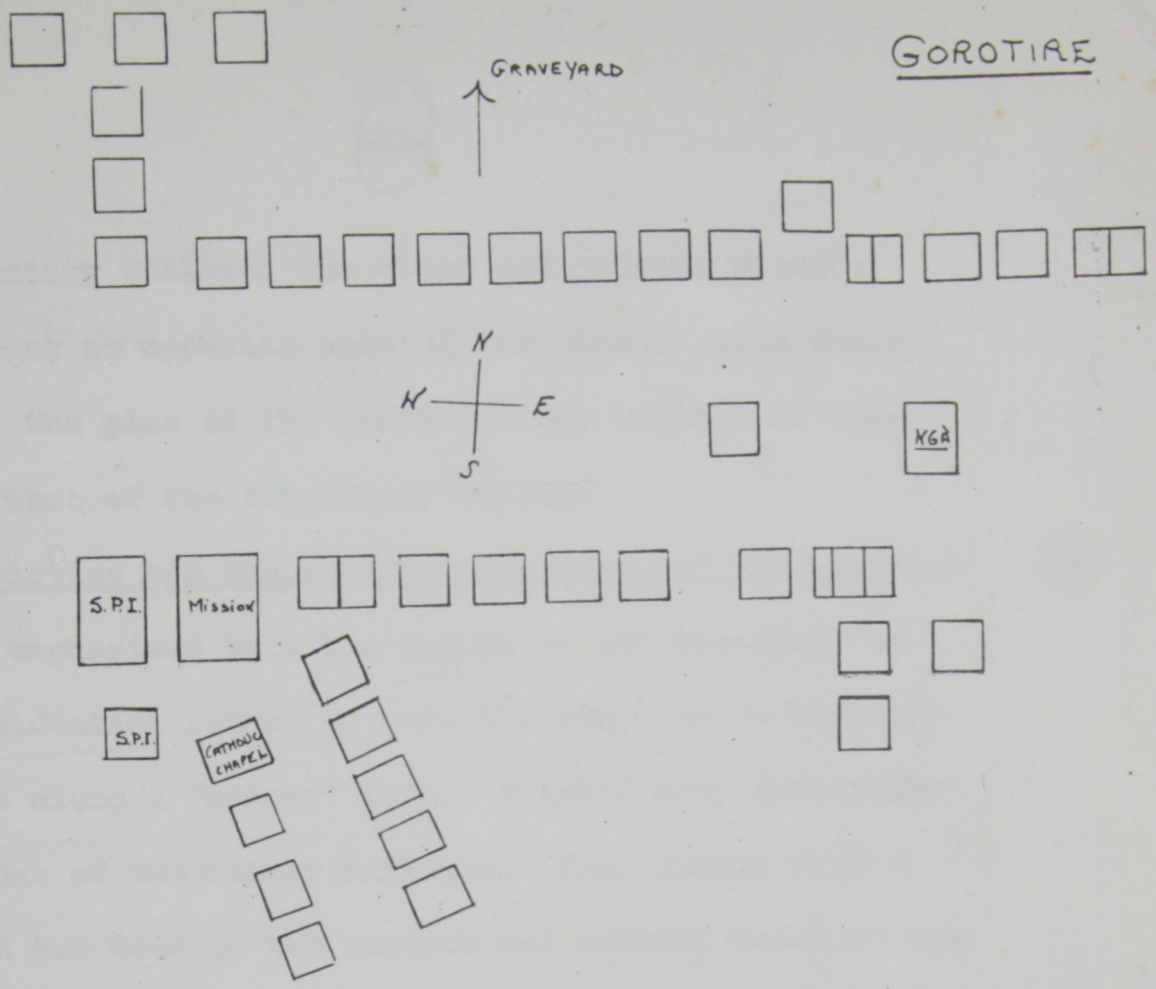
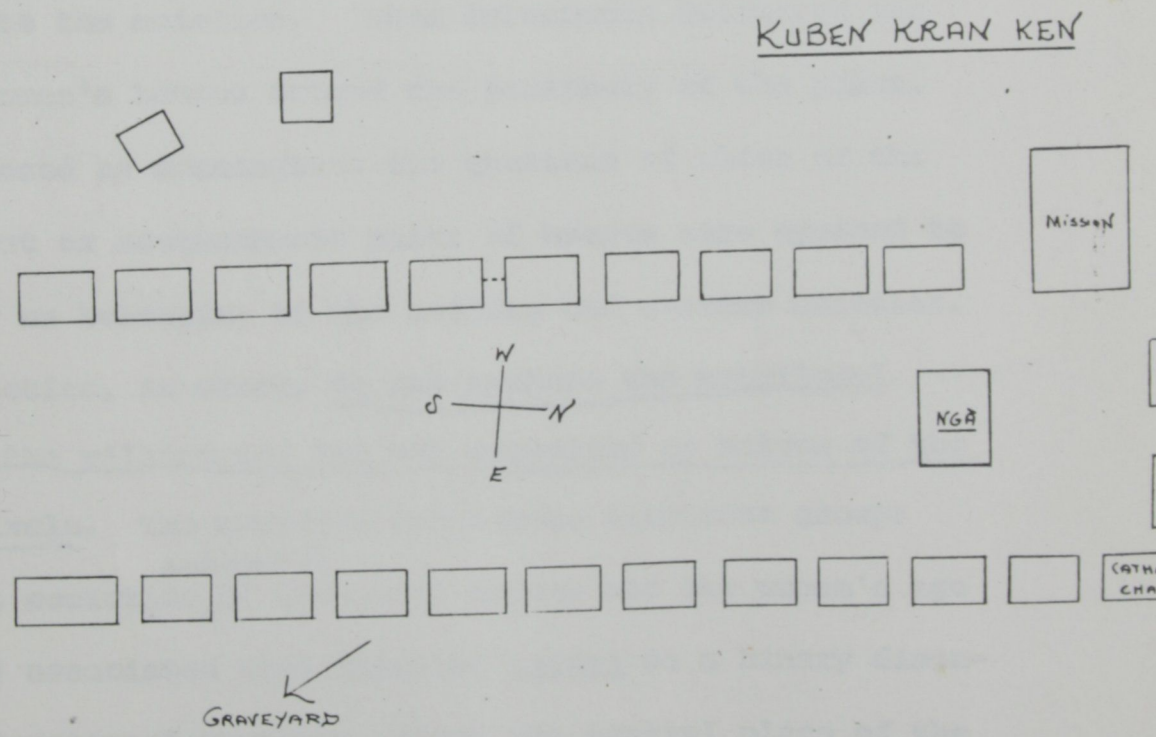


Fig. 4. Village Plans



in single-moiety villages the older and younger women's societies meet at opposite ends of the plaza: with these exceptions, the plan of the single-moiety village is identical with that of the two-moiety village.

Moieties and the spatial conception of the village: # It must be emphasized that the Cayapo do not consider the ring of residential houses or even the plaza to be bisected into halves along a "moiety" axis. I asked many informants to draw plans of two-moiety villages. They always drew a circle with two dots in the eastern and western areas of the center of the circle. The dots were the "moieties." No informant ever drew a diameter through the middle of the circle to designate the moieties. When informants discussed the order of women's houses around the periphery of the plaza, they dismissed as meaningless the question of which of the northernmost or southernmost pairs of houses were opposed to each other as belonging to the eastern and western moieties. # Cayapo moieties, in short, do not include the matrilocal houses of the village and are not conceived as halves of the village circle. The moieties constitute corporate groups (the men's societies and age sets of the men's houses and the women's age societies) associated with opposite points on a binary dimension of directional contrast within the central plaza of the

village. It is not the division of the plaza itself into precise halves, but the conceptual relationship of opposite points on a common dimension of orientational polarity which constitutes the essence of the spatial "localization" of moieties for the Cayapo. When the Cayapo think of their villages as divided into sharply delineated spatial zones, they think in terms of the oppositions ngà (central plaza): kikre (ring of women's houses): a-tuk-mà (region outside the village). It is to be noted that the Cayapo speak of both moieties as points within the ngà or central zone of the village, and clearly differentiate between the moiety opposition and the concentric opposition of a-tuk-mà: kikre: ngà. Other Northwestern Ge groups do not differentiate between these two forms of spatial contrast, but identify the two moieties or pairs of groupings called kiyé with the concentric oppositions a-tuk-mà: ngà (the Eastern Timbira: Nimuendaju 1946: 84), or kikre: ngà (the Apinaye: Nimuendaju 1939: 29-30).

Who told you so? Nimuendaju?

- Os Apinayé fazem a mesma distinção, sem certeza.

CHAPTER III

HISTORICAL VARIATION AND POLITICAL[1] STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE UNIT

A. The village and the men's society as political units

The individual village community is the basic social and political unit of Cayapo society. It is named, celebrates ceremonies as a group, acknowledges the leadership and authority of the same chief or chiefs, and is conceptually distinguished as a unit from other Cayapo communities. It is the largest Cayapo social group to have these characteristics. The plan of the village emphasizes its integration as a single coherent social unit, through the opposition of the continuous ring of women's houses to the central plaza with its men's houses, which symbolically groups all the youths and mature men of the village by contrasting

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[1]The "political system" is defined according to Parsons's definition of the "polity," as

> . . .the analytically defined, functional subsystem of a society. . .composed of the ways in which the relevant components of the total system are organized with reference to one of its fundamental functions, namely, collective action in the attainment of the goals of collectivities (Parsons 1963b: 233).

them to all the women and children. Although the conceptual distinction between villages is clearcut, the limits of the territory belonging to a given village are vague. Cayapo villages are usually separated by between 50 and 150 miles, so that the problem of territorial boundaries is not pressing. The Cayapo do not think in terms of districts with definite boundaries as the collective domains of villages.

The immediate structural constituent of the village as a politically integrated social unit is the men's society. Membership in the men's societies is open only to men of the mature men's age grade (mẽ krẽ-re). Men's societies are corporate groups: they are named, have distinct "sitting places" within the men's houses, acknowledge a common leader or leaders whose position is institutionalized, engage in collective activities such as dry season treks, and manifest solidarity and mutual support vis à vis other men's societies in disputes.[1] The men's societies are the primary foci for

[1]The criterion of perpetuity as an attribute of corporateness does not enter into Cayapo thinking about any corporate group or unit of their society. The duration of men's societies or even villages beyond the span of a generation or even less is a matter of supreme indifference to the Cayapo. As an illustration of the Cayapo lack of concern with the continuity of the identity of specific groups, the names of men's societies tend to be changed about once every ten years. Name

the informal social activities of the mature men. It is with the members of his own men's society that a mature man gathers each day at daybreak and in the afternoon to sit, converse, sing, work on some artifact or piece of ceremonial regalia, or listen to orations by the chiefs and older mẽ kra-re.

Men's societies are the basic units of the political system. Each men's society gives primary allegiance to its own chiefs as opposed to other chiefs within the community, although the members of a given men's society recognize the authority of chiefs of other men's societies. [The position of chief (ben-iadjuòrò) is not defined directly with reference to the village as a whole, but to a particular men's society, of which the chief is the leader.] It is from a chief's position of leadership within a men's society that his authority over the whole community derives. In all villages of any size (with a population of 100 or more) there are at least two chiefs. As this implies, there are often two or more men's societies in a village; in large villages there may be a half dozen or more. There may also be more than one chief within a single men's society, in which case

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changes are simply the result of some chance remark or episode which is seized upon by the members of the society as the basis for the new name.

the men's society is divided into followings of the different chiefs. Such "followings" within a single men's society do not constitute corporate groups; they are not named and do not sit as separate groups within the sitting area of their society in the men's house.

As political groups, men's societies and their chiefs are the principal parties to communal disputes and civil conflicts (although many disputes never reach the level of general communal involvement and are settled on an individual basis without the direct participation of the men's societies as groups). Membership in the men's societies is based on voluntary choice and is not associated with kinship; common membership in a men's society often takes precedence over kinship ties in determining alliances and antagonisms in communal crises and disputes. In villages with two men's houses, the principle that all members of a men's society support each other as a group in disputes against members of other men's societies is extended to the rule that all men's societies of the same men's house manifest solidarity in disputes against members of the opposite men's house. Even in small villages containing only one men's society, the division within the single society between the followings of different chiefs constitutes a similar potential line of fission within the

community. The unity of village communities depends upon the relations within and between the men's societies more than any other factor: conversely, village fission nearly always takes place along the lines of opposition between men's societies. The Cayapo explicitly recognize these facts, but insist that the unity of the village is best guaranteed by a dyadic balance between separate and opposed chief's followings or men's societies, rather than by an absence of formal divisions between men's societies and a single overall chief.

The egalitarian solidarity of the members within a single men's society is counterbalanced by the piaàm (shame, respect, inhibition of aggression) prescribed toward members of other men's societies (piaàm is only shown by the members of different men's societies to each other when they are assembled with their societies as corporate groups, not when they meet as private individuals). Members of different men's societies within the same men's house show moderate piaàm toward each other, but men's societies of opposite men's houses manifest more intense reciprocal piaàm. Members of different chief's followings within the same men's society do not show mutual piaàm. The Cayapo say that the reason it is better to have two men's societies, or if possible, two men's houses,

is that they reinforce the peace of the community through their reciprocal relationship of piàm: with only one men's society, there can be no such piàm.

The close relationship between the men's society and the village as a political unit is reflected in the Cayapo terms for these groups. The word for "village" as a physical or geographical grouping of houses is krin, which also means "to sit." The expression for men's society, as a physical grouping of individual men, is mẽ xô 'ẽ krin, "those who sit together."[1] The term for both village and men's society as social and political entities is tchêt, which literally means "burnt" or "cooked" (roasted).[2] Villages with a single men's society may be called by the name of that men's society or by the name of its chief. The most specific meaning of tchêt is "men's society," rather than "village." If a Cayapo wants to know from what village another Cayapo comes, he asks "mèy tchêt na?" (what tchêt are you from?).[3]

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[1] xô'ẽ = "together."

[2] The use of the term "roasted" for the units that constitute the most fundamental structural basis of society is a strong independent confirmation of Levi-Strauss's interpretation of the symbolic significance of cooking in the mythology of Central Brasilian peoples (Levi-Strauss 1964).

[3] mèy? = interrogative: "what?"; na = stative particle indicating temporal action or state of being in past or present.

The answer will usually be the name of the village from which the other hails. If the question is repeated, or if it is asked of a man within his own village, the answer will be the name of the particular men's society to which the man belongs. I shall use the term tehêt specifically to denote men's societies in the remainder of the thesis.

The relationship between the village community and the men's society is focused in the institution of the men's house: the men's societies as corporate groups are the primary structural members of the men's house at the mature men's (mẽ' kra-ra) age grade level. Through the men's houses, the men's societies (tehêt) are brought within the moiety system, since the men's houses constitute the men's moieties.[1] The Cayapo, as has been pointed out above, strive to maintain a reasonably even dyadic balance between groupings of mature men, regardless of the political structure of the village and the resulting nature of the dyadically opposed groups. In villages with only a single men's house, there is a tendency to divide the mature men into two men's societies within the one men's house, and the same tendency

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[1] Women are organized in a separate set of moieties: see p.34 and 372.

prevails with respect to the establishment of two chief's followings within a single men's society in villages with only one men's society.[1] Such dyadically balanced groupings, within a single men's house or men's society, must be distinguished from "moieties," which are normatively defined social groupings that include youths of the younger age grades (mẽ ôk-re and mẽ nõrõ-nu-re) as well as mature men, and are associated with opposite cardinal directions and corresponding women's moieties. As noted in Chapter II, the Kayapo apply the terms for a single moiety to both of the dyadically opposed men's groups of a single men's house village, and consider both groups as members of the same moiety even if the opposite moiety is not currently represented in the village by a complementary men's house. The opposition between moieties, that is, opposing men's houses within the same village, represents the coincidence of the ideal model the Kayapo hold of their society with the principle of dyadic balance between men's societies or groupings of mature men, whose structural expression varies according to the political constitution of a community at any given moment in its history. That many Kayapo villages do not

[1] This is the case at modern Gorotire. See p. and 346f.

possess both moieties, and that some have only a single men's society, indicates that this state of ideal correspondence is relatively rarely achieved and briefly maintained in Cayapo history.? Not a single contemporary Cayapo village, to my knowledge, contains both men's houses.(?) In most cases, the origin of present or historical single men's house villages can be traced back to the fission of earlier villages which possessed both men's houses. There is one reliably documented case of a single moiety village developing two men's houses within fifty years after its fission from a previous two-moiety village.[1] The fission of villages, whether they possessed two men's houses at the time or had already been reduced to one as a result of earlier fissions, appears wherever adequate historical documentation or informants' accounts exist to have been the result of violent disputes in which the men's societies became involved as corporate groups.

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[1]See section XII B 9 of this chapter.

B. Fission and community structure in historical Cayapo groups

1. The Irã 'ã mray-re.[1] The Irã 'ã mray-re, called "Pau d'Arco" or "Gradaú" in most historical and anthropological works, were the first Northern Cayapo to be contacted by Brazilians. They inhabited the west bank of the Araguaya from the river Itacayunas in the north to the valley of the Tapirape to the south. The first contact with the Ira'a mray-re was made in 1859 by a Capuchin missionary who established a mission station on the opposite bank of the Araguaya from one of their villages. The mission's efforts were intermittently successful until the arrival of P. Gil Villanova, the French Franciscan missionary, in 1891 (Krause 1911:368; Ehrenreich 1894; 36; Coudreau 1897: 196). Villanova penetrated the hinterland to the west of the present site of Conceição do Araguaya, where the Irã 'ã mray-re had moved their villages, and succeeded in establishing stable and friendly relations with them. On his third expedition in 1897, he was accompanied by the French explorer Coudreau, who left a valuable ethnographic account of his journey, including a census and description of the locations and rela-

[1] Irã = "clean," "clear"; 'ã = relational particle, "on," "in," or "upon"; mray = "to go," "to travel"; -re = diminutive suffix, which also serves as an indicator of social groups in a way similar to the prefix mẽ-. Irã 'ã mray-re = "those who travel upon clear (unobstructed) ground." (Krause 1911: 401).

tionships of the Irã 'ã mray-re villages. At the time of his visit, the Irã 'ã mray-re were divided into four villages of widely-differing sizes. The largest, Amui-ti, had an estimated population of 750 but only one men's house. Another had a population of 500 with a single men's house; a third had 250 and a single men's house.[1] These three villages were on friendly terms with each other, but all were on hostile terms with a fourth village, apparently the smallest of the group, about which Coudreau provides no further information (Coudreau 1897: 206-7). Coudreau's report is significant, because it is an account of a completely aboriginal state of affairs and it reveals that not one of the Irã 'ã mray-re villages had two men's houses at the time.

The Irã 'ã mray-re population rapidly declined following peaceful contact with the missionaries and Brazilian settlers. By 1909, when Kissenberth visited them, they had only two villages, and Kissenberth observed "with the ever-rising death rate there is a growing tendency to think of uniting the two" (Kissenberth 1912: 54). The villages did unite about 1921, but continued to lose population until, when Nimuendaju visited them in 1940, they had only 40 sur-

[1] Krause visited this village 14 years later and reported that it had 5-6 chiefs (Krause 1911: 401).

vivors (Nimuendaju 1952: 428). The last of these survivors, an old woman, died at Gorotire ca.1960.

.2. The Djo-re or Tchikrĩn. The term Djo-re, which often appears in the literature as the name of a distinct sub-group of Cayapo, is simply the Gorotire Cayapo name for the Tchikrĩn, who refer to themselves by the latter term (cf. Dreyfus 1963: 17, n. 2; Metraux 1962: 105). The Tchikrĩn inhabit the territory to the north of the old Pau d'Arco country, ranging between the rivers Itacayunas on the east and the Pacajá on the west. The Irã 'ã mray-re told Coudreau in 1897 that the Tchikrĩn were divided into two bands, the "puru-karôt" to the east near the Itacayunas and the "Tchikrĩn" proper to the west (Coudreau 1897: 205). The Puru-karôt have been completely exterminated by rubber gatherers and raids by the Gorotire and Kuben kran kên Cayapo (Nimuendaju, unpublished letter cited by Dreyfus 1963: 17, n.2; Gorotire and Tchikrĩn informants). According to an old Tchikrĩn with whom I talked at Gorotire, the Puru karôt were of the eastern men's house, while his own group of Tchikrin (probably identical with the western group reported by Coudreau) were of the western men's house. About 30 years ago the western Tchikrĩn group split into its two component

men's societies, the mẽ bum-ti-re and the mẽ te'i-re, as a result of a dispute. The mẽ bum-ti-re were wiped out by Brazilian settlers and rubber gatherers soon afterward. The remaining group split again in 1953, when one of the chiefs of the group, Bẽmonti-re, became enraged over the murder of a little Brazilian girl he had carried off after killing her parents on a raid, whom he was raising as his own daughter. The girl was killed by a member of the following of another chief because he was annoyed over the uproar created by a quarrel between Bẽmonti-re's sisters over the child (Bẽmonti-re was widowed or divorced at the time and the girl was being raised by his sisters). After losing a collective club duel (pben tyk[1]) with the following of the other chief, Bẽmontire and his followers left the group and settled on the Pacaja, where they remain today with a population of about 80 (Ferreira 1953; E. R. Trapp, private conversation). The other group has returned to the Itacayunas and now numbers 150 (Fuerst 1954: 118). After a decade of tentative Brazilian overtures, both groups established peaceful relations with the Brazilians in 1962. In 1959, a group of about twenty Tehikrĩn settled at the present village of

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[1]For a description of the collective club duel, see p.274.

Gorotire at the instigation of the S.P.I. (Dreyfus 1963: 70). They appear to have been accepted into the community although following their arrival Tut, one of the Gorotire chiefs, attempted to stir up hostility against them as a means of rallying support for himself. There were several narrowly averted communal brawls and club duels,[1] and one fight in which a classificatory brother of Bẽmontire was almost killed. He has recently left Gorotire to join Bẽmontire, and the Gorotire now fear a raid by Bẽmontire in reprisal.

3. The Gorotire groups of the Middle Xingu. A Cayapo group, undoubtedly the ancestors of the contemporary Gorotire and Kuben kran kêñ, existed in the basin of the Middle Xingu north of the Cachoeira von Martius as early as 1750. In that year, the Jesuit explorer Roque Hundertpfund was told by the Juruna, a Tupian tribe which inhabits the banks of the Xingu near the Cachoeira von Martius, of a hostile tribe now identifiable as Cayapo, sixty miles to the north of their village (Nimuendaju 1932: 553). This is the earliest historical report of a Northern Cayapo group. Prince

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[1] One of these is described on p. 273, where further details on Tut's persecution of the Tchikrĩn are given.

Adalbert of Prussia, who made the first scientific exploration of the Xingu in 1843, again was told of the existence of the Gorotire by the Juruna, who reported that the Cayapo were still hostile to themselves and other tribes of the upper Xingu (Schomburgk and Taylor, 1849, vol. 2: 320). In about 1863, the Irã 'ã mray-re attacked the Gorotire, initiating a period of hostility that only ended with the visit of some Gorotire youths to the Irã 'ã mray-re village in 1937 (Coudreau 1897: 205; Gorotire informants). In 1875, a Brazilian scholar studying the Mundurucu was told by members of that tribe of a large hostile tribe to the southeast they called "the club men" (Ipitiuate), which is the Mundurucu name for the Cayapo (Gonçalves-Tocantins 1877: 96-98). The direction indicated by the Mundurucu would fit the Gorotire, who ranged west across the Xingu as far as the São Manoel (Nimuendaju 1932: 556). The Irã 'ã mray-re told Coudreau of the existence and location of the Gorotire village when he visited the former in 1897. Based on the accounts of the Irã 'ã mray-re, Coudreau estimated the population of Gorotire at 1500 (Coudreau 1897: 206).

4. The Gorotire--Kẽ kran-no-ti schism. About 1900 or shortly thereafter, the village of Gorotire divided into two

hostile groups, one of which became the ancestor of the contemporary Mẽ kran-no-ti[1] and Mẽ tuk-ti,[2] who inhabit the country between the west bank of the Xingu and the Tapajos from the Irirí and Curuá in the north to the Manitsaua-missu in the south. The other group remained at the old Gorotire village site and was the ancestor of the present Gorotire and Kuben kran ken. The oldest man at Kuben kran kên, whose age I estimate at 70-75 years, gave the following account of this schism. Mote-re was a chief of one of the men's societies (tehêt) in the western men's house of the old village. Betoro-ti, a member of the Mote-re's tehêt, had an affair with Mote-re's wife Pryn-tehuwe. Mote-re, enraged, challenged Betoro-ti to a formal club duel. Betoro-ti appeared for the duel accompanied and supported by numerous kinsmen. Mote-re and his supporters were beaten in the duel. Although there were no fatalities, Mote-re, in his anger at the result, decided to leave the village with as many members of his tehêt as he could convince to follow him, and found a new village near the Curuá to the west of the Xingu. Waltonkra-re, a chief of the eastern men's house, attempted to prevent Mote-

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[1] kran = "head"; no = "eye"; -ti = augmentative suffix: "big"; mẽ kran-no-ti = "people with big eyes in their heads."

[2] tuk = "black"; mẽ tuk-ti = "big black people."

re's leaving but refused to take sides with him against Betoro-ti, Mote-re defied Wakonkra-re and left the village with his followers, but returned the following day in a surprise attack and killed Wakonkra-re. He then proceeded to the Curuá, where he founded a new village which took the name of Mẽ kran-no-ti. Betoro-ti and part of Mote-re's tchêt remained behind in the old village.

5. The Gorotire schism of 1936. In 1936 the village of Gorotire split again (Nimuendáju 1952: 429) shortly after the first successful attempt to contact them had been made by Bishop Thumas of Conceição do Araguaya. The bishop made only a brief visit, and no Brasilians were present in the village at the time of the schism. The dispute that led up to the schism was complex and informants' reports differed to some extent, partly as a function of which side they had taken at the time. The following account represents my attempt at a critical synthesis of their descriptions.

There were at the time three tchêt in the eastern men's house and at least three in the western men's house. Their names, and the names of their chiefs, were as follows:

western men's house(ngà 'onbêt)		eastern men's house(ngà kratch)	
tchêt(men's society)	chief(s)	tchêt(men's society)	chief(s)
mẽ bê kararaô[1] . . .	kôkô-yaum-ti	mẽ bê djudjê-tuk-ti[4].	kyêkyêk
. . .	Tapiêtê		Bàiadjuòrò
mẽ no kanê[2].	Màn-mari		iakwòrò-re
mẽ bê kamri-kre[3] . .	?	mẽ kam roy-re[5]. . .	Bemay-ti
		mẽ kày-bê-ngêt[6] . .	Punu-ti

Chief Kyêkyêk of the djudjê-tuk-ti, the largest tchet in the eastern men's house, died, and a chief of the western men's house, kôkô-yaum-ti, was accused of killing him by sorcery in order to steal his wife.[7] Bemay-ti, the oldest and

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[1]karara = ?; 'ê = "body hair" or "leaf."

[2]no = "eye"; kanê = "sick"; mẽ no kanê = "the men with sick eyes."

[3]kamrik = "red"; kre = "hole"; bê = to be or have; mẽ bê kamri-kre = "men with red holes."

[4]djudjê = "bow"; tuk = "black"; mẽ bê djudjê-tuk-ti = "the men with the big black bows."

[5]kam = "in"; roy = type of wild fruit similar to tucum(?).

[6]kàybê = "barely," "slight"; ngêt = "old"; mẽ kàybê-ngêt ="the men who are only slightly old."

[7]The charge of Kôkô-yaum-ti's sorcery and complicity in Kyêkyêk's death was made by residents of the present village of Gorotire, who are the descendants of the djudjê-tuk-ti and mẽ kam roy-re. It was denied by Ruben kran kên informants (descendants of the tchêt of the western men's house, who averred that the reason for the anger of the men of the eastern men's

most respected chief of the eastern men's house after Kyêkyêk, led the campaign to depose and expel Kêkô-yaum-ti from the village. Tapiêtê, another chief of Kêkô-yaum-ti's tchêt and a nephew (tab-djuà) of Kêkô-yaum-ti, came to his support, but this was not enough to counteract the determined threats of Bemay-ti and his followers to kill Kêkô-yaum-ti if he remained in the village, and Kêkô-yaum-ti was forced to flee. The bitter dispute that had grown up between Bemay-ti and Tapiêtê was exacerbated, rather than alleviated, by Kêkô-yaum-ti's flight. At this point, Tapiêtê divorced his wife Kradjaburu, an old but highly respected and popular woman in the community, in order to marry a young and attractive girl named Bekwày-pey. Kradjaburu, bitter at being cast off by Tapiêtê, made a public speech in the plaza in which she declared herself a "wife of the eastern men's house"[1] which, under the leadership of Bemay-ti, was aligned against Tapiêtê. For Kradjaburu, this was a way of getting revenge on her ex-husband, and for the men of the eastern men's house it was a

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house against Kêkô yaum-ti was that he had seduced a girl named Bekwày-bê who was attached to the Kêwê-mêk society as its collective "wife." Girls become "wives" of a men's society during their tenure of the adolescent girls age grade (mê kurêrê-re).

[1]The position of "wife of a men's house" or a men's society is normally held only by young unmarried girls (see previous footnote), so this was an unconventional step deliberately calculated as an affront to Tapiêtê.

windfall opportunity to humiliate Tapiétê. All three tchêt of the eastern men's house took her up on her offer and recognized her officially as their "wife." The members of the tchêt had intercourse with her (several informants asserted that "all" the men of the men's house had intercourse with her in a single session) and took a conspicuous interest in her well-being. They sent her gifts of game from their kills and publicly deplored her plight as a respectable woman cast off in her old age for base motives by an unworthy husband.

These deliberate insults provoked Tapiete beyond endurance and he called for a collective duel with those who had had intercourse with his ex-wife. The three tchêt of the eastern men's house responded to the challenge as groups, and Tapiétê and his tchêt, the Kararaê, supported by Hàn-mari and the mẽ no kanê, were beaten.[1]

After the fight the village split up (the Cayapo say that men who have fought in a collective duel have too much "shame" to continue to live together afterwards). Tapiêtê and Hàn-mari left with the Kararaê and mẽ no kanê to

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[1]The mẽ bê kamri-kre appear not to have supported the other two western tchêt.

join the mẽ kran-no-ti on the Curua. The djudjê-tuk-ti and Kam roy-re[1] travelled east and settled peaceably with the Brazilians at Nova Olinda on the Rio Fresco. They retained the name of Gorotire and founded the modern village of that name in the 1940's.[2]

The Cayapo habitually speak of schisms like that of the old village of Gorotire as taking place between men's societies as solidary units, and as the evidence already presented has made clear, this is in general an accurate characterization of what happens. Upon checking at modern Gorotire and Kuben kran ken, however, I found that a small number of men had elected not to follow their own men's societies, but to remain with kinsmen who belonged to another (opposed) men's society. Roy-pa, one of the most prominent orators at Kuben kran kên, was a djudjê-tuk-ti who elected to remain behind with his brothers and the surviving members of his maternal household with the mẽ kamrã-kre in the old village, and still lives in Kuben kran kên, the direct

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[1] The other eastern tchêt, the kàyhê-ngêt, seems to have lost its separate identity following the dispute. I am not clear as to precisely how or why this happened. It was the smallest of the three eastern tchêt.

[2] The political structure and men's societies of modern Gorotire are described in Chapter IV, section V D.

descendant of the old village of Gorotire.

6. Kuben kran kên and the separation of the kô-kray-môrô.

The mẽ bê kamri-kre of the western men's house remained at the old Gorotire village site, which was renamed Kuben kran kên. A second tchêt was formed which took the name of kô-kray-môrô. The kô-kray-môrô split off from the Kuben kran kên following a further dispute soon after 1940. They are currently settled on the east bank of the Xingu about 200 miles northwest of Kuben kran kên. I failed to extract a coherent account of the dispute that led to the departure of the kô-kray-môrô from informants. It reportedly involved adultery, but Kuben kran kên informants put less emphasis on this aspect of the dispute than the general bellicosity of the kô-kray-môrô chief, Yakuri. In addition to his military prowess, Yakuri is reputed to be a powerful sorcerer. His sorcery is still feared at Kuben kran kên and even in Gorotire, where his reputation has been carried by Kuben kran kên immigrants.[1] Yakuri was responsible for many raids against Kuben kran kên, the Tchikrĩn, neighboring non-Ge tribes like the Asurini, and Brazilian settlements until the pacification of kô-kray-môrô in 1957 (Moreira 1959:52).

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[1]See Appendix I, p.xi.

Some time after the departure of the kô-kray-môrô, a new second tchêt was formed. By the time of the pacification of Kuben kran kên in 1952, the societies had taken the names they still hold today: the mẽ kran ngrẽ ngrẽ,[1] currently led by chief Kyàpre, and the mẽ at ụùrò ngrò,[2] led by chief Tchikiri.

7. The Kruòti-kanou secession

The village of Kuben kran kên established peaceful relations with the Brazilians in 1952. In the first two or three years following pacification, the Indian Protection Service channeled considerable resources and energy into its Kuben kran kên post, but administrative changes and a lessening of the sense of urgency attaching to the operation after pacification had been securely established led to a marked decline in Indian Service activity in the late 1950's. The post was in effect allowed to lapse, and contact with the Kuban kran kên became tenuous and intermittent. The great

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[1] kran = "head"; ngrẽ ngrẽ = "green"; mẽ kran ngrẽ ngrẽ = "green-headed men."

[2] ntuòrò = "old leaves"; ngrà = "dry"; me ntuòrò ngrà = "the old dry leaves-men."

Xingu measles epidemic struck the village at the lowest ebb of Indian Service activity. The Indian Service sent no medicine or personnel to aid the stricken village, and within a few weeks sixty persons died out of a population of 300-400. The missionary at Gorotire, E. R. Trapp, flew to Kuben kran kêñ with food and medicine from his own stocks. His efforts prevented the deaths of at least as many more persons.

After the epidemic, dissatisfaction with the Indian Protection Service and fear of further sickness led to the secession of a small group of twenty-four men, women, and children. Under the leadership of six mature men, the group left Kuben kran kén and founded a new settlement at Kruòti-kangu, a small stream about two days' journey from Kuben kran kén. The six men who formed the nucleus of the group were not all kinsmen of each other, and included members of both of the Kuben kran kén men's societies. None of the men assumed the position of chief of the group. The band was formed and held together purely on the basis of the common interest of its members in escaping the threat of disease, and impatience with the two chiefs' policy of collaboration with the Indian Service in striving to prevent a movement of the village as a whole away from the "unhealthy" site at the Post. Chiefs oppose as a matter of principle the separation of groups or

individuals from the community,[1] but the two chiefs at Kuben kran kêñ expressed their opposition in different ways. Ngàgre, the more stern and aggressive of the two, vigorously opposed the separation of the group and implied they might face a threat of violent reprisals if they attempted to leave. Tchikiri, the senior and by far the more popular chief, took a benevolent and permissive attitude once he saw that the group was resolved upon going. In 1962, several years after the group left, Tchikiri travelled to Kruòti-kangu to persuade the group to return to the village. One of his principal arguments was that the Indian Service had sent an excellent new agent to the village, who was equipped with medicines and was effectively stimulating economic activity (rubber and Brazil nut gathering), producing a large influx of trade goods for the first time in a decade. The Unevangelised Fields Mission had simultaneously built a large house and compound, and was preparing to send in a permanent missionary, who would be an additional source of medical assist-

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[1] Banner notes that

"The authorities of the men's house maintain a zealous concern over the numerical integrity of the group. It is difficult for a discontented Indian to leave the community. . . Individuals or groups which break relations with a powerful chief can count on implacable persecution by him" (Banner 1961: 20-21).

ance. Tchikiri was successful in persuading the group to rejoin the village, but Ngàpre opposed their return, partly out of jealousy of Tchikiri's success, which earned him considerable prestige, and partly out of embarrassment that a group whom he had made his enemies at the time of their departure were to be reintegrated into the community. Fear of the outcome of Ngàpre's hostility once they had returned to the village caused the group to waver, but Tchikiri managed to reassure them that the community as a whole, and he in particular, were wholeheartedly in favor of their return and would balk any attempt at vengeance by Ngàpre. The group finally rejoined the main village in August, 1963. The return of the Kruòti-kangu group over Ngàpre's opposition was a major blow to Ngapre's standing in the community and the occasion of a corresponding rise in prestige for Tchikiri.

Even before the return of the Kruòti-kangu group became an issue, discontent with Ngapre had been growing among the members of his own tchât, the mẽ kranngrã ngrã. The chief grievances against Ngapre were his stinginess in distributing the presents given him by the encarregado and the missionary for his tchât as a group, his cold and aloof bearing, and his aggressiveness and intransigence in discussions and controversies. Six men had left his tchât to join

Tchikiri in the six months that preceded my arrival at Kuben kran kên, as against two who left Tchikiri to join Ngàpre. At the same time, a potential threat to Ngàpre's leadership within his own tchêt was developing, in the form of a movement to create a second chief within the mẽ kran-ngrã ngrã. Bep'i, a popular and widely-respected man whose salient personal qualities are the opposite of Ngàpre's, was discreetly advancing his candidacy under the aegis and informal sponsorship of Tchikiri. To become a chief it is necessary to be formally proclaimed in the men's house by another chief. The chief who proclaims another does not have to be of the same tchêt (or even the same men's house in a village with two men's houses), and Tchikiri planned to proclaim Bep'i. To proclaim a chief in a tchêt which already has a living chief, requires at least the tacit acquiescence of the existing chief and the consent of the preponderant majority of the members of the tchêt. For Ngàpre, however, Bep'i's candidacy represented a direct threat to his already shaky position within the tchêt, and he stalled for time, insisting that the proclamation be postponed. Tchikiri and Bep'i were forced to wait. Tchikiri's role in promoting Bep'i's candidacy did nothing to improve relations between Ngàpre and Tchikiri.

Ngàpre gave vent to his bitterness against Tchikiri in several ways. He attempted to sabotage Tchikiri's policy of cooperation with the new Indian Service encarregado by attempting to persuade the members of his tchêt not to participate in any of the encarregado's projects, such as clearing larger gardens, gathering wild rubber and Brazil nuts, or hunting jaguar and other animals for skins. He aggressively harrassed a Catholic priest who visited the post briefly during the absence of Tchikiri and the encarregado on a rubber gathering trip. Some time after Tchikiri's return, Ngàpre lost his temper with him on some minor pretext and agrily berated him before the whole village. Open arguments or overt expressions of hostility between chiefs are very rare among the Cayapo and are regarded as extremely grave events. [Chiefs, above all other members of the community, are expected to maintain the appearances of friendship and cooperation with each other, since it is upon their cooperation and alliance as leaders of their tchêt that the unity of the village depends.] Tchikiri refused to reply in kind, and Ngàpre's tirade produced a further unfavorable reaction. Feeling against him because of his conduct toward Tchikiri and his behavior toward the encarregado and the Catholic priest, which had also been poorly received

in the village, became so intense that one evening the men of both men's societies surrounded Ngàpre in his house and angrily berated him. He sat in silence, his eyes fixed on the ground in "shame" (pisìm) throughout the session, without attempting to speak in his own defense. "Shouting at" a chief,[1] as the Cayapo call such scenes, constitutes a means by which the community can serve notice on a chief that it will not support or continue to permit a course of action he is pursuing, short of the more drastic step of deposing him outright. The session achieved its goal: Ngàpre's position as chief was not formally affected and he retained his following, but his freedom of action was effectively curtailed and his behavior toward the encarregado and toward Tchiktiri became more chastened, if not overtly friendly. Ngàpre retained enough influence to block the proclamation of Bep'i as chief.[2] The hard core of Ngàpre's support within the mẽ kraãngrẽ ngrã̀ are men who have had a leading part in supporting and executing the deeds of violence or threats of violence with which Ngapre is identified, and which have cumulatively become the basis

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[1]The Cayapo expression is kum akin: akin = "to shout"; kum = "at."

[2]As of my last report (June 1965, conversation with E. R. Trapp), Bep'i had still not become a chief.

of the reaction against him. They are consequently to some extent identified with Ngàpre in his unpopularity, and have continued to maintain their solidarity with him and accept his leadership. This group has no special connection with Bep'i and could be expected to side with Ngàpre against Bep'i's candidacy until Ngàpre himself consented to the proclamation of Bep'i.

8. Abortive schism at Goretire

A relation of tension and suppressed rivalry similar to that between Tchikiri and Ngàpre exists between Tut and Kanyonk, the two chiefs of the single tchêt of the contemporary village of Goretire. Tut was raised by a Brazilian couple for much of his boyhood and speaks excellent Portuguese, on the basis of which he was promoted to the chieftaincy at the behest of a past Indian Service encarregado. He is psychologically disturbed, given to fits of depression offset by outbursts of running amok through the village with his shotgun. Although he fulfills all the chiefly ritual functions within the village and is the only one of the two chiefs who takes part in oratory, he has alienated much of his former support among the men for various reasons[1] and is keenly aware of this. Kanyonk, an

[1]Discussed on p.348.

apparently unambitious man with no flair for oratory and an apparent indifference to the dramatic ritual functions of his office, has become, partly by default, the stronger and more popular chief by a large margin (23 men count themselves followers of Kanyonk, only 16 of Tut). Part of Kanyonk's popularity derives from his own easy-going permissiveness and tolerance, coupled with generosity in the distribution of presents, qualities in which he rivals or surpasses even Tchikiri at Kuben krán kân. At one point in the past relations between the two chiefs and their followings deteriorated to the point that the two groups assembled in a cleared area outside the village with their weapons for a collective duel,[1] which was only averted by the imaginative suggestion of the Protestant missionary that they all return to his house for coffee first. The men accepted and the duel was never held.

The latent antagonism between the two men broke out again as the result of a fight at which I was present. During the final night of the initiation ceremony, the kwa-tuy (father's

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[1]The immediate pretext for the duel was said to be mutual suspicion engendered by the encarregado as a means of dividing the two chiefs and manipulating each against the other, but I am in no position to confirm this report.

sisters or grandmothers) of the boys undergoing initiation have ritually sanctioned intercourse with members of the initiated youth's age set (mẽ nõrẽ-mu-re) in the bushes beside a path used by the procession of the initiands.[1] One kwa-tuy returned from the bushes and complained to her institutionalized lover or "secondary husband" that the men who had had intercourse with her were not of the mẽ nõrẽ-mu-re age set but of the mature men's age grade (mẽ kra-re), an act without ritual sanction and tantamount to rape. The enraged lover in turn aroused the woman's husband. The two men raced to the area outside the village where the mẽ kra-re were sitting or sleeping beside the great ceremonial log and began flailing the unsuspecting men with clubs. Several men were badly hurt before the momentum of the initial assault spent itself and the mẽ kra-re found enough sticks or clubs to make further attacks by the two men a suicidal undertaking. A furious argument ensued, with the two men accusing the mẽ kra-re of rape and adultery, and the mẽ kra-re denying the charge and threatening revenge against the two. The two chiefs arrived in the midst of the argument. Tut immediately began attempting to pour oil on the waters, calling for a return to

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[1] See p.204 for a description of this phase of the initiation ceremony.

calm and an end to violence and accusations by both sides. This is the conventional course for a chief to take. Much to my surprise, Kanyonk interrupted Tut with a passionate tirade against the two men, claiming that their charges were unfounded and that he personally would thrash the lover (whom he held chiefly responsible) in vengeance for the injuries he had inflicted (it is significant that the lover was a member of Kanyonk's following, while both chiefs had followers and kinsmen among the injured). When Tut renewed his calls for peace Kanyonk angrily defied him, walked directly to the house where the lover was hiding, and gave him a severe beating. Kanyonk's act was admired and had widespread support among the men. The entire episode was humiliating in the extreme for Tut, who was made to appear weak and ineffectual by Kanyonk's defiance and resolute action. The beating of the lover by Kanyonk resolved the immediate tension of the situation, and the ceremony continued. Several weeks later, however, Tut abruptly left the village with his followers. They camped in the forest a day's march away and began manufacturing war clubs and lances, with the avowed intent of raiding the village, now composed only of Kanyonk and his followers besides the women and children. Frantic negotiation by the encarregado finally induced Tut to call

off the raid and return to the village. It is hard to believe that Tut actually intended to carry out the raid. The whole episode was probably simply a tactic by Tut to regain face as a man whose bellicose and aggressive qualities were not to be underestimated, and to restore his standing vis à vis Kanyonk by defying and threatening Kanyonk as Kanyonk had defied him during the ceremony.

9. The Mé kran-no-ti--mẽ tuk-ti schism. The Mé kran-no-ti and Kararaô band on the Curuá has had a history almost as explosive as that of the old Gorotire village and its successors. The group had developed into a large village, comprising two men's houses with two men's societies in each. Shortly before 1950 (before the first peaceful contacts with the Brazilians, which occurred in 1952 and 1958), the village split apart in a dispute reportedly arising out of a case of adultery and an ensuing club-duel (Cowell 1961: 210; mé kran-no-ti informants). The two tchót of the eastern men's house, the mẽ kukn-tuk-re[1] and mẽ kra krù-re,[2] went south to the

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[1] kukn = forehead; tuk = black; mẽ kukn-tuk-re = "the black-foreheaded people."

[2] kra = "child"; krù = "small"; mẽ kra-kru-re = "people with small children."

northern fringe of the Upper Xingu region. Their base village was near Diauarum on the Manitsaua-missu. They took the collective name of mẽ tuk-ti-re.[1] The two tchêt of the western men's house, the mẽ akrê-goro-ti[2] and the mẽ tuk-re[3] remained in the north and retained the name of Mẽ kran-no-ti.[4] When they were pacified in 1958 they were divided into two villages, on the Baú and Pitiatiá (western tributaries of the Xingu) (Moreira 1959: 51-2, 57).

10. Mẽ kran-no-ti refugees at Ruben kran kên. In the late 1950's, a group of Mẽ kran-no-ti, about 30 strong from the Pitiatiá group, fled to Ruben kran kên after losing a duel, in which the men of the group had fought as kinsmen of one of the parties. The principal disputant was murdered after the duel, and his supporters, fearing they would be next, fled. Soon after the group's arrival at Ruben kran kên, one of the Ruben kran kên chiefs, Ngroy, died after a visit to Belem. Ngèpre, Ngroy's successor, began a campaign of accusations

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[1] mẽ tuk-ti-re = "big black people." The mẽ tuk-ti-re are the "Trukahamae" of recent literature on the Xingu (Cowell 1961:212, 224-5; Villas-Boas 1954).

[2] akrê = to teach; goro-ti = Brazil nut: translation of group name uncertain.

[3] mẽ tuk-re = "black people."

[4] A group of mẽ akrê goro-ti appear to have accompanied the mẽ tuk ti-re south (Villas-Boas 1954: 79).

against the mẽ kran-no-ti refugees as sorcerors who were responsible for Kgroy's death.[1] For Kgàpre, the campaign was a means of solidifying his new position as chief and acquiring a reputation as a strong and bellicose leader. When they saw that the accusations against them were gaining ground, the mẽ kran-no-ti attempted to flee in a body, but were ambushed by Kgàpre and a group of followers, mostly drawn from his own tchêt. About a dozen were killed on the spot and the rest brought back to Kuben kran kêñ. About eight succeeded in fleeing by airplane to Gorotire, and one, who had become the adoptive son of the oldest and most respected man at Kuben kran kêñ, was protected by this relationship and was able to remain safely at the village. The others were murdered one by one: the last, a boy about ten years old whose father had been murdered six months before, was killed in October, 1964. The murders were all done at Kgàpre's instigation by individual mẽ kra-re or small groups of Kgàpre's closer associates.

11. Schism and raiding among the Mẽ tuk-ti-re. Soon after the arrival of the Mẽ tuk-ti-re in the Upper Xingu, an antagonism developed between two chiefs, Kaiamòrò and Kubenkak-re,

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[1] The mẽ kran-no-ti were specifically accused of slipping a packet of pitu, or sorcerer's substance, into Kgroy's food.

which led to a collective club duel and schism of the group in 1954.[1] The schism was temporarily overcome and good relations restored by the Villas-Boas brothers, agents of the Fundação do Brasil Central with authority over the area (Ferreira 1954: 64). Conflict and temporary schisms continued among the Mẽ tuk-ti-re for a decade until 1963, when the group split definitively into two hostile groups after a fight. One of the two groups returned north to join the Mẽ kran-no-ti at Bau. The other trekked northeast across the Xingu, and attacked and burned a Tapirapé village, killing half a dozen Tapirapé and carrying off a few children as captives. At last report (June, 1965), the group was camped three days' march south of Kuben kran ken, threatening to attack it to avenge the deaths of kinsmen among the Mẽ kran-no-ti refugees murdered as sorcerers by Ngapre. The group has two chiefs, the more bellicose and influential of whom is a white Brazilian by birth with long red hair and beard in addition to his Cayapo lip-plug. He was captured as a child by the Cayapo in a raid on the lower Xingu, but has forgotten all his Portuguese and is "completely Cayapo in culture" (Ferreira 1954: 66).

12. Conclusions. Several characteristics of fission in Cayapo communities emerge from this review. In the first place, fission seems normally to occur along the lines of the tchêt, although in any given instance a small number of individuals may bolt their tchêt to remain with kinsmen in the opposing tchêt. Even where a dispute that ultimately leads to the fission of a community begins within a tchêt and disrupts the unity of the tchêt along with that of the village (e.g., the Mẽ kran-no-ti schism, III B 4), it usually ends in hostility between a fragment of the disrupted tchêt and the other tchêt (e.g., Kotere's antagonism with Wakonkrare). In the second place, groups may leave a community without a general disruption or fission of the village as a whole, as in the secession of the Krudti-kangu group. Such "secessions" are rare and run the risk of violent opposition from the village chiefs. Another type of separation of minor groups that does not result in the division of the community as a whole is the flight of a group of kinsmen who have been defeated in a duel or who have been accused of witchcraft (e.g., the Mẽ kran-no-ti refugees at Kuban kran kên, III B 10). Such secessions or flights on the part of small groups do not destroy or fundamentally alter the

structure of a community in the way that major disputes involving men's societies as corporate groups do.

A further conclusion, based on inference from the situation in the two villages I have had the opportunity to investigate personally, is that the relationship between chiefs, on which the maintenance of the dyadic balance between men's societies or chiefly followings depends, is often if not always one of barely suppressed tension and antagonism. The leading role taken by chiefs in the disputes which have led, or threatened to lead, to the fission of communities seems explicable in part as the result of such accumulated grudges as exist between the chiefs of Gorotire and Kuben kran kêñ.

[Finally, so far as can be determined, none of the schisms leading to the formation of the currently existing single men's house villages were the results of extraneous factors such as pressure or encroachments by Brazilians.] All were the results of disputes arising within the normal framework of aboriginal Cayapo social organization. The variation in the sizes of the Irã̃ 'ã̃ mray-re settlements at the time of the first Brazilian contacts supports the inference that small- and medium-sized single men's house communities such as those that exist at present have always been

features of Cayapo society and represent a completely aboriginal social form. The Cayapo deplore the disputes and hostilities which led to the fission of the two-moiety villages of Mẽ kran-no-ti and Gorotire, and affirm that villages composed of both moieties, with two men's houses, are the "finest"[1] and most desirable form of village; but they do not regard single-men's house villages like Gorotire or Kuben kran kêñ as unnatural or alien to their social order. The inhabitants of single moiety villages simply aver that as their villages gain population, a point will be reached at which there will be "enough people" to reconstitute the other men's house.[2]

C. Population and political structure

As this assertion implies, the size of the population of a community is from the Cayapo point of view inseparable from its political structure. It is taken for granted

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[1]The Cayapo term is mêtch, which means excellent, beautiful, fine, or desirable. The old village (krin) of Gorotire is referred to as the krin mêtch by the modern Gorotire and Kuben kran kêñ.

[2]The Cayapo are vague as to the precise minimum numerical level of population necessary to support two men's houses (it is relevant that the Cayapo system of numerals does not go higher than six).

that large villages will be divided into moieties, while small ones will not. Villages with both moieties are spoken of as ideally desirable not only because they constitute the fullest realization of the ideal pattern of Cayapo society, but because they have the largest populations. The sheer size of the population of a community ranks among the highest of Cayapo social values. The oscillation between small villages and large villages, and between single-men's house and two-men's house communities, are merely different aspects of the same historical cycle of fission and fusion through which Cayapo villages pass. The value the Cayapo place upon large village populations is probably related to the fact that the communal political institutions of the village, which are structurally independent of the kinship system, function best when there is a sizeable difference in numbers between them and the size of the larger kindreds. When the population of the village sinks below 100, the communal political groupings and moieties fall to the size of an average personal kindred. At this level they would offer relatively little comparative advantage in organizational capacity and often only minor differences in membership. The result is that the distinction between the levels of kindred relations and men's society and moiety relations

loses much of its force and point. In a large village, on the other hand, the distinction is forcefully maintained by the numerical preponderance and greater inclusiveness of the communal institutions. The "critical mass" of population for the effective functioning of the communal institutions is probably between 120 and 150.

My estimate of the current population of the Northern Cayapo, broken down by bands, is as follows:[1]

Tchikrĩn:	Dãmontire (Pacajá)	80
	Itacayunas	150
Gorotire:	present village of Gorotire	263
	Kuben kran kên	260
	Kruòti-kangu band of Kuben kran kên	25
	Kô-kray-môrô	80
	Baú (including Kararaô, previous group of mẽ-kran-no-ti, and newly-arrived band of mẽ-kran-no-ti (mẽ-tuk-ti)	200 ?
	Pitiatiá mẽ-kran-no-ti (mẽ-akrê-goro-ti)	300 ?
	mẽ-tuk-ti (now camped south of Kuben kran kên)	100 ?
	Total	1518

[1]My sources are as follows: Pacajá Tchikrĩn, private conversation with E. R. Tapp; Itacayunas Tchikrĩn, Fuerst 1964: 118; modern village of Gorotire, my field census; Kuben kran kên, census conducted by Indian Protection Service agent and partially checked by me, December, 1963; Kruòti-kangu

Allowing for considerable underestimation and the existence of as yet uncontacted bands, the combined population of all Cayapo groups cannot be much more than 1,700.

The early reports of very large villages, e.g., Coudreau's claim of a population of 1500 for Gorotire (1897: 206), are at first glance hard to reconcile with the low figures of the present Cayapo bands. The data on the segmentation of the parent village of Gorotire presented in the preceding section, together with the population figures in the above table, nonetheless bear out Coudreau. As can easily be verified from the table, the survivors of the parent village of Gorotire since 1900 even today number 1328, after considerable population decline due to epidemics. That all existing Cayapo villages constitute only a single men's house (moiety) of an antecedent two-men's house community indicates that Cayapo social structure is capable of integrating communities at least twice the size of the largest that now exist.

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band, list furnished by E. R. Trapp, checked by me with members of band; Kô-kray-môrô, private conversation with K. Beryer, Unevangelized Fields Mission missionary at the village; Raú and Pitiatiú, private conversations with Indian Protection Service and Unevangelized Fields Mission personnel; mẽ-tuk-ti, Villas-Boas 1954 and private conversation with E. R. Trapp.

D. Historical variation and Cayapo social structure

The ideal model which the Cayapo maintain of their own society is the two-men's house village described in Chapter II: as we have seen, this ideal is used even to describe situations which no longer correspond to it in any concrete sense, e.g., when the inhabitants of a village with only one men's house refer to that men's house as 'the eastern" or "the lower" men's house, regardless of the fact that there is no western or "upper" men's house in the village. The two-men's house village is a goal rarely attained and unstable once attained, but the opposite extreme, the small community consisting of only a single men's society, is equally rare and "unstable," in the sense that it is soon transformed into a dyadically opposed pair of chiefs' followings or men's societies. The principle by which the community is structured in terms of a balanced dyadic set of opposed mature men's societies leads ultimately, by progressive stages of internal segmentation, from the single men's society band to the large two-men's house village. Most Cayapo villages are, in structural terms, somewhere between these two equally unstable poles of the continuum of segmentation.

Given the range of variation in Cayapo community structure, it is obviously inadequate to accept the Cayapos' own concept of the structure of their society as the large two-moiety village at face value. In historical perspective, "Cayapo social structure" is a set of principles expressed in a diachronic continuum of cyclical oscillation, and cannot be identified exclusively with the structure of any one community at a given moment of time within that continuum.

In conformity with this view of Cayapo social structure, it has emerged in the preceding survey of Cayapo history that the ideal principle of the two-moiety village, as presented in Chapter II, and the political principle of dyadic balance between men's societies, are analytically and historically distinct phenomena, even though their structural basis is ultimately related (as will be demonstrated in later chapters) and their coincidence constitutes the ideal state of society as the Cayapo conceive it. The history of Cayapo communities is a record of the process of convergence and divergence of these alternately allied and opposed principles of dual organization. [Why either principle should express itself in dualistic form, and why the two structural expressions of dualism should be so imperfectly coordinated within Cayapo social organization, constitute the main problems to which the rest of this dissertation is devoted.]

The process of convergence and divergence between the two dualistic principles is historically expressed in the form of an oscillation between emphasis on the independence and mutual opposition of discrete men's societies and emphasis on the unity of the village community, defined as a grouping of men's societies. The relation of the men's society to the village as a unit is defined in terms of the principle of dyadic balance between men's societies. This principle is both fissive and fusive. On the one hand, it is a means of holding the men's societies together within a single community, while generating progressive segmentation within the men's society system: this ultimately results, if fission does not intervene, in the creation of a two-men's house community. On the other hand, it reinforces the unity and mutual opposition of the men's societies, and it is precisely these qualities which make the men's societies capable of splitting the community as the result of a dispute in which they become involved. Cayapo history constitutes a cycle of alternate fission and fusion between men's societies, and as such represents a series of alternating emphases of the complementary fissive and fusive aspects of the principle of dyadic balance. This principle thus stands at the core of Cayapo social structure conceived as a diachronic

continuum. It will be recalled that the cycle of seasonal variation represents exactly the same type of oscillation between "fission" of the village into men's societies and "fusion" of the men's societies to reconstitute the village during the rainy season.

Both the historical and seasonal cycles, and the principles of community structure to which they relate, are intimately bound up with another set of cyclical processes and formal structures, those of the domestic group and age grade systems, which will be examined in Chapter IV. Before proceeding to these topics, however, it remains to examine the institution of the chieftaincy, which epitomizes in its functions the principles of the political system as revealed by the case material and analysis presented in the preceding sections of this chapter.

E. The functions of the chief (ben-iadivèrò)

1. The institutional functions of the chief. A question has been raised with reference to the Ge tribes as to whether an aboriginal institution of chief existed among them, or whether the position was in fact created by the Brazilians, through their policy of conducting all relations with Indian tribes through an individual presumed to be the "captain" or

chief of the tribe (Maybury-Lewis, n.d. 220). In the Cayapo case, there is no doubt that the chieftaincy is an aboriginal institution. The Cayapo term for chief is bep-indjuèrè "he who delivers the ceremonial falsetto chants" not a title likely to have been suggested by Brazilians or by functions acquired through negotiating with them. All Cayapo groups when first contacted had bep-indjuèrè, and the case material in section XII-B amply documents the importance of the role of the chief in the aboriginal political system.

A chief is formally installed in office by being proclaimed by another chief. The nomination must be acceptable to the members of the tshêt concerned (cf. the example of Bep'i, section XII B 7). I could discover no case of a chief seizing office by murdering or terrorising the incumbent and his supporters, and assuming the title of bep-indjuèrè without the legitimising rite of proclamation. It is conceivable that individuals might force their formal nomination as chief by threats or violence, although I did not hear of such a case. It must be emphasized that, contrary to a recent report, there is no institution of inheritance of the chieftaincy in the matriline (cf. Dreyfus 1963: 78). The Cayapo sometimes say that a chief's tab-djuì (sororal nephew or grandson) will follow him in the chieftaincy, but

this is a reflection of the general cultural pattern of asserting the close similarity or identity of 'ĩ-ngêt (maternal uncles or grandfathers) and tab-djuò, rather than a prescriptive rule of succession. The tab-djuò relationship is not a prerequisite for promoting a man to the chieftaincy. On the other hand, most Cayapo men can claim to be the tab-djuò of some living or dead chief on the basis of adoptive or consanguineal kinship, so that the relation is hardly exclusive enough to serve as a basis for inheritance.

The chief, in conjunction with the men's society of which he is the legitimate and acknowledged leader, carries out all the major political functions.[1] 'He mobilizes support for his own leadership and for collective measures and decisions by promoting a consensus among the men of his tchêt and among the men of all other tchêt in both men's houses, through oratory and the associated means of persuasion open to chiefs in the men's house. The chief often, but not always, initiates and concludes the speaking, but

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[1] I shall refer to the four main political functions as defined by Eisenstadt (1963: 6): (1) the "party-political" function (the marshalling of support for decisions and leaders); (2) the "legislative" function (the formulation of collective decisions); (3) the "executive" function (the maintenance of internal order); and (4) the "judicial" function (the interpretation of the norms of the system).

has no special power to control debate or bring about agreement with his own position, even among the members of his own tchêt. He may not even be a good speaker or take a prominent part in discussions (e.g., Kanyonk at Gorotire), although such a case is exceptional. Chiefs are authorized in theory to call for and execute violent sanctions, and may do so when a consensus for such sanctions exists, but such powers are unsuited to the task of controlling or influencing the men's discussions to bring about agreement on ordinary mundane matters. ¶ The chief, in cooperation with the mature men, is expected to arrive at decisions concerning what is to be done in communal affairs on a day-to-day basis. Such decisions are primarily economic or ceremonial; the chief, in conjunction with the mature men, decides that the village will go on trek, that the next day the gardens will be slashed or burned, that a certain ceremony or specific rite shall be celebrated, etc. In his "executive" capacity, the chief enunciates the collective decisions, both to the men in the men's house and to the village at large. Important decisions or ceremonial directions may be announced in the falsetto metrical chanting called hem, from which the chief's title derives. The chief's announcements are legitimized exhortations rather than commands. It is

regarded as virtuous and desirable (mô̂tch) to comply with the exhortations of a chief, but obedience is not compulsory and there are no sanctions for disobedience. The chief is expected to direct all communal activities, such as communal hunts, ceremonies, or raids,[1] in this hortatory fashion. There are no auxiliary offices such as age set leaders, ritual authorities, or "heralds," with whom the chief shares his authority (cf. Lowie 1963: 635; Dreyfus 1963: 70).

The chief is also the repository of judicial authority, and is expected to settle, or at least pacify, disputes. A number of cases of disputes between large groups of kinsmen or men's societies have been presented in section III-B. Such disputes are relatively rare and extremely dangerous when they occur. Chiefs usually strive to prevent disputes between individuals from reaching the level of a dispute between groups. The chief (and older men who share in the oratory and attempts at pacification) may try to convince

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[1] Chiefs led their tchê̂t on raids. Informants insisted that in the old two-men's house village of Gorotire, men from the different men's houses never went to war together, and normally men from other tchê̂t of the same men's house would not follow the chiefs of other tchê̂t on raids, although this sometimes happened. The chiefs of the various tchê̂t specialized in raiding different tribes: Màn-mari went for the Tchikrĭ̂n, Benny-ti for the Tapirapé, etc.

one of the parties to the dispute that if he presses the matter to the point of a group confrontation, he will be outnumbered and defeated. Alternatively, chiefs may appeal to the loyalties of either or both of the parties to themselves as leaders of their tehêt or men's house, and persuade them on this basis to drop the dispute. Chiefs know that if a dispute between members of opposite tehêt or even opposite chief's followings within a single tehêt arrives at the point where the tehêt becomes collectively involved on the sides of their respective colleagues, then the chiefs themselves may be forced to take sides. [Chiefs strive to avoid this situation because it destroys their posture as the representatives of the whole community, from which their authority as peacemakers in disputes is derived, and reduces them to partisans on a level with the disputants.] A different type of threat is posed when a dispute develops along kinship lines and large bodies of kinsmen become involved on either side. Such a development threatens to undermine the authority of the chief and the whole men's society system, since they are structurally separate from the kinship system, and the activation of kinship loyalties in such a context is a direct negation and a threat to the authority and leadership of the chief. The problem of the chief in

the settlement of disputes is thus to assert his influence and authority, based on the men's society system, to suppress disputes and alignments generated at the level of kinship relations, while at the same time preventing the dispute from developing to the point where it involves the men's society system as such. [As this implies, the Cayapo recognize private disputes and delicts as a category meriting the concern of the public judicial apparatus, i.e., the chiefs and the leverage they can exert through the men's society system: Cayapo disputes are between individuals more often than between groups, and one of the primary aims of the "legal"[1] arbitration process is to keep individual disputes from becoming issues between groups.]

The overriding goal of Cayapo "legal" procedure is not the just settlement of disputes but the restoration of the peace of the community. If the plaintiff (querioso) has a just grievance but little support from kinsmen or his men's society, while his opponent is strong in these respects, the chiefs in their oratory and private dealings with the parties to the dispute stress the need for a restoration of public peace and

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[1] I use the term "legal" in the broad sense of a cultural mechanism for dealing with actions defined as anti-social (crimes) or wrongs against private individuals (torts). The Cayapo have no codified law and no formal rules of legal procedure.

a "private settlement" (meaning no settlement). If the strengths of plaintiff and defendant are reversed, the chiefs are likely to dwell on the iniquity of the crime or tort committed by the defendant and demand that he make restitution. I was told during a bitter dispute at Ruban kran kôn over the theft of a family's supply of maize that the chiefs would make up the plaintiff's loss out of their own stocks if they could not persuade the thief to return what he had taken, simply to quiet the dispute. In the event the plaintiff, who was regarded as "unhê" (soft, weak), gave way before the intransigence of the thief and the studied calls for "peace" and an "end to accusations" by the chiefs, and abandoned his complaint. The thief kept the maize and everyone but the plaintiff appeared satisfied.

If both parties remain adamant and physical violence, usually in the form of a club duel (nhan tak) appears inevitable, the chiefs devote their energies to preventing the involvement of large groups or men's societies on either side and await the outcome. Even in cases of sorcery, chiefs often tacitly encourage the execution of a sorcerer by the close kinsmen of the deceased, rather than make a public denunciation of the sorcerer in the men's house, unless they

are sure in advance of a concensus behind the charges.[1] The Cayapo judicial process thus relies heavily upon secondary (private) sanctions to supplement the relatively rare and difficult application of primary (collective) sanctions.[2] After a private duel or the abandonment of a charge by a plaintiff, it is the chief's job to minimize the lingering rancor of the defeated party and make his readjustment to normal participation in social life as easy and complete as possible.

Although the chief is primarily the leader of a particular tchêt, he has authority over the affairs of the whole community, and is identified with the common values of society. It is in his capacity as the embodiment of communal values that the chief arbitrates disputes and punishes naughty boys with the fish tooth scratcher (top djua). When I asked Tchikiri, the Kuben kran kên chief, why he had wanted to become a bep-iadjuèrè, his reply was, "To make people better!"[3] The identification of the chief with common

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[1] For the sociological aspects of sorcery and the execution of sorcerers, see Appendix I.

[2] For the definition and discussion of primary and secondary sanctions see Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 208-9.

[3] The expression in Cayapo is "mẽ amĩ mê kadju": mẽ = "people"; amĩ = reflexive; mê, contraction of mêtch, "good," "virtuous"; kadju = "so that," "in order that."

social values is the basis of his diffuse authority in the community, as manifested in the belief that it is "good" to obey the chief.

This diffuse identification with the whole of society is epitomized in the ceremonial functions of the chief, in which he acts as the ritual embodiment of the community. The ceremonial kan chanting, which is only performed by chiefs, is a focal point of the most important communal rituals. The chiefs lead and bring up the rear of the column of dancers in most ritual dances, and direct the course of all ceremonies (even though they may have to be prompted constantly by other men who are better versed in ceremonial lore). Marked differences in the proclivity for ritual activity are noticeable between the chiefs at Gorotire and Kuben kran kên. Tut in the former village and Tchikiri in the latter perform almost all the chiefly ritual functions; Kanyenk and Kàkpro are apparently quite content with this state of affairs and show little flair for ceremonial activity.

The Cayapo possess institutions for preventing chiefs from abusing their positions and for dissuading them from persisting in the advocacy of unpopular courses. The ordinary daily discussions in the men's house constitute

the conventional medium for the expression of opposition to a policy or action advocated by a chief, and chiefs ordinarily keep closely to the limits of the consensus of the men's house. In a case such as that of Ngàpre in Ruben kran kên, when a chief persists in an unpopular course in spite of all indications of a popular consensus to the contrary, the members of the community may resort to a "kum-akia" ("shouting at" the chief) session, such as the one Ngàpre brought upon himself at Ruben kran kên. If this fails to produce an effect, a chief may be deposed and forced into exile, as happened to Kôkê-yaum-ti in old Gorotire. The creation of a new chief as a potential rival within a chief's own men's society constitutes another means of exercising restraint on a chief. Deposing a chief, who is the repository of legitimate authority, presents a problem of legitimation. The Cayapo justify the deposition of chiefs on the grounds that they have become "bad," or even, in extreme cases, sorcerers (e.g., Kôkê-yaum-ti), and have thus alienated their claim to embody communal values and legitimate authority. To depose a "good" chief would not only be pointless, but in Cayapo theory, both immoral and "illegal," in the sense of constituting a violation of the legitimate political and judicial institutions of the community.

2. The leadership and powers of chiefs. As the representative and embodiment of the solidarity of both tahk and community, the chief is expected to take the lead in repelling threats to the solidarity of either the tahk or the community. To do so is in the self-interest of the chief, for his own power and influence are based upon the cohesion and corporate integrity of his tahk and, ultimately, upon the continuity and stability of the community. Disputes, coercion and above all, physical violence, are the negation of the diffuse solidarity upon which the Cayapa social order rests at all levels. Physical force can therefore only be applied legitimately to individuals or groups defined as outside of the community (e.g., sorcerers, foreign communities, refugee immigrants, or members of the community who have repudiated their connection with it by violent acts or threats of violence). The chief, as the representative of the community, can define individuals or groups as outside the community in this sense, and on this basis call for violent sanctions against them. Since violent sanctions can only be undertaken legitimately in the name of the whole community, they require a communal consensus. [For a chief to use force against an individual or group without the authority provided by such a consensus would be to risk provoking a

conditional or permanent withdrawal of communal support from himself, and the resulting destruction of his effective authority.[1] The immediately relevant consensus, from the chief's point of view, is that among the members of his tehôt. The closer and more secure his relations with his own tehôt, the more convincingly he will be able to speak as its leader, and to imply a consensus among its members in support of his threats of violent sanctions. The extent to which a chief is able to get away with making such claims and to have them accepted at face value without being challenged, represents the extent of his "power," defined (following Parsons) as the symbolically generalized capacity for physical coercion.[2] Power so defined varies directly according to the degree of solidarity or "associational trust"[3] that exists between a chief and the members of his tehot. The ability of a chief to win the consent of the members of

[1]The chief may rely on the certainty of a retroactive consensus, i.e., a passive acceptance by the community of the "execution" of an individual as a sorcerer, or the lack of opposition to a murder. The tolerance of the community has narrow limits in this area, and no chief would venture to rely on ex post facto approval of a killing unless there were clear indications that it would be forthcoming or unless he felt confident in his ability to sew any opposition that would arise.

[2]A simplified version of Parsons's definition (Parsons 1963b: 237-8).

[3]The term is Parsons's: see Parsons 1963a: 50-51.

his tghât or the community at large on the basis of the relationship of "associational trust" between them, over and beyond the intrinsic merits of the course he advocates (which would constitute factors of the same weight regardless of whether the policy were advanced by the chief or some other person), represents the extent of the chief's "influence," or symbolically generalized capacity for persuasion.[1] [A chief's exercise of "power" in the sense described above, i.e., manipulating the public credence in his capacity to impose violent sanctions, which is in turn based on an implied ability to win the consent of his tghât and the community for such sanctions, represents a case of what Parsons calls "exchanging influence for power."[2]]

The more a chief is able to build up his power in these terms, the more his stature and reputation as a leader are increased within his own tghât, and consequently the more "influence" he will be able to exercise over his followers. This process represents an "exchange of power for influence."[3]

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[1] A paraphrased version of Parsons's definition (Parsons 1963a: 51).

[2] See Parsons 1963b: 244.

[3] See Parsons 1963b: 244.

The reciprocal interchange of power and influence, resulting in the steady expansion of both, constitutes the essence and goal of the process of "leadership" as a function of the office of chief. There are many pitfalls along the way of developing leadership in these terms. If a chief threatens forcible coercion or other extreme policies too often, the symbolic currency of his power will be debased in a process analogous to inflation.[1] On the other hand, if his bluff is called and he is not supported by his followers, the result is a "deflation" of his power. Both types of depreciation in a chief's power would be expected to result in corresponding losses in influence through the reciprocal relationship between the two outlined above.

Another danger is that a chief may alienate his followers by dwelling too strongly upon the negative aspects of his leadership (i.e., the exercise of power) and not enough upon the positive aspects of solidarity and consensus among the members of his tchêt and the community. Ngàpre at Ruben kran kên is a good example. If a chief's followers become

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[1]For a discussion of "inflation," "deflation," and "credit expansion," as features of the manipulation of "generalized symbolic media" such as power and influence, see Parsons 1963a: 62.

sufficiently alienated to leave his tchêt and join the tchêt of an opposing chief, the net result will be the depreciation of the "associational base" in terms of which both his power and influence are defined, and thus a diminution in his power and influence.

In view of the dangers implicit in stressing the aggressive, sanction-imposing aspects of the chief's role, some chiefs concentrate on the complementary aspect, emphasising their functions as reconcilers of disputes and promoters of general solidarity, and avoiding at all costs giving orders or taking positions which run counter to the existing consensus. Tchikiri, of Nben kran kôn, is a good example of such a chief. Chiefs of this type are popular, but they run the risk of not being taken seriously in situations in which forcefulness is called for. They do not escape the problems of inflation and deflation of their power and influence or the alienation of support confronted by more belligerent chiefs like Ngàpro, but only transpose them into other terms.

In most situations, e.g., discussions in the men's house, chiefs have no alternative but to follow a permissive course. The only tools of coercion at their disposal, i.e., violent sanctions, are grossly inappropriate to the problem

of winning a consensus for decisions on trivial daily matters such as whether to perform a ceremony on a given day. In such discussions, the chief is only primus inter pares, and any attempts to exert his authority as chief to win a minor point would merely produce a "deflationary" disregard for his authority. For these reasons chiefs generally adopt the consensus of the men as their policy whether or not it conforms with their original recommendations.

Cayapo chiefs as leaders of their tchêt and of the community must achieve a balance between the preservation and promotion of solidarity, conceived in positive terms, and the aggressive assertion and defense of the interests of both tchêt and community against threats from actual or potential opponents. As the examples of Kùpre and Tehikiri at Kuben kran kên, and, to a lesser extent, Kanyenk and Tut at Gorotire show, chiefs tend to specialise in one or the other of the two aspects of the office. Only an exceptionally strong personality would be capable of combining both aspects effectively in equal proportion, and none of the four chiefs just mentioned impressed me as possessing strong personalities. The two aspects of the leadership and functions of chiefs, the representatives in the first instance of their tchêt and secondarily of the community as

a whole, correspond to the fissive and fusive aspects of the principle of dyadic balance between tchêt discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. The bellicose chief represents a fissive force in the community, and tends to set his tchêt against others; conversely, the conciliatory chief is a fusive influence, tending to minimise the divisions between tchêt and to emphasize their solidarity. In either capacity, chiefs express the complementary tendencies latent in the structure of the institutions in terms of which their office is defined. The struggle of chiefs to maximise their personal power and influence, while avoiding the dangers of excessive emphasis on either the fissive or the consensual aspects of their office, corresponds on the more basic level of community structure to an attempt to balance the fissive and fusive tendencies inherent in the men's society system, to the end of maintaining and reinforcing the solidarity of the community.

CHAPTER IV

THE LIFE CYCLE, THE DOMESTIC GROUP CYCLE, AND THE AGE GROUP SYSTEM

Introduction

One of the dominant features of Cayapo social organization is the sharp distinction between the level of personal kinship relations and the domain of communal jural-political institutions exemplified by the men's societies (tchôt) and the moiety organization. This structural opposition is mediated by a second institutional dichotomy, that between the domestic group represented by the matrilocal household and the system of collective age groups.

The family and the personal kin group, which are composed solely of bonds of marriage, filiation, and siblingship, are to be distinguished from the domestic group, which is the jurally recognized household unit socially charged with providing "the material and cultural resources needed to maintain and bring up its members" (Fortes 1958: 8). The internal organization of the domestic group, on the other hand, constitutes an analytically separate structural sphere from the domain of jural-political relations, regarded as

an aspect of the institutions which collectively define and regulate the life of the community as a whole (Fortes 1958: 2). The domestic group develops through a regular series of stages, which culminate on its own structural level in its dissolution and replacement by a new domestic group. On the level of the political-jural system this is accompanied by the passage of the children which have matured within the group into the phase of social adulthood in which they take part in the political and communal affairs of the society. The developmental cycle of the domestic group by this process links the level of personal kindred and family relations with the sector of jural-political affairs (Fortes 1958: 2).

The developmental cycle of the domestic group must be distinguished from the life cycle of the individual. The stages of the latter may be defined with reference to the stages of the former, as among the Cayapo, but the individual's life cycle spans two domestic groups, his natal group and his affinal group which includes his family of procreation. A system of age grades constitutes a standardized social model of the stages of an individual life cycle.

Among the Cayapo the age-set system is the institutionnal framework through which the jural-political domain of communal institutions is articulated with the developmental

cycle in domestic groups. It is only by way of the age-set system, which parallels in its structural stages the major phases of the domestic group cycle,[1] that men and women attain membership in the mature men's and women's communal ceremonial and political groups. Membership in these groups constitutes the principal criterion of sociological adulthood. The relationship between the age-set system and the developmental cycle of domestic groups is in this respect the central focus of the Cayapo social system, the structural interface across which domestic group and kinship relations are linked with the principal institutions which make up the structure of the society as a whole. This relationship has important structural consequences in both directions. Not only does the structure of the age-set and moiety systems reflect the most significant aspects of domestic group and kinship structure, but the latter are themselves shaped and stabilised by the balance that is struck between them and the age-set and moiety systems. The most important single feature of this balance is the degree of separation of men from their natal domestic groups. This in turn is a function

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[1]This is possible because the system of age grades, constituting the Cayapo model of the individual life cycle, also parallels the important stages in the developmental cycle of the domestic group. The last major category in the age-grade system corresponds to the firm establishment of membership by Ego in his affinal domestic group.

of their attachment to the communal men's organizations, and in the Cayapo case of their residence in the men's house, which is structurally achieved through the age-set system. A brief introduction to these institutions is necessary at this point in the discussion.

The personal kindred and the domestic group system. There is no institution of descent among the Cayapo.[1] Ego's personal kinship relations are defined in terms of the bilateral kindred, which the Cayapo regard as including affinal as well as consanguineal relatives.[2] Every individual's kindred defined in those terms is supplemented by many "adoptive" or fictive relatives, the number of whom usually equals or surpasses the number of "true" kinsmen.[3] [There are no corporate groups based on kinship which play a part in communal political or ceremonial affairs] The only corporate group based on kinship is the matrilocal extended family household. The domestic group unit is a nuclear family localized in a distinct area within the matrilocal household and economically independent of the other families of the same household.

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[1] A minor exception is the patrilineally inherited ceremonial friend (kràk-djuò) relationship

[2] The concept of the bilateral kindred and its application to the Cayapo is discussed in Chapter V, Section B.

[3] The Cayapo terms for the expressions in quotation marks will be presented and discussed in Section V B of this chapter.

The Cayapo conceive of the domestic group sector as a predominantly female area of interest, and the political and ceremonial activities associated with the communal institutions of the village as the properly masculine sphere. This contrast is dramatically embodied in the plan of the Cayapo village, with its circle of matrilocal extended family houses around the periphery of the central plaza, in the middle of which stand the men's houses. The institutions and activities of the men's house are virtually synonymous with Society in the general sense, and persons who are not members of the ngà (boys before their induction into the ngà and women) are not considered fully social beings.

The men's house is the domicile of the two younger men's age sets and functions as a social gathering place for the mature men's societies. It is the scene of most of the collective activities of the men's societies and age-sets which take place in the village, including informal socialising, political discussion and decision-making, artifact manufacturing, and ceremonial.

Women do not ordinarily enter the ngà, but they may if they have a specific reason to do so, such as to bring food to a son, brother, or husband. They may even storm into the midst of the assembled men and angrily berate a son or son-in-law for neglecting his chores (when this happens it seems always to be between older women and men of the two younger age-sets). Such occasions are invariably received with a tactful silence and show of inattention by the men at the time, followed when the woman leaves by much hilarity at the expense of the object of her tirade. No further notice is taken of the occurrence. Contrary to the assertions of the local Brazilians, girls do not enter the men's house at night to have sexual intercourse with the youths of the young men's age-sets who sleep there. There are occasions when women are brought into the ngà for sexual purposes, but they are infrequent and invariably form parts of communal ceremonies.

Age-sets. The Cayapo have no generic term for age-sets. They refer to a specific age-set by the term for the age grade with which the set is identified. I follow Bernardi in using "age grade" to refer to the conceptual categories of social age and "age-set" for the social groups which are defined according to the conceptual scheme of age

grades (Bernardi 1952: 316). Age-sets must be distinguished from "age classes," defined as "initiates of the same period who have been formally and finally integrated as a corporate group" (Bernardi 1952: 317). The Cayapo lack "age classes" in this sense, although they are found in other Ge groups.

Both men and women are divided into age-sets and age grades, but the age-grade categories and the activities of the age-sets are different for the sexes after the earliest age grades. The woman's age system will therefore be treated as a unit separately from the men's system.

In this chapter I attempt to demonstrate the structural interdependence of the developmental cycle of the domestic group and the age-set system by presenting them in parallel form as complementary aspects of the successive categories of the age-grade system. Each age grade which the Cayapo distinguish by a distinct name and social and ritual attributes will be considered as a unit, and the kinship relations of an individual in that grade with kinsmen of every relevant category will be described. These named and ritually distinct age grades represent the categories of their system which the Cayapo themselves see as significant. Age categories which are considered by the Cayapo to form subcategories within more inclusive age grades will be placed

in their proper relation to the conceptual hierarchy of the system.[1] The parallel exposition of domestic group structure and the age-set system provides the appropriate analytical setting for the description of the life crisis rituals, which deal for the most part with the relations between the two. In later chapters I shall deal separately with the structure of the kinship system and the political system, which is based on the mature men's societies.

I. The mẽ prĩ-re[2] age grade

Mẽ prĩ-re comprise infants of both sexes from birth until they are fully able to walk. This takes place at

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[1]Failure to follow this principle has led previous investigators to the misleading conclusion that the Cayapo age-grade system, in reality composed of a small number of broadly inclusive categories, is characterized by "extreme subdivision" (cf. Dreyfus 1963: 72).

[2]Cayapo terms will be given divided by hyphens into their morphemic constituents and the meanings for each morpheme given separately, except where the meanings of the terms have no relevance to the discussion mẽ- = prefix indicating collective social status which occurs before all nouns for classes or groups of people; prĩ = "little"; -re = 1) diminutive suffix, and 2) suffix indicating the abstract, non-individual, general character of a class or state of being. The second meaning of -re is obviously consonant with the connotations of the prefix mẽ-, and it is in the second sense that -re must be translated when it occurs after a noun prefixed by mẽ-. Thus, mẽ prĩ-re = "little ones." The point is worth emphasizing, partly because /-re/ occurs as a suffix after many terms we shall be discussing but also because in much previous Ge ethnography it has been defined purely as a diminutive, with potentially misleading results in cases in which the other sense seems clearly implied. /mẽ-/ and /-re/ are almost always "optional" in the sense that the rest of the term can be used without them with no change in denotation.

between two and three years of age, which is also the age of effective desmama weaning. There is no age-set associated with this age grade, for obvious reasons.

A mẽ prĩ-re's most important social relations are with female relatives, among whom the most important are nẽ (M, MZ, FBW, MBD).[1] The biological mother is by far the most important nẽ; the rest are of rapidly declining importance in the order listed. MBD, for whom the term nẽ is used in accord with the Omaha form of the Cayapo kinship terminology, has no motherly functions as far as the infant mẽ prĩ-re is concerned. The reciprocal term used by all nẽ for their "children" of either sex is kwa (C, ZC, MBC, FBC).

The mother carries the child with her wherever she goes in a sling (ayĩ) which passes over the right shoulder and under the left arm. The child sits against the mother's left front side, held in place when necessary by her left arm. In this position the child can nurse at will, and a slight shift of position allows access to the right breast as well as the left. The child is allowed to nurse virtually at will, and frequently a mother will thrust her breast into her child's mouth to "pacify" it when it is crying. The mother's

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[1] In the notation used here Z = sister, C = child, and all other kin types are denoted by their initials, e.g., S = son, H = husband, HBC = husband's brother's children.

sisters (a child's classificatory nã̀) often nurse the child and care for it for short periods while the mother is occupied with some task that makes nursing difficult. The mother's mother, a co-resident of her matrilocal household, and the father's mother and sisters, who are frequent visitors to the mother's house, also may nurse and fondle the child, allowing it to suck their nipples even if they have no milk.

Warm indulgence and constant physical contact with their mothers or other close female relatives are the pervasive characteristics of a mõ̀ prĩ̀-re's social world. When they are not being carried or held, babies of this age grade tend to stay very close to their mother or other female guardian of the moment, seldom straying more than twenty feet away even if left to themselves for a considerable time. At night they sleep on mats either between or to one side of the mats of their parents, separated by less than a foot from them.

The mẽ̀ prĩ̀-re's sisters (kra-ni-kwày) assist their mother with the child's care after the earliest period of infancy has passed. They regard it as a great privilege to be able to put on the ayĩ̀ and carry the child around by themselves. The youngest girl I saw carrying a child in this

way was about eight. Ka-ni-kwây include Z, MZD, and FBD. The first are the most important as far as the child is concerned, but MZD, as co-residents of the maternal household, may also figure prominently, while FBD are relatively unimportant.

The transition from crawling and carrying to walking is made gradually and permissively. When the baby grows to a certain size and is able to walk, it is encouraged to walk alongside its mother or sisters for longer and longer distances, but may be picked up and carried in the sling if it protests or grows tired. Even three-year-olds may occasionally be carried in this way.

Weaning is carried out in a similar spirit. More than two years may pass between the first time a child is given some roast yam or banana to eat and the last time it is nursed. The most concentrated "phasing out" of nursing is in the second half or two-thirds of the child's second year, and I have seen children as old as four being given the breast: Dreyfus reports cases of age six (Dreyfus 1963: 50). By the time a child is two, its mother may be pregnant again (there is a post-partum sex taboo whose length is variously given as two years, "until the child can walk," or one year). If another child is born, however, the mother

may still sporadically continue to nurse an earlier child. Children who are refused the breast when they want it cry freely. This is usually simply ignored by the mother. Leniency, gentleness, and gradualism are the salient characteristics of Cayapo weaning.

The same is true of toilet training. Children are allowed to defecate and urinate anywhere at any time. If they do so on the dirt floor of a hut, the mother simply cleans up the mess with a pair of sticks or some leaves and throws them outside, without a word to the child. As the child becomes able to walk, he is told to go "outside," but if on occasion he does not, no fuss is made about it. Since going "outside" is simply a matter of a few steps and children, once they begin to walk, spend most of their time playing outside the house within a narrow radius of the door (usually attended by either a mother or sister), this is not a difficult matter. If a child defecates or urinates while it is being carried, the woman carrying it holds it clear until it is finished and, usually without making any protest to the child, wipes off whatever may have gotten on herself with a leaf or twig. Children of about the age of two are usually fairly well trained but may still occasionally urinate or defecate inside a hut.

There is a similar lack of parental pressure in learning to speak. The son of a family who lived in a neighboring hut to ours in Gorotire, who was physically and to all appearances mentally a very well developed two-year-old, barely spoke a word, though he seemed to understand quite well. His parents were aware that this was a bit unusual for his age but did not seem the least perturbed or impatient with the child on this account.

The most prominent adornments of the mẽ-prĩ-re are the intricate designs with which its face and body are painted by its mother and other female relatives. The painting is done with a long, narrow stylus made of the central rib of a leaf. The pigment is the thick, blue-black juice of the genipapo fruit mixed with charcoal. The designs are intricate patterns of geometrical motifs, principally made up of long parallel or cross-hatched strokes of the stylus. Women spend hours at a time painting children in this way. The stylus and the fresh paint produce a pleasant tickling sensation, and children obviously derive a good deal of sensual pleasure from the operation, often dozing off while the mother intently continues her work. This type of body painting is done only by women. Boys are not painted in this style beyond the time when they enter the men's house, but

girls may be painted by this method until they have children. Friends among adolescent girls often paint each other in this manner. Genipapo fades after about a week, so the painting needs to be redone frequently. There is a large amount of variation in the frequency with which different mothers paint their children, and some children go unpainted for weeks at a time. Generally speaking, however, mẽ pmĩ-xa are far more frequently painted by this technique than older girls, who more frequently use a different style of painting common to adults and older boys consisting of broad bands and patches of genipapo and urucu applied directly with the hand. The designs seem to have no symbolic significance and are created afresh, on the basis of a limited repertoire of stock elements and motifs, at each painting occasion; no two are the same, and no individual or group has any special association with individual motifs. Dreyfus (1963: 52) claims to find in these designs an echo of the famous Marajoara style of ceramic decoration, but she mentions no specific stylistic criteria beyond "geometrical complexity" as bases for the assertion. I am unable to see the slightest resemblance between the two styles.

In addition to painting its face and body, the child's mother shaves its hair from the forehead to the crown

of its head, leaving the hair at the back and sides of the head long, and decorates the borders of the shaved area with black geometrical designs. Urucu dots are often placed in the center of the patch. Changes in hair style are one of the outstanding distinguishing features of age grade and sex among the Cayapo. This hair style of the mẽ prí-re, without the painting in the central shaved patch, is, or was before heavy Brazilian contact altered the pattern in communities such as Gorotire, also that of adults (mẽ kenre) of both sexes. In the age grade immediately following mẽ prí-re, however, the long locks at the back and sides of the head are trimmed short, while the frontal shaved triangle and its painted decorations are maintained. Girls retain this short haircut until they become mothers, but boys abandon it after moving to the men's house. Cutting the hair of girls in the intermediate age grades occupies a place of prime importance in certain ceremonies, and seems always to be associated with ritual sexual intercourse with the girls involved.

Aside from body paint and hair style, mẽ prí-re are distinguished from other age grades by the profusion of their bodily ornaments. The most spectacular of these is the necklace manufactured by the child's father from uniformly shaped rectangles of mother-of-pearl (ngue, the shell

of a common fresh water mussel). The mother is responsible for most of the decorations. She strings angà (a small, bright red seed, now replaced by trade beads, for which the same word is used) to make bracelets, necklaces, sashes, and belts for the child. She may add sashes or slings of cotton string reddened with urucu. Having pierced the child's ears with a sharp thorn soon after its birth, she or the father fashion large wooden ear plugs[1] which are inserted into the holes in progressively larger sizes to widen them. When they have reached a diameter of about one inch, strings of beads with a mother-of-pearl pendant are inserted. A male child's lower lip is pierced at the same time by its father and a short string of beads is tied through it, anchored to a mother-of-pearl piece on the inner side of the lip to prevent its slipping out. The mother also weaves arm and leg bands out of cotton. These are painted red with urucu and often decorated with beads. Each set are made on a form calculated to the diameter of the child's arms and legs, so that as the child grows, they become too tight and have to be cut off and replaced with larger ones.

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[1] mẽ-ɨkre-kakô; 'ik-re = earlobe hold; kakô = plug

The old cut-off bands are saved by the mother in a small mat or pouch (prô dià) along with the child's series of earplugs and its dried umbilical cord. This is saved in the house until the child has securely passed out of the mẽ prĩ-re stage, and then taken out of the village by the child's father and thrust into the crotch of a hard wood tree. One man at Goretire claimed to have cut a hole in the trunk of the tree for his child's prô dià, so that the bark eventually closed over it again and it became completely absorbed in the tree. This was why, as he claimed, his child had grown up healthy and strong.[1] If the child dies while it is still a mẽ prĩ-re, the prô dià is buried with it.

"Discipline" in the Western sense of the term is almost completely lacking. If a child's persistent crying or a prolonged tantrum eventually wears down a mother's patience, she may as an expression of intense exasperation cry out something like "mòy-ne!" ("what!") or "kwãri-kwãnh!" ("stop it!"), but insults or verbal abuse, or direct threats of physical punishment (much less actually carrying it out) by the pare are virtually unheard of at the mẽ prĩ-re level. The only examples of indirect threats of disciplinary action I heard

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[1]The significance of contact with hard wood trees as sources of ritual strength will be taken up in section III B of this chapter.

of were those involving calling in a child's "ngêt-ti," may be either the child's mother's male ceremonial friend (kràb-djuò).

The contrast between the attitudes of mothers and fathers (ham) toward a child's tantrums and other extreme displays of temper is illuminating. Whereas mothers simply take such demonstrations in stride, remaining indifferent except on rare occasions such as those noted above, fathers often appear to take delight in a child's tantrums and treat the mother's annoyance as a subject for humor. Fathers in particular are likely to point out with an air of indulgent approbation during a particularly violent outburst how "àk rê" ("wild," "ferocious," "angry") the child is. If the child is denied something it wants and fails to obtain it by crying or a tantrum, it may even strike its mother with its fist or a stick picked up for the purpose, an eventuality which its father invariably treats with the utmost amusement. On the two or three occasions when I saw this happen, the child struck with deliberate restraint, never with enough force to hurt. The blow seemed to be understood by all concerned primarily as a symbolic gesture of resentment, protest, and defiance, rather than as an attempt to inflict physical pain.

The category of bnm, which includes the father, father's brothers, and mother's sisters' husbands, is undoubtedly the most important category of male relatives during this stage in terms of frequency and affective importance of interaction. The relative importance of the last two kin types is difficult to specify on a general basis. Mother's sisters' husbands as co-residents of Ego's matrilocal extended family household have during this period relatively greater opportunity for contact with the child, while the father's brothers, who must avoid their brother's affinal household, and thus do not have opportunities for contact with a child as visitors to its maternal household, are nevertheless bound more firmly to it through their closer ties to the father than are the mother's sisters' husbands.

The relations of bnm to their kwn ("child" of either sex) are if anything even more demonstratively affectionate and indulgent, if less continuous, than those of the mother. Fathers most frequently come in contact with their children at mealtimes and in the evenings, but often the whole family goes to the garden for the day or the father stays at home for all or part of the day to work on some artifact or simply to relax. On these occasions the father shows the greatest affection and consideration for the child, holding him in his lap or keeping him by his side as he works or allowing him

to play with his working materials. Sometimes this permissiveness is carried to hair-raising lengths when knives or fishhooks are involved. If the father demands back the hook or knife, it is usually because he needs it for the next step of his operation rather than because of any demonstrable concern to restrain the child's play with such dangerous objects. After a period of patient but often futile wheedling, the father will heave himself to his feet and gently retrieve the utensil from the child without any indication of anger or impatience.

Even in this earliest phase of a child's social existence, differentiation of masculine and feminine role behavior begins, and here again the *ham* plays an important part. A *ham* frequently takes a male *kra* in the later stages of *mẽ prĩ-re*-hood (starting at about one-year-old) with him to the *ngà*, where he will seat the boy beside him or in his lap as he sings and talks with the other men or works on some weapon or tool. Little girls may be given toy carrying baskets, made by their fathers or older brothers, almost as soon as they are able to walk, and begin thus to imitate their mothers and older sisters. Play with other children seems to be relatively unimportant in this connection at this stage in a child's life. Children spend almost all their time with their mothers and older sisters and have little opportunity to select playmates of the same sex or age level.

In sharp contrast to the secure and affectionate relations of a male child to its father, mother, and older siblings is the joking relationship that exists between the boy and his ĩ-ngêt (MB, MF, FF, FZH, MBS, MBSS). This is an asymmetrical joking relationship, in which the nephew or grandson (tab-djuò) does not reply in kind. An example will help convey the tone of the relationship. I once entered a hut to find an ĩ-ngêt holding the penis of his little tab-djuò (who was about two) stretched out by the foreskin in one hand while making extremely realistic chopping motions at it with a machete he was brandishing in the other hand. The boy was screaming in unfeigned terror, but his father and mother only chuckled indulgently when I asked what was going on, explaining that that was simply the way i-ngêt behaved toward their tab-djuò. When small boys succeed by persistent crying or mischief in wearing down their mother's patience, a favorite tactic is to threaten to call "ngêt-ti" to punish the child. In spite of the terminological similarity, "ngêt-ti" in this context appears always to refer to the mother's ceremonial friend or kràb-djuò. Maternal kràb-djuò are the only relations who normally threaten to punish bad children, and have a rough joking relation with them at all times.

The ĩ-ngêt, but never the father, may subject the child to the traditional practice of scoring its lower legs

with the sharp teeth of a fish (tep djua).[1] The cutting is deep enough to draw considerable amounts of blood and to leave permanent scars. The practice is continued through the end of the mẽ nẽrẽ-nu-re (initiated youths) age grade and may be carried out by the chief or men of a senior age grade. These applications do not concern us here. An ĩ-ngêt may cut his male tab-djuò's legs with the tep djua when he has attained the last stages of mẽ prĩ-re-hood and during the following age grade of ngàvdju-re. Girls are never subjected to the ordeal. The 'ĩ-ngêt may apply the tep djua as a "punishment" for some serious piece of misbehavior, but usually performs the action when the mood takes him as a general means of making the boy "become good" (amĩ-mêtch) and to make him "àkre." "Àkre" is an adjective which denotes the quality the Cayapo esteem as the epitome of manliness. It combines courage, sternness, aggressiveness, and toughness, manifested in showy cockiness, rhetorical flamboyance, and a quick temper. Its fundamental common denominator is extroverted personal drive and self-assertiveness, which is the indispensable prerequisite for social success in the egalitarian groups which dominate the masculine social milieu. Fear of the pain of the tep djua is said to keep mẽ-prĩ-re

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[1] tep = "fish"; -wa, djua = "tooth" (s., pl.)

and ngàvdju-re from being aytchuê (bad, naughty). The pain of the actual cutting is said to "drive out the badness" or "cause it to disappear." It is significant that while a father may enthusiastically approve and applaud his son's "àkrê-"ness, it is only the 'ĩ-ngêt who performs the ordeal which makes a boy more àkrê. The operation is also supposed to increase speed in running by drawing off the excess blood in the arms and legs which makes them heavy and sluggish. The application of the tep djua seems to be infrequent. I never saw it done during my year in the field.[1] Every adult male Cayapo, however, bears scars on his legs from repeated applications of the tep djua. This ordeal is the closest the Cayapo come to physical discipline of children during the mẽ prĩ-re and ngàvdju-re age grades, and the fear of it, and the general threat of the ĩ-ngêt's and ngêt-ti's "joking" behavior, are the only forms of coercive influence which mothers exercise over their children.

The sociological context in which this joking relationship arises is one in which the mẽ-prĩ-re is structurally completely identified with his parents' matrilocal domestic group, while the ĩ-ngêt, although related to one or the other

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[1]My data is based on informants accounts. The practice has been reported by a number of other observers (Dreyfus 1963: 94-5; Banner 1961: 19; Nimuendaju 1932: 556-7; Vellard 1935: 303).

of the two parents by filiation or siblingship is separated from them through primary membership in a different domestic group, which except in the case of the maternal grandfather is located in a separate matrilocal household. For reasons which will be taken up later, it is above all the birth of children which stabilizes the marriage bond between the two parents and thereby ensures the separate existence of their joint domestic group. It is this development which confirms the structural separation at the domestic group level of the child's ĩ-ngêt from its parents, and above all of the mother's brother from the mother. Children are therefore in a sense the efficient causes of the structural separation of their mothers and fathers from their ĩ-ngêt and kum-tuy. The aggressive joking of the ĩ-ngêt expresses the ambivalence and hostility generated by this structural role of the child.

The kinswoman or kinsman of the ĩ-ngêt who is the child's parent places the highest possible value on his parental relationship to the child. Since the ĩ-ngêt places a high value on his relationship of kinship with the parent, he is led to place a similar positive evaluation on his avuncular relation to the child (his tab-djuò). On the other hand, the very existence of the child and the close relation between it and its parents tend to undermine the ĩ-ngêt's relation with its parents. Since this relation in turn is the basis of the

ĩ-ngêt's positive attitude toward the child, the structural role of the child injects a negative and hostile element into the ĩ-ngêt's relations with it. The resulting situation is a good example of Radcliffe-Brown's theory that joking relationships

> . . .occur. . .in structural situations of a certain general kind in which there are two groups, the separateness of which is emphasized, and relations are established indirectly between a person in one group and. . some of the members of the other. The relationship may be said to be one which expresses and emphasizes both detachment (as belonging to separated groups) and attachment (through the indirect personal relation). (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 110)

The female kinship category which corresponds to the male ĩ-ngêt is the category of kwa-tuy, which includes FZ, FM, MM, and MBW. The relations between kwa-tuy and their tab-djuò (nephews and grandchildren) is much milder than the corresponding relation between ĩ-ngêt and their male tab-djuò. The kwa-tuy--tab-djuò differs from the maternal relationship primarily in terms of greater "friendliness" and solicitation in peripheral social activities such as conversation during visits or playing with the child. Friendliness of this kind among the Cayapo is directly correlated with the structural distance of the relationship. It is for this reason that fathers are "friendlier" and more warmly demonstrative toward their children than mothers, who tend to take their relations with their children more for granted. The maternal relation is characterized by a constant level of tenderness and intimacy

which seldom rises to the point of overtly demonstrative "friendliness."

The difference in the tenor of the relationship of kwa-tuv with their tab-djuè from that of the corresponding male ĩ-ngêt--tab-djuè relationship stems from the asymmetry of the relations of male and female siblings to each other and to each other's spouses, which in turn is based on the asymmetrical position of the sexes in the domestic group structure as a result of the matrilocal residence rule. This will be taken up in detail in connection with the relations of HZ and BW and of ZH to their WB. Here it will suffice to note that these two sets of relations are the exact reverse of each other, the male relationship being marked by inhibition and restraint, while the female relation is marked by uninhibited banter and close friendship

As will be clear from the foregoing discussion, the term tab-djuè is used by uncles, aunts, and grandparents of both sexes (ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuv) for their nephews, nieces, and grandchildren of either sex. It has been brought out that, from the point of view of a tab-djuè, relations with ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuv, as the male and female representatives of the same overall structural category or "superclass," are not interchangeable in terms of social behavior. The reverse

of this is also true. 'Ĩ-ngôtg and kwa-tuwa are related differently in terms of social behavior and ritual bonds to their tab-djuè of different sexes, and the Cayapo stress the relations between 'Ĩ-ngôta and male tab-djuè and kwa-tuwa and female tab-djuè over the cross-sex relations between 'Ĩ-ngôta and female tab-djuè and kwa-tuwa and male tab-djuè. This is overwhelmingly evident in the field of ritual relations, for example in the rules of name transmission, which follows parallel-sex lines between the categories. 'Ĩ-ngôt do not seem to joke nearly so roughly with their female tab-djuè as they do with males. The relations of kwa-tuw to male tab-djuè are similar to those with female tab-djuè, but in ritual relations such as name transmission the same differential pattern applies in reverse, and kwa-tuwa are more directly linked to female than to male tab-djuè.

The differences in the intensity of these relationships among the different kin types which make up the categories of 'Ĩ-ngôt, kwa-tuw and tab-djuè should also be emphasized. The Cayapo themselves usually refer to the mother's brother as the prototypical Ĩ-ngôt and the father's sister as the prototypical kwa-tuw. A woman speaks of her brother as the natural donor of names and ceremonial prerogatives to her child, even though she may have many other kinsmen

who qualify as *ĩ-ngêt* of the child. If she has had a brother who has died, she may herself bestow his names on the child even though there are many living *ĩ-ngêt* available. In the same way, the mother's brother among all a child's *'ĩ-ngêt* is apt to have the most frequent and the closest relations with him throughout his childhood. After the mother's brother, the mother's father comes a clear second, followed by the father's father in third place and the father's sister's husband and mother's brother's son a relatively distant last, at least as far as formal *'ĩ-ngêt* functions such as name giving and joking relations and conceptual prominence in conversations about kin relations are concerned. The pattern of conceptual prominence among the various *kwa-tuv* kin types is slightly different. On the basis of the same criteria, the father's sister is clearly in first place, the mother's mother and father's mother a narrowly separated second and third, and the mother's brother's wife last.

The day it is born or immediately thereafter, a child receives one or more names. These must be names of an *'ĩ-ngêt* if the child is male or a *kwa-tuv* if it is female. They need not be conferred in person, however, and it is common for a child's parents to memorialize a dead *'ĩ-ngêt* or *kwa-tuv* by bestowing his or her names on their baby. Names

and the elaborate ritual complex with which they are associated will be discussed later; here it will suffice to note that only names of the common ritually insignificant category are given to the child at this point. Ritually important names must be bestowed in ceremonies in which a child is not judged to be strong enough to participate until "his skin has become tough" at about three months of age. Such names are ritually powerful, and to give one to a baby with a "soft skin" would be to imperil its life.

12. The pɛ̃ bɛ̂ ŋgùvɛ̀dùmɔ pɔ́ɔ gùvɛ̀ (bɛ̂ bɛ̂-ɛ̀-ɛ̀-ɛ̀

It is at this stage that masculine and feminine role behavior begins to become sharply differentiated. Girls remain for the most part with their mothers, accompanying and assisting them in their errands and chores, or else playing in pairs or small groups in the immediate neighborhood of the houses of the village in the company of an older sister. Boys, on the other hand, are likely to play in the plaza itself or in the steppe or the margins of the forest outside the village. In most of their activities they act in complete independence of their mothers and maternal households, in which they have no chores or responsibilities of the kind their sisters are already taking on.

Parental discipline is almost wholly lacking, but occasional examples do occur. Every case I encountered was of a mother punishing a son. By far the most severe was the case of a woman in Gorotire who, enraged that her son had disobeyed her repeated warnings against playing on a dangerous high rock at the bank of the river and had had a bad fall, held him by one arm while she beat him savagely with a heavy block of wood. After a while, the boy was saved by his father who appeared on the scene and gently persuaded the woman to stop. After he left, however, she cut off all of his hair, an act carrying drastic symbolic connotations.

The village gossip that followed his episode showed that the severity of the punishment was unusual enough to be considered especially noteworthy, but the idea of the mother's punishing the boy in itself called for no special comment. The intervention of the father was also regarded as a normal occurrence.

If boys spend little of their time in their maternal houses, mothers normally treat their sons' extra-mural activities with complete indifference. This mutual separation of mothers and sons, which later develops into one of the key structural principles governing the son's life, is as yet only incipient and should not be overemphasised at this stage. Mothers continue to treat their sons when at home with warmth and affection, and the same holds to varying degrees for classificatory mothers (mothers' sisters and fathers' brothers' wives). Particularly insofar as the biological mother is concerned, the maternal relation continues to include considerable physical contact. As with nã- nõ-ne, maternal grooming of children of both sexes consumes hours. Nursing is continued on a relaxed and permissive basis until a surprisingly late age, which undoubtedly helps to lessen the traumatic effects not only of emancipation from the mother herself, but also of jealousy and rivalry with younger

siblings. Even here, however, maternal permissiveness and affection have their limits. As Dreyfus observes,

> Nursing lasts until the age of four or five, even if the mother is nursing a younger baby. In this case, the older child waits for the younger to finish before claiming the breast. A child who is able to eat adult food and who has already begun to emancipate himself, nurses less to satisfy his hunger than to reassure himself and receive a type of affection which he is not yet willing to give up. Certain women, perhaps impatient with the importunities of children who do not want to detach themselves from the maternal breast, rub their nipples with pepper. The surprise and pain of the child are such that it refuses to nurse in the future, even if, as a joke, the mother invites it to do so. (Dreyfus 1962: 50)

At night, an older boy or girl may sleep four or five feet away from their parents, especially if there is a more recent baby, who will have the mat adjacent to his parents. There does not seem to be a definite rule about greater separation of sleeping places, however, and mẽ-hôk-ti can be found sleeping side by side with parents and older sisters in the mẽ-prĩ-ge pattern.

What the foregoing observations indicate is that while the mẽ-hôk-ti is still primarily a member of his maternal family, his emotional and psychological affiliations and ordinary day-to-day social relations are already to some extent becoming attenuated and displaced to his own peer group. The equilibrium of his close relations with his mother, sisters and younger siblings (mẽ-prĩ-ge who are still

completely identified with the mother) depends increasingly on the boy not making too heavy demands upon them--that is, on his becoming for most social purposes an independent participant in his peer group. The transition is on the whole easy and relaxed, but too great reluctance to give up the social and psychological features of a mẽ-prĩ-re's dependence on the mother calls forth ambivalently hostile behavior on the part of the mother. It is a significant fact, in the perspective of the later relation of the age-set system to the domestic group, that for the ngàydju-re this process of psychological and social emancipation from the mother and the maternal family operates through attachment to a peer group, success and acceptance in whose activities depend on internalizing a heavily egalitarian and conformist set of values. It is further important that there is no appeal from the judgments of the peer group to a boy's parents, since adults treat the activities of ngàydju-re with indifferent aloofness. The situation is quite different for girls, for whom separation or "emancipation" from the maternal family in this sense is not a requirement. The term for the feminine age grade corresponding to the male ngàydju-re, "mẽ-prĩ-ti" (lit.: "big mẽ-prĩ-re") is indicative of the more gradual, less pronounced nature of the parallel girls' adjustment.

If the mother-son relationship becomes slightly more distant and restrained, the relation between father and son takes on more closeness and importance to the boy. This is true to a lesser degree of the boy's relationship to his older brothers, just as the boy's relationship with his mother is reflected to a lesser extent in his relation toward his older sisters. It is to his father rather than to his mther that a boy looks for indulgence and companionship, even to the point of taking his part against his mother, as in the above example.

One way in which the closeness of fathers and sons manifests itself is in the father's aid and partial tutelage of the son's play activities. Fathers make little bows and arrows for their sons and teach them to use them, occasionally taking them on short fishing or hunting trips. Fathers or older brothers help them to prepare the clubs and puck used in gôn-kran, a kind of field hockey in which shillelagh-like clubs and babassu coconuts with their pointed ends trimmed off serve as sticks and puck, respectively. This sport is played both by ngèvdju-re among themselves and by the older youths and mature men of the mẽ nẽtĩ-nu-re and mẽ kra-re age grades, but it is rough and dangerous when played by the latter and boys of the ngèvdju-re grade are not allowed to

play in the adult games. They nevertheless turn out regularly to watch them, carrying their sticks in the hope of getting a chance at a stray puck or of working one around among themselves. Fathers also make shuttlecocks (bên) out of corn-husks which are batted about (bên iapĩn)[1] with the palm of the hand by individuals or small groups. The object of bên iapĩn is simply to try to keep the bên (shuttlecock) in the air as long as possible or to hit it as high as possible; there are no sides or goals. Rôn kran,[2] on the other hand, may be played between sides for goals (a point or area into which the puck must be driven). This is the form in which the game is always played by the nũrẽ-nu-re and mẽ-kra-re, but the most frequent form in which the ngàvdju-re play it is simply to knock the puck around among a group of players without any division into teams or definite goals.

An important aspect of ngàvdju-re play in which fathers have an especially important role is the mock ceremonial activities which accompany most of the important communal rituals. It is a normal part of the major dances of

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[1] bên = shuttlecock made of corn husks; iapĩn = combining form of verb "to bat upwards repeatedly" (used also to describe the motion of waves on the surface of water).

[2] rôn = babassu palm, and by extension babassu coconut, which is more exactly called rôn 'ù ('ù = seed, nut); kran = "head," or as an adjective "head-shaped," and thus "round."

all ceremonies to set aside a special section of the line of dancers for the ngàydju-re. The headdresses and ornaments worn by the boys on these occasions may be made by their fathers or their ĩ-ngêt. It is normally the father who makes the toy dance masks, ritual awàri poles, etc., that often appear as playthings of the ngàydju-re during the sacred mask dances (Pàt, Pâ) or initiation (Pẽmp-mẽ'ĩtuk)ceremony. The fathers of the ngàydju-re may even hold special abbreviated versions of whole ceremonies in which ngàydju-re are the sole participants, under the special supervision and teaching of one or two older men. There is no air of travesty or sacrilege about these performances. They are regarded both as suitable forms of play for the boys and as serious preparation for adult ceremonial participation.

As has already been implied, the reason that a boy's relations to his father can be somewhat closer than those of his mother at a stage in which the boy is to some extent severing his close infantile connection to his maternal household is that his father is not as closely associated with that household as his mother. This is owing not only to the matrilocality principle, but also to the fact that the father is deeply involved in the affairs of the structurally distinct men's world of the plaza and men's house. The play group of the ngàydju-re is the first foreshadowing of this world in the

boy's life, so it is appropriate that his father should be associated with him in his first tentative steps in it. Significantly, however, a father no longer takes a full-fledged ngàydju-re son to the men's house with him as he is accustomed to do with sons who are still mẽ-prĩ-re. Ngàydju-re no longer enter the ngà, either in the company of their fathers or alone. As their age grade names imply, they are "adjacent" to the age grades in the men's house, and the relations between adjacent age grades among the Cayapo are characterized by separation and opposition. The ngàydju-re will soon definitively enter the ngà, not under the aegis of their true fathers but of an unrelated "ceremonial father." The mẽ-prĩ-re pattern of complete identification with the father in the men's house context is no longer appropriate for the same reasons that the infantile closeness of association with the mother in the context of the maternal household is no longer appropriate: the boy's social separation from both as a member of the youngest resident age set of the men's house is imminent.

> The marginal status of the ngàydju-re with respect to both their natal domestic group households and the men's house places them in a unique structural position. This is recognized by a set of unique ritual functions and prerogatives of boys of this age grade. Outstanding among these

is their ability to eat jaguar. They are the only male age grade whose members may eat the flesh of the jaguar without dire consequences, usually given as madness (aybôñh), which is caused specifically by the ingestion or entrance into the body of a hair of the jaguar, and skin eruptions (kà munu, "bad skin"). Women may not eat jaguar for the same reasons. When a jaguar is killed, its killer observes the ritual prohibitions (inugmi) which are prescribed after the killing of a human being.[1] After dark, the ngàydju-re, under the supervision of a few older men or youths of the mẽ́ nõrṍ-mu-re age grade, build a large fire outside the village and roast the meat of the jaguar on long sticks over the fire. They stay at the site of their feast all night and at dawn of the next day reenter the village in a special dance. Further examples of the ritual functions of this age grade are given in the account of the initiation ceremony (section IV A).

As the boy begins to emancipate himself from the parental family, his relationship to his ĩ́-ngêt (mother's brother and grandfathers) also undergoes a change. Instead

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[1] I was told by one informant that the same precautions would be taken after the killing of one of the giant otters which inhabit the rivers of the region. They are observed for no other animals. Otters are regarded with a supernatural awe, approached only by the respect felt toward the jaguar among animals. Its eyes are said to have great spiritual power (korôn kumetch, lit., "many souls").

of pulling his parents away from their parents and cross-sex siblings (i.e., the boy's ĭ-ngêt and kwa-tuy), the boy is now beginning to pull away from his parents. This makes his relationship to his parents to some extent analogous to his own parents' relationship to their parents and cross-sex siblings. In the meantime, relations between the latter pair of categories are beginning to settle down to a condition of relaxed equilibrium, in which the movement toward increased separation imposed by marriage and the birth of children is halted. This removes much of the structural tension which was expressed in the joking relationship between ĭ-ngêt and tsh-djuò, at the same time that the tsh-djuò's incipient separation from his own parents begins to create the basis for a relationship of friendly alliance based on the similarity in the relations of both toward the tsh-djuò's parents. The ĭ-ngêt and kwa-tuy have to a greater extent than the father the qualifications that make the latter an appropriate "friend" and companion to the boy at this stage: they are related to the boy's nuclear family group but are at the same time separated from it. In this period, therefore, a spirit of friendship and close camaraderie replaces the previous emphasis on aggressive joking between ĭ-ngêt and tsh-djuò. The ĭ-ngêt tends to become a more active and indulgent teacher

and companion for the boy than the father. He, too, makes bows and arrows, dance ornaments and headdresses for the boy, and takes an active part in teaching the boy how to use them. Older boys and men almost always claim to have learned what ceremonial lore they know, as well as myths, medicinal knowledge, hunting and agricultural magic and technology, and the techniques for making artifacts and ceremonial regalia, from their mgat rather than from their fathers, even though the latter also occasionally instruct their sons in these areas. The predominance of the î-nâêt is most strongly marked in the field of ceremonial lore and practice, and special items of ceremonial paraphernalia, knowledge of certain songs, membership in special ritual groups, and a wide variety of individual prerogatives or distinctive rights and functions which form a recognized category of ritual " property" passed down exclusively between i-nâêt and tab-djuè.[1] The same relation holds between kwa-tuy and their female tab-djuè. Fathers and mothers are expressly prohibited from passing items in this category to their own kwa (biological or classificatory children.

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[1]The Cayapo term for the category is nêkrêtch. The term is used for certain material possessions such as Brazilian trade goods,which are not inherited in the same way. The general meaning of nêkrêtch is "prized possessions" or "wealth" of any kind. Inherited nêkrêtch are in most respects the structural counterparts of names.

The Cayapo metaphorically express the closeness of the ĩ-ngêt-tab-djuò relationship in a variety of ways. The strongest and most robust male in the village of Gorotire is a youth in his late teens named I-kn-yô. One day as he passed by with his arm around his little tab-djuò (in this case, a classificatory sister's son) on the way to some archery practice in the steppe outside the village, a man with whom I was talking remarked "That child will grow up big and strong! Look at the size of his ĩ-ngêt!" I tried to pin him down to some specific physiological or genetic theory which would justify his assertion, but he and many later informants insisted that it was simply a manner of speaking, expressing the close relationship between ĩ-ngêt and tab-djuò but reflecting no theory of physiological sympathy. The same sort of metaphorical reference to the tab-djuò "following" the ĩ-ngêt occurs in discussions of the chieftaincy. I was often told that tab-djuò ideally inherited the chieftaincy from their ĩ-ngêt but never from their fathers. On checking the genealogies of chiefs, however, I found that this was extremely rare and in fact seemed to be a very minor consideration in the actual process of selecting a chief. This conclusion was readily confirmed by informants in connection with specific cases, but they still insisted that ideally

it was mêtch ("beautiful,""a "fine thing") for such a succession to take place. Tut, one of the Gorotire chiefs, once recited to me a long list of illustrious Î-ngêts who had been chiefs or famous warriors by way of explaining how he had acquired the social stature and prestige which were associated with his tenure of the chieftainship. The chiefs he named, however, had all been members of other groups and had died some time before Tut himself became a chief at Gorotire, so there was no direct connection to the actual process by which he had achieved the chieftaincy himself. A woman in Kuben-kran-kên who is a classificatory sister of Kyàpre, one of the two chiefs of the village, told me that her son, Kyàpre's tab-djuò, would on the basis of that relationship eventually succeed Kyàpre in the chieftaincy, but nobody else took this seriously. In short, such statements about the Î-ngêt -- tab-djuò relationship are more important as indicators of Kayapo ideas about the close similarity and parallelism between the social positions of Î-ngêt and tab-djuò than as reflections of native physiological theories or political structure. This social similarity is founded upon the fact that both tab-djuò and Î-ngêt are related to, but in the process of separation from, the tab-djuò's nuclear family, considered as a matrilocal domestic group. The father's closer

connection with this group makes him a less appropriate social model than the ĩ-ngêt, which explains the explicit exclusion of the father from such statements.

III. The mẽ ôk-re age grade (mẽ gõrõ m'ã-nõrõ, mẽ gõrõm-mẽ-ikwãn)[1]

III A. The ôk ceremony: induction into the ngà[2]

Between the ages of 7 and 12 a boy goes to live in the men's house, and for the first time in his life becomes a member of an age set. This step marks his advancement to the age grade of the mẽ ôk-re.

A boy is inducted into the men's house in a brief ceremony in which a "substitute" or "adoptive" father (bam ka'àk), also known after the ceremony as "father of the painting ceremony" (bam ôk) paints him with a special block design, called kakwòy akàrà. This design reappears in the principal boys' initiation ritual and in the girls' initiation ceremony which corresponds in form to the boys' ôk ceremony.

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[1] ôk = "paint"; mẽ ôk-re = "the painted ones," a name derived from the ceremony which marks induction into this age grade. The other names forthe age grade mean "thosewho sleep together": gõrõm = "together"; 'ã = suffix indicating condition or state = "so," "thus"; nõrõ = "to sleep"; ikwãn = "to lie."

[2] I did not have a chance to observe this ceremony in the field. This account is based on descriptions by informants.

The ceremonial father must come from the mature men's age set (mẽ kra-re) but he may not be either a consanguineal or affinal relative. The boy's real father asks the ceremonial father to assume the relationship with the boy. On the appointed day, which may fall at the end of any major ceremony, the ceremonial fathers go to the boys' maternal houses and lead them by the hand out into the plaza. They sit in front of the houses and are harangued by the chief and the older men. The boys' true mothers and fathers remain seated inside their houses, wailing in the ritual fashion to lament their separation from their sons. The ceremonial fathers then paint the boys with the kakwòy akàrà design and lead them by the hand to the krin djà ("sitting place") of the mẽ ôk-re in the men's house. This act marks the formal induction of a boy into the men's house and, by the same token, into the mẽ ôk-re age set. In villages with two men's houses, the men's house into which the boy is led is the one of which his ceremonial father is a member. No effort is made by a father to see that his sons are taken into a particular men's house (e.g. his own), and it is common to find that full brothers or fathers and sons are members of opposite men's houses. After the boy has taken his place in the krin djà of the mẽ ôk-re, he goes to the house of his ceremonial father. There he is given food by the

ceremonial father's wife, who is also called his "adoptive mother" ("nã ka'àk"). All three eat together, an act which symbolizes close kinship ties. The Cayapo say that after this rite the ceremonial mother rather than the biological mother brings the boy food and wood for his fire in the men's house, but in practice the boy's true mother and sisters become his principal suppliers soon after the ceremony.

Duringthe ôk ceremony the boy is not supposed to see his true mother and father, who remain in their house. After the ceremony the mẽ ôk-re are said not to return to their maternal homes, but this is true only in a symbolic sense. They are, in fact, free to return home and to spend much of their time there if they wish. They often eat there in the early morning or late afternoon, if their mothers or sisters do not bring their food to the men's house. The mẽ ôk-re are, however, expected to sleep in their krin djà in the men's house, as the other name of their age grade, mẽ-gõrõm'a-nõrõ, "those who sleep together," implies.

After the painting ceremony, all the boy's siblings and bilateral kin in ascending generations, including his m mother and father, paint themselves with the kakwày akàrà design. Except for the true mother and father, they are normally present as witnesses at the boy's painting ceremony.

The painting ceremony emphasises the separation of the boy from his natal household and kindred as a prerequisite of joining the communal system of age sets and men's societies in the men's house. In so doing, the rite dramatizes the structural opposition between the men's house and the matrilocal households with their associated networks of personal kin relations. In many societies, the removal of boys to a bachelor's hut takes the form of a strict seclusion,but among the Cayapo the age sets that reside in the men's house, the mẽ ôk-re and mẽ nẽrõ-nu-re (initiated youths) are free to come and go as they please. They can be said to be "secluded" only in the narrow sense of the structural separation from their natal families implied by their membership in the men's house and symbolised by the ôk ceremony. // It is significant in this connection that all the boy's adult kinsmen and siblings must mark the occasion by painting themselves with the same design as the boy, indicating their acquiescence and support of his passage into the men's house.//

III B. Domestic-group relations in the mẽ ôk-re age grade

The institutional changes associated with passage into the mẽ ôk-re age grade in the relations of boys with their kinsmen, especially with the members of their natal

households, are drastic and abrupt. At the same time, the continuity between the new institutional patterns and certain tendencies already manifest at the ngàydju-re level should not be overlooked.

The sharpest change is in the boy's relations with his mother, and to a lesser extent with his sisters. This change is epitomized in the symbolism of the painting ceremony itself. As we have already seen, the body painting of mẽ prĩ-re and ngàydju-re is the exclusive domain of women, usually their mothers, but occasionally their older sisters, grandmothers, and father's sisters. The painting is done in a distinctive style, used only by women, characterized by elaborate geometrical patterns of thin black lines applied with a thin stylus made of the center rib of a leaf. The body and face painting of the mẽ ôk-re, on the other hand, is done by a man, the boy's ceremonial father, in broad stripes and solid areas of black applied directly with the hand. For the rest of his life, a boy will be painted only in this style by other men in the ngà. The designs with which the men paint themselves are traditional and are usually named after animals or fish whose patterns of coloration they imitate. With a few exceptions, such as the kakwày akàrà design used in the ôk ceremony, these patterns

have no prescribed ritual significance or attachment to any age grade. Men tend to be painted in groups, in the ngà, with one or two men taking on the job of painting all the others. A painter usually applies the same pattern to everyone he paints, simply as a matter of economy of effort and personal preference or familiarity with a given design. Since groups who are painted together in this way tend to be socially cohesive groups of friends, i.e., age mates, it may result that age sets become distinguished from each other by a statistical preponderance of designs of a given type. This appears never to be a deliberate matter of policy or ritual prescription. Ordinarily, many men in each age set are painted with the same designs, while there is such great variation among the designs that no predominant age set patterns are distinguishable.

> The ngà is the home of the mẽ ôk-re: it is to them what the maternal household is to mẽ prĩ-re, ngàydju-re, and women of all ages. Consequently, when mẽ ôk-re visit their mothers' houses, they are in one sense guests of a household of which they are no longer members, and their mothers and sisters are their hosts, rather than simply their kinswomen and housemates as always before. This does not alter the basic fact of their kinship tie, but it does introduce a new air of formality and restraint into their

relationship. The Cayapo term for this restraint is piaàm. Piaàm takes many forms, from respectful reserve to outright avoidance, but it always denotes a degree of social formality and inhibition. Mẽ ôk-re are said to have piaàm toward their mothers, and to a lesser extent toward their sisters. This does not prevent all social communication between them; as we have already noted, the boys' mothers and sisters continue to supply them with food and firewood, and they may speak with each other. The boys continue to keep their few belongings in their mothers' houses. Most importantly, a strong attachment remains between mother and son and brother and sister; it is only that its expression takes a less demonstrative form, which Cayapo regard as more adult than the relations between ngàydju-re or mẽ prĩ-re and their parents. This more reserved, more adult form of relationship is the direct concomitant of the separation of the boy from his mother's household and his installation in the men's house. The expression and maintenance of separation between social categories is the essence of piaàm in all contexts in which it occurs.

A mẽ ôk-re's relations with his father are not so strongly affected by piaàm as those between him and his mother and sisters, but they are more distant and attentuated. The fish and game a boy's father brings home are brought to

him in cooked form by his mother and sisters rather than by his father. Instruction in ceremonial lore and the techniques of masculine occupations, such as basketry, the manufacture of weapons and ceremonial ornaments, hunting, and travelling in the forest, is largely carried out either through age set and men's house activities or by the boy's ĩ-ngêt. Private ritual knowledge, such as the knowledge of certain medicinal remedies (kannê), the ability to "hear" certain animals or the ghosts of the dead, or the privilege (nêtsrêtch) of singing certain songs or performing certain acts in the communal ceremonies, are passed on to boys by their ĩ-ngêt. There is no formal restraint or piaàn between ĩ-ngêt and tab-diuò, and the earlier aggressive joking of the ĩ-ngêt has become modified by this time to an attitude of warm friendship. Although boys in the mã̃ ôk-ra age grade are considered too old to receive ceremonial names from an ĩ-ngêt, the first years of the mã̃ ôk-ra age grade are normally the period of a boy's closest social contact with his ĩ-ngêt in the latter's capacity as teacher and companion.

A mã̃ ôk-ra's relationship with his brothers remains uninhibited by any formal restraint, and is as close as their differing ages allow, regardless of whether they are members

of the same man's house or not. Gayapo do not connect the relations between men as members of age sets or mature men's societies with their relations as kinsmen. The two types of relations are regarded as pertaining to different levels of the system, which ideally should not conflict or impinge on one another. Relations with male tab-djuè, at this stage still mostly patrilateral cross-cousins, are governed by the same considerations as those between brothers, except that they are more distant. Tab-djuè might be described as "friends," whereas brothers are connected by a solidarity that transcends friendship.[1]

The relations of mẽ ôt-re toward their kwa-tuy and female tab-djuè are inhibited by a certain degree of piaàm, but to a much lesser degree than relations toward their mothers and sisters. Kwa-tuy and tab-djuè are already structurally separated from Ego's nuclear family, and, except in the case of maternal grandmothers, from Ego's maternal extended family household as well. The piaàm which characterises a mẽ ôt-re's relations with his mother and sisters is a direct result of his separation from his previous status as

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[1]I use Radcliffe-Brown's distinction: "Friendship. . . is clearly something different from the relationship of solidarity and mutual help between two brothers or a father and a son . . .the assertion of 'friendship' means an obligation for the two persons not to enter into open quarrel or conflict with each other" (1952: 103-107).

a co-resident member of their household. Relations with kinswomen who were not members of the household to start with are not affected to the same extent by this separation, and are therefore not infused with the same degree of piaàm. The greater structural distance of the kwa-tuy and female tab-djuò, like the ĩ-ngêt and male tab-djuò, is the basis of the more relaxed and uninhibited "friendship" between them and Ego as contrasted with the greater restraint and piaàm which characterizes Ego's relations with his closer kinswomen.

III C. The mẽ ôk-re age set

The group of new mẽ ôk-re may have to share their "sitting place" (krĩ djà: krĩ = "sitting," djà = "place") with other mẽ-ôk-re inducted in an earlier ceremony but not yet initiated. In this case the new mẽ ôk-re do not form a distinct "class" but merge with the older boys in the same age set. No internal hierarchy exists in this or any other age set qua age set, other than the informal hierarchy resulting from differences in individual personality and age. There is no institutionalized position of "chief" or leader of an age set, even though boys or nõrẽ-nu-re on several occasions claimed this status for themselves when talking to me. Dreyfus

claims that the tab-djuò of one of the chiefs at Kuben-kran-ken was the chief of the mẽ ôk-re, but this is an erroneous claim, probably resulting from taking at face value the Cayapo manner of speaking about the relations between 'ĩ-nuêt and tab-djuò (Dreyfus 1963: 73). I heard a similar claim about a chief's son at Gorotire, who was referred to as the "chief" of the mẽ ôk-re by a nẽrõ-nu-re who claimed at the same time to be the "chief" of his own age set. On checking his story I found it to be fictitious. The institution of village chief itself does not derive from the structure of the mẽ kra-re age set but from the mature men's societies, which constitute a structurally separate system. The internal relations of the mẽ ôk-re age set, like those of the adjacent senior set, the nẽrõ-nu-re, are characterized by egalitarian camaraderie. Great emphasis is placed on group activities, such as joint forays into the forest or savanna to gather seasonal fruits, hunt birds, or lizards, with bow and arrow, fishing from the rocks near the river banks, and athletic games. The most frequent game is ren kran,[1] a form of field hockey played with stick clubs and a babassu coconut for a puck. Another popular game is bên iapĩ,[2] in which a shuttlecock made of corn husks is batted into the air with the palm of the hand.

An important factor reinforcing the solidarity of the mẽ ôk-re is their marginal position with respect to both the age set system and the kinship and domestic group system. They are socially separated from the latter through their membership in the men's house, but as occupants of the lowest rung of the age set ladder they have as yet no prestige or importance in the ngà. They have piaèm toward the senior age grades, but the latter have none toward them and may order them about or use them as errand boys when it is desired to send word from the ngà to one of the houses of the village. Confronted with the marginality of their status within both systems, the mẽ ôk-re have no other alternative than to develop their own internal solidarity as a group. It is at this stage and by this means that a boy has impressed upon him in earnest that his personal standing in the community henceforth depends on his social relations with his peers in the men's house more than on his family relations, and begins to develop the requisite social skills for making his own way in the communal society of men.

The mẽ ôk-re stand in a relation of apprenticeship to the older men. From their sitting place in the back of the men's house, they are a silent audience for the harangues and debates of the assembled mature men every evening and, especially in the cold months of the dry season and during

ceremonies, before dawn in the morning. Many of the speeches made by the mẽ̃ kra-re in the nga concern ceremonial lore and procedure, and the mẽ̃ ôk-re begin in this fashion to absorb the body of ceremonial knowledge which the adult Cayapo male must know. They also learn technological skills. The techniques for making artifacts are taught more by example than by explicit instruction. The men make many of their artifacts--sleeping mats; baskets, clubs, bows and arrows, other weapons such as bone-tipped lances, and ceremonial regalia--in the nsà, so that the mẽ̃ ôk-re do not lack examples. More specific technical instruction falls to the lot of a kinsman, usually an 'ĩ-nsêt. Much of the instruction in hunting techniques and ceremonial knowledge takes place principally on the month-long ceremonial hunts which precede the climax of the important ceremonies. On these hunts the oldest men usually tend the camp and construct the earth ovens in which the dayb'rations are roasted. Boys of the mẽ̃ ôk-re grade often remain at the camp with the old men, and on these occasions the old men instruct them in hunting, forest and ceremonial lore. They may also form fictive kinship bonds of the 'ĩ-nsêt--tab-djuè category with them and bestow upon them certain types of ceremonial ornaments (nê krêtch) which are passed down only between these categories, such as

special bone whistles which only the recipient of the mẽ krôtch has a right to use and to pass on in turn to his own tab-djuò.

The extent to which the mẽ ôk-re are purposively and specifically "instructed" by members of the older age sets is relatively small. The Cayapo have no office of "age set leader" such as has been reported for other Ge groups, and no older man is permanently assigned to take charge of the youngest age set for purposes of instruction. Dreyfus's assertion that each mẽ ôk-re becomes attached to a specific mẽ nẽrẽ-nu-re who "serves as his mentor" and "sleeps beside him every night in the men's house"[1] does not correspond to anything I observed among the Gorotire or Kuben-kran-ken (Dreyfus 1963: 73). The mẽ nẽrẽ-nu-re are said to take a more active part in directing and instructing the mẽ ôk-re than the other classes, but their role in this respect is still a relatively minor one. On the other

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[1] As far as I could discover, no homosexual relations exist between the mẽ ôk-re and members of the older age grades, or between age mates of the same age sets. The nẽrẽ-nu-re at Gorotire often slept in pairs with their arms around each other, but this was done to keep warm, rather than for sexual purposes. Nights in Cayapo land become cold enough during the dry season for the breath to become visible, and the Cayapo sleeps without covers.

According to informants, homosexuality does exist between men and boys, but it is regarded as a morally objectionable ("munu," "bad," "ugly") aberration. I have heard it mentioned as one of a long list of charges against an unpopular chief that he "stretched apart the behinds of mẽ prĩ-re" ("mẽ prĩ-re tekre kotchê").

hand, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re constitute the principal models for emulation by the mẽ ôk-re in their efforts to assimilate as rapidly as possible the attributes and achievements of "mẽ abatày," "grown man." This circumstance is abetted by the fact that the "sitting place" of the mẽ ôk-re in the men's house is merely a subdivision of the "sitting place" of the nõrõ-nu-re, so that they are usually surrounded by the mẽ nõrõ nu-re and always in more immediate proximity to them than to the mẽ kra-re or mẽ bê-ngêtê. During ceremonies, a special section of the line of dancers is reserved for the mẽ-ôk-re and the older ngày-dju-re, and one or two mẽ-nõrõ-nu-re are usually stationed with them to see that they keep moving and to inspire their singing and dancing.

As the senior resident age set in the ngà, the nõrõ-nu-re are the special guardians and overseers of the mẽ ôk-re. For most purposes, the mẽ ôk-re are treated as apprentice mẽ nõrõ-nu-re rather than as a distinct and independent age set on a structural par with the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re. It is their proximity to the mẽ ôk-re in the age set system on the one hand and their intermediate status between the mẽ ôk-re and the mature men on the other which qualify the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re for their role as the principal prototypes for emulation by the mẽ ôk-re. The exercise of the diffuse authority accruing

from their seniority over the mẽ ȯk-re is one of the principal means available to the mẽ nȯrȯ-nu-re of differentiating themselves from the mẽ ȯk-re and identifying themselves as abatȧy ("grown") men. For this reason the mẽ nȯrȯ-nu-re take a special interest in the ordeals which are sporadically imposed on the mẽ ȯk-re by the older men to make them ȧkre[1] and "tȧytch"[2]. [The mẽ nȯrȯ-nu-re occasionally line up those mẽ ȯk-re who have not yet received their penis sheaths and beat them with sticks "to make them tȧytch."[3]] The mẽ nȯrȯ-nu-re may also sponsor the formal procedure known as "the mẽ ȯk-re beat each other outside the village."[4] This is not associated with any ceremony and seems to be performed relatively infrequently, according to no regular schedule. The mẽ ȯk-re make a camp for themselves in the forest a short way from the village, under the supervision of an older man, either a mẽ nȯrȯ-nu-re or a mẽ kra-re. In their camp they pair off and fight each other in the formal

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[1]See p. 124

[2]tȧytch denotes physical strength, hardness, and toughness, and also connotes the same qualities of character.

✓ [3]I never saw this done, but informants claimed that the beating was hard enough to draw blood.

[4]The name in Cayapo is "atukmã ȯkre amĩ tak": atukmã = outside the village; amĩ tak = "beat each other": this was not performed while I was in the field. My description is based on informants' accounts.

aben?

aben tak - beat each other
amĩ tak - beat yourself

Cayapo dualling style with small clubs or sticks. Their female relatives bring food to their camp after the fighting and they share a joint meal. The beating is said to make the mẽ ôk-re tàytch.

The fish tooth ordeal described earlier in this chapter (tep djug) is the most prominent of the ordeals. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are said to be the most frequent and sanguine practitioners of the operation on the mẽ ôk-re, but mature men may also perform it. The ordeal is thought to make the boys "become good" (smĩ-môtch) and ȧkrê. The chiefs are said to use the fish tooth ordeal to punish serious misbehavior or quarrels among older ngàydju-re and mẽ ôk-re (relatives of the children, with the rare exception of mothers, almost never physically punish them). The chiefs also carry out the ordeal to make boys "become good"; this purpose is considered to be consonant with their office and communal function.

Several other ordeals are inflicted on the mẽ ôk-re for the same purposes. These include rubbing their chests with the venomous down of a stinging caterpillar called kukwày-re 'ô ("monkey hair"), or alternatively with a paste made of live stinging ants or wasps embedded in greasy red body paint. I did not see these ordeals performed while I

was in the field, and only heard of the ant and red paint mixture as a preparation for rubbing on hunting dogs to make them àkrê for the hunt. Dreyfus reports this usage, and records an instance in which all the men of the village, including mature men as well as me-nore-pu-re, rubbed themselves with the ant mixture and pieces of wasps' nests containing live wasps to toughen themselves for a ceremony in which they took turns striking a large wasp's nest with their bare hands (Dreyfus 1963: 94-5). I witnessed the wasp ceremony at Kuben-kran-kên, but I missed the beginning of the trek from the village to the wasp's nest and am unable to say whether these preparations were made on that occasion. I noticed that participation was restricted to boys who had already received their penis sheaths, the younger mé ok-re being considered as yet unequal to the ordeal. Both the wasp ceremony itself and the preliminary rubbing with the pieces of nest and the ant mixture had the purpose of increasing the toughness and àkrê-ness of the participants. According to my oldest informant, the wasp ceremony was often celebrated by raiding parties before their departure for an attack on another village. The name of the wasp

ceremony, amiu-re krin mê,[1] is the same as the term for a raid on a village, e.g., mẽ kran-no-ti krin mâ, suggesting that the one is potentially an apt ritual model for the other.

III D. The bestowing of penis sheaths (mu-djê): The age category of mẽ mu-djé-mu-re

When several mẽ ôk-re reach the age of puberty, a ceremony is held outside the village in which penis sheaths are bestowed on them. The boys, accompanied by their kràb-djuè and an indeterminate number of senior men, proceed to an appointed spot in the forest where the mẽ ôk-re have previously completed the task of trimming the branches off a tall hardwood tree.[2] The boys line up before the tree. An old man (mẽ bê-nêstê) takes them one by one and knocks them frontwards and backwards against the tree,[3] after which he

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[1] amiu-re = "wasp"; krin = "village"; mê = "to kill" (usually connotes the killing of large numbers at one time) or "to raid." The ceremony is also called "amiu-re kikre rên"; kikre = "house"; rên = "to tear down." The ceremony is described in Dreyfus 1963: 94-5; Soares-Diniz 1962: 17-18.

[2] pĩ = wood, tree; tàytch = hard, strong: pĩ tàytch = "hard wood tree." The name of the ceremony itself is o pĩ tak: o = relational indicator of action with or toward the following noun; tak = to strike: o pĩ tak ="to strike on wood."

[3] Striking a hardwood tree such as a piki or buriti is believed by the Cayapo to give strength (tàytch), especially in situations of magical peril or sacred liminal states. After killing an enemy or burying a kinsman, Cayapo always try to find a hard tree to strike. An infusion prepared from the

bestows a penis sheath (mu-diê)[1] on each of them in turn. Upon receiving their penis sheaths, the boys are considered mẽ mu-diê-nu-re, "those who have newly received their penis sheaths." The category of mẽ mu-diê nu-re is not an age grade like mẽ ôk-re or mẽ nõ-õ-nu-re, in that it does not correspond to a distinct age set or ritual prerogatives. mẽ mu-diê nu-re can be members of either the mẽ ôk-re or mẽ kre-re age sets depending on whether they receive their penis sheaths before or after initiation. It is normal but not mandatory to receive the sheath before initiation. One of the five boys whom I saw being initiated at Couotire had not yet received his sheath. A boy continues to be a mẽ mu-diê-nu-re until the next o pẽ tak ceremony, whereupon he becomes a mu-diê 'ẽ tum, "one who received his penis sheath long ago."

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leaves of such a tree is used to wash new-born infants, the sick, and menstruating women. Simply rubbing the body with the dry leaves of the tree is also effective. My informants said that knocking the boys against the tree before they received their penis sheaths was also to make them "tèytch," but it is clear from the other contexts in which striking hard wood is believed to be effective that the type of "strength" involved in this case is spiritual power at the moment of transition in a rite de passage.

[1] mu = "penis," "masculine," "man"; diê = "sheath," "wrapping." The penis sheath is made of a strip of inaja palm leaf, folded into a roughly conical form with a small opening at the narrow end. The prepuce is worked through this hole, often with the aid of a small stick, after which the bunched up skin of the protruding prepuce holds the sheath tightly over the glans penis, the only part of the male genitals which it covers.

The penis sheath symbolizes the social recognition (and control) of male physiological maturity, and entitles its wearer to the rights, privileges, and obligations of physiologically mature men. Chief among these is the ability to have sexual relations. Before passing through the o pĩ tak ceremony, boys are forbidden to carry on sexual activities of any kind with girls.[1]

As the boys receive their sheaths, the men of the senior age sets (mẽ kra-re and mẽ nẽrẽ-nu-re) who are seated by the tree witnessing the ceremony raise one forearm horizontally across their eyes and lower their heads "in piaàm." This is the standard ritual gesture associated with rites de passage, such as in wailing for the dead or at the arrival or departure of a kinsmen on a journey. The act symbolically marks the passage of the boys into the stage of socially recognized physiological maturity, and therefore into physical equality with themselves, which calls for the exercise of restraint and respect toward them as equals. For this reason, the mẽ nẽrẽ-nu-re do not beat boys who have

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[1]Nimuendaju's report that the penis sheaths are bestowed on the class of mẽ ôk-re only when one of the boys was caught in the act of sexual intercourse is the reverse of the truth (Lowie 1943: 634). Dreyfus has correctly assessed this claim and pointed out the true nature of the penis sheath ceremony as a formal social permission for sexual relations rather than as a recognition of their de facto occurrence (Dreyfus 1963: 75-6).

received their penis sheaths as they do the younger mẽ ôk-re. As a further token of physical maturity, mẽ nu-diê-nu-re are permitted to carry and are expected to be able to use the weapons of adult men: the round club, the sword club, the wooden lance, the bone-tipped spear, and the full-sized bow and arrows.

From the day he receives his penis sheath, a man is never seen in public without it and is highly embarrassed if this happens. Men who lose their penis sheaths cover the ends of their penises with their hands until they can get a new sheath or recover their old one. Since the ordinary penis sheath may work loose during strenuous activity, a thin strip of inner bark may be used to tie shut the prepuce over the glans penis at such times. The regular folded palm leaf sheath is regarded as the more "well dressed" version.

All the mẽ ôk-re do not necessarily pass through the penis sheath ceremony at the same time, unless they all happen to be of roughly the same stage of physical maturity. In any case, mẽ nu-diê-nu-re are still formally considered mẽ ôk-re until they have gone through the mẽ ĩ-tuk ceremony which marks the transition to social adulthood, as opposed to the physiological adulthood recognised by the penis sheath ceremony. Although mẽ nu-diê-nu-re are usually still formally members of the mẽ ôk-re age grade, they are considered

for most practical purposes to belong to the same social category as the initiated youths, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re. The fact that the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re no longer beat them, as they do the younger mẽ ôk-re, symbolically emphasizes this fact. Beating in this context corresponds to a distinction of categories, and the fact that the mẽ mu-djê-nu-re can no longer be beaten by the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re implies that they can no longer be firmly distinguished from them as a category.

IV. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age grade[1]

A. The Rõmp--mẽ 'ĩ-tuk[2] initiation and naming ceremony

Initiation. The initiation of boys into sociological adulthood is accomplished in the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk ceremony. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk is never celebrated in isolation, but always in association with a ceremony in which ceremonial names are bestowed on male tab-djuò by their 'ĩ-nzet. There are two

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[1] nõrõ = sleep; nu = "new" or "in a new way"; thus mẽ nõrõ-nu-re = "those who sleep in a new way"

[2] 'ĩ = "insides," "internal organs," "core"; tuk = "black," "dead," "unconscious," and in general any asocial condition, e.g., the expression a-tuk-mã = "region outside the village" (where a- and -mã are directional indicators); thus mẽ 'ĩ-tuk = "people whose insides or essential cores are in an asocial and therefore dangerous state." The asocial condition of the initiands is conceived by the Cayapo as a condition of both physical and magical danger. The nature of this condition is expressed symbolically at several points in the ceremony.

An example of a parallel rise of 'ĩ in an expression

Look for it in Nimuendaju

exclusively masculine great names, Bẽmp and Tàkàk,[1] each with its own ceremony. The Bẽmp ceremony is the most elaborate of all Cayapo ceremonies and is considered by the Cayapo to be the grandest and most prestigious of their rituals. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk initiation is regarded as an essential part of the Bẽmp. It can also be celebrated as an expedient within the Tàkàk, a relatively short and simple ceremony. The Cayapo refer to a Tàkàk mẽ 'ĩ-tuk initiation as Kaynê ("substitute," "not original," "not of the quality of the original").

The names of the boys' initiation ceremonies in other Northwestern Ge tribes are cognates of "Bẽmp."[2] In the non-Cayapo variants of the ceremony, these names (Pep or Pẽb) designate the class of initiands, not, as in the

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concerning a condition of magico-physical danger is the case of a man who struck a hard wood tree after helping bury his sister, "aytê 'ĩ tàytch kadju," "so that my 'ĩ will become strong again" (aytẽ = "again"; tàytch = "strong" with overtones of general well-being; kadju = purposive indicator: "for," "so that").

The mẽ 'ĩ tuk are also called mẽ 'uya-nãrẽ-re, but I am unable to translate this expression.

[1]The Cayapo "Tàkàk" is a cognate of the Apinaye "Tamgaag," which is the name of a festival with certain similarities to the Cayapo Tàkàk ceremony (Nimuendaju 1939: 27). The feminine name "Nhàk-" is also bestowed in the Tàkàk ceremony.

[2]Canella pep (Nimuendaju 1946: 179-201), Apinaye pẽb (Nimuendaju 1939: 37-72). Neither in Cayapo nor in the other Northwestern Ge languages does the word have any independent meaning such as "warrior," as claimed by Nimuendaju for the Canella (Crocker 1958: 5).

Cayapo ceremony, a personal name bestowed in a ritual process analytically distinct from the initiation ceremony itself.

Among the non-Cayapo groups, furthermore, there is no parallel name-giving ceremony linked with initiation. In comparative perspective, the differentiation of the Cayapo Bemp ceremony into a double ritual in which the ceremonial name of Bemp is conferred upon one set of boys, while the initiation itself constitutes a parallel but distinct ritual process involving a different set of boys, represents a structurally significant development unique to the Cayapo among the Northwestern Ge.

In the Bẽmp which I witnessed at Gorotire in 1963 there were five small boys receiving Bẽmp names from their 'ĩ-prêt and five pẽ 'ĩ-tuk initiands. There is no specific requirement that the number of Bẽmp be the same as the number of pẽ 'ĩ-tuk.

The performance of the Bẽmp I witnessed at Gorotire in 1963 was the first in more than ten years. Informants insisted that ten years was a longer interval than elapsed between celebrations of the ceremony in pre-contact times, but there seems never to have been an exact number of years

prescribed as a mandatory interval. The period between initiations, and therefore ideally between celebrations of the Bẽmp, seems always to have oscillated between five and ten years, depending on the number and stage of maturity of boys whose parents and kinsmen were prepared to undertake the sponsorship of the ceremony.

Ceremonial and common names. A brief exposition of ceremonial names is essential at this point since the central theme of the Bẽmp (as distinct from the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk initiation) is the bestowing of such names. The Cayapo have two categories of names ('idji): ceremonial names, called "great" names ('idji rũnh) or "fine, beautiful" names ('idji mêtch, mẽ rêrê mêtch),[1] and "common" names, referred to as names of "no value or distinction" ('idji kakrit). All names are passed down between the kinship categories 'i-nget and

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[1]There are seven ceremonial names: Bẽmp- and Tàkàk- (exclusively masculine); kêkê- (both masculine and feminine); and Irê-, Payn-, Bekwày-, and Nhàk- (exclusively feminine). These names almost always occur as prefixes before another name, e.g., Nhàk-a'ê, Tàkàk-'i-re, Bekwày-djàkê. The ceremonial names have no meaning in themselves, with the exception of Payn-, probably a homonym for payn-, "payment," "reciprocal prestation." They are not names of fish, as Dreyfus supposed (cf. Dreyfus 1963: 84-5). The name Bẽmp is applied to a fish, but only because the fish, which also has an ordinary Cayapo name (tekruòdu, "the beaked fish"), is one of the tabooed animals associated with the name of Bẽmp. No other ceremonial names are applied to fish or any other animals. All of the names have their own ceremonies in which they are bestowed except Nhàk-, which is given in the Tàkàk. All of these ceremonies are referred to by the names given in them. There are also three general name-giving ceremonies, in which all ceremonial names except Bẽmp can be given: these ceremonies

male tab-diuè and kwn-tuw and female tab-diuè.[1] Common (kakrit) names can be given at will without any ceremony, but ceremonial names can only be bestowed in the long and elaborate ceremonies which constitute one of the major forms of Cayapo communal activity. Two or three naming ceremonies may be celebrated in a year.

It is believed that if a mother or father were to bestow their personal names of either name category upon their own child, it would never live to reach adulthood. Ceremonial names are dangerous even when properly bestowed by an 'ĩ-ngôt or kwn-tuw. If a child is still too young and weak (in its first few months, or sick), bestowing a ceremonial name upon it, or calling it publicly by a ceremonial name in the expectation that it will soon be formally bestowed, can result in the child's death. For this reason ceremonial names are referred to as àkrê ('idii djàkrê, "dangerously hostile and aggressive names"). Common (kakrit) names can always be used by a child's parents and non-kinsmen without fear that their use will lead to the sickness or death of the child. Ceremonial names cannot be bestowed after a boy has been inducted into the men's house or after a girl has reached the equivalent age of 8-10 years.

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[1] For a partial exception to this rule between kwn-tuw and male tab-diuè, see p.176.

Persons with ceremonial (mêtch) names are said to eat only mru mêtch ("fine, desirable animals") and to avoid eating mru kakrit (animals of no value, common animals.[1] Persons who have only kakrit names may eat mru kakrit as well as mru mêtch. A few of the ceremonial names carry in addition taboos against specific kinds of birds and fish, which are not classified as mru and therefore do not fall within the categories mru mêtch and mru kakrit. Bëmp is the name most firmly associated with specific taboos of this kind (see p.170). The taboos must be observed not only by

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[1] Mru mêtch include turtles and the large game mammals: the wild pig (Cayapo [illegible], Port. caitetu), peccary (Cayapo [illegible], Port. [illegible]), deer of various species (Cayapo [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], Port. veado, campeiro, [illegible]), and tapir (Cayapo kukrut, Port. anta). Mru kakrit include rodents, monkeys, and all other small food animals. The term is also applied to jaguars, wolves, otters, insects, and reptiles, which (with the exception of the turtle) are not considered edible. When confronted with the fact that virtually everyone with mêtch names seemed to eat mru kakrit whenever they had the chance, informants replied that the taboos had become more relaxed in recent years than they had formerly been. I do not find this assertion convincing, since the Kuben-kran-ken, for example, have only had contact with Brazilians since 1952 and for much of this period contact has been too tenuous to have had any effects on a practice like dietary taboos. The taboo on the category of mru kakrit constitutes a symbolic assertion of the distinction and ritual prestige of bearers of ceremonial names as a class, rather than a prescription to be rigorously observed in practice by individual name bearers. As the most ceremonially prestigious names, Bëmp names are said to carry the "strongest" (tàytch, uttered with special emphasis) restrictions against eating mru kakrit. The association of skin disease with breaking the taboo also seems lightly regarded in practice.

The taboos against specific birds and fish associated

the bearers of the name, but by their parents. Breaking of the taboo either by the parents or the name-bearer is said to result in skin disease for the name-bearer. More emphasis is placed on the observance of the taboos during the naming ceremonies themselves than afterward.

Not all Cayapo children receive ceremonial names, since not all parents have the energy or extensive kin connections necessary to mobilize the labor and food contributions which are the responsibility of the parents, as the sponsors of the name-giving ceremony, to provide. This means that Cayapo communities are divided between those who have received ceremonial names and those who have not. Cayapo refer to individuals who have received ceremonial or mêtch names by the collective epithet of "mẽ mêtch," "fine, distinguished, beautiful people," and those with only common kakrit names as "mẽ kakrit," "common, undistinguished people, people of little value." The distinction is also made with reference to the dietary taboos attached to ceremonial names. Those with ceremonial names, who therefore observe dietary taboos, may be referred to as "mẽ iangri tàytch," those

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with Bẽmp names are more rigorously observed, perhaps because they are of less practical significance.

Crocker reports a similar classification of animals associated with dietary restrictions among the Canella (Crocker 1961: 72).

who observe strong dietary restrictions," while those without ceremonial names are called "mɛ̃ ngwɔ̀y tɛ̃ bɔ̀rɔ̂," "those who eat anything thrown straight on the fire with the feathers (or fur) still on it."[1] The pejorative epithets attached to persons who do not receive ceremonial names reflect the fact that these names, with their attached name ceremonies, symbolically epitomise the most highly valued relationships between categories of kinsmen and between the kinship system as a whole and the rest of the social system. The distinction between mɛ̃ mɛ̃tch and mɛ̃ kakrit has no impact on everyday social relations. It is related to the symbolic value of the names themselves and the ritual relationships they entail, rather than to the social value of the individuals named. There is no "class" or "status" distinction between individuals who have received ceremonial names and those who have not.[2] The indirect social implications of not receiving a ceremonial name, i.e., that one's parents and kinsmen were too few or too indifferent to undertake the sustained effort of sponsoring a name ceremony, are potentially unfavorable, but they can be counteracted by any enterprising person by building up a network of adoptive kin relationships and, of

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[1] ngwɔ̀y = "body feathers," tɛ̃ = "thus"; bɔ̂rɔ̂ = "to roast directly on a fire."

[2] Ceremonial names are not associated with social groups of any kind and have nothing to do with access to any social status (cf. Dreyfus 1963: 83-4, 90).

more importance to men, by acquiring prestige and recognition as a participant in men's house debates and activities.

The symbolic significance of dietary taboos and the remainder of the ritual complex attached to names and initiation will be dealt with in Chapter V. It will suffice for present purposes to underline the obvious fact that the overriding theme of the naming ceremony is the dissociation of children from their parents and their identification with kinsmen of the alternate or marginal categories, 'ĩ-ngôt or kwa-tuv.

An 'ĩ-ngôt or kwa-tuv may bestow from one to a half-dozen ceremonial names on a tàb-djuò. They may bestow the same names on a second tàb-djuò, although this is not usually done unless the first has died. There is no requirement that groups of names be kept together in sets as among the Eastern Timbira (Nimuendaju 1946: 77-8). An 'ĩ-ngôt or kwa-tuv may give different ceremonial names to several different tàb-djuò. The Cayapo also have no regular practice of reciprocity in naming such as that reported for the Eastern Timbira (Nimuendaju 1946: 70). It is regarded as the ideal naming pattern for a woman's brother to bestow his names on her son and for her to bestow her names on her brother's daughter. As this implies, the Cayapo speak of the 'ĩ-ngôt and kwa-tuv--tàb-djuò naming relationship as prototypically a relationship

between mother's brothers and sister's sons, and father's sisters and brother's daughters. More often than not, the 'ĩ-ngêt or kwa-tuy actually bestowing names on a tab-djuò is not a biological sibling of the tab-djuò's mother or father, but either a classificatory sibling, a mother or father, or an adoptive (ka'àk) sibling or parent with no consanguineal connection whatsoever. The fact that a woman's brother gives his names to her son does not necessarily bind her to give her names to his daughter, and name-giving is not ordinarily made explicitly conditional upon a reciprocal agreement of this kind.

A reciprocal naming arrangement may be made whereby a kwa-tuy bestows her ceremonial names (of the feminine or ambisexual name categories) on a male tab-djuò (e.g., her brother's son), on condition that he bestow the names on her daughter or her daughter's daughter when he has grown up. Perhaps ten per cent of adult Cayapo men bear female ceremonial names as the result of such arrangements. The reverse arrangement, between an 'ĩ-ngêt and his female tab-djuò, does not occur.

Ceremonial nêkrêtch. Similar in many respects to names in their associated ritual relations and symbolic functions are ceremonial nêkrêtch, which include a wide variety of ritual duties, prerogatives, and regalia inherited

by tab-djuè from their 'ĩ-nqêt and kwp-tuy. The term nêkrêtch literally means "valuables," "goods," or "wealth." The word is applied to Brazilian trade goods and other prized material possessions as well as to ceremonial prerogatives inherited from 'ĩ-nqêt and kwp-tuy. Ceremonial nêkrêtch take a great variety of forms, as many examples in the account of the Bẽmp ceremony will make clear. They are highly valued in much the same way that ceremonial names are valued, for their ritual prestige rather than for any material or non-ritual status considerations. Cayapo may admire each other's ceremonial nêkrêtch on esthetic grounds or because of the ritual prestige they may carry at a given moment, but such admiration never takes the form of envy, and buying and selling or "stealing" ceremonial nêkrêtch are unheard of. The fact that some individuals at a given time have far more nêkrêtch than others does not imply to the Cayapo any socially significant inequality between "wealthier" and "poorer" individuals or bodies of kin. The Cayapo with whom I discussed this point always asserted that every individual's group of kin is essentially equal (aben kôt) in the total amount of nêkrêtch at its disposal to any other kindred. In any given generation, different individuals will have varying shares of the total amount, but such inequalities

balance out in consecutive generations. As with ceremonial names, the Cayapo think of ritual nêkrêtch as symbolic means of asserting the social connection between 'ĩ-ngêt or kwa-tuy and tab-djuỳ rather than as interchangeably and objectively valuable social goods whose accumulation could serve as a basis for ranking individuals against each other in a hierarchically stratified status scale based on ritual "wealth."

The Bémp is an extremely long and complex ceremony which deserves a monograph to itself. The performance I witnessed lasted from May 25 to September 7, 1963. During this period there was continual ceremonial activity, except for an interruption due to a 'flu' epidemic in July. There is space here only for a condensed outline of the main events of the ceremony. For convenience of exposition I have broken the ceremony down into five major parts which correspond to coherent phases of ceremonial activity. This breakdown does not represent any overt Cayapo division of the ritual.

Part I. Seclusion of the nõ 'ĩ-tuk and the first decorative outfit.

MAY 25

'ỳ djuỳ kêt àkrê ôba.[1] The initiation is also a

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[1] 'ỳdjuỳ = "son-in-law"; kêt = "following," "concerning"; àkrê = "aggressively assertive"; ôba = "to walk," "to go"; the expression, liberally translated, means "to openly

marriage ceremony, and the prospective parents-in-law, play a central role in the ritual. It falls to the lot of each boy's parents to arrange a "marriage" for him in order that he may have a father- and mother-in-law to perform the necessary rites for him in his initiation. It is understood by all parties that the marriage is a symbolic one, primarily for the purpose of the ceremony, and although it is regarded as ideally desirable for a mẽ 'ĩ-tuk to take as his wife in later life the girl to whom he is betrothed in his initiation, there is no strong expectation or demand that this take place in any individual case. The Cayapo express this by saying the marriage is "only for the ceremony."[1]

The ceremony is begun before dawn by the fathers-in-law of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. The father-in-law of each mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, followed by his mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, and wife, waving burning tapers, march in single file out of their houses and pass in front of the men's house, where the men are already assembled. The father-in-law brandishes his rifle and fires it several times into the air. This demonstration of "àkrê"-ness is said to be intended to prevent anyone "stealing the son-in-law."

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[1]The Cayapo expression is "mẽ toro kadju bit"; mẽ toro = dance, ceremony; kadju = purposive indicator; bit = "only."

mẽ rĩnt ôba.[1] Immediately after this two men, holding hands and singing in falsetto, walk at a normal pace out of the men's house and around the plaza. This is supposed to be kept up around the clock by pairs of men in relays throughout most of the ceremony. All men of the initiated age grades, mẽ nõtõ-nu-re and mẽ kre-re, are eligible on a volunteer basis, but certain men own special songs bestowed upon them by an 'ĩ-ngêt and are expected to take a prominent part in the rĩnt ôba. In practice, the rĩnt ôba is seldom kept up for a full twenty-four hours at a time.

After daybreak, each boy receiving Bẽmp names lies together with the 'ĩ-ngêt bestowing the names upon him under a mat in front of his maternal house. All the men of the initiated men's age grades plus the mẽ ôk-re walk out of the ngà in a group to look at each 'ĩ-ngêt and tab-djuò as they lie under their mats. Each pair comes out from under its mat as soon as the men walk on. The boys receiving Bẽmp names are known collectively as "mẽ hâ bẽmp," or simply as the "Bẽmp " Men of the ôk-re and initiated age grades who have no special role in the ceremony, either as a member of a special ceremonial society in a given site or as parents of either the mẽ hâ bẽmp or mẽ 'ĩ-tuk are known collectively

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[1] rĩnt = "to look around"; ôba = "to go"; rĩnt ôba, "to go or walk looking around," has the connotation in Cayapo of a stroll or walk at a slow pace, which accurately describes the motion of the rĩnt ôba singers.

as "mẽ bê kum kati,"[1] which literally means "the people without anything" (i.e., without special ceremonial obligations or prerogatives). The mẽ bê kum kati as a group perform the daily dances and the rĩnt ôba which form the basic continuo of ritual action throughout the ceremony.

That night the father of each mẽ 'ĩ-tuk formally requests a male non-relative to undertake the role of ceremonial friend and ritual companion (kràb-djuò) of his son in the ceremony. The man requested may already be a kràb-djuò of the boy as a result of patrilineally inheriting the relationship from his father, or he may be asked to assume the relationship for the first time in the ceremony, in which case he remains a kràb-djuò of the boy for life and the children of each inherit the relationship with the children of the other. A consanguineal or affinal relative cannot become a kràb-djuò. The father or mother of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk also requests a ceremonial father (bam ka'àk), who is ideally but not necessarily the same individual who fulfilled the role of ceremonial father in the boy's ôk ceremony (see Section IIIA), to undertake the same relationship with their son in the initiation ceremony. Finally, the father and mother notify all the grandparents, paternal

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[1] bê = "to be," indicator of state of being; kum = relational, "to" or "for" an object; kati = "nothing," nega-indicator ("no"); mẽ bê kum kati = "people with nothing," i.e., no special ceremonial functions (nê krêtch).

aunts, and maternal uncles of the boy (including both consanguineal and adoptive relatives) that they are to perform the ritual obligations of relatives of the 'ĩ-nget and kwa-tuy categories toward the boy.

May 26

The next morning before dawn the mẽ bê kum kati performed the dance it is their principal ritual function to perform every morning and evening.[1] throughout the major part of the ceremony.[2] The position of the head and left forearm in the mẽ bê kum kati dance is identical with the ritual wailing gesture: the head is lowered, the eyes are fixed on the ground, and the left forearm is held horizontally before the face. The right arm is flexed and swung by the side in time to the song which always accompanies the dance.

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[1]There were a number of days when performance fell short of this ideal and the dance was not put on.

[2]This dance is in the typical Cayapo form of a double column of dancers divided into sections according to age grade. The pairs of dancers who dance side by side in the column must be drawn from the same age set and are usually made up of close friends who agree in advance to dance together. The members of each age set are grouped together in blocs within the column. In villages with two men's houses, the men from the two men's houses are combined in the same age set blocs regardless of men's house affiliation. The same is true of the members of the corresponding women's moieties in women's dances. The order of the column is usually a pair of mẽ kra-re including one chief leading, followed by a bloc of mẽ kra-re, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, the mẽ ôk-re and ngàydju-re, and finally another group of mẽ kra-re including the oldest members of the age grade (mẽ bê ngêtê) and a chief. The rear of the line is considered a place of honor

Upon returning to the men's house after the dance, the mẽ bâ kum kati began shouting peremptorily for food. The fathers and mothers of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and the Bẽmp (as the boys receiving Bẽmp names will be called hereafter) hurried to the men's house carrying manioc cakes, bananas, or other food for the men. In all Cayapo ceremonies it is the responsibility of the parents of the children who are being honored in the ceremony to provide food for the dancers who celebrate the ceremony The parents of the boys (or girls in girls' ceremonies) are debarred from dancing or directly participating in the ceremonies for their own children, and are likewise prohibited from eating any of the food prepared for the ritual celebrants. The siblings and parents of both parents of a child assist in the preparation of the food, although the parents of the child are expected to bear the brunt of the task. There is usually more than one child at a time receiving names or being initiated in a ceremony, and the parents divide up the work, taking turns providing the food on alternate days. On days when a couple is preparing food for the men, the mother is ideally not supposed to cook anything for herself or her husband, but to rely

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equal in distinction to the front. Almost all of the major dances in Cayapo ceremonies (as opposed to single pairs of dancers or singers of the mẽ rĩnt ôba type) take this form. The column of dancers follows a course around the periphery of the plaza just in front of the houses. The movement is counterclockwise

on a kinswoman, preferably her husband's sister, to send over food for her and her husband's personal consumption. I noticed that this rule was not always observed and that the mothers of the Bẽmp and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk would cook separate batches of food for their own families. Either parent may carry the food to the men's house. It is the right of the ritual celebrants to shout rudely to the parents to bring them food, and to make disparaging remarks about its quantity and quality

That afternoon, all the 'ĩ-ngêts, kwa-tuya, and biological and classificatory mothers, fathers, and siblings of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk painted themselves with the kakwòy akàrà design used in the ôk ceremony and gathered in the maternal houses of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk As the fathers, mothers, and siblings of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk sat wailing in the ritual fashion because they "miss the boy,"[1] the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, followed by their kwa-tuy and 'ĩ-ngêt in that order, marched out of their houses led by their ceremonial fathers (bam ka'àk).[2]

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[1]The Cayapo term is "ô amak," which means literally "to wait for" or "to listen for," but is used in the sense of "to love" and "to miss" an absent loved one who is dead or away on a journey. All the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk's relatives are said to weep both because they "miss" him and because of the "memory of dead fathers."

[2]I was told that the mother-in-laws of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk were supposed to lead them out of their mother's houses by long strings, which should then have been cut as they stood in the center of the plaza by a woman who had inherited the nê-krêtch from a kwa-tuy. This was not done in the performance of the rite I witnessed. Nimuendaju records a similar rite among the Eastern Timbira (Nimuendaju [illegible])

The files meet in the center of the plaza before the men's house and stand together in an amorphous group for a short time. Each ceremonial father detaches himself from the group and marches to the house of his mã̃ 'ĩ́-tuk 'son's" mother-in-law. Upon arrival at the house the ceremonial father assumes a ritual stance[1] and, speaking in the formal ritual style,[2] asks the boy's mother-in-law if she has enough freshly-cut palm leaves to make a sleeping place for her new son-in-law. The mother-in-law replies that she does, whereupon the ceremonial father gathers the bundle of freshly-cut leaves which stands propped against the front of the mother-in-law's house, returns to the group in the center of the plaza, and leads his file back into the mother-in-law's house. A floor is made of the leaves and the mã̃ 'ĩ́-tuk seats himself upon it, surrounded by his relatives. The mã̃ 'ĩ́-tuk's bride may or may not be present, but neither she nor her mother takes the slightest notice of him. After a short time the mã̃ 'ĩ́-tuk's relatives leave the house and disperse, followed by the mã̃ 'ĩ́-tuk himself. Not a word is spoken by any of the ritual participants after entering the mother-in-law's house.

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[1]In the ritual stance the speaker stands with one side toward the addressee with his forward leg flexed at the knee and his rear leg extended straight behind him.

[2]This style of speaking consists of explosive accentuations of certain syllables and a rapid running together of the unaccentuated syllables. The pattern of accentuations is

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk are decorated for this ceremony with the crushed blue shells of the eggs of a wild bird, which are gathered by their fathers. The crushed shell is stuck with resin onto their cheeks and the freshly-shaved triangular area between the forehead and the crown of the head.

The mẽ rĩnt ôha was continued after the assembly in the mother-in-law's house by two men wearing àkà-pari headdresses.[1] They were followed for short periods by single women or pairs of women, each individual or pair relieving the other after a short turn. These women are the kwa-tuys of the Bẽmp, whose fathers ask the women to dance for their sons (the women's tab-djuò) This is said to make the tab-djuò "happy" (kinh). The fathers pay the kwa-tuys after they have danced with a present of meat.

May 27

Before dawn the next morning the krab-djuò of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk go to the maternal houses of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and sit quietly with an arm around the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk's shoulders. Both the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and his krab-djuò then proceed to the house of

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different from that of ordinary speech and follows a set metrical pattern which varies with the utterance. There are also phonemic modifications and sound substitutions in many words. This style is different from, and more rigidly patterned than, the rhetorical style used in the men's secular oratory.

[1] A feather headdress mounted on a one and one-half foot stick which is anchored in a beeswax helmet molded onto the head.

the mother-in-law, where the kràb-djuò makes rude and abusive remarks about her preparations for the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk's "sleeping place" in her house.[1] After this, all the kràb-djuò and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk leave the village together. They clear a small "sitting place" (krin dja) about 10 feet by 10 feet in the savanna outside the village, where they sit warming themselves around a fire until dawn. At daybreak they move on into the forest and construct their main seclusion camp This consists of a clearing roughly 30 feet in diameter, about 50 yards into the forest from the edge of the savanna

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk stay in the vicinity of their seclusion camp all day. They occupy themselves by cutting large bundles of palm leaves. In the afternoon they return with their kràb-djuò to the village, carrying their bundles of leaves with them and depositing them against the back of one of the houses on the periphery of the plaza. Then they dance into the plaza in a double file, each mẽ 'ĩ-tuk beside his kràb-djuò They sing the song of the mẽ bè kum kati but with their own unique step and arm motion.[2] After they have made a circuit of the plaza, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk gather the

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[1]This is called "kaben punu-re kaygô"; kaben = "word" (s., pl); punu-re = "bad"; kaygô = "substitute," "unreal," "imitation."

[2]This consists in holding their right arms with index finger extended pointing above their heads and rotating their right hands in a circular motion, while swinging their left arms with elbow bent in time to the cadence of the song The head is bent and the eyes are fixed on the ground.

bundles of palm leaves and bring them to the center of the plaza. They throw down the five bundles to make a circular " "sitting place" where they sit with their kràb-djuò until after nightfall. When it is fully dark they undo the bundles of leaves and, with the aid of a few sticks, construct a lean-to with some of the leaves, leaving the rest as a floor They sleep in this shelter with their kràb-djuò Before dawn they destroy the lean-to, carry away the leaves, and with their kràb-djuò quietly leave the village "so the women will not see them go." They wait for dawn in their cleared sitting place in the savanna outside the village At day-break they move on again into their forest camp

The mẽ kra karò [1] After daybreak on the same day the me 'i-tuk leave the village to construct their forest camp, all the men with suckling children (children in their first two years) gather together and leave the village in a group They make a forest camp similar to that of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and remain there for the day making ayĩ (the carrying slings for suckling infants used by women) After the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuò have danced into the village in the afternoon, the mẽ kra karò return from their camp and dance in a body into the plaza, wearing the baby slings they

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[1] kra = child; karò = "suckling"; mẽ kra karò = "parents of suckling children," in this context fathers only

have made. They hold their forearms in the same ritual wailing position as the mẽ hê kum kati, but sing their own distinctive songs. They make a circuit of the village and dance into the men's house, take off their baby slings, and put them onto the mẽ mẽrẽ-nu-re among the mẽ hê kum kati waiting in the men's house. The mẽ mẽ rẽ-nu-re dance out of the men's house wearing the gyĩ and perform the normal dance of the mẽ hê kum kati. They are later joined in the dance by the mẽ hê kum kati members of the mature men's age grade (mẽ kum-re). I was told that the mẽ kum kaiõ were supposed to go to their seclusion camp every day and repeat the same procedure with the baby slings upon their return every afternoon, a routine symbolically parallel in many respects to that of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. When I saw the ritual performed, however, the mẽ kum kaiõ did not return to their seclusion camp after the first day, and did not figure again in the ceremony until its closing phases.

The mẽ àk-re. The same evening after dark the members of the bird society (mẽ àk-re)[1] separated themselves from the body of mẽ hê kum kati in the men's house. They walked out of the nàã and sat down together in a circle

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[1] àk = "bird." The mẽ àk-re are said to be "kin of the birds" (àk nĩ(bikum) and during their period of ceremonial activity are forbidden to eat any bird. Aside from this, however, they have no special relationship with birds. The parents of children inducted into the mẽ àk-re in the ceremony are also forbidden to eat birds for the duration of the ceremony.

about fifteen yards away from the nga, putting themselves about half-way between the ngà and the circle of mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò but at an oblique angle, so as to leave a direct line between the men's house and the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. The mẽ àk-re sat singing the song of the bird society and listening to a long speech by one of the older men of their number, who gave them detailed instructions for making their own camp in the forest on the following day. After this formal separation the mẽ àk-re are no longer considered mẽ bê kum kati, and do not participate in the dances or other ritual activities of the mẽ bê kum kati until the àk-re have ceased their ritual activities. They are mẽ õ nê krêtch, people with special ritual functions or privileges, and as such the opposite of mẽ bê kum kati, "people with nothing." Membership in the bird society is passed down from 'ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuv to tab-djuò. As this implies, there are female members of the bird society, but they did not appear on the first night nor go to the forest camp the next day.

May 28

The next morning the mẽ àk-re left the village and made a forest camp for themselves several hundred yards from that of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. They gathered vines and beat them over logs with sticks to separate the coarse fiber of the vines from the pulp. The beating is done in unison to the

cadence of the mẽ̃ àk-xa song When the fiber has been separated from the pulp, it is braided into âprons (mxam), arm bands, and head bands. This constitutes the ceremonial costume of the mẽ̃ àk-xa. A strip about six inches wide at the bottom of the aprons is painted either red or black. One or the other color is always passed down together with membership in the society itself The colors do not correspond to any dual division within the mẽ̃ àk-xa, and I could elicit no statements about the symbolic significance of the colors in this content.[1] Those àk-xa who have tab-djuà to whom they wish to pass on membership in the society make a duplicate outfit for their tab-djuà. They return to the village in the evening with the outfits and proceed to the house of a woman whose kup-tuw had bestowed on her the mẽ̂ krêtch (ritual privilege) of having the mẽ̃ àk-xa leave the outfits in her house. Inside the woman's house the mẽ̃ àk-xa tried the aprons on themselves and on their tab-djuà and made final adjustments, after which they left the outfits in the house overnight.

The mẽ̃ 'i-tuk passed the day in their forest camp as before. The krub-djuà stripped the inner bark off certain

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[1]The Cayapo do not associate colors with social groups of any kind. The general symbolic significance of red and black will be discussed at a later point in this section (see footnote 21, p. 213).

trees to provide the material to make the bracelets and necklace which constitute the first ceremonial outfit of the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk. In the afternoon they returned to the village by the ritual procedure they use except for special occasions for the rest of their seclusion.

The mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk and krùb-djuò approach the village by a circuitous route, attempting to avoid being seen until they appear in the village itself. They carry the bundles of palm leaves they have cut that day in the forest. The krùb-djuò carry nothing but their weapons (the krùb-djuò, as the guardians of the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk, always go armed, while the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk never carry weapons). The mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk leave the bundles of leaves propped against the eaves of a house on the edge of the village and abruptly emerge into the plaza. They walk in single file, at wide intervals, completely silent and with solemn expressions. At the center of the plaza, the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk split into two groups, which proceed in the same manner, in opposite directions around the plaza, while the krùb-djuò walk together to a point on the edge of the plaza and stand side by side in a single rank. As the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk come up to the rank they silently take their places beside their krùb-djuò. After the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk have all joined the rank, they stand silently for a few minutes. Then the mẽ̃ 'ĩ́-tuk walk to the house where the bundles of palm leaves

have been left and fetch the bundles back to the center of the plaza. They throw the bundles down to form their circular sitting floor, and they and their krèb-djuè seat themselves on it facing inwards towards each other. After roughly half an hour of sitting together on the leaves, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk get up and walk to the houses of their respective mothers-in-law. They enter the houses and sit down on the "bed" that the mother-in-law has readied for them. This is usually an ordinary sleeping mat laid on the floor near the door. The boy sits silently with his eyes on the floor. His mother-in-law and any other occupants of the house who may be present, including his bride, completely ignore his presence. After a short time, he gets up and leaves without a word. From his mother-in-law's house he sneaks unobtrusively behind the ring of houses (on the forest side of the houses rather than the side facing the plaza) to his mother's house. After the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk have been in their mothers' houses for about half an hour, the krèb-djuè get up from the leaves and walk around the plaza in opposite directions. At this the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk come out of their mothers' houses and follow their krèb-djuè back to their "sitting place."

The mẽ bê kum katí meanwhile assemble in the men's house, and soon after the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their krèb-djuè have

returned to their sitting place they issue from the men's house in their daily dance, with arms held in the ritual wailing position. They make a circuit around the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk as they sit in their krindjà and then continue on around the village, ending up back in the men's house.

As dusk gathers, the mothers and sisters of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk bring food and firewood to the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò. After dark, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk untie the bundles of palm leaves and, with the aid of a few poles, construct a lean-to with some of the palm leaves, leaving the rest as a floor. They sleep in the lean-to with their kràb-djuò. As on their first night, they arise before dawn, dismantle the lean-to and leave for their little clearing in the savanna. At daybreak they again proceed to their forest camp.

Women are not allowed to come near the seclusion camp and are said to "fear" the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, who for their part are required to avoid women except for their ritual visits to their mothers' and mothers-in law's houses. The Cayapo say that if a woman were to be found spying on the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk in their seclusion camp, she would be raped and beaten by all the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò. The kràb-djuò themselves are required to abstain from sexual intercourse during the ceremony, and to sleep each night with the

mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. This is required even of kràb-djuò who are married and have children, although I noted that when one of the kràb-djuò, who had several children, sneaked off one night to sleep with his wife, there was no sanction imposed beyond some lewd joking in the men's house.

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk in their seclusion camp are thought to be in a condition of ritual danger in which their souls (mẽ karên) are very lightly attached to their bodies. In this condition loud noises may dislodge their souls and cause them to fly away, which would result in their deaths. For this reason the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò are said to avoid making loud noises in their seclusion camp (although I was present when a kràb-djuò shot off his shotgun at a wild turkey passing overhead in the trees without anyone taking notice). The example always cited is that of bringing in firewood. The kràb-djuò, when they bring firewood into the camp, must set the load down gently instead of dropping it with a loud clatter to avoid dislodging the souls of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk.

May 29

Before dawn the next day, the mẽ àk-re assembled in the house of the woman with whom the mram outfits were left. Both the 'ĩ-ngâts who had made the mrams and the

tab-djuò who were being inducted into the àk-re society, including several girls, put on the outfits. Many also wore belts hung with the hooves of wild pig, deer, or tapir, which rattled as they moved. When they had finished arraying themselves, they formed a double file outside the house while an older member of the àk-re gave last minute instructions. Then they ran in a group to the center of the plaza, where each executed a twirling and stamping movement with the body bent low and the arms held out from the shoulders with the elbows sharply flexed. From the center of the plaza they ran to the maternal houses of one of the Bemp. They stood in two rows facing each other in front of the house, forming an aisle to the door. The àk-re in each row bent low towards the opposite row, and all swished their long vine fiber arm bands. Then one àk-re sang solo in falsetto a verse of the àk-re song, which was repeated by a chorus of all the àk-re. The position of solo singer is a pâkrâtab inherited from an 'ĩ-noêk. After the antiphonal solo and choral response, the àk-re ran back to the center of the plaza and made their twirl-and-stamp movement, after which they proceeded to the house of another Bẽmp. The same process was repeated before all the houses of boys receiving Bẽmp names. After singing in front of the last

Bemp house, the àk-ra dispersed to their own houses, where each kept his mram outfit for the rest of the ceremony. In the afternoon they again put on their costumes and assembled in the plaza. They ran to each of the Bemp houses and stood in front of them briefly in a single row parallel to the house front, without singing. This formation was used in all later appearances of the mẽ̃ àk-ra except in their final ceremony.

The fathers of the teh-djuò being inducted into the mẽ̃ àk-ra society spent the day cutting palm leaves for the mẽ̃ àk-ras' ceremonial hut (ha'ê) in the plaza, and also hunting for meat for the mẽ̃ àk-ras' ritual feast which was to be held in two days. In the late afternoon they brought the bundles of palm leaves they had cut to the plaza and the mẽ̃ àk-ra, wearing their mram, lay them down together to make a sitting place. The mẽ̃ àk-ra sat together on the leaves for an hour, after which they ran to the center of the plaza, executed their twirl-and-stamp movement, and dispersed to their houses.

May 30

Before dawn the next morning the mẽ̃ àk-ra had constructed their ha'ê (ceremonial hut), slightly to one side of the sleeping place of the mẽ̃ 'ỹ-tuk, which always occupies

the exact center of the plaza. The hut was in the form of a long double lean-to, closed on both sides with no doors. It was necessary to part the palm leaves of the walls to enter and leave. After finishing the hut the àk-re entered it and remained seated in it until daybreak. As the mẽ bê kum kati danced by in their morning dance, two or three àk-re at a time would leave the hut and break at a run through the column of mẽ bê kum kati dancers. The àk-re would continue running to the center of the plaza, make their twirl-and-stamp motion, and return to the ceremonial hut, whereupon others would run out and repeat the process. This is referred to as "harrassing" the mẽ bê kum kati.[1] After the mẽ bê kum kati ceased dancing, the mẽ àk-re ran to all the Bẽmp houses, repeating the procedure of the previous day, but without the singing.

On the same day, at the forest camp of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, the kràb-djuò completed the first ceremonial outfit of the

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[1]The Cayapo term for the rite is mẽ kapêrê kà ôdja. kapêrê kà = "to bully" or "to harass." ôdja = "standing up," or "on foot," a normal grammatical substitute for verbs like "to do" referring to anything done in standing position. There are similar expressions for other bodily positions, e.g., sitting = ênhẽ.

The Cayapo, as usual, had no explanation of the ritual significance of the mẽ àk-re's harrassment of the mẽ bê kum kati. In symbolic terms, the action serves to reinforce the distinction between the two groups by pitting them against each other in mock hostility.

mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. The outfit consists of a pair of large bracelets plaited of brown inner bark or bast (i'ĩ agot) and a necklace with tassels made of the same material (ôkre tã).[1] The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk wear this regalia at all times until the beginning of the phase of the ceremony in which the second decorative outfit is manufactured.

That evening the mẽ bê kum kati held their ceremonial feast in the men's house with food furnished by the fathers and mothers of the Bẽmp. The food consisted of meat pies made with manioc dough and game hunted by the fathers of the Bẽmp.

May 31

The next morning, the mẽ àk-re held their feast in their ceremonial hut. Before dawn, some of the àk-re ran around the plaza, the noise of their rattling hoof-belts serving to call out the others. They built a large fire outside the village where they waited for all the members of the society to arrive. When all were assembled they ran to the house of the woman with whom they had left their outfits on the first night after they were made. They stood silently in a single line outside the house for some time--about

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[1] i'ĩ = bracelet; agot = "swollen," "fat"; ôkre ta = "necklace." Compare the first decorative outfit of the Apinaye initiands (Nimuendaju 1939: 44-5).

fifteen minutes. Then they ran around the plaza, executing their twirl-and-stamp movement, stopping before all the Bemp houses and finally in front of the ngà, after which they entered their ceremonial hut. There they waited for about an hour and a half, until full daylight. At this point several mẽ àk-re left the ceremonial ka'ê. After executing a twirl-and-stamp movement in the middle of the plaza, they ran to the houses of the mothers of the tab-djuò who were being inducted into the àk-re society. There they collected meat pies made with meat and fish brought in by the fathers of the tab-djuò during the two previous days, and other food such as bananas and maize porridge. Then they ran back to a point in the plaza near the ceremonial hut, executed another twirl, and put the food down on the ground. Another mẽ àk-re would then pick up the food and carry it into the ceremonial hut to the mẽ àk-re inside. This job was his nêkrêtch, inherited from an 'ĩ-ngêt. The woman whose house had been the gathering-place of the mẽ àk-re personally brought a large contribution of food and handed it in to the ka'ê herself. The feast lasted two hours, during which time the mẽ bê kum kati performed their normal morning dance.

The feast was followed by a virtual cessation of activity by the mẽ àk-re until a later phase of the ceremony.

Their hut was abandoned and torn down by women who lived in the houses nearest it on the periphery of the plaza. Five àk-re "ran" briefly in the plaza two days later, but apart from this they ceased their appearances.

The mẽ rĩnt êba, which had been maintained almost without a break since the first day of the ceremony, was performed on this day by three men holding hands and walking abreast instead of the usual two. They sung a new set of songs, which were the nêkrêtch of one of the men, a mẽ kran-no-ti immigrant, who had inherited them from his 'ĩ-ngêt.[1]

June 1 - 3

The mẽ bê kum kati, mẽ rĩnt êba, and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk continued their normal activities with no new developments for three more days, June 1 - 3.

June 4

kum-tuy ngrêrê.[2] At dawn on the morning of June 4, one of the chiefs delivered a metrical chant in falsetto in the middle of the village plaza. This form of chanting is called ben and is reserved for occasions of the highest ritual significance. It can only be performed by chiefs, whose

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[1] Cayapo in any community respect the nêkrêtch of Cayapo from any other community.

[2] ngrêrê = "Songs." It is significant that the Cayapo refer to this rite as the "kum-tuy songs" and do not include the 'ĩ-ngêt in the name of the ritual. In later variations of the same rite, during the closing phases of the ceremony, the [illegible] do not appear in the procession.

title, "hen-isdjuèrò" or "he who puts forth the hen" is derived from this function.

The hen chant was followed at about 7:00 A.M. by the rite known as the kwn-tuy nsnêvê. It was begun by processions emerging from the houses of the mothers of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. They were led by the krèh-djuè of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, followed by the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk's kwn-tuyn and 'ĩ-nsôtn in that order. In the center of the plaza the processions joined to form a double line, with each mẽ 'ĩ-tuk beside his krèh-djuè, followed by his kwn-tuyn and 'ĩ-nsôtn ranked two by two, followed in turn by the column of the next mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. In this formation they danced around the plaza, carrying long wands in their raised left hands. After a circuit of the village, a man passed along the line and collected all the wands. The wands are collected in the same way by the same man in several different ceremonies; to collect the wands is his nêkrêtch. I could obtain no explanation for the significance of the wands. After the wands had been collected all the dancers made a motion of pounding their fists together, except for the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and krèh-djuè, who continued to hold their left arms aloft just as they had when carrying the wands and to make the twirling motion with their right arm and extended right index fingers which they made on their first entry into the

village after their seclusion. After two more circuits of the village the dancers dispersed.

All of the 'i-ngot and kwa-tuy who took part in the dance had painted themselves with the kakwèy akàrà pattern also used in the mẽ êk-re (êk) ceremony. The fathers, mothers, and siblings of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, who remained behind in the maternal houses as the dancers filed out in the opening procession, had also painted themselves with the same design, and the krèb-djuè had painted themselves and the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk in identical fashion. After the dance was over the krèb-djuè and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk went to bathe together.

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk returned to their seclusion camp after the dance and returned to the village in the afternoon with the usual procedure, except that they did not bring leaves and did not make their sitting and sleeping plaza. Instead, they slept with their krèb-djuè in the ngà. Rather than go to their seclusion camp the following day, they went on a hunting and fishing trip with the mẽ nêrê-nu-re age set.

The painting of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk by their krèb-djuè and the kwa-tuy nugêrê mark the end of a phase of ceremonial activity, symbolized by the partial integration of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk into the mẽ nêrê-nu-re age set through sleeping in the ngà and the collective hunting trip. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk

nevertheless continue to be set apart from the initiated youths by their ritual bracelets and necklaces and the fact that they must be accompanied at night by their krab-djuo, who continue to sleep with them in the men's house.

After the mẽ'ĩ-tuks' hunt with the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, which lasted only for one day, ritual activity virtually ceased for almost two months except for sporadic appearances of the mẽ hâ kum kati. The length of this pause was in part due to an epidemic of Asian flu, but a pause marking the end of the first major phase of ceremonial activity, with only sporadic mẽ hâ kum kati dances to maintain the continuity of the ceremony, had already set in before the epidemic and is implicit in the structure of the ceremony.

Part II. The ceremonial logs (nazôa)[1] and the second decorative outfit

August 14

nazôa narêr êba.[2] The morning of August 14 two men appeared walking in the plaza holding hands and singing in the manner of the mẽ nĩnt êba, except that their songs and outfits were different. Tall palm fronds with their tops clipped in a diamond, which was painted red, were fastened to the backs

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[1] nazôa = buriti palm.

[2] narêr = combining form of narêrê, "to sing" (also "song" narêrêba = "to go (walk) singing."

of their heads. Their thighs, lower legs, and cheeks were painted with urucu, and they carried steel axes on their shoulders whose handles were reddened with urucu. This was continued for the next six days by relays of men.

That afternoon, the mẽ kra karò (fathers of suckling children) went into the forest in search of a suitable ngrôa (buriti palm tree). There are no buriti near Gorotire and the mẽ kra karò settled upon an inaja palm for this and the four subsequent logs. After the mẽ kra karò had cut down the tree, they hacked out a section of trunk roughly twelve feet long. The mẽ bê kum kati then carried, rolled, and dragged the log to the edge of the forest on the outskirts of the village, where they concealed it under a cover of palm leaves. At intervals during the process of dragging and carrying the log to the edge of the forest, one of the chiefs chanted a short formula in the metrical falsetto hen style.

August 15

Early the next morning the mẽ bê kum kati painted their bodies black and put on body sashes and headdresses of palm leaves, with a single parrot feather sticking straight up from each headdress. Some also wore bracelets of bark. When they had finished decorating themselves they danced out of the men's house by age sets--first the mẽ nẽrõ-nu-re, then

about fifteen minutes later the mẽ kra-re--in the usual mẽ bê kum kati dance with the ritual wailing gesture. Each age set danced separately down to the log where it lay under its cover of palm fronds. They stood around it while one of the mẽ kra karò removed the cover of leaves and trimmed the bark from both ends of the log for about two feet. The trimmed strips were smeared with red paint (urucu) by a woman who had inherited the nekretch from her kwa-tuy. The reddened tips of the log were dotted with white down. A man meanwhile rubbed the log with a special leaf which had the effect of lightening the log; this "medicine" (kanê) had been taught him by an 'ĩ-nyêt.

When all was ready, the ngàvdju-re (boys not yet inducted into the men's house) came walking toward the log from the village carrying in front of themselves the tall palm fronds with which the log had been concealed during the night. The mẽ bê kum kati put the log on their shoulders and begin carrying it toward the village, as many men as could get their shoulders under the log from both sides helping to carry it. They moved at a slow shuffle, since they were too crowded together and the log was too heavy to make running possible.[1] The ngàvdju-re retreated before

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[1] The nyrêa appears to be a Cayapo variant of the "log race," an institution shared in some form by all the Northwest and Central Ge tribes (Nimuendaju 1946: 136-145). The Cayapo

the log, walking backwards toward the village and holding up the palm fronds to screen themselves from the log. At several points they stopped together in a group, holding up the fronds in front of themselves in a solid wall, only to give way again before the advancing log. When the mẽ bê kum kati finally reached the center of the village plaza they threw

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bring in a single ngrôn in one other ceremony, the annual maize ceremony. It is to be noted that the Cayapo do not "race" or even run with their ngrôn, nor are there two "teams" which bring in a pair of logs simultaneously. Even in villages with two men's houses, informants insisted that only one log at a time was brought in, and the moieties were not pitted against each other as racing teams.

The only Cayapo instance of a "race" with "logs" (two groups simultaneously running for the same goal) occurs in connection with the ceremonial awàri poles which form the central symbolic focus of the fourth phase of the initiation ceremony. The awàri, however, are not "logs" like the ngrôn but whole trees with their leaves and branches still attached.

Logs of a different kind figure in one other Cayapo ritual, the men's mẽ bi-ôk, a name-giving ceremony. They are the chief feature of the yoyngè-re, the ritual carried out by the ngàvdju-re in this ceremony. The day before the final dance of the ceremony, the ngàvdju-re "steal" some of the turtles which the parents of the children who are receiving names in the ceremony have been saving for the feast which accompanies the final dance. The ngàvdju-re take the turtles to a camp in the forest, where they eat them and manufacture the yoyngè-re logs. These logs are of a light wood and are only about five feet long and six inches in diameter. The bark is trimmed off a band one and one-half feet wide at one end of each log. This area is painted with simple geometric designs, e.g., stripes in red and black, and decorated with white down. There were fifteen ngàvdju-re involved under the supervision of a single mẽ nõgõ-nu-re in the yoyngè-re I witnessed at Gorotire, and sixteen yoyngè-re logs were made, one for each of the participants. During the final dance of the ceremony the ngàvdju-re came in from their forest camp carrying the logs, stopping frequently for rests and not running. They

down the log and danced off in the conventional mẽ bò kum kati dance. The ngùvdiu-re rushed up to the log and beat it with their palm fronds, then dropped them around the log and ran away. Women and girls from the nearby houses hurried over and carried the leaves back to their houses, where they were used for household purposes.

The log had been brought in for one of the Bèmp boys, who was receiving names in the ceremony. Later that day the boy's father and other relatives rolled the log from the center of the plaza back to the boy's maternal house. The log was placed lengthwise against the outside front of the house. The same procedure was repeated on subsequent days for the four other boys receiving Bèmp names. Not all of the later logs were decorated on the ends with urucu and down, and the ngùvdiu-re did not perform their palm frond ritual for three of the logs. When the last of the Bèmp logs was brought in, a

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lined up along the dance track holding their logs vertically in front of them with the painted ends up. The mẽ nôrò-nu-re who was in charge of them would order them to pick up the logs and move along the side of the dance track about twenty yards at a time to keep abreast of the dancers. Once lined up the ngùvdiu-re would pick up the logs and beat them vertically on the ground as if tamping it. This was done as an accompaniment to the music of the dance and was roughly in time to the cadence of the dance song. After the dance the logs were divided equally between the two families who were "sponsoring" the ceremony (whose children were receiving names) and kept in their houses for a year. After the year is up they are burned or discarded in the savanna.

huge bonfire was kindled at the point where the log was carried out of the forest toward the village, and men walked beside the log as it was carried with torches made of dry palm fronds tied to long poles, although it was broad daylight. Dreyfus also reports this practice in connection with a Bãnp nerôa (Dreyfus 1963: 89-90). I could elicit no statement concerning the signigicance of the torches and the bonfire.

Immediately after the first nerôa log had been brought into the village a man collected the bracelets and necklaces of the first decorative outfit from each mã 'ĩ-tuk (this was a nêkrêtch he had inherited from an 'ĩ-reât), and took them to the house of a little girl who had inherited the nekretch of having the decorative outfits left in her house from a kwe-tuv. After this the mã 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuè left the men's house and went back to their forest seclusion camp, where the kràb-djuè began manufacturing the second decorative outfit. The fathers of the mã 'ĩ-tuk meanwhile began work on other items of the outfit.

August 20

Mã àk-re ture hĩn[1] At 5:00 p.m. on August 20, after two nerôa logs had been brought in, the me àk-re suddenly

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[1] ture = "fire"; hĩn = to kill; ture hĩn = "to put out the fire."

appeared in full regalia in a house near the middle of the plaza[1]. In front of the house was a pile of dry palm leaves about eight feet across. Small groups of from two to five mẽ àk-re would run out of the house around to the other side of the pile, execute their characteristic twirl-and-stamp movement, and run back into the house. A distinct pair of mẽ àk-re, a mature man and a young boy who stood in the 'ĩ-nsôt--tsh-dinè relationship to each other, meanwhile executed a different pattern of movements. They ran back and forth from the center of the pile of palm leaves to the farthest point on the periphery of the plaza from the mẽ àk-res' house, never entering the house itself. After two or three trips they squatted by the edge of the pile of leaves while one of the chiefs brought several armloads of fresh green palm fronds which he scattered on the dry leaves. The chief was the father of the younger of the two mẽ àk-re squatting by the pile of leaves who was having the nêkrêtsh of a distinct ritual function in this ceremony conferred upon him by his 'ĩ-nsôt, the elder of the pair. In addition to the normal mẽ àk're costume of vine-fiber aprons, arm bands, and head bands, the two wore belts hung with fresh water mussel

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[1]This house was a remnant of an earlier period in which the village was not so large and it formed the end of the plaza. It was about to be destroyed at the time to clear the plaza. The mẽ àk-re used it rather than rebuild their ceremonial hut in the plaza.

shells and carried smooth red-painted round clubs (the 'ĩ-noât's club was full size, the tab-djuò's a diminutive copy). As the fresh fronds were scattered on the pile, all the mẽ àk-re came out of their houses and stood around the pile in a double rank. The two àk-re with the special nê-krêtsh simultaneously began again to run between the pile of palm leaves and the periphery of the plaza. After two more trips to the edge of the plaza and back, they walked onto the pile and sat down in the middle of it, holding their clubs vertically before them.

Two of the mẽ àk-re who had been standing by the pile, a man and a young girl, rushed up to the pile carrying blazing palm fronds and set it on fire. The pair of àk-re remained sitting unperturbedly on the pile as the flames mounted higher and the younger àk-re's father threw on more green fronds, which only temporarily checked the blaze. At the last possible moment, the two arose amid the flames and, after a twirl-and-stamp movement, stepped off the pile and stood to one side. Simultaneously, the rest of the mẽ àk-re, to shouts of "Inôkri! Inôkri!" ("To the center! To the center!") rushed into the flames and stamped them out with their bare feet. Women who had been standing by with vessels of water dashed them over the

feet of the àk-re as they stamped on the flaming embers. Between the water and the stamping the fire was soon out.[1] The àk-re stepped gingerly off the still-smoldering leaves and resumed their double-rank formation. The pile broke into flame again and more dry leaves were thrown on, whereupon some of the àk-re (men and older boys) rushed back into the flames and stamped them out again.

After the fire was put out for the second time, the mẽ àk-re ran over to the maternal house of one of the Bemp. They stood bent low in two ranks facing each other and sang the falsetto song they had sung on their first appearance in the ceremony, in the same antiphonal form. This time, however, instead of running to the next house, both ranks turned to face toward the next Bemp mother's house, and danced in that formation with a slow, swinging step and a new falsetto song toward the next house. When they arrived at the house, they repeated the antiphonal song in the facing-ranks formation. In this fashion they made the circuit of all the Bemp houses, ending up in front of the house where they had begun. At this point they dispersed to their own houses.

This is the final appearance of the mẽ àk-re. With the completion of this rite, the tsh-dirà who were inducted

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[1] The mẽ àk-re claimed their feet were not burned by the fire and they felt no pain from the hot coals.

by their 'ĩ-nsêt into the àk-re society are considered full-fledged mẽ àk-re, capable of passing down the nêkrêtch of membership in the society to their own tab-djuè. Their ceremonial costumes are kept in their houses for a long time afterward as souvenirs of the ceremony.

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuka' krèb-djuè and fathers were by this time beginning to finish the mẽ 'ĩ-tuka' second decorative outfit. The most important items in the outfit are the large bracelets (i'ĩ kati or i'ĩ tuk),[1] which are made by the krab-djuè in the seclusion camp. The bracelets are made of inner bark, like the first set of bracelets (i'ĩ acot) but are painted red[2] with urucu and are considerably larger.

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[1] i'ĩ = "bracelets"; kati = "big"; tuk = "black," "asocial," "in a condition of magico-physical peril" (for a discussion of the meanings of tuk see footnote 2 , p.167.) The i'ĩ bracelets are felt to be the most significant symbolic embodiment of the ritual status of the initiands and are saved as souvenirs by their mothers long after the rest of the ceremonial regalia has been discarded. According to Dreyfus, after the boy becomes a father for the first time, the bracelets are kept at his affinal home and hung on the same tree against which the buriti poles of the child's mute ceremony and the little sack containing its umbilical cord have been placed (Dreyfus 1963: 93). I did not record this piece of information in the field.

[2] The Cayapo had no explanation for the fact that the bracelets are called "black" (tuk) although they are in fact painted red (kamrik). It is clear that tuk in this context does not refer to color but to the state of asocial, magico-physical peril of the initiands. The rationale for painting the i'ĩ tuk red is the same as that for painting corpses (mẽ tuk) or the bodies of the seriously ill red. Red is thought of as the opposite of black, and as embodying qualities which are in many respects the opposites of those associated with

The krà̀b-djuò also make belts of split strips of white wood (mẽ prê aka).[1] The most important item made by the father is the stone axe ('ùkatch), a flanged celt of ground and polished hard black stone mounted with pitch in a long shaft of soft white wood. It is preferred that the father-in-law of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk make the haft of the axe, but this

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black. Red connotes health, vigor, and vitality, which in turn implies to the Cayapo a state of social well-being, i.e., a firm and unproblematical integration in the social order. For this reason red is associated with the quality of aggressive self-assertiveness, "àkrâ," which represents the epitome of the more dynamic social virtues. Red is used in the preparations of stinging wasps or ants smeared on the me ôk-re and on hunting dogs to make them more àkrâ. Ripe fruits and food plants are also referred to as "red" even though their actual color may not be red. The reference is to their condition of well-being and physical vitality rather than to color per se. White (aka) is the other principal color after red and black, although it is little used by the Cayapo in ceremonial symbolism or decoration. It is associated with death but not in the same way that tuk is. The food of the dead is white clay, and the villages of the dead are always situated near white rocks or outcroppings of white clay. The chief connotation of whiteness seems to be the absence of either of the sets of qualities associated with black and red. It is on the one hand the antithesis of "redness" (vitality, health, aggressiveness, which besides epitomizing the dynamic qualities of life also implies disruption and hostility), and on the other hand lacks the threatening, overtly asocial connotations of blackness. For an incisive general treatment of the symbolic properties of red, black, and white based on African material, which comes to essentially similar conclusions about the symbolic values of these colors, see V. Turner, 1965.

[1] prê = "belt" (literally a tie or lashing); aka = white. I neglected to inquire into the symbolic significance of the white belt while in the field, but in view of the general symbolic value of white as set forth in the preceding footnote, it may be suggested that the white belt is in many respects the

was only done by one of the fathers-in-law in the ceremony I witnessed. The father also makes mussel shell ear plugs, an ornate woman's baby sling (*ayĩ*) and a feather necklace (*ôkre tã*) which corresponds to the bark necklace made by the *kràb-djuò* as part of the first decorative outfit. These ornaments are used by the *mẽ 'ĩ-tuk* in a prescribed routine in their daily formal return to the village from the forest seclusion camp.

The new return procedure is for the *mẽ 'ĩ-tuk* to leave their bundles of palm leaves leaning against a house on the periphery of the plaza as before, but then to go behind the houses to their mothers' houses, where the stone axes and other ornaments made by their fathers are kept. The *mẽ 'ĩ-tuk* put on the ornaments, sling the stone axes over their shoulders and pass out into the plaza through the front doors of their mothers' houses. After standing silently for five minutes in a rank with their *kràb-djuò*, they fetch the bundles of leaves and make their sitting place in the plaza. They sit for twenty minutes with their *kràb-djuò* on the leaves,

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symbolic corollary of the red bracelets. Whereas the latter symbolically counteract the "*tuk*" ("black") condition of the *mẽ 'ĩ-tuk* with red, the white belt encircles the central "*'ĩ*" ("insides," "core") of the *mẽ 'ĩ-tuk* and opposes to their "*tuk*"-ness its own whiteness, connoting an absence of strife and disruption and thus serving to counteract the problematic implications of the red bracelets as well.

and then walk to their mothers-in-law's houses, sit on the "bed" near the door, and take off all their ornaments, including their stone axe. They leave them on the bed and return to their mothers' houses, walking behind the houses on the way to keep out of sight. As each mẽ 'ĩ-tuk reaches his mother's house, either his mother or sister walk back to his mother-in-law's house and retrieve the ornaments. They bring them back to their own houses without speaking to the mother-in-law. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk wait in their mothers' houses for about half an hour, after which they return to the sitting place in the plaza with their kwàb-diuà.

Part III. The ceremonial hunt (ẽnto mẽrõ)[1]

August 20

After dark on the day of the mẽ àk-ra fire ceremony, the fathers of the boys receiving Bemp names called all their consanguineal and adoptive brothers and fathers to meet in front of their houses. The mothers and kwa-tuy of the Bemp make meat pies which are served to all those invited. The meeting is for the purpose of organising a collective hunt for turtles, game, and fish to provide food for the feast on the final night of the ceremony. Any men not already

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[1] ẽnt = "sleep"; mẽrõ = "to go"; ẽntomẽrõ = "to go on a journey which lasts for a number of sleeps" (i.e., nights).

related to the father who accept his invitation and accompany him on the hunt become his adoptive brothers and thus the adoptive fathers of his son. The men who are not invited by any of the fathers are led as a group by the chiefs of their men's societies.

August 22-31

After two more days, all the men's age sets (mẽ ôk-re, mẽ nõrõ nu-re, and mẽ kra-re) left for the hunting camp in the forest, which had been selected and stocked in advance with supplies of manioc and bananas by the fathers of the Bemp.

In the forest each father's group camps in a distinct area and accumulates its own supplies. The men led by the chief or chiefs also hunt, but their produce is divided by the chiefs among the fathers. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràh-djuò join the group and make their own separate campsite a short distance from the other men. The preferred game during most of the hunt is turtles, since they can be stored alive for weeks without going bad. In the last days before the return to the village any game or fish is killed and roasted afresh each day to preserve it.

While the men are gone the women in the village are divided into similar but less formal groups, each assisting

the mother of one of the boys receiving names to accumulate the firewood, stones for the earth ovens, and the manioc, bananas, and other food used in the final feast. I noticed that many women helped several of the mothers rather than work exclusively with one.

The men return from the hunt in a long file carrying bundles of game and racks of turtles. They march straight to the center of the plaza and stand there in a group until a chief delivers a formal dismissal formula in the ritual style. They then carry their food to the houses of the fathers for whom they have hunted.

Part IV. The Awòri

August 31

Shortly before the rest of the men arrived from the hunt, one of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and his kràb-djuò danced at a rapid running pace around the plaza, singing the mẽ bâ kuŋ kati song and holding their arms in the ritual wailing position. They wore plumes of two long white feathers in reed sockets tied to the backs of their heads. A woman and a young girl, specially painted and decorated, ran behind them for several circuits of the plaza. This was the woman's nêkrêtch, which she was passing on to the younger girl, her tab-djuò. After the rest of the men arrived and unloaded

their packs of food, they fell in behind the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò and performed the mẽ bê kum kati dance at the same running pace.

The following day two mẽ bê kum kati continued this form of the mẽ bê kum kati dance, in identical costume and at the same running pace, as a ngrôrôba, a counterpart of the earlier rĩnt ôba. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re mẽ bê kum kati fall in behind them in the afternoon just as all the mẽ bê kum kati had fallen in behind the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò the previous day.

September 1

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò resumed their daily routine of leaving for the seclusion camp before dawn and returning to the village via their mothers' and mothers-in-law's houses every afternoon, beginning with the day the men returned from the hunt.

September 2

ngrôa kati.[1] The second day after the return from the hunt, all the mẽ bê kum kati (who now included the defunct mẽ ìu-re) left the village to cut another ceremonial log, the ngrôa kati ("big buriti log"). This single log is

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[1] kati = "big" (in this context); other names for the ngrôa kati are ngrôa kàkti-re and bẽre kwòy wàri-re.

said to be "for" the mẽ 'i-tuk as a group in the same way that the previous logs were "for" individual boys receiving Bẽmp names. It is supposed to be considerably larger than the other logs and is cut and brought in from a much more distant place. The ngrêa kati I observed was cut a good three miles from the village as against less than one mile for the Bẽmp logs, and it was perhaps three feet longer, six inches thicker, and considerably heavier. The mẽ kra kaò again performed the actual cutting of the tree, which, like the others, was an inaja rather than a buriti palm. The log was so heavy the men could only haul it a small part of the way back to the village that day.

The fathers of the Bẽmp carried manioc cakes and bananas to the men working on the log. The cakes were baked by the wives of the men who hunted with the fathers on the ceremonial hunt, who include the wives of most of their close male relatives.

Bẽmp nhẽn krua.[1] About the same time[2] the ngàydju-re leave the village in a group and make a camp in the forest.

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[1] nhẽn = possessive indicator; krua = "arrow" (s.,pl.); Bẽmp nhẽn krua = "the arrows of the Bemp."

[2] The Bẽmp nhẽn krua was not performed during the ceremony I witnessed. The reason given was that there were too few ngàydju-re of an age capable of manufacturing the arrows.

Under the supervision of mẽ nõrẽ-au-re or older men, they make special arrows (krua), which have no feathers nor attached points[1] and are painted with stripes. The mothers of the Bẽmp meanwhile make manioc cakes and send them to the ngàvdju-re in their camp. The ngàvdju-re return to the village and present their arrows to the mothers.

ô-po-ti-re kô.[2] The men returned to the village from dragging the ngrôa kati at 3:30 P.M., carrying bundles of palm fronds they had cut along the way. With the palm fronds they walled off the normally open-sided men's house to form a ka'ê, that is, a completely closed ceremonial hut without a door. In one of the inside corners of the men's house (the left rear corner as one entered from the center of the plaza) a small room or booth was also constructed. All the mẽ hê kum kati made their way into the men's house by parting the leaves of the walls, taking care to close the openings after themselves. Once inside, they all began singing, jumping violently up and down in time to the music, brandishing their clubs and firing their guns through the thatch of the roof.

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[1]All Cayapo arrows are feathered and, even when the points themselves are made of wood, they are separately fashioned of hard wood and attached to the arrow shaft, which is of cane, by bindings.

[2]ô = "leaf," "body hair"; po = "broad"; ti = augmentative suffix; kô = "round club."

One of the men remained outside and rounded up a number of single or childless women, including some older women with grown children and some very young girls (5-7 years of age). He led them to the men's house and parted the palm leaves for them to enter. The role was a nâkrêtch he had inherited from an ʃ̃-ngêt. Once inside, the women stood in a small huddle in the middle of the men, singing and rapidly rubbing their breasts with the palms of their hands.

A man is already seated in the booth (which also has no door) when the women are brought in. Another man takes one of the women by the hand, leads her over to the booth, and parts the leaves for her to enter. Inside the booth the two have sexual intercourse. Afterwards they leave and another couple takes their places.[1] Women with children who do not volunteer for this ceremony (as some do) are not ordinarily forced to take part in it, but it is compulsory for girls without children.

After there are no more pairs for sexual intercourse, the men knock down the palm frond walls across the front of

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[1] I am unable to describe the exact method of arranging the pairs since the Corotire balked at carrying out this portion of the ceremony in my presence and I was unable to secure reliable accounts from informants.

the ngà and all the celebrants dance out into the plaza. The men still maintain the violent jumping movement and the women remain in their small huddle in the midst of the men. Then the men separate into two groups, on a purely ad hoc basis, leaving the group of women to one side. One of the chiefs, bent double and singing in falsetto, runs from one of the groups to the other, which thereupon bursts into song and rushes back to unite with the first group. Both groups then dance together as one, moving in unison with a slower, more measured cadence, and the women's group also joins the united group again from the side. After a few verses of the dance song, the groups divide again and the whole process is repeated. The chief starts each repetition by running from alternate groups. As I saw the dance performed, the women's group retired from the dance after two repetitions, but the men kept it up for another half hour. There was no predominance of age sets or men's societies in either of the two men's groups. The formal principle of the dance simply demands a dual division, but does not specify how it is to be formed. This dance form is found in several other Cayapo ceremonies.

ô re-ti-re kô nerêrôra. After the dance the men returned to the men's house and sat together for the rest

of the afternoon, while two of their number walked hand in hand around the plaza, singing the ô po-ti-re kô song.

September 3

àwàri. Shortly after dawn the next day the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and mẽ kwa-re left the village as separate groups, each with the purpose of cutting down an awàri, a slender tree perhaps a foot in diameter at the base and about sixty feet tall, with branches only at the top. I was told that the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk rather than the mẽ kwa kwrò hunted and selected the awàri. The fathers of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk bring manioc cakes and bananas to the men at the trees. The members of the different age sets themselves do the cutting. Once the awàri are cut down, their branches are lashed with vines into two great bundles, so that at the top of each tree there is a two-pronged fork of branches, each prong ending in a large tuft of leaves. The awàri are dragged to the edge of the forest near the village and covered with leaves. The two age sets then return to the village and each constructs a scaffold about fifteen feet high to support its awàri. The mẽ kwa-re build their scaffold to the right of the men's house (looking from the center of the plaza) and the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re build theirs to the left.[1] Holes are dug at the base

[1] The Cayapo attach no symbolic importance to right and left. I spent considerable time and effort investigating this matter to no avail.

of the scaffolds ready to receive the bases of the awaris.

awàri ngrêrôba. Two men meanwhile walk around the plaza holding hands and singing the awàri song. They wear wax helmets mounted with three red parrot plumes and arm bands decorated with long bark streamers.

awàri ngrêrê. After dark that night a long single file of men, carrying sticks with which they beat the ground, houses, or any other object within reach, issued from the men's house chanting the awàri song. At intervals of one-quarter of the circumference of the plaza, they stopped singing and beating with their sticks and squatted down in their tracks, while one of the chiefs chanted a ceremonial formula in the metrical falsetto ben style. After one circuit of the village they went back into the ngà. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their krèb-djuò joined the line for the dance but returned to their camp in the middle of the plaza when it was over.

September 4

Erection of the awàri. Before dawn the next morning the men gathered in the ngà and began to sing the awàri songs of the previous evening. Some go to the awàris, take them from their hiding places, and rest them upon a pair of cross-logs just outside the village. After half an hour the rest of the men, carrying the same sticks, singing the same

song as the previous evening, danced down to the two awàrí. They remained dancing and singing in small groups around the awàrí for forty-five minutes, when the two awàrí ngrêrôbn dancers could be heard approaching. As they drew near, everyone stopped singing and crouched alongside of both awàrí, holding their sticks over the leg. When the two awàrí ngrêrôbn dancers arrived at the awari, the men suddenly began violently beating the awàrí with their sticks. They continued until the bark had been removed and the white wood beneath had been revealed. Women arrived from the nearest houses with water to wash the awàrí, and a few men rubbed them with sand and leaves to smooth them. Just before sunrise, but after the sky had already grown light, the mẽ kwa-re and mẽ mẽrõ-nu-re picked up their respective awàrîu and raced with them on their shoulders to the scaffolds, where each flung its awàrí up against the scaffolding, some hauling on the long vines which had been left tied to the fork of branches at the top. Both awàrí went up almost instantaneously, and were as quickly lashed to their scaffolds with vines.

As soon as the awàrí were up, the two age sets danced off separately, performing the mẽ hê kwa kwâ dance at a running pace. During the dance, a young girl painted the bases

of both awàris red with urucu up to a height of three feet; this was a nêkrôtch she had inherited from a kup-tuy.

After the dance was over, the mẽ nõkõ-nu-re and mẽ kra-re shot with bows and arrows at the forked branches of their awàri, the members of each age set shooting only at its own awàri. After a number of arrows had stuck in the branches, the shooting was discontinued. It was never repeated.

ô pa-ti-re kê. That afternoon the men's house was walled in again and the ô pa-ti-re kê was repeated. This afternoon's repetition differed from the last in that the long vines leading from the tops of the awàri had been passed into the men's house through the thatch of the roof, while other vines had been tied to the rafters of the men's house itself. In addition to whooping, singing, and shooting off their guns, the men inside the pẽ hauled vigorously on the vines, causing the forked tops of the awàri to wave back and forth and the men's house itself to tremble and shake. After this, the final celebration of the ô pa-ti-re kê, all the weapons which the men had carried in the dance were collected by the chiefs and taken to their houses to prevent fights arising from jealousies and resentments over the sexual liaisons contracted in the ceremony.

The fact that the final, most elaborate version of the ô po-ti-re kò is intimately associated with the awèri contributes to the impression that the awèri are the principal symbolic focus of this phase of the ceremony. The ô po-ti-re kò is one of the elements in the symbolic complex which centers upon them.

mẽ kra karè and me 'ĩ-tuk songs. That night the me kra karè gather and sit together in a circle at the foot of the mẽ kra-re's awèri. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their krèb-djuè remain in their kwin dja in the center of the plaza. Each sings different songs associated with its ritual functions. The mẽ kra karè sing so that their children will be healthy and strong. They are said to be afraid to stop their singing before the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk for fear that this will lead to ill-health for their children. For this reason, whenever a pause in the singing is called for (e.g., to eat the food brought to the mẽ kra karè by the father of one of the Bemp and to the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk by their mothers), one of the mẽ'ĩ-tuk krèb-djuè calls over to the mẽ kra karè that the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk have stopped singing and that it is safe for them to follow suit. The brothers of the mẽ kra karè sat and sang with them, even when they themselves had no children. Several of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk's mothers sat by the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and blew smoke on them from their pipes. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk are supposed

to be in a state of special spiritual danger during these songs and the smoke is thought to drive hostile ghosts (mẽ karõn) away. After a break for eating, both groups continued singing all night. A woman sat in the middle of the circle of mê kra karò with two young girls beside her. This was the older woman's nêkrêtch, inherited from a kwa-tuy, which she was passing on to the two young girls, her tab-djuò.

mẽ bê Bẽmp kràb-djuò nhõn djuò.[1] The morning of the previous day (September 3) the krab-djuò of the boys receiving Bẽmp names run to the maternal houses of the Bẽmp and are given meat pies. If the kràb-djuò come from more than one house, one kràb-djuò runs to the houses of each of the others, bringing them one by one to stand in a line in the center of the plaza and turning with the mẽ àk-re twirl-and-stamp motion to return to the house of another. When all the kràb-djuò have been assembled, they run in a group to the house of the Bẽmp who is their kràb-djuò and receive their meat pies. They take the meat pies back to their own houses, where they eat a portion of them and give the rest to their own or their spouse's kràb-djuò, who quickly run over to their houses to claim a share.

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[1] djuò = manioc cakes; nhõn = possessive indicator; the expression thus means "the manioc cakes of the kràb-djuò of the Bẽmp."

September 5

kwa-tuy ngrêrê. Early on the morning after the mẽ kra karè and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk had sung all night at the foot of the awari, one of the chiefs chanted a metrical falsetto ben formula in the middle of the plaza. This was followed by the same rite that marked the end of the opening phase of the ceremony, the kwa-tuy ngrêrê (see p.202). After the dance, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuò went to bathe and began decorating themselves for the climactic terminal ceremony which was to begin that evening.

mẽ bê kum kati. Immediately following the kwa-tuy ngrêrê, the mẽ bê kum kati performed their customary dance with the ordinary slow stop that they used at the beginning of the ceremony. A woman carrying a baby girl danced just behind the first pair of dancers in the line: it was her nêkrêtuh to dance in this final performance of the mẽ bê kum kati dance. Several older women joined the rear of the line of dancers briefly to dance "for their tab-djuò." After the dance all the mẽ bê kum kati went off to drag the ngrôa kati (the ceremonial log of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk) the rest of the way to the village.

Part V The finals (amĩ ã prã)[1]

Ceremonial regalia of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuò. Besides the decorative outfit the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk wear every day to their mothers-in-law, the me 'i-tuk don for the final dance many additional items of regalia, made by their fathers or other kinsmen whom the fathers are able to persuade to undertake the job. The father usually pays for assistance of this sort with a present of game, artifacts, or trade goods. The most spectacular features of the dance costume are the huge parrot feather headdresses (àkà djê djà) and the beeswax helmet (kutãa) with its trefoil plume mounted on a two-foot stick (àkà pari). A crucial part of the decoration of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, the Bemp, and their kràb-djuò is the coating of their bodies with the greenish-yellow body feathers of a small green parakeet. Kràb-djuò are the only relations who have the right to ornament each other with parakeet feathers.[2] The feathers are stuck on the body with resin, from the neck to the knees and elbows.

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[1] amĩ ã prã - "end or finish of a ceremony."

[2] An exception to this rule is the decoration of a corpse for burial, which is carried out by the wife or consanguineal kinswoman of the deceased and never by a kràb-djuò.

The outfit of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk's kràb-djuò is similar to that of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, except that it lacks the bracelets, the feather headdress, and the stone axe. The kràb-djuò carry guns or clubs throughout the final ceremony.

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, their kràb-djuò and kwa-tuys emerged fully decorated from the maternal houses of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk in the late afternoon of September 5. The kràb-djuò carried their weapons and clasped the hands of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk with their free hands. The kwa-tuy of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk followed, two abreast. There were no 'ĩ-ngêt in the procession, by contrast with the kwa-tuy ngrôrê, which the procession resembled in other respects. The five separate processions united in a single column. The column walked around the plaza, occasionally bursting into a brief falsetto chant. The mothers of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk ran along beside them blowing smoke on them from their pipes.

The ngrôa kati and mẽ bê kum kati. The mẽ bê kum kati spent the day dragging the ngrôa kati to the edge of the village. They also gathered palm leaves, with which the two age sets (the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and the mẽ kra-re) made themselves sitting places on opposite sides of the log, which was left about two hundred yards from the village. Both age sets spent the night sitting beside the log and singing the ngrôa song. The girls and younger married women of the village

come down to the log and the mẽ bê kum kati cut their hair and have sexual intercourse with them.[1] The mothers of the boys receiving Bemp names bake huge meat pies, described as being three feet across (djuè kati) and the fathers of the Bemp bring them to the men at the log.[2]

After nightfall the procession of mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, kràh-djuè and kwa-tuv turned away from the plaza and walked out toward the ngrôa kati where the mẽ bê kum kati were sitting. In front of them the ngàvdju-re retreated towards the log, holding up palm fronds in front of themselves as if hiding from the advancing mẽ 'ì-tuk procession, just as they had done with the Bemp ngrôa logs when they were brought into the village. Upon reaching the log, the procession halted and the leading kràh-djuè walked on ahead ten or fifteen paces and assumed a ritual stance before the seated mẽ bê kum kati. In the ritual speaking style he asked them, "Is the log properly aligned?" to which one of the older mẽ kra-re replied, "Yes. The log is properly aligned."[3] The

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[1]This portion of the ceremony was omitted during the performance which I witnessed.

[2]The large meat pies were omitted from the Gorotire ceremony.

[3]The Cayapo expressions are "djàm ngrôa-re amay kutã?" (djàm = interrogative indicator; amay kutã = "properly aligned," "in order"), to which the reply is "tam, ngrôa-re amay kutã" (tam = affirmative assent). An alternative form of the same

kràb-djuò thereupon walked back to the rest of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk procession, where another kràb-djuò questioned him, and he replied in the same manner. The procession then returned to the village. This process was repeated a number of times during the night, several times with only one pair of kràb-djuò and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk detaching themselves from the procession in the village plaza and making the trip alone to the log and back. At each arrival at the log and upon each return to the procession, the same ritual question-and-answer formula was repeated.

After the ngàrdju-re arrive at the log following the first visit of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk procession to the log, the me hê kum kati cut their hair, just as they are supposed to do with the women who later came down to the log.

As the processions of mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, kràb-djuò, and kum-tuy continue to travel from the village to the log and back, members of the mẽ nẽmẽ-nu-re age set leave their places beside the log and conceal themselves in the bushes beside the trail. As the processions pass, they run out and seize the kum-tuy, drag them off into the bushes and have sexual intercourse with them. This is said to make the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk,

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question is "djàm ngrôs-re kutê ĩnoĩ ma nhĩ'ã?" to which the reply is "tam. ngrôs-re kute ĩnoĩ ma nhĩ'ã."

as the tab-djuò of the kwa-tuy, "happy" (kinh).[1]

The kwa-tuy are presented with manioc cakes by the mothers of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk after the ceremony in payment for dancing for their sons in the procession and making them "happy" through the ritual intercourse.

From time to time the processions pass beyond the log and proceed far out into the savanna before turning back. Dancing out of the village into the region known as atukmã, the "asocial" region beyond the village, (see note 2, p. 167), and back again is a feature of most major Cayapo ritual dances.

kubê mà. The fathers of the Bẽmp in the late afternoon built two large screens of palm fronds, about ten feet high, concealing from the east and west[2] a small circular dance track in the very center of the plaza. The parents and kin of the Bemp, including the name-receiving boys themselves, sat inside the screens around the periphery of the dance track. On the circular dance track, groups of kràb-djuò of

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[1] kinh in this context connotes not only happiness but generalized moral and physical well-being. The same sexual rite occurs with the kwa-tuya of boys receiving names in most naming ceremonies. The reason always given is that it makes the tab-djuò "kinh." Cutting the women's hair in the maize ceremony is said to make the maize "kinh," which connotes physical well-being and full development as well as "happiness" per se.

[2] The directions of the two men's houses.

each boy stood in single file, each bloc of krèb-djuò separated by a short interval from the next. About half of the circumference of the dance track was left empty. Each successive bloc of krèb-djuò would run in small rapid steps around this section of the track with arms extended straight out from the shoulders and palms facing forwards, crying in a shrill voice, "ra! ra! ra! ra!," coming to a halt behind the next bloc of krèb-djuò. The groups of krèb-djuò continue to run in rotation until dawn. The running, the arm position, and the cry of the krèb-djuò are in imitation of the masaw (Port. arara, Guyapo màn) and this dance of the krèb-djuò is called "becoming masaws" (kubê̂ màn).

The Bẽ̀mp krèb-djuò are covered with parakeet down (applied by the fathers of the Bẽ̀mp, who are also their patrilineal krèb-djuò),[1] and wear long streamers of grass and a single parrot feather attached to the back of their heads. A peculiar feature of the decoration of the kubê̂ màn, both male and female, is that their bodies are painted with geometrical designs in the style characteristic of mẽ̃ krĩ̃-re, never used by adult men under ordinary circumstances, before being decorated with the parrot down which completely obscures

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[1] Only the female krèb-djuò had been decorated with parakeet feathers during the ceremony I witnessed. The men felt the resin and feathers would be uncomfortable beneath their shirts and shorts after the ceremony (it requires about a week for the rubin to wear off).

the original designs. The boys receiving Bẽmp names are themselves covered with parakeet down by the kràb-djuò, who dance the kubê màn for them. The Bẽmp boys also wear a large variety of ornaments made by their fathers, such as the special cotton-spool ear plugs which only persons with Bẽmp names may wear and the elaborate bracelets covered with geometrical designs in basketry, to which are attached large clusters of a special seed (wôre 'ô) gathered and pierced by the boys' older sisters or mothers, which are worn by name-receiving children in all name-giving ceremonies.

September 6

kapran kà.[1] At sunrise, the high palm screens surrounding the dance track of the kubê màn are torn down. One of the kubê màn who was also a chief passed a turtle shell, containing a mash of maize prepared by the mother of one of the Bẽmp, low to the ground with his arm extended around the inside of the dance track of the kubê màn while muttering a short ritual formula. When he was finished he put the shell down in the center of the circle.[2] Onlookers, including but

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[1]kapran = tortoise; kà = shell, skin, vessel; kapran kà ="tortoise shell."

[2]The same rite is performed at the close of the annual maize ceremony.

not exclusively comprising the kin of the Bẽmp, rushed up and ate the mash of maize in the shell. This rite marks the end of the kubô màn.

kubô peyàti. While the kapran kà was still going on, pairs of Bemp kràb-djuò, one male and one female, danced out into the plaza with a strange step resembling a bicycling exercise, crying "kriu! kriuuu!", the call of the peyàti, a forest bird. The man of the pair carried an axe with which he struck a block of wood thrown in the center of the plaza by one of the Bemp fathers. This was repeated five times, by kràb-djuò of each of the name-receiving boys. Some of the kràb-djuò who had served as kubô màn also doubled as peyàti, but some of the kubô peyàti were different individuals.

At this point the mẽ bô kum kati shouldered the ngrôa kati and bore it into the village. As they shuffled slowly into the plaza, the column of mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and kràb-djuò, with the few kwa-tuya who were still on their feet, broke into a run. With the kràb-djuò and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk still holding hands, the column swooped rapidly toward and away from the advancing log, racing around it in tight circles, until the men threw down the log in the center of the plaza.

itchô iaprò. When the ngrôa kati was thrown down, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk procession immediately came to a halt. All

the mẽ hô kum kati, the kwa-tuy of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, and the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuò formed two groups facing each other beside the log. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuò made up the front rank of both groups, but there was no effort to distribute the other members of the two groups according to kinship, sex, or age set affiliation. When the two groups had been formed, all the members of both groups broke into a hymn with a slow, heavily emphasized rhythm whose only words were "the mirror reflects!." (itchê iaprè). The groups stamped and swung their arms rhythmically toward and away from each other in time to the singing. A girl danced separately in the aisle between the two groups; this was her nôkrêtch, passed down to her by a kwa-tuy. After a short time, the singing stopped and everyone dispersed to their houses. The kràb-djuò accompanied the me 'ĩ-tuk to their maternal houses.

'ùdjuò kôt djuò mõ.[1] About two hours later, everyone came out of their houses and stood expectantly watching

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[1]The expression literally means "to carry manioc cakes for the sister's or daughter's husband" ('ùdjuò = sister's or daughter's husband, man or woman sp.; kôt = "following," "concerning"; djuò = "manioc cakes"; mõ = "to go or carry"). The rite is also referred to as "the brother's or son's wife's manioc cakes" (mẽ wôi nhõn djuò; wôi = brother's or son's wife, woman sp. only; nhõn = possessive indicator).

the plaza. The sisters-in-law of the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuk emerged from the houses of their ceremonial wives, carrying manioc cakes baked by the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuku' mothers-in-law. The sisters-in-law made for the maternal houses of the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuk to give the manioc cakes to the mothers and sisters of the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuk, but ngàvdju-xa ran out into the plaza and tried to knock the manioc cakes out of their hands. They succeeded in three out of the five cases and ran off with the manioc cakes. The sisters-in-law returned to their own houses without any expression of reaction.

mə̃ wə̂ mə̃ mə̃.[1] Immediately following this processions issued from the maternal houses of the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuk They were led by a male kinsman of the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuk (in most cases a biological, classificatory, or adoptive father, but in one case an 'ĩ̃-nə̂t), followed by female kinsmen (mothers and kwa-tuvə). The processions walked to the houses of the mothers-in-law of the mə̃ 'ĩ̃-tuk and were given manioc cakes and bananas.

bam nərə̂rə̂.[2] Early in the afternoon, the fathers of the boys who had received Bamp names danced out of their

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[1] wə̂ = "sister or daughter-in-law" (woman speaking); mə̃ = "towards"; mə̃ = "to go"; mə̃ wə̂ mə̃ mə̃ = "to go to the sister-in-law's"

[2] bam = "father"; bam nərə̂rə̂ = "the fathers' songs"

houses, together with all their genealogical and adoptive brothers. The groups of dancers corresponded with some exceptions to the groups of men who had hunted together on the ceremonial hunt. All the men of each group stood in the relation of "father" to one of the Bẽmp boys. The groups joined into a double column and danced around the plaza with their arms in the ritual wailing position, singing a sung in which each group announced the Bemp names that had been bestowed on their "son." After several circuits of the plaza the groups returned to the maternal houses of the Bemp from which they had come.

The bestowal of Bẽmp names. The bam ngrêrê is the last rite in the Bẽmp portion of the ceremony. With its completion, the Bẽmp name or names are considered to be completely and finally bestowed upon the boys. The act of saying the names to the boys themselves is not a formal part of the ceremony. The 'ĩ-ngêt may walk to the boy's maternal house and declaim the names he is giving to him, or the boy's mother may "say them to him" herself as they sit in the house after the dance (women often bestow the names of their dead brothers or fathers on the child in this way). A living 'ĩ-ngêt is presented after the ceremony with a meat pie by the boy's mother.

After the ceremony, the bodies of the boys who have received Bemp names are painted black and their faces painted red.

mẽ 'ĩ-tuk 'ù-paym-djuò kôt ngẽrẽ.[1] Later that afternoon, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk appeared with their kràb-djuò standing in a rank in their usual place in the plaza. The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk still wore their wax helmets with plumes, and one still carried his stone axe. After standing together for a while, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk walked to their mothers-in-law s' houses, where they spent the night in their ceremonial beds.

September 7

At sunrise the next day, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk walked from their mothers-in-law s' houses back to their mothers' houses. They walked through the center of the plaza and passed in front of the men's house, where the assembled men whooped and cheered as they went by. This open passage from the mothers-in-law's to the mothers' houses contrasts with the secretive manner in which the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk were forced to creep back to their mothers' houses from their mothers-in-law s' before their initiation was complete.

The mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and their kràb-djuò returned to their forest camp shortly afterwards. There the kràb-djuò painted

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[1] 'ù-paym-djuò = "mother-in-law"; ngẽrẽ = "to sleep"; kôt = "with" or "at"

the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and themselves in a special pattern (different from the kakwòy akàrà design used in the earlier phases of the ceremony). In the afternoon the kràb-djuò and mẽ 'ĩ-tuk returned to the village and stood in front of the men's house. The ceremonial fathers of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk (the same men who led the processions of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk, kwa-tuy and 'ĩ-ngât out of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuks' maternal houses to begin the ceremony) stepped out of the nga and, taking their "sons" by the hand, led them back into the nga to the sitting place of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age set. With this, the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk were considered fully initiated mẽ nõrõ-nu-re This act marks the end of the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk ceremony.

Not all mẽ ôk-re go through the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk. Orphans or boys whose living consanguineal and adoptive kin are not numerous, energetic, or prestigious enough to bear the burden of food contributions themselves or to call on sufficient outside support to do so cannot go through the full initiation ceremony. These boys are painted by their kràb-djuò in the same pattern as the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and led into the sitting place of the nõrõ-nu-re at the close of the ceremony. They are considered to be full members of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age grade It is regarded as shameful and undesirable to be initiated in this way, but no permanent social disability results from it for the boys concerned.

Dietary restrictions attached to Bẽmp names. All persons bearing Bẽmp names are forbidden to eat a certain fish, the tekruòdu (Port. mambara) which is also called the "Bẽmp" fish. The macaw (màn) and the peyàti are also prohibited It is said that, if they were eaten, skin eruptions would result. The biological father, mother, and siblings of a Bẽmp are forbidden to eat the same animals lest this cause their son or brother, who bears the name, to break out with the skin disease. Persons bearing Bẽmp names are not considered to stand in any relation of filiation or kinship to these animals, or to be able to communicate with them or to have any other form of special relationship to them. The dietary restrictions are in force throughout the ceremony and permanently thereafter. I was unable to discover any beliefs accounting for the association of these particular species with the Bemp ceremony.

Teknonymy. The biological father (bam) and mother (nã) of the boy receiving Bẽmp names are generally referred to during the ceremony as Bẽmp-bam and Bẽmp-nã. The boy himself may call them by these terms for the rest of their lives. The parents in turn call the boy by the nickname form of the Bẽmp name, Bẽ̊pẽ̃.

Bẽmp nhõdja.[1] The red rays which stand out against

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[1] Bemp nhõ djà = Bemp + nh + õt + djà; õt = "customary" form of the verb to sleep"; nh = prefix indicating that the

the sky from the setting sun are said to be "the sleeping place of the Bẽmp," where the ghosts of persons with Bẽmp names go after their deaths. I could extract no further elucidation or explanation of this belief from my informants. The ghosts of persons with Bẽmp names are also thought to dwell in the villages of the dead under mountains or in the forests like the ghosts of all other people. When I put this to informants as a contradiction, they simply asserted that Bẽmp ghosts can go either place when they want to.

The ceremony as performed in villages with two men's houses (moieties). I have described the ceremony as I witnessed it at Gorotire, a village with only one men's house. After the various rituals were performed, I sought to discover what part the moiety division played in them when both moieties were present from older informants who could remember the old village of Gorotire when it still had both men's houses. All informants agreed that the mẽ ĩ-tuk, mẽ kra kakò, and mẽ àk-re were not divided according to moiety but sat together in the same "sitting places" with no internal moiety division. The sitting place of the mẽ ĩ-tuk was in the

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subject or object of the verb immediately preceded it; djà = "place" (the "t" of tẽ is dropped before the dj of "djà"). I am indebted for this etymology to the Rev. Emil Krapp

exact center of the plaza between the two men's houses. The ceremonial hut of the mẽ 'àk-re was close by but in the eastern half of the plaza. Only one ngrôa kati (the log cut last for the mẽ 'ĩ-tuk) was brought in by the men from both men's houses in cooperation. The mẽ bê kum kati were likewise made up of the men from both men's houses, divided only according to age grade in the manner described (see note 2, p.182). The logs for the Bẽmp were also brought in one at a time by mẽ bê kum kati from both men's houses. One informant claimed that the men from a given men's house brought in logs only for the Bẽmp whose fathers were members of that men's house, but other informants stated that all logs were brought in by members of both men's houses. Each men's house set up its own awàris, and brought in only its own wives for ritual intercourse in the ô po-ti-re kô. As we shall see, girls of the age grade of me kurêrê-re (corresponding to the boys' grade of mẽ êk-re) are considered "wives" of one men's house or the other even before they have prospective husbands of their own. Older girls are considered wives of the men's house of which their husbands are members.

IV B. Domestic group relations in the mɛ̃ nɛ̃rɔ̃-nu-rɛ age grade

The termination of the initiation ceremony in a symbolic marriage constitutes the social certification of the generalized eligibility of the initiated youths for marriage. An uninitiated youth may not marry. A mɛ̃ nɛ̃rɔ̃-nu-rɛ is not considered bound to the "wife" to whom he was symbolically married in his initiation ceremony, although it is vaguely considered to be a good thing for him to marry her. Since the ceremonial wives are often little more than babes in arms, few mɛ̃ nɛ̃rɔ̃-nu-rɛ are willing to wait long enough for them to mature sufficiently to make possible the consummation of a true marriage.

There are no prescriptive or preferential rules of marriage with specific categories of kin. Marriage is prohibited with any woman to whom a relationship of kinship (in the Cayapo sense of the word, which includes affinal relations) may be genealogically traced.[1] The sisters of a brother's wife ('ù-prum) are prohibited, a rule which makes it impossible for brothers to marry into the same affinal household, since all the female members of a household in the marriageable generation are biological or classificatory sisters. The sororate, the levirate, and widow inheritance are not practiced. Marriage between ceremonial friends (krɛ̀b-djùb) of opposite sexes is also forbidden.

1. Marriage between WB and Ego's Z (BWB--ZHZ) is therefore expressly forbidden.

Marriage[1] *per se*, as opposed to the attainment of marriageable status, is a simple process requiring no ceremony. Marriage is defined in practical social terms as the residence of the husband (*mien*) in the house of the wife (*prẽn*), economic cooperation between spouses, and, as the definitive factor on which the others depend, the production of children. A couple is only considered fully married after the birth of their first child. Before this event, their relationship resembles a love affair more than a marriage. The husbands spend most of the night in their wives' houses, but creep back to their places in the *ngà* before dawn, so as not to be found in their wives' houses when their wives' families arise for the day.[2] It would be socially unacceptable for a youth at this delicate stage of his incipient marriage to be found with his wife under such circumstances, which would indicate in effect that he

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[1] The Cayapo term for marriage is *aben wòrò mõ*: *aben* = reflexive; *wòrò* = "towards, together"; *mõ* = "to go"; the expression thus literally means "to go or move together." The same expression is used for sexual intercourse, whether between married partners or not.

[2] It is presumably this sleeping pattern which accounts for the name of the age grade, *mõ nõrõ-nu-re*, which literally means "those who sleep in a new way," contrasting with the names of the *mõ ĩn-re* age grade, *mõ gõrõm 'ã-nõrõ* and *mõ gõrõm mõ ikwãn*, which means "those who sleep together."

considered himself a resident of the household with all the obligations that would entail. Neither he nor his affines are ready to assume these reciprocal obligations before the stabilization of marriage which comes with the birth of the first child.

Marriage is easily terminated, either before or after the birth of a child, by the simple expedient of the husband's moving out of his wife's house back to the zgà (a man never moves back to his maternal household). A man who has already had children and thereby becomes a member of the mẽ kra-re age grade can, through divorce and return to the men's house, revert to the status of mẽ nõrõ-mu-re, although he may prefer to retain his mẽ kra-re status. He continues to function as a member of his men's society (tchêt) for most practical purposes, the chief exception being that, in the men's house, he sits with the mẽ nõrõ-mu-re (and not with the members of his tchêt).

Under these circumstances, marriage can only be contracted and maintained with the mutual consent of both parties. It is usually initiated directly by the couple themselves, although girls' mothers frequently attempt to attract young men whom they regard as desirable sons-in-law by extolling the virtues of their daughters and (which is

often the more weighty consideration) the size and productiveness of their gardens. Prospective mothers-in-law may attempt to enlist the youth's parents' support in pressing upon him the merits of their daughters, but such attempts at persuasion have no binding force, and a youth is at liberty to disregard them.

The relations of a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re with his affines are marked by extreme piaàm (inhibition, respect). This amounts to near avoidance in the case of the mother-in-law ('ù-pava-diuà). A mẽ nõrõ-nu-re does not speak directly to his 'ù-pava-diuà, and addresses his rare communications to her by way of third persons in a muted voice. He avoids laughing, joking, or any loud or vigorous activity in her presence. If he meets her on a path or in the plaza, he gives her a wide berth. He avoids mentioning her name if possible. His piaàm toward his father-in-law ('ù-mrê-ngât) is less intense. He may speak directly to his 'ù-mrê-ngât in a low and respectful voice. His piaàm for his parents-in-law requires him to obey them in anything they may ask him to do. On the other hand, he is not required to work for them or his wife until he becomes a father, and attempts passively to evade their suggestions or demands that he perform chores for their household or hunt

or fish for them. This area of conflicting interests is one reason a new husband avoids his wife's parents. When, as often happens, mẽ nõrõ-nu-re husbands are thrown out by the wife's parents, the grounds are usually that they are lazy and do not work for them or contribute to their household. By contrast, if a husband terminates his own marriage, it is usually on grounds of unfaithfulness by the wife.

In spite of the fact that a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re cannot visit his wife at her house during the daytime or before her family are asleep at night, after their relation becomes generally known in the community, he may appear with his wife in public, walking with her in the plaza or talking together for extended periods at a spot not far from her house. Their relations in public range from shy displays of affection, such as holding hands, to flirtation and joking banter. Cayapo girls are accustomed to take the initiative in flirtations. They are typically forward, exuberant, and uninhibited. Youths and men tend to be relatively shyer and less demonstrative towards women in public, but are equally active in pursuing their affairs in private. I found women far more ready and eager to discuss sexual matters than men, who tended to be shy and reticent on the subject. Before a

woman has children, she is not considered sexually bound to one husband by the community at large, although her prospective husband may come to consider her to belong exclusively to him and fiercely resent her having affairs with other men. Girls may feel similarly possessive toward their suitors and husbands. If a girl discovers that another girl is flirting or having an affair with her husband, she may initiate a furious altercation with her, screaming accusations loud enough for the whole village to hear, and follow this by physically assaulting her rival. A woman who attacks another in this way fights without restraint or inhibitions, attempting to throw her rival to the ground, showering her with kicks, blows, and bites, tearing her hair and scratching with her nails. Such direct physical combat is never engaged in by men, who resort to duels with clubs on similar occasions, and is inevitably a source of uproarious hilarity among them.

Because of the proneness of both sexes to multiple flirtations and affairs, a newly-formed couple is the butt of considerable teasing about its prospects for survival in view of the interest other potential mates of both sexes are known or fancied to take in both parties. A mẽ nõrõ-nuxa who appears frequently with his wife in public is apt to

be teased for "following her like a young animal follows its mother" (*'ã norà*) out of apprehension that other *mẽ nõrõ-nu-re* may seduce her or steal her from him.

A girl's mother usually has a strong stake in securing a permanent son-in-law for her household to contribute game, labor and manufactured articles of the masculine categories, such as mats and baskets. It is largely for this reason that the mother-in-law is said to be "the protector of the son-in-law"[1] against the anger and jealousy of the wife. A wife traditionally complains and gossips publicly about a husband's philandering, while the mother-in-law tries to restrain her daughter's jealousy and counsel patience. The part played by girls' mothers in lining up husbands for them reflects the same motives. As one veteran mother-in-law put it to me, the mother-in-law is like an "adult mother" to the son-in-law.[2] Needless to say, such alliances between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law do not always materialize. Both the mother- and father-in-law may become disgusted with a son-in-law's failure to contribute fish or game to their household, or his jealousy and consequent abuse of their daughter for her minor affairs, and

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[1] The Cayapo expression is "*'ù-djuò putàrà djwòyn*": *'ù-djuò* = son-in-law; *putàrà* = continuative form of verb "to protect"; *djwòyn* = the doer or agent of a given activity.

[2] The Cayapo phrase is "*nã shatày*": *nã* = mother, *shatày* = "adult, mature, big."

"throw him out"[1] thus terminating (at least for the time being) his prospects for marriage with their daughter.

A me nore-nu-re's relationship to his wife's brothers ('u-mre) is characterized by less extreme piaam than his relationship with his wife's father, and is more nearly reciprocal. The wife's brothers, as we have seen, have piaam for the sister's husband as well as vice versa, whereas a wife's father need show no special respect or restraint toward his son-in-law. The reciprocal piaam between brothers-in-law is a reflection of their structural complementarity and, to a degree, equivalence. The wife's brother is in effect terminating his membership in his sister's household, while the sister's husband is moving into the household in his place. The structural asymmetry of this situation is reflected in the piaam brothers-in-law show to each other. The wife's brother is more firmly attached to his sister's household than is the incoming sister's husband, especially before he has fathered any children by the sister. The wife's brother not only has economic ties to the household, but is specifically expected to defend his sister against mistreatment and abuse by her husband or lovers. The sister's husband is in a relatively weak position in the household, and

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[1] The Cayapo term is "kanga," which literally means "to throw away" or "to throw out." The same term is used for divorce.

remains little more than a nocturnal interloper until he becomes a father. The piàèm shown by a sister's husband to his wife's brothers is therefore more intense than that shown by wife's brothers toward sister's husbands. The asymmetry of the relationship is manifested in the pattern of avoidance of the sister's household: the wife's brother may come to the house and eat a meal there in the afternoon, but the sister's husband must avoid the house during the day, coming only at night and leaving before dawn, and would never eat in the house under any circumstances. Another way in which the character of the relationship is revealed is in the sharing of possessions. When I asked an informant if ceremonial friends (kwèb-djuè) ever lent or gave each other goods like knives, bows, or rifles, he replied that kwèb-djuè never gave each other things but that there was no need to ask since a man could get such things from his 'è-djuè (sister's husband). Sister's husbands, on the other hand, are prevented by piàèm from asking for or using a wife's brother's belongings, even though they are kept in the wife's house until the wife's brother has had children by his own wife. 'è-nvê take and use the possessions of a sister's husband, either by asking directly for them (in which case the sister's husband is bound by piàèm not to

refuse) or simply by taking them from their sister's house if the sister's husband has already begun to move his belongings there (which he usually does not begin to do until after the birth of the first child). This is a frequent cause of bad feelings on the part of the sister's husband, although informants emphasized that a wife's brother is himself supposed to be restrained by niàèm from asking his sister's husband to land his belongings or taking them without permission. In a case where a sister's husband feels that his [illegible] have been trespassing on his rights by taking or misusing his belongings, he is prevented by niàèm from complaining directly to them or even from speaking about it to his wife. Instead he raises the matter with his sister, who takes his case to his wife and mother-in-law.

The relations between a man's sister and his wife are the opposite of the relations between a woman's brother and her husband. Whereas the latter are extremely inhibited, the former are relaxed, animated, and include mild joking. A man's wife and sisters visit each other frequently at each other's houses and exchange gossip and jocular banter. If the man is in either of the women's houses when the other arrives for a chat, he feels niàèm and leaves for the men's house. A sister never addresses

her brother in his wife's house, but speaks only to his wife and mother-in-law. It is a normal part of such visits for the women to share food together, and they may borrow minor possessions from each other. The same relation exists to a lesser degree between a man's wife and his mother, except that the mother does not ordinarily visit the wife's house. The other side of the lack of restraint between a brother's wife and a husband's sister is the role of the husband's sister as the defender of her brother's interests in his wife's household. Husband's sisters and brother's wives may exchange accusations and have bitter altercations over problems involving the brother-husband, whereas the man concerned would be constrained to silence by pisàm.

Before a man has a child by his wife his relations with his wife's sister ('à-gaya) are characterized by strong pisàm, although the inhibition is not as intense as that towards his parents-in-law. He may speak with her and does not avoid her as he avoids his mother-in-law. After the birth of his first child, a man's pisàm towards his wife's sister diminishes far more rapidly than it does towards his other affines, and the equilibrium point of the relationship, a respectful but friendly and relaxed acquaintance based on constant proximity in the same household, is reached relatively soon. A man is never supposed to become

too familiar with his 'ù-pavn, let alone flirt or have an affair with her. Consistent with the same principle, brothers have piaàm toward their brothers' wives' sisters (as already noted, they may not marry them). Brothers never visit the households of their brothers' wives. A similar degree of inhibition and piaàm is extended to the husband of a wife's sister, who is either a distant kinsman (tab-djuò) or a non-kinsman (mǎ ba-item). There is no relationship term for wife's sister's husband. The usual course is for husbands of sisters to form an adoptive kinship bond with each other (usually of the "brother" category, ka-mu) or (especially if they are of different ages) the ceremonial companion (kràb-djuò) bond, after the initial period of intense piaàm has passed.

The terms for wife (prǎn) and husband (mien) are never extended to other members of the affinal household. The only persons for whom they are used other than the true spouse are temporary ceremonial or "secondary" spouses, in which case a qualifying adjective is always attached to the kinship term. The terms for mother-in-law ('ù-pavn-djuò) and father-in-law ('ù-prâ-noet) may be correctly used to denote the sisters and brothers of both parents-in-law but

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[1]For a discussion of these relationships and the appropriate terms, see pp. 296 - 304.

are almost never applied to the siblings of the father-in-law, rarely to the brothers of the mother-in-law, and seldom even to the sisters of the mother-in-law, although the latter come in relatively frequent social contact with Ego after he takes up residence in the wife's household as a mẽ kra-re. The obligations and prescribed behaviors implied by the terms are sufficiently onerous to preclude its use except in cases where they cannot be avoided, i.e., in connection with the wife's own parents. The term 'ù-djuò (sister's husband, daughter's husband) may be extended to the siblings of either sex of an 'ù-djuò. The same is true of the term 'ù-payn (brother's wife, son's wife: man speaking). Except for the use of 'ù-payn for brother's wife's sister, these extensions are also rare, since they imply relations of pisèm and the relationships are too distant to make these worth the trouble. Affinal terms are never used after a divorce, but may continue to be used after the death of a spouse, especially by parents-in-law toward sons- or daughters-in-law.

A mẽ nẽrẽ-nu-re continues to avoid the house of his mother and sisters during the day, just as he did as a mẽ ôx-re. If he has something to say to someone in the house, he stands outside and talks through the door. In the late afternoon he may enter the house to eat with his sisters,

who usually serve him instead of his mother, although his mother serves him if there are no sisters. The me noro-nu-re who returns to his natal household to eat sits in the place in the house where he had his sleeping mat as a child.[1] If his sister has a husband (bio 'ù-djuè) who is himself still a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, there is little likelihood of running into him at this time of day, since a husband who has not yet fathered children by his wife only comes to her house by night and leaves before dawn, when the rest of the household awakens. If by chance the sister's husband should be visiting her house when her brother arrives in the afternoon to eat, perhaps on one of the rare occasions when the sister's husband brings fish or game to his affines, the brother would feel exceptionally strong piaàm and avoid the house completely, waiting in the nuà until his sister's husband had left before entering to eat his afternoon meal.

In spite of these restrictions, a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re's relationship with his mother, and particularly his sisters, remains lively and intense. A mẽ nõrõ-nu-re regards himself

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[1] There is a special expression for a brother's eating in a sister's house. A brother says "ba õn i-kukwa kam àkuru": ba = 1st person pronoun; õn = auxiliary verb, as in English, to be "going" to do something; à kuru = "to eat," kam = relational, "in," "at"; i- = 1st person possessive indicator; kukwa = sister, sister's house. The term kukwa is used only in this context. Compare the Apinaye term for sister, i-pi-gukwa (Nimuendaju 1939:110) and the Cayapo generic term for kinsman, -kukwa.

as the champion and guardian of his sister against mistreatment by her lovers, and whichever of these becomes her husband (the distinction is at first difficult to make). One reason always given by Cayapo in explaining why it is good for mõ nõrõ-nu-re to be àkrê is that they must "protect their sisters."[1] Brothers take a fond interest in their sisters' children, although this is tinged with rough joking at first in the case of boys, and sisters encourage their brothers' relationship with their children.

The commensality of a mõ nõrõ-nu-re and his sisters and mother is the focus and the chief symbolic expression of the closeness of their relationship. The mother and sisters cook for him and provide him with food from their gardens. They bring food and firewood[2] to him in the pga if he does not eat with them at their house. He in turn contributes fish, game, and those forest products which are gathered by men, such as honey and babassu coconuts, to them. He also manufactures baskets, sleeping mats, storage gourds, and pestles for them. He may also help his father with

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[1] The Cayapo phrase is "ka-ni-kwòy nutèrà": 'utà, putà, putèrà = forms of the verb "to protect." I heard of several cases of sister's husbands being threatened or actually beaten by their wife's brothers for beating or threatening their wives.

[2] Chopping firewood is considered women's work by the Cayapo.

[3] [illegible] country, and [illegible] shotgun-topped

the heavy work of clearing new fields for burning. He is under no formal obligation to contribute labor, game, gathered produce, or manufactured articles to his wife or her household until he becomes a father, although his parents-in-law typically attempt to get him to do so. His wife and mother-in-law never bring him food to the men's house before the wife bears him a child, nor would he ever eat with them at their house under any circumstance.

The relations between a mẽ nẽrõ-ire-re and his brothers, on the other hand, remain as strong and close as ever. Brothers support each other in fights in which either is involved, regardless of the fact that they may be members of opposite men's houses. They share their possessions (but not the possessions of their wives) with each other without restraint. When a man brings back a wild pig or a tapir from a hunt, his brother often goes to the clearing outside his house where the animal is being butchered to help his brother skin it and cut it up; he may even skin it by himself while his brother rests from his exertions in the house.

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make the club-like beetles for the women's wooden maize and manioc mortars. The women make the mortars.

A mã nõrõ-nu-re's relations with his father continue to be strong in affection and respect but rather distant in terms of everyday social life. The son may see and talk with his father when he returns to his natal household in the afternoon to eat, but his father never goes to visit him in his wife's house. In spite of the lack of formal inhibition between them, the effective channels of social contact between them derive almost entirely from their common relationship to the mã nõrõ-nu-re's mother and sister.

Relations to 'ĩ-ngêt and hwa-tuv remain friendly but become similarly distant during this period. As in the case of Ego's father, the social interests of members of the senior generations are so different from those of Ego as a mã nõrõ-nu-re, absorbed in the activities of his age set, that there is little practical basis for a close relationship. The stage of Ego's life at which his 'ĩ-ngêt taught him medicinal and ceremonial lore and manufacturing techniques, or bestowed names and ceremonial rights and ornaments upon him, has passed. It is now his turn to begin the same process with his sister's children, his own teh-djuò. The difference in Ego's social relations with the members of the categories of father (bam) and 'ĩ-ngêt in the earlier age grades reflected the different structural

positions of the two categories relative to Ego as a member of his natal domestic group. After residence in the men's house, initiation, and the first stages of marriage have definitively separated the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re from his natal domestic group, the opposition between masculine categories of consanguineal kin defined with reference to the structure of that group ceases to be relevant to the same extent. It is this structural fact which underlies the tendency toward equalization of Ego's relations toward his 'ĩ-ngêt and his bam which becomes evident in the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and the latter years of the mẽ êr-re age grades. In the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age grade, the importance of the dyadic opposition between bam and 'ĩ-ngêt is eclipsed by the incipient dichotomy between the collective category of consanguineal kin and the collective category of affines. This new dichotomy, however, must necessarily remain at the incipient level until Ego forms a definite affinal connection, that is, until he fathers a child and passes out of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re into the mẽ kra-re age grade. As a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, Ego is temporarily removed from structural involvement in either of the two major dichotomies between structurally opposed categories which characterize his domestic group relations in both the earlier and later stages of his life. The unity [illegible] mẽ nõrõ-nu-re as an age set thus corresponds, not

merely to their separation from the domestic group system, but to their removal from the structural cleavages within the sphere of kinship relations which domestic group membership entails.

Relations between 'ĩ-ngôt and tab-djuò of descending generations have been described in the first three sections of this chapter. A mẽ nõrõ-nu-ra also has tab-djuò of his own age (e.g., the father's sister's children). His relations with these tab-djuò, of both sexes, are characterized by relaxed "friendship."[1] He may not have an affair with a female tab-djuò, since tab-djuò is an incestuous category.[2]

The distribution of kinship behaviors among the various genealogical positions within the terminological categories of consanguineal kin remains substantially unchanged from the mẽ ôk-re age grade,[3] with the major differences arising from the increasing role of Ego in shaping his own relationships within his body of existing kin and in forming new adoptive kinship bonds outside his consanguineal kindred.

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[1] See note 1, p. 153

[2] This rule is occasionally violated, but no fines or sanctions were imposed in the cases I noted.

[3] See p. 148f.

IV C. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age set

After initiation and passage into the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age grade, youths are considered socially adult, and require no further tutelage by the older men. They have mastered the basic technical skills and laid the basis for acquiring others, such as specialized hunting techniques, which require longer experience and constitute areas of personal specialization rather than basic common knowledge shared equally by all mature men. They no longer play childish games such as bĩ̃ ĩ̃pĩ̃n (corn husk shuttlecock), although they are the most ardent devotees in the village of ron kryr, which is considered a mature man's sport.

The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are expected to display more physical vigor and endurance, and more enthusiastic assertiveness in collective men's activitiesthan the other age groups. They are considered to be at the peak of masculine physical strength and vigor, which are qualities much admired by Cayapo of both sexes. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re take pride in their communal reputation for physical prowess and attempt to live up to it. They take an interest in their physical appearance that borders at times on narcissism: they are capable of spending hours painting or oiling their bodies, or combing and oiling their hair. They voluntarily submit to

having their legs scored with the sep diun (fish tooth scratcher) in order to "lighten" their limbs and thereby increase their speed and agility.

The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are in most cases the equals, but seldom the superiors of the younger mẽ kra-re in sheer physical strength and stamina. The special emphasis placed by the Cayapo on the physical prowess of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re must therefore spring from social and cultural rather than purely physical considerations. The nature of these considerations becomes clear from an examination of the structural position of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re. Although they are physically and usually the equals of the mẽ kra-re, they are not yet members of an affinal domestic group, nor of the mẽ kra-re age grade nor the mature men's societies. Membership in all of these institutions involves asymmetrical, i.e., hierarchical patterns of deference and restraint: on the domestic group level, the deference of the son-in-law to the father-in-law; on the men's society level, the inhibition of the younger mẽ kra-re with respect to the main forms of boisterous and assertive behavior proper to the age grade, e.g., oratory. It is because the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are not yet involved in the upper levels of the social system in which inhibition and restraint become

necessary for the younger members, that they are socially able to display their accustomed level of assertiveness and energy. Since they are outside the sector of the social system which corresponds to membership in the mẽ kra-re age grade, their assertiveness does not constitute a threat of rivalry or an assertion of equality or superiority at a structurally significant level. On the contrary, there is no sociological reason to suppress or inhibit their strength and social assertiveness, so long as it is channeled in ways that do not conflict with the hierarchically organized relationships of the mẽ kra-re. Once this is guaranteed, the accentuation of the vigor and assertiveness of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re becomes one of the principal means of symbolically emphasizing their separation and marginality relative to the mẽ kra-re, at the same time that it provides a safety valve for the release of their masculine energies in socially harmless directions.

Consistent with these considerations, the predominant feature of the assertiveness of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re is its collective character. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are expected to exceed the other age groups as much in their enthusiasm and propensity for collective activities as in the energy and endurance they display in carrying them out. The behavior

of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re as individuals is far more stereotyped and confined within the bounds of collective age set concerns than is that of the mẽ kra-re. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are, in short, assertive as a group rather than as individuals. Their egalitarian age set solidarity sets them apart from the mẽ kra-re (who are divided into a number of men's societies which cross-cut the mẽ kra-re age grade) as much as does their exuberant display of physical prowess. Most of the everyday social routine of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re is carried out collectively by the age set as a group. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re eat and sleep together, pass much of their time sitting together in the men's house singing or exchanging banter, go on month-long hunting and gathering expeditions in the forest together (always under the leadership of a few older men) play ron kran together, form a separate bloc in ceremonial dances, and function as a distinct unit in most collective men's activities. A typical example is communal fish poisoning expeditions, in which the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re form a separate group and continue to beat their vines in the water long after the mẽ kra-re have stopped and gone off with the women and children to shoot or gather in the fish as they float to the surface.

Age sets among the Gayapo are characterized by the absence of inequalities of status among age mates within the

set and close solidarity vis à vis the adjacent age sets in the age system, relations towards which are emphatically asymmetrical and hierarchical. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re represent the closest approach to the ideal of egalitarian age set solidarity in Cayapo society, but even among the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re disruptive influences exist that prefigure the divisive forces which manifest themselves in full force at the mẽ kra-re level. Appropriately enough, the most serious source of conflict among mẽ nõrõ-nu-re is rivalry over women, which is a direct result of the process of courtship and marriage which culminates in parenthood and advancement into the mẽ kra-re age grade.

Upon receiving their penis sheaths, Cayapo youths are expected to seek out liaisons with the opposite sex. This not infrequently leads to rivalry between two or more youths for the favors of the same girl. Such rivalries become more intense after initiation, when affairs become preludes to marriage. A girl may welcome the attentions of several lovers or suitors (the distinction is difficult and often meaningless), but if one of the youths develops serious intentions, he may try to drive his rivals away. The accepted means of accomplishing this is the club duel (aben tak).[1] Chiefs

[1] aben = reflexive; tak = "to beat"; aben tak = "to beat each other." The formal aben tak has a strict set of

do not normally intervene in fights of this nature between mã põrõ-nu-re. They are not considered to involve issues of communal importance as long as they are conducted privately, at a discreet distance from the village, and do not disturb the peace of the community.

Another source of quarrels which regularly give rise to duels is ron kran, the hockey game. Players wear no protective padding and are frequently hurt by sticks swung by other players. The game may be used to work off grudges, one player intentionally going for another with

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rules. The combatants meet outside the village, either alone or in the company of friends, who may or may not engage in the fight. The rules prescribe that each combatant must take turns striking the other. The legitimate striking zone is limited to the arm between the shoulder and the elbow. The challenger first assumes the defensive posture, presenting his left side to his opponent (to protect his right arm) and leaning away from him with his left leg extended in front of him, his right knee flexed ready to absorb the shock of the blow, and his left arm held straight along his body to minimize the impact. His opponent deals him a single blow with one of the heavy two-handed hardwood war clubs the Cayapo favor on such occasions (although the clubs are two-handed, the right arm plays the main part in guiding the swing). It is then the challenger's turn. The duel proceeds until one of the combatants is unable to continue or until friends and kinsmen intervene. It sometimes happens that the rules are forgotten and other parts of the body, although never the head, are struck, but the "seconds" guard against foul play. I have never witnessed such a duel, but several took place during my stay in the field. The Cayapo have learned to be secretive about them with Brazilians, but informants willingly demonstrated for me the approved stance and manner of handling the club.

The association of armed combat of this kind with sexual flirtation and love affairs helps explain why the right to bear arms is regarded by the Cayapo as a concomitant of receiving the penis sheath, i.e., the recognition of sexual maturity, rather than of initiation per se (the recognition of social adulthood).

his stick. Whether or not a prior grudge is involved in a given case, a player who is struck may lose his temper and go after the other on the spot with his hockey stick. Supporters quickly gather round and urge the opponents on with shouts of Hai! ra'ãn! ("Yes! Go on!"),[1] but usually intervene to break up the fight after a short time.

The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re may play ron kran against the mẽ kre-re, the age sets forming the opposing teams. Such games usually involve most members of both age sets and may include a hundred players or more in a large village. A game of this size always begins with a formal line-up of the age sets facing each other in two lines extending parallel to the length of the field down its middle. There is a goal or zone at each end of the field into which the puck must be driven to score. The game is begun by a player in the center of one line knocking the puck back to a member of his side with his stick.[2] Kwèydiu-re and younger mẽ ôk-re would take places at the ends of each line for the beginning of the game but would run to the sidelines as soon as the

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[1] Hai! = affirmative expletive. ra'ãn = "still, continuing."

[2] Although I played in several ron kran games, I neglected to note if the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re were always the ones who began the game in this way.

puck had been put into play. Fights never occur between members of different age sets when they play non kran against each other. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are said to have piaàn (shame, respect) for the mẽ kra-re, which would not allow them to fight with a mature man.

Several years ago a quarrel arising out of a non kran fight almost led to the fission of the village of Gorotire. It began between two mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, Poropot, a Tchikrĩn, and Pakòtch, an orphan of Kuben kran kên extraction. The fight between Pa-kòtch and Poropot coincided with an attempt by one of the Gorotire chiefs, Tut, who had been losing prestige and supporters, to regain his standing by persecuting the Tchikrĩn who had settled in Gorotire in 1959. He hoped by this means to win the support of the many recent Kuben kran kên immigrants, who are traditional enemies of the Tchikrĩn. Tut took Pa-kòtch's part. He and his followers, mostly Kuben kran kên immigrants, quickly raised an uproar about the iniquity of Poropot in particular and the Tchikrĩn in general. The Tchikrĩn, in self defense, supported Poropot. Matters rapidly came to a head and the hostile groups assembled in a clearing outside the village for a collective aben tak, a larger but in other respects identical version of the individual club duel. According

to one report, when the opposing factions in a collective aben tak include both mẽ nẽxó-nu-re and mẽ kra-re, the mẽ nẽxó-nu-re have the right to strike the mẽ kra-re first (Ferreira 1953: 40).[1] The side which quits first or is driven from the field "loses." The formal aben tak procedure ideally prevents fatalities and provides for an institutionally legitimized settlement of violent disputes between factions. The normal procedure is for the losing faction to leave the village. In the case of Pexopot and Pa-kutch the matter was prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Indian Protection Service agent and the Protestant missionary.

Because of the danger of incidents like this one and less serious quarrels, xan kran, although popular among the men, is traditionally denounced by Cayapo chiefs in terms only slightly less severe than those they reserve for adultery as a source of communal strife. Their opposition is ordinarily confined to oratory: a chief would only intervene directly to stop a game under exceptional circumstances

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[1] I am unable either to confirm or contradict this on the basis of my own field work, but Ferreira's claim is in accord with the way the Cayapo organize sports like xan kran and ceremonial wrestling along age set lines. Ceremonial wrestling is perhaps the most pertinent example. It forms part of a ceremony composed of elements taken over from the Karaja, and is carried out in the Karaja wrestling style. When

The episode of Parepot and Pa-kòtch illustrates the way in which relatively minor disputes between mẽ nõrõ-nu-re can quickly take on dangerous proportions if they happen to coincide with preexisting factional alignments among the me kra-re. As this implies, relations among mẽ nõrõ-nu-re cannot be entirely separated from the factional divisions of the mature men, in spite of the fact that the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, as a solidary age set, are supposed not yet to be involved in such affairs or formally attached to chiefs or factions. In reality, mẽ nõrõ-nu-re tend to become informally identified with a chief and to regard themselves as prospective members of that chief's tshêk for some time before they enter the mẽ kra-re age grade. Although the Cayapo feel that their system functions best when the mature men are divided into two relatively equal groupings (which may constitute followings of different chiefs within a single men's society, or two men's societies, or two men's houses with several men's societies in each),[1] there is no formal mechanism for distributing the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re

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I saw this ceremony performed at Gorotire, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and mẽ kra-re formed the two teams, and the individual matches were always between members of opposite teams. Each age set crouched on opposite sides of the plaza, and the first of the matches was initiated by a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re walking across the plaza and tapping the arm of a mẽ kra-re, who became his opponent in the first match.

[1] This point is discussed in more detail on p. 415

evenly among the men's societies. Cayapo whom I questioned on this point insisted simply that roughly equal numbers of mẽ nõrõ-nu-re would join each men's society. Proselytizing by chiefs among the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re does not seem to be regularly carried on, and is never done openly. Chiefs are supposed to attract and hold their followers through their exemplary deeds and forceful leadership. Competitive recruiting of followers, with the direct and open rivalry between chiefs it would entail, are alien to the Cayapo concept of the chieftainsy. In certain cases, nevertheless, a chief may attempt to attract a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re in whom he is especially interested in discreet ways, such as giving him generous presents in exchange for services or simply making friendly overtures and taking a flattering interest in him.

The Cayapo recognize that the formation of loyalties to different chiefs runs counter to the ideal of age set unity and solidarity which is the norm for the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re. They attempt to get around the difficulty by claiming that all the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re in a given men's house follow one chief of that men's house. At Gorotire this ideal was almost perfectly realized. I was repeatedly told that "all" the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re "followed"[1] chief Kanyonk. Individual questioning

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[1]The Cayapo term is "kôt," a relational term which means "following" or "alike"; e.g., "Kanyonk kôt" = "a follower of Kanyonk."

revealed that out of thirty-four mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, thirty-two were followers of Kanyonk, none of the other major chief, Tut, and two "worked for"[1] the deposed chief, Aybi. At Kuben kran kên, on the other hand, where I was told that all the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re were with chief Ngàp-re, out of twenty-five mẽ nõrõ-nu-re only fourteen actually considered themselves to be followers of Ngàp-re and eleven were followers of the other chief, Tchikiri. The point is that informants avoided describing the situation in terms of a nearly even division of the allegiances of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and attempted to represent it in terms of a unitary allegiance of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re as a group. The Cayapo make a sharp distinction between the sense in which mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are said to be attached to a chief and the way the mẽ kra-re members of the chief's tchêt "follow" him. The attachment of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re to a chief is regarded as a vague, non-binding relationship of no social significance. Mẽ nõrõ-nu-re cannot be followers of chiefs or members of tchêt like mẽ kra-re: not only would this be incompatible with their solidarity as an age set, it would entail their participation in the political system

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[1] "to work" = 'òpeyt; to work for a chief = e.g., "Kanyonk kôt 'opeyt." The term, "to work for" a chief, seems to be a modern innovation since working for pay was introduced by the Brazilian Indian Protection Service. The Indian Service has attempted to organize the men's societies as labor gangs for large projects, with the chiefs as foremen.

and possession of a measure of the influence and prestige which accrues to the mẽ kra-re from their exclusive monopoly of political authority. Membership in the political system is the structural concomitant of inclusion in the hierarchical system of domestic group, age group, and men's society relations which characterize the mẽ kra-re age grade. These relations are structurally incompatible with the age set solidarity of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, whose status as an age set is defined in terms of their exclusion from this system of relationships.

The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re have neither authority, influence, nor prestige in the sense in which these terms are applicable to the mature men.[1] The direction of internal community affairs and military expeditions[2] alike rest exclusively

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[1]The communal esteem in which the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are held for their physical prowess and age set cameraderie, coupled with the prominence of their ceremonial and other collective activities, have misled some writers into asserting that the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are the politically dominant group of the community (cf. Dreyfus 1963: 70). As the present discussion makes clear, this is a fundamental mistake.

[2]The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re among the Cayapo and the corresponding age grade among other Northwestern Ge groups have often been referred to as "warriors" in the ethnographic literature (Dreyfus 1963: 70, 93; Banner 1961; 20; Nimuendaju 1939: 36). This is unfortunate, since it does not correspond to any Northern Ge term for this age grade and gives a misleading impression of the nature and role of the age set. Among the Cayapo it is the mẽ kra-re, not the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, who command on raiding expeditions and who are the most interested in warfare as a means of increasing their prestige. Mẽ

with the mẽ kra-re. The office of chief is an exclusive prerogative of the mẽ kra-rẽ, and the most prestigious and influential men of the community are always to be found among the older members of the mẽ kra-re age grade. Decision-making about matters of public concern, and the achievement of personal reputation, influence, and prestige are accomplished through or associated with discussion and oratory in the men's house. Discussion in the men's house is in turn carried on within the framework of the men's societies or tchêt, which constitute the followings of chiefs. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re never give public addresses, take no part in the discussions of the mẽ kra-re, do not become followers of chiefs in the sense that mẽ kra-re do, and cannot join a men's society. In terms of the political structure and prestige hierarchy of the community, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are completely subordinate to the mẽ kra-re, and not vice versa.

The marginal status of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re outside the system of political authority and prestige, and their consequent subordination to the mẽ kra-re, is accompanied by a certain rivalry and antagonism between the two age grades. The

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nõrõ-nu-re play the same role in raiding parties that they do in ceremonies, namely, that of vigorous and enthusiastic participants in activities directed and presided over by the mẽ kra-re.

separation of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re from the mẽ kra-re and the structural tension between them are expressed in a number of ritual contexts. The formal separation of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re from the mẽ kra-re on ceremonial occasions, and the ranging of the two groups against each other in sports like ron kran and in collective duels have already been mentioned. The area in which the tension between the two adjacent groups is most directly expressed is that of sexual relations. Both the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and the mẽ kra-re avow that the mẽ kra-re feel "èmnĩnhĩ" (jealousy) of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, partly because of the latter's youth and freedom from domestic responsibilities, but principally because the wives of the mẽ kra-re are said to prefer the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re as lovers. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, on the other hand, are said to have piaàm (shame, formal respect) for the mẽ kra-re. They resent the fact that the mẽ kra-re "take their wives," but are prevented by piaàm from doing anything about it. These statements seem well grounded in fact. Liaisons between adult Cayapo of both sexes and youths and girls of the pre-parenthood age grades (mẽ nõrõ-nu-re for males, mẽ kurêrê-re and mẽ kray-tuk for females) are an institutional pattern, and almost all older men and women have younger consorts as well as their wedded spouses.[1]

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[1]The terms for this relationship are krê'ã prõn (wife) or mien (husband), prõn or mien ka'àk, or prôn or mien ikiê'ã:

Sometimes these relationships are direct exchanges, i.e., an older man may have sexual intercourse with the wife or fiancee of a younger man who in turn may have intercourse with the older man's wife. For the most part, however, the relations seemed to follow lines of individual preference rather than formal reciprocity. The exchange is not equally balanced in practice, as is indicated by the fact that the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re do not disguise their resentment at the sexual incursions of the mẽ kra-re, even while boasting of the way the latters' wives lust after them. The reason is that a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, because of his piaàm toward the mẽ kra-re, cannot object or openly offer resistance if a mẽ kra-re decides to have an affair with his wife, while for the same reason a mẽ kra-re can, by his disapproval, usually prevent a younger man having an affair with his wife. This is not the ideal form of behavior. Mẽ kra-re who acquiesce in their wives' affairs with mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are spoken of as having "no mêtch,"[1] which might be rendered in English as "seeing no evil." There are several notable cases of such relationships at Gorotire. It is significant that mẽ nõrõ-

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krô = "thicket, tangle, network of interconnected links"; ka'àk, kaxrê = "false, unreal, substitute"; ikiê = "other," "another of the same kind." /-'ã/ = relational indicating condition or type of relationship. Crocker records a similar age pattern of extra-marital relations among the Canella (Crocker 1961: 72).

[1]No = "eye" (s.,pl.); mêtch = "beautiful," "good."

nu-re whose wives are sleeping with mẽ kra-re are not spoken of as having no mêtch or being particularly virtuous because of this fact, since it is recognized that they have little choice in the matter, whereas the goodwill of a mẽ kra-re is essential to a stable affair between his wife and a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re.

The wives of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re (that is, fiancées who have not yet become mothers) are also required as a group to participate in ritual sexual intercourse with both mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and mẽ kra-re on a general basis in most of the major rituals (the ô pati-re kô ritual in the Bẽmp is an example). The men whose wives are chosen for this purpose usually resent it but are obliged to remain silent. The fact that mẽ nõrõ-nu-re have not yet established firm and unequivocal "marriages" with the women whom they consider (and who may equally consider themselves) their wives does not diminish (and in many cases probably heightens) their resentment. There is a second type of ritual sexual intercourse in which women standing in the kwatuy (grandmother, father's sister) relationship to the children receiving names or being initiated are made generally available for sexual intercourse (e.g., the kwa-tuy of the mẽ ĩ-tuk on the final night of the Bẽmp). In some,but not all, instances of this type of

ritual intercourse, sexual access to the kwa-tuy, who are older women of the corresponding female age grade to the me kra-re, is limited to the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re.

The sexual rivalry between mẽ kra-re and mẽ nõrõ-nu-re becomes most acute in connection with the extended hunting and gathering expeditions which the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re are expected to make as a part of their collective age set activities. At least one such trek is made each year to collect babassu coconuts (ren) or Brazil nuts (pi'ẽ), whose oil is used in dressing the hair, oiling the body, and making red body paint. The mẽ nõrõ-nu-re complain that the mẽ kra-re force them to go on these trips, and make them stay away from the village for a longer period (usually at least a month) than they would prefer, in order to have unlimited access to their wives. Upon the return of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, the mẽ kra-re are expected to go off on a somewhat shorter trek, during which time the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re reciprocate with the wives of the mẽ kra-re. This pattern of liaisons seems actually to take place, and is confirmed by female as well as male informants.

The return of the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re from one of their collective gathering treks is thus an event charged with considerable tension between the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re and the mẽ kra-re. The tension is dramatically expressed in the ritual

of the return, which takes the form of a mock attack on the village. During their stay in the forest, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re manufacture necklaces of babassu nut or Brazil nut shells. The mẽ kra-re, awaiting their return, make war clubs and lances. Upon beginning their trip back to the village, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re perform a short ritual known as "songs for the trail,"[1] which is the ceremony performed by a raiding party upon leaving its village to attack a hostile community. The day before their arrival at the village, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re send a messenger to notify the mẽ kra-re that the "attack" will take place at dawn the following day. The mẽ kra-re keep this a secret from the women, who are supposed to be fooled into thinking that the attack is a real assault by an enemy band. At dawn, the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re run out of the forest toward the village, carrying weapons and shrieking war cries. Their faces are painted with a black band of charcoal over the eyes, and they wear palm frond headdresses, the nut shell necklaces, and girdles of nut shells or animals' hooves, which make a clatter as they run. They are met by the defenders," the mẽ kra-re, brandishing their newly-made weapons. When the two groups meet in "combat," the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re put

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[1] The Cayapo name is prù'a ngrere: prù = "trail"; 'ã = "to" or "for"; ngrêrê = "songs."

the woman can detect a physical deformation and the movements of the foetus. When the swelling and movements become pronounced, the husband (and all other men) ceases to have sexual intercourse with the woman and sleeps in the men's house at night, even if he has already had children by the same woman. The prohibition of intercourse during the gestation period is undoubtedly linked to the belief that semen mixes with the mother's milk and causes conception: since a child is already using the milk, sexual intercourse would result in depriving it of its food supply. From this point of view, nursing is only a continuation of pregnancy and, consistently with this interpretation, the Cayapo forbid the resumption of sexual intercourse before the child is weaned. The husband is supposed to sleep in the men's house throughout the weaning period. Men observing the abstention from intercourse with their pregnant wives and sleeping in the ngà are known as mẽ tuyarô, "the pregnant ones,"[1] and mẽ nõrõ-nu-re whose wives are pregnant for the first time are called "newly-pregnant ones," mẽ tuyarô-nu-re.

Pregnant women are also called mẽ tuyarô. During her pregnancy, a woman refrains from eating the flesh of any animal of the class of "mrà kakrit"[2] lest her child suffer

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[1] tu = belly; iarô = round, swollen.

[2] See note 1, p.172.

all effects from the influence of the animals.[1] For example, it is believed that if a pregnant woman eats of the great anteater, her child will be club-footed (reflecting the influence of the anteater's curved and in-turned claws). A child born deformed is buried alive, as are twins.

Birth. When the woman goes into labor, the husband waits in the ngà resting and taking care not to exert himself. Neither he nor any other man stays near his wife during birth. The wife is assisted by her consanguineal kinswomen, but also by the husband's mother and sister, who take a prominent part in the proceedings.[2]

After the birth of the baby, the father refrains from vigorous exertions, preferably resting at home in his bed. He speaks only in a near-whisper and eats only palmito, potatoes, and wild honey, the standard Cayapo fare for periods of extreme ritual abstention (ingrà). He maintains his

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[1] This "influence" is conceived to operate through the medium of a small bit of the actual physical substance of the animal, usually either a hair, a piece of bone, or its blood, which had entered the patient's body through normal ingestion or contact, and once in the body is animated by the malevolence of the animal.

[2] Mme. Simone Dreyfus has provided an excellent description of birth among the Cayapo based on first-hand observation (Dreyfus 1963: 46-50). Those interested in the details of Cayapo midwifery and maternal practices are referred to her account. I did not attempt to observe a birth because Cayapo men avoid women in labor and my presence would have caused discomfort and embarrassment to all concerned.

kra-iangri for three or four days, until the child's "skin becomes tough."[1] It is believed that if a father were to exert himself or eat strong food before the child's skin became tough, the health of the child would be adversely affected, possibly resulting in its death. Throughout the child's life, its parents and siblings observe similar dietary taboos whenever it becomes seriously ill.[2] The father, his brothers, and all other men who had intercourse with the mother before her pregnancy became pronounced enough for her to cease sexual relations, are painted black by their kr̀ah-djuò the day following the birth.

The custom has grown up for a father to shoot off two blasts from a shotgun if a baby is a girl and three if a boy.

Within a week after the baby's birth, its ears are pierced and, if it is a boy, its lower lip as well. Strings of beads are tied through the holes to keep them from closing. This operation is performed by a male kinsman, usually the father, upon male children, and by a female kinswoman, usually a kwa-tuy, upon girls.

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[1] The Cayapo expression is kà tàytch: kà = "skin"; tàytch = "strong," "tough." In some contexts the same expression is applied to a longer period following birth (approx. 3 months).

[2] The mother-in-law of a man who has become a father by her daughter observes the same dietary restrictions if he falls ill.

A woman's first birth, the putê[1] ceremony. It is preferred, but not mandatory, for a woman to go to her husband's maternal house to bear her first child. She remains resting on a mat inside the house in which she gives birth for three or four days, after which time she paints herself red from head to foot and goes to bathe herself and her baby in the nearest stream, preceded by her mother and followed by a number of young girls of the mã̃ kurêrê-xa age grade, who are themselves freshly painted with their everyday black designs and have their foreheads newly-shaved to a point at the crown of their heads. After the mother and her companions bathe, the baby itself is plunged into the water. The mother then returns with the baby to her own house, where she puts on the first of the baby's cotton knee-bands (see p. 118).

The following day, the father and his brothers (the child's classificatory fathers), each accompanied by a krèb-djuò, go into the forest, where each "father" and his krèb-djuò cuts a pole of buriti (norêa), about three meters long and five centimeters in diameter. They return with the poles to the village, where the krèb-djuò smooth the poles, paint them

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[1] No woman gave birth for the first time while I was in the field. My account of this ceremony is based on descriptions by Banner (1961: 14-15) and Dreyfus (1963: 49), supplemented by my own informants' accounts.

red, and decorate them with a small wooden pin representing a lip plug (akô-kaliô). The krèb-djuò shave the heads of the fathers and paint their faces and bodies black. The fathers, holding their poles, make a circuit of the plaza accompanied by their krèb-djuò, who are armed with bows and arrows or firearms. After their tour of the plaza, the men enter the men's house and remain seated there without speaking for about fifteen minutes. They then walk into the mother's house, where the fathers leave their rods of buriti leaning against an interior wall. After remaining a few minutes in the house, still without speaking, the men walk out of the house and make a circuit of the men's house, after which they disperse. The ceremony is repeated the following day. The poles of buriti are tied to the central roof-beam of the house,[1] where they remain until the child has passed safely out of the mẽ pî-re stage. At that point the poles are taken down and deposited against a hardwood tree in the savannah. If the child dies before this time, the poles are carried to the cemetery and laid beside the grave upon two forked sticks erected for the purpose.

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[1] Krause's report that among the Pau d'Arco Cayapo a father, shortly after the birth of a child, hung a long stick in a tree in the village plaza apparently refers to a variation of the same ritual. (Krause 1911: 401)

The *putê* ceremony ideally marks the birth of the first child of both parents, but is not celebrated if the mother has borne children in previous marriages even if the child is the husband's first. The reason for this is that it is the woman's first child which establishes her as the nucleus of an independent nuclear family within her household. She retains this status even if her first husband dies or divorces her. Remarriage therefore signifies no basic change in her status within the household; whether her new husband has already fathered children in previous marriages or not is irrelevant in this connection. Even if the offspring of the marriage is the husband's first child, the birth of the child does not create the same transformation in his relations with his affines as it would if it had been the wife's first child and thus involved her in the creation of a new and independent domestic unit in their midst.

The symbolism of the *putê* ceremony centers around the relation of the child's father to his brothers, rather than the relations of the mother to her consanguineal kin. The Cayapo forbid the marriage of a husband's brother to his wife's sister. Marriage therefore entails an attenuation of connections between brothers at the domestic group level. The birth of the first child signifies the definitive establishment of marriage, and is therefore an event charged with

a certain structural tension in the relation of the father to his brothers. The *putê* ceremony symbolizes the resolution of this tension through the brothers' collective act of depositing the *putê*, their tokens of acquiescence and non-hostility to the child, in the mother's house. The *putê* ceremony constitutes the only occasion in their lives when they enter their brother's wife's household.

The mẽ kra karò and the "substitute wife" (krô 'ã prẽn). A woman is nominally prohibited to have sexual intercourse with her husband or other men until the effective weaning of the child, which corresponds to its passage from the *mẽ prĩ-re* into the *ngàvdju-re* (male) or *mẽ prĩ-ti* (female) age grade. Informants varied widely in their definitions of the length of the period of sexual abstinence. Several men put it as low as one year, and claimed that they had resumed intercourse with their wives after that period following the birth of their own children. One man gave the length of one wet season (six months) as the period he had observed. Two years, the normal period of weaning, is the ideal period most frequently acknowledged in the abstract, but seems seldom to be observed in practice. Men who have suckling children, and who are therefore supposedly refraining from intercourse with their wives, are called *mẽ kra karò* (men

with suckling children). As their role in the Bẽmp indicates, the mẽ krə karò as a category have special ritual functions and attributes, although they do not constitute a distinct social group for other than ritual purposes.

As long as he observes the taboo against intercourse with his wife, a husband is supposed to sleep in the men's house.[1] During this period the husband takes a secondary wife[2] for sexual purposes. The secondary wife is from the younger women's age grade of mẽ kuxêrê-re (sexually eligible girls who have not yet borne children), and may be retained as a mistress after a man is again able to have sexual intercourse with his primary wife. The primary and secondary wives exchange gifts of food when the husband has made his choice.

V.B. Adoption, "adoptive relatives" (ôbikwa kə'àk) and kindred relationships in the mẽ krɛ-re age grade.

If a nursing child's mother dies before it is weaned,

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[1]This rule seems to be honored more in the breach than the observance. It may be that it is more rigorously observed following a first birth, but I did not have a chance to observe a first birth and cannot say whether this is so. In the births that occurred while I was in the field, the husbands spent no longer than three or four days in the men's house.

[2]The Cayapo terms for this relationship are kuô 'ã prẽn, prẽn kə'àk, prẽn ikiô 'ã, or prẽn kaverê; prẽn = "wife," kuô = "network, thicket, grove of trees with interlaced boughs"; 'ã = relational suffix denoting preceding word indicates state of being of word it modifies; kə'àk, kaygl = "substitute," "unreal"; ikiô = "another of a similar kind."

it is buried alive with its mother unless a kinswoman or unrelated woman of the community with milk adopts it as her own child.[1] A child whose consanguineal relatives are dead or resident in other communities is referred to as uatĩm (without kinsmen, an orphan). The existence of mẽ uatĩm is precarious, and dependent on the caprice of their adoptive parents. Lacking kinsmen, they have no rights or status in society except insofar as their foster parents elect to provide one by accepting them as adoptive kinsmen. Some adopted children are treated exactly like biological offspring by their foster parents. Others are subjected to gross mistreatment and may be abandoned or killed by their foster parents if they tire of raising them, without fear of sanctions from society at large. Even foster parents who treat an adopted mẽ uatĩm child well may not take the trouble to sponsor a ceremonial name-giving ritual or mẽ 'ĩ-tuk initiation ceremony for him, although there are instances where this has occurred.

Closely resembling mẽ uatĩm in terms of their position in society are the children carried off as captives by the Gayapo in raids on other Gayapo villages, alien Indian

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[1] An adoptive relation of any category is referred to as ka'àk or kuyẽ, terms which mean "substitute," "unreal," or "second-rate."

tribes, or Brazilian settlements. The children are raised by foster parents and become members of Cayapo society on exactly the same basis as mẽ uatĩm within the society, with the exception that, in their first years of captivity, they are liable to be killed at any time by their foster parents or unrelated members of the community in "revenge" for the deaths of relatives at the hands of their tribesmen. Captive children who are not killed suffer no social disability in later life and may rise to the chieftaincy. As in the case of mẽ uatĩm who survive the rigors of childhood, they establish themselves in the community through membership in the age sets and men's or women's societies, and by forming adoptive kinship bonds with other members of the community.

A special form of adoption, unrelated to the fostering of mẽ uatĩm and captive children, is the exchange of children among kinsmen. The only instances I encountered in the field were of fathers giving their sons to be raised by their brothers or sisters.[1] In some cases the relations between the exchanging parents were of consanguineal siblingship, in others adoptive. The adoptive son or daughter is

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[1] I assume that the reverse pattern also exists, i.e., of giving children in adoption to the wife's brother or sisters, and that girls as well as boys may be given in adoption: at least, I never encountered assertions to the contrary. On checking my notes, however, I find that I neglected specifically to check this point.

treated as if he were a natal member of the household. The adoption does not entail a drastic separation of the child from his original parents, for they continue to see him every day, and he remains a frequent visitor in their house which is in any case only a few score yards distant from his adoptive household. No ceremony accompanies an adoption of this sort, to my knowledge. Its main purpose is to confirm and strengthen the kinship bonds between the biological parent of the child and the adoptive parent. This function is especially conspicuous when the adoption forms a part of the creation of an adoptive kinship bond between the two parents.

As the precarious status of mẽ uatĩn clearly demonstrates, an individual's rights and status in Cayapo society depend in large measure on the number and importance of his kinsmen. This is true above all while he is still a child. A child without kinsmen has no rights or secure guarantee of status, and is utterly dependent on the goodwill of his adoptive guardians for the continuation of his social and often physical existence. The social "well being" of a child or adolescent with many kinsmen is thus not entirely separable from his physical well being. The Cayapo symbolically express this correlation between physical and social well being in the belief that securing a large number of adoptive relatives for a child at birth insures that the

child will become "robust" and "healthy" (ĩmtĩ, ẽndiua mêtch). Foster parents of mẽ uatĩ́n or captive children may also recruit adoptive relatives for their adoptive children, but the practice is followed regardless of how many consanguineal kinsmen a child may already possess.

As an individual matures, his relationships with the members of his age set or men's or women's society supplement and take the place of his kinship relationships for some social purposes, but in other respects kinship relations continue to be important, especially in economic and domestic group relations and mutual support in fights and disputes. Individuals therefore continue to form adoptive kinship relations throughout their lives, and most Cayapo have twice as many adoptive kinsmen (ó̃bikum ka'ãk) as consanguineal or affinal kin (ó̃bikum kumren) by the time they become mature men or women (i.e., parents). The Cayapo have no regular term or social category for "friend" in the English sense of the word aside from the term for kinsman (ó̃bikum), since individuals of either sex who become friends form adoptive kinship bonds with each other if they are not already related. With social maturity, individuals form adoptive kinship relations at will, and the adoptive relations in many cases assume more importance than consanguineal ones. At the same time, individual preferences and differences

become more important considerations within the consanguineal kindred itself than the genealogical distance or degree of the relationship. The importance of adoptive kin relationships in the mature men's and women's age grades is thus inextricably linked to the optative[1] character of relations within the kindred itself, which manifests itself to the fullest extent at this age level. It is no longer possible when referring to adults to generalize about the pattern of relationships toward specific kin types within a given terminological category of kin, as it is to a considerable extent for the younger age grades.

The genealogical degree of relationships can be expressed in Cayapa, although this is not ordinarily done as a means of establishing the fact or degree of a relationship of kinship. Descriptive expressions like "father's sister's daughter" can, of course, be coined, although they are almost never used. Since genealogical memory extends back for only two ascending generations, genealogically established collateral links rarely include second cousins. The result is that an individual ordinarily knows all his kin by name, and

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[1] The term is Freeman's. Freeman emphasizes the optative character of kinship relations as a general characteristic of bilateral systems in his theoretical discussion of the kindred (1961: 210).

occasions when strangers might feasibly expect to establish genealogical kinship with each other within the limited scope of ordinary genealogical memory are extremely rare. After months of work on a genealogy of the villages of Gorotire and Kuben-kran-kèn, I feel able to assert that the Cayapo do not think in genealogical terms and are generally indifferent to the genealogical nature or degree of relationships. This indifference to genealogical facts is often reflected in the metaphorical use of expressions denoting close degrees of consanguinity (usually membership in the same nuclear family) to affirm the solidarity of more distant relationships or, frequently, of adoptive relationships with no genealogical basis whatever--a custom which renders the taking of accurate genealogies an incredibly tedious and frustrating business. For example, the biological relation of parenthood, as distinguished from classificatory parenthood, is denoted by the expressions, "my father who engendered me" (i-bam kutê i-djiri djwoyn)[1] or "my mother who bore me" (i nä kutê kuzum i katoro).[2]

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[1] i = first person pronoun; bam = "father"; "kute" = particle associated with customary activity or state of being; djiri = "to engender (a child)," lit. "to put in;" djwoyn = " "the authentic originator, possessor, or performer of some thing or activity." The shorter form of the expression, i-bam djwoyn, is also encountered.

[2] i = first person pronoun; nä = "mother"; kutê = particle associated with customary activity or state of being; kuzum= "from which"; katoro ="to be born,"lit."to appear,""to come out."

Uterine siblings are designated by the phrase "born next to me (in the same sequence of births)" (atchikêt i apêvtch).[1] The somewhat weaker claim that an Alter is a matrilateral classificatory sibling is implied by claiming that Altur was raised in the "same household" (kikre avdjuèvdjuè).[2] The adjectives kumron ("true," "genuine") or dièvyn ("authentic," "original") can also be used in a loose way to indicate specific biological relationship in the sense of the above terms as well as the more general fact of genealogical relationship, e.g., "i bun kumron," "my true father." The Cayapa apply all of these terms and expressions with great gravity and emphasis to adoptive relatives to whom they are perfectly aware they have no genealogical relationship, as a means of expressing the strength and closeness of the adoptive relationship. The establishment of objectively "correct" genealogical connections is not at issue; the purpose is to assert that the relationship in question is close, subjectively important, and solidary, regardless of the genealogical relationship which prevails in fact.

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[1] atchikêt = "adjacent, in the same series"; i = first person pronoun; apêvtch = "to be born," lit. "to come out," "to appear" (nearly synonymous with katcho, note 1).

[2] kikre = "house," "matrilineal household"; avdjuèvdjuè = "same."

As a further indication of their cavalier attitude toward genealogy, the Cayapo pay no attention to considerations of genealogical consistency in forming adoptive kinship relations. Cases in which an individual stands in structurally contradictory relationships to full siblings abound: e.g., a man may stand in the adoptive relationships of brother-in-law, brother, 'ĩ-ngêt, and son, respectively, to a set of full brothers. Affinal relations are never entered into directly on an adoptive basis, but the husband of an adoptive sister may be called by the term for brother-in-law. No rules of precedence hold for such relationships: in some cases, individuals may modify an adoptive relationship of brother to brother-in-law if the adoptive brother marries an adoptive sister, but in other cases he may continue to call both husband and wife "brother" and "sister."

V. C. Domestic group relations in the nó'kre-re age grade.

When a woman who is recognized as a man's fiancée bears her first child by him, the couple are regarded as definitively married, and the husband becomes a resident of the woman's household. The chief criteria of residence are that he may frequent the house at will in the daytime, that he becomes responsible for the economic support of his wife and children, and above all that he eats his meals with his

wife in her house. As a mẽ kra-karò he does not sleep in his affinal household for a period following the birth of a child.

The transfer of a husband's economic obligations from his natal to his affinal household at the birth of his first child is comprehensive and abrupt. His economic connections with his sisters' and mother's household virtually cease and lose all of their obligatory character. Henceforth his production of mats and baskets, his bag of game and fish, and his cooperation in slashing new fields are given solely to his wife. It is his wife who ordinarily gives a portion of the meat or fish he brings home to his sisters, who come running over to the wife's house as soon as he has brought in an animal or a string of fish. He brings his game to his wife's and never to his mother's house. Men skin and butcher the animals they kill, but it is always their wives who preside over the distribution of the pieces of the carcass to the swarms of relatives who surround a successful hunter as he butchers his kill. Several times the sisters of mẽ kra-re begged me for items like scissors, knives or razor blades that I had just given to their brothers. When I told them to borrow the item from their brothers, the reply was always that their brothers gave things only to their wives and never to them.

The birth of a woman's first child marks a similar shift in her pattern of economic obligations. Until she becomes a mother, she helps cultivate her mother's garden, which is slashed and burned off by her father and unmarried brothers. After the birth of her own child, she starts her own separate garden, which her husband slashes for her. The food she grows in her garden or gathers in the forest or savanna and which she cooks is destined only for herself, her husband, and her children. Although she may cooperate with her sisters and mother in cooking food in an earth oven, or give them portions of the fish or game brought to her by her husband, she and her immediate family (her husband and children) form an independent economic unit, carrying on all the essential functions of production, distribution, and consumption with no dependence or reliance on the other families of the household.

Cayapo husbands and wives rarely demonstrate tenderness or affection for each other in public, although they do indulge in playful joking of a "practical" nature. Between young couples there may be displays of tenderness like holding hands or walking with arms around each other. As couples grow older, they develop a kind of casual intimacy and security which approaches in many respects the relations between same sex siblings.

The Cayapo are monogamous, but monogamy among the Cayapo is far from synonymous with a sexually exclusive union. The semi-permanent liaisons between older men and young girls, and older women and mẽ nõrẽ-nu-re, the "substitute wives" of the fathers of nursing children, and extra-marital ceremonial intercourse have already been mentioned. Ceremonial companions (kràb-djuò) also have sexual access to each others' spouses: to beget a child by the wife of one's kràb-djuò is regarded as the supreme expression of the bond between male kràb-djuò. Another type of ceremonial exchange of spouses is the aben pa amò.[1] This ceremony may take place toward the end of any of the large communal name-giving rituals when the men are about to return from the month-long hunt on which they collect the turtles, fish and game necessary for the final ritual feast. The women assemble in the plaza and amidst much giggling and show of timidity, take one another by the hand in pairs and form a line facing the group of women who have not yet paired off. The husbands of the women who have joined hands in this way go to live with the opposite woman of the pair when they return from the hunt. There is a duplicate masculine ceremony after the men arrive

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[1] aben = reflexive; pa = "arm"; amò = "to grasp or hold": mẽ aben pa amò thus = "they take each other by the arm."

to confirm the women's arrangements. The Cayapo were exceptionally vague about how the pairing arrangements were actually decided. They are sometimes agreed upon in advance of the hunt by all four parties, but I could not determine how frequently this was the case. At least some of the arrangements seem to be initiated by the women. The exchange relationship ordinarily lasts for three months but it may become permanent if the parties involved agree. As with the exchange of wives between kràh-djuà, the ideal fulfillment of the aben pa amè wife exchange is for the two husbands to beget children by each other's wives. Aside from socially sanctioned ceremonial wife exchanges, there seems to be a fairly high level of adultery among the Cayapo. I heard of several formal club duels between mature men arising from charges of adultery which happened at Kuben-kran-kén either while or shortly before I arrived in the field. Mature women (mothers) who discover that their husbands are having an affair with another woman may attack their rivals with knives or machetes with intent to kill. Such an episode happened at Gorotire a few years before I arrived. A man's mistress had attacked his wife with a machete after the wife had publicly denounced her. The wife survived her injuries, but the incident led to a duel between the kinsmen of the two women. Adultery, rivalry, and jealousy over women are

regarded by the Cayapo as the principal cause of social conflict and village fission. A standard rhetorical formula used by chiefs in calling for a reconciliation between the parties to a dispute which does not involve adultery is to ask, "Is it over your wives that you are fighting?" The implication is that if adultery is not at issue, then the dispute is not worth fighting over.

Divorce is common among the Cayapo. Perhaps a third of all Cayapo marriages end in divorce. The motives for divorce vary. Personal incompatibility, jealousy, and love affairs leading to divorce and remarriage with the third party are the most frequent causes. Men may abandon wives who fall seriously ill, or if bad relations develop with their wife's father and brothers, or simply because they want to travel to another community. In case of divorce, the children, house and garden of the couple remain with the wife.[1] The man returns to the man's house to sleep and eats his meals there or at the home of his sisters. He transfers any personal belongings he kept in his wife's house to his sisters' house. Divorce terminates each spouse's affinal relations

[1] I encountered two instances in which the husband retained custody of the children and took them to another village, where one of the husbands remarried and established himself and his children in a new household, and the other left the children to be raised by a sister and returned as

with the other's kin: divorced spouses cease to apply the affinal terms to their in-laws. The ability to terminate and dissolve affinal relations of "kinship" (ɛ̃ bikwa) in Dyo's and descending generations (e.g., son-in-law, etc.) is one of the chief features distinguishing them from consanguineal relations and affinal relations of ascending generations, which are under normal circumstances indissoluble.[1]

The significance of the birth of a child as the criterion of marriage is that it establishes a consanguineal link between the father and the wife's household. The Cayapo, however, do not regard marriage as an event which is established once and for all by the birth of a child, but as a process beginning with the first amorous liaisons between a couple and continuing until their deaths. The dominant characteristic of the marriage process is the assimilation of the husband into his wife's consanguineal kindred as an ɔ̃ bikwa (kinsman). The process of assimilation of an affinal male to the status of kinsman takes place in three more or less clearly defined stages, which correspond to named age categories within the mɔ̃ kwa-re age grade. The first of

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[1]Cayapo occasionally speak of having "terminated" a consanguineal relationship or deny that it ever existed if the relative in question has taken the opposing side in a factional dispute involving the threat of fighting or murder, or if the relative is accused of sorcery. Such disavowals are not always accepted by the rest of the community.

these stages corresponds to the first years of marriage, when the couple have one or two young children. Men in this stage are usually referred to as mẽ kra-nu-re[1] and women as mẽ kra pùyn.[2] but either term may be used for the other sex. The second stage follows when the couple have had more children and the oldest of their children have begun to reach marriageable age. Both men and women in this category are referred to as mẽ kra kramtĩ.[3] The final stage corresponds to grandparenthood, when the sons and daughters of the couple become definitively established in independent nuclear family units of their own. Men and women in this stage are called mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê.[4]

The three named categories of mẽ kra-nu-re, mẽ kra kramtĩ, and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê represent the main steps in the development cycle process within the affinal domestic group. The mẽ kra-nu-re stage corresponds to the establishment of marriage and stable relationships between the husband and

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[1]kra = "child"; nu = "new"; mẽ kra nu-re = those with new (young) children."

[2]pùyn = "few"; mẽ kra puyn = "those with few children."

[3]kramtĩ = "many"; mẽ kra kramtĩ = "those with many children."

[4]All mẽ kra-re are called mẽ bê ngêtê, "old" or "adult men." The accentuation of the "ngêtê," by lengthening and raising the pitch of the open ê, transforms the expression into a denotation of the oldest members of the mẽ kra-re age grade, who form a recognized sub-class within the age grade.

the wife's kin. The husband and his affines already refer to each other as "kin" (ó bikwà), but the husband's relations to the wife's siblings and parents continue to be characterized by strong, non-reciprocal (or at least asymmetrical) piàm. This strong inhibition and formal restraint coincides with the most acute period of structural tension in the husband's relationship with his affines. It is in this period that the husband and his wife set up their own independent nuclear family unit within the household, and this entails the definitive separation of the wife from the nuclear family unit of her parents and siblings. The process of structural separation of the wife from her parents and siblings, which is the source of considerable tension and latent structural conflict between the husband and the wife's kin, corresponds with the period during which the husband's link to the household is weakest and most tenuous. His marital bond to his wife is as yet secured by only one or two infant children, and the infant mortality rate among the Gayapo makes the severance of this connection a possibility not to be discounted. Yet it is in this same period, in which his structural bond to the household is at its weakest and the tension arising from the process of separation between his wife and her kinsmen at its most acute, that the husband must establish stable

relationships with his wife's kinsmen as a new resident in their household. The intense formalized inhibition (piaàm) of a husband's relations toward his affines in the mẽ kra nu-re period reflects the tension and delicacy of the husband's situation. The asymmetry of the piaàm expresses the relative weakness of the husband's position in the group relative to his affines, particularly his wife's parents. As senior members of the household and the heads of his wife's natal nuclear family, the wife's parents are in a much firmer position within the structure of the household than the incoming husband. This structural inequality is reflected in the fact that the wife's parents observe no piaàm toward their son-in-law, while he must observe extreme piaàm toward them.

Mothers are more closely identified with their families and children than are fathers, and the relation between mothers and daughters is closer than the relation between mothers and sons. The separation of a daughter from membership in her mother's nuclear family which results from her marriage is therefore charged with more tension and potential conflict than the separation of any other pair of kinship statuses in the system. The piaàm of a son-in-law ('ù-djuò) to his mother-in-law ('ù-payn-djuò) is accordingly the most intense and longest lasting of all the piaàm relationships between a husband and his affines. The behavioral

aspects of the relationship have already been described.[1] They continue without much abatement in intensity into the mẽ kra kramtĩ stage.

The connection of the wife's father ('ù-mrê-ngêt) to his daughter is not as close as that of the wife's mother, but he is a source of more direct threats and opposition to the husband's position in the household. If the husband mistreats his wife or proves lazy and irresponsible as a supplier of food and manufactured articles, the father-in-law, supported by the wife's brothers ('ù-mrê) may administer a thrashing to him, either to get rid of him or to make him change his ways. The wife's father, in effect, personifies the interests of the wife's consanguineal kin in her versus her husband, and as such constitutes the affine most likely to express and most capable of enforcing decisions antagonistic to the husband's interests. The antagonistic acts of fathers-in-law may include verbal complaints over the son-in-law's laziness, beating him for mistreatment of his wife, throwing him out of the house and terminating his marriage, or preventing him from taking his wife with him for a sojourn in another village.[2] The relation of son-in-law to father-in-law

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[1]See p.253.

[2]Only a mother-in-law verbally criticizes a son-in-law or tells him to break off his marriage with her daughter and move out of the house. Fathers-in-law are said to have piaàm

is consequently charged with considerable latent tension and antagonism. The stringent pia'am imposed on a daughter's husband in his relations with his wife's father causes this to be suppressed and constrains the son-in-law to defer to his father-in-law's wishes and demands. The superiority of the father-in-law's position is manifested by the fact that he is not required to show pia'am toward his son-in-law.

The cleavage between son-in-law and parents-in-law is the most sensitive point in the structure of the Cayapo domestic group, partly because the attachment of the husband to the wife's household and the independence of the nuclear family unit within the household are so strongly emphasized in Cayapo domestic group organization. The setting up of a new nuclear family by a mother and her husband amounts to an assertion of structural equality with the mother's parental nuclear family, within which the mother previously stood in a subordinate relationship to her parents. This implicit assertion of parity and independence poses a threat to the cohesion of the extended family household, which is aggravated by the tension between a woman's husband and her

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to speak to sons-in-law about such matters. This does not, however, prevent them from beating their sons-in-law if they ignore the injunctions of the mother-in-law. In spite of the inhibition of direct verbal conflict with the son-in-law, the father-in-law remains the center of authority and potential enforcer of the demands articulated by the mother-in-law.

parents. Free expression of either the latent tension and antagonism between sons-in-law and parents-in-law, or of the structural equality and independence of the new nuclear family of the daughter from that of her parents, could result in the dissolution of the extended family household. The extreme deference and piàùn that sons-in-law are required to display toward their parents-in-law counteracts this latent fissive tendency by emphasizing the unequal and hierarchical nature of the son-in-law--parent-in-law relationship. It is important to realize that the recognition of the superior position of the parents-in-law in the household symbolized by the asymmetrical pattern of piàùn relations does not imply a comparable degree of recognition of the authority of the parents-in-law over the son-in-law in everyday affairs, such as might enable them to command him to perform daily tasks or services. An ù-diùò is bound by piàùn to defer to his parents-in-law's requests and demands, but in practice his parents-in-law do not attempt to exercise this prerogative to direct his daily activities and do not attempt to make unilateral decisions binding on the rest of the household. If they did, their sons-in-law would no doubt effectively obstruct them through passive resistance and evasion when the parents-in-law's demands counteracted their personal interests and inclinations.

The "authority" of the parents-in-law as heads of the household is expressed in practice only in occasional requests for assistance in slashing fields, the manufacture of a basket or mat, or the provision of fish or game. The essential significance of the pinèm relationship between them and their sons-in-law lies in the negative suppression of fissive tendencies arising from the structural tension between them and their sons-in-law. It is a means of securing the acceptance and conformity of the sons-in-law to a relatively disadvantageous and uncomfortable situation of symbolic subordination through the inhibition of the expression of their personal motivations and desires.

> The prohibition of marriage with the brothers' wives' sister, and the prohibiton of polygyny (especially sororal polygyny)[1] constitute more drastic means of weakening the position of sons-in-law vis-à-vis their parents-in-law. The prohibition on wife's sister marriage by either a husband or his brothers insures that sons-in-law within the same household will not be able to build up a stronger position than that based on a single marriage and nuclear family, and will be unlikely to combine with each other in a solidary

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[1] Sororal polygyny is practiced among the Akwẽ-Shavante, a Central Ge group with patrilineal exogamous moieties (Maybury-Lewis n.d.: 127).

bloc against their parents-in-law, which would make the suppression of fissive tendencies within the household more difficult.

The position of the wife's brother ('ù-mrê) in relation to the sister's husband is analogous in many respects to the relation of the parents-in-law to the son-in-law. The marriage of the sister and her becoming part of a new and independent nuclear family has the effect of accentuating her separation from her brother, much as it weakens her connection to her parents. The connection of the brother to his sister, however, has already been attenuated by his removal to the man's house by the time of her marriage, so that the conflict between his relationship to his sister and her relationship to her husband is not so intense as is the case with his parents, and is not fraught with the same implications of fissive tendencies within the matrilocal extended family, since the wife's brother has ceased to be a residential member of that family. The marriage of the sister, in fact, is the structural concomitant of the process of separation of the brother from the household which began with his induction into the man's house. As part of this process of separation, the brother has shown piàùn toward both his mother and his sister since his entry into the men's house, and he continues to show piàùn to his sister and her husband

throughout the early years of his sister's marriage. The piaàm of the sister's husband towards his wife's brother is more intense than the piaàm of the latter toward the former, but it is not nearly so intense as that of the son-in-law toward the father-in-law. Even as a mẽ kra su-re a husband retains enough piaàm toward his wife's brothers ('ù-mrê) to cause him to avoid his wife's house while they are there. After the birth of more children and the passage of time, he ceases to avoid the house when an 'ù-mrê is present, but sits at the opposite end of the house from him. On such occasions the two do not speak to each other. After both the husband and the 'ù-mrê have become mẽ kra-kramtĩ, the wife may formally invite her brother to join her and her husband for the evening meal. Such occasions are treated with a mixture of gravity and shy humor by the two men. They mark the definitive establishment of bonds of friendship[1] between them strong enough to overcome the tension arising from their mutually incompatible relationships to the wife and her household.

If a newly-married husband is already a father through previous marriages and especially if he is an older man, he is not required to avoid his wife's house by day

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[1] I use the term in the specialized sense of Radcliffe-Brown (1952: 112).

even if he has not yet had a child by her. The extent to which he and his wife's brother will avoid each other depends partly on his age and previous number of children, partly on his wife's age and number of children (the younger she is and the fewer children she has, the more piàm he and his wife's brother will have for each other) and partly on the wife's brother's age and number of children. The more children a wife's brother has, the stronger the piàm a newly-married sister's husband has for him. A sister's husband will tend not to show piàm for a wife's brother much younger than himself, and may even speak freely to him.

The relationship between sisters is not affected to the same extent by their marriages as their relations to their parents and brothers. In their mutual natal family they neither depended on each other economically nor stood in any relationship of subordination to one another which is repudiated by their marriages. Nor does marriage coincide with their separation to different households as it does in the case of their brothers: they continue to live side by side under the same roof and maintain their uninhibited relationship of sibling solidarity throughout their lives. They often care for each other's children and cooperate in making earth ovens. Their life cycles, in short, remain on parallel courses within the same domestic group in

spite of their marriages. Marriage nevertheless leads to a certain degree of structural separation between them. As wives and mothers, they are no longer members of the same nuclear family unit, but of separate nuclear families which are independent of each other in terms of social and economic functions, even though they remain spatially located within the same household. The piàm a husband must show to his wife's sisters ('ù-paya) in part reflects the tension arising from this separation. He refrains from joking, flirting, or arguing with them, asking them for favors or making demands upon them, and speaks to them infrequently and in a low voice.

The emphasis on the separation and independence of the marital nuclear families of sisters, as reflected in the piàm which a sister's husband shows toward his wife's sister, in itself reflects the tendency within Cayapo domestic group structure to stress the mutual separation and isolation of wife's sisters' husbands as a means of reducing tension between sons-in-law and parents-in-law. The requirement that wife's sisters' husbands show piàm toward each other is explicable in terms of the same pattern, which is also manifested in the prohibition of polygyny and brother's wife's sister marriage. The piàm between wife's sister's husbands is similar to that between sister's husbands and

wife's sisters. By the time he is a mẽ kra kramtĩ, a sister's husband's relationship with the wife's sisters becomes relaxed and casually familiar (although never flirtatious). At the same time, he enters into adoptive kinship or kràb-djuò bonds with their husbands. A man does not show the full degree of piaàm due to 'ù-payn toward much younger wife's sisters. The variation of the degree of piaàm according to age and prior marital status of both parties follows a similar pattern to that between a man and his wife's brothers.

) As his children increase in number and pass beyond the stage of infancy, the security of the husband's consanguineal bond to his affinal household is strengthened. The years that elapse during this process also provide an opportunity for him to arrive at more secure personal relationships with his wife's kin. These developments mark the passage of the husband to the stage of mẽ kra kramtĩ The appearance of a prospective son-in-law as a lover of one of a man's daughters confirms his position as a "consanguineal" member of the household by opposing to him a potential affinal member of the household. This helps close the gap between the father and his wife's parents, who are by now approaching old age and a state of economic semi-dependency on their son-in-law. The intensity of the piaàm which a son-

in-law of the mẽ kra kramtĩ category displays toward his parents-in-law decreases in recognition of this altered situation. Mẽ kra kramtĩ may speak directly to both parents-in-law, talk freely at normal volume to others in their presence, eat together with them, and need not avoid them upon meeting them in the plaza. Respect and a deferential bearing toward them, however, is maintained until their deaths. The diminution of the piaàm shown by a husband to his wife's brothers and sisters during the mẽ kra kramtĩ phase has already been described.

The process of assimilation of a man into the wife's household culminates when his daughter bears a son to her husband, making him a grandfather. This event, or his reaching grandparental age, makes him a mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê. His parents-in-law are dead and he no longer shows piaàm toward any of his consanguineal or affinal õ bikwa. He continues to reside in his wife's house as a senior member of the household even if his wife dies, and is on equally relaxed and familiar terms with his wife's brothers and his wife's and his own sisters' husbands. The mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê stage marks the complete fulfillment of the process of assimilation of a man into his affinal kindred. A mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê has in effect outlived the relevance of the distinction between kin

and affine within both his natal and affinal domestic groups. Relatively few Cayapo live to this age, and those who do are objects of deference and admiration not only within their own households but in the community as a whole. Mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê are the symbolic heads of the household, although as has been explained, this position carries little authority over its day-to-day activities. A house is referred to in the village by the name of its oldest female resident. Mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê continue to garden, hunt, and fish as long as they are able, and exist as far as possible by their own efforts. When men become too old to hunt or to clear new gardens for their wives by themselves, they are provided with meat and their gardens are slashed for them by their sons-in-law. Sons and ẽ bikwm ka'àk may also send gifts of meat to indigent fathers. Women who are too old or sick to work in their gardens are supplied with garden produce by their daughters.

The mẽ kra nu-re period represents the culmination of the process of the separation of the father-husband from his natal household, now comprised of his father, mother, and sisters with their husbands. The induction of the father into the ngà as a mẽ ôk-re began the separation process, but it is not socially complete before he has established consanguineal membership in his affinal household

through the birth of a child. Since the mã̃ kra nu-re stage is the phase of the life cycle in which men definitively establish their separation from their natal household, a certain amount of tension is implied between men in this stage, and their fathers, mothers, and sisters. The tension is weaker than that between a man and his affines, since he is not involved in the creation of a new and potentially independent social group within his natal household and his bonds with his natal family have already been weakened by his induction into the men's house.

The difference between a man's relation to his natal nuclear family and to the members of his wife's nuclear family is epitomized by the contrast between his relationship to his wife's brothers and his sister's relationship to his wife. The relationship between sister's husband and wife's brother is characterized by extreme pinùn and avoidance of each other in the presence of the wife. The relationship of husband's sister to brother's wife is characterized by familiarity and joking, and emphasizes visiting with one another in each other's houses, while the husband-brother is required to avoid the two whenever they are together in either household. The two sets of behaviors constitute exact inversions of each other. The

inversion is the result of the opposite relations of men and women to the matrilocal residence rule. The incompatibility of a man's relation to his wife and his or his wife's relation to their cross-sex siblings (either the husband's relationship to his sister or the wife's relationship to her brother) is the source of the relationship between both pairs of parallel-sex affinal statuses. The relations of sister's husband and wife's brother to their respective wife and sister are structurally opposed, but are focused within the same household. The relations of husband's sister and brother's wife to their respective brother and husband are likewise opposed, but are focused in separate households. The joking and mutual visiting of the women express the absence of direct conflict between them resulting from this residential situation, while the mâsèn and avoidance of the two men reflect the conflict injected into their relationship by the fact that their opposing relationships to the same woman are focused within the same domestic group.

The joking relationship between the husband's sister and brother's wife is epitomized in the periodic ritual known as "joking in connection with the tab-djuè (nephew, grandchild)."[1] The ritual begins with a formal invitation

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[1]The Cayapa name is "tab-djuè kêt bitchaêrê": kêt = "in connection with"; bitchaêrê = "to joke."

by the mothers of young children (mẽ prĩ-re, ngàydju-re, or mẽ prĩ-ti) to their husbands' sisters and mothers (the childrens' kwa-tuy) to "dance for their tab-djuò." The kwa-tuy go to the mothers' houses, seize the house furnishings (gourds, pots, and utensils) and whatever clothing and personal articles are lying about and scatter them over the plaza or the savanna behind the houses. The kwa-tuy put on the clothes of the children's fathers (their brothers or sons) or of their male tab-djuò, whom they drag along with them in fun, and dance together in the plaza wearing the stolen clothing. After dancing for a short time, they drop the clothes on the ground with the other utensils they have scattered about "so that the mother will have to wash them." They then cut the hair of the tab-djuò and their own hair. The children's fathers hunt and the mothers send the kwa-tuy gifts of raw meat from the kill in payment for their ceremonial services. Mother's brothers or fathers ('ĩ-ngêt) never perform this ritual for their sisters' or daughters' children. The rite asserts the continuing relationship between the kwa-tuy and the childrens' fathers (symbolized in joking form as identity with them or their sons through the ritual transvestitism) and the implicit conflict between this relationship and the

children's mothers' affinal relationship to the fathers. The joking form of the assertion of the conflict, and the beginning and ending of the ceremony with the mother's invitation and gift of meat serve simultaneously to deny the reality, or at least the seriousness, of the conflict and place it in the context of a ritual exchange of favors between the husband's sisters and mothers and the brother's or sons's wives.

The same theme of jocular assertion of identity with the tah-djuè is expressed in the annual men's and women's "self-naming" (ṣ[illegible]) sessions. The men or the women make an extended hunting or gathering trip, which may [illegible] from a week to a month for the men and from one to seven days for the women. During or immediately following the return from the trip, the men or women stand together in a group and, with much hilarity, take turns recounting some adventure or experience of one of their tah-djuè. Each follows his story by giving himself a new name [illegible] tah-djuè's experience. The names are of a set form [illegible] upon in advance, and the form varies according to [illegible]. For example, in the women's self-naming session I [illegible] in Gorotire, the older of the two women's societies,[2]

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[1]The term is a compound of [illegible] (reflexive indicator) and 'idji = "name."

[2]See p.372.

corresponding to the age categories of mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê, adopted the form "_____ kudjari" ("Kudjari" = "to miss a target"). Each woman named herself for some animal or object that had figured in her tab-djuè's experience, in the form "ngiadju (deer)-kudjari" = "missed the deer." The younger of the two women's societies adopted the form "_____ phibôre" (phibôre = "to bend"), and all gave themselves names like "tep-phibôre" ("sends the fish"). Note that these joking names, with their set suffixes, are the reverse of the form of the ceremonial names, such as Bĩng, which constitute set [illegible] (e.g., Bĩ-mok, [illegible]-'i, etc.).

The relationship between brothers, although neutralized at the level of domestic group structure by the prohibition on marriage with the brother's wife's sister and the requirement that brothers avoid each other's affinal houses and show [illegible] towards each other's wives and wife's sisters, continues strong and solidary at other levels. Brothers [illegible] each other's surest allies in fights and disputes, and [illegible] unchanged the characteristics of their relationship [illegible] the rest of their lives.

Relations between men of the [illegible] age grade and their [illegible], and some generation [illegible]

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[1] See p.262

continue in the mẽ kra-re age grade without significant change in the forms they assumed during the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age grade.[1] Relations with tab-djuè of descending generations and with kra (own children, brother's children, wife's sister's children) have been described in the first three sections of this chapter.

V D. Age grouping and age categories within the mẽ kra-re age grade

The men of the mẽ kra-re age grade are organized for most social purposes into a varying number of men's societies called "tahêk," which will be discussed in Chapter III, and are only grouped together as an age set on ceremonial or other specialized occasions, like athletic contests. Tahêk are also referred to in Cayapo as mẽ rô'ĩ krin, "those who sit together." The passage of a man who has just become a father for the first time into the mẽ kra-re age grade is publicly symbolized by his joining a men's society, which is formally accomplished by his sitting down with the members of one of the men's societies in their krin dja ("sitting place") in the men's house. A man normally has decided which men's society he will join and come to an understanding

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[1] See p. 263

with its chief or chiefs while he is still a mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, so that his sitting down with that society after the birth of his child is merely a formality. The decision to join a given tẽhêt is based purely on individual preference, always expressed as a preference for the chief of that society rather than as a desire to be with friends or relatives who happen to belong to the society. Membership can be changed at any time by the simple procedure of going to sit with another man's society. Chiefs are bound by pinõm not to oppose a member of their society leaving to join another society.

No ceremony accompanies the act of joining a tẽhêt. In spite of their importance as political and social groupings and their prominent place in the normative constitution of Gayapó society, the tẽhêt are outside the ceremonial system.[1] At ceremonies and sports, the mẽ kra-re are organized as an age set, symbolically opposed to the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re, and overriding their internal division into tẽhêt.

Within the ceremonial age set form of organizing the mẽ kra-re, their division into tẽhêt gives structural recognition to the three age categories--the mẽ kra nu-ro,

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[1] The ceremonial functions of chiefs, whose status is defined with reference to the men's society, constitute the sole exception to this rule.

mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê--into which the mẽ kra-re are divided and which play such an important part in domestic group structure. Yet the hierarchical relations among these age categories play a fundamental part in determining the structure of behavior and social groupings at the men's society level.

The three age categories enjoy sharply differing degrees of prestige within the men's house. Prestige among the mẽ kra-re goes hand in hand with authority and influence in the conduct of communal affairs. Authority, for the average member of the age grade (i.e., excepting chiefs), is manifested in the socially recognized ability to make public statements on questions before the men's house and the right to give formal orations on topics of communal importance. Influence corresponds to the ability to persuade others to accept a given position or take a given action, as affected by factors such as personal standing in the men's society and age grade systems, over and above the intrinsic merit of the arguments for the position.

The mẽ kra pa-re have the least prestige, authority, and influence of the three age categories. They do not take as prominent or forceful a part in the men's discussions or carry as much weight in them as the average participant of

the older age categories. *Mẽ kra nu-ro* do not give formal orations, whereas *mẽ kra kramtĩ* and *mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê* do. Chiefs (at least all the chiefs I saw or heard of) are of the two senior age categories.

The *mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê* are the most prestigious and authoritative individuals in the community after the chiefs. In many respects, their prestige and authority are simply more intense versions of the corresponding attributes of the *mẽ kra kramtĩ*, but there is a difference of emphasis. The *mẽ kra kramtĩ* are cast in the more dynamic role as the political leaders of the community. They strive to give an impression of aggressive intransigeance and of both willingness and ability to resort to force in support of their positions. The *mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê* have the more passive role of pacifiers and reconcilers of disputes, and are considered to be above direct involvement in factional or personal conflicts. They personify the fusive tendencies of society. Moral admonitions and calls for reconciliation and the avoidance of fighting by *mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê* are considered to carry more weight than those of younger men (except the chiefs), because *mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê* are felt to embody the central values of society to a greater extent than other people. *Mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê* are treated with deference and respect, and are expected to be prominent as orators. A *mẽ kra-nu-ro*, were he to begin

orating frequently in the formal style, would be looked at askance, and if he persisted would no doubt be subjected to ridicule. By contrast, it is considered odd and falls short of social expectations for a mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê not to take a prominent part in oratory.

As the most prestigious individualistic form of public activity open to Cayapo men, and one allowing for considerable scope and variation in personal expression and accomplishment, oratory provides an optimal means of winning or increasing personal influence and prestige. As will have become clear, however, oratory among the Cayapo is not so much a means of winning prestige for those who lack it as of confirming and expressing the prestige of those who already have it, by virtue of their status as mẽ kra kramtĩ or mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê. Oratory, more than any other attribute of the public behavior of the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê, distinguishes them from the mẽ kra nu-re within the mẽ kra-re age grade. Mẽ kra nu-re are not expected to remain silent during discussions in the men's house and may make remarks from where they sit, speaking in the normal conversational style, but they rarely speak in the formal oratorical style. Cayapo oratory is distinguished from everyday speech by its highly developed formal style, involving different phrase cadence, syllabic stress patterns, and phonetic values for

many sounds and words than ordinary speech. Orators always hold weapons and stand or walk back and forth as they speak. Even a chief or mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê would not speak in the oratorical style while sitting down.

Oratory is an almost daily activity in Cayapo villages. It figures in most ceremonies and provides the principal focus of the men's gatherings in the men's house in the evenings and before dawn in the mornings. Orations may concern the speaker's personal experiences or recollections of trips to other villages, raids, or hunting. More often, they consist of moral platitudes and exhortations. Before and during the celebration of ceremonies, mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê or older mẽ kra-ra who have specialized in ritual lore give long orations to "teach" the particulars of the ceremony to the participants. The chiefs or the older mẽ kra-ra frequently deliver long orations from the center of the plaza at night, addressed to the whole village. They may include announcements of decisions reached in the men's house about the following day's activities, comments on actions or events of note, moral exhortations, and ritual lore (if a ceremony is in progress).

The oratorical style may also be used for public statements by the parties to a dispute. The aggressive character of the oratorical style and the pugnacious strutting

and gesticulating with weapons which accompany the delivery of orations would seem well adapted to this purpose, but it must be emphasised that neither oratory nor the type of personal prestige linked with it is primarily associated with the prosecution of individual or factional rivalries or disputes. Oratory may figure prominently in the conduct of a dispute between individuals or factions, and the authority, influence, and prestige of the orator may be exercised to the full on behalf of one of the parties to the dispute, but such occasions represent neither the most frequent nor the most culturally emphasised use of oratory.[1] Even when the parties to a dispute state their cases in oratorical extravagyes, they avoid reference to each other by name and rely on indirect references and innuendo to make their specific points. The actions that give rise to the dispute are described without mentioning their perpetrators by name. Each side strives to represent the actions as good or bad by setting them in a framework of generalised pronouncements on ethics and morals. The disputants then assert their positions in terms of their [illegible] moral rectitude (righteous anger, approbation, etc.) to the almost [illegible] goodness of the action, without indicating [illegible] enmity toward their opponents as individuals. When [illegible] rise and the dispute reaches the point of [illegible] physical violence, the disputants tend to abandon the confrontal style and revert to the ordinary conversational

style.[1]

Oratory, in short, is not primarily a medium of contention and dispute: its elaborate etiquette makes it an awkward tool in essentially personal conflicts. When it is used in disputes it still bears the stamp of its primary uses, as described above, none of which are oriented toward argument or dialogue. Cayapo oratory concentrates on impersonal exhortation, forceful assertion, and the dramatization of individual feelings and experiences rather than discussion or debate. The series of speeches which form the backbone of the men's "discussions" in the ag, constitute a series of more or less disconnected monologues rather than true debates. Direct arguments between speakers are avoided and considered bad form. Cayapo oratory is an instrument of influence, and therefore of persuasion, but the rhetoric of Cayapo oratory is not a rhetoric of persuasion so much as of assertion. Persuasion operates through the mechanism of the "sense of the meeting" which accumulates during and following the assertion of a position in an oration. The way in which the position taken by one speaker is stated by following speakers, the prestige of the speakers, and the general reaction of acceptance,

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[1] I have seen disputes reach this point on two occasions, and both times the disputants lapsed into everyday speech.

rejection, or indifference among the men following the speeches, decide whether or not the orator's position will be adopted by the group. Cayapo are extremely adept at judging the way the feelings of a group are running on a given question, and the proponents of a losing position usually adapt themselves to the sense of the group rather than persevere in a hopeless effort on behalf of their views. Persuasion is thus not a function of oratory per se, but of the concurrence of individual prestige, the initial merits of the position, and the informal pressures for consensus around the position which build up within the group. Oratory is not so much a medium of persuasion as a part of the code which regulates the access to influence, defined as the capacity to persuade.[1] It delimits the field of those who can advocate positions in the men's discussions, by prescribing that such matters must be dealt with in the oratorical style, and restricting the use of the oratorical style to the senior [illegible] age categories.

As its highly stylized form suggests, oratory is a semi-ritual activity. It is the principal means by which collective values and goals, moral admonitions, and ceremonial

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[1] For the distinction between medium and code, and the concept of authority as a code in relation to influence as a medium, see Parsons 1963a:51.

lore are continually articulated and applied to specific events in the life of the community, and it is from this function that its great social prestige derives.[1] Because oratory is so firmly associated with certain types of content and social functions, the specific content of what is being said in a particular oration is often treated as a matter of indifference. What is important is that the oration is being made in the proper style in the appropriate context. Cayapo oratory often bears a certain functional resemblance to chamber music: it forms an expected background for public events such as gatherings in the men's house or ceremonies, in which the hubbub of conversation or the noise of the singing almost completely drown it out. Even when an oration deals with an important question currently before the men's house, the men often pay no consistent attention to it, but keep up running conversations of their own or even sing while the orator is speaking.

As a socially sanctioned display of flamboyant pugnacity forbidden to lower (younger) age categories, oratory constitutes a powerful symbol of the communal preeminence of

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[1] The ceremonial metrical falsetto chanting known as "ben," which is reserved exclusively for the formal pronouncements or ritual utterances of chiefs, is merely a more highly stylized form of oratory, and constitutes the purest expression of oratory's ritual function.

the senior mẽ kra-re age categories. The presigious function of oratory as a vehicle for the articulation of social values in turn emphasizes the authority of the orating age categories as groups with a special license to speak on behalf of society. The monopoly of the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê on oratory thus implies an equation between the aggressive assertion of their own authority and the reinforcement of the structure and values of society as a whole.

The relationship between the age categories of mẽ kra nu-re and mẽ kra kramtĩ--mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê, as revealed by the social relations of oratory, is one of structural opposition accompanied by asymmetrical deference and authority, based on the order of stages in the age grade cycle. The relation between the age categories is thus a formally exact parallel to the opposition between the categories 'ù-diuè (son-in-law) and 'ù-mrê-ngêt (father-in-law) within the domestic group. The parallel is not merely formal, since the two senior mẽ kra-re age categories are made up of actual or potential fathers-in-law, while the mẽ kra nu-re are composed of sons-in-law.[1] The reinforcement of the prestige

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[1] The members of the mẽ kra kramtĩ do not, of course, stand in a collective relationship of father-in-law to all the members of the mẽ kra nu-re, and the Cayapo do not to my knowledge refer to the relation between the two age categories

and authority of the junior age categories at the communal level through oratory constitutes an indirect means of strengthening the authoritative position of fathers-in-law within the domestic group. The predominant effect of the system at both the age group and domestic group levels is to repress the inequality between the younger and older opposed categories through an emphasis on deference or restraint by the junior category in the face of the assertion of social preeminence and diffuse authority by the senior category.

In the last section it was seen that the asymmetrical relationship between the junior and senior male categories within the domestic group was the outcome of two interrelated but distinct tendencies inherent in the domestic group cycle. The first of these was the essentially fissive opposition of the category of resident consanguineal males of a household (fathers-in-law) to the category of incoming affinal males (sons-in-law). The second was the progressive fusion of affinal males into the wife's group, culminating in their attainment of full "consanguineal" status as fathers-in-law opposed to a new generation of incoming sons-in-law. The core balance of complementary fissive and fusive tendencies

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as a relation between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law. I use these terms in the sense of stages in the development cycle within the domestic group, in which a man is successively a son-in-law and a father-in-law in the phases of his life cycle

operates on the level of age group and men's society structure. As we have just seen, the opposition of the junior category of sons-in-law to the senior category of fathers-in-law is paralleled by the opposition of the mẽ kra nu-re to the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê. The tendency toward fusion of structurally opposed categories finds its parallel in the tendency of the mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê to form an "age set"--like group with a sitting place of its own adjacent to, but distinct from, the sitting places of the tchât. Mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê may maintain vestigial attachments to their tchât, but they are considered to have outgrown the status of constituents of a single chief or tchât. They are regarded as councillors to the community at large, transcending the more compartmentalized men's society allegiances of the younger mẽ kra-re. It is because they have "outgrown" the divisive allegiances and structural cleavages in which younger men are still absorbed, on both the domestic group and tchât levels, that the mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê are felt to be uniquely qualified as articulators of the common values of the community and reconcilers of disputes. It is in these capacities that they are the most respected and esteemed orators in the community after the chiefs.

Age set solidarity and assertiveness are associated in the cases of both mẽ nõxõ-nu-re and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê with the absence of fissive tensions at the domestic group level, but in inverse fashion. Assertiveness among the mẽ nõxõ-nu-re is an aspect of the behavior of the age set as a collective unit, and serves as a means of generating a high degree of conformity and suppression of individualistic assertiveness within the group. The assertiveness of mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê, on the other hand, is emphatically individualistic in character. The contrast between the conformity and collective assertiveness of the mẽ nõxõ-nu-re and the individualism of the mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê is directly correlated with the different positions of the two groups in the domestic group system. The mẽ nõxõ-nu-re are freed from involvement in fissive relations on the domestic group level by their temporary separation as an age set from the domestic group system. The mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê, by contrast, have attained a resolution of fissive tensions on the domestic group level through complete integration into the household. It is because the mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê represent, as individuals (i.e., as incumbents of the statuses of father-in-law and grandfather), the achievement of the ideal state of fusion of the opposed categories of kin and affine within the household that they are socially permitted--indeed expected--to

assert their value and status as individuals. Conversely, it is because the me nore-nu-re have merely escaped the conflict temporarily through their severance of firm connections to either their natal or affinal households, that they require to be subordinated and controlled as individuals in their separated state through conformist membership in a collectivity whose activities are rigorously directed toward socially approved goals. The me be nge-s-te, in their combination of age set solidarity and socially respected individual assertiveness, constitute the supreme embodiment and reconciliation of the two cardinal values of Cayapo social life, uabô[1] and àkrô, which represent incompatible and opposed tendencies until all fissive relations within the domestic group and tchât systems have been successfully superseded.

There is a tendency, within a given men's house for the members of the three mẽ kra-re age categories to manifest a more intense degree of solidarity with members of the same age category than with members of the other two age categories. The division is particularly marked between the mẽ kra nu-re on the one hand, the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ hô [illegible] the other. The age categories, particularly the older two, may emphasize their distinctness by calling themselves by a collective name in imitation of a man's

1. uabô = "friendly", "solidary", secure (non-hostile) relationship.

society (this is also done by the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re). The mẽ kra-kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê at Kuben-kran-kên call themselves mẽ môndjê-ti, "the big yam people."

A more significant manifestation of the solidarity of the age categories is the tendency for members of the same age category to form societies resembling tchêt, with distinct names and "sitting places" in the men's house. A normal and socially accepted manifestation of this tendency is the custom of the mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê of making a small sitting area for themselves apart from those of the tchêt. The same tendency, however, is latent among the two younger age categories of mẽ kra-re. Close friends among the mẽ kra-re tend to be of the same age category, and there is an incipient tendency for small groups of friends, perhaps a half-dozen or less, to form cliques within a men's society. The members of such a clique sit together within the sitting place of their men's society, apply a joking name to themselves, and carry on certain joint activities like hunting and fishing trips, as close friends often do whether or not they form a clique. Such a group had recently been formed by five men at Cerotire when I arrived. They called themselves the "stinkers" (mẽ krare-re) and the name was taken as a great joke by everyone, themselves above all. They did not

consider themselves to be an incipient men's society, and vigorously maintained that their group was just a mock (kavgô) society, an informal group of friends with no formal institutional implications. It is nevertheless clear that the tendencies which lead to the formation of such informal groups of friends have much in common with those which lead to the setting up of more comprehensive and socially significant groups based on the solidarity of the age categories. It is at least possible to imagine that "mock" groups formed in this manner might occasionally become the nuclei of larger age category-based societies. Such societies seem to manifest themselves when the men become disaffected from the existing chiefs and tchêt societies. They may form the basis of a movement to found a new tchêt within the system. Dreyfus reports an attempt recorded by Metraux of a mẽ kra nu-re in one of the two tchêt at Kuben kran kên to form a third tchêt under his leadership composed of men of the mẽ kra-nu-re and mẽ tuvarô-nu-re age categories (Dreyfus 1963:81). The attempt was opposed by the two existing chiefs and the new group failed to take root.

A spontaneous division of the mẽ kra-re into two men's societies based on age categories took place at Corotire in 1960 or early 1961. The formation of the two Coroti-re groups was the result of several factors. The population of

the village had grown to the point where the one men's society had become very large, with fifty mẽ kra-re, or roughly twice the size of the two tchêt at Kuben kran kên, which number 25 and 22, respectively. The Cayapo emphasize the division of the mẽ kra-re within a village into two structurally opposed groupings of roughly equal size, no matter what the structural basis of the groupings may be in a given case.[1] The followings of the two chiefs within the single Ceroti-re men's society might have provided the basis for such a division, but they had become sharply unequal in size and the focus of considerable discontent among the men. When I arrived at Ceroti-re, about two years after the formation of the age category-based

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[1] If a village has only a single men's society, as at Ceroti-re, that society tends to be divided into two groupings each following a chief within the society. When asked to draw maps of such villages, informants always placed the houses of the two chiefs at the eastern and western poles of the village circle, thus symbolically conforming to the format of the east-west moiety division in larger villages. If a village has two men's societies, as at Kuben kran-kên, it is regarded as the optimal and proper state of affairs for them to be evenly balanced in size. Informants insisted that in villages in which both moieties are represented, the moieties remain roughly equal in size, even though there is no formal mechanism by which moiety size or membership is regulated. When I asked whether the chiefs would assign the incoming groups of mẽ ôk-re to a moiety which had grown smaller than the other, informants denied that such a state of affairs would come into existence in the first place. I could extract no confirmation of Nimuendaju's report that among the Pau d'Arco Cayapo consecutive classes of mẽ ôk-re were assigned to alternate men's houses (Nimuendaju n d.: 3).

societies, chief Kanyonk's following had 23 men, while chief Tut's had only 16.[1] Tut had alienated many of his followers, and aroused dissatisfaction among others who did not leave him to join Kanyonk, through a series of adulterous escapades and extreme moodiness bordering on depression. He had created considerable unrest by attempting to restore his position and support by stirring up resentment against the Tchikrin immigrants at Goroti-re, and, at one point, against Kanyonk. The two chiefs and their followings were only prevented from holding a collective abou tak (club duel), which would undoubtedly have led to the fission of the village, by the intervention of the Protestant Missionary. Kanyonk has gained the preeminent position in the community by default, but is himself no forceful leader. He rarely gives orations and leaves all chiefly ceremonial functions to Tut. Both chiefs had acquiesced in the burning down of the men's house at the behest of the missionaries and the Indian Protection Service some years

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[1] These figures do not include the two chiefs, the ex-chief Aybi (deposed by an Indian Service Agent after he had been appointed by an earlier Agent) and his two me kra-re followers, [illegible], and two Goroti-re me kra-re, who did not consider themselves the followers of either chief.

before,[1] and had gone along with the Indian Service's attempts to transform their followings into work gangs for Indian Service labor projects. The chiefs' followings had thus lost much of their traditional character as social solidarities. This fact, combined with the widespread dissatisfaction with the chiefs' leadership, prevented the expression of the tendency toward the formation of balanced, dyadically opposed solidary groupings through the existing framework of the chiefly followings.

Under these circumstances a movement grew up among the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ hê rrê-ê-tê to form a group with a separate "sitting place" comprising only members of their own two age categories. The mẽ kra nu-re concurred and formed their own society. The society formed by the men of the two senior age grades took the name of mẽ akati[2] and numbered 27 members in January, 1963. The society formed by the mẽ kra-nu-re took the name mẽ ka àkày nàvtsh[3] and had 23 members at the same time. The purpose of the formation of the groups was always explained simply as the result

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[1] The men's house was rebuilt in 1962 with the approval of the Protestant missionary, who has adopted a more enlightened policy than his predecessor in such matters.

[2] akati = "day," "daylight."

[3] ka àkày nàvtsh is the name of a type of headdress.

of a desire "to sit together" or "to be happy" on the part of the groups concerned, and although the names of two individuals were supplied as having taken a leading part in the discussions which led up to the formation of the new groups, great emphasis was placed on the fact that "all" the men had wanted and decided upon the move "together," with no individual leading in a quasi-chiefly capacity. The groups have remained distinct from the chiefly followings and are not explicitly regarded as competing with them. The chiefs are members of the mã skati, and are said to have given their approval to the formation of the new groups. Their followings continue to exist and function as before. The functions of the mã skati and mã ka àkày nàytch groups have remained confined purely to social intercourse and fraternal solidarity among their members. The men sit together in the men's house according to their membership in the two age-based societies rather than according to their affiliation to the chiefs. It would seem at least possible, in the light of Dreyfus's report of the attempt to form a new tchât along age category lines at Muben kran kên, that the groups might in the future become the basis of new tchât with chiefs of their own. This seems especially likely in the case of the younger group, since both the existing chiefs are members of the older group.

It might be expected, in the light of the emphasis the Cayapo place on the hierarchical relations between the mẽ kra-re age categories, that they would regard the age category-based solidarities as the normal, or at least an acceptable form of tchêt organization. In fact, they do not. There is a strong feeling that such age category-based societies are "kayoê" (false, incorrect, not as they should be) and a consequent tendency to insist, where they exist, that they are only "mock" societies, not to be taken as significant social institutions on the level of tchêt. The latter, defined as societies including members of all age categories within the mẽ kra-re age grade and led by a chief, are regarded as the only legitimate form of "society" among the mẽ kra-re, at least for members of the mẽ kra nu-re and mẽ kra kramkĩ age categories. Tchêt, and especially balanced pairs or dyadic groupings of tchêt (e.g., two men's houses) are said to promote the unity of the community as a whole through the relationships of piàm (with emphasis on the inhibition of expressions of aggressiveness or hostility), which prevail between tchêt and the kinship-like solidarity among the members within a tchêt based on their common relationship to the chief.[1] The age category-based men's

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[1]Chiefs refer to their tchêt or their followings within a tchêt as "kuhê õ bikwa" ("become like kinsman") to themselves and each other.

societies are not thought to promote village unity to the same extent.

The presence of a powerful although disavowed tendency among the mẽ kra-re toward the formation of men's societies along the lines of the age categories sheds important light on the nature and social functions of the tchêt form of men's society. In the tchêt, which contains members of all three age categories (with the partial exception of the mẽ hê nge-ê-tê, as noted above), all members stand in an equal relation of subordination to the chief, and as members of the same chief's following, are said to be "like õ bikwa"--i.e., on an essentially equal and solidary footing with each other within the tchêt. Their equality as members of the tchêt and as co-followers of the chief, however, does not affect the unequal distribution of authority and prestige between members of the junior and senior mẽ kra-re age categories. Quite the reverse, the solidarity of the mẽ kra nu-re and the senior age categories within the same tchêt reinforces the tendency for the former to defer to the latters' prerogatives as orators and influential participants in the men's discussions. The tchêt, from this point of view, constitutes devices for indirectly preserving the hierarchical structure of the age category system, without directly expressing it, by substituting for it a different hierarchical

relationship (that between the chief and his followers) which renders all members of the tchêt structurally equal in terms of their parallel relations to the chief regardless of age grade. The symmetrical dyadic opposition between tchêt (expressed alternately in piàm or aggressive joking between the members of opposed tchêt, according to context) serves to reinforce the solidarity of the members of the two hierarchically opposed age categories within the tchêt.

The connection between the relationship of the mã̃ kro pu-ro and mã̃ kro kramtã̃ age categories at the age group and men's society level and the relation between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law at the domestic group level was brought out in the first part of this section. It has been emphasized that the relationship between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law is the point of greatest fissive tension within the structure of the domestic group. The fission and fragmentation of extended family households is not merely a hypothetical possibility. It occurs temporarily during dry season treks, when the extended family breaks up so that wives may follow their husbands' tchêt on trek, and permanently in the segmentation of villages following violent disputes between tchêt. On such occasions, the tchêt tend to maintain

their unity at the expense of the unity of the personal // 7
kindred and the matrilocal household. The relationship between tchêt is therefore of more than symbolic relevance to the solidarity of the extended family household. The maintenance of piàm and suppression of hostilities between tchêt counteracts centrifugal tendencies, not only at the communal level, but within the domestic group as well. By the same token, the relations between tchêt represent the point of greatest fissive tension at the level of communal organization, just as the relation between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law represents the point of greatest fissive tension within the household. Were the age category-based men's societies to become full-fledged tchêt with their own chiefs, the result would be an opposition between rival men's societies symbolically composed, respectively, of fathers-in-law and sons-in-law. This would amount to a symbolic assention of the symmetrical equality of sons-in-law with fathers-in-law, in a form which would emphasize rather than suppress the fissive tension between them by making it coincide with the fissive tension between tchêt.

The dominant characteristic of relations between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law is hierarchical subordination and deference, and the dominant characteristic of the

relations between mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ kra nu-re at the communal level is a similar hierarchical stratification of authority, influence, and prestige. In terms of fundamental social and economic capabilities, however, the sons-in-law and mẽ kra nu-re are potentially the equals of the fathers-in-law and mẽ kra kramtĩ. It is this fact which makes the fissive tension in the hierarchical relationships between them a potent threat to social stability. The motivation to form age category-based men's societies at the communal level may come initially as much from the mẽ kra kramtĩs' desire to emphasize their own exclusiveness and prestigious status as from a desire of the mẽ kra nu-re to assert themselves, but once the two groups are formed, there is a danger that the three most fissive relationships in the society, that between tchêt, that between the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ kra nu-re age categories, and that between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law, will be brought into coincidence in a form which negates the hierarchical framework by which the latter two relationships are ordinarily controlled, at the same time that the symmetrical opposition between tchêt, which usually restrains and neutralizes the fissive tendencies inherent in the latter pair of relationships by cross-cutting them, is made instead to coincide

with them and thereby to reinforce their fissive potential. Such an arrangement would serve to exacerbate rather than to reduce the tensions that arise within Cayapo social organization. The strong feelings of impropriety with which the Cayapo reject suggestions that the mẽ̃ kra-re age categories might become full-fledged, independent tchêt perhaps reflect an inarticulate awareness of the fissive pressures such a development would produce.

VI. WOMEN

VI. A. Domestic group relations of women by age grade

The kinship and domestic group relations of women have been covered for the most part in the preceding sections. Except for the differences in residence and domestic group status that have been described, the pattern of women's kinship relations closely resembles that of men.

The mẽ̃ prĩ-re and mẽ̃ prĩ-tĩ age grades and their accompanying kinship and domestic group relations have been briefly reviewed (p.135). The pattern of domestic group relationships that a girl establishes in the mẽ̃ prĩ-ti age grade, which corresponds to the boys' nàbydju-re grade, continues essentially unchanged until she becomes a mother and

sets up her own independent nuclear family within her mother's household. Throughout this period, girls' domestic group relations are characterised by close companionship and mutual assistance between the girl and her mother and sisters. Girls accompany their mothers to the gardens or on gathering trips, assist them in looking after children, and help them in preparing food. Their fathers make them small carrying baskets while they are still mẽ prĩ-ti, and may slash little gardens for them which are planted by their mothers.[1] The daily routine of activities and the network of social relations of girls even at this early stage of their life cycles are much closer to that of mature women than those of boys of the equivalent age grade (nàrydiu-re) are to those of mature men. The transition from stage to stage of the life cycle is a more gradual and less problematical process for women than it is for men, throughout the cycle.

A girl may be married while she is still a mẽ prĩ-re or mẽ prĩ-ti to a mẽ kra-re who has lost his first wife through death or divorce and undertakes to bring her up as his wife. He takes a "secondary wife (krô 'ã pron) for

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1. The gardens of mẽ prĩ-ti or mẽ kurôrô-re are never full-sized, economically independent operations, and their produce is combined with that of the mother's garden for the common use of the nuclear family. Divorced or widowed older women, or mẽ kupro (p.370) maintain full-sized gardens.

sexual purposes until the girl is old enough to consummate the marriage. Mature men who marry girls of the youngest age grades in this way may take up residence in the girl's maternal household, even though they refrain from consummating their marriages until the girls reach the mẽ kurêrê-re stage (at about 8 or 10 years of age), and may not conceive a child by them for six or eight years after that.

The mẽ kurêrê-re[1] age grade (8-10 years of age until childbirth). Girls are considered ready for sexual intercourse when they approach puberty and attain the minimum requisite physical size, between the ages of 8 and 10. At this point in their lives, girls cease to be called mẽ prĩ-ti and pass into the mẽ kurêrê-re age grade. The tokens of this grade are a sling of reddened cotton cords (prapê) worn over one shoulder and a short-clipped haircut. Mẽ kurêrê-re are assigned for at least the latter part of their tenure of the age grade to one of the men's houses as "wives" of the men's house. If they already have firm engagements or marriages with mature men, they become wives of their husbands' men's house, but if they are not firmly attached to

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[1] kurêrê = "to give, bestow"; mẽ kurêrê-re = "those who are given or bestowed." The name of the age grade presumably refers to the giving of girls of this age grade in marriage. Informants whom I questioned on this point, however, could give no explanation for the name.

a mẽ kra-re husband there is no set principle of descent or kinship which determines the assignment. "Wives of the ngà" are available on demand for sexual intercourse with all the members of the men's house who have received their penis sheaths.[1] Mẽ kurêrê-re are required to continue as wives of a ngà even after they become firmly engaged to one man. If a girl resists because, as the Cayapo say, "she wants only one husband," she may be taken out of the village and mass raped by the entire men's house. All the wives of a given men's house are taken into that men's house for ceremonial intercourse on ritual occasions such as the ô-po-ti-re kô (p.221).

The me kamrô[2] ceremony. At puberty, mẽ kurêrê-re go through a rite de passage which constitutes both a recognition of physiological puberty (paralleling, in this respect, the male penis sheath-bestowing ceremony) and a symbolic marriage. The Cayapo associate the "blood" from which the ceremony derives its name both with the first menstruation and with defloration. Since most girls have been deflowered

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[1] Banner reports that a few mẽ kurêrê-re may be taken along on extended hunting or gathering treks by the mẽ nôrõ-nu-re or mẽ kra-re to cook and also, presumably, for sexual purposes (1961: 20). I did not observe this practice at Gorotire, but it may well have existed there until recently, or simply have been allowed to lapse for exceptional reasons during the two treks which took place during my stay in the village.

[2] kamrô = "blood."

several years before their mẽ kamrô, the "defloration" involved is not (as the Caiapo are well aware) the first act of physical intercourse, but the initiation of sociologically significant intercourse, i.e., intercourse which may lead to childbirth and therefore requires to be brought into relationship with the institutions of marriage and the family. The mẽ kamrô asserts the connection of female puberty with marriage, symbolized by ritual intercourse with a symbolic husband, and thereby affirms the social control of female puberty and reproductive capacity.

I witnessed a single mẽ kamrô ceremony a month after my first arrival in the field. It lacked a number of the features reported by Banner and Dreyfus in their accounts of the ceremony, but it is probable that I simply failed to observe certain parts of the rite, especially the preliminary stages. I shall therefore supplement my description with references to Banner's and Dreyfus's accounts.

If a girl approaches puberty without a mature husband or mẽ kôrô-nu-re suitor, her mother arranges with the mother of a mẽ kôrô-nu-re for him to take the part of the girl's husband in the mẽ kamrô ceremony. The mẽ kamrô is taken seriously as a real marriage, and the son's consent is essential to the undertaking. After the onset of the girl's first menstruation, the prospective husband sends a

mẽ ôk-re from the men's house to notify the girl to be prepared to receive him that afternoon. The girl prepares food and builds a fire in the plaza in front of her house, and the husband comes to sit and eat with her there (Dreyfus 1963: 55; Banner 1961: 11). Such visits may be repeated for several days. After initial familiarity has been established, the husband sends a mẽ ôk-re to the girl's house with a sleeping mat he has woven for the purpose. The mat gives formal notice of his intention of spending the night with the girl. The couple may sleep together for a period without having intercourse (Dreyfus 1963: 55; Banner 1961: 11). When the time for official consummation of the marriage arrives, the husband has intercourse with his wife "in the presence of a kinswoman, usually the girl's mother"(Dreyfus 1963: 55). The kinswoman displays "the proof of defloration" (presumably blood stains supposed to have resulted from the act of intercourse just consummated or from the first menstruation) to the crowd of women who have assembled outside the door (Dreyfus 1963: 55). The husband walks to the ngã, where he announces his marriage to the assembled men (Dreyfus 1963: 55; Banner 1961: 11). That evening, he returns to the wife's house, where he lies on the mat beside his wife; the wife's mother covers the couple with mats and they spend the night together in this fashion (Dreyfus 1963:55).

For a varying number of days, the couple must remain lying together under the mats. They are not permitted to emerge during the daylight hours, but may walk about at night. The husband may even spend the night elsewhere. While they are under the mats, they speak as little as possible and only in a low voice. They avoid movement and eat only the blandest foods, such as roast potatoes (Nimuendaju n.d.: 3). The period of days the couple spends under the mats varies from about three for mẽ kakrit (those lacking ceremonial names) to about six for those who have received ceremonial names.

Early in the morning on the final day of the ceremony, all the girls' kwa-tuy and 'ĩ-ngét come to the house and lie down around the bed where the girl and her husband are completing their seclusion, covering themselves with sleeping mats which they bring for the purpose. Much laughter accompanies this. The kwa-tuy and 'ĩ-ngêt spend only a few minutes under their mats. Girls of the mẽ kurêxê-re age grade come to the house bringing vessels of water, whereupon the couple are uncovered by the girl's mother, and the girl bathes outside the house with the water. Her husband bathes himself in the same way after she has finished, and returns to his maternal home.

In his mother's house, the husband is painted black from head to foot except for a band of red across the eyes. His hair is cut and his forehead shaved to the crown. A powder made of crushed blue egg shells is stuck to his cheeks and forehead, and an àkà-parí[1] headdress is placed on his head. The girl is painted by her mother with the geometrical designs characteristic of mẽ̃ prĩ̃-re and mẽ̃ kurêrê-re, and her face is painted red.

In the afternoon, the husband emerges from his maternal house, wearing his àkà-parí and carrying a bow and arrows. He makes a circuit of the village plaza and seats himself before the men's house. There he is joined by a male ceremonial companion (krãb-djuỳ). Beside them is a vessel containing miniature bows and arrows. The men walk past the seated husband and krãb-djuỳ, taking an arrow from the vessel or a feather from the husband's headdress (Dreyfus 1963: 56).[2] Following this brief ritual, the husband returns to his maternal house and removes his headdress. This terminates the mẽ́ kurêrê ceremony.

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[1] See plate VIII.

[2] The miniature arrows and the plucking of feathers from the headdress were omitted from the performance of the ceremony I witnessed.

Lying under a mat together constitutes a symbolic 'seclusion' which is found in other Cayapo ritual contexts (e.g., the Bêmp, p.180). The joint seclusion of the girl and her husband within the girl's maternal household, in the presence and with the ritual cooperation of the girl's mother, emphasizes the association between the girl's physical maturity and marriage and her separation from her mother's nuclear family. As a married woman, a girl is the head of an independent social unit (her own nuclear family of procreation) within her mother's household. The mẽ kamrẽ symbolizes the adjustment of the mother-daughter relationship this involves.

Both Dreyfus (1963: 56) and Dinis (1962: 26) report that in the mẽ kamrẽ they witnessed, two couples simultaneously went through the ceremony in different households. The occurrence of collective mẽ kamrẽ indicates that the ceremony is not always celebrated immediately upon a girl's first menstruation, but at intervals for all the girls who have had their first menses since the last mẽ kamrẽ. Only one couple was involved in the mẽ kamrẽ I witnessed.

The Cayapo strongly assert that the man who passes through the mẽ kamrẽ with a girl is supposed to remain her husband for life, and a mẽ kamrẽ marriage is said to be stronger and more lasting than other marriages. There is

little evidence that this is in fact the case. The marriage of the mẽ kamrô I witnessed broke up only five months later when the girl's husband beat her, out of jealousy for her affairs with mẽ kra-re while he was away with the mẽ nõxõ-nu-re on a collective babassu nut-collecting trip. The girl's parents, in return, "threw out" the husband. Dinis reports the endings of several mẽ kamrô marriages in divorce (1962: 24-25). The affirmation of the bindingness of mẽ kamrô marriage, in short, constitutes a means of emphasizing its ritual and symbolic importance rather than an accurate description of its practical implications.

The mẽ kryy-tuk[1] ceremony. The end of physical adolescence and the full social maturity of a woman--her readiness for childbearing and all that that implies in social terms--is signalized by the mẽ kray-tuk ceremony, the second and final female rite de passage. This ceremony closely resembles the boys' ôk ceremony except that a substitute mother (mẽ kn'ôk) paints the girls instead of a ceremonial father, as in the boys' ceremony. The girls are led out of their houses by the mẽ kn'ôk and stand in a row in the plaza, where their ceremonial mothers (who must

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[1] kryy = "thigh," tuk = "black"; mẽ kryy tuk = "the black-thighed ones."

not be genealogical kinswomen) paint their arms and thighs with broad black stripes and their faces with the kakwèy akèrà design used in the boys' ôk ceremony. Their siblings, parents, 'ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuy similarly paint themselves. Before painting the girls, the ceremonial mothers remove for the last time their red cotton leg and arm bands, which the girls have worn since childhood. These bands are symbolic both of the girls' connection with their mothers and of their own physical growth, since the bands must constantly be cut off and replaced with larger ones by the mother as the girl grows.[1] The cutting off of the last set of bands by the "substitute" mother simultaneously symbolizes the girl's completion of physical growth and the severance of her tie as a child to her mother.

The kray-tuk ceremony continues the central theme of the mẽ kamrô in emphasizing the girl's independence from her mother. Its parallel with the ôk ceremony is therefore most appropriate. The ôk ceremony symbolizes a boy's separation from his father. Cutting the nuclear family bond of a boy with his father is the structural prerequisite for

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[1]The practice of placing a child's cut-off sets of arm and leg bands together with the umbilical cord in the prô-djà pouch, which is deposited in a hardwood tree after a child attains the mẽ ôk-re or mẽ kurôrê-re age grade (p.119), is another expression of the symbolic significance of the bands as emblems both of physical growth and dependence on the parents.

attenuating his connection with his natal household, which in turn is the prerequisite for his firm establishment as a husband within his wife's household. The emphasis on the position of the husband in his affinal household over his position within his natal household results in an emphasis on the independence of the nuclear family formed by a husband and wife within the affinal household. This in turn means that marriage and the formation of an independent nuclear family within a woman's mother's household implies the attenuation of her 's ties to her mother. It is this relationship between marriage and independence from the mother that is expressed in the mẽ kray-tuk ceremony. The parallels between the ôk and kray-tuk ceremonies are more than merely formal or coincidental. They represent the complementary expressions, for men and women , of the balance which must be achieved between natal and affinal domestic group relationships in adult (i.e., married) life.

The parallel between the ôk and kray-tuk ceremonies is extended by the fact that the kray-tuk marks the induction of the girl into the younger of the two women's societies in the moiety to which her fiance-husband is attached as a member of a men's house. For example, a girl whose husband is a member of the ngà-kratch (eastern men's house)

joins the younger of the two eastern women's societies.[1] Since marriage for a woman is the corollary of the attenuation of her relationship with her mother, just as induction into a man's house is the corollary of the separation of boys from their fathers, the criteria for membership in the age societies and moieties in both mẽ krav-tuk and ôk ceremonies are consistent in the same structural terms with the symbolic attenuation of the relationship with the same-sex parent symbolised in each ceremony by the substitute ceremonial parent.

The age category of mẽ krav-tuk. A girl remains a mẽ kuzêrê-re until she becomes a mother, but upon going through her mẽ krav-tuk ceremony she becomes a member of the mẽ krav-tuk age category, which constitutes a distinct sub-class within the mẽ kuzêrê-re age grade. Mẽ kuzêrê-re

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[1] I was under a misapprehension as to the nature of the moiety division between the women's societies in two-moiety villages until my last days in the field, partly as a result of faulty information by an early informant. Because of my confusion on this point I failed to ascertain the rule for assigning mẽ krav-tuk who are without husbands at the time of their krav-tuk ceremony to a moiety. It may be that they simply maintain whatever moiety affiliation they already have as "wives of a man's house," or, alternatively, follow the moiety affiliation of the mẽ ka'ôk who paints them in their krav-tuk ceremony, just as boys enter the men's house of the ben ka'ôk who paints them in the ôk ceremony. At any rate, when a woman becomes a mother, she joins the younger women's society attached to her husband's men's house, if she is not already a member of it.

before the mẽ kray-tuk stage are neither fully grown physically nor regarded as ready for full marital and parental responsibility as adults, but mẽ kray-tuk are considered essentially adult women, capable of entering into binding marriages and motherhood on their own responsibility. The relationship between mẽ kray-tuk and the younger class of mẽ kurêrê-re is the female parallel to the division between the male categories of mẽ ôk-re and mẽ nõrẽ-nu-re.

The adulthood of the mẽ kray-tuk is manifested by the fact that mẽ kray-tuk wail in the ritual wailing style, whereas the younger mẽ kurêrê-re do not. Ritual wailing is the women's counterpart of oratory, and there are close stylistic parallels between the two forms. Just as the older mẽ kra-re are expected to burst into oratory during ceremonial dances, mature women are expected to wail during dances and on other occasions.[1] The Cayapo say this is "because they remember dead kinsmen who no longer appear among the dancers."

The ritual accompanying a woman's first birth and the dietary restrictions accompanying pregnancy, have been described in an earlier section (p.289,292), as have the relations of wives to their husbands, husband's sisters, and

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[1] Ritual wailing is discussed in more detail on p. 383 ff.

brother's wives (p. 306, 321), and the relationship of mothers to their young children (p 111 - 117) The only woman's affinal relative who has not so far been discussed is the husband's father. The reason for ignoring the husband's father up to this point is that he has almost no contact with his daughter-in-law. The woman's term for father-in-law is almost identical with that for mother-in-law.[1] The domestic group relations of women of the three maternal age grades, mẽ kra puyn (corresponding to the men's mẽ kra-nu-re), mẽ kra kramtĩ, and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tô have also been sufficiently outlined. There remains to be described a single further female domestic group category for which there is no male parallel.

mẽ kuprò ("childless," i.e., single, women).[2] A relatively small number of women choose not to marry and bear children at the normal age of 17-20, but prolong the relative social and sexual freedom of mẽ kray-tuk by assuming

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[1] A woman speaker refers to the mother-in-law as pomrê-ngêtch, and the father-in-law as pomrê-ngêtchê.

[2] kuprò = "empty." The word is used loosely for a single adult of either sex, but the expression mẽ kuprò is applied only to women who have intentionally avoided maternal and marital commitments in order to maintain their sexual freedom. Widows or divorcees with children are not ordinarily referred to as mẽ kuprò, but a woman may revert to the status of a mẽ kuprò if her children die or she gives them in adoption to a relative following a divorce.

the status of mẽ kuprò. Mẽ kupro maintain their own gardens and are economically independent, but in other respects continue to live as mẽ kray-tuk. They have casual sexual intercourse or affairs with any men they please and may demand fish, game, or trade goods from their lovers. They maintain their childless and therefore single status by a combination of contraception, infanticide, and abortion.[1] Girls taken prisoner in raids are often made mẽ kuprò for a period, but this is not an invariable rule. Mẽ kuprò are not looked down upon within the community, although they are the objects of jealousy on the part of married women, whose husbands have affairs with them. They may abandon their single status at any time and marry normally. No man is ashamed to marry a mẽ kuprò, and no stigma attaches to her or her children after her marriage. If a mẽ kuprò gives birth to a child, her lovers observe the minimal birth iangri, similar to that of a married mother's lovers or husband's brothers (p. 291).

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[1]The Cayapo know of a number of contraceptive and abortifacient drugs and techniques which are used by women to prevent the birth of children earlier than desired (J. Turner 1965). Not only mẽ kuprò, but all Cayapo women use these methods. Cayapo girls avoid bearing children until they become mẽ kray-tuk, and usually for several years thereafter, through recourse to contraceptive and abortive techniques. Infanticide is also practiced when other means fail.

VI. B. Women's age societies

Above the age of mẽ kray-tuk, the women of a village are organized into societies on the basis of age categories. The mẽ kray-tuk and mẽ kra pùyn make up the younger of the two societies within a moiety, while the mẽ kra kramtĩ and mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê compose the older. Passage into the age grade of mẽ kra kramtĩ roughly coincides, with women as among men, with the marriage of children and attainment of the status of parent-in-law.

The women's societies are named[1] and are led within each moiety by a woman "chief" who is the wife of the most prominent living chief or a prominent deceased chief of the appropriate men's house. Membership in the women's societies of a given moiety is determined by the moiety (men's house) membership of the woman's husband. The women of the two women's societies of the eastern moiety are the wives of the men of the eastern men's house. At Gorotire, where the division of the married men into two age category-based societies parallels the structure of the women's societies,

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[1]At Gorotire, the name of the younger women's society is mẽ krãnkam ngoy-re. This term, which literally means "the people with pots on their heads," is the Cayapo expression for Brazilian soldiers. The name of the older Gorotire women's society is "mẽ amak-ti" (amak = "ear"; ti = "big"). At Kuben kran kên, the name of the young women's society is mẽ bê nhàk-ê-ngrà (nhàk = a feminine ceremonial name; ê = "dry straw or leaves"; ngrà = "dry"), and the name of the older women's society is mẽ kadjua-ti (kadjua = "cane"; ti = "big"; kadjua-ti = "sugar cane").

the younger women's society, the mẽ krẽn-kam-ngov-re, are called "the wives of the mẽ kn àkày nàytch (younger men's society)," while the older women's society, the mẽ amak-ti are known as "wives of the mẽ akuti (older men's society)." At Kuben kran kêñ, where the mature men are divided in the conventional manner into two tchêt containing members of all the mẽ kra-re age categories, the two women's societies are not referred to as wives of the two men's societies. Women's societies are not referred to as tchêt.

The women's societies have distinct meeting places in front of the houses of the chieftainesses of each moiety. The younger women's society remains separate from the older women's society, even when they meet by the same house in a two moiety village. In contemporary Kuben kran kêñ, which comprises only a single "moiety," the younger women's society meets in front of a house at the opposite side of the plaza from the older women's society, which meets by the house of the older chief's wife, the "chief of the women."

The women's chief has no authority or influence over communal affairs like the men's chief, but she is expected to set an example for the women by her participation in ceremonies, singing, and dancing. She is also entitled to chide the men in a joking manner. If the men delay too long to begin a dance or ritual, the women's chief may give

a special high-pitched cry, indicating that if the men do not hurry up and dance, the women will dance in their places. When I saw this done at Gorotire, the men responded with whoops and leaped to their feet to begin the dance. The women's chief may also give short mock orations in the men's oratorical style during ceremonies.

In the course of the long naming ceremonies, the older women's society may jokingly deck themselves with tattered pieces of old mats and bunches of old leaves or straw and dance through the men's house when the men are assembled there, aping the men's dancing style. This calls forth general hilarity among the men and the women onlookers.

The main activity of the women's societies when they gather in their meeting areas is painting each other. The practice of collective body painting has almost disappeared at Gorotire, since all women of the mẽ kray-tuk and older age grades now wear dresses. At Kubem kran kêñ, collective painting sessions were sporadic, although they became more frequent during the women's mẽ hi-Ãk season (see below). Fuerst reports that among the Tchikrĩn Cayapo, the women's painting sessions occurred roughly once a week (Fuerst 1964: 120) during the four weeks of his visit, and implies that this represents the normal rate. His article

gives a thorough account of the techniques and designs employed and includes good photographs. The painting carried out at the women's sessions may be either of the thin-lined geometrical style executed with a palm leaf rib, or of the style applied directly with the hand, which relies on broad stripes, daubs, and solid areas of color. The designs have no ritual significance, although each design carries the name of an animal, natural object, or design element which forms its model or basic motif.[1] The women spend hours painting each other individually as well as in groups. A popular pastime of young mã̂ kurêrê-re is practicing body painting designs in the sand with a sharp stick. The function of painting is partly esthetic (since mature women wear neither clothes nor jewelry; painting constitutes their sole form of personal adornment), and partly social, since the collective painting sessions are occasions for much conviviality and exchange of gossip.

The women's mã̂ bi-ôk. The women hold an annual name-giving ceremony, the women's mã̂ bi-ôk,[2] which constitutes

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[1] cf. the men's body painting, p. .

[2] bi- = verbal prefix indicating either freedom or randomness of action or passive state of being; ôk = "to paint"; the name of the ceremony might be translated "they are painted" or "they freely paint each other."
There is a men's mã̂ bi-ôk which is considerably more

the major ceremonial expression of the women's age societies. Tab-djuò of either sex may receive names in the ceremony, and names bestowed in the women's ceremony have equal value with those bestowed in other naming ceremonies. The tab-djuò receiving names are carried in the dance by kup-tuy, as in the men's mẽ̃ bi-ôk and most other name-giving ceremonies. In other respects, however, the roles of the sexes are reversed. For one or two weeks before the final dance, the women form a sitting area in the plaza at a considerable distance from its geometrical center, where they gather in the afternoons to sing their mẽ̃ bi-ôk songs. During this period, pairs of women walk or dance singing around the village in a manner reminiscent of the mẽ̃ pĩ̃nt ê ba (p.180: the pĩ̃nt ê ba form figures in most large Cayapo ceremonies). On the final night of the ceremony, the women decorate themselves in full dance regalia, including the huge parrot feather headdresses (krôkrôk-ti), which are made only by men and worn only by men on other ceremonial occasions. All the members of the women's societies, organized into age groups, dance in a double column.[1] The

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elaborate than the women's mẽ̃ bi-ôk, although the songs and dances are for the most part identical.

[1]The women's dance formation is identical to that described for the men on p. 192, note 2.

only men who take part are the 'ĩ-ngêt of the children receiving names in the ceremony. In all other name-giving ceremonies, it is the men, organized by age grade, who dance, with the kwa-tuy of the children receiving names as the only women participants. Women even take the part of the rattle-shaking dance leaders, which calls for considerable physical energy and endurance. The men go on an ẽntõmõrõ (hunt) to collect game for the feast held on the final night of the dance, just as they do in the bẽmp (p.216) and other name-giving ceremonies. When the women in the mẽ bi-ôk stop dancing to take part in the feast, they all eat together apart from the men, whereas the male dancers in the men's naming ceremonies normally eat with their families intermingled among the bystanders without forming a separate group.

There is a strong feeling that the women's mẽ bi-ôk should be held each year whether or not a tab-djuò can be found whose parents are ready to sponsor a naming ceremony. Of the three women's mẽ bi-ôk I have witnessed (two at Gorotire, held one year apart, and one at Ruben kran kên), only one constituted a true naming ceremony with tab-djuò receiving ceremonial names. The other two were held, in a shortened and simplified form, in spite of the lack of eligible tab-djuò.

The women's age associations in relation to the men's age sets and tchêt. The division of the women into societies based on the junior and senior maternal age categories exactly parallels the latent tendency of the men to form age category-based societies, to which the normatively sanctioned and approved form of men's society (tchêt) is structurally opposed. That an organizational form which is suppressed or circumvented as a basis for the men's societies constitutes the normative framework of the women's societies poses an intriguing problem. The first step in understanding the symbolic basis of the structure of the women's societies is to recall that the division of the women into age category-based societies is associated with the attachment of the junior and senior women's societies within a given moiety to the men's house of that moiety as wives of the men of that men's house. The unity of the junior and senior women's societies within a moiety is thus symbolically a function of the unity of the men of that moiety. This situation is paralleled on the domestic group level by the fact that the unity of the matrilocal extended family, although normatively based on the relations between the women of the household, is in fact based upon the solidarity of the male members of the household (it is disputes among men

that cause the segmentation of households). Although the unity of the women's societies within a moiety is defined in terms of their marital relationships with a group of men, the division between the senior and junior societies is also a reflection of the same relationship. The division corresponds, just as it does among the men, to the senior and junior categories of mature residential members of the household. Among women this means the relationship between mother and daughter, rather than the relation between parents-in-law and children-in-law as in the case of men, but this does not alter the basic fact that the division is structurally defined at the mature women's level as a relationship between nuclear families--the daughter's marriage and family (potential or actual) constitute the basis for her independence from her mother's family. The independence of daughters from mothers is, in short, a function of marriage:[1] the relation of daughters to mothers parallels, and in the last analysis depends upon, the relation of sons-in-law to fathers-in-law within the extended family household. Consecutive age categories of women are thus separated by their affinal relationships to men at the same time

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[1] The relationship between marriage and separation from the maternal link is the principal theme of the mẽ kamrõ.

that they are united by them. The relationship of the division between the older and younger women's age societies to the corresponding division between the men's age categories of mɛ̃ kra nu-ra and mɛ̃ kra kyantĩ is overtly expressed when the men's age categories become, as at Goroti-re, the basis of separate men's societies: as we have seen, the younger and older women's societies at Goroti-re are referred to as the "wives" of the younger and older men's societies.

That the division between older and younger women's age categories directly reflects and depends upon the division between the corresponding men's age categories would seem at first glance to make it inconsistent that the cleavage between the women's categories should be emphasized at the level of the communal age groupings, while the corresponding men's division is suppressed. The inconsistency disappears when the nature of the interdependence between the men's and women's groups is more closely examined. This can be most easily done by considering the implications of not separating the younger (daughter) from the older (mother) women's categories. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the emphasis upon men's marital connections to their affinal households and their assimilation as kinsmen of their affines

implies an emphasis upon the independence of the nuclear family within the household (as the unit created by marriage, defined in terms of parenthood). The independence of the nuclear family within the household in turn implies the separation of daughters from mothers. The separation of mother and daughter at the domestic group level is thus a prerequisite of the stable interrelationship and eventual assimilation of the corresponding male categories of son-in-law and father-in-law. Emphasizing the separation between the women's age societies at the communal age group and moiety level is therefore the symbolic corollary of stressing the fusion of the corresponding male age categories of mẽ́ kra nu-re and mẽ́ kra krantí́, which symbolically reflect, in their relationship at the men's society level, the relationship between sons-in-law and fathers-in-law at the domestic group level.

VII. Death

Death is defined by the Cayapo as the condition in which the soul (mẽ̃ karõ̂m)[1] leaves the body permanently.[2] The

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[1] karõ̂m = picture, image, shadow, ghost. The Cayapo verb "to describe" is ã̂-karõ̂n (ã̃ = "on" or "about").

[2] The causes of death are discussed in Appendix I.

karôn leaves the body on other occasions, e.g. in deep sleep, extreme fright, or coma, but always returns. Any condition in which the soul is separated from the body is called tuk.[1]

When a Cayapo becomes so ill that his karôn appears on the verge of leaving his body, his spouse and kinsmen apply a variety of emergency measures to revive him. Such measures include beating the patient's shins and the soles of his feet with cane switches or flexing and unflexing his legs to keep his extremities from growing cold; blowing smoke in his ears, hair, and over his body, or building smoking fires beside him from crushed green leaves, to drive away the ghosts of the patient's dead kinsmen that swarm around him to snatch away his karôn; tickling the insides of his ears and nostrils with feathers to wake him out of a coma; rubbing spittle over his chest to stimulate his skin and prevent its becoming insensitive and cold (the Cayapo associate cold or numb skin with death); or stuffing one nostril with a roll of aromatic leaves and supporting the patient in a sitting position with his head leaning slightly forward to aid his breathing. Such measures are not continued

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[1]For the other meanings of tuk (e.g., the color black and the region outside the village), and its general denotation as an asocial state, see p.167, n.2.

systematically for more than a few hours. If they do not succeed in stimulating the patient into immediate improvement, he is referred to as "already dead" (grɔ̀p tuk) until an improvement in his condition forces a revision of this assessment. An individual may be accepted as "dead" while still retaining full consciousness, and may live on for days as a "dead" person.

When a patient becomes grɔ̀p tuk, or even if he is only badly hurt or ill enough for this to be considered an imminent possibility, the keening or ritual wailing (mɛ̃ mbrɔ̀) begins. Both men and women wail in the ritual manner for a kinsman who is grɔ̀p tuk. Ritual wailing consists in holding a forearm horizontally before the eyes, weeping, and uttering phrases in a highly cadenced, phonetically distorted style of speech similar in many respects to the oratorical style. Wailing always consists of articulate phrases, never of more inarticulate shrieks. The wailing for the dead is identical in style but more intense than the wailing performed upon the arrival or departure of a kinsman or ceremonial friend (krɔ̀b-djuɔ̀) on a journey, or upon the deaths of pets or domestic animals (dogs or pigs). Men wail in a subdued, croaking voice and at relatively infrequent intervals, but women wail with ear-splitting

shrieks, often carrying on for twenty minutes or more at a stretch if the deceased is a husband, sibling, or child. Women supplement weeping by chopping their heads with sharp rocks or machetes, so that their scalps become covered with deep gashes and their faces are streaked with a mixture of blood and tears. After a brief interval of chopping, other women wrestle the machete away and lay it on the ground. Although the machete remains within easy reach, the woman makes no attempt to snatch it up again. In between outbursts of wailing or head-chopping, both men and women carry on normal conversation about the most mundane affairs, without tears or a trace of emotion in their voices.

Ritual wailing is a highly stylized form of expression, and all Cayapo are able to wail convincingly on appropriate occasions regardless of their degree of personal involvement. There is no doubt, however, that formal wailing often serves as a vehicle for the expression of genuine emotion. Women may wail spontaneously for years after the deaths of kinsmen simply because they suddenly "remember" them or are reminded of them by some object or remark. What I found hardest to come to terms with was the way in which genuine feelings for a dying or dead person become compartmentalized and almost exclusively focused in the expressive

act of wailing, and the concomitant ability of mourning Cayapo to switch abruptly from passionate wailing to apparently unemotional absorption in mundane conversation.

This compartmentalization of feeling within the bounds of formalized ritual expression is strikingly manifested when the "deceased" is still very much alive, although already accepted as "dead" (arèn tuk) by those around him. Once a person is arèn tuk, he is outside of society and therefore in need of no further attention save that accorded to the dead in the form of wailing and the funerary rites. The feelings his spouse or parents have for him are centered upon their memory of him as a living member of society, and are expressed in wailing. The body which lies before them in its death agony is divorced from this social image, and the feelings and social obligations its kinsmen may have had for it while it was alive no longer hold implications for their behavior towards it: it is no longer their living kinsman. The concern of the living, who remain members of society, is to dissociate themselves from the dead, for the dead are anti-social and contact with them is dangerous to the living. The need to sever the connection with a dead or dying person is the more intense in proportion to the closeness of the relation of kinship the mourner had with him in

life, since the closest and strongest ties are the hardest to sever, in death as in life, and the ghosts of kinsmen are thought to have a predilection for renewing their association with their living kin, to the latter's misfortune. The constant refrain of the wailing conducted over the dying and dead stresses this theme:

> Little animal, clear the path!
> Break off your ties with your tab-djuò!
> Become tame and friendly toward your tab-djuò,
> Who now flee you, weeping, in fear![1]

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[1]The Cayapo text is

> mru-re, prù-re kudjô nn wa
> ne ga mẽ pari-re kuiatê
> ne ga mẽ pari-re djuyabê
> nhỹm mum mã puma-yê mòrò mũn.

mru = "animal"; prù = "path"; -re = diminutive; kudjê = to peel or husk, therefore to clear path (?); nn wa = variant pronunciation of ne wa, stative particles indicating temporal action in the present or past; ga = second person pronoun; mẽ = prefix indicating collective social category; pari = "tab-djuò," in indirect and rhetorical terminology; kuiatê = "to cast off," "to push away"; djuyabê = "tame," "friendly," here used as a verb, "to become friendly"; nhỹm = reflexive pronoun indicating subject of clause is same as subject of preceding clause; mũn = "there," "at a distance"; puma = "to fear"; -yê = suffix indicating cause (puma-yê = "out of fear"); mòrò = "to weep," "weeping"; mẽ = "to go." This text was collected by E. R. Tapp. The translation and glosses are my own. I am unable to explain the initial phrase, "little animal," other than to suggest that it may be connected with the Cayapo belief that the souls of the dead possess or establish special relations with animals, such as snakes.

The result of this set of ideas and preoccupations is that Cayapo treat their dying kinsman with a detachment and indifference which appears almost inhuman. They cease to minister to the most elementary physical needs of the dying person and in many ways hasten the death they have accepted as inevitable. My wife and I arrived in Kuben-kran-kên at the end of the Asian flu epidemic of June, 1963. Five members of the village had already died in the epidemic, and we asked if there were any more seriously ill individuals in need of medical attention. We were assured by the large crowd which gathered at our arrival that there were no more gravely sick people. That night we heard shrieks and keening and were told in response to our questions that a man who had been very sick with 'flu' had just died. After we had sat through his wake and watched him buried we again earnestly questioned a number of people as to the existence of any other seriously ill individuals. Again we were assured there were none. Again the following afternoon we heard shrieks and death wails. We rushed to the house from which the wailing had come to find a mature man, reduced to little more than a skeleton, crouching on his hands and knees to expand his chest to the greatest possible depth in order to decrease the friction of his lungs on his rib cage, gulping for air in short

and rapid gasps. He had severe pneumonia and a bad case of pleurisy: the rasping of his lungs against his rib cage, and the gurgling of the fluid in his lungs as he breathed could be heard twenty feet away. His eyes bulged from his head with the strain of breathing and the terror induced by the shrieking women who had begun to collect in the doorway. He was breathlessly muttering a single word; it was "Water! Water!" Not three feet from him sat his wife, a fat woman in the best of health. She was taking a big drink from a water gourd. I told her to give her husband some water, but she turned the gourd over to indicate that she had finished it, and added that there was no more water in the house. "Then go and fetch some," I urged her. "Later, if I feel like it," she replied. I asked her to send her daughter if she was herself unwilling to go (the stream was 200 yards from the house) but she pointed out that her daughter, who all the while had been giggling and engaging in sexual play with a lover in a large hammock slung four feet to the other side of the dying man, was "busy." My wife and I ended up fetching water for the man and bringing him food (we later found out that he had not been fed in two days, although he had been crying for food, and half-eaten yams were strewn about the house on mats beyond his reach). When we brought a blanket for the man (the nights had grown quite cold) his wife and the other members of the household

expressed indignation that we were throwing away a perfectly good blanket on a corpse while bringing none for them.

From time to time the man's wife and other members of the household would burst into passionate wailing over him. As will have become clear, their expressions of grief remained dissociated from the practical problems of ministering to his physical needs. As in the case of the other man who died the evening of our arrival, we had not been informed of the sick man's condition because he was "already dead" and therefore in no need of medical attention. In the event, the man responded to medical treatment and survived.

A Cayapo who dies away from his household of residence is brought back to be laid out there if possible. The corpses of women, children, and men through the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re age grade are laid out in their maternal houses by their consanguineal kinswomen. Men of the mẽ kre-re age grade are laid out in their wives' houses by their wives, assisted by the mother-in-law. Immediately after death, the body is laid on its back, its face covered by a cloth, and its knees drawn up. The spouse and closest consanguineal kin seat themselves around it in a conventionalized posture, their legs folded, their hands on their knees, and their heads lowered. One of the seated mourners rests his hand on the raised knees of

the corpse. The body lies in this way for up to twelve hours after death, while all the bilateral kinsmen (including affines and adoptive kin) of the deceased come to pay their respects, seating themselves around the body and wailing. When the corpse is about to be carried to the grave its legs are extended, and its arms are crossed on its chest. It is painted red from head to foot and its hair is cut. A consanguineal kinsman applies parakeet down to its chest and upper arms and legs. This function is never performed in life by kinsmen, but only by krèb-djuè (ceremonial companions). Among the Cayapo, krèb-djuè have no part in preparing each other's corpses.[1]

The grave, a circular hole perhaps 3 1/2 feet in diameter and 4 1/2 feet deep, is dug by a consanguineal kinsmen or affine. I was told by one informant that tèb-djuè would dig the graves of their 'ĩ-ngêt or kwa-tuy, but that brothers would not dig each other's graves; this may represent a preference, but I witnessed a brother digging his sister's grave at Gorotire. A son-in-law may dig his mother- or father-in-law's grave. The

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[1] In this prohibition the Cayapo differ from the Apinaye and Eastern Timbira, among whom the ceremonial companion has the role of arranging the corpse at burial (Nimuendaju 1939: 151-3; Nimuendaju 1946: 133)

corpse is carried to the graveyard wrapped in a mat slung from a pole, and placed in the grave on its back with its knees drawn up to fit the hole. Many of the belongings of the deceased--his weapons (if a man) or baskets and gourd bowls (if a woman), ceremonial ornaments, trade goods such as clothes and blankets, and parrot tail-feathers--are cast into the grave. Large or valuable articles are broken before being thrown into the grave.[1] Consanguineal and affinal relatives arrive at the grave side, wail, and throw offerings of parrot tail-feathers into the grave. The keening of the women becomes more violent, and the wife, sisters, and mother of the deceased vie at gashing their scalps with machetes or sharp stones. A couple of the men present place poles across the mouth of the grave about six inches apart and cover them with the mats in which the corpse was carried to the graveyard. The earth from the grave is then heaped over the mats into a conical mound, but not tamped down, in order to allow the soul easy passage out of the grave. A bowl or drinking vessel is placed on top of the grave mound.

After the burial, those who have actually touched the corpse strike a hardwood tree or wash themselves with an

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[1] The Cayapo assert that this practice should extend to valuable Brazilian trade goods, but see p.395n. 1 .

infusion of leaves and bark from hardwood trees.[1]

Graveyards are situated a short distance (about 200 yards at Gorotire and Kuben-kran-kêñ) from the village, with no prescribed orientation to the cardinal points. The cemetery at Gorotire lies almost due north of the village, and that of the present village of Kuben-kran-kêñ to the southeast. The chief determinant of the location of the cemetery is its proximity to an outcropping of white rocks or clay, which the souls of the dead prefer as their dwelling spots.

Following the burial--it may be the same night or after several days have passed--the death dances are performed, "in order to drive away the ghost."[2] Only men dance for a dead man, only women for a dead woman. The dance and accompanying songs are taken from the last ceremony celebrated in the village, or else the naming ceremony in which the deceased received his ceremonial names. The krùb-djuò of the deceased carry out an abbreviated version of the rites they performed at his naming ceremony. The krùb-djuò of a dead Bẽmp, for example, perform the kubê màn and the kubê peyùtì in the plaza

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[1]See p.386, n.1 .

[2]The Kayapo expression is "mẽ karôn mun kuiatê kadju"; mẽ karôn = "ghost, soul"; kadju = indicator of purpose: "in order to." For mun and kuiatê see p.386, n.1 .

in front of his house, while his female relatives wail. Men living in a different village than that where the death occurred who were initiated in the same mẽ 'ĩ-tuk ceremony dance the Bẽmp mẽ bê kum kati dance for one of their mẽ 'ĩ-tuk class who has died. The palm leaf headbands and other decorations worn by the dancers in the death dances are collected by the kràh-djvò of the deceased and hung on a stake erected beside his grave mound. Only individuals who have received ceremonial names are danced for. No dances of any kind are performed for mẽ kakrit (people without ceremonial names).

After returning from the grave, the spouse, parents-in-law,[1] parents and siblings of the deceased shave their hair, which they deposit on the grave mound. The mother-in-law of the father of a dead child cuts the father's hair. For a period between three months and a year (informants differed) the bereaved spouse or parents speak only in a low voice, and refrain from painting themselves or participating in communal dances. At the end of the period of mourning (mẽ bitch-angri)[2] the mourners paint themselves black and

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[1] If the deceased is a mẽ kra-re.

[2] bitch- is a combining morpheme connoting offspring or children, e.g., bitch-adjubrò, "offspring" (adjubrò = "to put in") or bitch-aêrê, "to joke" (lit. "to frighten children," aêrê = "to frighten")

resume normal ceremonial activity. The mourning iangri involves no restrictions on diet, work, or other aspects of life. Children do not observe the mourning iangri for their parents. As the term bitch-angri implies, mourning in its ritual form is conceived as a one-way relation between parents and children or between siblings (who refer to each other as "brother or sister bitch-adjuòrò," "offspring of the same parents").

In aboriginal times, a house in which someone died was burned. The Neo-Brazilian-style houses now built by the Cayapo at Gorotire and Kuben-kran-kên may be burned or abandoned, but the practice is growing of avoiding the destruction of houses in which a death has occurred by expedients like spraying them with latrine disinfectant borrowed from the missionaries. The smell is said to be too much for the ghosts, who are thereby prevented from haunting the house. The property[1] of a dead person is destroyed or cast into his grave, and the property of the deceased's spouse is given away to the community at large, thus leaving the spouse bikên,[2] "poor." The whole village runs to the house from which someone has just been carried

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[1] I neglected to inquire into the important problem of the disposition of pets, e.g., dogs and parrots.

[2] "bikên" connotes a physically and spiritually depressed condition as well as material poverty. It is interesting to note that the radical "kên" means "shaved head" or "bald," while bi- is a common prefix often used to form nouns or verbs from simpler radicals, which has no constant meaning (although one of its more frequent connotations, of reflexive action or passive state of being, may be appropriate here).

to the cemetery in the hope of sharing in the spoils. As Dreyfus accurately observed, "During the distribution, all traces of grief disappear from their faces, and are replaced by a certain avidity." (Dreyfus 1963:61). The garden of a dead woman or a dead man's wife is battered down and abandoned. If the plants have not yet sprouted, they are battered down when they come up. In aboriginal Cayapo society there was thus no question of inheritance. Nowadays, costly Brazilian trade goods like guns and mosquito nets are not destroyed or left in the grave, although Cayapo often say that they "ought to be,"[1] but are shared among the kinsmen of the deceased. No regular procedure has yet been devised for handling such problems, which only recently have begun to become important.

After a period of five to ten years, in which many deaths have occurred in a village, an aboriginal-style village is burned, the site abandoned, and a new village erected, often only a short distance away. This is done to escape the unhealthy proximity of the ghosts of the dead, who linger near

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[1] In the one burial of a mature man that I witnessed, the close male relatives of the dead man, after bickering for a while over which of them should have his gun if by chance it were not to be broken and thrown into his grave, reached a decision and one of them walked off with it as his possession. I never heard of a case in which a gun had actually been cast into a grave.

the place of their death and attempt to bring about the deaths of their kinsmen so that they may join them as ghosts.

For a period of roughly three months after burial, the mother of a deceased child may return to the grave in the evening, kindle a fire beside it to warm the body within the grave, and pour water into the gourd or bowl on the grave mound for the dead to drink.) Food offerings are not made; one of the characteristics of ghosts about which the Cayapo are most specific is that they do not like the food of the living, but have their own, different food, white clay. Although a mother may come every evening if she is in the village, she may go off on trek for one or two months and resume the routine when she returns, meanwhile making no provision for anyone else to make fire or water offerings at the grave. Neither the fire nor the water offerings seem to be made for individuals above the ngàydju-re (male) or mẽ prĩ-ti (female) age grades, although a bowl or drinking vessel is always left on top of the grave mound. Three months is the period required for the earth "to eat the flesh" from the bones, as the Cayapo describe the process of decomposition.

At the end of the three-month period, the mother and father of a child of the mẽ prĩ-re, ngàydju-re or mẽ prĩ-ti age grades open the grave, and the mother extracts the bones

from the remaining mass of decomposed flesh. She or the father washes the bones. After all vestiges of flesh have been removed from them, the mother paints them red, wraps them in a mat, and hangs them from the roof of the hut along with the ordinary storage gourds and baskets. They hang there for up to three years, or until an adult kinsman dies. When this happens, the bones are repainted and buried with the adult in the same grave, "so that they may sleep together." If no adult kinsman dies during this period, the bones are reburied in a shallow grave of their own.

Informants explained that the souls of dead adults knew the path to the village of the dead and departed from their bodies immediately after burial, but that the souls of dead children did not know the way by themselves and lingered in their bodies until the soul of an adult kinsman came to lead them to the village of the mé karɨm. This period of waiting corresponds to the three-month period required for the flesh to rot from the bones, and it is because children's souls are thought to remain in the grave with the corpse throughout this period that mothers build fires by the grave-side to warm the body in the grave. There is an obvious formal parallelism between the secondary burial of a child's bones with the bones of an adult kinsman and the belief that the

ghosts of children cannot reach the village of the dead without being guided by the ghosts of adult kinsmen.

There are many villages of the dead, situated in caves under mountains or in distant and mountainous stretches of jungle. They are always found near white rocks or outcroppings of white clay. The latter, as noted above, is the staple food of the dead, and takes the place of manioc cakes among the living. Ghosts also favor groves of buriti palms (ngrôa) for their village sites in the forest. The villages of the dead are like the villages of the living, and ghosts lead "lives" essentially similar to those of living people. Young ghosts go through a normal life cycle, grow up, marry, and die. The ghosts of old people are sometimes said to become young again and to pass through the life cycle again as ghosts, but other informants asserted that the ghosts of old people remained old. At the end of their life cycles, ghosts die of old age and are not reborn. Ghosts retain the personalities they possessed as living people, but when ghosts die, personality and individual identity are completely extinguished. Children are not born of ghost marriages. Ghosts are active during the daytime, like living people, but are also active at night. They hunt animals for food both by day and by night. During the latter part of the dry season, the

jungle becomes dry and lightning causes great fires that burn for days, especially on mountains, which are most frequently struck by lightning At night, the mountains around Cayapo villages present a dramatic spectacle of small and large blazes. The Cayapo say the fires are set by the me karon, and point out different fires of appropriate size as belonging to small hunting camps, large villages, etc. Old age is the only cause of death among ghosts There are no raids, fights, or sorcerers among the dead. The existence of the dead is described by the Cayapo as a happy one The ghosts spend most of their time hunting in the forest and singing and dancing in the plazas of their villages.[1] Above all, the villages of the dead are places where the ghosts of kinsmen are reunited. This does not imply that the villages of the dead are thought of as essentially composed of kinsmen. It is simply that the ghosts a Cayapo most looks forward to meeting in a village he believes to be populated by the ghosts of persons known to him are those of his kinsmen. The propensity of ghosts to associate with their kinsmen is one of their

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[1] Men occasionally come upon a village of the dead while travelling in the forest and learn the songs and dances the mẽ karõn are performing by watching and listening from a concealed vantage point. They return and teach them to the rest of the men, and the new songs and steps are used in the next mẽ bi-õk or other naming ceremony. In 1964 a man learned a new set of songs and dances in this way which were used in the 1964 mẽ bi-õk (private communication from E R Trapp).

salient traits, but the gathering together of the ghosts of kinsmen is of personal rather than sociological importance, since in the society of the dead all divisions between kin and non-kin or consanguine and affine lose their connotations of tension and conflict and become meaningless insofar as the structure of social relations among ghosts is concerned. The marriage of ghosts is not spoken of as entailing tension and conflict with affines. The world of the dead thus forms an extension and consummation of the social position of the mẽ bê ngê-ê-tê, who have achieved a similar harmony and transcendence of social tensions in this life. The way in which the Cayapo emphasize white hair as the most admirable and distinctive physical trait of old age may reflect the symbolic equation of whiteness with lack of social conflict, which is one of its connotations as an attribute of the dead. The natural transformation of the hair from black to white foreshadows the transformation of the individual in death to the social world of the ghosts, which is also associated with white.

The Cayapo do not accept the implications of their belief in the happiness of the ghosts' existence to the extent of looking forward to death as a passage to a happy afterlife. Death is dreaded as an unmitigated disaster: the Cayapo say they "fear death" (tuk pumn) and "desire to live" (tinh pram).

Although the ghosts of dead kinsmen are thought of as happily reunited in the villages of the dead, the living fear the ghosts of their dead kinsmen more than other ghosts. The most feared ghosts of all are those of dead chiefs (usually of hostile groups) who are still believed capable of inflicting misfortunes on living communities. Ghosts are said either to hate living people or to linger longingly near their living kin in the hope of making them into ghost companions. Either motivation leads to the ghosts attempting to kill their living kinsmen. If a deceased person's kinsmen live in a distant village, his ghost travels to the village to seek them out. Ghosts also travel to the graves of dead kinsmen to look for their ghosts. In spite of the belief that they inhabit distant villages, mẽ karôn are thought to return to their graves, or the cemeteries in which they are buried, every evening after dark. Cayapo are terrified of being near a graveyard at night or remaining anywhere alone after dark for fear of being attacked by mẽ karôn. Even being alone in an empty house during broad daylight provokes the same fear. mẽ karôn attack people by throwing rocks or lumps of hard clay at their heads or by making them sick.

Ghosts form special relationships with wild animals, in which they take a benevolent interest in the welfare of

the animal and became its guardian.[1] To shoot and eat an animal which is the "pet" of a ghost it to invite vengeance by the ghost. Snakes are said to be possessed by the ghosts of kinsmen.

The presence of ghosts may be detected by their strong and characteristic odor or by hearing them talking. The speech of mẽ́ karôn is a high squeaking twitter the Cayapo call wîte (an onomatopoeic term).[2] I was once standing in the graveyard at Kuben-kran-kén at sundown with some Cayapo who were anxious to be off for the village. They drew my attention to some high-pitched twittering that I assumed was produced by the bats which were flying about and whispered urgently that it was the mẽ kurón, and that we should leave immediately to avoid having our heads bashed in with flying lumps of clay.

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[1] The Cayapo expression is mru o-krit; mru = animal; o-krit = "to make a pet of."

[2] Living people cannot ordinarily understand the speech of mẽ karôn, but some individuals are taught to understand (mari) it by their 'ĩ-nêêt, on the same basis that other 'ĩ-nêêt teach their tob-diuò to understand the language of different animals. The dance songs of mẽ karôn are in ordinary human (Cayapo) language and voice.

CHAPTER V

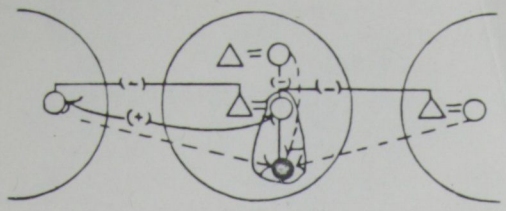
THE INTEGRATION OF CAYAPO SOCIETY

V.A. The domestic group cycle and the life cycle

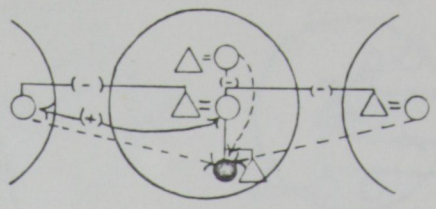
Fortes analyzes the developmental cycle of domestic groups into three stages: expansion (the reproduction of children), dispersion or fission (in which the children leave the natal domestic group to form their own affinal domestic groups), and replacement (in which the original parents grow old and die, to be replaced by their children as parents) (Fortes 1958: 4-5). This tripartite scheme affords an adequate conceptual framework for describing the Cayapo domestic group cycle, with the qualification that fission, dispersion and replacement are to some extent overlapping processes. Fortes also specifies four stages of the individual life cycle as it relates to the domestic group cycle, corresponding to stages of progressive expansion of Ego's area of effective social relations. The four stages are the "matricentral cell," the "patricentral" family unit, the domestic group as a whole (the entire local group or extended family household), and finally the "politico-jural domain," which corresponds to social adulthood and coincides with initiation, marriage,

and the fission of Ego's natal domestic group (Fortes 1958: 9). One of the difficulties with this sequence of stages is that it covers only the first major phase of Ego's life cycle: by terminating the sequence with Ego's attainment of social maturity, Fortes obscures the cyclical nature of the life cycle and represents it as a simple linear progression. The social development of the individual's kinship and domestic group relations does not come to a halt with his marriage and achievement of social adulthood. The series of changes in Ego's relations with his second (affinal) domestic group are equally important with those in his natal group, and, at least among the Cayapo, are regularly accompanied by further transformations in Ego's status within the politico-jural domain. When this second major phase of the social development of the individual is considered, the pattern of successive stages of the life cycle takes on a truly cyclical form, rather than the simple lineal progression implied in Fortes's model. Ego's positions in the successive stages of the development cycle of his affinal domestic group correspond to the positions occupied by his same-sex parent in the parallel stages of his natal group cycle. The initial stage of Ego's natal group cycle and the final

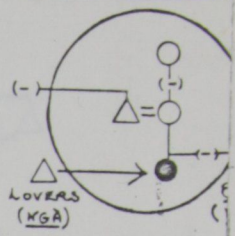
1. mẽ prî-re



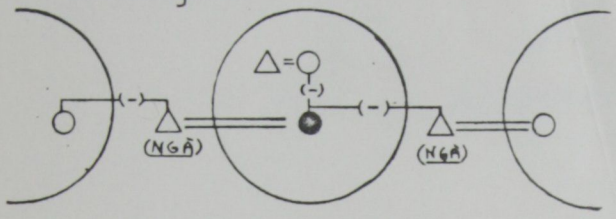
2. mẽ prî-tẽ



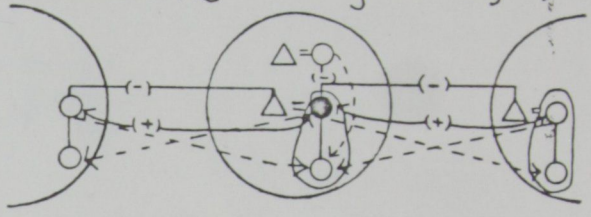
3. mẽ kurere-re



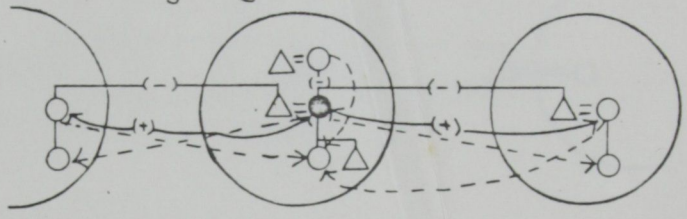
4. mẽ kray-tuk



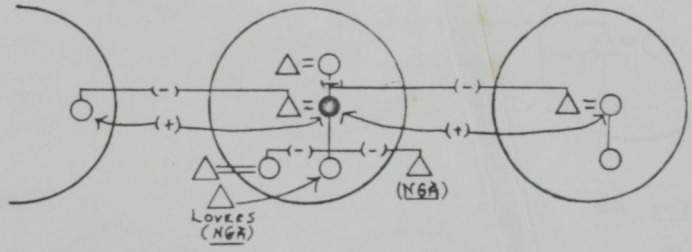
5a. mẽ kra puyn, nursing child (cf. #1)



5b. mẽ kra puyn, after weaning stage (cf. #2)



5c. mẽ kra kramtĩ (cf #3,4)



5d. mẽ bê ngê-ê-te (cf. #4,5)

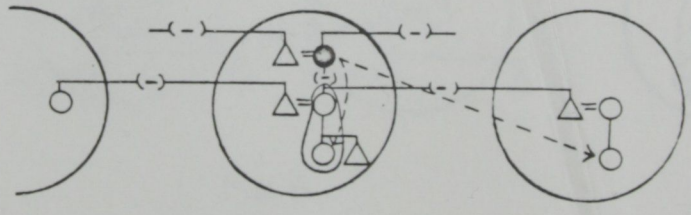


FIG. 5

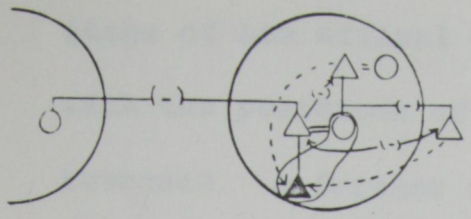
The Life Cycle: Female Ego

SYMBOLS: ----> = BESTOWAL OF NAMES AND NÊKRÊTCH

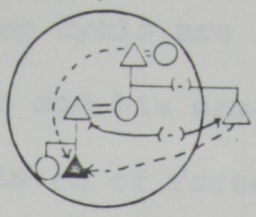
—(-)— (-) = RITUALLY SEVERED RELATIONSHIP OF SIBLINGSHIP OR FILIATION

<—(+)—> = RELATIONSHIP OF FORMAL FRIENDSHIP

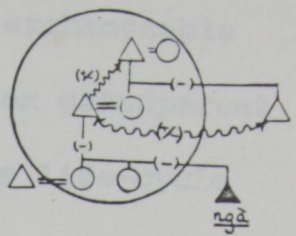
1. mẽ prĩ-re



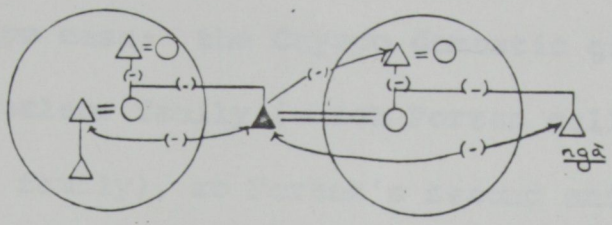
2. ngàydju-re



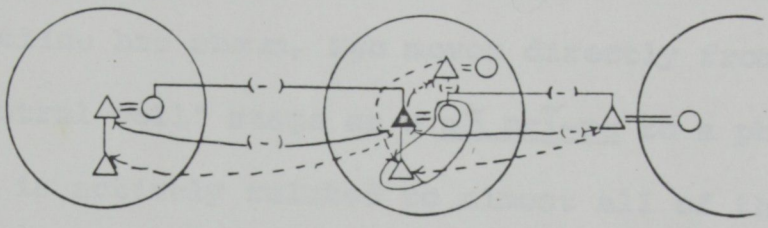
3. mẽ ok-re



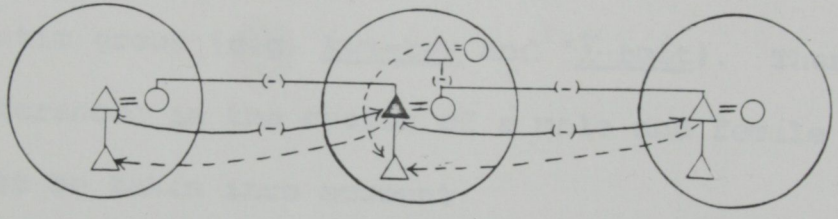
4. mẽ nõrõ-nu-re



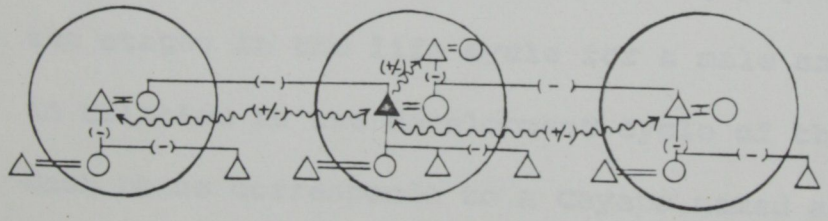
5a. mẽ kra karò (cf #1)



5b mẽ kra-nu-re (cf. #2)



5c. mẽ kra kramtĩ (cf. #3)



5d. mẽ bê ngê-ê-te (cf. #4

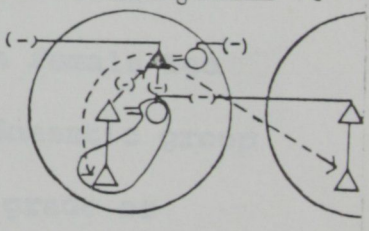


FIG. 6

The Life Cycle • Male Ego

Symbols:

- ------→ = BESTOWAL OF NAMES AND NÊKRÊTCH
- —(-)— ($\frac{1}{1}$) = RITUALLY SEVERED RELATION OF SIBLINGSHIP OR FILIATION
- ←—(-)—→ = SYMMETRICAL PIAÃM RELATIONSHIP
- —(-)—→ = ASSYMETRICAL PIAÃM RELATIONSHIP
- ∿(+/-)∿→ = ATTENUATED PIAÃM RELATIONSHIP

stage of his affinal group cycle are interchangeable with the positions of Ego and his same-sex grandparent reversed. A further revision of Fortes's life-cycle scheme is called for by the specific circumstances of the Cayapo case: the Cayapo domestic group corresponds to the nuclear family (which Fortes calls the "patricentral" family), so Fortes's second and third stages are not distinct phases in the Cayapo system. As the foregoing outline has shown, Ego moves directly from the "matricentral cell" stage as a mõ pyĩ-re to a phase in which he is actively related to almost all of the members of his personal kindred, including many non-members of his domestic group (e.g. kuꞷ-tuy and 'ĩ-ngêt). There are also differences in the cycles of a male and female Ego which must be taken into account.

The diagrams on the preceding pages illustrate the stages in the life cycle for a male and a female Ego in relation to the development cycle of the domestic group. Each phase corresponds to a Cayapo named age grade or category, as described in preceding sections of chapter IV. The stages for a male Ego, numbered to correspond to the diagrams, are as follows:

1. mẽ prĩ-re: infancy; matricentral cell; complete social and physical dependence on the parents, principally the mother (Ego not yet weaned, cannot walk or talk). Father ritually excluded from "matricentral cell" by prohibition on sexual intercourse with mother (father sleeps in ngà as a mẽ kra karò).

2. ngàydju-re: childhood; limited social and physical independence from parents: social relations with all members of personal kindred; important informal peer-group society. Father no longer observes mẽ kra karò restrictions: taboo on sex with mother ends. Close social relations and ritual identification with 'ĩ-ngêt (bestowal of names and nêkrêtch) marks partial attenuation of Ego's relations with father. Stages 1 and 2 constitute the "expansion" phase of Ego's natal domestic group cycle.

3. mẽ ôk-re: early adolescence; separation from natal group and preliminary incorporation into the politico-jural domain (ritually symbolized in the ôk ceremony and Ego's residence in the men's house). Ego ceases to receive names and nekretch from his 'ĩ-ngêt. Ego's sisters begin to come of age for marriage, and prospective ZH appear as their lovers. This stage constitutes the "fission" or "dispersion" phase of the development cycle of Ego's natal group.

4. mẽ nẽrẽ-zu-re: late adolescence, initiated youth: initiation reaffirms separation from natal group and father, establishes symbolic affinal connection, and advances Ego to a stage of subordinate integration in the politico-jural domain. Natal group: Ego's sisters may be married, have children; Ego and ZH have strong mutual piaàm. Affinal group: Ego begins courtship and marriage process, sleeps part of the night with his fiancee, has intense piaàm toward her father, mother, and brothers. Stage 4 represents the final or "replacement" phase of the development cycle of Ego's natal domestic group.

5. mẽ kra-re: fatherhood, mature manhood: full marriage, full integration into politico-jural domain. The mẽ kra-re age grade constitutes the second major segment of Ego's life cycle. Its four subdivisions correspond to the four stages of the first half of the cycle.

5a. mẽ kra-nu-re (first sub-phase, mẽ kra karò): corresponds to period during which Ego's child is a mẽ prĩ-re, not yet weaned. Ego sleeps in men's house, has no intercourse with his wife. Birth of child stabilizes Ego's marriage and position in his affinal household, but Ego is still an "incoming affine," and shows strong pianm toward WF, WM, WZ, and WB. Ego enters a mature men's society (tchêt) in the men's house.

5b. mẽ kra-nu-re (later phase: children are in nàvdju-re or mẽ prĩ-ti phases). Ego has ceased to observe the me kra karo restrictions, but is still an "incoming affine" in his wife's household, where his status is defined primarily in terms of his relationship as a son- or brother-in-law to his wife's consanguineal kin. The two mẽ kra-nu-re phases constitute the "expansion" stage of Ego's affinal domestic group: they are structurally comparable to stages 1 and 2 of the natal group. In his natal group, Ego forms a close relationship with his ZS, and bestows names and nêrêtch on him. Ego and ZH continue to show strong mutual pianm.

5c. mẽ kra kranthĩ: Ego's children come of age for marriage, and he becomes a father-in-law. At the same time, Ego attains a position of seniority and prestige in the politico-jural domain, and becomes an orator. WF and WB have bestowed names and nêrêtch on Ego's sons; this and the advent of sons-in-law help transform Ego into a resident consanguineal member of the household, rather than an incoming affine as in stage 5a. Stage 5b is the "dispersion" or "fission" stage of Ego's affinal domestic group, corresponding to stage 3 of his natal domestic group. In Ego's natal group, the pianm between Ego and ZH lessens; Ego is formally invited by Z to dine with her and ZH. The same diminution of pianm affects Ego's relations with WB.

5d. mẽ hê mê-ê-tê: old age, grandparenthood; highest prestige in political-jural domain. This, the final phase in Ego's life cycle, corresponds to the "replacement" stage of Ego's affinal domestic group, just as phase 4 (mẽ nêrê-nu-rã) corresponds to the "replacement" stage of Ego's natal group. Ego becomes the senior consanguineal male member of the household with death of his wife's parents. His daughters' husbands replace him as the most active mature men of the household, while his sons have separated from him and his household to marry into other households.

A female Ego passes through a comparable series of stages, but the structure of the female Ego's affinal and cross-sex sibling relations are the inverse of those of the male Ego, as a result of her opposite residential status owing to the matrilocal residence rule. This inversion is most evident in the contrast between the relationship of HZ-BW, which is unrestrained and emphasizes mutual visiting and mild joking, and that of ZH-WB, which is inhibited and requires mutual avoidance in the vicinity of the wife's or sister's household (see diagrams 1, 2, 5a, and 5b for female Ego and 1, 2, 3, 5a, and 5b for male Ego).

To avoid possible confusion, I must note that many relationships are omitted from both sets of diagrams simply because of the physical impracticability of illustrating them all: the absence of a symbol for a relationship does not necessarily mean that the relationship does not exist. It was not even possible to preserve complete symmetry in the relationships indicated for the two sexes. For example, FF and FSH, as 'ĩ-ngêt, can bestow names upon their SS or WBS, as can FM or MBW as kwm-tuy upon their SD or NED, but it seemed excessively inconvenient to try to indicate all but the last of these relations in the diagrams.

Complete information on the relationships between all pairs of status categories within the kindred at each phase of the life cycle is contained in the preceding chapter: the diagrams are intended only as simplified illustrations, not as comprehensive summaries of this material.

V. B. The structure of kinship relations

The purpose of this section is to isolate the essential components or dimensions of the structure of the domestic group and of kinship relations, as revealed in the development cycle of domestic groups and the social and ritual relations of the individual during his life cycle as described in Chapter IV and reviewed in the last section. The aims of the analysis will be, first, to isolate the structural components of the social organization of kinship and domestic group relations; second, to demonstrate the relationship of these components by constructing a paradigm of the structural categories of kinship relations based on them; and third, to analyze the relations of inverse and direct variation obtaining among the relationship categories arising from the dynamic properties of the domestic group cycle as functions of the relations between the dimensions of the paradigm. It will be found

that the paradigm of structural categories also constitutes a paradigm of the terminological categories of kinsmen (listed separately in Appendix II). Analysis of the kinship terminology is, however, a secondary goal for the purposes of the present section, and I shall make only brief references to the terminology until the structural dimensions of the paradigm have been specified on the basis of a sociological analysis of relations in the domestic group and its development cycle.

The relationships in which Ego becomes involved in the course of the development cycle of the two consecutive domestic groups of which he is a residing member may be classified for convenience of reference into three basic types. Relations between Ego and all relatives of his own phase of the development cycle, including his siblings, spouse, and siblings-in-law, may be called lateral relationships. The crucial differentiating factor on the lateral dimension is residential status with respect to the matrilocal residence rule, which involves the structural opposition of opposite sexes in the domestic group content. Relations between Ego and Alters of differing major phases of the life cycle, e.g. parents if Ego is a child, or children

if Ego is a parent, may be referred to as vertical relations. The relationship between same-sex siblings in the first phase of the life cycle, or spouses in the second phase, who are contrasted on neither the lateral nor the vertical dimension with reference to the structure of the appropriate domestic group, will be called relations of structural fusion. I shall refer loosely to the lateral and vertical categories of relationships as "dimensions," but I wish to emphasise here that I do not imply by this usage that the lateral and vertical categories represent dimensions of the paradigm of structural dimensions presented in figure 7. In spite of their apparently straightforward character, they are composite categories. They can be inferred from the paradigm, and are essential to the statement of the basic principle from which all three of the dimensions in figure 7 are derived, but they do not constitute elemental structural components on the level of the dimensions of the paradigm.

A consequence of the limitation of the domestic group to the confines of the nuclear family is that the separation of adjacent lateral categories of domestic group members (i.e., cross-sex siblings) is structurally linked with the separation of adjacent vertical domestic group

relatives (i.e., parents and children) for Egos of both sexes at the time of the fission of the natal group. Conversely, the lateral integration of an Ego of either sex with his spouse depends upon the establishment of a complementary vertical relationship, i.e., the birth of a child. The structurally significant relations of lateral separation and incorporation in the domestic group cycle are between relatives of opposite sex. Conversely, the relations of vertical separation and incorporation which constitute the structural corollaries of the lateral cross-sex relations are between relatives of the same sex. The transformation of lateral relationships with relatives of the opposite sex (the severance of domestic group ties to the cross-sex sibling and the establishment of the complementary set of lateral ties to a previously unrelated individual of opposite sex in marriage) is the structural prerequisite and concomitant for the assumption by an Ego of a given sex of the vertical status and its associated roles, both in the domestic group and the community, appropriate to his sex in the consecutive (adult) major phase of the developmental cycle. In other words, for a "son" to become a "father," he must cease to be a "brother" and become a "husband." Vertical relations between adjacent same-sex

relatives in the domestic group (F-S, M-D) reflect the fact that each represents, as it were, the complementary phase of the other's life cycle. For the son to become a father in his own right, he must invert the relationship prevailing between him and his father, by assuming a status exactly like that of his father in a different matrilocal household. This involves severing his filial domestic group ties with his F and establishing a strong lateral bond with his spouse at the expense of his relation with his cross-sex sibling. It may therefore be stated as a basic principle of Cayapo domestic group structure that, with reference to the same domestic group, adjacent lateral (cross-sex) relations vary directly as adjacent vertical same-sex relations, and conversely that the complementary adjacent lateral or same-sex vertical relations in consecutive domestic groups of the same Ego (i.e., in consecutive major phases of the life of a given Ego) vary inversely relative to each other. A corollary of this principle is that the more an adjacent lateral or vertical relationship is emphasized in one phase of the life cycle, the greater will be the emphasis on its attenuation, with reference to the same domestic group, in the complementary major phase of the life cycle.

The direct correlation or covariation of lateral and vertical relationships in the structure of the domestic group constitutes the fundamental principle on which the structure of Cayapo kinship relations is based. This will become apparent as the dimensions of the structure of domestic group and kinship relations are described: each constitutes a derivative, with reference to a different aspect of domestic group relations, of this same basic principle.

Dimension A: Degree of structural separation between Ego and Alter measured in terms of lateral and vertical contrasts in domestic group structure. As a bi-generational group composed of a single pair of statuses of opposite sexes at both generational levels, the Cayapo domestic group is organized on the basis of a set of paired dyadic structural contrasts on the lateral and vertical dimensions, which are directly correlated with each other in terms of the principle of direct variation of lateral and vertical relations within the same domestic group stated above. From the standpoint of an Ego in his natal domestic group, this complementary set of lateral and vertical oppositions forms a concentric dyad, in which he and his same sex siblings constitute a central zone of structurally fused

relations. The dyadically opposed statuses on both lateral and vertical dimensions within the family group (parents and cross-sex siblings) are merged in a common category of relatively peripheral relatives, from all of whom Ego and his same-sex sibling are separated in relation to the process of fission of the domestic group. This relatively peripheral category is composed of both lateral and vertical relatives who are equidistant from the standpoint of separation from Ego in the domestic group cycle, so the metaphor of a pair of concentric circles or zones is appropriate. The peripheral category of domestic group relatives, separated by a single phase of the development cycle (i.e., the fission of a single domestic group) from Ego may be called the category of adjacent relations. Adjacent relations are differentiated by a single dyadic contrast on either or both lateral and vertical dimensions.

Beyond the confines of the domestic group are other relations, e.g., members of the parents' natal domestic group, or, if Ego is himself a parent, members of his children's affinal domestic groups. After Ego and his cross-sex siblings marry, they acquire relationships with each other's spouses and their spouse's opposite sex siblings, none of whom can be co-members of Ego's domestic group. Relatives

who are non-members of either Ego's natal or affinal domestic groups, on either the "lateral" dimension (e.g., cross-sex siblings' spouses) or "vertical" dimension (e.g., parents' cross-sex siblings) form a third concentric zone, outside the "adjacent" zone with reference to Ego and the central zone of structural fusion. This third zone may be called the zone of alternate relatives. Alternate relatives include all kinsmen separated by two or more dyadic contrasts on either the lateral or vertical dimensions of domestic group relations.

Cross-cousins and the children of the spouse's opposite-sex sibling are ordinarily the only relatives separated by more than one lateral or vertical contrast from the limits of either of Ego's domestic groups to whom Ego is able to trace a genealogical connection. The range of Ego's field of bilateral kinship relations is thus virtually synonymous with the range of relationships that have an effect upon his status in either his natal or his affinal domestic groups, either directly as an adjacent relative, or indirectly as an alternate relative, standing in an opposed adjacent relationship to one of Ego's adjacent relatives. The transition from the first to the second major phase of the life cycle is the occasion of a shift of the

boundaries between the adjacent zone of relations and the central zone of fusion. From Ego's point of view, his same-sex sibling is structurally fused with himself in terms of the common structural position of both in their joint natal group. From Ego's spouse's point of view, however, only Ego is a co-member of a common domestic group with Ego, while Ego's same-sex sibling is not. Ego therefore differentiates between his spouse, as structurally fused with himself, and his spouse's same-sex siblings, who become adjacent relatives from his point of view. The spouse's opposite-sex sibling, at a further structural remove from Ego's point of view, becomes an alternate relative.

Ego's field of bilateral kin relations, including consanguineal and affinal relatives and "lateral" and "vertical" dimensions of relationship, can thus be broken down into three degrees of structural distance, to which have been applied the terms "fusion" (zero degrees of structural distance, no contrast on either lateral or vertical dimension with reference to the domestic group in which the relationship is defined), "adjacent" (one degree of structural distance, separation by a single structural contrast on either or both lateral and vertical dimensions with

reference to the domestic group in which the relationship is defined), and "alternate" (two degrees of structural distance, separation by two or more consecutive structural contrasts on any combination of lateral and vertical dimensions within the field of kinship relations). Since both adjacent and alternate relations refer equally to lateral and vertical relations (reflecting the principle of the direct correlation, and hence the functional equivalence in the process of domestic group fission, of lateral and vertical relations), they are most conveniently and efficiently represented by a set of concentric circles or zones, with Ego in the central zone of structural fusion, surrounded by the adjacent and alternate zones, in that order. Beyond the zone of "alternate" kinsmen lies the residual zone of "non-kinsmen," mẽ ba-item, an expression which literally means " people beside my people (i.e., kinsmen)"; the indigenous spatial metaphor is of interest in the light of the spatial representation of structural distance advanced here. There is no clearly defined structural cut-off point between the field of kinship relations and the zone of non-kinsmen. Kinship relations extend as far on either side as genealogical memory can carry.[1] As we have seen, however, this is

[1] There is no systematic bias in the memory of genealogical connections on the maternal or paternal side.

rarely beyond the second ascending generation, i.e., the fringe of alternate relatives who actually affect Ego's own domestic group relations and are linked to Ego through common adjacent links. It may be argued that the shortness of Cayapo genealogical memory is itself a structural feature of the system of kinship relations--"structural amnesia" in Freeman's phrase (Freeman 1961: 208)--which serves to limit the field of Ego's kinship relations, and therefore his range of prohibited spouses, to the network of kinsmen who are directly or indirectly involved in the affairs of one of the other of Ego's consecutive domestic groups. The residual category of "non-kinsmen" may be treated in terms of the model as a third degree of structural distance, outside the system of kinship relations proper.

If the dimension of structural distance is called dimension A, three values or degrees of structural distance can thus be determined upon it: A_1, the distinction between structurally fused members of a domestic group (same-sex siblings or spouses) and adjacent members of the same domestic group (spouse's same-sex siblings, Ego's opposite-sex siblings and parents); A_2, the distinction between adjacent and alternate relations; and A_3, the distinction between

kinsman and non-kinsman. Dimension A, with its three values indicated, is shown in figure 7.

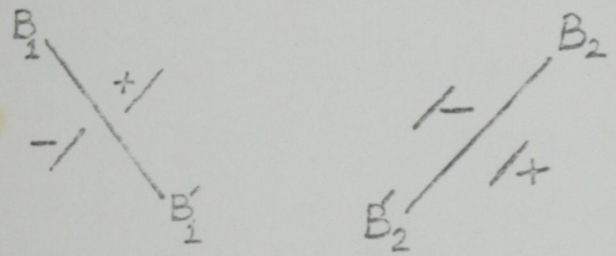
Dimension B: symmetry, asymmetry, and directionality of relations of separation and incorporation in the development cycle of domestic groups. The three degrees of structural distance within Ego's field of kinship relations distinguished by dimension A differentiate Ego's relations equally in all directions. Ego's life cycle, however, is a unilinear process, characterized by a constant directional orientation (from the natal to the affinal domestic group). This fact implies that, in any series of three consecutive adjacent relations, the middle member of the series will be incorporated with one of the terminal adjacent relations in the first major phase of his life cycle (i.e., for the duration of the development cycle of his first domestic group), and incorporated in the domestic group of the other in the second major phase of his life cycle (corresponding to the development cycle of his second domestic group), thus necessitating his separation from the first adjacent Alter and the first domestic group. Father, for example, separates from the domestic group of F with the completion of the first phase of his life cycle and becomes a member of Ego's (his son's)

domestic group in the second phase of his cycle. The son repeats the process of separation in the second phase of his life cycle, etc. The F-S relation thus involves an asymmetrical relationship of the two statuses to each other with respect to their relationship of domestic group separation or incorporation with each other in the second phases of their respective life cycles. F is incorporated with S in the second phase of F's life cycle, but S is separated from F in the second phase of S's life cycle. Conversely, F is, of course, separated (a member of a separate domestic group) from S in the first phase of F's life cycle. This type of asymmetrical relationship of separation and incorporation is not characteristic of all of Ego's adjacent relationships. Z and B, for example, are incorporated with each other in the same domestic group during phase one of their respective life cycles, and separated from each other in phase two: conversely, Ego and spouse are separated from each other in the first phase of their cycles and united in the same group in the second phase of their cycles. The lateral relations of separation and incorporation between spouses and cross-sex siblings are symmetrical insofar as the parallelism between the relationships of each Alter to the other in the consecutive phases of the cycle is concerned,

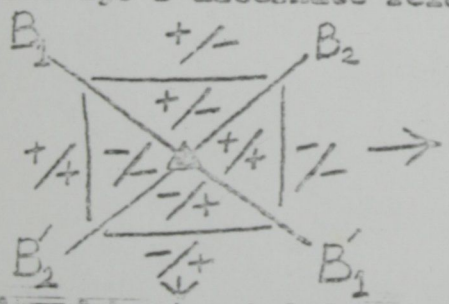
but accentuate by this very symmetry the asymmetry of the sequence of lateral relationships generated in successive phases of the cycle, which takes the form of a series of relationships of alternating mutual separation and mutual incorporation, e.g., ZH (mutual incorporation), Z (mutual separation), Ego (mutual incorporation), W, etc. This asymmetrical order of lateral relationships compares with the symmetrical order of vertical relationships (e.g., F-S in the above example), in which all relationships in the second phases of the cycles of the paired vertically related statuses are symmetrically repetitive of the same asymmetrical pattern, e.g., FF (second phase incorporation with F, F = second phase separation from FF)--F--(second phase incorporation with S, S = second phase separation from F)--S,etc.

Both vertical and horizontal patterns of symmetry and asymmetry in domestic group relationships are the product of the same pair of considerations, which we shall call B_1 and B_2, since they are really the same consideration (the order of relations of separation and incorporation in the development cycle) regarded alternately from the standpoints of Ego and Alter. B_1 is defined as Alter's relation of separation or incorporation in the same domestic group in the second

phase of Alter's life cycle with Ego (who may be in either the first or the second phase of his cycle). B_2 is defined as Ego's relation of separation or incorporation in the second phase of his life cycle with Alter (who may be in either the first or the second phase of his cycle). Symbolizing separation with a (-) and incorporation with a (+), and writing B_1 as the numerator of a fraction with B_2 as the denominator, the two components of dimension B can be represented as follows:



Combined, B_1 and B_2 generate the following structure of adjacent relations (including the relationships between Ego's adjacent relatives and the latter's adjacent relatives, who are Ego's alternate relatives):



The vertical and horizontal lines dividing consecutive expressions represent A_2, the division between Ego's adjacent and alternate relations. Comparison of the diagram

with the above outline of lateral and vertical relations of separation and incorporation in the development cycle will show that the pattern generated by components B_1 and B_2 (neither of which has any direct connection with "laterality" or "verticality," let alone "generation" or "sex," exactly reproduces the pattern of lateral and vertical relations as described. The quadrants into which B_1 and B_2 divide the field of Ego's kinship relations also fall into two opposing pairs: the left-lateral and upper-vertical quadrants correspond to Ego's natal group relatives, or alternate relatives acquired through connection with them; the right-lateral and lower-vertical pair corresponds to Ego's personal affinal relatives (as opposed to "affines" such as ZH, FZH, etc.) and alternate relations acquired through them. Note that the order of plus and minus values on component B_2 spontaneously reproduces the directionality of Ego's unilinear progress through the stages of the life cycle (from the natal to the affinal group), at the same time that it demonstrates that the unilinearity of the life cycle is composed of two correlated structural components, a "lateral" component (represented in the diagram by the separation from the adjacent relationship in quadrant B_1 B'_2 and incorporation with the

corresponding relationship in quadrant B_2 B'_1) and a "vertical" component (represented by the attenuation of the adjacent relationship in quadrant B_1 B_2 and the incorporation with the adjacent relative in quadrant B'_2 B'_1). The arrows in the diagram denote the directionality of the indicated shifts in Ego's adjacent relations.

It should be stressed that the "vertical" and "lateral" dimensions of relationships in the domestic group cycle are not synonymous with "generation" and "sex" as these terms are used ordinarily to refer to genealogical relationships. The lateral dimension includes members of both ascending and descending generations, and the vertical dimension lumps relatives of different generations in the same categories, while assigning members of the same generation to opposite categories. Differences in sex and "generation"--if this term is taken to refer to what I have been calling major phases of the life cycle--play a part in the structure of the categories of kinship relations, but only insofar as they correspond to distinctions in the structure of domestic group relations: it is the latter, and not the facts of sex or generation per se which determine the structure of kinship relations and the categories of the kinship terminology. In the case of dimension B,

it has been indicated that the vertical and lateral dimensions of the structure of Ego's kinship relations can be generated by a simple dimension consisting of two components with two values each, derived from an analysis of the types of relationships between Ego and Alter arising from their respective directions of movement in the life cycle, as this reflects the development cycle in domestic groups. The categories of relations we have called "vertical" and "lateral" are sufficiently distinguished and defined by dimension B and do not "really" refer to sex and generation or for that matter "laterality" or "verticality": these terms are retained simply as a convenient verbal shorthand. It may be noted that both dimensions A and B so far have been treated solely from the point of view of specifying their structural basis and therefore the "intensional" definitions of the categories they define. The extensional definition of the categories, in terms of the list of genealogically defined positions or "kin types" each includes, is an analytically distinct aspect of the problem and will be separately treated later in this section.[1]

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[1] "Intension" and "extension" are used here and in the rest of this chapter in their technical philosophical senses: my use of the term "extension," in particular, bears no

Female Ego's vertical relationships are identical with those of male Ego, but her lateral relations are the inverse of male Ego's because of her opposite residential status. Instead of moving from her natal household to her affinal household, like male Ego, female Ego remains in the same household while her brothers move out to the men's house and later to their wives' households. Female Ego's husband, meanwhile, moves in with her to take their place. This reversal of residential status implies that the left and right quadrants of lateral relations are reversed for female Ego, if the directions of the arrows indicating direction of movement in the life cycle are kept the same as for male Ego. The reversal of the lateral quadrants is achieved by inverting the order of B_1 and B_2, as shown in figure 7. As we shall see later, the inversion of the order of B_1 and B_2 has important implications for the differentiation of the behaviors involved in female Ego's lateral relations from those associated with the lateral relations of male Ego.

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relationship to the customary anthropological use of the term to denote psychological generalization of a "primary" "kin type" to more distant "kin types" as the mechanism by which terminological categories are formed. As has already became apparent, the assumptions of the present analysis are radically incompatible with the doctrine of psychological extensions.

Figure 7 shows dimension B superimposed on dimension A. Note that both components of dimension B, B_1 and B_2, join in a single line in the central circle (the zone of structural fusion or zero degrees of structural distance from Ego) to separate spouse and same-sex sibling. In terms of the logical values of B_1 and B_2 as embodying Ego's and Alter's points of view toward mutual relationships involving one degree of structural distance, the joint line B_1 B_2 implies the neutralization of the distinction between Ego and Alter, while it continues to assert the presence of an adjacent relationship of one degree of structural distance. In terms of domestic group structure, this corresponds to the fact that both spouse and same-sex sibling are fused with Ego, but are adjacent relatives of each other.

Dimensions A and B together generate ten categories, indicated by the Roman numerals on the chart. It may be noted here that these categories correspond to the ten superclasses or primary categories of the kinship terminology, listed according to the corresponding Roman numerals in Appendix II. I shall argue that the structural relationships indicated by the spaces generated by the dimensions represent the intensional definitions or meanings of the kinship terms, but the final dimension must be introduced before I develop this point. Note that the logical

space generated by A and B defines, not only all the primary terminological categories of relationship (including both consanguineal and affinal categories), but also indicates the relationships of terminological polarity between them: thus category I is the polar reciprocal of category IV, II is the reciprocal of III, and V is the reciprocal of X. The pairs of polar reciprocal categories VI-VII and V-IX, which involve Egos of different sexes and are thus affected by the differences in the lateral relations of male and female Egos, are easily comprehended by comparing the diagrams for male and female Egos.

Dimension C: Mutual entailment of lateral and vertical separation and incorporation in the domestic group cycle (with reference to the lateral and vertical categories of relations defined by dimension B). The principle of direct correlation between lateral and vertical relations within the domestic group implies that Ego's relations with kinsmen of the second phase of their life cycles[1] within either of Ego's two consecutive domestic groups will involve, from the standpoint both of Ego and the kinsmen concerned,

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[1] The category of relations defined by the positive value of D_1^1 (see above account of dimension B).

the opposite vertical and lateral relations with the members of the kinsmen's natal (first phase) domestic groups (grandparents, FZ, MB, etc.). The same considerations, for obvious reasons, do not hold with regard to Ego's relations to Alters in the first phase of their life cycles.[1] In the case of Ego's ascending vertical relations (quadrant B_1B_2 in fig. 7, which includes M, F, MB, FZ, MM, MF, FM, FF, etc.), F and M are associated with Ego in his natal domestic group by virtue of a relationship of mutual integration or fusion formed in the second stage of their development cycles. Such a relationship of lateral (cross-sex) fusion in the second phase of the life cycle, as we have just seen, involves a complementary set of vertical and lateral separations from Alter's domestic group relatives of the first phase of the cycle: lateral separation from the cross-sex sibling, and vertical separation from the same-sex as well as the opposite-sex parent. The category of ascending vertical relatives must therefore be bifurcated in two complementary respects: adjacent relatives (F and M) must be separated vertically from alternate same-sex as well as cross-sex

[1] The category defined by the negative value of B_1.

relatives (FF and MM). Both adjacent and alternate categories must be laterally bifurcated along sexual lines, reflecting the fact that the fusion of cross-sex categories represented by the marriage of M and F is balanced by the lateral separation of cross-sex siblings in the natal domestic group. Each adjacent relative in the ascending vertical category is therefore structurally opposed in different, although complementary, terms to two categories of alternate relatives, one of the same sex and one of the opposite sex. Figure 7 shows the ascending vertical categories laterally and vertically bifurcated as indicated, with both adjacent and alternate categories laterally bisected on the basis of sex. The lateral sexual bifurcation is represented by C_1, which represents the lateral complement to the vertical division represented by A_2. C_1 may be defined as the lateral separation between adjacent opposite-sex categories generated by a complementary vertical separation between adjacent same-sex categories, and, conversely, the lateral fusion of adjacent opposite-sex categories generated by the vertical fusion of adjacent same-sex categories. The line denoting C_1 in the paradigm indicates the vertical alignment of same-sex categories on the same sides of the line with the categories of corresponding sex in the central circle of

the paradigm, i.e., Ego's same-sex sibling and spouse. C_1 forms the complement of A_2 in the ascending vertical quadrant, producing a four-fold division of same- and opposite-sex categories in conformity with the basic premise of the direct correlation of lateral and vertical separation in the domestic group cycle.

The category of descending vertical relatives is not laterally bifurcated by C_1: on the contrary, the opposite-sex members of the descending vertical categories are fused relative to Ego in a single structurally undifferentiated class for each value of dimension A. This obliteration of lateral distinctions is a function of the complementary value of C_1, which directs that where no vertical separation exists, no structurally significant lateral distinction exists either. The categories of relatives in the descending vertical categories are related to Ego through their filial (first phase of the life cycle) relation to Ego or a kinsman of Ego: their relationship to Ego, in other words, is based on their membership as children in their natal domestic groups, and is thus structurally prior to their vertical separation from their parents (i.e., Ego or the linking kinsman). Since their relationship to Ego is defined on the basis of a stage in their

life cycles when neither the male nor the female members of the categories have separated from their parents, Ego, according to C_1, makes no lateral distinction among them on the basis of sex.

Note that C_1 is continuous with the paradigm, defined on dimension A as the region of structural fusion. The lateral bifurcation of same-sex sibling and opposite-sex spouse is also a case of "lateral separation between adjacent opposite-sex categories generated by a complementary vertical separation between adjacent same-sex categories," and is therefore bifurcated by C_1 as well as D: the vertical separation in this case is of course the separation of Ego and his spouse from their opposite sex parents.

The complementary component of dimension C, C_2, is defined as the vertical separation between same-sex categories generated by a complementary lateral separation of cross-sex categories (there is no converse application of C_2 in the opposite lateral category, as exists for C_1 in the descending vertical category, because the corresponding relations to the relatives to whom C_2 is applied in the sense defined, namely, Ego's cross-sex sibling's spouse's natal family relations (e.g., ZHF, ZHM, etc.) do not fall

within Ego's system of kinship relations). C_2 bifurcates the lateral quadrant $B_1B'_2$, which contains the members of Ego's spouse's natal group, as a concomitant of the lateral separation of Ego's spouse and her same-sex sibling from their opposite-sex sibling, which in itself is the structural corollary of Ego's marriage with his spouse.

The pattern of application of C_2 differs for Egos of opposite sexes. Male Ego differentiates WF and WM, and identifies each as members of the same superclasses as WB and WZ respectively, making WM an adjacent and WF an alternate relation. Female Ego, on the other hand, puts HF together with HM and HZ in the alternate category, leaving HB, distinguished from HF, alone in the adjacent category. This difference is a direct result of the asymmetrical residential relationship of male and female Egos to their spouses' natal domestic groups. Male Ego becomes incorporated into a household to which his spouse's F, M, and Z, and even B (in a non-resident capacity) are firmly attached. At the time of his marriage, these relatives constitute the dominant sexual group in his spouse's household, although his marriage marks the fission of this group along lateral (cross-sex) lines. This lateral fission of the group, on the

level of members of the group in a parallel stage of their life cycles to Ego, causes an attenuation in the relations of both male and female members of the group at Ego's generational level with their same-sex parents. In the case of both the male (MB) and female (W, WZ) categories of group members (which correspond to Ego's alternate and adjacent categories, respectively), this vertical separation directly affects Ego's own position within the household. Ego therefore bifurcates both alternate and adjacent categories of affinal household members according to G. Female Ego is in the opposition position of becoming associated with her husband's natal household only indirectly as a result of her husband's removal from it. HB is separated from H's natal household on the same basis as H, but HF remains behind as a resident member of the household. From female Ego's point of view, it is her husband's natal domestic group household, as it exists at the time of his marriage to her, which constitutes her alternate category of affinal relations, and HF is a member of that household while HB is not. Female Ego therefore differentiates between HB as an adjacent and HF as an alternate relative, and differentiates HF from H only by a monosyllabic affix attached to the common "alternate"

stem also used for HM (the distinction between HF and HM is marked in figure 7 by the dotted line labelled A'_2). The result of this differing pattern of lateral equations is that female Ego only bifurcates the alternate lateral category on C_2: the adjacent category contains no ascending vertical relatives which might be separated by C_2 from HB. Female Ego's classification of HF is a clear indication that the determining factor in the structure of lateral relationships is not "sex" genealogically or biologically defined, but residential status in domestic groups. The latter leads in most cases to a bifurcation of relationship categories along sexual lines, as a result of the matrilocal residence rule, but in cases where the sexual division does not correspond to a relevant contrast in residential status, as in the case of the contrast between HF and HB, or in the descending vertical categories, the sexual distinction is ignored in the terminology.

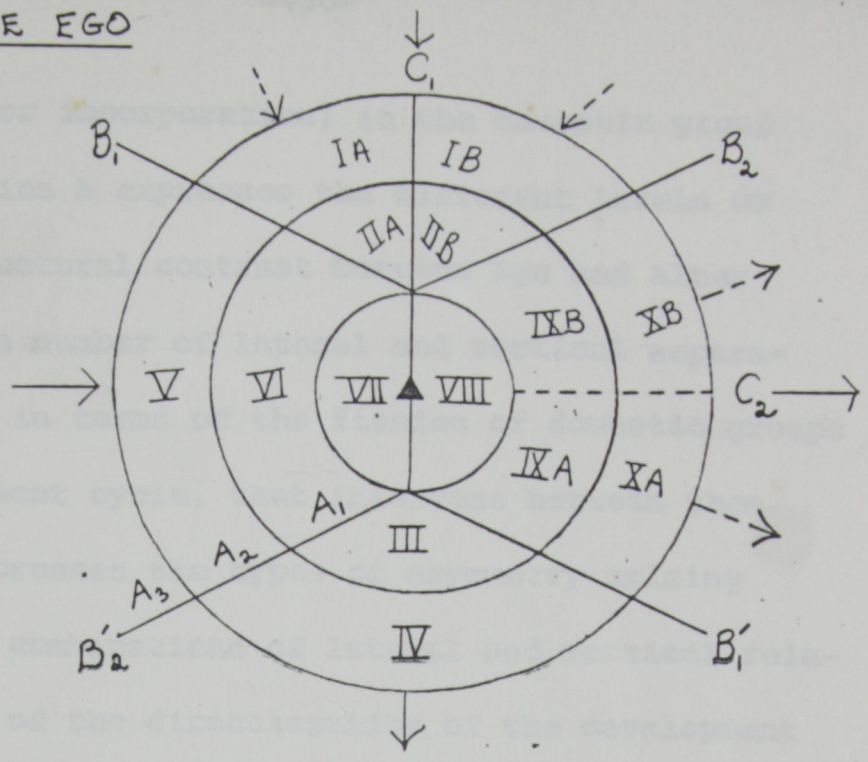
It should be clear that the absence of a division within a set of categories in the paradigm identified with C_2 or C_3 does not mean that dimension C does not apply in these sections of the paradigm, but denotes either that C is operating to produce fusion rather than bifurcation (as in the descending vertical quadrant) or that the relatives

whose fusion relative to Ego would manifest its operation are absent from the system, as in the lateral quadrant $B_1D'_2$.

The application of dimension C to the central zone of structural fusion, as well as to each of the four quadrants of adjacent and alternate relations generated by dimensions A and B, justifies the assertion that all three dimensions apply equally over the whole field of relationships represented by the paradigm. The bifurcation of two of the quadrants by dimension C generates the four pairs of sub-categories in the terminology, within superclasses I, II, III, and X. The sub-categories are listed by capital letter under the identical Roman numerals in Appendix II. The three dimensions together thus generate exactly fourteen categories, which correspond to the fourteen distinct categories of the kinship terminology.

The relationship of dimensions A, B, and C. Now that the three dimensions of the model of Cayapo kinship and domestic group structure have been presented, it may be emphasized once again that all three dimensions are derived from the single basic structural principle of the direct variation of lateral and vertical relations (whether

MALE EGO



FEMALE EGO

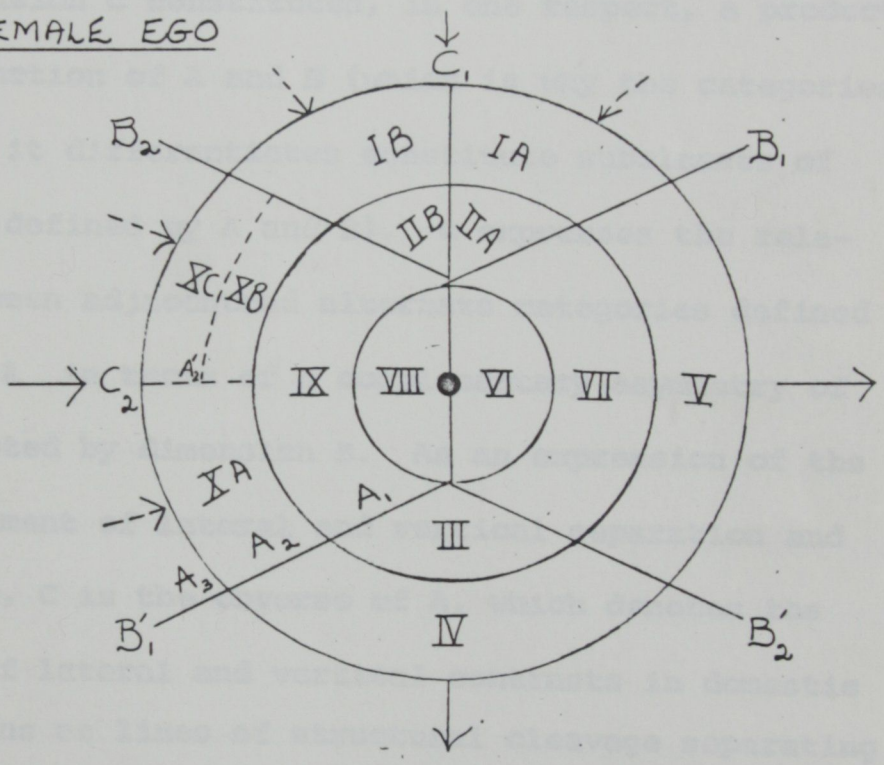


FIG. 7: The Kinship Relations of Ego

SYMBOLS: ——→ indicates direction of movement relative to Ego in life

- - - - - → indicates direction of movement of subclasses w
a superclass relative to Ego and to each o
life cycle.

of separation or incorporation) in the domestic group cycle. Dimension A expresses the different levels or degrees of structural contrast between Ego and Alter relative to the number of lateral and vertical separations, defined in terms of the fission of domestic groups in the development cycle, that intervene between them. Dimension B expresses the types of asymmetry arising from different combinations of lateral and vertical relations in terms of the directionality of the development cycle. Dimension C constitutes, in one respect, a product of the conjunction of A and B (which is why the categories of relations it differentiates constitute subclasses of superclasses defined by A and B). C expresses the relationship between adjacentand alternate categories defined on dimension A in terms of a complementary asymmetry of the type denoted by dimension B. As an expression of the mutual entailment of lateral and vertical separation and incorporation, C is the obverse of A, which denotes the equivalence of lateral and vertical contrasts in domestic group relations as lines of structural cleavage separating Ego from Alter. On the other hand, B and C are structural reciprocals: C only operates to differentiate relations in categories of relatives whose connection with Ego involves a corresponding separation from other relatives,

i.e., relatives in the second phase of their life cycles, and does this in opposite ways according to whether Ego has a symmetrical (lateral) or asymmetrical (vertical) relationship with the relatives in question. It operates in the opposite manner to fuse relatives in the opposing categories of first phase relations. C thus complements and balances every categorical distinction made by dimension B in terms of the basic principle of the correlation of lateral and vertical relations in the domestic group cycle. Figure 7 presents a mapping in spatial terms of these relationships between the three dimensions.

Structural covariation of domestic group relations in the development cycle. At this point we shall return briefly to the review of the phases of the life cycle and domestic group cycle presented in the first section of this chapter, to examine the relationships of direct and inverse correlation among the various categories of kinship relations, as these are manifested in the development cycle. As the principle of the direct correlation between the cross-sex sibling and same-sex parent relationships formulated at the beginning of this section implies, the emphasis upon marriage and the identification of marriage with parenthood in the Cayapo system necessitates a decisive attenuation of relations with both the cross-sex sib-

ling and the same-sex parent at the outset of the second phase of the life cycle on the part of Egos of both sexes. This is obvious in the case of male Ego, since emphasis upon his paternal relationship to his children in his affinal domestic group is clearly incompatible with a continued emphasis on his residential membership in his natal household as his father's (or mother's) son , or for that matter, as his sister's brother. Female Ego does not shift her permanent residence to a different household upon becoming a mother, but, as we saw in Chapter IV, the emphasis upon the independence of her and her husband's domestic group within her maternal household necessitates a severance of ties with her mother which is structurally and ritually the parallel of male Ego's separation from his father. The correlation between the emphasis upon parent-child bonds in the first phase of the child's life cycle and the emphasis on the severance of those bonds as the concomitant of Ego's assertion of his own parental relations with his children in his affinal domestic group may be stated as a relationship of covariance, in the form of a proportion: thus, for male Ego, Ego: Z $\overline{\propto}$ Ego: W :: Ego : F $\overline{\propto}$ Ego : S;[1] in terms of the categories of the paradigm

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[1] $\propto$ = "varies directly as..."; $\overline{\propto}$ = "varies inversely as..."

in figure 7, Ego: VI $\overline{oc}$ Ego: VIII :: Ego : II A $\overline{oc}$ Ego: III. The same proportion holds for female Ego with the substitution of VII for VI in the first expression and IIB for IIA in the second. Note that this proportion states a covariance between opposing values of dimension B, with the values of dimensions A and C held constant. In simple terms, the proportion states that the more relationships in the right-hand lateral quadrant of the paradigm are emphasized, the more those in the left-lateral quadrant must be de-emphasized. Similarly, the more adjacent relationships in the descending vertical quadrant are emphasized, the more those in the ascending vertical quadrant must be attenuated.

The directionality of the development cycle, represented by the arrows in figure 7, thus implies a grouping of the four quadrants of the paradigm into a set of opposed pairs along dimension B_2. For male Ego, the right-lateral and descending vertical quadrants represent relations of the second major phase of Ego's life cycle, while the complementary pair of quadrants represents relations of the first phase of the cycle. The order of the components of dimension B is reversed for female Ego, so that the left lateral and lower vertical pair of quadrants

represent relations of the second phase of the cycle, while the right lateral and upper vertical quadrants denote relations of the first phase. The point is that for an Ego of either sex, the complementary pairs of quadrants contain an equal number of positive and negative values on both B_1 and B_2, so that an emphasis on the relationships represented by either pair of quadrants in the structure of the development cycle leads to a balancing deemphasis of an equivalent set of structural values on the B dimension in the opposite pair of quadrants. It will be recalled that dimension B represents the complementary structural asymmetries of domestic group relations generated by the process of separation and incorporation in the development cycle. The implications of the cancellation of all signs on both components of B produced by relative emphasis on relations in either pair of quadrants (i.e., either of Ego's two consecutive domestic groups) are thus that a symmetrical state of structural equilibrium, in which all asymmetries are balanced and cancelled out in the course of the cycle, is generated by the system regardless of the specific quantitative value of the balance between separation from the natal group and incorporation into the affinal group existing in the system

at a particular historical moment. At the same time, the paradigm bears out the basic principle of the mechanics of the development cycle put forward at the beginning of this section, that any shift in a "vertical" relationship must be balanced in terms of domestic group structure by a corresponding shift in "lateral" relations. Finally, the paradigm makes clear that the structural equilibrium between vertical same-sex and lateral cross-sex relations, and thus of the entire domestic group cycle, depends upon the balance of two complementary principles of asymmetrical dyadic contrast (B_1 and B_2). In all of these respects, as the reader doubtless will have perceived, the paradigm faithfully reflects the structure, not only of the system of domestic group and kinship relations, but of the village community itself.

The implications of the structural parallel between kinship structure and community structure will be taken up in the next section. The point to be made here is that the paradigm presented in figure 7 not only generates the definitions, in social-structural terms, of all the categories of kinship relations, but also makes possible the specification of the systematic relations of covariation prevailing among all the categories of the system. Dimensions

A, B, and C, in short, constitute continuous variables, regulating the variation in the quantitative intensity or degree of all the relationships defined within the paradigm relative to each other. The field defined by the three dimensions represents a state of dynamic equilibrium, whose quantitative value reflects the degree to which Ego is separated from his natal group and integrated into his affinal group.[1]

Space does not permit the working out of every possible relationship of covariation among all the categories of the paradigm. The above example will suffice to demonstrate the method. The empirical pattern of covariation in the Cayapo kinship system will be discussed in the following section.

The extensional definition of the categories of kinship relations. It has been claimed that the paradigm generated by the relations of dimensions A, B, and C defines all the categories of the system of kinship relations and accounts for the mutual covariation of all the categories of the paradigm with respect to the relative degree of quantitative emphasis on relations of separation or incorporation

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[1]The term "quantitative" is used here in a relative sense, without implying specific numerical values.

of each category with Ego. On the basis of these claims, the paradigm represents a valid and sufficient model of the structure of the system of kinship and domestic group relations. The term "structure" is used here to mean the interconnected set of abstract principles governing the organization of the domestic group and kinship system, as distinct from the concrete relationships of which the system is empirically composed. In Lévi-Strauss's terms, the structure of the system, as represented by the paradigm, constitutes a "model built up after" the concrete "social relations" (e.g. "kin types" or, more accurately, specific domestic group or kindred relations, as defined in terms of the appropriate specific features of domestic group structure). The distinction between intension and extension, as I have introduced the terms to denote aspects of the "meaning" of the terminological categories of kinship relations, thus corresponds to Lévi-Strauss's distinction between "structure" and "social relations," as aspects of social organization. "Social relations," in Lévi-Strauss's terms, comprise the "raw material" to which the structural model refers and whose empirical organization it makes intelligible (Lévi-Strauss 1953: 525).

A structural model must not only make intelligible the underlying system of forces which determines the empirical organization of its "raw material," social relations; it must also be capable of generating the empirical or extensional pattern of social relations in terms of the intrinsic characteristics of the system it claims to represent. In other words, the model of kinship structure presented above should also be capable of accounting for the extensional application of the kinship terms to the specific "kin types" associated with each category, given the necessary data bearing on the concrete organization of the system. Three facts are essential for the generation of the extensions of the terminological categories in terms of the structural model. The first of these is the empirical composition of the domestic group, which is the basic unit with reference to which the field of relations defined by the paradigm is generated. [In the Cayapo case, the nuclear family constitutes the domestic group unit.] The second necessary datum is the nature of the sexual contrast within the domestic group structure, which is required for the generation of the variations in the terminology of male and female Ego. In the case of the Cayapo, opposite sexes are asymmetrically related to the domestic group with reference

to the matrilocal residence rule. The third required item of information is the nature of the quantitative balance of lateral and vertical relations in the system: i.e., to what extent separation from the natal group is emphasized relative to incorporation in the affinal group. The paradigm itself is not based on any specific quantitative degree of separation from the natal group and incorporation into the affinal group, since the basic principle of the model is the expression of the covariance of its component relationships and its consequent applicability to a range of variation in the relative quantitative values of each component. The balance of the Cayapo system is heavily biased toward integration in the affinal group, at the expense of Ego's separation from his natal group. The relative quantitative balance of the Cayapo system can thus be indicated by the expression $(E = W) > (B-Z)$.

Given the definition of the domestic group in concrete terms and the relative quantitative balance of the system, the relative degree of separation and incorporation between an Ego of a given sex and every pair of statuses in the system can be specified in terms of the paradigm, according to the principle of direct correlation between lateral and vertical relations in the domestic

group. In approaching the problem of extensional definition of the categories of the paradigm, a difficulty is presented by the fact that the paradigm consists of a set of abstractly defined variables which give no immediate indication of which kinsmen are to be assigned to which category. It is not a system of genealogically defined pigeonholes into which each "kin type" can be fitted automatically without reference to the empirical balance of forces in the system. On the contrary, it is precisely this balance which constitutes the basis of the definition of the categories of the paradigm with reference to the empirical social organization. The problem is how to relate the abstract relational statements of the paradigm to the empirical pattern of relationships in the system.

The principle upon which the paradigm rests--namely, the principle of the direct correlation of lateral and vertical relations in the same domestic group, and the consequent inverse correlation between reciprocal pairs of lateral or vertical relations, representing complementary relationships on either dimension in Ego's two consecutive domestic groups--is also the fundamental principle of the organization of empirical kinship relations. It might therefore be suspected that the same principle is the basis

for generating the extensional groupings of kinsmen which correspond to the categories of the paradigm.

The implication of the principle as stated above is that, for any correlated pair of lateral and vertical relations in the system, there exists a corresponding reciprocal pair with which Ego's relationship will be the inverse of the first, as a result of his standing at the opposite end of the reciprocal relationship with respect to the directionality of the development cycle. The proximate ends of both paired relationships are of more social significance to Ego and the structure of his domestic group than the opposite ends. The inference to be drawn from this pair of considerations is that Ego should emphasize the structural equivalence of paired vertical and lateral relations in the direction of separation from himself in the development cycle, and, reciprocally, emphasize the distinction between vertical and lateral relations among those whose directionality in the development cycle is toward incorporation with him or his domestic group.

These propositions can be generalised into a simple principle which correctly generates the extensions of all the terminological categories, given the empirical balance of the system as it affects the balance between reciprocal

pairs of alternate relationships. The principle, which I shall call the extensional equivalence rule, can be stated in two alternate forms, as follows:

1. Merging form

At a given level of structural contrast,[1] Ego equates the lateral and/or vertical relations from whom a link is separated in the development cycle (relative to his incorporation with Ego or a link), and equates the relations with whom the reciprocal lateral and/or vertical links are incorporated (relative to their separation from Ego or a link in the course of the development cycle).

2. Bifurcating form

At a given level of structural contrast,[1] Ego bifurcates the lateral and/or vertical relations from whom a link is separated in the development cycle (relative to his incorporation with Ego or a link), and bifurcates the relations with whom the reciprocal lateral and/or vertical links are incorporated (relative to their separation from Ego or a link in the course of the development cycle).

Note that the two forms of the rule correspond to dimensions B and C of the paradigm, and that both rules take systematic account of the levels of contrast within the system specified by dimension A. Dimension B, like the merging form of the extensional equivalence rule, classifies

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[1] "Level of structural contrast" = as defined according to dimension A. The field of application of the rules is therefore delimited by A_3. It is because the extensional equivalence rule is defined relative to the levels of contrast generated by dimension A, and dimension A operates by reference to the structure of the domestic group, that the empirical definition of the domestic group is a prerequisite for the application of the rule.

Alters together according to their mode of separation from Ego or a link. The bifurcating form of the rule corresponds to dimension C, which produces within the paradigm a bifurcation of pairs of categories as a complement of the relations of incorporation prevailing between them (or between them and Ego). The merging and bifurcating forms of the extensional equivalence rule generate the same categories that dimensions B and C generate in the paradigm. I shall omit some of the marginal and infrequently applied kin types listed in Appendix II in my discussion of the extensions of the categories, but none of the kin types omitted is "irregular" from the standpoint of the rules, as can readily be ascertained by reference to the Appendix. I shall discuss the extensions for a male Ego only: the principles do not differ for the extensions of a female Ego's categories.

The merging form of the rule by itself generates the extensions of all the categories of the system, with the exception of Ego's spouse (distinguished within the zone of zero structural contrast from B by the bifurcating form of the rule).[1] The rule operates in terms of three

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[1] The merging rule separately generates each sub-category of the superclasses, but it does not rule out of itself the possibility of further merging. The bifurcating form of the rule positively generates the distinctions between the sub-categories of the superclasses.

pairs of reciprocal proportions, each pair representing one of the three levels of structural contrast defined by dimension A. I list the proportions in the order of the levels of contrast to which they apply. The proportions are given with the direct merging equation followed by the reciprocal merging pattern produced by the equation of the reciprocal statuses as links. No causal priority is implied by this ordering.

Terminological categories generated by merging form of extensional equivalence rule.[1]

I. Level of contrast: A_0 (structurally fused relatives as links, merging applies to mutually fused relatives).

		Category Nos.
1a. F = FB = MZH :: FBSC = (FSC = MSC) = MZSC		IIA : III
M = MZ = FBW :: FBDC = (FDC = MDC) = MZDC		IIB : IV
1b. FBS=(FS=MS)=MZS::FBSCC=(FSCC=MSCC)=MZSCC		VII : IV
FBD=(FD=MD)=MZD::FBDCC=(FDCC=MDCC)=MZDCC		VI : IV
2. WZ = BW :: HC = (Hgo C = WC) = WZC		IVA :: III

II. Level of contrast: A_1 (adjacent relatives as links)

3. FZ = FH = MH MB = MF = FF	:: ZC = DC = SC	IB IA } :: IV
4. WB = WF	:: ZH = DH = CDH	X :: V
WZ = WH	:: BW = SW = CSW	IX :: IXA

[1] The equations generated by the rule may be checked against figure 8, facing the following page.

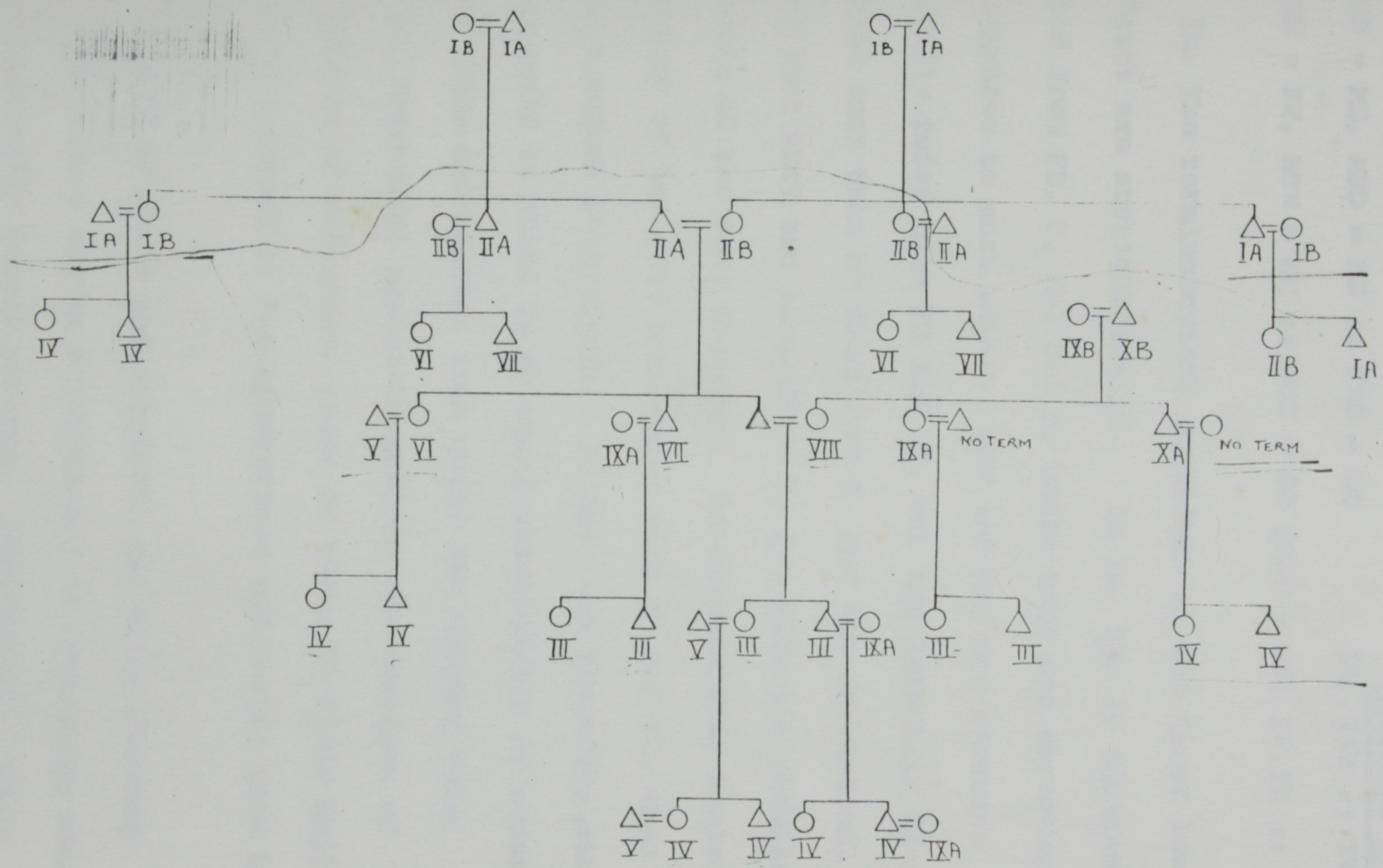

FIG. 8: Genealogical Relations of Male Ego

III. Level of contrast: A_2 (alternate relatives as links)

	Category Nos.
5. MBS = MB, MBD = MZ :: FZC = ZC	IA, IIB :: IV(III)
6. FZH = FF, MBW = MM :: WBC = SC (HBC = DC)	IA, IB :: IV

1a. The terminological equations at the first level of contrast are straightforward. In 1a, Ego is identically separated from FB, F, MZ, and M, since they are structurally fused relative to each other. FBW and MZH are likewise structurally fused with FB and MZ, but are laterally distinguished from them by dimension C- and its extensional form, so that they are identified by Ego with the parallel-sex members of the same category. As structurally equivalent members of the same categories with MZ and FB, they stand in a common relationship to Ego, who therefore considers himself to stand in an equal relationship of separation from them and equates them under the merging rule.

The reciprocal equations reflect the equation of Ego's siblings of respective sexes as links to their children, who are merged in the appropriate categories (see 1b, 2, and 3).

1b. All of Ego's consanguineal and classificatory siblings stand in a common relationship of separation from their (structurally fused) parents. Reciprocally, Ego's

siblings' children stand in the complementary relationship of separation to him and his siblings and are therefore equated as links.

2. BW and WZ are both, from Ego's point of view, separated in an equivalent manner from him as the structurally fused relations of kinswoman with whom Ego considers himself structurally fused in an opposite or complementary sense (W and B). They are accordingly equated under the merging rule.

The reciprocal of BW's and WZ's ambiguous relation of separation from Ego is that they can also be equated as links to their own children with Ego's fused relations (B and W), allowing their children to be terminologically merged with Ego's C.

3. The common relationship of separation in which FM, MM, and FZ, on the one hand, and MB, MF, and FF on the other stand to Ego's F and M has already been described in the exposition of dimension C_1:

Reciprocally, Z and C are equated as links to their children, because they each stand in a relationship of separation from Ego in the second major phase of their life cycles, [illegible] relationship of incorporation in the same domestic group with Ego during the first phase of their cycles (this is the exact reverse of F's

relations to FZ and FM, and M's relations to MB and MF). Just as the latter are merged relative to Ego, therefore, Z and C are equated as links to their children.

4. Ego's relation to W means that she has attenuated her relationship to WF and WB, who are therefore merged by Ego on the basis of their common relationship of separation from W as a link.[1]

Reciprocally, Ego's Z, D, and granddaughters attenuate their relations with him as a result of their marriages. Just as Ego's marriage created a structurally equivalent separation between W and both her B and her F, Ego equates his ZH, DH, and CDH as standing in an equivalent relation of separation from himself, by way of the equation of Z, D, and CD as links.

The equations of WH and WB, and conversely of D, S, and CS as links to BW, SW, and CSW, have an identical basis.

5. The Cayapo, as has been observed on numerous occasions, emphasize marriage at the expense of cross-sex

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[1] WF is merged only within the same superclass as WB: The status remains distinguished from WB by dimension C_2. The same holds true for WZ and WM.

siblingship, and as a corollary stress the parental rather than the avuncular bond in domestic group relations. The emphasis on the parental bond implies that both parents and children are separated from the parents' lateral cross-sex siblings in terms of their common vertical (parental-filial) bond. According to the extensional equivalence rule, the vertical parental bonds therefore constitute foci for terminological equations relative to the opposed vertical bonds to the two sets of parental cross-sex siblings, since the vertical parent-child relationships lead to the relative separation, on the same terms, of both parent and child from the opposed cross-sex parental sibling and his children. The question is, which parental bond is to serve as the basis for the terminological identification? This is where the directionality or bias of the quantitative balance of the system between separation from the natal group and incorporation into the affinal group becomes a crucial consideration. The same set of factors that produce the emphasis in the Cayapo system of filial (vertical) over avuncular and cross-sex sibling (lateral) bonds produces a marked skewing of the balance of the system toward integration in the affinal group, since according to the principle of direct correlation between lateral and vertical relations

within the same domestic group, in order for there to be an emphasis upon the F-S relationship (a vertical relationship in F's affinal group) there must be a corresponding emphasis on the complementary lateral relationship, namely, the F-M (H-W) marriage bond. This means that, from the point of view of Ego as a child in a given domestic group, the paternal relations of males, and therefore their vertical attachment to their affinal groups, are emphasized at the expense of their lateral relations to their female siblings (i.e., their natal groups). This structural bias away from the natal toward the affinal group provides the orientation for the terminological equations. The extensional equivalence rule accordingly operates to equate MBC with MB as separated in a structurally equivalent way from M (as a link incorporated with Ego, who with M is a resident of MB's natal group). Reciprocally, Ego implicitly equates himself with F via Ã via FZC, so that Ego equates FZC with ZC, and thus by implication Z with FZ, as laterally separated from himself relative to his vertical identification with F. The pattern of merging in the cross-cousin terms provides an unusually clear instance of the principle of the inverse correlation of complementary lateral and vertical bonds in

successive phases of the life cycle. Ego's relative separation from his F's natal domestic group, which is the result of the emphasis of vertical parental over lateral sibling relations, results in his identifying himself vertically with his F *vis à vis* his F's natal group, with the result that he, too, assumes a lateral "sibling" relationship (the relationship appropriate to structural separation) toward the group.

6. The final set of equations is the structural complement of the "Omaha" pattern of the cross-cousin terms. The complement of the emphasis on the separation of both of Ego's parents from their cross-sex siblings (FZ and MB) is the latters' establishment of strong marital ties in their respective affinal domestic groups. Just as Ego equates FZ and FM on the basis of their equivalent relationship of separation from F as members of F's natal family, the emphatic integration of FZH into F's natal family, at the cost of F's emphatic displacement from it, leads Ego to equate FZH with FF, as members of F's natal group standing in structurally equivalent relations of separation from F as a link. The equation of MBW with MM is based on equivalent considerations from the

standpoint of female Ego. The structural reciprocal of these equations is the equation by male Ego of WB and S as links to their respective children, and the corresponding equation of HZ with D as links to their children on the part of female Ego. Both WB and S are separated in identical ways from Ego as a firmly integrated member of W's household, since both must leave the household (as consanguineal male members of it) to establish their affinal connections. The merging rule therefore applies equally to their relationship to Ego and to F's relationship to FBS.

The application of the bifurcating form of the extensional equivalence rule has already been dealt with extensively, if not in formal terms, in the examples discussed in connection with dimension C. It will suffice here to list its operations at the three levels of structural contrast, without following comment: The full discussion of the application of the merging form of the rule, and the discussion of most of the problems relating to the bifurcating form in connection with dimension C, make such a discussion unnecessary. I shall denote large categories by only a few representative "kin types" to bring out the character of the operations of the rule more clearly.

Terminological categories generated by bifurcating form of extensional equivalence rule.

		Category Nos.
I. Level of contrast : L_0		
1. B $\neq$ W	:: Z $\neq$ WZ	VII:VIII::VI:IXA
II. Level of contrast: L_1		
2. F $\neq$ M	:: SW $\neq$ DH	IIA:IIB::V:IVA
3. WH $\neq$ WZ[1]	:: [2]	IVB : IXA
III. Level of contrast: L_2		
MB,MF,FF $\neq$ FZ,FM,FF	:: DSH $\neq$ SSW	IA : IB :: V : IXA
WF $\neq$ WZ[1]	:: [3]	IB : IA

The model of the structure of Gayapo kinship relations developed in this section given a sufficient and consistent account of the structure of the system of terminological categories, and generates both the intensional and extensional structure of the kinship terminology on the basis of a set of dimensions representing simple sociological

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[1] The bifurcating form of the rule reasserts the vertical distinction within the superclasses of WM=WZ and WF=WD, formed according to the merging form of the rule.

[2] The reciprocal category contains only a single status (Z), so that it is impossible to bifurcate the category according to the rule.

[3] The reciprocal status category is made up of husbands of female consanguines who are equated as links with the husbands relative to Ego, so it is impossible to bifurcate the category as links.

characteristics of the development cycle in domestic groups. The model makes use of only three dimensions and achieves a coherent and uniform structure, which not only defines all the categories of relations but spontaneously indicates the relations of polar reciprocity between them.

As an "Omaha" terminology associated with a bilateral and matrilocal society, the Cayapo kinship terminology constitutes an anomaly according to theories accounting for Omaha systems on the basis of specific social features such as patrilineages. The difficulty with such theories is that they are incapable of generalization to take account of societies which possess similar terminologies but lack the specific institutions called for in the theory. I would claim as one of the advantages of the solution advanced here that the dimensions of the model are stated as abstract relational terms, capable of being applied to any set of specific social institutions. Another advantage is that the dimensions of the paradigm are defined as continuous variables, capable of generating different extensional terminological patterns relative to the same paradigmatic structure of categories in response to changes in what I have called the "quantitative balance"

of the system. Models of this type, based on the distinction between extensional (quantitative) and intensional (abstract relational) aspects of the structure of the system should prove more valuable for comparative purposes than many currently in use.

The Cayapo kindred. The term "bilateral kindred" has been used to describe the Cayapo kinship system. The analyses of the structure of kinship relations presented in this section makes possible several general observations about the nature of the kindred as an aspect of Cayapo kinship organization. It should be clearly understood at the outset that "bilateral kindred" does not denote a form of social organization, in the sense that the term "clan" denotes a unilineal descent group. The bilateral kindred is defined as the field of Ego's personal kin relations as seen from the standpoint of Ego. "Bilateral kindred" is thus a term for an analytical or structural point of view, not a name for a type of kinship system or group (Mitchell 1963: 344). As such, the bilateral kindred is a universal feature of all societies, and is not confined to societies lacking lineal descent. The bilateral kindred, representing the structural viewpoint of a central Ego, must be distinguished from the cognatic stock, which is

based on the reckoning of genealogical connections with reference to a common pair or group of ancestors (Goodenough 1961: 1363 and Mitchell 1963: 344 have contributed to clarifying this distinction, obscured by Freeman 1961: 199-200). As a network of kinship relations reckoned outwards from Ego, the Gayapo kindred is symmetrical in the range of its extension on both paternal and maternal sides: The normal range of reckoning of kindred relationships seldom exceeds two generations in any direction. As reference to figure 7 helps to make clear, this range corresponds to the conceptual structure of the categories of relationship within the kindred, which is based on a range of two consecutive degrees of structural distance outward from the central position of Ego in both lateral and vertical directions.

The symmetry in the bilateral range of the kindred does not imply that all relationships within the kindred are symmetrically emphasised. As the preceding analysis has revealed, the structure of Gayapo kinship relations rests on a fundamentally asymmetrical bias, characterised by the emphasis of affinal over natal group relations in the second phase of Ego's life cycle, which in turn creates an emphasis on patrilateral over matrilateral, and

adjacent over alternate relationships (cf. Freeman's assertion that kindreds per se are characterized by "internal undifferentiation"--i.e., lack of asymmetrical bias--between patrilateral and matrilateral relations: Freeman 1961: 203-4). A fundamental property of the Cayapo kindred is that it changes its membership, and therefore its structural composition, in the course of Ego's life cycle, as a result of the inclusion of the affines of Ego and Ego's siblings and children in the kindred in the second phase of the life cycle. The dynamic structure of the kindred can thus be understood as a function of the incorporation of affines into the kindred as "kinsmen"(ẽ-bikwa).[1]

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[1]Freeman's insistence that the bilateral kindred must be universally defined to exclude affinal relations, for which he advances no support beyond a plea for the preservation of the etymological purity of the Anglo-Saxon root for the term, is the most serious of the many shortcomings of his analysis of the kindred, as Mitchell (1963: 351) has pointed out (cf. Freeman 1961: 201-202). Freeman's concern with etymology leads him, in my opinion, to ignore this very feature as one of the outstanding characteristics of the kindred among the Iban: cf. Freeman 1960: 70-71, especially the apparent identity in the meaning of the Iban term kaban, which refers to affines as well as kin and serves as a designation for Ego's most inclusive category of kinship relations, and the Cayapo ẽ-bikwa.

The nature of the kindred as a conceptual category does not preclude the formation of social groups based on kindred relations for specific purposes, such as fights or joint residence. The distinction made by Freeman between the latter as "kindred-based action groups" and the kindred itself as a conceptual category must nevertheless be maintained (Freeman 1961: 203). The distinction is fundamental, for example, to a proper understanding of Cayapo "matrilocality," which is emphatically not based on considerations of descent or "lineage" per se, but upon common relationship on the part of the women of the household in terms of the bilateral kindred. The Cayapo "matrilocal" household is thus a special case of a "kindred based group" in Freeman's sense--one that achieves a corporate identity through an asymmetrical (sexual) delimitation of the field of bilateral kinsmen who may become resident adult members of the household. The possibility of organising corporate groups based on kinship relations on the basis of an arbitrary delimitation of bilateral kindred relations (which obviously is closely related to the extent of the range over which kindred relationships are reckoned--the "structural amnesia" of Cayapo genealogical memory is a factor here) has been largely ignored in anthropological

writings and deserves to receive more consideration.

A further characteristic of the Cayapo kindred is that it constitutes an exogamous category: Ego's personal affines, once they have become incorporated into Ego's kindred by virtue of Ego's marriage, are not able to marry any kinsman of Ego.

The "optative" character of relationships defined in terms of the bilateral kindred, deriving from their personal nature and their removal--at least in their capacity as "kindred" relations--from jural-political considerations, has been emphasised by Freeman (1961:210) and other writers on the kindred (Campbell 1963: 80). As was pointed out in Chapter IV (section V.B), the optative character of Cayapo kinship relations is highly developed, and is greatly extended by the institution of adoptive kinship. It may be emphasised that there is no inherent contradiction between a high degree of variability in the pattern of emphases at the extensional level of the system (concrete social relations) and the rigidity of the intensional structure of the kindred as a set of conceptual categories.

A final point about the structure of the Cayapo kindred is that the nuclear family, as the basic domestic

group unit, and not the individual, is the fundamental structural component of the system (for a parallel observation concerning bilateral systems see Goodenough 1961: 1344-5).

Ritual symbolism, etiquette, and formal exchange-alliance as aspects of adjacent and alternate relations. The relationships between and among contrasting pairs of lateral and vertical relationships have been treated up to this point almost entirely with reference to adjacent relations. The discussion of the extensions of the alternate categories of the terminology, however, has touched upon the second order of lateral and vertical contrast within the system, namely, the contrast between opposed pairs of alternate relationships. As the discussion brought out in connection with several examples, the character of alternate relations from the standpoint of Ego derives from the fact that the lateral separation between Ego and his cross-sex sibling, and the concomitant lateral integration between Ego and his spouse, lead to a further lateral bifurcation between Ego and his category of affines, typified by his spouse's opposite-sex sibling but also including one or both of the spouse's vertical natal group kinsmen (WF or HM and HF). This laterally bifurcated category constitutes, from the standpoint of a child of either of the separated siblings, his ascending

vertical alternate category. Ego's relationship as a child to both of his parents (vertical adjacent incorporation) is the inverse of his parents' relationship to the members of Ego's alternate category, which Ego defines as vertical alternate separation, even though the separation between the parental and alternate categories is predominantly lateral from the standpoint of the parents and alternates themselves. Reciprocally, all of Ego's alternates including those of his parents' generation (MB, FZ) classify him as an alternate vertical descending relation. In short, Ego and his alternate vertical relatives are related indirectly to each other by virtue of their inverse relationships to a common adjacent relative upon the same dimension of structural orientation. This holds true of alternates of both sexes, but the structural inversion is more pronounced and exact between alternates of the same sex, for the same reason that adjacent vertical relations of the same sex are structural polar reciprocals in a sense that adjacent vertical cross-sex relations are not--namely, because they are symmetrically contrasted with respect to the residence rule.

The relationships of vertical same-sex alternate relatives to the medial adjacent vertical relative are not

merely formal inversions of each other: they are mutual prerequisites and complements in terms of the development cycle. Ego's parents only achieve their relationship of separation fromthe kinsmen of Ego's alternate category through their attachment to Ego and his siblings, and reciprocally, Ego owes his incorporation with his parents in his natal domestic group to the structural separation of his parents from the alternate relations. The corollary of the fact that Ego's parents' relationship to him is the structural complement and inverse of the parents' relationships with his alternate relatives is that Ego's own relationship with his parents must replicate the separation of his parents from his alternate relatives with the fission of his natal domestic group. This consideration represents a third aspect of the vertical alternate relationship: not only does it constitute a formal inversion with respect to the mediating adjacent relative (Ego's parent), and a mutually entailing pair of complementary developments in terms of the domestic group cycle, but the pair of adjacent relations that make up the alternate relationship (the alternates' relation to Ego's parents, and Ego's parents' relation to Ego) represent complementary phases of the same structural relationship (that between parents and children, as the pair of

adjacent vertical statuses joined within a single domestic group) as it is modified in consecutive phases of the life cycle, reflecting Ego's membership in his two successive domestic groups. This last aspect of the relationship is the most important from the point of view of the continuity of the social structure, for it indicates that the parents' structural incorporation with Ego must not surpass a degree of closeness or intensity that is the complement, in terms of the development cycle process, of the degree of structural separation between the parents and the alternate relatives, if the development cycle of consecutive domestic groups is to continue in a state of equilibrium. In dynamic as well as static terms, therefore, Ego and his ascending vertical alternate relations represent opposite poles of the identical structural relationship vis à vis Ego's parent as the medial adjacent relative.

An examination of the structure of the vertical alternate relationship in terms of the paradigm of kinship and the analysis of the development cycle in domestic groups presented in previous sections of this chapter leads to a characterization of the relationship as one of equivalence or identity in terms of the same relational dimension vis à vis the common medial adjacent link. The fact that the two

alternate statuses constitute opposite poles or phases of the relationship entails an emphasis on asymmetry or polarity between the two statuses as the predominant characteristic of their "identity." The terms "equivalence" and "identity" and the relationship they denote must therefore be distinguished from the relationship of structural "fusion," e.g., that between same-sex siblings. The latter is defined as a state of parallel contrast on all dimensions with all other relevant domestic group statuses: the former is defined in terms of polar opposition on a single dimension with respect to a single medial status. Finally, the "identity" of alternate relations implies mutual separation from the common adjacent relative: if Ego's parents' incorporation with Ego as a child is the structural concomitant of the parents' separation from the alternate relative, the same relation on the part of the parent implies, by the same token, the separation of Ego from the parent in the succeeding phase of Ego's life cycle. All of these aspects of the vertical alternate relationship are shared to some extent by alternate relations of both sexes but are most pronounced, for the reasons stated above, between vertical alternate relatives of the same sex.

The characteristics of the vertical alternate relationship summarized above represent sociological characteristics

derived solely from an analysis of the domestic group and the individual life cycles, yet they exactly describe the principle features of the major Cayapo ritual complex, the giving of ceremonial names and the associated bestowal of ceremonial privileges and regalia, including membership in ceremonial societies, denoted by the term nêkrêtch. Names and nêkrêtch are passed asymmetrically from senior to junior alternate relations, almost always of the same sex. The bestowal by the senior vertical alternate category of its personal names on the junior polar reciprocal category is a dramatic assertion of the "identity" of the statuses involved. The piaêm (shame, inhibition) and reluctance individuals feel in connection with uttering their own personal names is simultaneously indicative of the complementarity and separateness involved in the relation of structural equivalence or identity symbolized by the name. The dietary taboos attached to ceremonial names and membership in ceremonial societies epitomize the structural nature of the alternate relationship as one of unity-in-separation. The 'ĩ-ngêt and tab-djuè are united in their abstinence from the specified animal, and by the same token are united in opposition to all members of the community who "eat anything," i.e., "common" or "worthless" people, mẽ kakrit. This opposition corresponds to

the opposition between members of ceremonial societies (membership in which is received from an 'ĩ-ngêt or kwa-tuy) and "the people with nothing" (i.e., no special ceremonial role or privilege), the mẽ bâ kum kati. The contrast is reflected in the classification of animals themselves into mrù kakrit ("common" or "worthless" animals) and mrù mêtch ("fine" or "desirable" animals), which may be eaten by the possessors of ceremonial names.

The "identity" of alternate relatives is expressed in many ways outside of formal ritual symbolism. As we have seen, tab-djuò are said physically to resemble their 'ĩ-ngêt or kwa-tuy (depending on the sex of the tab-djuò). The linguistic connotation of the term "tab-djuò" itself is "something the same as" or "identical with" the speaker.[1] It is said to be desirable for male tab-djuò to succeed their 'ĩ-ngêt in the chieftaincy. 'ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuy teach their tab-djuò specialized items of knowledge such as medicines (kanê) which are identified among the Cayapo as the property of specific individuals. The bestowal of ceremonial nêkrêtch, including common membership in ceremonial societies, such as the bird society (mẽ àk-re) in the Bẽmp, carries on the same theme.

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[1]See the glossary at the end of Appendix II, entry for /tam-/.

The ceremonial emphasis on the identification of 'ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuy with their tab-djuò is complemented by the ritual emphasis upon the danger and unviability of a similar identification or close association between parents (bam, "fathers," and mã, "mothers") and their children (krn). Most significant of all symbolic expressions of this incompatibility is the prohibition upon parents bestowing their names upon their own children, on the grounds that it would cause the children to die before they reached the mã âk-re or mã kurêrê-re age grades. As a glance at figures 5 and 6 will show, these are the age grades in which a boy or girl first achieves a measure of social independence from the parents, the girl by taking lovers and attaining puberty, the boy by moving to the men's house. The belief that the conferring of parental names upon children would prevent them from surviving to this stage in their life cycles constitutes a symbolic expression of the belief that the "identification" of parents with their children, which would be connoted by name giving, would conflict with the achievement by the children of the social independence, i.e., separation from the parents, which is the normal corollary of the life cycle process. The prohibition of participation by a child's parents in a ceremony in which their child is receiving names,

although they are expected to bear all the labor and expense of providing the celebrants with food, is a further expression of the same theme. Both prohibitions epitomize the complementarity of the assertion of identity between alternate relatives and the separation of adjacent relatives (children and parents), which is the structural foundation for the symbolic relationship of name giving.

The observance by a child's parents of the dietary restrictions attached to the ceremonial name it receives from its 'ĩ-ngêt or kwa-tuy expresses the parents' recognition of the relationship between the child and the alternate relative. The teknonymy associated with ceremonial names (practiced for the most part by the children who have actually received the names toward their parents) symbolizes the parents' reciprocal recognition of the relationship between their child and the name-giving alternate relative in much the same way.

The observance of food taboos is not confined to the possessors of ceremonial names. It is enjoined upon the parents and siblings of an individual whenever he or she is sick, or while he is an infant in the period immediately following his birth before his "skin is hard" (kè thvtch). The association of dietary taboos with the condition of the skin is a recurrent theme. Breaking of a dietary taboo by Ego or any

of the other kinsmen expected to observe it on his behalf is said to lead to skin disease. Disease itself is thought to result from the penetration of the skin by alien substances (see Appendix I). These beliefs, coupled with the idea that the new-born infant's skin is "unhardened" and "weak" (*rerek*) for some days after birth suggest that the skin is thought of as the boundary of the individual as a social as well as a physical being, and therefore as symbolic of his social distinctness and separateness from individuals of other categories within the social structure. The piercing of the skin by alien pathogenic material represents one form of "confusion of categories" in this sense. Conversely, the infant's skin is "weak" at first because it has not yet firmly established its social distinctness from its parents and siblings. Eating is also a crossing of the "boundary" of the skin, and eating the "wrong" food, e.g., an animal ritually tabooed by association with a ceremonial name, is therefore symbolically equivalent to ignoring the distinction between Ego's social category and a distinct social category symbolized by the dietary restriction.[1] Similarly, illness is itself

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[1] It is relevant to point out once again the close association of eating with kinship relations among the Cayapo. Not only are one's kin those with whom one eats, but the words for "kinsman" and "mouth" bear a linguistic resemblance approximating to that of passive and active forms of the same expression (see glossary at end of Appendix II, entry for /-kwm/.

conceived as a weakening of the "boundary" of the individual, socially as well as physically. This is expressed not only in the Cayapo etiology of disease as the intrusion of alien substances into the body, but in the commonest curative practices, such as painting the skin red, the color which symbolizes vigor and health.

The point of this digression on the symbolism of skin and disease in the present connection is that it is from the adjacent vertical and lateral relatives, Ego's parents and siblings, that the greatest danger of confusing or obscuring Ego's "boundaries" as a distinct social being are thought to come whenever they are undermined by an antisocial force like disease. Conversely, the observance by WM and WF of the dietary restrictions for a sick DH emphasizes the degree of integration of DH into their household as their "kinsman." The asymmetry of the taboo observance as between parents and children (children do not observe the taboo for all parents) is consistent with this explanation, since the structural position of parents in the domestic group is already established and in no danger of being socially affected by too close an association with their children.

The birth of children is more essential to the establishment of the father's social position than the mother's in

the Cayapo domestic group system, and it is consistent with the considerations set forth in the last several paragraphs that the father should take special precautions to insure the social "separation" of the child, to counterbalance the heightened extent to which his social relations at both the domestic group and men's house level lead him to emphasize his association with the child. The extreme form of ritual "couvade" restrictions enjoined upon fathers for the period their children's skin requires to harden after birth, preceded and followed by the mẽ tuyarô and mẽ kra karò restrictions, are structurally explicable in these terms.

The most convincing evidence that the ceremonial complex built around the bestowing of names by 'ĩ-ngêt and kwa-tuy upon their tab-djuò is directed toward asserting the complementary separation of children from their parents as a means of restoring the continuity and equilibrium of the development cycle, temporarily disrupted by the separation of both parents from their natal group kin infavor of incorporation with each other and their children in a new domestic group, is the fact that name-giving ceases when children reach the ôk-re and kurêrê-re age grades. These age grades, as noted above, mark the accession of social independence from the parents (though not yet the complete independence of adulthood symbolized by the boys' Mẽmu--mẽ 'ĩ-tuk and the girls"

mɛ̃ kray-tuk). Note that secondary burial of children also terminates with the attainment of the same age grades. Secondary burial is necessary because the child has not yet attained social independence from its parents and natal kin, and therefore requires a special period of transition before it is ready to make the journey (in the company of the ghost of an adult kinsman) to the village of the dead. It is only during the same period of a child's life, and for the same reasons, that the ritual emphasis upon the separation of children from their parents through identification with their alternate ascending kinsmen makes sense in terms of the structure of the domestic group. After this period, boys are already separated in the men's house and girls are beginning to have suitors: their natal nuclear family, whose solidarity the naming ceremonies serve to counterbalance, is, in short, well along in the process of fission and replacement.

A further ritual expression of the structural identification of 'ĩ-ngêt and kyn-tuv with tib-diuè at the expense of the latters' bonds with their parents is the contrasting roles of parents and 'ĩ-ngêt and kyn-tuv in titre de présence. While a boy's parents wail to mark their separation from him in the ôk and again in the mɛ̃ 'ĩ-tuk, his 'ĩ-ngêt and kyn-tuv follow him out of his house and stand or dance with him in the ceremony. The same occurs in the girls' kray-tuk. The

ceremonial father and mother in the respective boys' and girls' ceremonies help to emphasize the separation of the boy or girl from the adjacent ascending same-sex relation.

A final aspect of ritual activity and symbolism associated with the attenuation of adjacent relationships is the krùb-djuò (ceremonial companion) relationship. The main ritual functions of the krùb-djuò, in name-giving ceremonies and all life-crisis rites including initiation, birth, death, and marriage (the mẽ kamrô), as well as in introducing a younger krùb-djuò back into the village after a meat attack following a nut-gathering expedition, have been described in Chapter IV. Kant the relationship is patrilineal, but can also be formed anew for ceremonial purposes in any ceremony or even outside the ceremonial context, after the manner of an adoptive kin bond, and that maternal krùb-djuò have a rough joking relationship with their female krùb-djuò's children and may "punish" them for misdemeanors have also been mentioned. Krùb-djuò have, in fact, a vigorous joking relation with all of each other's close affinal and maternal relations, especially each other's spouses. The joking is frankly sexual between the sexes, and is accompanied by an actual exchange of spouses during some naming ceremonies. Between same-sex joking partners the content of the joking

is abusive and aggressive. Old women and young men adopt neutral "ridiculous" themes for their joking, such as calling upon each other to come join in a mock dance in the plaza, when no ceremony is being performed, etc. In contrast, both krèb-djuè show the deepest respect for each other, avoiding as far as possible speaking directly to each other and never borrowing or using the other's belongings. On the other hand, krèb-djuè are expected to support each other in fights resulting from disputes. Most importantly, they function as ceremonial mediaries in every major ritual between the individual and the relationship or separation of relationships symbolically affirmed in the ceremony. The question is, why should the relationship be patrilineal? The answer, it would seem, is that the krèb-djuè relationship simultaneously gives a ritual representation, and hence a form of symbolic control within the ritual system, to the structurally emphasized paternal relationship, at the same time that it emphasizes its "forbidden" quality in terms of the extreme inhibitions and near avoidance enjoined upon krèb-djuè.

The formal behaviors or etiquette (to use the term in Radcliffe-Brown's sense, 1952: 107) associated with the three degrees of structural distance on the vertical dimension vary systematically along lines similar to the contrasting

forms of ritual symbolism reviewed above. Relations with Ego's structurally fused same-sex sibling and spouse, at his own generational level, are free and unrestrained by any rules of formal etiquette. Adjacent ascending relations change during the first phase of the development cycle from a similar state of relaxed unrestraint to a moderately restrained, respectful relation (this is true of boys far more than of girls). The restraint is asymmetrical: Ego's parents do not show restraint toward him. Finally, the formal etiquette attached to vertical alternate relations (relations between 'i-ngôt and kwo-tuy and their tah-djuò) exemplifies, as noted at several points in Chapter IV, the form of relationship Radcliffe-Brown called "friendship."

Radcliffe-Brown, in one of his most brilliant insights, suggested that "friendship" in its various forms, including joking relations and relations of respect or avoidance, belonged in a larger class of relationships he grouped under the terms "alliance" or "consociation." He distinguished four "modes" of this class of relationships, including intermarriage, exchange of goods or services, exchanges of names or sacra, and the joking relationship (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 102). Slightly rephrased, his general definition of the principle embodied in all of these "modes" of the relationship is that all constitute means by which two

structurally separate statuses are brought into an indirect relationship through the complementary relation of both to a third category (which may be an object of exchange, a mutual kinsman, or both, e.g., a wife in a prescriptive alliance system). The complementarity of the relationships of both polar statuses to the medial category simultaneously involves separateness and interdependence, particularly since it is usually the case that the indirect relationship is only established through the detachment of the medial category from one of the polar statuses in order to permit its attachment to the other (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 110).

The relationship between alternate vertical statuses in the Cayapo kindred fits Radcliffe-Brown's definition of alliance and exchange relations in every particular. The definition has the merit of emphasizing the nature of the role of the intervening adjacent relations in the structure of the "alliance" relationship, as the indispensable mediating "third categories" through which the indirect relationship between the alternate statuses is established. That the ritual symbolism associated with vertical adjacent (parent-child) relationships is consistently the inverse of that associated with alternate relations, is in accord with the structural relationship between the two classes of relations in terms of Radcliffe-Brown's analysis of the exchange-

alliance relationship.

Lateral relations are organized in terms of the same structural pattern of exchange-alliance as are vertical relations. The alternate lateral relations (same-sex siblings-in-law) of male and female Ego have been described in section V-C of Chapter IV, and a brief supplementary account will suffice here. Female Ego, as a permanent resident of her natal matrilocal household, exchanges her relationship with her male sibling for her relationship to her husband within her own household. Male Ego, on the other hand, is separated from his natal household, the locus of his relationship to his sister, and establishes residence in his affinal household, the locus of his relationship with his wife and mother-in-law. In a formal sense, the Cayapo system may therefore be described, following Lévi-Strauss's suggestion, as a system in which men are exchanged between women, inasmuch as women form the fixed alternate poles of the exchange and men constitute the mobile components which pass from one pole to the other (Lévi-Strauss 1960: 284). It is not necessary to elaborate upon all the implications of this formulation to recognize that, as a metaphor, it provides some insight into the contrast between the formal behaviors associated with the relation between sisters-in-law

and that between brothers-in-law. The relationship between HZ and BW, the two poles of the exchange, is characterized by "friendship," mild joking, lack of restraint, and mutual visiting in each other's houses. The form of their relationship is well adapted to their status as members of local groups whose separateness is not in question, who have been brought into an indirect relationship through their complementary attachments to their respective B and H. The requirement that the latter must avoid either house when the two women come together in it for a visit expresses the incompatibility of his attachments to both women as representatives of opposite local groups.

The relationship between ZH and WB is the inverse in every respect of the sister-in-law relationship. Instead of being members of two distinct local groups linked to each other indirectly by the exchange of a woman from one group to the other, they are related indirectly through complementary attachments to the same woman in the same local group. For the same reasons that men must avoid their Z and W when they gather in the same house, ZH and WB must avoid each other within the single household that forms the focus of their mutual relationship. In terms of the metaphor of the exchange of men between women, they are opposed to each

other as "taken in exchange" and "given in exchange," respectively, whereas HZ and BW are by contrast opposed as "donor" and "recipient." As the components of an asymmetrical exchange standing in opposite relationships to the same exchanging status, the structural incompatibility between ZH and WB is emphasized in the etiquette of their relationship, which is characterized by mutual restraint and avoidance.

Adjacent lateral relations are the opposite, in terms of the formal behaviors associated with them, of alternate lateral relations, although the opposition takes inverse forms for the two sexes. Adjacent lateral relations are marked by the same mixture of solidarity and restraint characteristic of adjacent vertical relations except that the symmetry of the lateral relations is much less marked. The moderate restraint a man shows to his Z and HZ is the opposite of his extreme pinàn and avoidance of his WB and ZH as much as a woman's restraint towards her B or ZH is the inverse of her unrestrained bantering relations with her HZ and BW: only the direction of the opposition is different in the two cases. Inversion and complementarity are thus as marked in the contrast between adjacent and alternate relations on the lateral as on the vertical dimension.

The major structural difference between lateral and vertical alternate relations is that lateral adjacent and alternate relations are of the same phase of the development cycle and are therefore symmetrically related to each other in terms of mutual separation and incorporation. There is no continuing process of separation and incorporation on the lateral dimension. All of Ego's lateral relations, being of parallel stages of the life cycle with himself, die at the end of his own cycle and the members of descending generations form their own lateral relationships anew. The fact that lateral relations do not continue to fluctuate with each consecutive domestic group cycle, in the manner of vertical relationships, means that there is no dynamic relationship between the assertion of lateral alternate relations and the reseparation of adjacent or fused relations in the following phase of the cycle. No doubt for this reason, lateral alternate relationships have little expression in ritual. The prestations between sisters-in-law at the close of the mə̃ 'ĩ-tuk initiation ceremony, and the visits of ME to the BW's house during the same ceremony to retrieve her B's ceremonial regalia, are the only examples I encountered.

That adjacent lateral relationships are symmetrical with respect to their mutual relations of separation and incorporation should not be allowed to distract attention from the directional asymmetry of lateral relationships, a trait shared (in a much less marked degree) with vertical relationships. The asymmetry of the WB-ZH and BW-HZ relations derives, like that between alternate vertical relationships, from the succession of consecutive phases of the life cycle and the directionality of the development cycle in domestic groups. Even though WB and ZH are in parallel phases of the life cycle, ZH is a member, in the second phase of his life cycle, of the household of which WB was a member during the first phase of his cycle: the fission of WB's natal domestic group is synonymous with the formation of ZH's affinal domestic group in its place. The quantitative balance of the system with respect to attachment to the affinal over the natal group is founded upon this asymmetry. It is because the marriage of the spouse's cross-sex sibling with Ego's cross-sex sibling--e.g., the marriage of WB with Z--would contravene the basic asymmetrical bias of the system that it is not permitted. The Cayapo express the reasons for the prohibition in terms of the nuances of pinùm which differentiate the relations of ZH and WB to each other. As

described in Chapter IV (sections IV B and V C), ZH shows stronger piaàm toward WB than vice versa. The Cayapo say that for WB to marry Z would cause "'ì-djuò ahenopiaàm" ("the sisters' husbands to have piaàm for each other")--i.e., would upset the asymmetry of the balance of piaàm between ZH and WB--and regard this situation as self-evidently intolerable.

The conclusions of the discussion up to this point may be summarized as follows. The structure of the sets of adjacent and alternate relationships on both lateral and vertical dimensions is of the type Radcliffe-Brown denoted by the term "alliance," under which term he also classified relations of formal exchange of gifts or services. The alliance or exchange relationships on both dimensions are asymmetrical with reference to the directionality of the development cycle. The relationships defined according to the vertical dimension are also asymmetrical with respect to the sequence of relations of separation and incorporation of the respective Alters in their natal and affinal domestic groups, but are symmetrically repeated in each domestic group cycle, whereas the relationships defined upon the lateral dimension are symmetrical with respect to both Alters' sequence of natal and affinal domestic group associations, but are, for

this very reason, terminal and non-reptitive from the standpoint of a given Ego. This factor lends to vertical relationships a greater degree of importance to the continuity of the system than lateral relationships. The central role of vertical relations in the ritual system, which revolves primarily around the prestation of ceremonial names and nê krêtch between vertical alternate relatives, reflects this importance. Lateral relations are expressed primarily in terms of formal behaviors or etiquette.

In terms of the emphasis in the present analysis upon the nature of the structural dimensions of the system as continuous quantitative variables, whose values vary relative to each other as a function of the balance of emphasis on natal and affinal group bonds in the course of the individual's life cycle, the structural equivalence of the lateral and vertical relationships of Ego with formal exchange relations takes on a dynamic and quantitative, as well as a static and formal significance. The inverse correlation of complementary adjacent relationships on the same dimension in consecutive phases of the life cycle (e.g., B-Z vs. H-W; S-F vs. F-S) has previously been shown to follow from the principle of the direct correlation of lateral

and vertical adjacent relations within a given domestic group in a single phase of the life cycle. It follows directly from the former (inverse) correlation that adjacent relations on a given dimension vary inversely as alternate relations on the same dimension with respect to a common medial Alter: e.g., the lateral adjacent relationship between H and W varies inversely, with respect to degree of incorporation within a common domestic group, as the complementary lateral adjacent relationship between Z and B (and therefore between W and WB), and therefore as the alternate relationship between ZH and WB. The co-occurrence of a close relationship between husband and wife and a relationship between ZH and WB in which "distance" and near-avoidance are emphasized has been amply documented for the Cayapo. In itself this is scarcely surprising in a matrilocal system and might be explained on other grounds than the principle of inverse variation of adjacent and alternate relations advanced here. It is in the relationships of female Ego that the principle predicts confirmable results which are at variance with commonsense expectations. From the standpoint of female Ego, the medial Alter is male (the brother or husband): the principle therefore states that Z-B varies inversely as H-W (B-BW), and therefore as HZ-BW. In other words, the more the relation between

brothers and sisters is attenuated, the closer will be the relation between sisters and their brothers' wives. This inference agrees completely with the close ZH-BW relationship among the Cayapo, as described earlier in this section and in Chapter IV.

The lateral relations of both male and female Ego thus consist of opposed pairs of adjacent relationships, either of which can increase in value (degree of incorporation) only at the expense of the other--i.e., an increase in the degree of incorporation or solidarity of one alternate status with the medial Alter can only be achieved through a corresponding surrender of incorporation with Alter on the part of the opposite alternate status. The alternate relations on both dimensions may therefore be said to involve "exchange" in the quantitative as well as the formal sense.

As the basic principle of the direct variation of adjacent lateral and vertical relations implies, vertical alternate relations between Alters of a given sex vary directly as lateral alternate relations between Alters of the same sex. With reference to descending vertical alternate relations, a category not structurally bifurcated according to sex, this rule implies that the relations of an ascending vertical alternate relative of a given sex to his tab-djuò

of both sexes vary directly as the lateral alternate relations of Alters of that sex to each other. The extension of the basic principle of covariance of lateral and vertical relations to alternate relations implies that, among the Cayapo, female vertical alternate relations will be relatively much closer than male vertical alternate relations (i.e., kwa-tuy will be more closely related to tab-djuò of both sexes in the domestic group context than will 'ĩ-ngôk, as a direct corollary of the fact that the MZ-BW relationship is closer than the ZH-WB relationship). This inference is confirmed by many details of domestic group relations and ritual behavior reported in the previous chapter, outstanding among which are the role of kwa-tuy in the boys' initiation (relatively far more emphasized than the role of the boys' 'ĩ-ngâk), the reciprocal naming pattern by which kwa-tuy give their male tab-djuò their own (female) ceremonial names with the proviso that the male tab-djuò will bestow the names in return upon the women's granddaughters, and the "joking in connection with the tab-djuò"-ceremony in which kwa-tuy don their male tab-djuòs' clothes.

Conversely, the rituals linking boys to their 'ĩ-ngâk, including the naming ceremonies and the activities of the ceremonial societies, membership in which is passed

down by 'ĩ-ngât to tab-djuà, uniformly emphasize the separation of the 'ĩ-ngât relationship from Ego's domestic group relations. It is significant that the versions of the same or equivalent ceremonies among related Northwestern Ge tribes in whose social systems the separation of cross-sex siblings is less emphasized than among the Cayapo symbolically stress the central place of the alternate relationship in the structure of Ego's kinship relations. Among the Apinaye and Canella, for example, there are ceremonies associated with names, but the form of the relationship of the names to the ceremonies is the reverse of that prevailing among the Cayapo. In these two societies, individuals who have received certain names from the alternate kinsmen who are the equivalents of 'ĩ-ngât or kwa-tuy have the obligation periodically to sponsor the ceremony associated with the name: the name itself is not transferred in the ceremony, as among the Cayapo (Nimuendaju 1939:22-3). The Canella and Apinaye ceremonies thus express and re-emphasize a relationship whose established existence is taken for granted, whereas the Cayapo ceremonies have as their object the symbolic establishment of the relationship through the efforts and expense of Ego's adjacent domestic group relations (his parents). The vertical alternate relationship established by the ceremony is structurally

opposed to (i.e., varies inversely as) the parents' adjacent relationship to the child: the opposition and incompatibility of the identification of the tab-djuò and 'ĩ-ngôt with the tab-djuò's relationship to his own parents is stressed in all Cayapo ritual expressions of the relationship (e.g., the prohibition on the parents' eating the food they prepare for the celebrants of their child's naming ceremony, and on their participation in the ceremony itself). This balance between identification and exclusion is symbolized by the "exclusiveness" of the ceremonial names and ceremonial societies themselves. The ceremonial societies, like the ceremonial names, represent exclusive groupings opposed to a residual category of all other members of the society who do not share that particular form of symbolic identification with the 'ĩ-ngôt. The emphasis in both cases is on the contrast between identification with the 'ĩ-ngôt and the separation of those so identified from others not so identified: neither the residual category nor those ceremonially identified with the 'ĩ-ngôt are bifurcated on a moiety basis. The unity-in-separation theme is spatially expressed through the location of the activities of the ceremonial societies in an unbifurcated area in the exact center of the plaza (see figure 2), the point of greatest

spatial separation from both the family houses and men's houses within the confines of the village. The relatively peripheral nqàn and family houses are occupied by the mã bê kum knti ("people with nothing"), who are thus collectively opposed, on a concentric basis, to the mã ã nêkrêtch of the ceremonial plaza. By contrast, among the Canella, membership in the various groups based on the 'ĩ-nrêt--tab-djuò bond is universal, there is no special class of ceremonial names like that of the Cayapo, and both ceremonial societies and names are divided into opposing moiety groupings. In other words, the 'ĩ-nrêt--tab-djuò relationship is not treated as implying the exclusive separation of those so related from others, but as a central structural principle with reference to which Ego's relations with all other members of the society are organized.

This brief comparison will suffice to indicate that the relative separation of the 'ĩ-nrêt from Ego's domestic group among the Cayapo is reflected in the details of the ritual symbolization of the relationship, in spite of the great ceremonial emphasis on the relationship itself. The ritual expression of the close relationship of the kym-tuw with the male tab-djuò discussed above, and the symbolism associated with the 'ĩ-nrêt--tab-djuò relationship just described, accurately reflect the relative degrees of structural separation

and incorporation of the two categories of ascending alternate relations with Ego as predicted on the basis of the "exchange" model and the associated hypothesis of "quantitative" variation put forward above.

The ritual expression of a relatively close relationship with the kwa-tuy, as contrasted with the relative separation of the 'ĩ-nôĉt and his identification with an opposed group structurally fused with himself relative to Ego's natal group, reflects the same pattern on the level of ritual symbolism that is expressed by the skewing pattern in the kinship terminology. The model developed in this section accounts for both sets of phenomena in terms of the same set of principles.

The structure of the system of kinship and domestic group relations, as analyzed in this section, can be summarized as follows:

1) The basic structural principle of the system is that adjacent lateral (cross-sex) and vertical (same-sex) relations within a given domestic group and phase of the life cycle are directly correlated, but vary inversely with the counterpart lateral and vertical relations in the consecutive phase of the life cycle. The terms "lateral" and "vertical" have been used for convenience of reference and for their neutrality in terms of the conventional anthropological

vocabulary of kinship analysis, but their spatial and orientational connotations are not essential to the analysis: all that is necessary is the notion of two complementary linear dimensions. The lateral and vertical dimensions themselves are the expression of a single principle of asymmetry, based on the juxtaposition of phases of the life cycle with phases of the domestic group cycle, represented in the paradigm by dimension D.

2) The structural equivalence of lateral and vertical relations in terms of the cyclical formation and fission of domestic groups gives rise to a series of concentric zones of structural distance, each representing the lateral and vertical relations separated from Ego or a link by the same number of domestic group cycles. The relationships generated by the opposition of Ego's two consecutive domestic groups of residence to the natal domestic groups of Ego's parents and spouse, respectively, generate three such zones of structural distance. Represented by dimension A in the paradigm, they are, respectively, the zone of no significant structural contrast, i.e., "structural fusion," and the zones of adjacent and alternate relations.

3) A corollary of the principle stated in 1) above is that lateral and vertical relations between members of the

same natal domestic group vary inversely with the relations of either with an Alter to whom either becomes attached in his or her affinal group. In other words, lateral incorporation with Alter involves vertical separation from other members of Alter's natal group, and vertical incorporation with Alter involves separation from the laterally contrasted members of Ego's natal domestic group. Dimension C embodies this structural relationship in the paradigm.

4) A further corollary of 1) is that adjacent relations on a given dimension vary inversely as alternate relations on the same dimension. From this point of view, the Cayapa kindred constitutes a system of two directly correlated sets of continuously varying "exchange" relations, each composed of complementary pairs of adjacent relations, the opposite polar statuses of which stand in alternate relations of "alliance" or "exchange" relative to each other. Within a given set, the adjacent relations vary inversely, in the quantitative degree of domestic group incorporation they entail, with the alternate relations. Alternate relations on both dimensions between Alters of the same sex vary directly with each other, and the alternate relations of Egos of opposite sexes vary inversely. These systematic relationships of covariation include every status category within the system.

5) The empirical quantitative balance of the system on both dimensions of "exchange" is a function of the extent to which the separation of lateral and vertical adjacent natal domestic group, relatives is stressed in favor of the incorporation of the complementary pair of vertical and lateral relatives (children and spouses) in the affinal domestic group. In the case of the Cayapo, the balance of the system is far over towards incorporation with the affinal domestic group at the expense of separation from the natal domestic group.

6) The balance of the system thus defined gives rise to a structural contradiction in the category of vertical adjacent relationships: i.e., the relationship of father to son is emphasized as a function of the emphasis upon the affinal bond between father and mother, but the emphasis upon the attachment of males to their affinal groups requires a deemphasis of the attachment of males to their natal groups and thus of sons to their fathers. A parallel, but less intense, conflict exists in the mother-daughter relationship.

7) At the same time that it creates a conflict within the category of adjacent vertical relationships, the balance of the system leads to an emphasis of adjacent male over alternate male relationships, in terms which simultaneously

entail the stressing of the female alternate over female adjacent relationships for female Ego, and of female alternate over male alternate relations for Egos of both sexes.

8) On the basis of 4), 6), and 7), the major features and several minor and otherwise puzzling details of Cayapo ritual symbolism (e.g., the bestowal of names and nekmatch, ritual dietary restrictions, the patrilineality of the krabdjuc ceremonial relationship, the emphasis on the ritual role of the kwa-tuy over that of the 'i-mrah, and the "concentric" form of the symbolic expression of the 'i-mrah relationship) were shown to be consistent with the structure of domestic group relations. The system of prescribed behaviors or etiquette associated with the various status relationships (e.g., "joking," "friendship," kiam-respect, etc.) was shown to be similarly consistent with domestic group structure.

The ability of the model to account for such diverse aspects of Cayapo social life as ritual symbolism and formal behaviors in addition to the structure of kinship relations and the kinship terminology themselves, constitutes strong evidence for its validity. In answering many questions, however, the model has raised another, namely: what is the mechanism by which the proper balance between natal group separation and affinal group incorporation is ensured in each

repetition of the domestic group cycle? Without some general code for the regulation of the balance of separation and incorporation in each individual instance of the fission of natal and the formation of ~~matal~~ domestic groups, it is impossible to see how a system such as that described for the Cayapo could preserve its equilibrium.

V.C. Age groups, moieties, and men's societies.

As Chapter IV and the first section of the present chapter have shown, the sociological stages of the individual's life cycle consist of a series of adjustments in his relations with relatives to whom he is connected through the two consecutive domestic groups of which he is a resident member. These adjustments take the form of simultaneous movements toward separation or incorporation with complementary pairs of adjacent relatives on both lateral and vertical dimensions, and entail the opposite adjustments with the alternate relatives opposed to the same pair of adjacent relatives on both dimensions. Each step in this process at the domestic group level is accompanied by a transition from one generalized age grade to the next within the age grade system. The series of age grades and age categories accurately reflects the stages of the development of Ego's social

relations in his two consecutive domestic groups. This correspondence extends to the difference in the domestic group relations of male and female Egos: the age grades for male and female Egos have different names and differ to some extent from each other in their periodicity with reference to the domestic group cycle.

The first and last age grades in the life cycle are exceptions to this rule, being the same for both Egos. The first grade, mẽ mĩ-ra, corresponds to the period before any socially significant separation of the child from the mother has taken place on either the vertical or lateral dimensions, while the final grade, mẽ bâ ngê-ê-tê, corresponds to the obliteration of relational contrasts on both dimensions from the standpoint of the individual's status in his domestic group and kindred. Mẽ mĩ-ra and mẽ bâ ngê-ê-tê of opposite sexes are therefore equated within the same named age categories for the same reasons that the two categories resemble each other in terms of domestic group structure: namely, lack of significant lateral and vertical contrasts in their domestic group relations.

At a certain point in the life cycle--earlier for males than for females--the lateral contrast between opposite sexes comes to entail a complementary lateral contrast between

Alters of the same sex. This occurs from the standpoint of male Ego when his sisters begin to have lovers (and therefore prospective husbands). This point marks the decisive moment when a girl begins the process of transforming herself from a child to a mature woman with her own family, and by the same token, constitutes the beginning of the boy's separation from his natal domestic group and incorporation into his affinal domestic group. For both sexes, it corresponds to the beginning of the fission of the natal domestic group. The process of domestic group fission entails the vertical separation of Egos of both sexes from their same-sex parents, but for female Ego, the separation from the father is not only vertical but lateral, since the separation between a male Ego and his father entails a contrast with respect to the residence rule identical to that between Ego and his sister. The lateral separation of male Ego from the domestic group of which his father and sisters are residents coincides, as noted above, with the appearance of laterally opposed alternate male relations, in the persons of the sisters' lovers and husbands.

With the onset of the fission of the natal domestic group and the coincidence it entails for male Ego between the separation from his vertical same-sex relative (father),

the lateral separation from both his adjacent opposite-sex relatives (sister, and, obliquely, mother) and the complementary lateral opposition to his same-sex adjacent and alternate relatives (father and sister's husband), a parallel transformation occurs at the level of communal institutions. Male Ego is "laterally" separated from his natal domestic group in a ceremony that stresses his "vertical" separation from his father, and becomes simultaneously a member of a male age set (mẽ ôk-re) which is "laterally" opposed to a complementary same-sex category (the moiety division). The complementary oppositions, men's house--women's (Ego's natal) house, mẽ ôk-re age grade--ngày diu-re age grade, and Ego's men's house (the residence of his group of mẽ ôk-re)--opposite men's house, thus reproduce the set of correlated domestic group oppositions, lateral separation between males and females: vertical separation between males: complementary lateral separation between males.

As the description and analysis of Cayapo domestic group structure have made clear, the "quantitative balance" of the domestic group system involves a heavy emphasis on the separation of males from their natal domestic groups and their incorporation into their affinal groups. This requires

stressing both the lateral separation of males from their female domestic group relatives as representatives of the natal household group, and the severance of the vertical tie between fathers and sons, which is structurally emphasized in the previous phase of the cycle by the same factors that now require its attenuation. It is consistent with this set of facts and the interpretation of the functional relationship of the moiety and age group system to the domestic group system advanced here that the transition to the mẽ ĉk-re age grade, which corresponds to the formal beginning of the process of separating males from their natal domestic groups, is made to correspond with residence in the men's house, which has the effect of neutralizing the basis of Ego's attachment to his natal household, and that this neutralization of Ego's ties to his natal group is made under the aegis of a ceremonial "father" who symbolically replaces, and thereby ritually severs Ego's domestic group connection with, his real father. The moiety-age group system is, in short, the instrument of producing the required balance of separation and incorporation in the domestic group system.

The functional relation between moiety and age group structure and domestic group structure is continued with the advent of the second major phase of male Ego's life cycle,

which begins with Ego's becoming a father and therefore, in the full jural sense, a husband. When male Ego becomes a father, the emphasis of his relations with the domestic group system changes abruptly from separation to incorporation in his affinal domestic group household. Reflecting this shift of emphasis at the domestic group level, Ego leaves the set of moieties to which he belonged by virtue of his connection with his "substitute father," membership in which is confined to youths of the mẽ ôk-re and mẽ nõrõ-mu-ra age grades, and enters a second set, reserved for men of the mẽ kra-ra age grade--i.e., men who are fathers in their own right. The major difference between the two sets of moieties is that the members of the former are required to reside in the men's house, whereas the members of the latter reside once more in a matrilocal household, that of their affinal domestic groups. Note that in the second phase of his cycle, as in the first, male Ego's lateral relations with the opposite sex (in this case his wife) involve him in a new set of lateral relations with an opposed male category (WB, WF): the moiety opposition thus continues to correspond to a lateral opposition of opposed same-sex categories at the domestic group level.

The contrast in the residence requirements for the members of the consecutive sets of moieties, and the asso-

ciation of the preeminence and prestige of the mẽ kwa-re in all branches of communal life with the establishment of the affinal pair of lateral and vertical relationships (marriage and fatherhood), contribute to the maintenance of the bias of the domestic group system toward the integration of males into their affinal groups and separation from their natal groups. The symbolic identification of the second set of moieties with the members' achievement of fatherhood is the inverse complement of the identification of the first set of moieties with the ritual severance of the relationship of sons to their fathers. The two consecutive sets of male moieties thus represent generalized symbolic expressions of the balance in the domestic group system between the complementary sets of adjacent lateral and vertical bonds associated with the two major phases of Ego's life cycle: the severance of the vertical relation of son to father and the lateral bond of brother to sister in the first phase, complemented by the emphasis upon the vertical relation of father to son as a prerequisite for the lateral marital attachment of husband to wife in the second phase.

The criterial relationships symbolized by the consecutive women's age societies, each of which is bifurcated

into moieties attached in turn to the men's moieties, stand in a relation of complementarity to each other analogous to that of the "substitute father" and "fatherhood" relationships symbolically expressed in the consecutive pairs of men's moieties. The emphasis on the separation of sons from fathers and the integration of males as fathers and husbands into their affinal groups has as its corollary in the structure of female relations the emphasis on the separation of daughters from mothers, as was pointed out in the discussion of the women's mẽ kray-kuk ceremony (p. 365). The separation of daughters from mothers, however, involves no removal of the daughters to a separate domestic group: it is a simple concomitant of the readiness of the daughter to bear children, i.e., to set up her own domestic group, within the same maternal household. For a woman, therefore, separation from the same-sex parent and establishing herself as a parent are virtually synonymous, not separate stages in a process of transition from membership in one household to another as they are for men. The complementary vertical relationship, from the standpoint of female Ego, to Ego's separation from her same-sex parent is therefore not becoming a parent (for the two relations are structurally parallel rather than complementary) but the separation from Ego of Ego's same-sex

offspring (i.e., daughter) by virtue of her own readiness to bear children. For women, in short, the structural complement of the fission of the natal domestic group is the fission of the affinal domestic group (family of procreation) whereas for men, as a consequence of the opposite status of men with reference to the matrilocal residence rule, the structural complement of the fission of the natal domestic group is the formation of the affinal domestic group. The criteria for membership in the two women's age societies, it will be recalled, are readiness to bear children (entrance into the mẽ kroy-tuk age category) for the first and the maturity of Ego's children (passage into the mẽ kra kramtĩ age category) for the second. Both male and female sets of moieties thus emphasize the opposed pair of complementary vertical relations essential to the preservation of the balance of the domestic group system.

Examination of both the men's and women's sets of moieties makes clear that the structure of the age-grade and moiety system is based on the same principles as the structure of domestic group relations and the system of terminological categories of kinship relations. The basic principle of both systems is the direct correlation of lateral and vertical relations within a given domestic group, and

the inverse variation of complementary lateral and vertical relations pertaining to consecutive phases of the life cycle (and therefore of consecutive domestic groups). The corollary principle also holds for both systems, that each pair of complementary adjacent relations gives rise to an alternate relation between the opposite polar statuses of the pair of complementary adjacent relations, which varies inversely as the initial adjacent relation (i.e., the adjacent relation between Ego and the medial Alter). In terms of lateral relations, the corollary states that every separation or incorporation of cross-sex adjacent relatives produces a complementary (and inversely varying) relationship between opposed categories of same-sex alternate relatives. On the level of domestic group relations, this principle is the basis of the contrastive relations between adjacent and alternate categories of same-sex relatives. Just as the opposition between alternate categories of same-sex relatives at the domestic group level is a function of the opposition between adjacent categories of cross-sex relatives, the bifurcation of the age groups of both sexes into moieties at the communal level is a function of the structural contrast of opposite sexes on the basis of the matrilocal residence rule, symbolized by the opposition between the women's

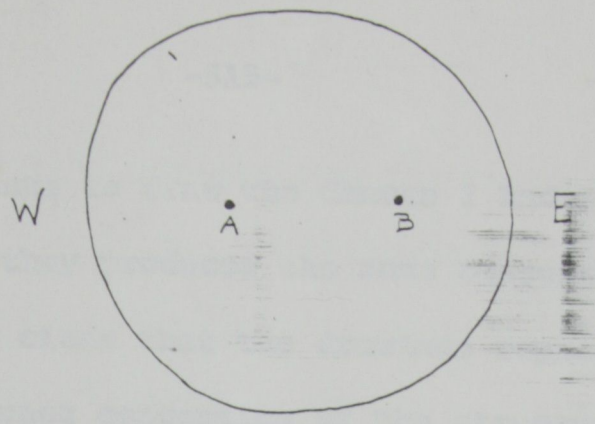
matrilocal households on the periphery of the village circle and the men's houses in the center. The major vertical transitions in the age grade system are accompanied both by a transition in the relations between lateral adjacent cross-sex categories, symbolized by the separation of males either from their natal households to take up residence in the men's house or from the man's house to take up residence in their wives' households, and by a new lateral opposition between same-sex categories represented by the two pairs of moieties. Finally, just as the separation of adjacent cross-sex relations is complemented, at the domestic group level, by the incorporation of cross-sex relatives in the succeeding phase of the cycle, so the separation between women's houses and men's houses is complemented at the village level by the "affinal" integration of the men's and women's moieties, in terms of the marital relations existing between each of the men's houses and one of the sets of women's moieties.

The contrast between the two consecutive major phases of the life cycle, and therefore between the two consecutive sets of men's and women's moieties, and the successive separation and incorporation of lateral cross-sex relations (B-Z, H-W), are reflections of complementary aspects of a common

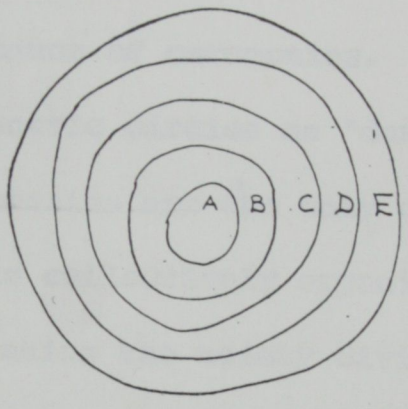
underlying opposition: that between the natal and the affinal domestic group. This fundamental structural opposition is at once "vertical," since it defines the consecutive phases of Ego's life cycle and therefore the order of succession of age grades, and "lateral," since Ego's relations to both groups are defined in terms of complementary lateral adjacent relations (E-Z, N-W). The lateral and vertical aspects of the opposition of the two groups are fused in terms of their relation as the initial and terminal poles of a process, which is at once a "lateral" transit between two cardinal points and a "vertical" sequence of consecutive temporal stages. It is exactly this combination of features which forms the symbolic content of the moiety opposition as embodied in the plan of the village (see p. 37). Note that the same type of asymmetrical contrast of earlier and later phases of a two-stage process is the structural basis of dimension B of the paradigm of domestic group relations. The process to which both dimension B and the moiety division in the plan of the village symbolically refer is the same, namely, the process of separation from the natal domestic group and incorporation in the affinal group. The difference is that the village plan is not formulated on the basis of the complementary standpoints of Ego and Alter,

so that it corresponds, as it were, to the fusion of the two components of dimension B (B_1 and B_2). The fusion of B_1 and B_2 in the central zone of the paradigm (see figure 7) is a formal analog, and is based on the same structural considerations as the fusion of the two components or aspects of B at the level of the village plan.

One of the methods I used in the field to elicit information about the formal arrangement of two-moiety villages was to ask informants to draw pictures of villages. Informants often responded with drawings resembling cut i) in figure 9, representing the two men's houses in the village plaza. Some informants, however (in some cases the same informants on different occasions), produced drawings like cut ii) in figure 9, showing the village as a set of concentric circles representing "the dancing paths" of age sets. The youngest age set was always represented by the central circle, and the mõ bê ngê-ê-tê always occupied the peripheral circle--thus overlapping with the ring of women's houses in the drawings of type i). I was at first baffled by this second group of drawings because all the dances I had seen took place in one double column, in which the age sets occupied successive sections: on no occasion did I see the age sets dance in separate concentric circles.

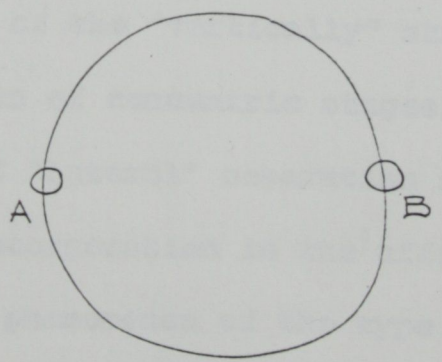


i. moieties
(A. ngà 'ênhôt; B. ngà kratch)



ii. "Dancing places" of age grades
(A. ngàydju-re; B. mẽ ôk-re; C. mẽ nõrõ-nu-re
D. mẽ kra-re; E. mẽ be nge-ê-te)

Isso expressa, com outros, as referências multiplas.



iii. Chiefs' houses
(A, B)

FIG. 9. Alternate Cayapo Representations of the Village

When I asked informants to draw the dances I had seen performed, however, they produced the same concentric drawings. It became clear that the drawings represented the informants' abstract conception of the structure of the age set system, rather than attempts at realistic depictions of the choreographic arrangement of the age sets in the actual performance of ceremonies. The reason for referring to the concentric circles as "dancing places" was, I inferred, that ceremonies are the only occasions upon which the community is collectively organized on the basis of age sets, obliterating the moiety division which normally divides each set. In line with this consideration is the lack of any indication in the drawings of type ii) of any bifurcation corresponding to the moiety division.

The representation of the "vertically" stratified age group system as a series of concentric stages, symbolizing consecutive stages of "lateral" separation from the natal domestic group and incorporation in the affinal domestic group, constitutes a phenomenon of the type represented in the structural paradigm of domestic group relations by dimension A: the generation of a series of concentric zones representing degrees of structural distance or separation in the process of separation and incorporation

in the domestic group cycle, on the basis of the structural equivalence of a pair of complementary linear dimensions (in the case of the age-set model, separation from the natal group and incorporation in the affinal group). The concentric age set model of social structure is thus the structural equivalent of the moiety model, based on the asymmetrical dyadic opposition of two terms combining the same two linear features. Each model offers different advantages, as a result of emphasising different aspects of the structural relation between the two dimensions. The concentric age set model makes possible the merging of the laterally bifurcated moieties in terms of a vertically stratified series of age grades, which is the main reason why communal ceremonies are organised along age set lines. The moiety model, on the other hand, promotes the cohesion and solidarity of the vertically stratified age sets by dividing them into two blocs laterally opposed to each other. It is of interest to note that the moiety model is adopted for certain ceremonies (such as the ê ne ti-ra kê, p. 221) in which the men's and women's moieties pair off to perform parallel rites involving sexual intercourse in the separate men's houses. The concentric age set model, on the other hand, is adapted for the expression of the relationships of

one sex at a time. Informants invariably explained their concentric age set drawings as representing either the men's or the women's age sets--never both at once.

The everyday form of the village combines elements of both models. The opposition of the two men's houses and the meeting places of the two women's moieties represents the moiety model. The seating arrangement of the age sets within each men's house, however, reflects the concentric model (see figure 2).

The third major institutionalized form of social grouping at the communal level, the men's society or tchêt, has so far been left out of the discussion. It has already been suggested[1] that the tchêt structure constitutes a symbolic mechanism for the regulation of the relations between fathers-in-law and sons-in-law (WF-DH). A tendency toward segmentation, oriented towards the preservation of a dyadic balance between tchêt or groupings of tchêt, has also been shown to constitute a dynamic principle of the tchêt organization.[2] In terms of the structural analysis of domestic group relations carried out in the present chapter, the principle of dyadic balance of "laterally" opposed tchêt,

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[1]Chapter IV, Section V D.

[2]Chapter III, Section D.

as a corollary of the assertion of the "vertical" unity within tehôt between age strata corresponding to the kinship categories of WF and DH, respectively, constitutes an expression of the structural principle represented by dimension C. The principle of dimension C, at both tehôt and domestic group levels, is that structural incorporation on one (lateral or vertical) dimension is achieved only through the establishment of a counterbalancing relationship of separation on the complementary dimension. In terms of the quantitative covariation of domestic group relations described in the previous section, the relations symbolized by the principle of dyadic balance can be stated as follows: Ego's integration with WF varies inversely as the relationship between WF and WB, and therefore as the relationship between Ego and F. For a high degree of incorporation of Ego with WF, a laterally opposed group is required to serve as a focus of WB's attachment, to "balance" his separation from WF and Ego. In terms of the quantitative balance of the system, the more the integration of DH with WF is emphasized, the more the separation of S from F must be stressed. The more the incorporation of DH and WF is emphasized, however, the stronger becomes F's bond to S, as a concomitant of F's strengthened attachment to his entire affinal household,

and the more difficult it becomes to weaken the F-S bond so that S may establish a strong connection with SWF. The problem, therefore, is to preserve a balance between the attenuation of the F-S relationship and the emphasis on the incorporation of the son-in-law with the father-in-law. Both the principle of dyadic balance, corresponding to dimension C of the paradigm, and the consecutive sets of age moieties, which directly regulate the father-son relationship, have complementary parts to play in preserving this balance. The formal set of consecutive age moieties expressing the father-son relation corresponds, as we have seen, to dimension D of the paradigm of kinship relations: the complementarity of the functions of the dyadic balance between tchêt and the role of the age moieties in weakening the S-F relationship and strengthening the F-S relation in the consecutive space of the cycle represents the expression, on the level of community structure, of the complementarity of dimensions D and C in the paradigm. This relationship between the tchêt and the age moieties is symbolized by the location of the houses of the leading chiefs of the tchêt of each men's house at the eastern and western extremities of the village circle, thus orienting the dyadic opposition between tchêt along the same axis as

the opposition between the age moieties. A third type of drawing of idealized village plans produced by my informants was a picture of the circle of houses around the periphery of the village plaza, with the houses of chiefs oriented at the eastern and western poles of the circle (see cut iii in figure 9). Sometimes informants would superimpose cuts i) and iii) in figure 9, simultaneously representing the chief's houses on the periphery of the plaza and the age moieties (represented by the men's houses) in the center. In such drawings, the chiefs were often linked to the foci representing the men's houses by lines representing "paths" of the chiefs. Neither cut iii) nor cut i) was ever superimposed on cut ii).

The complementarity of the tahûk and age moieties points to a relationship of quantitative balance at the communal level analogous to that prevailing between vertical and lateral sets of relations on the domestic group level. The consecutive sets of age moieties refer symbolically to a vertically opposed set of relations, while the structural opposition between tahûk is lateral in character. Since the solidarity of individual tahûk is a reflection of the relationship between WF and DH, and since the latter varies directly in relation to the extent of the separation between

F and S, which is in turn effected through the displacement of boys from their natal families into the men's houses, and thus the lower set of age moieties, it can be stated that the degree of solidarity of tchêt (and therefore the strength of the position of chiefs as the leaders of tchêt) will vary directly according to the degree of solidarity of the age sets comprising the younger set of age moieties (i.e., the degree of separation of boys from their natal households and attachment to the men's house). By the same token, the stronger the solidarity of each individual tchêt or age-moiety, the more emphatic and emblematic will become the opposition between equivalent groups in either system.

The form of separation entailed by dimension S, as represented by the opposition between the consecutive sets of age moieties, is symbolically offset through the periodic assertion of an alternative "concentric" model, expressing the same relationships in a form that neutralizes the dyadic separation normally expressed by the moieties, in the communal ceremonies. The opposition between tchêt is a lateral opposition of the type which we have seen receives no expression in the ritual system. It may be suggested that the pattern of ceremonial variation, according to which the village alternately divides into two component tchêt and

recombines in a collective unit in which the tchet form complementary segments, linked to each other on the basis of the principle of dyadic balance between them, constitutes an expression of the alternate modalities of the same principle of structural opposition (dimension C), paralleling the alternation of the moiety and concentric models as expressions of dimension B. In this view, the seasonal dispersion and reconstitution of Cayapo communities is basically an expression of the structure of Cayapo society rather than a response to the pressures of the environment. This interpretation is supported by the evidence presented in Chapter 3, where it was shown that the seasonal gathering tribes are in no way essential to the economic maintenance of the community. Further support for this assertion comes from the example of other tribes in the same, or less favorable neighboring ecological zones, who manage to survive admirably without making seasonal treks.

The point was made at the beginning of Chapter IV that the domestic group constitutes the connecting link between the [illegible] institutions of the community, on the one hand, and the bilateral network of kinship relations on the other. The examination of the relationship between

jural-political institutions, bilateral kinship relations, and domestic group relations presented in this chapter has approached the problem from the standpoint of domestic group structure. It has been shown first, that the structural and terminological categories of bilateral kinship relations constitute generalized expressions of the three dimensions of the structure of domestic group relations, and second, that each of the three major types of jural-political institution (age grades, moieties, and *tohet*) correspond to the same set of dimensions. The fact that the present analysis began with the domestic group and proceeded to the other two systems of relations implies no assertion of causal priority for domestic group structure within the total social system. The goal of the analysis has been to demonstrate that the institutions of all levels of Cayapo society form a functionally integrated system characterized by covariation among all component elements. It is equally possible and tenable in terms of this analytical framework to regard domestic group structure as a product of the influence of the jural-political institutions at the communal level upon the bilateral network of kinship relations as to regard the latter two as reflections of the former.

The attention that has been paid to specifying the nature and principles of covariation among the structural components of all levels of the society is the direct outcome of the assumption that Cayapo social institutions form a coherent and functionally integrated system. The result of this aspect of the investigation has been the discovery that the structure of all three levels of Cayapo social organization can be accounted for on the basis of the same structural model, representing a dynamic state of equilibrium based upon two complementary channels or relationships of "exchange." At the levels of kinship and domestic group relations, the complementary alternate relationships on the vertical and lateral dimensions comprise one such pair: the dyadic balance between laterally opposed tchêt and the vertical opposition between the consecutive sets of age moieties form a second pair of the same type at the communal level. The communal institutions involved in each pair--moieties, age groups, and tchêt--have been shown to form a structure homologous with that of domestic group relations. The relationship between the two structural levels, however, is not merely a static relation of formal homology. The tchêt and age moieties exercise a positive stabilizing influence upon the quantitative balance of emphases among structurally

contrasting relationships in the domestic group system. This influence is partly exercised through the medium of the normative and symbolic framework of the institutions themselves, but principally through the formation of a complementary set of collective social groups, the conditions of membership in which are so designed that they have the effect of undermining or strengthening the corresponding relationships at the domestic group level. Moieties, age grades, and tchûk, at the communal level, and the system of terminologically defined categories of kinship relations at the kindred and domestic group levels, may therefore be said to constitute formulations, at different levels of generality, of a single uniform structural code regulating the balance of the "exchange" of specific social commitments (i.e., relations of separation and incorporation) within the domestic group system. The quantitative balance of exchange within the domestic group system is itself stabilized by the balance between the complementary sets of communal institutions comprising the more generalized level of the code. The ritual relationships and formal behaviors (including the formal assumption or termination of co-residence and economic obligations, as well as "etiquette") associated with the transference of social commitments in the course

of the domestic group cycle, and the ritual, social, and political aspects of membership in the age moieties and [illegible] at the communal level, constitute the generalized symbolic media through which specific individual relationships are related to, and thus regulated by, the "code."[2] Note that the interdependence of the "balance" of relationships at both levels of the system implies that a decisive change in the "code" at one level can be expected to lead automatically to a corresponding change in the structure of the code at the complementary level.

The structure of Cayapo society has been analyzed in the present chapter as an ideal system in a state of equilibrium and [illegible] functional integration. In reality, the Cayapo social system is neither fully stable nor fully integrated in a structural sense. The historical evidence presented in Chapter XIX suggests that in constituting a generalized symbolic model of the structure of domestic group relations, the system of communal institutions reincorporates the basic structural contradictions of the domestic group system on its own level. The paradox of the

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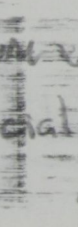
[2] [illegible] the terms "code" and "generalized symbolic model" [illegible] from Parsons (1962a: 38-42 and 1963b: 237-8).

relation between the age moieties and the tchêt as regulators of the balance of domestic group relations is that, the more the age moieties emphasize the displacement of males from their natal groups to the men's house (as a means of weakening their ties to their fathers), the more the tchêt, which are likewise based in the men's house, are strengthened (as a reflection of the integration of DH and WF). Yet the stronger the tchêt become, the more of a threat the dyadic opposition between them poses to the unity of the community, as a result of the factional rivalry that inevitably accompanies it. As we have seen in Chapter III, what is known of Cayapo history shows that rivalries between tchêt have consistently been the cause of the fission of Cayapo villages. The cycle of fission and fusion of Cayapo communities can therefore be understood as an attempt to achieve a balance between the complementary forms of dyadic opposition represented by the tchêt and the age moieties, which in turn constitute symbolically generalized expressions of the complementary principles of structural cleavage within the system of domestic group relations. The large two men's house village represents the supreme expression of Cayapo social organization because in it the balanced opposition between groupings of tchêt coincides with the bifurcation



of the community by the age moieties. The instability of the two men's house villages, however, reveals that the institutional reconciliation between the two principles is not sufficient by itself to guarantee social equilibrium or the automatic self-perpetuation of the system. At the same time it is clear that the transposition of the structural contradictions of the system of domestic group relations to the level of communal institutions has the immense advantage of slowing the rate and decreasing the incidence of conflict than what would obtain if the same complementary set of dyadic oppositions [illegible] be resolved in each individual [illegible] domestic group fission. The generalization of the structure of domestic group relations into a model of [illegible] structure, in short, gains a vital advantage on the temporal dimension as well as the social scale of the resulting unit. The instability of the basic model is not abolished, but the intervals of fission and fusion implicit in [illegible] structure are increased in proportion to the [illegible] scale of the unit itself. The corollary [illegible] both dischronic and synchronic dimensions [illegible] generalized model represented by Cayapo communal institutions make the latter a socially viable basis [illegible] in spite of their inherent

[illegible] and explain why even the smallest and most [illegible] group [illegible] considers itself a fragment of a [illegible] village, which represents at once a historical memory, a future expectation, and a timeless set of organizational principles.

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APPENDIX I

THE CAUSES OF DEATH: SORCERY AND DISEASE

The Cayapo recognize a variety of causes for death. Among these are sorcery (<u>'ùdju</u>), disease (<u>kanê</u>), old age, and accidents such as attacks by wild animals or snakebite, which are not blamed on sorcerers.

Sorcerers (<u>mẽ 'ùdju</u>) are usually foreigners (refugees or emigrants from other groups of Cayapo or from alien tribes), marginal individuals without kinsmen or firm connections in the community, men who have built up a reputation as shamans (<u>wayanga</u>) or occasional individuals who may have bragged openly that they know something about sorcery, although they don't practice it. Men who have failed to gain solid positions of prestige and influence for themselves in the men's societies sometimes resort to this means of gaining stature in the community. It is a risky policy, because their marginal and otherwise uninfluential social position, which constitutes the original motivation for their claims, leaves them doubly vulnerable to being made the scapegoat for someone's death or for a communal disaster like an epidemic.

There are no oracles or means of detecting 'ùdju while the victim is still alive, and there is no generally available antidote to it.[1] The kinsmen of the deceased, or a chief who wishes to exploit the issue for his own ends, decide after the death on the basis of circumstantial evidence that 'ùdju was responsible and arrive at their own conclusion as to the identity of the sorcerer. Sorcerers accused of killing isolated individuals are killed by the adult male (mẽ kwa-re) kin of the deceased, with the support or at least tacit approval of one or more chiefs. A sorcerer who has bewitched an entire community (e.g., by causing an epidemic) may be publicly denounced by the chiefs in the man's house, and the assembled men may unanimously call for his death, but the actual killing is delegated to a few individuals from the mẽ kwa-re age grade. An assault on a large group jointly accused of sorcery, like the mẽ kran no ti at Ruben kran kêh,[2] is carried out by a larger group of mature men under the leadership of a chief, but this group does

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[1]A man at Ruben kran kêh was said to know a kanê (medicine) against 'ùdju, but he died the day of my arrival in the village and I was unable to learn about it from other informants. Informants evinced little interest in it and I could learn of no case in which it had been applied. Kayapo usually become interested in 'ùdju only after a death and as an explanation for the fact that death has occurred, so that a medicine against 'ùdju is in a sense a contradiction in terms.

[2]See p. .

not necessarily comprise a total age set or men's society. Sorcerers are never to my knowledge executed by entire age sets or men's societies acting as units (cf. Maybury-Lewis n.d.: 242). The killers of a sorcerer observe a ritual seclusion (iangri) for several days after the killing. They remain in their houses, cut their hair, and eat no meat or fish. At the close of the iangri, they paint themselves black. The iangri for men who have killed enemies on raids is more elaborate. I have personally observed only the dance which marks the formal termination of this iangri, which was performed at Gorotire for the killing of a jaguar by the mẽ nõrõ-nu-re on a collective hunt. The following description of the full abẽn ekurê djwõyn iangri ("killer's iangri") is based on Banner 1961: 22, Nimuendaju n.d.: 8, and data supplied by my informants.

After killing a victim, a Cayapo leaves the club, arrow, or lance with which he struck the victim by the corpse and immediately strikes a hardwood tree with his hand to make his "insides strong" ('ĩ tàytch). Everyone on the raiding party attempts to strike at least one enemy with his weapon. It does not matter if the enemy is alive or dead for the blow to count as ritually potent. Corpses are often battered beyond recognition by Cayapo "counting coup" in this way. Upon

their return to the village, the men who have killed an enemy or struck an enemy corpse do not enter their maternal houses but go straight to the *ngà*. They eat no meat or fish.[1] They speak only in whispers, bathe in infusions of the leaves and bark of hardwood trees, and paint themselves red. On the second day of the seclusion, they have a double row of short horizontal cuts scratched on their chests with fish teeth by an older man. The two rows form the two arms of a V extending from each side of the chest toward the navel, without meeting to form the point of the V. Charcoal is rubbed into the scars. The *iangxi* continues until the cuts, which have to be deep enough to cause a considerable flow of blood, have healed and formed a tatoo. This requires about two weeks. At the end of this period, the men paint themselves black, shave their heads, and squat in a group in front of the *ngà* with their eyes lowered, chanting and beating time on the ground before them with the ends of their war clubs. Their mothers-in-law walk up and put a hand on their shoulders. This accomplished, the men dance briefly around the plaza with a graceful swinging step, alternating with short stretches of rapid jumping with both

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[1] Benner claims they eat *only* meat and fish, but on the basis of my admittedly meager information, this seems unlikely (Benner 1961: 32).

feet together and both hands on their heads. With the completion of the dance, they are free to return to their houses and to resume their normal social lives. The rite is repeated each time a man kills an enemy or strikes an enemy corpse. The final dance of the abẽn okurê djwòyn iamuri may be performed when a jaguar is killed, although I noticed it was not put on on several occasions when jaguars had been killed by mẽ kra-re. The name of the dance, mẽ 'ikre punè, "the grasping of shoulders," stresses the role of the mother-in-law in the ceremony.

All of a sorcerer's kin, of both sexes and all ages, are killed with him unless they sever their relations of kinship with him to the satisfaction of the community. This is accomplished by acquiescing or joining in the hue and cry for his death and publicly disowning him in conversation and oratory. The reason for killing the relatives of sorcerers is that they will attempt to revenge his death through further sorcery. That female kin are also killed does not necessarily imply that women are thought to be able or likely to practice 'ùdju themselves. My informants disagreed about whether women could in theory practice 'ùdju, but it was unanimously agreed that they rarely, if ever, do so in fact. They may nevertheless inspire their surviving male kinsmen or future

spouses or offspring, to make 'ùdju against the killers of their kin.

The status of mẽ 'ùdju is thus conceived by the Cayapo as an essentially masculine category. 'ùdju is a device for putting into practice hostile intentions which cannot be expressed more overtly because of the restraints imposed on the sorcerer by his social position. Women are not socially restrained or inhibited in expressing their hostilities: they freely indulge in face-to-face altercations and abuse with each other and may engage in direct physical combat, using their fists, feet and nails or even machetes in extreme cases. Women are able to express their hostilities so freely because their disputes are not considered socially important in the way that disputes between men are. The spontaneous, ephemeral and unimportant nature of women's enmities and quarrels makes it unlikely that women would be driven to resort to 'ùdju because of them. Men, on the other hand, are unable to vent their aggressions in such direct ways. They must carry on their disputes by means of complex and indirect struggles for support in the men's societies, involving [illegible]diation by the chiefs, stylized oratorical contests in which direct reference to opponents by name is not permitted, and the formal duel, in which the number of

supporters or "seconds" each protagonist has been able to line up as potential combatants on his side may prove more important than the outcome of the individual combat between the protagonists themselves. A man who has failed to establish a firm basis of personal connections and prestige for himself in the men's societies, either because he is a recent immigrant with no social connections in the community or because of personality factors or failure to build up an adequate network of personal relationships within his own community, is in a hopelessly disadvantaged position vis à vis an opponent with strong support in the customary arenas of masculine rivalry and dispute. Such a man may well turn to 'udiu as a means of satisfying his otherwise impotent hostility.

Sorcery is thus related to the political and social rivalries of the mẽ kra-re, but it is not thought of as an essential or incipient aspect of the relations between men's societies or the parties to disputes conducted within the ordinary channels of the political structure. I never heard of a men's society (tchêt) or the following of a chief spoken of as having sponsored acts of sorcery against other chiefs' followings within the same community. The case of the mẽ kran-re-ti at Kuben kran kân was not of this kind: the mẽ

kran-no-ti had no chief of their own and were singled out for accusations of 'ùdju precisely because they constituted a socially marginal group not yet integrated into the existing kinship and men's society systems of Ruben-kran-kî. Still less is the practice of sorcery thought of as an aspect of the relation between kin and affines. Sorcery is conceived as an attribute of marginality with reference to the community as a whole, and as such usually in connection with isolated individuals or immigrant groups of an alien character. Any individual or group that becomes marginal in this sense is liable to be accused of 'ùdju, but marginality in these terms is always thought of as abnormal. Cayapo do not admit that 'ùdju is an incipient aspect of the relationship between or within any normally constituted group or relationship categories of their society.[1] The Cayapo evade any implication that the motivations of a sorcerer might have

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[1]The Cayapo have no concept of "witchcraft," defined as the ability of certain persons or members of given relationship categories to inflict harm on others through directly exercising or projecting a malign influence upon them which requires no apparatus or even conscious volition (Evans-Pritchard 1937: 337). The ability of parents, siblings, and parents-in-law to exercise a deleterious influence upon a child, sibling, or son-in-law who is sick or in a ritually perilous condition by eating "strong" food such as meat of fish bears some resemblance to the concept of witchcraft: the eating of the food is not regarded as a rite designed to produce the effect on the relative, which is thought to arise directly from the intimate relationship between the statuses concerned, with no conscious intent or ill-will involved. I shall use the term 'bewitch' in the sense of "to commit sorcery against."

sprung from his position with respect to normatively defined social groupings or categories and thus, implicitly, from relations shared at least potentially by other members of society, by explaining the grudges of sorcerers against specific individuals as arising from some trivial failure of reciprocity. The sorcerer may have asked the victims for a piece of manioc cake or a few bananas and been refused, or the victims may have made the same request of the sorcerer, who either refused or grudgingly complied. Whichever variation of the episode is cited, the sorcerer is said to have become angry at the victims as a result and bewitched them. The explanation that sorcerers who bewitch whole communities are motivated purely by general malevolence serves a similar purpose. It is indicative of the social marginality of mɛ́ ʻùdju that they bewitch women and children, who have no place in the political structure of the community, for trivial motives like the begging of a few bananas. It is not felt necessary to explain the bewitching of women and children in terms of the relations between the sorcerer and their male kinsmen, which would indirectly tie the act of sorcery into the system of political-factional (i.e., masculine) relations.

Sorcerers must learn their techniques from other sorcerers. The most frequently mentioned technique of 'ùdiu depends upon the manipulation of a magical paste or powder made of wild plants known as pitu. There are several varieties of plants called pitu, not all of which are associated with 'ùdiu. One variety is a contraceptive medicine (kanê), which is commonly known to most adult men and women. The use of this type of pitu is not regarded as involving 'ùdiu. The more potent varieties of pitu used in sorcery are known only to sorcerers. A paste or powder made of pulverized parts of the plant is wrapped in a leaf, tied to an arrow or loaded into a shotgun, and fired in the direction of the victim from the jungle. Pitu may also be burned in a fire and the smoke blown or fanned in the victim's direction, or it may be slipped into the victim's food. Another technique of 'ùdiu is to walk toward the victim imitating the movements of an animal, thereby projecting the disease associated with the animal into the victim. It was very difficult to get informants to provide such information, and they always disavowed any personal knowledge of the specific plants, techniques of preparation, or manner of projecting animal diseases into victims. Knowledge of these fine points of 'ùdiu is thought to be confined to mé' 'ùdiu themselves,

and no Cayapo, with the marginal exceptions noted above, would willingly admit to being a sorcerer. I was unable, for the same reasons, to determine if 'ùdju is ever actually practiced. The Cayapo do not practice 'ùdju or use pitu as part of their preparations for defense or war against hostile communities, although they believe other Cayapo communities or their chiefs practice it against them[1] (cf. the differing practice of the Akwe Shavante in this respect, Maybury-Lewis n.d.: 243).

'ùdju is an extreme expression of divisive and aggressive (àkrê) tendencies, but accusations of sorcery are almost equally divisive and àkrê. To make such a charge against a specific individual or group in public oratory is an act of the utmost gravity, for it amounts to an overt and unnegotiable call for the killing of the accused. Once such a charge has been made, the only possible outcomes are a fight to the death between the accuser and accused and their supporters, or the flight of one of the

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[1] At Ruben-kran-ken and Goretire it is believed that a peculiar form of rainbow-hued cloud which occurs in the skies of Central Brasil is a form of 'ùdju sent against them by Yakuri, the chief of the hostile Cayapo village of kô kray mêrê. The clouds are called "bloody heads" and are thought to cause outbreaks of fighting within the village. The men perform a short dance to ward off their effects, firing their guns or arrows at the clouds. A similar dance is performed against the effects of large meteors when they appear in the night sky.

parties from the community. Such charges are likely to be unwelcome in the community unless an epidemic or other collective catastrophe has created a climate of opinion in which the provision of a scapegoat satisfies a widely felt need. Kayapo tend to regard fights in which they are not directly involved as threats to the peace of the community, and place a premium on their suppression or conciliation, regardless of whether this results in "justice" for the parties concerned. A charge of 'ɔ̀djɔ̀ makes suppression or reconciliation impossible. Because of the unpopularity of public charges of sorcery, executions of sorcerers are often carried out privately by the kinsmen of the deceased, with the tacit approval or encouragement of a chief. The charges are only made public afterwards as a justification for a fait accompli. The unpopularity of public charges of sorcery does not prevent Kayapo from making them on an informal basis in private conversation, which they do constantly with no intention of pressing the matter publicly unless they find widespread support for their accusations.

I once asked the oldest and most respected man at Kuben-kran-kên, Kremay-ti, whether he believed that a man who had just been murdered as a sorcerer was really guilty. His

reply was, "I don't know: I have grown up and have nothing to do with such matters." As a respected mẽ bê ngêtê (elder), Kremay-ti's role is to personify and express the values that hold the community together and to pacify and reconcile the parties to disputes. To lend his prestige and support to charges as inherently divisive as accusations of 'ùdju would have been incompatible with the role appropriate to his status as the leading elder of the community.

In spite of the unpopularity of charges of 'ùdju, there are certain advantages in communal prestige and standing to be gained from successfully prosecuting a charge against a sorcerer. Sorcery is by definition anti-social, and to kill a sorcerer (if he can be convincingly represented as such to the rest of the community) is one of the most effective ways of posing as a champion of society. For this reason, chiefs who desire to build up their communal prestige and following may resort to accusations of witchcraft as a means toward attaining these goals. Refugees or immigrants from other communities are convenient victims for such campaigns, since they have few kinship ties to the rest of the community and are therefore easily isolated and killed off without causing discord within the rest of society. As marginal members of the society, without any firm position of power

or influence within the community, they are thought to be prone to resort to sorcery as the only means open to them to achieve their ends, and to be by the same token the most likely to have ends opposed to those of the rest of the community. The case of the mẽ kran-no-ti at Kuben-kran-kên is a good example of the political manipulation of charges of witchcraft against an immigrant group.

Disease can be caused by sorcerers or inflicted without the aid of human intermediaries by animals, insects, fish, birds, or plants, a piece of whose substance (blood, hair, a piece of bone, or plant sap or pulp) enters the body and causes the disease. Because of this etiology, Cayapo refer to a disease by the name of the animal which is thought to cause its symptoms. They may explain the fact that they have a given disease by saying that the animal which causes the disease is "angry" at them for some reason, usually killing and eating it. The Cayapo understand that they may catch diseases directly from other people (e.g., Brazilians) without 'ùdju or animals necessarily being involved. The epidemic diseases brought in by Brazilians are regarded as contagious infections not involving an animal etiology and

usually not a result of 'ùdju.[1] Death of old age, snakebite, or attack by a wild animal is not usually considered to be caused by 'ùdju.

If a person falls ill he may enlist the services of a man[2] who knows a medicine for his disease. Knowledge of such medicines (called kanê, which is also the word for disease) is passed down from 'ĩ-naũ to tab-djuò, and the distribution of the knowledge of such remedies approaches randomness over the population of mature men. In other words, there are no specialists in kanê remedies who know a large number of medicines for different diseases. Kanê medicines usually take the form of a preparation of plant materials which is taken internally or applied externally to the patient. Those who know a kanê charge high prices for applying their knowledge to cure a patient.[3] A second type of medical

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[1]The Cayapo name for influenza is kuben djùdju, "the 'ùdju of the Brazilians," but specific cases of 'flu' are not attributed to the actual practice of 'ùdju by Brazilians, who are not, so far as I know, believed to practice sorcery. A Cayapo (e.g., the individual who is known to have brought the disease to a village) may be charged with having inflicted a Brazilian epidemic disease on a village through 'ùdju.

[2]Women do not seem to inherit kanê knowledge.

[3]The prices now usually take the form of Brazilian trade goods such as clothes or ammunition, but formerly were artifacts like bows and arrows or feather headdresses.

assistance is provided by the shaman (wayanga) who has generalized power to deal with all diseases by sucking or massaging and plucking out the substance or object causing the disease. Wayanga do not inherit their power from 'i-ngot but must acquire it by some profound individual experience, usually a near-fatal injury or illness which leads to a temporary separation of the soul [1] from the body. Another wayanga may initiate a novice (usually one who is already ill or has passed through some grave physical danger) and receive payment for his instruction. The process of becoming a wayanga is for the soul, after leaving the body in a state of near-death, to transform itself into an armadillo, burrow up from underground to the surface of the earth, transform itself into a bat or small bird, and fly to the place where the sun rises, where a great spider web stretches across the sky. Uninstructed would-be wayanga attempt to break through the web and are caught, so that they are unable to rejoin their bodies and die. Others, who have been prepared by experienced wayanga, turn themselves into stones and break through the web or else fly

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[1] The term for soul is the same as that for ghost, and the two are regarded as identical. The word in Cayapo is mẽ karõn [karõm = "image, picture, description, spirit, ghost").

around it to the sitting place (krin dja) of the wayanga, a mountain on the other side of the web. They sit on the mountain and learn shamanistic lore from the souls of older wayanga.[1] After their initintory trip to the krin dja of the wayanga, shamans can transform themselves into bats, birds, and sometimes terrestrial creatures at will, and can extract the bones, insects or other substances which cause disease. Wayanga also charge high prices for their cures. I never heard of a woman wayanga, and informants disagreed as to the possibility of woman becoming wayanga.

Because of the high prices charged by the possessors of kane knowledge and wayanga, many sick Cayapo avoid consulting them and rely on the few standard general-purpose remedies and kane known to all Cayapo, like wrapping the body with strips of the inner bark of certain hardwood trees, cutting the hair and painting the body red. The sick avoid "strong" food like meat and fish, and rely only on potatoes, palmito, and wild honey for food. A sick person's siblings, parents, and parents-in-law must also abstain from eating meat or fish, which would have the same deleterious effect on the patient in his weakened condition as if he had eaten it himself. Children are under no such obligation toward their parents. A

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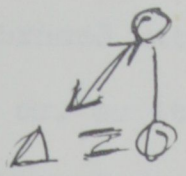
[1]This account of the process of becoming a wayanga is based on a Cayapo text generously provided by E. R. Trapp.

mother-in-law observes the same restrictions for a son-in-law.



APPENDIX II

THE KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY OF DIRECT REFERENCE AND ADDRESS

I. The categories of "kinsman" and "non-kinsman"

All categories of the terminology of direct reference and address are embraced within the field of reference of the term -bikwa or, as it is usually uttered, õ-bikwa.[1] õ-bikwa can therefore be translated as "kinsman," taking this term in the broad sense to include relations by marriage as well as consanguines. I shall refer to the terminological categories of õ-bikwa as "kinship terms" without attempting to distinguish further between "kinship" terms and "affinal" terms, since this distinction is foreign to the way the Cayapo speak of their terminology.

The term õ-bikwa is used at three levels of contrast. The most general is that between "kinsmen" (õ-bikwa) and "non-kinsmen" (me-ba-item).[2] The term me-katam[3] is also

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[1] See the glossary at the end of this appendix for the etymology of this term (entry for /-kwa/).

[2] Literally, "people beside, or to one side of, my people." ba = first person pronoun, "I"; mẽ-ba = "my people"; item = "beside," usually used for objects which are immediately adjacent or touching another.

[3] Literally, "the rest of the people," "the remaining people" (after "my people" have been subtracted); katàm = "left over," "surplus," "remainder."

used for "non-kinsman"; in everyday usage it connotes "outsiders" or "the rest" of a group of people relative to an "in-group" or an individual speaker. Both mẽ-ba-item and me-katàm are used for "foreigner" or "person from another tribe." A second level of contrast is between ẽ-bikwa kumrem, "true" consanguineal or affinal relatives, and ẽ-bikwa kn'àk or ẽ-bikwa kayõ, "false" or adoptive kinsmen. The most specific level of contrast is between "kinsmen by marriage" (aben-tàrà-mẽn kam ẽ-bikwa) and consanguineal kin, for whom no distinguishing expression exists at this level of contrast beyond the simple term "ẽ-bikwa." The expression "kinsman by marriage" is seldom used in ordinary speech. It is a descriptive device available for use on occasions when it is desired to specify the nature of a relationship of kinship, but such occasions seldom arise among the Cayapo. Affines are ordinarily referred to simply as ẽ-bikwa, and in Cayapo ideology they exhibit in equal measure the mutual support and solidarity connoted by the term, regardless of the differences in specific behavior patterns associated with most affinal relatives.

II. The special use of kinship terms

A Cayapo addresses and refers in the third person to every other Cayapo whom he considers a "kinsman" by a

kinship term. Personal names are normally used only for non-kinsmen, although nicknames are employed for Ego's own spouse or child.[1] The question, "What do you call X?" ("mòy ne ga kum X iarên?") elicits either a kinship term if X is a relative or an answer like, "Nothing. I just call him by name" ("kati. 'idji arên bit."), if X is unrelated. If asked for the name of a kinsman, Cayapo give the name prefixed by a kinship term of address, e.g., "djun-wa Beb-to-pup" ("Father Beb-to-pup") or "no-mrê Ngrê-Kahhê" ("sister-in-law Ngrê-Kanhê"). Fourteen classes of kin terms can be defined on the basis of identical distribution in replies to the question "mòy ne ga kum X iarên?"). In some cases there is only one term in a class. In most cases there are two or more, frequently but not always specialized for either second person address or third person reference. In the following list of terms, those which function exclusively or predominantly as terms of reference are followed by the abbreviation, "ref.," and those used primarily as terms of address by the abbreviation, "voc." Terms used interchangeably for either purpose are followed by "ref." and "voc."

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[1] It is worth noting in this connection that individuals feel considerable discomfort and embarrassment (piaàm) about uttering their own personal names, and usually refuse to do so in the presence of other Cayapo.

The fourteen classes of terms can be grouped into more inclusive superclasses on the basis of identity with respect to their polar reciprocal terms (Lounsbury 1964: 364). The polar reciprocal term for both "father" (bam) and "mother" (nã) is "child" (kra). On the basis of their equivalence with respect to the mutual polar category, bam and na are placed in a single superclass. On the same basis, the classes 'ĩ-ngêt (#1 on the following list) and kwa-tuy (#4) form a superclass with respect to their polar reciprocal class, tab-djuò (#11). The terms for parents-in-law are grouped in superclasses with the terms for siblings and children-in-law, although in this case the terminological equations are made by Ego as well as vice versa, and the structure of the categories varies with the sex of Ego.

III. The kinship terminology of indirect reference

In addition to the fourteen classes of terms which are elicited in answer to the question, "What do you call X?", there is a second entire system of kinship terms whose categorical boundaries are not entirely coincident with those of the set we have been discussing. These are the terms of indirect reference. When Ego speaks to Alter about a kinsman

of Alter, it is considered bad form to use that kinsman's name, and "familiar" to refer directly to the relationship between either the kinsman and Alter or the kinsman and Ego if such exists. In many contexts such familiarity is taken for granted and an ordinary reference term is used. If the context calls for a certain degree of formality and punctilio, however, the terminology of indirect reference is used. Indirect referential terms are always used in oratory and ritual wailing. At a number of points, the categories of the terminology of indirect reference are not synonymous with those of the ordinary terminology of reference and address. For example, a wife's brother asking his sister's husband about the latter's (and hence also his sister's) child could use the terms "your child" (a-kra) or "my nephew" (i-tah-diuò) and be understood. Ordinarily, however, he uses the form a-tukù. If the same man speaks to his sister, the mother of the same child, he will use the indirect term a-pari if the child is male or a-pari-diuòtch if it is female. Interestingly enough, a husband addressing his wife about her father uses the indirect form a-tukù-fyé, which is identical except for the special suffix with the indirect term for "sister's husband's child." Unfortunately, limitations of space prevent the treatment of

the indirect terminology here. A listing of the categories of direct reference and address will be sufficient for present analytical purposes.

IV. The terms.

Most of the kin terms and their specific genealogical referents have been introduced in Chapter IV. In the following list I give all the kin types normally included in a terminological class. Finite classes, for which all possible kin types are listed, are indicated with a terminal period. Potentially infinite classes are followed by three dots. Superclasses and unitary terminological categories are indicated with Roman numerals, and sub-classes of the same superclass by capital letters (e.g., IA, 'ĩ-ngêt, IB, kwa-tuy). Each term is given an Arabic number for individual reference. All terms are listed in radical form with prefixes and suffixes set off by hyphens. Where a prefix or suffix causes a morphophonemic modification in the root morph of the kin term itself, that morph is listed separately and followed by the morphophonemically modified form. A brief glossary of morphemic radicals follows the list of terms. I have taken care to give all referential synonyms for each terminological class,

for three reasons. In the first place, the meanings of the morphemic constituents of the kin terms in certain cases provide independent evidence concerning the nature of the structural relations of the categories denoted by the terms. Secondly, a complete list is useful for comparative purposes, since the other Northern Ge systems utilize differing assortments of terms which are almost entirely cognates of Cayapo terms, and the varying extension of cognate terms is a useful starting point for comparison. Thirdly, the pattern of incidence of certain morphemic roots over different categories (e.g., the differing pattern of incidence of the morpheme /-krê-/ in the terms of male and female Egos) affords clues to the nature of the categories involved which might be obscured by settling in advance on an abridged list in which each category is represented by only one term.

Cayapo kinship terms of direct reference and address[1]

Male Ego

ZA. 1. 'î-ngêt (i-nhî-ngêt), ref. FF,MF,FZH,MB,MBS,MBSS...
2. ngêt-tum, voc.
3. krê-tum (i-krê-tum), ref. and voc.
3a. krê-tum-re (i-krê-tum-re), ref. and voc. = MBS,MBSS only

[1]The notation represents specific genealogical positions or kin types by their initial letters, with the exception of Z for "sister" to distinguish it from S, "son." C, where used, represents "child" and P, "parent." Adjacent initials indicate the former takes the possessive case, as in FF, "father's father."

IB. 4. kwa-tuy (i-kwa-tuy), ref. FZ, FM, M1, MBM...
5. tuy-wa, voc.

IIA. 6. bam (i-bam), ref. F, FB, MZH
7. djun-wa, voc.

IIB. 8. nã̃ (i-na), ref. M, MZ, FBW
9. nhiri- (nhir-wa), voc.

III. 10. kra (i-kra), ref. and voc. C,BC,FBSC, MZSC,WZC,MBDSC.

IV. 11. tab-djuò (i-tab-djuò), ref. and voc. ZC,FZC,SC,DC,WBC...
12. krã̃-nu, ref. and voc.

V. 13. 'ù-djuò (i'djù-djuò), ref. ZH,DH,FZDH,SDH,DDH,ZDH,--
14. kràtkù, voc. (ZHZ,ZHB)...[1]

VI. 15. ka-ni-kwòy (i-ka-ni-kwòy), ref. and voc. Z,FBD,MZD,MBDD.
16. ŏynt, ŏyntch (free variation) (i-ŏynt, i-ŏyntch), ref. and voc.

VII. 17. ka-nu (i-ka-nu) ref. and voc. B,FBS,MZS,MBDS.
18. ton (i-ton), ref. and voc.

VIII. 19. pron (i-prõ̃n), ref. and voc. M.

IXA. 20. 'ù-payn (i-djù-payn), ref. SW,SW,WZ,FZSW,ZSW,SSW,
21. popoyn, popoyn, (free variation), voc. DSW, (SWZ,SWB)...[1]

IXB. 22. 'ù-payn-djuò (i-djù-psyn-djuò), ref. WH (WHZ,WFZ)...[1]
23. popoyn-ngêtch, voc.

XA. 24. 'ù-mrê (i-djù-mrê) ref. WB.
25. mày (i-mày), voc.

XB. 26. 'ù-mrê-ngêt (i-djù-mrê-ngêt), ref. WF (WFB,WHB)...[1]
27. màŷ-ngêt (i-màŷ-ngêt), voc.

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[1]The kin types in parenthesis are accepted as technically correct but these terms are rarely applied to them.

Female Ego. The Roman and Arabic numbers are identical with their structural counterparts in the list for male Ego.

I & II. 1- 9. Terms and extensions are identical with male Ego, except that female Ego does not use the terms "krã-tum" (#3) or "krã-tum-re" (#3a).

III. 10. kra (i-kra), ref. and voc. C,ZC,FZC,MZDC,FBDC, MBDDC, HBC.

IV. 11. tab-djuò (i-tab-djuò) ref. and voc. BC,MBSC,FBSC,MBDSC, HBC...

12. Female Ego does not use the term krã-nu (cf.#12, male Ego).

V. 13. wôy (i-djuôy), ref. and voc. BW,SW,FZSW,SSW,DSW...

14. Female Ego has no alternative form for this category (cf. male Ego #14).

VI.& VII. 15- 18. Terms and extensions are identical with male Ego.

VIII. 19. mien (i-mien), ref. and voc. H.

IX. 20. 'ù-djuò (i-djù-djuò), ref. HB,ZH,DH,SDH,DDH,FZDH...

21. bianhõ (i-bianhõ), ref. and voc.

XB. 22. 'ù-payn-djuò (i-djù-payn-djuò), ref. [2]

23. po-mrê-ngêtch, voc. and ref. HM (HMZ,HFZ)...[1]

XA. 24. 'ù-mrê (i-djù-mrê), ref. HZ.

25. po-mrê, voc. and ref.

XS. 26. 'ù-mrê-ngêt (i-djù-mrê-ngêt), ref.

27. po-mrê-ngêtchê, voc. and ref. HF (HFB,HMB)...[1]

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[1]The kin types in parenthesis are accepted as technically correct but the terms are rarely applied to them.

[2]This term is rarely used by a woman: "pomrê-ngêtch" is the ordinary female all-purpose term.

In addition to the terms for specific kin classes, the roots /djun-/ (term 7) and /'ù-mrê/ (terms 24 and 26) are used to form collective terms for more general groupings of kin. "i-djù-mrê-re" denotes all of a spouse's consanguines. "djun-ivê" or "i-djun-ivê" denotes all consanguines of ascending generations, or, more generally, "forefathers."

A number of expressions for indicating the relative age of kinsmen exist, but their use with kinship terms is not prescribed. They are not specifically associated with kinship terms per se and are used in the same way to describe the relative ages of any set of persons whether related or not. There seems to be no basis for including them as parts of the kinship terminology, but since such expressions have been reported as denotata of kin categories among other Northern Ge groups (Nimuendaju 1946:105) I give them here for comparative purposes. In order, from oldest to youngest, they include:

kute-wa = "first-born," "eldest" or simply "older" (kute = indicator of customary activity or state of being; wa = "prior," "leading" or "first in a sequence").

atãri = "younger" (lit. "again," "another").

õ'ê-re = "younger (õ'ê = "next," "adjacent"; re = diminutive suffix).

konêntã = "medial," neither oldest nor youngest; (konênh = "middle," "half-way"; tã = "there," "in position").

kutapu, kutapu-re = "younger," "youngest" (kute, see "kute-wa" above; apu = later or last in a series; re = diminutive suffix).

V. An alphabetical glossary of constituent morphemes of Cayapo kinship terms.

I append a short glossary of morphemes which function as constituents of kinship terms but also have meanings in other contexts. A few of the meanings may well be homonymous, but others have obvious descriptive properties in association with the categories to which they are attached, and constitute important evidence concerning their structural relationship to Ego. The meanings of the root morphemes of kinship terms often provide suggestive clues to the structural significance of the relationships concerned and deserve to receive more consideration from analysts of kinship terminologies.

/bi-/ (in õ-bikwa, "kinsman") See entry for /kwa-/.

/djun-/ (term 7) -'un, -djun, "to curse or verbally abuse." Possibly a homonym, since as a kinship term "djun" does not drop the dj- prefix. dj- is one of a class of prefixes (including nh-, ku, i-, etc.) which are either added to or dropped from the stems of

certain verbs, adjectives, and nouns to indicate that the object of action, the possessor of the object, or the subject modified by the adjective immediately precedes the word taking the prefix.[1] Single morphemes often take several different prefixes, their specific meaning varying with each prefix. In some cases the prefixes are permanently attached to words, regardless of the presence or absence of a preceding object or possessive noun, in which case the permanently prefixed form carries a different meaning than forms based on the same root with detachable prefixes. It is probable that djuŋ, the kinship term, and -ŋw, -djuŋ represent a case of this type involving the common root /-'ŋw/.

/-djuè/ (terms 11,13,22) "also," "again in the same way." As an initial morph /djuè-/ has a completely different meaning, "manioc bread." Failure to distinguish the initial from the terminal morpheme misled Dreyfus into a mistaken etymological reconstruction of the term 'ù-peyn-djuè (Dreyfus 1963:90).

/i-/ (all terms of reference) first person possessive pronoun.

/ŋ-/ (terms 15,17) "sibling": This morpheme never occurs in isolation among the Cayapo, but it is the cognate of the Canella /ŋ'/, "sibling," which is used without suffixes for siblings of both sexes (Nimuendaju 1946: 105).

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[1] I am indebted to D. R. Trapp for explaining to me the grammatical functions of this class of prefixes and many other features of Cayapo syntax.

/kra/ (term 10) "hand."

/-kwa/ (in ĩ-bi-kwa, "kinsman"; ku-kwa, special term for Z used when eating in her house; and term 4) /-kwa/ is a root with the basic meaning of "a curved space," as in kỳy-kwa, "sky" (kỳy = "upper, above"); o-kwa, "rib"; ỹ̃ỹ̃-kwa, "house" (ỹ̃ỹ̃ = "to sit")--the interior space of a Cayapo house is defined by the continuous curve of the back wall and roof; and ay-kwa, "mouth" (ay- is a prefix connoting transitive action or dynamic states, and is usually grammatically opposed to bi- as the prefix of the temporal form of verbs whose atemporal forms are prefixed by bi-: e.g. ay-ãk "to paint"; bi-ãk, name of a ceremony in which people "are painted"). /ãi-/, as this implies, is a prefix associated with passive or intensified states of being. It may also connote freedom or randomness of action or condition.
/ĩ-/ = "one's," "someone's."
/ku-/ (in ku-kwa)=meaningless prefix of detachable type (see entry for /diun-/), although in the case of ku-kwa it is permanently attached.

/-kwàw/ (term 15) Suffix attached to feminine names and terms.

/-ma/ (term 17) "male," "penis."

/-ni-/ (term 15) "female," "vagina."

/-nu/ (term 12) "new," "young."

/-ngêt-/, also /-ngêtch/ (terms 1,2,23,26,27)	"old," "aged" (cf. /-tum/). Note that, while in some contexts /-ngêt-/ and /-ngêtch-/ are in free variation, the latter form is prescribed in the case of kin terms 23,26, and 27.
/0-/ (in õ-bi-kwa)	See entry for /-kwa/.
/-payn-/, /-põyn-/ (free variation) (terms 20,21,22, 23,male Ego; 23,female Ego)	"reciprocal exchange," "payment." As adverb, any interdependent but contrasting pair of actions, e.g.,"X did it to Y and Y payn did it to X" (payn here = "back again").
/tam/, /tab-/ (term 15)	"the same," "equivalent"; affirmative expression: "Exactly!," "Right!." The radical /tam/ is rare as a denotation of the kinship category, although I have heard it used as such in a slangy way: "i-tam." /tab-/ is the morphophonemic combining form in the (kinship) term, /i-tab-djuò/.
/-tum/ (terms 3,32 male Ego)	"old," "aged" (synonym of ngêt, although ngêt is never used for inanimate objects, whereas tum is).
/'ù-/, /-djù-/ (terms 13, 20,22,24,26,male Ego; 20, 22,24,26,female Ego)	This radical occurs in all purely affinal terms of reference. /'ù/,"seed," may be a homonym (it does not take the dj- combinatorial prefix: compare the case of /djun-/). /'ù-/ without the dj- prefix occurs as the initial morph of many words and nicknames, in which it always connotes a special intensity or a uniquely significant embodiment of the essence or basic

	quality of the following morpheme: e.g., kre = "hole," 'ù-kre = "vagina"; nhê-ti, mythical ogre, 'ù-nhê-ti, joking nickname.
/-wa/ (terms 2,5,7,9)	"in front," "leading," "first of a sequence," "edge"(of a knife, etc.)." /wa/, /-djwa/= "tooth."
/wôy/, /-djwôy/ (term 13, female Ego)	"before," "early." Used of preceding generations: "i-djwôy-ri," "before me."

VI. Structural correlates of the meanings of some morphemic constituents of kinship terms.

1. /djun-/. The connection between /djun-/ as a morphemic constituent of the vocative term for "father" (F, FB, MZH) and "'un" ("curing" or "verbal abuse") is perhaps the most dubious on linguistic grounds of any of the listings in the glossary, but the linguistic correspondence, if genuine, has suggestive structural associations. The relationship between father and son is, in terms of domestic group relations, the focal point of structural contradiction in the domestic group cycle. The principal male rites de passage concentrate on severing it, only to reassert it in altered form as the "ceremonial father" (bam ka'àk) relationship. The most extreme ritual manifestation of the ambivalent character of the

father-son bond is the patrilineal krèb-djuè (ceremonial friend) relationship, which couples extreme pisèn (shame, inhibition) between krèb-djuè with rough joking with the krèb-djuè's maternal relatives (M,MZ,MM,etc., or DD,DS, etc.), culminating in especially intense joking and sexual relations with the krèb-djuè's spouse. There is, in short, a strong element of tension and ambivalence in the father-son relationship, the expression of which is forbidden except in terms of institutionalized ritual patterns. Overt expressions of aggression and direct verbal abuse are also socially forbidden, especially for men. As vehicles of strong latent but socially suppressed disruptive tendencies, the paternal relationship and verbal abuse have much in common. The association of patriliny with rough joking and verbal abuse in the krèb-djuè relationship tends to confirm this interpretation. Leach's treatment of the association of verbal abuse with structurally ambivalent categories would seem to be directly relevant to this case (Leach 1964).

2. /-djuè/ and /-payn-/. "djuè" ("also," "again in the same way"), and "payn" ("reciprocal exchange," interdependent but contrasting actions) have an obvious relationship of semantic reciprocity, which conforms with

the relationship of the kin terms they respectively compose, which are terminological reciprocals of each other (e.g., RB-BW, etc.).

3. /ka (mu/ni-kwàw)/. That the terms for same- and opposite-sex sibling share a common root, "ka-," and are differentiated in polar-reciprocal fashion according to sex, reflects the stressed sexual asymmetry characteristic of Cayapo domestic group relations. It is significant that the Cánella, who appear to have a more symmetrical and harmonious system than the Cayapo (insofar as they do not stress the separation of males from their natal domestic groups to nearly the same degree) use the cognate radical ḅi without polar reciprocal sexual suffixes for siblings of both sexes (Nimuendaju 1946: 105).

4. /-kwa/. The use of a root meaning "curved space" to denote Bgo's personal kindred lends some support to the ethnic veracity of the model of kinship structure as a set of concentric circular zones offered in Chapter V, and indirectly reinforces the suggestion that the circular village plan reflects the Cayapo conception of their kinship system. The use of the prefix bi- (ĝ-bikwa) suggests that the "curved space" of the kindred is

thought of as enveloping and surrounding the individual Ego ("ẽ-"), as the semantic opposite of the term for "mouth" (ay-kwa), a curved space with which the individual envelops external objects (it will be recalled that the prefix ay- is the grammatical and semantic opposite of the prefix hi-).

5. /tab-djuè/, /[illegible]/. The connotation of both the constituent morphemes of the term [illegible] is that the person referred to as "my tab-djuè" is identical with the speaker. The male Ego's polar reciprocal terms [illegible] and [illegible] connote that their users are identified along a single [illegible] and are differentiated [illegible] relative age, much as the [illegible] a basic identity beneath the distinction of [illegible]. The connotation of identity in the case of tab-djuè is asymmetrical. The reciprocal terms for tab-djuè ([illegible] and [illegible]) do not carry the same connotation of identity in their mono-emic constituents. The semantic relationship [illegible] cal "identification" between [illegible] and [illegible] and their tab-djuè parallels the structural and [illegible] relationship between these categories [illegible] of names and [illegible] (ceremonial privileges and "wealth")

The semantic connotations of the term tab-djuò provide perhaps the most striking semantic correspondence with social and ritual relations among Cayapo kinship terms.

6. /-wa/. The connotations of wa ("edge," "leading" or "front position") are in accord with the position of the ngêt-wa and tuy-wa on the outer periphery of Ego's circle of kinship relations, as well as with their seniority in age, which makes them "forerunners" or "ancestors" (the Cayapo term for "ancestors," mẽ kukama, means literally "those who go in front").

7. /wôy/. Female Ego implicitly equates HZ (po-mrê) with D by equating their children as tab-djuò. Wôy is the polar reciprocal of po-mrê. The connotation of wôy as "earlier" or prior in terms of generations is in accord with the asymmetrical generation-skewing implied in the terminology.