

Orono Social Structure

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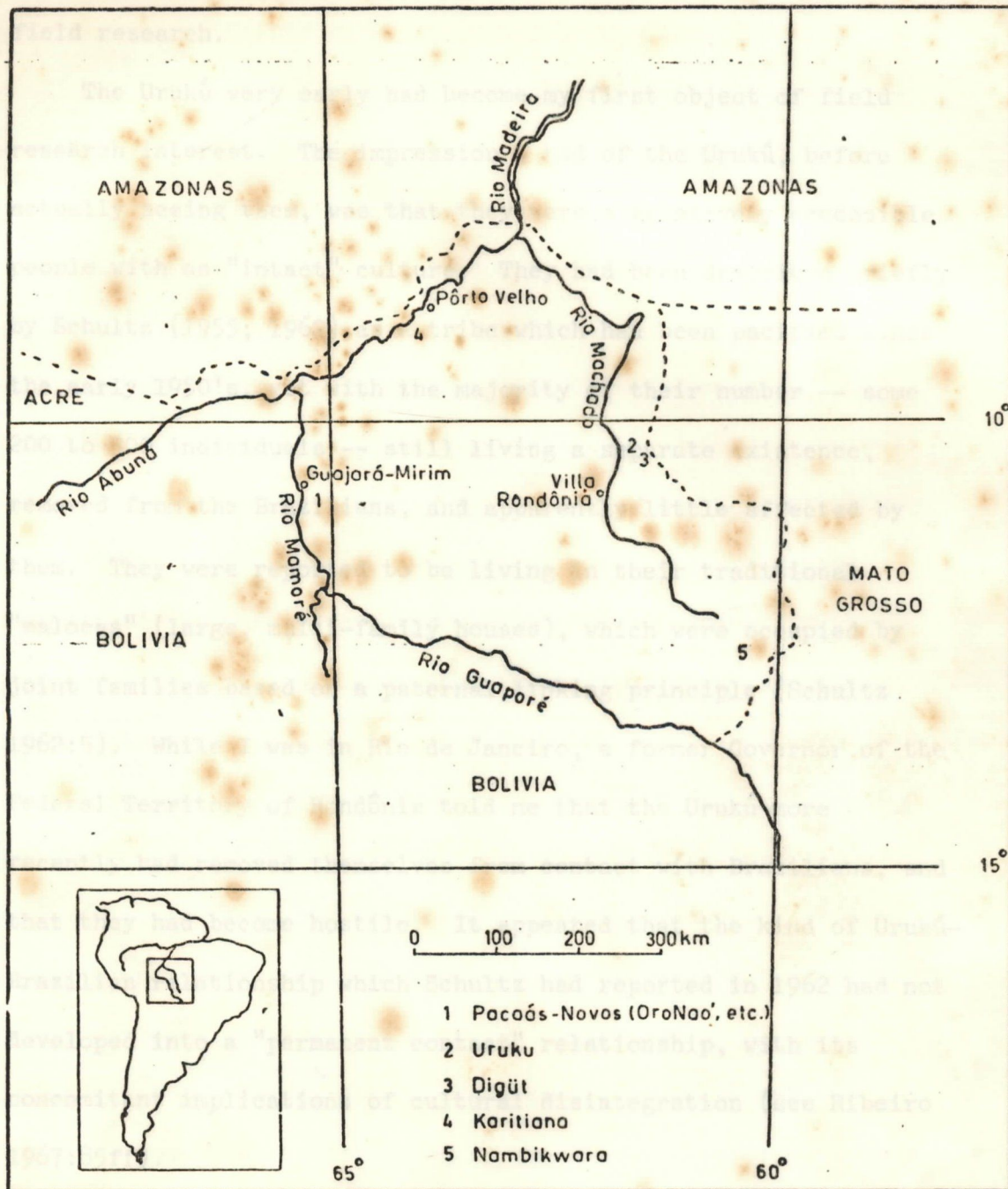
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## PREFACE

The thesis developed in the following chapters is based on my field research with the OroNao'<sup>1</sup> Indians of the Federal Territory of Rondônia, Brazil (see Map 1, p.iii). However, I had not anticipated doing my field research with the OroNao', nor had I intended to develop a thesis similar to the one presented here. Well before I arrived in Brazil I had made plans to study the process of alliance formation and maintenance among the Urukú Indians (see Map 1, p. iii), also of the Federal Territory of Rondônia. It happened that the Urukú research could not be carried out because, for all practical purposes, the Urukú unfortunately had been eliminated. This meant that some other society had to be selected for field research and that my plans to study alliance formation and maintenance might have to be abandoned. The new group I selected for research was one commonly known as the Pacaás-Novos.<sup>2</sup> I soon learned that the label referred, although not intentionally, to a categorization of six distinct, but closely related societies, only one of which was the OroNao'. The OroNao' and the other societies that make up the Pacaás-Novos category had never been described as fully as the Urukú had been described by Schultz (1955; 1962). Therefore, I had no opportunity to develop a plan of study that would orient my research -- I was prepared only to investigate whatever issue seemed to be significant in OroNao' society. What follows is a more detailed account of the circumstances which led to my



Map 1: Locations of Selected Tribes of the Federal Territory of Rondônia

abandoning the planned study and research with the Urukú, and of how I selected the OroNao', without a specific plan of study, for field research.

The Urukú very early had become my first object of field research interest. The impression I had of the Urukú, before actually seeing them, was that they were a relatively accessible people with an "intact" culture. They had been described briefly by Schultz (1955; 1962) as a tribe which had been pacified since the early 1950's, yet with the majority of their number -- some 200 to 300 individuals -- still living a separate existence, removed from the Brazilians, and apparently little affected by them. They were reported to be living in their traditional "malocas" (large, multi-family houses), which were occupied by joint families based on a paternal linking principle (Schultz 1962:5). While I was in Rio de Janeiro, a former Governor of the Federal Territory of Rondônia told me that the Urukú more recently had removed themselves from contact with Brazilians, and that they had become hostile. It appeared that the kind of Urukú-Brazilian relationship which Schultz had reported in 1962 had not developed into a "permanent contact" relationship, with its concomitant implications of cultural disintegration (see Ribeiro 1967:85ff).

The cultural integrity of the Urukú was essential to my plan of studying the process of alliance formation and maintenance. I had become interested in the relationship between the analysts' abstract models of alliance and the day-to-day activities of the

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people who got involved in these alliances. By focusing on this instrumental aspect of social organization, my intention was to suggest an answer to the query which had been put as "how the system really works" (Needham 1957; Schneider 1965). In order to answer that question it seemed necessary to find a society in which the forms of organization<sup>3</sup> necessitated alliances between identifiably distinct groups, and in which the culture and forms of organization had not been decimated by "permanent contact" with Brazilians. The Urukú appeared to meet both requirements. The information available on the Urukú indicated the existence in the society of residentially separate patri-groups, in terms of which the operations of forming and maintaining alliances could be examined; and the most recent information I had obtained on the Urukú was encouraging, at least from the point of view of their cultural integrity.

My wife and I arrived in Brazil, in December, 1967, eager to begin the research. But, we were delayed in Rio de Janeiro for more than two months. The combination of advice and requirement that our Brazilian sponsors imposed was, first, that a facility with the Portuguese language was essential to getting on in the Urukú region and, second, that a study must be made of the alternative societies to the Urukú in the event research with them became an impossibility. As advice, both ideas were wise for, as we discovered in the sequel, both were in fact requirements. While in Rio de Janeiro there was also equipment to be cleared through customs, letters of introduction to be obtained, etc. For the

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most part there was the authorization for the Urukú research to be obtained from the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios<sup>4</sup>. We were assured by the SPI officials in Rio de Janeiro that there was no problem in obtaining the authorization, that it was simply a slow process, and that in any event the authorization would be forwarded as a matter of course to the Chief of the 9th Inspectoria<sup>5</sup> of the SPI in Pôrto Velho, Federal Territory of Rondônia. Furthermore, since it was the 9th Inspectoria which would have to grant the specific authorization for the Urukú research and since all other matters were in order, there seemed to be no reason to delay any longer in Rio de Janeiro.

At the middle of February, 1968, we flew to Pôrto Velho, courtesy of the Fôrça Aérea Brasileira. Our authorization had not yet been forwarded to the Chief of the 9th Inspectoria, and he himself was unwilling to grant us an authorization on his own. For the next two weeks we made daily visits to the Inspectoria headquarters. Our personal relationship with the Chief was quite cordial, even warm, and our letters of introduction seemed to evoke in him the proper response, but somehow the authorization was not forthcoming.<sup>6</sup>

It was only through a rather tangential connection that we finally were able to obtain an authorization for the Urukú research, and, in this case, directly from the Chief of the Inspectoria and on his own authority. An acquaintance of ours in Rio de Janeiro had a friend in Pôrto Velho who sympathized with our plight; he in turn had a friend, and former employee, whose

father-in-law was a close friend of an influential figure in the SPI; this latter fellow happened to be in Pôrto Velho at the time, and after we talked with him, he pressured the Chief into providing us with an authorization. We got the authorization on the 29th of February and left the following day for Villa Rondônia (see Map 1, p. iii). It was from this point that we would travel down stream to the area of the Urukú. In Villa Rondônia we began to hear rumors that more accurately reflected the condition of the Urukú -- information which convinced us first to make a brief visit to their area before trying to move in all of our equipment and to establish residence with them. We traveled by boat from Villa Rondônia to Seringal Apena, just north of where the Igarapé Lourdes enters the Rio Machado. Some of the Urukú were reportedly living on the "seringal".<sup>7</sup>

The entire Urukú tribe, now consisting of only 44 individuals were living on the Seringal Apena as charges of its owner. The estimated 200 to 300 Urukú had been decimated almost completely in the span of only twelve years, and now they formed the most pathetic group of human beings I had ever observed. During our brief stay at the "seringal" (the afternoon of one day and the morning of the next), the Indians did little more than huddle around pots of damp, smoking vegetation, waving old rags about their heads in an effort to keep the smoke between themselves and the incessantly bothersome insects called "pium".<sup>8</sup> Even worse, the Urukú were intimidated so thoroughly by the owner of the "seringal" that we were able only to elicit some words from them to check against Schultz' 1955 word list. Even on such a simple

matter the Indians were reluctant to speak, and when the owner of the "seringal" was present, they were mute.

The condition of the Urukú and the fact that the owner of the "seringal" opined that our presence there would be intolerable to him made it necessary to abandon the plan for the Urukú research. The whole plan suffered from being based on information which, probably even at the time of its contemplation, was no longer accurate. In retrospect, I am now able better to understand the implications of one of Schultz' statements which presaged the later fate of the Urukú: he first explains that the Urukú were pacified by local "seringalistas" (circa 1945); later, however, the Indians laid a surprise attack on the Seringal Santa Maria and killed some workers there; he then continues with the fascinating remark:

"Since then, they have been led into pacification again by the new owner of the Seringal, senhor José Bezerra de Barros, who convinced them of the advantage to them of peace with the more numerous and better armed 'civilizados'."<sup>9</sup>  
(1955:82; emphasis supplied).<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps it would have been more accurate had Schultz stated that the Urukú were convinced by means of a more numerous and better armed group of "civilizados", but none of this came to light until I was able to get a first hand impression of the situation.

(On the trip to the Urukú we also visited two small settlements of Diglüt, one on the Igarapé Lourdes and another on a south tributary of the Lourdes (see Map 1, p. iii). The inhabitants of both settlements maintained intermittent to permanent contact with "civilizados" by spending a major segment

of each year working on one or another "seringal" along the Rio Machado and its tributaries. A larger group of Digüt were living in a more isolated region, one day's walk toward the east from the other Digüt settlements. We did not visit the latter group.)

On March 9 we left the region of the Urukú, and returned, after two days canoe voyage, to Villa Rondônia. There, an officer of the army informed me that the authorization for the Urukú study had been revoked by the 9th Inspectoria and that there was no alternative but to return to Pôrto Velho. The Chief of the Inspectoria claimed that the SPI in Brasília had finally answered our requests for the Urukú authorization, and in the negative.<sup>11</sup>

The trip to the Urukú was valuable because of the insights we were able to gain on problems of transportation, maintaining good health, keeping up effective relations with officials of various sorts, etc. The record of illness in the population of Villa Rondônia, including the missionaries based there but trying to work with the Digüt, and the difficulties of transportation along the Rio Machado were serious drawbacks to working in that area. Other groups east of the Machado, such as the Cinta Larga, were reported to be extremely hostile (see Keitzman 1967:17, Map No. 5). Most important, it appeared that the SPI would be unlikely to grant us any authorization for field research in the area.

It was also apparent that we would not be able to delay much longer in initiating some sort of field research. A considerable period of time had elapsed since our arrival in Brazil and our financial resources were dwindling rapidly as a result of the

delays.

We were aided at this time by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Wycliffe Bible Translators). It was almost entirely through the efforts of several of their people that we again requested, and ultimately received, an authorization -- this time to study another group. We requested our authorization for one of three groups, all of the Federal Territory of Rondônia, listed in an order of preference as follows: our first choice was the Pacaás-Novos who were located in the area surrounding Guajará-Mirim; our second choice was the Karitiana, located just off the railway line Estrada de Ferro Madeira-Mamore, a short distance from Pôrto Velho; and our third choice was a very small group of Nambikwara, located just off Highway BR 29 in the southeastern portion of the territory (see Map 1, p. iii). On April 16, 1968, an authorization for the Pacaás-Novos research was forwarded to the 9th Inspectoria. We made plans to proceed to the Pacaás-Novos as soon as possible.

The literature on the Pacaás-Novos was scant and, with the exception of an article by Carvalho (1962a), did not distinguish between the tribes which make up this category of peoples. It should not be surprising, therefore, that both the decision to study the Pacaás-Novos, as well as the decision on which of the Pacaás-Novos groups to study, was based on little more than a desire to get on with some sort of field research, rather than to study a particular problem in a particular society, as had been the case with the Urukú.

Having selected the Pacaás-Novos, the kind of information we

were able to gather on them was of two sorts. We first got a general impression of the Pacaás-Novos groups from members of the New Tribes Mission of Brazil who had worked with them (Koop 1957). Another source of information was a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics who had included the Pacaás-Novos in a survey of Indian populations on the Brazilian side of the Rio Mamoré and Rio Guaporé; Bontkes told us that, in 1968, 540 Pacaás-Novos were distributed in the following locations (see Map 2, p. 48; Map 3, p. 58):

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Rio Ribeirão                            | 94  |
| Rio Laje                                | 177 |
| Posto Tanajura <sup>12</sup>            | 18  |
| <u>Pitop</u> <sup>13</sup>              | 53  |
| Igarapé Dois Irmãos                     | 65  |
| Rio Negro                               | 63  |
| Colônia Agrícola Sagarana <sup>14</sup> | 70  |

Bontkes (1968) had also indicated that the Pacaás-Novos of Pitop, were probably the least assimilated to Brazilian culture.

The authorization written by the 9th Inspectoria included three documents: one for each of the indigenous posts<sup>15</sup> located on the Rio Ribeirão, Rio Laje, and at Posto Tanajura on the Rio Pacaás-Novos. While all of these locations were relatively accessible from Guajará-Mirim it happened that there was no agent of the SPI at Posto Tanajura at the particular time. Because of our experience with the SPI it was perhaps this factor more than any other that lead our decision to begin research at Pitop, an OroNao' settlement, located a short distance from Posto

Tanaajura.

The poverty of literature on the Pacaás-Novos and the absence of information on the OroNao' made it necessary to enter into the research without the kinds of assumptions that would have guided my research with the Urukú. In the case of the Urukú there was a system of well-defined groups whose members' interactions could be examined. The issue was to show how the social structure operated at the level of individual interactions. In the case of the OroNao' I found no apparent system of well-defined groups, no apparent critical relationships, and no apparent order. The issue became one of trying to decipher how life in OroNao' society was structured.

I initiated my field research with the OroNao' at the end of April, 1968, and stopped at the end of December, 1969. In all, I spent 12 months of that time resident in the settlement of Pitop; my wife assisted me there until the end of December, 1968, when she returned home because of illness. I also spent two weeks visiting a large settlement on the Rio Laje where many OroWuram and OroMun reside, and another two weeks on a visit to Colônia Agrícola Sagarana where individuals of various Pacaás-Novos tribes reside. The only segment of the yearly cycle during which I was absent from the OroNao' region occurred in the month of June and a portion of July -- in 1968 my wife and I spent that time in Pôrto Velho looking after the home of friends who had earlier taken us in when my wife was severely ill; in 1969 I spent the months of May, June, and July recuperating from an illness.

I wish to acknowledge the following institutions for their assistance in connection with my field research: the National Institute of Mental Health for supporting the research with a pre-doctoral fellowship (MH-34,245) and grant (MH-11,251); the Chancellor's Fund of the University of California, Davis for providing financial support; the Department of Anthropology of the University of California, Davis for providing additional financial support; the Museu Nacional for sponsoring my research in Brazil; the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Wycliffe Bible Translators) for obtaining for me an authorization to visit the Pacaás-Novos groups; and the Fôrça Aérea Brasileira for flying us and our supplies from Rio de Janeiro to Pôrto Velho.

I also wish to thank the individuals who assisted me in this project. In particular, I wish to acknowledge the following individuals for the generosity and kindness of their support: Dr. Johan Kloosterman, Dr. Ewoud Bon, and Mr. Lance Belville; Mr. and Mrs. Pete Weissenburger, Mr. Jim Wilson, and Mr. Dale Keitzman of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Wycliffe Bible Translators); Mr. and Mrs. Manfred Kern and Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur Abbey of the New Tribes Mission of Brazil; Pe. Dr. Ferdinand Alexandre Bendoraitis and Irmã Maria Xavier of the Centro Médico Social da Prelazia de Guajará-Mirim; Rev. and Mrs. Paul Bellington and family; Dr. Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira, who at the time of the field research was director of the anthropology section of the Museu Nacional (Rio de Janeiro); Dr. William G. Davis,

Dr. Richard Curley, and Dr. Benjamin Orlove, dissertation advisors;  
my mother Elsie Mason, my son Aaron, and my wife Patricia; and,  
finally, the people of Pitop.

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The ... along with the other tribes that make up the ... enjoyed the reputation of being ... their practice of ... the food was ... in a popular Brazilian ... for ... "Mapeiros of ..."

CHAPTER 1

... publication ... as an instance of ... cannibalism, which he claimed to have witnessed, in the following terms:

"The year ... that ... arrived, a young Indian girl, ill from dysentery, was about to ... their ... Julian well understood. He ... that the ... were cannibals ... that, if the little girl were to die, they would eat her. At mid-day, a piercing voice cried out in a wail:

INTRODUCTION

--Pipim! Pipim! Piô utô!

The little girl had died. The old father rose up, lifted his arms to the heavens, and spoke: "Tehôa meri? Mena hastôo carim piô pipim!"

Julian was excited:

--Fernando! They are going to eat the little girl!

and they ate her." (1966b:56a).

Cannibalism was described by Lévi-Strauss (1966b:105) as an exaggerated form of the consumption of food. This reflects a commonly held view that cannibalism, whatever its form, is an immoderate act. But, if cannibalism is immoderate, then ritual cannibalism, because it is a highly ritualized action, transposes

The Problem

The OroNao', along with the other tribes that make up the category Pacaás-Novos, once enjoyed the reputation of being cannibals. Their practice of ritually consuming the dead was widely proclaimed in a popular Brazilian magazine and earned for them the epithet "Maneaters of Amazonia" (Carvalho 1962b). In the same publication Carvalho described an instance of ritual cannibalism, which he claimed to have witnessed, in the following terms:

"The same day that Josias arrived, a young Indian girl, ill from dysentery, was about to die, and a group of Indians was about to chant their wailing refrain. Josias well understood. He knew that the Pacaás-Novos were cannibals and that, if the little girl were to die, they would eat her. At mid-day, a piercing voice cried out in a wail:

--Pipini! Pipini! Pié utá!

The little girl had died. The old father rose up, lifted his arms to the heavens, and spoke: "Tchutá uari! Mona kankão nariná pié pipini!"

Josias was excited:

--Fernando! They are going to eat the little girl!

And they ate her."<sup>1</sup> (1962b:58a).

Cannibalism has been described by Lévi-Strauss (1966b:105) as an exaggerated form of the consumption of food. This reflects a commonly held view that cannibalism, whatever its form, is an immoderate act. But, if cannibalism is immoderate, then ritual cannibalism, because it is a highly ritualized action, transposes

the immoderate quality from the act itself onto the force of culture which presumably inspires it. Thus, wherever the ritual consumption of the dead is prescribed, the people's actions in that respect often are seen as extensively subordinated to custom. This idea is as old as Montaigne who, in his essay, "Of Cannibals", extolled the Tupinamba practice of roasting and eating a man after he is dead, and contrasted this action -- "done through a simple and servile bondage to usage and through the authority of their ancient customs," -- with the more atrocious actions of his own time which he considered to be based on reason (1958:150-159).

But the OroNao' have given up their practice of ritual cannibalism. Indeed they have given up most of their ritual practices. For example, they no longer consume the large quantities of corn beer or engage in the other performances that formerly made up a harvest ceremony; they have dispensed with the ritual singing and dancing that formerly preceded each year's planting of crops; and they have dispensed with the invocation of the spirits of the dead, which at one time was required in order safely to consume the meat of animals, such as tapir and peccary, whose bodies the spirits inhabited. The fact that these relinquished practices were ritual practices implies that they had been performed in accordance with the "authority of society".

These few relinquished ritual practices exemplify one of the general conditions characterizing OroNao' society

today -- the condition of a widespread decretion of traditional OroNao' culture and forms of organization. The harvest ceremony mentioned above provides evidence of a direct contrast between an earlier period, when the OroNao' displayed, in this instance through their ritual practices, the values, customary arrangements, and fundamental social divisions of their society, and the present period, in which such displays are largely absent.

In the last harvest ceremony conducted by the OroNao', all of the actions of the ceremony were played out by two opposed groups. For the sake of convenience these may be called the "guests" and the "hosts". The guests comprised that segment of the OroNao' population living in the vicinity of the Igarapé Dois Irmãos; the hosts comprised that part of the population living in the vicinity of Posto Tanajura. At a prearranged date, the guests gathered in the forest at the edge of the gardens surrounding the settlement of Pitop. There they set up a temporary camp. From their position in the forest, the male guests entered Pitop only to perform the specific activities of the ceremony. Most of these activities centered on the guests' ritual consumption of corn beer prepared by the hosts. Each time the group of guests entered the settlement they continued the ritual consumption of beer until one of their lot achieved a special state of trance, resembling a convulsive seizure, which, in OroNao' terms, approximates death. The hosts manipulated the bodies of the "dead" guests, straightening the upper and lower extremities so as to prevent the bodies from assuming a fetal position -- a sign of irretrievable death. The spirits of the "dead" guests then left

the bodies until they were brought back, several hours later, by a ritual bathing performed by the hosts.

Each year the two groups had switched their roles as guests and hosts.

This description of the harvest ceremony, although brief and incomplete, illustrates how the OroNao' formerly displayed, both for themselves and for the "inquisitive observer", several important elements of their culture and forms of organization: a formal division of the society into two groups, the interdependence between these two groups, and some of the values and customary arrangements of the society. In May, 1968, I observed what apparently was the last performance of the harvest ceremony by the OroNao'. Once the ceremony had been given up, the OroNao' no longer expressed the values, customary arrangements, and forms of organization that formerly had been expressed in the ceremony. The contrast was immediate and obvious.

Another general condition characterizing OroNao' society today is that the on-the-ground relations which exist between persons and between aggregates of persons appear to be irregular and to lack a patterned, repetitive quality. This condition is particularly evident in kinship and marriage relations and in the domestic and subsistence organization of the society. For example, the kinds of aggregates that formed for the conduct of subsistence activities always seemed to be based on a random selection of participants; food seemed to be distributed willy-nilly; domestic aggregates formed and dissolved without any apparent basis for the aggregation or dissolution. The population of the settlement where

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I lived was cut in half during my stay there; and, to make matters worse, the changes in residence took place without the display of ceremony which otherwise might have provided me with the clues to make sense of the changes.

Thus, the OroNao' not only fail to describe themselves and their society in ways that might indicate some semblance of order, but they also fail to get themselves arranged in ways that appear orderly. In general, the OroNao' express few norms, values, rules, regulations or other ideational elements; and their actions are highly variable.

The conditions of a reduced OroNao' culture and organization, and of widespread variations in the activities, particularly the organizational activities, of the people, constitute the significant problem in any attempt to make sense of the OroNao'. Elements of culture and forms of organization, together with the regularized activities of a society's members, traditionally have provided anthropologists with the clues, and ultimately with the rationality itself, in terms of which an otherwise distinctive society makes sense. But when the culture and organization are reduced, and the activities of the society's members appear not to be regularized, then two questions are raised: one concerns the appropriateness of the theoretical concepts in terms of which order traditionally has been found in a society; the other concerns the specific order which obtains in OroNao' society.

These two questions raise the common issue of the nature of the relationship between prescription and practice. However, the

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two questions differ in that the general one requires analysis in terms of concepts, while the specific one requires analysis in terms of facts. Thus, the remainder of this introductory chapter is devoted to a critical analysis of concepts in the relationship between prescription and practice. The facts of any particular case are brought to bear only to suggest the appropriateness or lack of appropriateness of concepts. Subsequent chapters of the thesis are devoted to a description of the facts of the OroNao' case in terms of the concepts developed in the pages of this first chapter.

### Theoretical Concepts

The quality I have attributed to the OroNao' is not unlike the quality of apparent anarchy attributed to the Lakeside Tonga by van Velsen (1964). This similarity, which in fact exists only at the level of the most abstract comparison of the two societies, serves as a useful point of departure for a more detailed discussion of the problem of order that exists in OroNao' society, and of the way in which I intend to treat that problem in this thesis.

Clyde Mitchell, writing in a forward to van Velsen's The Politics of Kinship, maintained that an anthropologist can reasonably expect to find a certain kind of order in a tribal society:

"He can expect them to have a fairly clear-cut kinship system which organizes them into social groups. He can expect to find certain rules and customs governing the way in which land is acquired and disposed of. He can

expect to find customary arrangements through which marriages are contracted and the rights and obligations of the spouses and children towards each other are formally established. He can expect to find a variety of tribal office-holders -- headmen and chiefs -- whose duties and responsibilities and whose office is embellished with some ceremony and circumstance. He can expect to find a series of ritual practices in which the salient values of the society are dramatized and expressed or religious performances which reflect the fundamental unity or divisions in the society." (1964:vi).

He then went on to state that "Dr. van Velsen could find little of this." (1964:vi). Similarly, I can attest to not finding much of this kind of order in OroNao' society. Furthermore, the following description of the Lakeside Tonga could apply equally to the OroNao':

"The social life of the Lakeside Tonga thus appeared from the outset to exhibit no regularities, no pattern which could be made the starting point for an analysis." (Mitchell 1964:vii).

The similarity ends here.

Mitchell is not thoroughly convinced that the kind of order he said we could expect in tribal societies might actually be absent from them. Instead, societies may be more or less ordered in the expectable way, and to the extent that a society is ordered in the expectable way, then, for Mitchell, the structural approach, or the structural model, still applies. To the extent that societies are less ordered in the expectable way, for Mitchell, ". . . the next stage in the development is to show how exceptions and variations ignored in the process of delineating a structure are accomodated within it in reality." (1964:x).

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As it turns out, the Lakeside Tonga simply are less ordered than reasonably might have been expected, or, to put it the other way around, "In fact Lakeside Tonga society is . . . 'highly optative'," (1964:x). For, as van Velsen describes them, the Tonga still have something about which to be optative: rules and norms, kinship links, sets of social relationships, and a variety of other norms and customary arrangements. These are the features with which the Tonga "jockey for position" or "politick" -- bonnes a manoeuvrer, if you like. His central problem was to discover the orderliness of the relationship between norm and practice:

"And although the deviations, in practice, from what general rules there are were many, these deviations did not appear to be in open defiance of generally acknowledged rules and norms. I therefore wanted to know what the formal rules and norms were and what the practice was, but also how norm and practice were related to one another." (van Velsen 1964:8).

The OroNao', on the other hand, are remarkable not only because there are widespread variations in their practices, particularly in the kinds of relations they establish in marriage and kinship, and in the composition of domestic and subsistence aggregates, but also because there are very few formal rules and norms respecting these practices. Nevertheless, there is an orderliness in this situation. The nature of the relationship between norm and activity remains as the central question.

The nature of this relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders has been a perennial issue in anthropology.

In his recent history of social anthropology, The Dialectics of Social Life, Murphy stressed the antinomy between what he calls, variously, "norm" and "action", "idea" and "deed", "concept" and "conduct", etc. (1971:158); and the entire concluding chapter of the book is devoted to a discussion of the differing qualities of "image" and "activity" (1971:206-244). The dichotomy is basic in the social sciences, according to Murphy, ". . . for within this strange domain lie all of the principal problems of the social sciences." (1971:5). Harris (1968) emphasized something of the same distinction in his history of anthropological thought, The Rise of Anthropological Theory, by considering all theoretical positions in terms of an alignment with idealist, as opposed to materialist strategies of analysis. The distinction also finds expression in anthropological literature in terms of such oppositions as "ideal" and "actual" behavior (e.g., Leach 1945), Leach's specialized usage of the concepts "myth" and "ritual" (1965), Lévi-Strauss' notions of "Consciousness and Unconsciousness" (1953), and more recently, Goodenough's distinction between "ideational" and "phenomenal" as properties of the community vs. properties of its members, respectively (1964:11-12; see also Tyler 1969).

For the most part anthropologists have treated societies and cultures as if they were unitary. This view is normally associated with "equilibrium theory" and its principal exponent, Radcliffe-Brown. Defining "function" as the contribution which a part makes to the whole, he claims:

"Such a view implies that a social system (the total social structure of a society together with the totality of social usages in which that structure appears and on which it depends for its continued existence) has a certain kind of unity, which we make speak of as a functional unity. We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e., without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved nor regulated."  
 (Radcliffe-Brown 1952:181, my emphasis).

Recently, Murphy has pointed out that the premises of the structural-functional position (of which the above is only one of the more precise expressions) are widespread in anthropology. He summarizes the premises of the position in the following terms:

"The defining characteristic of functionalism is here taken as the premise that societies are structured -- which comes close to being a tautology -- and that their component institutions and regularized activities are adjusted to each other in such a way that they maintain the system in its entirety. It assumes a whole structure that is more than the sum of its components. Moreover, the tendency of the structure to maintain itself in a rough approximation of equilibrium is effected by the shaping of the components in such a way that they function toward that end. Structures can be described in terms of the interrelated aggregate of groupings and offices, or roles, into which a populace is ordered and assigned, and the activities appropriate to these groups and offices may be seen as the life process, the functioning, of that structure. The task of the anthropologist, then, is to analyze the rationality and internal coherence of the structure both through a consideration of the logical fit of the parts to each other and by a study of the means by which social action activates the elements of the structure and brings them into a working relationship with each other. There are as many variations on this theme as there are structural-functionalists, but this is the core of the enterprise." (Murphy 1971:11-12).

He then goes on to note that these are the premises of the American acculturation studies, cultural ecology,<sup>2</sup> and cultural evolution (1971:27-35), and are not just restricted to the British social anthropologists (1971:15-17). As Murphy sums up, ". . . American anthropology is nonetheless structural in its model of society and culture and functional in its view of social processes." (1971:35).

Consistent with this view, anthropological description has been unitary as well, with the result that we have come to believe that in a small-scale society there is one form of organization, one system of social groupings, one system of rules, one system of rights and duties, one system of statuses and roles, etc. That a congruence exists between the ideational and phenomenal orders would seem to have been demonstrated if one accepts at face value the sort of societal integration described in many ethnographies or the correlations between social features as measured in terms of the degree of contingency involved (e.g., Murdock 1949; but, in this respect, see Buchler and Selby 1968:44). Variations which fall outside the scope of the unity of the total organization have been treated in terms of situational contexts, such as "structural time" (e.g., Fortes 1949; Gluckman 1968), "cyclical time" (e.g., Leach 1965; Geering 1958; Meggers 1971), or contexts specific to one or a few individuals (e.g., Barth 1966; Keesing 1966; Tyler 1966, 1969). Even when more serious exceptions to a unity of societal order have been accepted the situations have been treated as cases of readjustment toward a new unity or equilibrium

(e.g., Gluckman 1965; 1968).

As Murphy points out, the notion that in the social order the ideational and phenomenal aspects tend toward a unity is one of the basic premises of the equilibrium model. The quality of a unity is assumed, a priori, and pertains not only to the relationship between "idea" and "action", but also to the relationship between elements within the ideational realm:

"The premises of the equilibrium concept are simple. The most important is that norms and activities are either unitary or tend toward unity. Some social anthropologists fail to make any distinction between the two levels, or kinds, of social reality, and the rest assume a close congruence between them. Thus, when norm and conduct vary widely, two processes are believed to be set in motion. The first is that negative sanctions will bring the conduct back into the permissible range of variation; the second is that, to the extent that deviation in conduct is general, the norm will readjust to behavioral reality. Norms, however, do not change, according to structural-functionalism, to reflect just any behavior, for the direction and extent of change are conditioned by other norms. That is, the norms, themselves, have an internal consistency and a requirement for mutual complementarity that will operate against the development of any contradictions within the system they form. Change, where it occurs, will be dampened in extent by the strain toward pattern consistency, and it will take forms that are both organically and aesthetically related to their antecedents."  
(Murphy 1971:231-232).

In the context of the OroNao', there are several reasons for questioning the assumption that the social system has the quality of a unity. For the present, two brief examples will suffice.

When the OroNao', in the face of an increasing intrusion

into their region by non-Indians, changed their strategy of avoiding all non-Indians to a strategy of dealing with selected non-Indians, namely, missionaries, government agents, and a few Brazilian families living near them, they developed a dependency relationship with the latter. This dependency relationship entailed maintaining residential proximity to the selected non-Indians in order to obtain the material, medical and other benefits the latter had to offer. The OroNao' reaction was to move, "en masse", to the Posto Tanajura indigenous station. The dependency relationship was clearly in "contradiction" (see Gluckman 1965:139) with the traditional residential organization, which had been to maintain spatially dispersed settlement groups. The new residential order, implicit in maintaining a dependency on the non-Indians, has had a widely ramifying effect on the ways in which the OroNao' extract resources from their environment, their organization in extracting these resources, their inter-settlement group relations, etc., but it has not eliminated, by substitution, the old residential order. Two principles of residential organization are now in force in the OroNao' society.

The example above is drawn from an instance of culture contact and entails the imposition of one order, from the outside, upon another, existing order. The argument may be made that the situation is therefore a special one to which the notion of a unity of the social order only applies in the long run as the contradictory conditions I have mentioned are worked out to form a new unity. To a certain extent, adjustments in OroNao'

residential organization as well as adjustments in the dependency relationship with non-Indians are being made. However, the adjustments are not characterized by any tendency to form a new harmony or internal consistency. Indeed, the opposite appears to be the case: the two principles of residential organization continue to be contradictory, and it is in terms of this contradiction that the activities of the OroNao' respecting residential organization make sense. Thus, the orderliness I was able to find among the OroNao' in their residential organization was one arising from dual, but opposed principles, and not from any unity or tendency toward a unity.

Another example will illustrate a similar process in a context which more directly applies to the normative system. In the few years since they have established "permanent peaceful contact"<sup>3</sup> with non-Indians, a number of OroNao' have contracted marriages with individuals of the other Pacaás-Novos tribes. These adults retain their tribal affiliation and designation, and continue to perceive themselves as being of their natal tribe, despite residential relocation and changes in behavior. However, the children of these "tribally-mixed" marriages exist in a state of tribal-affiliative limbo. Sometimes they are considered to be of the same tribe as one parent, sometimes of the same tribe as the other parent, sometimes there is a general confusion over the issue. The method of determining tribal affiliation is also confused, a variety of "rules" now being offered.

The only order that comes from this situation arises from a

contradiction between a former state of tribal endogamy, in which OroNao' only married other OroNao' and in which their children were therefore OroNao', by reason of there being no other possibility than being OroNao', and the present state of affairs in which tribal exogamy is allowed, by reason of a definition of marriageable and non-marriageable classes. The confusion in the norms and practices of affiliating children of mixed marriages to some tribal group is a matter of there being no rule to begin with and then imposing a situation in which some sort of rule is required. Thus, the new rules are variable: the OroNao' have told me that the child is of the same tribe as the mother; that the child is of the same tribe as the father; and that the child is of the tribe that occupies the area in which the child was born. The situation certainly cannot be seen as a constraint toward a unity between old and new rules; it is better seen as a function of the contradiction between two conditions which continue to exist side by side.

The point of emphasis here is that these contradictions are not being worked out toward a state of internal harmony and complementarity. The contradictory conditions remain in place and, because they do, give rise to a considerable degree of variation in the practices of the OroNao' as well as, in some cases, to a confusion of norms.

A number of attacks have been leveled against the notion that the social order of a society constitutes a unity. Some of these have been rather quiet, mostly implicit, and merely suggestive.

For example, the societal type labeled "hunters" has recently been characterized as "flexible" in organization (Woodburn 1968; Lee and DeVore 1968). Others have been more vigorous and call into question the very nature of societies' mode of integration. The debate over whether or not the Thai are "loosely structured" (Evers 1969) is a case of point.

In the debate over loose structure Kirsch (1969) has argued that implicit in Embree's notion of a "loosely structured social system" there is a hint of the inadequacy of social structure theory to deal with the situation in which actors' social identity and actual behavior are not well integrated. But, he claims that Embree treated the Thai as anomolous rather than question the theory:

"Might the problem with loose structure simply be that the theory Embree brought to bear on his Thai experience was at fault, inadequate to account for that experience, thus constraining him to invent this new distinction?"  
(Kirsch 1969:42)

Embree's notion of a loosely structured social system did indeed get right to the heart of the matter. For him structure and individual behavior tended toward homology, at least when the social structure was "close":

"Where social structure is 'close' -- that is, where the behavior of the people conforms closely to the formal social patterns of human relations, as in Japan -- it is difficult for an individual to deviate, and reciprocal rights and duties are clearly marked and carried out."  
(Embree 1950:185).

Thus, the loosely structured situation was not simply one in which there was individual variation, but one in which "considerable variation in individual behavior is sanctioned." (Embree 1950:182). Either the Thai were anomolous or the theory was anomolous. The debate which continues in this subject (Evers 1969) seems to have enjoined two groups: those who join Embree in the first option and those who deny both options by claiming that loose structure has no empirical base (e.g., Mulder 1969).

Kirsch is right in his assessment that the problem lies with the rigidity of the theory which Embree used to treat the Thai situation. It will be useful to quote Kirsch at some length, for he summarizes, concisely, some of the characteristics of the structural-functional position which render it inadequate to the task of treating widespread variations in individual behavior:

"Evidently Embree did not feel any anomaly existed in his social science theory -- until he encountered the Thai situation. From Embree's perspective at least, tightly structured systems such as that of Japan presented no great theoretical or methodological problems. Japan could be approached in a straightforward and conventional way. In Japan, individual actors were seen to be identified with and subordinate to their involvement in particular roles and collectivities. The theory treated the actor's significant 'social identity' as exhausted by his role and collectivity memberships. This scheme did not attempt necessarily to exhaust the totality of an actor's behavior. Any residual elements which could not be seen as 'deviance' (i.e., where sanctions were applied) could be treated as 'individual variation', subsequently

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classed as 'psychological' and thus by definition outside the domain of the social analyst. The more extreme version of this theoretical view was a simplistic sociological reductionism which granted a priori primacy to 'social structure' and which treated 'culture' as simply an epiphenomenon or as an accident of history. In a milder form but still granting primacy to the social level, an isomorphism was assumed between 'social structure' and 'culture and psychology.' The latter two elements were either 'reflections' of the former or simply 'reinforced' the social structure." (1969:55-56).

Perhaps Leach has been the most severe critic, in anthropology, of the notion that society is characterized by a unity of organization and of the equilibrium theory in general. By distinguishing social structure as the analyst's abstract model, on the one hand, and the "set of ideas about the distribution of power between persons and groups of persons." (1965:4), on the other, he was able to claim that "real societies can never be in equilibrium." (1965:4). He thereby questioned the very nature of the reality with which other British social anthropologists thought they were dealing. Nevertheless, it appears that Leach is still partially committed to an equilibrium model and to the premise of a unity of social organization.

In his analysis of Jinglypaw kinship terms (1945) and later in an analysis of Trobriand kinship terms (1958), Leach was concerned to demonstrate a "fit" between the kinship categories and the "significant social groupings in the social structure." The significant groupings were said to be the natives' "ideal" version

of the real groupings and were based on principles of residential locality (1945:70; 1958:131ff.). It should be noted in this respect that Leach distinguishes between three levels of reality: 1) the actual behavior of individuals, 2) the average of these behaviors, called "norms", and 3) the native's description of himself and his society, which is called the "ideal" (1945:59). The relationship of "fit" or coincidence which he purports to demonstrate in these kinship studies is thus between two aspects of the ideal order and not between the ideal and actual or even the average of actual behaviors. The demonstration of "fit" in both the Jinghpaw and Trobriand cases was carried out in terms of a "logic" underlying each of the native categories, idealized groups, etc. For example, when a particular kin term (which is one form of expression) and the natives' ideal version of a residentially separate aggregate of persons (which is another form of expression) have a common referent in their logic,<sup>4</sup> then there is a "fit" or coincidence between the two. And in that case, Leach claims that one form of expression may be taken as the meaning of the other. In both the Jinghpaw and Trobriand cases he made claims for a considerable degree of coincidence between these forms of expression. Generally, his position seemed to be that there exists a certain consistency, if not homology, between the various aspects of the ideal level of reality:

"I seek to show that Jinghpaw kinship terminology . . . would appear simple and consistent to a man living in an ideal society, organized according to certain very simple rules. These rules constitute

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the ideal pattern of Jinglypaw society, to which the actual society is now, and probably always has been, a somewhat remote approximation." (1945:60),

and for the Trobriand example:

". . . I have examined the kinship term categories against the structural background. The result is what seems to me to be a perfect 'fit'." (1958:143),

and:

"Further confirmation is provided by the fit between the fourfold categories in the kinship system and the four clans. The supposed preference for patrilateral cross-cousin marriage has been demonstrated as an expression of the rules of exogamy which emerge from other elements in the structure." (1958:143-144),

and finally:

"My further initial purpose was to demonstrate that there is an inherent consistency between all the various meanings of tabu . . ." (1958:144).

It was quite reasonable that Lounsbury's (1965) argument with Leach should center on the issue of defining kin terms by genealogy vs. by "significant social groupings." Lounsbury claimed that there was nothing disorderly when kin term--kin type distributions were viewed in terms of genealogical factors, and, that in fact, the whole system fit very nicely on this basis. But as Buchler and Selby point out, the whole argument constitutes a non-issue (1968:45). Both Leach and Lounsbury make claims for the meaning of kin terms on the basis of largely implicit, a priori, assumptions which are not amenable to confirmation or rejection with the data at hand. Interestingly enough, Leach's assumption

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is one type of equilibrium model, although restrictedly applied to the level of behavior he calls the "ideal".

The most powerful expression of Leach's attack on the equilibrium model may be found in his Political Systems of Highland Burma (1965). The empirical conditions described there, which not only appear to the reader, but are also expressed by the author, to be rife with contradiction, inconsistency, etc., are nevertheless said to be consistent at the level of the ideal order. Leach claims that the Kachin system is in equilibrium at the level of ideas (1965:ix, x), that the verbal categories form a persistent structured set (1965:xiii), and that "Shans and Kachins alike express their ideas about the political order by making use of identical or closely related concepts" (1965:107). Furthermore, Leach says:

"As concerns these ritual aspects of culture the population of the Kachin Hills area is relatively uniform. The people may speak different languages, wear different kinds of clothes, live in different kinds of houses, but they understand one another's ritual. Ritual acts are ways of 'saying things' about social status, and the 'language' in which these things are said is common to the whole Kachin Hills area." (1965:279).

Thus, even in this area of heterogenous population, it is Leach's contention that there is consistency ("inherent consistency"?), and thus unity at the level of the "ideal". But Leach is not altogether clear on this matter for he seems to express opposed views at different places in his book. For example, he states that there are ". . . inconsistencies in the logic of ritual expression . . ." (1965:4), and that ". . . when social structures

are expressed in cultural form, the representation is imprecise . . ." (1965:4); and since he defined social structure in practical situations (by which he presumably means the natives' model of the situation, or in other words, the "ideal") as " . . . a set of ideas about the distribution of power between persons and groups of persons." (1965:4), he seems to be making a claim for inconsistency in the social structure. But later he states that the inconsistencies are in the "scheme of values" (1965:8), and that the different parts of the population emphasize different aspects of the same particular ideas (1965:107, 279). In a later book, Pul Eliya: A Village in Ceylon, Leach stated that ". . . the ideal order tends to be a constant which is reinterpreted to fit the changing circumstances of economic and political fact". (1961:9).

It is possible to deal with the inconsistencies in Leach's ideology as soon as one recognizes that he has two different models to explain what must appear to any reader to be the confusion of the "empirical reality" of the Highland Burma political situation. The two models are coincidental with what, in Leach's own assessment of the themes of his book, are the two important problems: one is the "tendentious problem of the intervariability of culture and structure in a single area;" the other is the "relationship between the Kachin mayu-dama marriage system and the class structure of Kachin society." (1965:287). The inconsistency in Leach's ideology is more apparent than real, for the problem of explaining the intervariability is couched in

terms of a theory about individuals exploiting situations in their own self-interests, whereas the problem of the relationship between the marriage system and class structure is couched in purely formal terms.

The main source of information on the latter problem is contained in Chapter VIII of Political Systems, in which he presents the evidence for the cyclical alteration between gumsa and gumlao class structures. At several places in this chapter Leach retreats to his theory about individual exploitation, but nowhere does he use that theory to actually explain the gumsa-gumlao cycle. In other words, Leach only talks about individual actions as explanations, but when it comes to the explanation itself he employs external factors (e.g., the physical environment), historical factors, the contradictory qualities of succession and inheritance, and the hierarchy inherent in the ideology of the mayu-dama relationship. Decision-making in one's self-interest is treated as a constant factor in Kachin society:

"It seems to me therefore that the gumlao revolutionary leader is in no sense an aberration from the Kachin norm. As a character he is just the same kind of person as the chief against whom he revolts, an ambitious seeker after power who treats economic facts with greater respect than ritual theories." (Leach 1965:263).

What all of this seems to boil down to is that decision-making in one's self-interest cannot explain the gumlao revolution, the development of gumsa class structure out of gumlao, or the differences between the two. In fact, Leach's own explanation

of this cycle is expressed as a quality of the system itself:

"Both systems are in a sense structurally defective. A gumsa political state tends to develop features which lead to rebellion, resulting for a time, in a gumlao order. But a gumlao community, unless it happens to be centered around a fixed territorial centre such as a patch of irrigated rice terraces, usually lacks the means to hold its component lineages together in a status of equality. It will then disintegrate altogether through fission, or else status differences between lineage groups will bring the system back into the gumsa pattern." (1965:204).

This is a representation in terms of the "exact categories which the sociologist, qua scientist would like to employ." (Leach 1965:4), and is perfectly consistent with Leach's positive reference to a statement of Lévi-Strauss':

" . . . as Lévi-Strauss has perceived the structure thus represented contains elements which are 'en contradiction avec le systeme, et doit donc entrainer sa ruine'." (Leach 1965:9).

This is a different form of explanation from the one that treats the intervariability of culture and structure in a single area. In other words, Leach switches grounds on the reader -- in one sense there is an order, characterized by equilibrium operating over a long period of time; but in another sense there is no order. The apparent discrepancy is this: actual behavior is characterized by inconsistency, contradiction, and the like, but when people try to make sense out of it, whether it is the Kachin (in which case we are talking about the "ideal" level of behavior), or whether it is the anthropologist (in which case we are talking about the exact categories which the sociologist would

like to employ), the sense turns out to be an equilibrium model. Between the sociologists' models and the real situations, and between the natives' ideals and the real situations, there stands a relationship of inconsistency and contradiction; and between the two models and the two reality situations there stands a relationship of homology.

The concepts employed by Leach to make sense of the empirical conditions in highland Burma are applicable, only in part, to the conditions of the OroNao'. In particular, the notion that the structure contains elements which are in contradiction with the system is appropriate to understanding the conditions of OroNao' organization in which considerable variation exists. A number of other OroNao' conditions submit to similar conceptual treatment, and what they all have in common is that the activities, which are variable, follow from principles which are contradictory in their implications. Leach's contention that an equilibrium exists at the level of the "ideal" appears to be contradicted both by the general absence of norms, values, rules, regulations, etc., and, where they do exist, by their often confusing, contradictory qualities. The level of "ideals" among the OroNao' may not be characterized by "inherent consistency". Indeed, the notion of equilibrium at the ideational level appears to be a function of the theoretical stance which admits, simultaneously, the empirical existence of both structure and variation in the behavior of society's members.

As I have already stated, Leach uses two different paradigms

depending on the situation he is trying to explain. To the extent that he employs the notions of choice and individual decisions he seems to contend that social structure is a given form which has an existence in empirical reality and in terms of which individuals are faced with a number of alternatives for action. This would seem to fit very nicely with the "Anglo-American" paradigm as identified by Scholte (1966) and especially with the operation he identifies as follows:

"As Schneider has pointed out, American anthropologists are concerned with concrete social groups that endure over time, or with the individual's action within the framework of a particular situation or structure."

(Scholte 1966:1197, my emphasis),

The context from which Scholte makes this claim is Schneider's discussion of the "prescriptive-preferential" controversy emphasized by Needham (1962). Schneider makes it quite clear that Needham and Leach alike treat the matter of "choice" in terms of a given structure (double descent for Leach; marital alliance systems for Needham), that is, a structure which is "out there" in the same sense in which Radcliffe-Brown and other British social anthropologists construe it. Schneider's criticism consists mainly in underlining the differences in the notions of structure as a given vs. structure as a systemic model. Needham's problem was that he treated alternative systemic models in terms of differences in choice:

"When the definition of the system as a system is stated in terms of the conditions under which an individual may act, it does

so within the context of a given structure. The word 'choice' in English takes as its focus the problem of the individual's action within the framework of a particular structure of the situation, and this structure is treated as a given. Hence it is a misplaced definition so far as the analysis of structure is concerned to discriminate two structures in terms of individual choice. The models are systemic models, they are not usable as models of situations within which actors choose among alternate courses. We are concerned with the question 'How is this system structured?' not with the question 'Given this structure, how can a man pick his way through it?' We are concerned with the question 'What is the structure of the relationship between segments?' not with the question 'Is a man allowed to marry his cousin?'" (Schneider 1965:67).

Leach similarly treated structure as a given, but only in so far as he was concerned with the Kachin "ideal" level. But because individuals" . . . hold contradictory and inconsistent ideas about this system." (1965:4) the empirical reality turns out to be almost chaotic. It is this particular theory and the description which follows upon it which constitutes his attack on equilibrium theory. For Leach, the "ideal" level, which is like the sociologists' model, constitutes a unity of organization and is in equilibrium.

I must emphasize that the position put forward by Leach amounts to drawing a distinction between two levels of social phenomena: the ideal on the one hand and the actual behavior of people on the other. Between these two there is no unity or tendency toward unity. Furthermore, Leach does not, even though he may claim otherwise, give anything more than lip service to the "human element" as a way of explaining the relationship

between the mayu-dama marriage system and the class structure in Kachin society, and even, in my opinion, the tendentious problem of intervariability of culture and structure in a single area.

Leach's contribution consists of his demonstration that the alternation between gumsa and gumlao political conditions arise from the contradictory qualities of the Kachin social order and that the latter remain contradictory. Hence, there is no unity of organization, except in the "ideal" order, and no equilibrium. Gluckman's claim that Leach "confused an oscillating equilibrium with a process of radical change, in which the actual structure of the system, both in the character of many of its parts and in their interrelationships, is altered." (1965:318) misses the point altogether.

The two kinds of explanation which Leach talks about in explicating the Kachin organization align him with both the British social anthropologists and with Lévi-Strauss. When Leach is talking about individuals who hold inconsistent ideas and the resultant intervariability of culture and structure, or when he is talking about the sociologist as scientist, he is dealing with structure as an emergent form and is very closely aligned with Firth, etc. But when he is talking about the gumsa-gumlao cycle he is dealing with structure as a systemic model and is very closely aligned with Lévi-Strauss.

An important feature serving to distinguish between social structure as a quality of the empirical order vs. social structure as systemic model is the manner in which structure is abstracted.

Many of the influential figures in anthropology who have treated the conceptualization of "social structure" call attention to its abstract nature. Radcliffe-Brown maintained that the basic datum of social structure was the "actually existing relations . . . which link together certain human beings", but that social structure itself was the "general forms of relationship," or the "form of social life" which was "abstracted from the variations of the particular instances." (1952:192). For Firth, the abstractive nature of social structure is embodied in his distinction between it and social organization:

"The more one thinks of the structure of a society in abstract terms, as of group relations or of ideal patterns, the more necessary it is to think separately of social organization in terms of concrete activity." (1965:35-36).

Nadel is more emphatic and explicit:

"The separation of structure from content, material, and qualitative character implies a move to a higher level of abstraction." (1957:7).

Nadel has also stated that:

"Thus, in identifying any relationship we already abstract from the qualitatively varying modes of behavior an invariant relational aspect -- the linkage between people they signify." (1957:10).

While everyone seems to agree that social structure is an abstraction there is disagreement on whether or not social structure is a quality of empirical reality, and implicit in this disagreement, there is the question of how the abstraction is to be made. Lévi-Strauss and, sometimes, Leach seem to be on

one side in maintaining that structure exists as a construct of the analyst's mind, whereas others, such as Radcliffe-Brown, Nadel, etc. consider structure to be a property of the social reality (see Nadel 1957:7; 149ff.)

On separate occasions Nutini has claimed that Lévi-Strauss' contribution to social anthropological theory is the only original, genuine, important, or first rate contribution since Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski (1970:544), but also since Rivers, Kroeber, and Lowie (1965:707-708). With respect to Lévi-Strauss' development of a distinct epistemological status for the concept "social structure" (within anthropology), that may be a valid claim. In his article "Social Structure" Lévi-Strauss bludgeoned other anthropologists with the overstatement:

"The term 'social structure' has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it." (1953:525).

In a review of the implications of Lévi-Strauss' position vis-a-vis the tenets of modern scientific method this is what Nutini calls the "bifurcation of nature" into formal constructs and empirical reality (1970:553).

An important consequence of this bifurcation rests in establishing the nature of the relationship between the empirical referent and the model -- what Nutini (1970) calls "coordination rules" and what Piaget (1970) calls "reflective abstraction." Very little has been accomplished within this realm in anthropology, although construed as an inquiry into the nature of abstractive procedures, Harris' The Nature of Cultural Things (1964) provides

some valuable insights. Another consequence of this division between phenomenal and analytic levels is, as Lévi-Strauss mentions almost in passing:

" . . . social structure can, by no means, be reduced to the ensemble of the social relations to be described in a given society." (1953:525).

The process of abstracting a structural model from the data is a one-way process from which it is impossible to return to the specific, original data (although the data should be one of the logical possibilities derivative of the model). Thus, structural models are neither predictive nor retrodictive.

Since everyone agrees that social structure is an abstraction from reality it is clear that there must be two distinct notions about the method of abstraction. In conventional structural-functional theory, structure is the reality, but with all the non-repetitive features pushed into the background, thus laying bare the invariant structure. Discovery of repetitive features is the key to the method. Radcliffe-Brown separates the "form of social life" from the total range of events on this basis:

"Amidst the diversity of particular events there are discoverable regularities, so that it is possible to give statements of descriptions of certain general features of the social life of a selected region. A statement of such significant general features of the process of social life constitutes a description of what may be called a form of social life." (1952:4).

For Firth, the process is essentially the same:

"He (the anthropologist) applies a rough index of conformability to new items of behavior as he isolates them from the flow. Relating them to ends previously considered, and to behavior previously observed, he attempts to estimate how far they conform. Significant variation leads him to further investigation and collection of more instances, until he has established the reason for the variation -- or until he has separated another isolate and related it to a new set of ends and circumstances." (1963:22).

Barth (1966) may be seen as a more specific and recent example in the attempt to construct social forms out of the regularities of individuals' day-to-day transactions. By his own label his models are "generative" and are designed not so much as a method whereby structure is exhibited as an attempt to account for the more general problem of the manner in which social regularities develop (1966:v). Rather than being concerned with the constraints on behavior (e.g., the structure as charter notion), he turns his interest to the generation of forms without rejecting the notion that forms do canalize activity and choice:

"In the following I wish to explore the extent to which patterns of social form can be explained if we assume that they are the cumulative result of a number of separate choices and decisions made by people acting vis-a-vis one another. In other words, that the patterns are generated through processes of interaction and in their form reflect the constraints and incentives under which people act." (1966:2).

Underneath all of this lies the same notion that follows directly from Radcliffe-Brown, namely, that social forms are constituted by regularities and repetitions of acts (Barth 1966:1).

The epistemological position of Radcliffe-Brown and others who follow him in their treatment of social structure constitutes something of a paradox. If one assumes that social structure is a property of the empirical order, and further, that social structure is an emergent form built up out of the regularities, then there can be no variation in the form of social life. The premises of the theory disallow alternatives, deviations, or variations at that level. And this is one of the reasons for Firth's dilemma (1963:39-40) and for Leach's switching grounds on the reader in Political Systems of Highland Burma. The "human element" (or "acts of choice and decision") is interjected to fill the void, and in the process, creates a fundamental dualism.

An alternative epistemological position involves a process of abstraction in which the empirical reality and the model are separated by the intrusion of the analyst. In this sense of structure the relationship between model and reality is understood to be metaphorical in nature. Lévi-Strauss draws one of the clearest distinctions between this position and the one which considers structure to be a property of the empirical order:

" . . . Mr. M. L. remains, to some extent, the prisoner of the naturalistic misconceptions which have so long pervaded the British school . . . he is still a structuralist in Radcliffe-Brown's terms; namely, he believes the structure to lie at the level of empirical reality, and to be part of it. Therefore, when he is presented with a structural model which departs from empirical reality, he feels cheated in some devious way. To him, social structure is like a kind of jigsaw puzzle, and everything is achieved when one has discovered how the

pieces fit together. But if the pieces have been arbitrarily cut, there is no structure at all. On the other hand, as is sometimes done, the pieces were automatically cut in different shapes by a mechanical saw, the movements of which are regularly modified by a camshaft, the structure of the puzzle exists, not at the empirical level (since there are many ways of recognizing the pieces which fit together); its key lies in the mathematical formula expressing the shape of the cams and their speed of rotation; something very remote from the puzzle as it appears to the player, although it 'explains' the puzzle in the one and only intelligible way" (Lévi-Strauss 1960:52, quoted in Schneider 1965:25-26).

The conceptualization of social structure as a property of empirical order is also inadequate to account for the facts of the OroNao' case. I have argued that this notion of structure requires a method of abstraction which draws out only the repetitive features at the empirical level. But since the conditions obtaining in OroNao' society do not submit to a determination of which features are truly repetitive, it follows that either the OroNao' lack structure or that the method itself is inadequate, at least in this case.

This brings me to one final point in this lengthy theoretical tour before returning to the OroNao' themselves. Most structuralists claim to be concerned with the relations between parts rather than with discrete, isolated things and events. Moreover, they are concerned with relations between parts in some "whole". In a book specifically devoted to "social structure", Nadel clearly was more impressed by the lack of agreement among

anthropologists in their verbal formulations of the concept structure than he was by the mere two points of consensus he was able to find. Nevertheless, one point of consensus was that "in studying 'structure' we study essentially the interrelations or arrangements of 'parts' in some total entity or 'whole'." (1957:4).

Piaget makes the same point with regard to structuralism on a wider disciplinary scale:

" . . . all structuralists . . . are at one in recognizing as fundamental the contrast between structures and aggregates, the former being wholes, the latter composites formed into elements that are independent of the complexes into which they enter. To insist on this distinction is not to deny that structures have elements, but the elements of a structure are subordinated to laws that the structure qua whole or system is defined. Moreover, the laws governing a structure's composition are not reducible to cumulative one-by-one association of its elements: they confer on the whole as such over-all properties distinct from the properties of its elements." (1970:6-7).

The structuralists in anthropology seems to be in agreement in emphasizing the importance of relations. According to Radcliffe-Brown:

"In the study of social structure the concrete reality with which we are concerned is the set of actually existing relations, at a given moment of time, which link together certain human beings." (1952:192, my emphasis).

Evans-Pritchard (1940:262ff.) considered that social structure referred to relations between groups, without denying the existence of relations between persons. Lévi-Strauss emphasized

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relations to such an extent that he failed to indicate just what it was that stood in relationships:

" . . . social relations consist of the raw materials out of which the models making up the social structure are built . . ." (1953:525).

Even Firth, who tells us on the one hand that anthropologists

" . . . do not even observe social relationships; they infer them from physical acts." (1963:22), nevertheless assigns relations an ontological status in his concept of social structure:

" . . . the essence of this concept is those social relations which seem to be of critical importance for the behavior of members of the society . . ." (1963:31, my emphasis).

A point that Radcliffe-Brown emphasized, continually, was that social relations form a sort of continuity:

"One of the fundamental theoretical problems of sociology is that of the nature of social continuity. Continuity in forms of social life depends on structural continuity, that is, some sort of continuity in the arrangement of persons in relation to one another." (1952:10).

The same point is made in the analogy drawn between society and the living organism. But, by treating society as if it were an organism, or by otherwise stressing the continuity aspect of social relations, Radcliffe-Brown went well beyond the notion that the social order consists of relations between parts in some whole -- he attributed to the relations the additional qualities of fit, integration, continuity, etc. The use of the organismic analogy thus specified what kind of whole the social system was -- unitary.

Of course, the British social anthropologists have not been concerned solely with the continuity of social relations.

Increasingly, interest has been focused on the dual qualities of continuity and change. Perhaps the most elegant statement of this concern has been expressed by Firth in a statement that might be called "Firth's dilemma":

"The social anthropologist is faced by a constant problem, an apparent dilemma -- to account for this continuity ["the persistence or repetition of behavior"], and at the same time to account for social change." (1963:39-40).

But, contrary to Firth, the dilemma is more real than apparent. If one accepts the organismic analogy as a model for the social order, and if one accepts at the same time that the order does change, or that social relations are characterized not only by continuity, but also by variation, deviation, and the like, then it seems necessary to introduce a fundamental dualism in nature between the social relations which are repetitive and continuous, on the one hand, and the social relations which are discontinuous, on the other, the former being a case of structured behavior in which there is a unity between norm and activity, the latter being a case of optative behavior in which norms are manipulated. Where in the earlier use of the equilibrium model the relationship between norm and activity had been resolved either by neglecting the two levels altogether or by assuming, a priori, that they formed a unity, in more recent years, the relationship between norm and activity has been treated by assuming the priority of one over the

other, or by creating a fundamental dualism. And, as Bateson makes clear, the latter is philosophically inadmissible:

"As long as we take an external -- behavioristic -- view of a functional system we can avoid statements of circularity. We can see a motor-car as a thing into which petrol is poured and which runs along the road producing smoke and killing pedestrians. But the moment we turn from this external view and begin to study the internal workings of the functional system we are forced to accept the fundamental circularity of the phenomena. And this acceptance is demanded not only by ethnology but by the whole functional approach to anthropology; and the students who are engaged in working from this point of view have accepted this. Thus Malinowski claims that the functional view avoids the error of attributing priority to one or the other aspect of culture. Material objects, social groupings, traditional and moral values, as well as knowledge are all welded into a functional system."

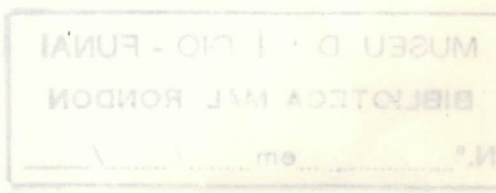
"A further and more compelling argument in favor of the circular or reticulate view of functional systems is to be found in the fact that any other view would drive us to belief either in a 'first cause' or in some sort of teleology -- in fact we should have to accept some fundamental dualism in nature which is philosophically inadmissible." (1958:117).

An alternative is to eschew the assumption of a unity of the social order in favor of a view which, while retaining the notion that the social order consists of relations between parts in some whole, nevertheless treats the nature of those relationships and the nature of the whole as the significant questions. This is essentially the same solution which Geertz has suggested:

"A revision of the concepts of functional theory so as to make them capable of dealing more effectively with 'historical materials' might well begin with an attempt to distinguish analytically between the cultural and social aspects of human life, and to treat them as independently variable yet mutually interdependent factors. Though separable conceptually, culture and social structure will then be seen to be capable of a wide range of modes of integration with one another, of which the simple isomorphic mode is but a limiting case" (1957:33).

In this way it is possible to examine the cause and effect, synchronic relations between the ideational and phenomenal orders, as well as the relations between the elements within the two orders, without getting caught up in first cause arguments or the dual properties of continuity and change.

With particular reference to the elements of formal organization that have come to be labeled "categories" and "groups", Lundsgaarde and Silverman have stressed the point that confusion may result from a failure to distinguish what amount to the ideational and phenomenal. Although their interests are with a specific society, and within that society the distinction between kinship units which may be conceptual units, actual groups, or even both (1972:100), their argument has a broader appeal and is pertinent here. They distinguish between "the meaning of cultural categories . . . and their interrelationships within a system of meaning" on the one hand, and "the organization of roles and collectivities and their interrelationships within a system of social organization." on the other. By making this distinction



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They are able to examine the properties of each order as well as the modes of articulation between them (Lundsgaarde and Silverman 1972:96-97).

#### Summary

The problem raised by a reduced OroNao' culture and social organization and a widespread variation in practices is to accomodate these conditions in the more general theoretical concepts which treat the problem of order in society.

The major issue in the OroNao' example centers on the nature of the relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders. A traditional solution to this issue has been to suppose that the relationship either constitutes a unity or, in cases where such a congruence is not apparent, must tend toward a unity (the apparent incongruence being a temporary condition). Similarly, the relationship among elements of the phenomenal and, particularly, the ideational orders was supposed also to constitute a unity. More recently, analysts of small-scale societies have emphasized variation in the practices of societies' members; these variations have been construed, correctly, as being unaccountable solely in terms of the traditional structural model. Thus, a significant contribution has been to co-opt theoretical concepts which admit of variation -- even conflict -- in the actions of societies' members. In this solution, structure is viewed as the source of alternatives in terms of which individuals are faced with choices and, at the same time, as the means of accounting for regularized behaviors, as in a traditional structural approach.

The conditions in OroNao' society are problematical for both the traditional and the modified structural approaches. The widespread variation in practices calls into question the supposition that a congruence exists between idea and action; and the decreased culture and organization presents the problem of individuals standing without a source of alternatives in terms of which to choose, or as the means of accounting for other, regularized behaviors.

Furthermore, it is philosophically inadmissible to suppose at the outset that the relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders constitutes a unity or, conversely, that the relationship is mediated in part by individuals who hold different, and thus often conflicting views.

The alternative solution, of which this thesis is a particular example, requires the abandonment of a priori suppositions on the nature of the relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders, and of the relationships among elements within these orders. It further requires the abandonment of the concept of structure based on abstracting observably repetitive behaviors. The source of order in society must be found in the particular conditions of that society. The logic inherent in these particular conditions determines the nature of the relationships within and between the ideational and phenomenal orders. The nature of these relationships becomes the significant question and the OroNao' example provides evidence of one of several possible modes of relationship in this complex question dealing with order in society.

The recent history of the Croatan is the history which begins with the first arrival in the 17th century of the British... the Croatan maintained... and surrounding environments. The date of the... two periods, and which also marks the distinct...

CHAPTER 2

... isolated almost entirely from... environmental zone which, from... adaptation, limited their... contacts with other indigenous groups... policy of isolation from non-Indians.

THE SETTING: FROM ISOLATION TO DEPENDENCY

... the 18th century the Croatan refused the attempts of... to contact them. Later, as increasing numbers of... into their area, the Croatan received... During this period, neither the... the Croatan from their land... direct... of adaptation to the environment... of Croatan society. In... place to... the Croatan were able to... adaptation to the environment and, through their isolation from others, they were able to maintain their traditional social organization. In effect, the Croatan... that there were no changes occurring in their... In part 1 of this chapter I describe the

The recent history of the OroNao' (that is, the history which begins with the first mention in the literature of the Pacaás-Novos, and which reasonably may refer to the OroNao') may be divided into two periods corresponding with two distinct modes of relationship which the OroNao' maintained with other peoples in their own and surrounding environments. The date which separates these two periods, and which also marks the distinction in the modes of relationship with other peoples, is 1958.

Prior to 1958 the OroNao' were isolated almost entirely from other peoples. They occupied an environmental zone which, from the point of view of environmental adaptation, limited their mobility and thus their contacts with other indigenous groups. They adopted a stricter policy of isolation from non-Indians. As early as the 19th century the OroNao' refused the attempts of non-Indians to contact them. Later, as increasing numbers of "seringueiros" moved into their area, the OroNao' removed themselves from the intruders. During this period, neither the intruders nor the removal of the OroNao' from them had any direct effect on the OroNao' mode of adaptation to the environment or on the organization of OroNao' society. By moving from place to place within the same environmental zone the OroNao' were able to maintain a consistent mode of adaptation to the environment and, through their isolation from others, they were able to maintain their traditional social organization. In effect, the OroNao' created the pretence that there were no changes occurring in their environment. In Part I of this chapter I describe the

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environmental zone occupied by the OroNao', the surrounding environments, the geographic, cultural, and linguistic relationships of the OroNao' to other societies in the region, and the OroNao' reaction to the non-Indians. The evidence on each topic points up the isolation of the OroNao' prior to 1958.

In 1958 the OroNao' reversed their strategy. Instead of removing themselves from all non-Indians, they began to depend on a small segment of them, namely, missionaries and government agents who occupied Posto Tanajura, and also, but to a lesser extent, a few Brazilian families who had established farms near Posto Tanajura. These non-Indians restricted their use of the environment to small plots of land immediately surrounding their dwellings; indeed, the missionaries and government agents brought most of their food and supplies from town, and generally made little use of the local environmental resources. The OroNao' had selected the particular non-Indians who, unlike the "seringueiros", were not competitive with them for land or resources.

The dependency relationship established with these non-Indians brought about a number of changes in OroNao' social organization and culture. New conditions were imposed on subsistence and domestic organization. The new relationship with non-Indians, which also was being established similarly by other Pacaás-Novos tribes, opened relations among the various Pacaás-Novos groups. These intertribal relations became especially important in arranging marriages between persons of

different tribes, and these in turn had a significant impact on inter-group relations within OroNao' society and on the organization and identity of the whole tribe. The presence of more than one missionary (although from the same missionary organization) among the OroNao', and the distinction between missionary, government agent, and local farmer, presented options among which the OroNao' selected in maintaining their dependency relationship and had an important bearing on the organization of domestic groups. All of these material requirements of depending on non-Indians are described in Part II of this chapter; the appearance of these conditions in subsistence, domestic, and other aspects of OroNao' social organization is treated in subsequent chapters.

Finally, in their relations with the OroNao', the missionaries, government agents, and local farmers often criticized OroNao' culture with characteristic aplomb. Ironically, criticism was, and still is, the principal cultural means of enforcing normative control in OroNao' society. The effects of criticism were devastating. The operation of criticism and its effects also are described in Part II of this chapter.

PART I: ISOLATION

The Natural Environment

Today, the OroNao' occupy an area extending from 11° to 11°20' south latitude, and from 64°15' to 64°30' west longitude, in the

Federal Territory of Rondônia, Brazil (see Map 5, p.168).

The western and northern limits of the OroNao' area are delimited roughly by the Rio Mamoré and the Rio Pacaás-Novos, respectively. On the east and south there are no correspondingly well-defined geographic features marking the limits of the OroNao' area.

This area forms only a small portion of a larger region of more or less uniform natural environmental conditions. The larger region coincides approximately with the extent of the Rio Pacaás-Novos drainage system. The Rio Pacaás-Novos and its major tributaries (the Rio Ouro Preto, Rio Negro, and Rio Novo) originate in the upland Serra dos Pacaás-Novos, cross the environment of which the OroNao' area is a part, and finally drain into the Rio Mamoré in the low, swamp-palm savanna of the Llanos de Mojos. In certain respects the region of the Rio Pacaás-Novos drainage system is a transitional environment lying between the upland Serra and the lowland Llanos. However, from the point of view of OroNao' adaptation to a natural environment it would be inappropriate to emphasize the transitional qualities of the region. For the most part, the topography, climate, and vegetation of the region are remarkably similar to the smaller area presently occupied by the OroNao'. This region may be called the "Pacaás-Novos environment" (see Map 2, p.48). The Pacaás-Novos environment is dominated by a relatively low, flat land surface interspersed with only slightly lower-lying grounds extending along "igarapés" (small streams). The lower-lying surfaces along the "igarapés" average some one to one and one-half kilometers



Map 2: The "Pacaás-Novos Environment" and Surrounding Environments

in width and are of the same length as the "igarapés" themselves. During the rainy season they become inundated with water while the areas between "igarapés" remain relatively dry. There are a few areas of low-lying ground in places where there are no "igarapés", but they are not extensive in size or number. Within the entire region the area of dry ground is several times more extensive than that of water-inundated ground. (Since the water-inundated grounds are never so deep with water as to restrict travel by foot, the entire region is accessible to semi-nomadic wanderers such as the OroNao', even without the aid of canoes or other water transport.)

During the rainy season, when the low-lying areas along "igarapés" are inundated, the Rio Pacaás-Novos becomes a "black" river. Decaying vegetation along the "igarapés" produces humic acid, coloring the water there to a dark green, almost black color. During the dry season the Rio Pacaás-Novos becomes progressively clearer as the water-inundated areas are drained and the river is fed almost exclusively by waters of the "igarapés" narrow channels.

The occurrence of low-lying ground surfaces decreases in this region from west to east and from south to north, or in other words, as one approaches the Serra. To the north of the Rio Ouro Preto the low, flat land surfaces give way rapidly to the upland Serra, whereas the transition to the uplands to the east of the region is more gradual. Only in the area extending from approximately 64° west longitude eastward to the Serra the water-

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inundated ground surfaces become more sparse.

The type of land surface of the Pacaás-Novos environment is commonly referred to as a "terra firme" environment, and in this region the vegetation is essentially like that of the Amazonian "terra firme". The vegetation of the latter is characterized by high, vertically stratified forests with a cover, or "canopy", highly diversified species, and a sparse, non-diversified undershrub below. Bertholetia excelsa ("Castanha do Para" or "Brazil nut") and the latex-yielding Hevea brasiliensis are common species. The vegetation of the water-inundated ground surfaces is characterized by lower forests that are well-diversified in species and quite dense in growth (Kuhlmann 1959:116). The Pacaás-Novos environment conforms remarkably with the above description and is thus typical of much of the Amazonian tropical forest lowlands.

The climatic features of the region are recorded only in the more general terms with which Amazonia as a whole is treated. Sauer describes the climate as "Aw--Tropical Savanna Climates, winter dry season" (1950: Map 9) and estimates the rainfall "under 72 inches (2m.)" per year for an area of which the Pacaás-Novos drainage system is a part (1950:332). Meggers indicates a rainfall of 2000 millimeters along a line which intersects the region (1971: Map, p. 41).

An easily recognized climatic feature of the region is the marked distinction between rainy and dry seasons. The rainy period begins in September and lasts until the end of March or

April. Within a month or two of the beginning of the rainy period the low-lying ground areas become inundated with water. They dry up within a month or at most two months after the end of the rainy period. The dry season lasts for approximately four months, during which there is generally lesser cloud cover in the sky and the rains that do occur tend to be infrequent, irregular in occurrence, and of short duration. (Even during the rainy period rains tend to be variable in duration and intensity in this region, in contrast with their greater regularity in more epicentric (in this case equatorial) tropical zones.)

The dry season brings about such a decrease in the water flow of the Rio Pacaás-Novos that transportation on it becomes difficult, generally hazardous, and sometimes impossible. On land, however, travel by foot is improved. Some of the smaller streams dry up completely and the once water-inundated grounds may be crossed very easily. On the other hand, water for drinking and bathing may become scarce. Thus, from the human perspective, advantages and disadvantages are counterbalanced at this time.

An important and impressive climatic feature of the region is the phenomenon of the "friagem". During the dry season the weather may change suddenly and drastically for a period of three to four days. This change involves a sudden drop in temperature, increased wind velocity, change in wind direction, and increase in humidity. Some rain may fall, but often there is only a mist. The most noticeable change is the drop in temperature to approximately 10° centigrade from a norm of approximately 24° to 27°

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centigrade (Cf. Denevan 1966:11). During the "friagem" the OroNao' restrict their mobility, sit around fires, and at night sometimes build fires under their dwellings so that heat may rise to the sleeping area. Although the intensity of the cold may be more apparent than real, it is usually quite uncomfortable. However, since the temperatures never reach the freezing point vegetational changes caused by the "friagem" are negligible.

#### Surrounding Environments

The distinctiveness of the natural environment described above is seen clearly when compared to the surrounding areas. The Serra dos Pacaás-Novos, the most westerly extension of the Brazilian Uplands (or Shield), and a continuation of the Serra dos Parecís, forms an eastern and northern boundary to the Pacaás-Novos natural environment. From the more extensive uplands area in Mato Grosso, the Serra dos Parecís and the Serra dos Pacaás-Novos extend in a northerly direction between the Rio Guaporé and the Rio Mamoré on the one side, and the Rio Ji-Parana (Machado) on the other, into the Amazon valley as far north as the town of Guajará-Mirim. In this region the altitude of the Serra reaches 600 meters, generally, but is as high as 825 meters in some places. While the geographic features of the Serra are not well-defined in the literature and while I have no direct, first hand knowledge of the area, I have flown over portions of it. From the air it appears as a series of rolling hills covered by low forests in most places and by sparse scrub forests in others. There are frequent granite outcroppings at the higher altitudes.

The vegetation is not as thin as that of the shrub-palm savanna which characterizes most of the Brazilian Uplands (Sauer 1950:336; Map 10), but also not as dense as the "terra firme" forests.

Finger-like extensions of gallery forest extend into the Serra along the banks of some rivers and streams.

Between the towns of Guajar-Mirim and Prto Velho, in the Federal Territory of Rondnia, the Serra dos Pacas-Novos drops off to form a shelf-like barrier of rock, which is the chain of rapids and water falls along the Rio Madeira-Mamor between the towns. This barrier may account, in part, for the flat alluvial surface of the Llanos de Mojos which lie to the south of it (Sauer 1950:324; Denevan 1966:6-7). Although the Llanos de Mojos are considered a part of Amazonia, they are distinctly different in topography and vegetation. Sauer summarizes the topographic conditions of the Llanos as follows:

"This is a vast alluvial plain, really flat, overwhelmingly subject to shallow flooding during the rainy period. Here and there low 'islas' rise enough above the plain to escape flooding; these have been especially important as sites of habitation." (1950:324).

The entire drainage system presents the appearance of the shape of a fan<sup>1</sup> with the Rios Beni, Madre de Dios, Mamor, Itonamas, Baures, and Guapor all converging to cross the shelf-like barrier in the fan's handle, represented by the single large watercourse of the Rio Madeira-Mamor (Cf. Sauer 1950:324; Map 8; Map 10).

Denevan describes the topographic conditions of the Llanos in the following terms:

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"These sparsely populated savannas are characterized by periodic flooding and drought, impervious soils, and grassy vegetation with few trees. All forms of life are faced with problems of alternating superabundance and scarcity of water, and man adapts mainly by locating his settlement activities on naturally high ground near permanent water." (1966:4).

The vegetational and topographic conditions which characterize the whole region, and their limiting effects on human habitation, become immediately apparent as one travels upstream from Guajará-Mirim along the Rio Mamoré. The apparent sparsity of vegetation and the dominance of single species (grasses and palms) are quite distinct from the apparent luxuriance of the "terra firme" environment. Even more striking is the sparsity of population along the river, despite the transportation advantage which it affords, as a result of the scarcity of inhabitable land.

The point at which the Llanos de Mojos give way to the Pacaás-Novos environment on its western edge may be identified readily. Along the Rio Pacaás-Novos, from its mouth and upstream for 15 kilometers, the vegetation and topography are that of the Llanos de Mojos. There are no tall forests. Instead, there are extensive swampy areas, especially on the southwest bank. Habitation sites are sparse, the greatest number being on the northeast bank, and are set back from the river's edge by 100 meters or more due to the low lying ground immediately adjacent to the river's edge. At a point where there is an outcropping of rock forming a minor rapids on the river the western edge of the Pacaás-Novos natural environment meets the Llanos de Mojos.

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Much of the area to the south of the Pacaás-Novos region does not present as clearly defined a natural boundary as do the Serra and the Llanos. There, the smaller tributaries of the Rio Nôvo and Rio Pacaás-Novos are separated from those of the next river systems, the Rio Soterio and Rio Cautario, by a zone averaging some 10 kilometers in width. This zone is not traversed by any streams and does not present any of the low-lying ground surfaces which normally accompany them. The lower half of the Rio Soterio passes through an area of swamp which is part of the Llanos de Mojos environment. The upper courses of the Rio Soterio and Rio Cautario traverse areas which are "terra firme" environments and appear to be similar in all respects to the Pacaás-Novos environment.

The Pacaás-Novos environment takes on one of its most distinctive characteristics, that is, its isolation, by being almost totally surrounded by environments which, from the point of view of human habitation, require a different mode of adaptation than that which the OroNao' practise. Except for the OroAt and OroEo', the other indigenous cultures related to the OroNao' are located in distant places, separated from them by geographic or cultural barriers. As a result, the OroNao' have had access to a natural environment much larger than that required by the size of the population, its organization, and its mode of adaptation. This remained true until the time when non-Indian populations impinged upon their access to the resources available in their region.

## Relationship to Other Cultures

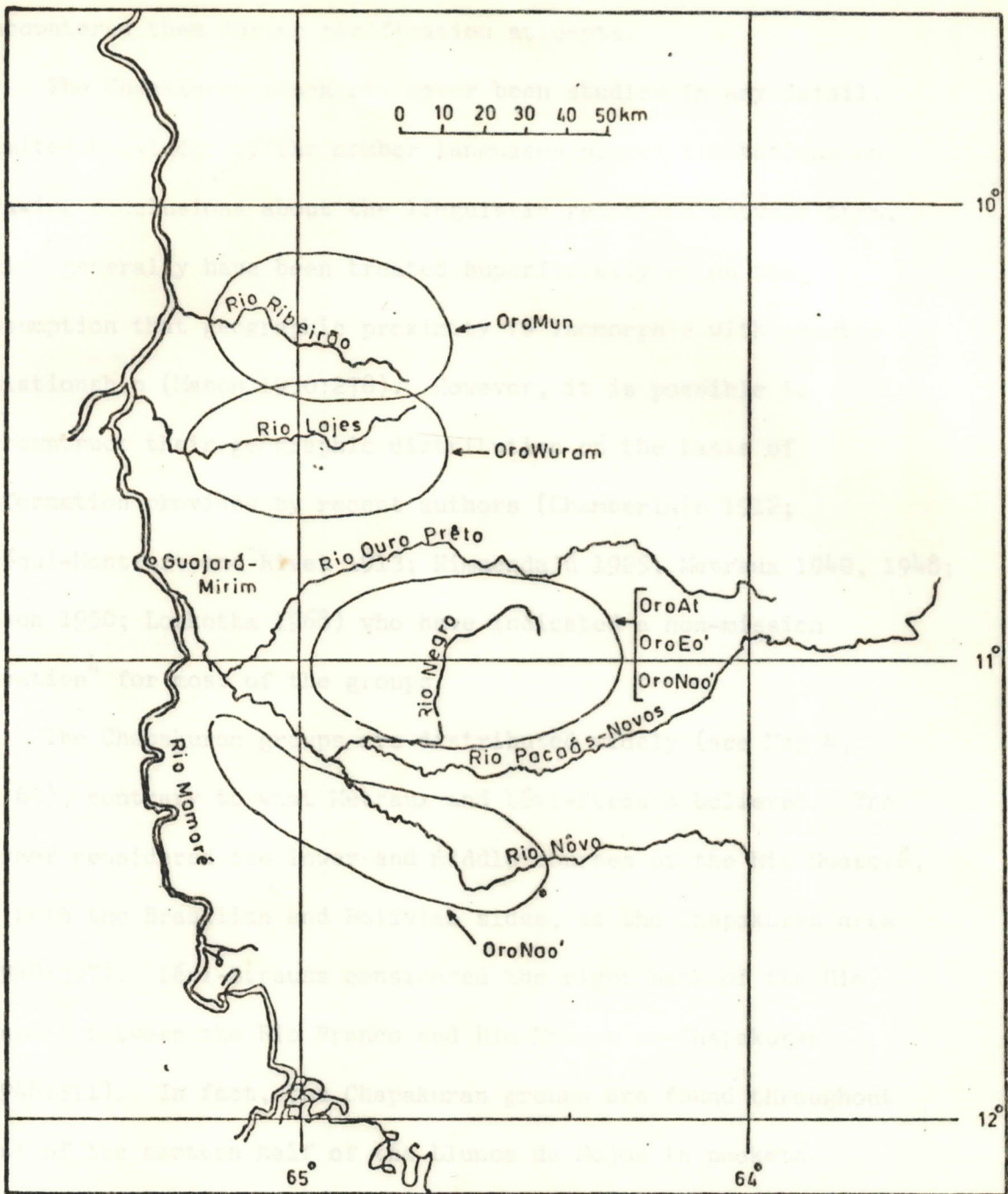
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In the literature, and in the conventional usage of non-Indians who would refer to them, the OroNao' are not distinguished from a number of other linguistically and culturally related groups, identified by their respective self-designations as OroAt, OroEo', OroMun, OroWuram, and OroWuramXijein. The distinctions between these groups are generally overlooked when the term Pacaás-Novos is used to refer to any or all of them. The origin of the latter term as well as its exact referent are equally obscure. The earliest reference to the term (or some variant thereof) which I have discovered appears on a map dated 1798 (or 1804?) (Hugo 1959: facing p. 32). There, "Gentio Pacanoa" is printed in a location which suggests the people so designated were occupying an area on the west bank of the Rio Mamoré at approximately 12° south latitude. This location is questionable, however, for on the same map what appears to be the Rio Pacaás-Novos is so labeled in a position on the east bank of the Mamoré. It would seem unlikely that the people of this name would live on one side of the Mamoré when the river of the same name would appear on the opposite side.

Prior to their permanent peaceful contact the OroMun and OroWuram were located on the upper courses of the Rio Ribeirao and the Rio Lajes, respectively. The environments which they occupied are similar in most respects to that of the Pacaás-Novos environment but separated from it by the Serra dos Pacaás-Novos. At the time of their contact with non-Indians, the locations of the

various Pacaás-Novos groups corresponded to points on an arc, the pivotal center of which was the town of Guajará-Mirim (see Map 3, p. 58). The fact that these locations were roughly equidistant from Guajará-Mirim, along with the apparent cultural similarities of the various groups, probably gave outside observers the impression of a single tribe consisting of separately located families or "clans". However, the OroMun and OroWuram are distant from the OroAt, OroEo', and OroNao' in their occupation of physically separated natural environments, and their dialect and culture distinguish them from the latter three groups.<sup>2</sup>

The so-called Pacaás-Novos have also been considered a unitary representative in classifications of the Chapakuran language stock (Mason 1950:278; Loukotka 1968:161). Mason (1950) also distinguished a "Madeira" division<sup>3</sup> of the stock consisting of the Torá (Toráz), Jarú, Urupá, and Pacaás-Novos. While the relationship between these groups has yet to be studied in detail, the evidence would seem to suggest that the OroMun - OroWuram dialect may be more closely related with Urupá than with the OroAt - OroEo' - OroNao' dialect. This is supported, although weakly, by the fact that the OroMun claim to have known of a group whom they call the OroXao'Pa' located in the same region as the Urupá of the literature (i.e., near the headwaters of the Rio Jamari (Nimuendajú 1925:139) or of the Rio Urupá (Loukotka 1968:162)). Furthermore, the OroMun consider these people their "real ancestors" (iri hwanana). The OroNao', on the other hand, had never heard of the Urupá or OroXao'Pa', and even had considered



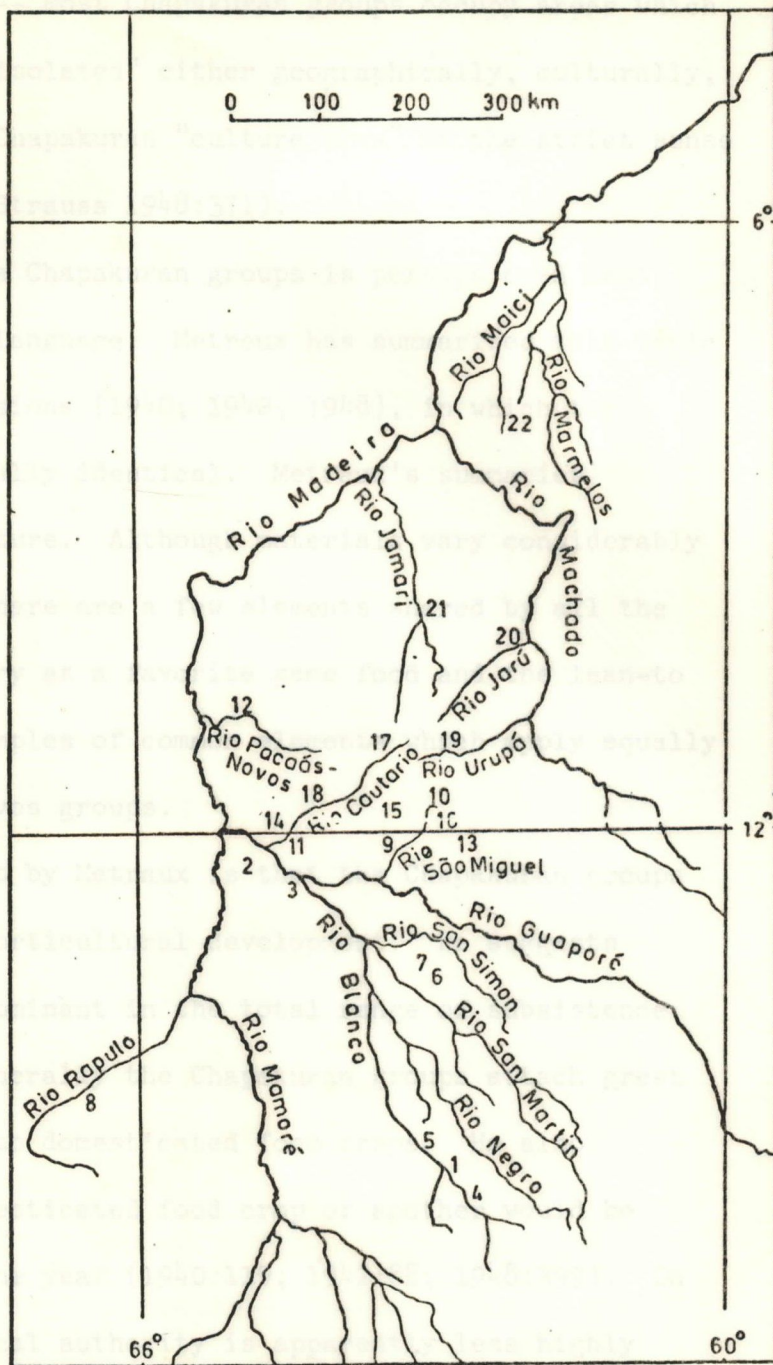
Map 3: Pre-contact Locations of Pacaás-Novos Groups

the OroMun and OroWuram as complete strangers when they first encountered them during pacification attempts.

The Chapakuran stock has never been studied in any detail. Limited knowledge of the member languages placed limitations on drawing conclusions about the linguistic relations between them, which generally have been treated superficially or on the assumption that geographic proximity is isomorphic with genetic relationship (Mason 1950:278). However, it is possible to reconstruct their geographic distribution on the basis of information provided by recent authors (Chamberlain 1912; Créqui-Montfort and Rivet 1913; Nimuendajú 1925; Metraux 1940, 1948; Mason 1950; Loukotka 1968) who have indicated a non-mission location<sup>4</sup> for most of the groups.

The Chapakuran groups are distributed widely (see Map 4, p. 60), contrary to what Metraux and Lévi-Strauss believed. The former considered the lower and middle courses of the Rio Guaporé, on both the Brazilian and Bolivian sides, as the Chapakuran area (1948:397). Lévi-Strauss considered the right bank of the Rio Guaporé between the Rio Branco and Rio Mamore as Chapakuran (1948:371). In fact, the Chapakuran groups are found throughout most of the eastern half of the Llanos de Mojos in pockets surrounded mainly by Arawakan and Tupian tribes, and to the north of the Serra dos Pacaás-Novos on tributaries of the Rio Madeira, Rio Mamoré, and Rio Machado. The Chapakuran groups are dispersed much more widely than has been reported previously, especially for a stock which consists of so few groups. Furthermore, there

- 1 Chapakura (Huachi)
- 2 Moré (Itene)
- 3 Itoreauhip
- 4 Quitemo
- 5 Nape
- 6 Mure
- 7 Rocorona
- 8 Herisebocon
- 9 Wanyam (Pawumwa)
- 10 Abitana
- 11 Kumonó
- 12 Pacoás-Novos
- 13 Kabixi
- 14 Matoua
- 15 Urunomacan
- 16 Uómo
- 17 Topoaya
- 18 Gujuna
- 19 Urupá
- 20 Jarú
- 21 Yamarú
- 22 Toró



Map 4: Distribution of Chapakuran Groups

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are no large areas occupied by contiguous Chapakuran groups. It is quite the opposite -- most Chapakuran groups occupy areas which may be identified as "isolated" either geographically, culturally, or both. There is no Chapakuran "culture area" in the strict sense of the term (Cf. Lévi-Strauss 1948:371).

The culture of the Chapakuran groups is perhaps even less well-studied than the language. Metraux has summarized this topic on three separate occasions (1940; 1942; 1948), in which the information is essentially identical. Metraux's summaries emphasize material culture. Although materials vary considerably from group to group, there are a few elements shared by all the Chapakurans: the peccary as a favorite game food and the lean-to type dwellings are examples of common elements which apply equally well for the Pacaás-Novos groups.

An impression left by Metraux is that the Chapakuran groups have a high level of horticultural development. He suggests that horticulture is dominant in the total range of subsistence activities and that generally the Chapakuran groups attach great cultural significance to domesticated food crops. He also indicates that one domesticated food crop or another would be available throughout the year (1940:119; 1942:88; 1948:399). On the other hand, political authority is apparently less highly developed: "There are as many chiefs as family heads, and their authority is scant." (Metraux 1948:404). The level of political development does not correspond with the expected relationship between relatively advanced horticulture and socio-political

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development. More important, the level of horticultural development does not correspond with the evidence from the Pacaás-Novos groups.

There is very little information available on the subsistence practices of most Chapakuran groups. It is difficult, therefore, to generalize about Chapakuran subsistence practices. Indeed, the complement of domesticated crops which Metraux considers "Chapakuran" includes several which are definitely not indigenous to the Pacaás-Novos groups. It seems likely that Metraux was overly influenced in his treatment of Chapakuran culture by the evidence on the Moré (Snethlage 1937; Ryden 1942). At the time Metraux was writing, the Moré were the most ethnographically well-described of the Chapakuran groups. But the Moré have had a long history of contact with non-Indians. Numerous Moré were living on missions as early as the 18th century (Metraux 1948:398). The level of horticultural development for the Chapakurans in general may be somewhat less sophisticated than Metraux thought.

#### Early Contacts

As early as the 19th century the OroNao' had established a practice of avoiding intrusive, non-Indian populations. In a letter dated 1834 (Hugo 1959:344), Frei José Maria de Macerta stated that the "Paca-Nova", whom he located on the right bank of the Rio Pacaás-Novos, (and, therefore, reasonably may refer to the OroNao'), would shun any contacts with merchants from Pará.<sup>5</sup>

At the beginning of the 20th century the Pacaás-Novos

environment became quite attractive to a Brazilian population then seeking the latex of the Hevea brasiliensis. The Pacaás-Novos river system provided easy access to the stands of latex-yielding trees, a factor which made the region one of the most attractive in the southern half of the Federal Territory of Rondônia. The recent history of the OroNao' has been dominated by their reaction to an intrusive non-Indian population.

Shortly after "seringueiros" began moving into the Pacaás-Novos environment the OroNao' appear to have modified their custom of avoiding non-Indians by launching brief, hostile attacks on them. Citing correspondence written in 1913, and presumably combining this with his own impressions, Pe. Hugo characterized the Pacaás-Novos as "savages even today, to the point of launching attacks in the vicinity of Guajará-Mirim. In 1913 there were many of them."<sup>6</sup> (Hugo 1959:203, footnote 19). Becker-Donner suggests that the Pacaás-Novos became hostile about 1930:

"Around 1930 the situation changed and now [circa 1955] these Indians are not only shy but thoroughly hostile. It is reported that some of the seringueiros shot at these Indians and from time to time there seem to have been so-called 'expeditions' to frighten them off. Today the situation is such that the seringueiros are afraid of the Indians and shoot at them when they encounter them and the Indians occasionally raid a seringueiro house shooting at the inmates with bows and arrows." (1955:107).

Late in the year 1940 a group of Pacaás-Novos, probably OroMun, were contacted in an abortive pacification attempt by the SPI (Belville 1968). Since it was the custom of the SPI to make pacification attempts primarily when severe problems in the relations between

Indians and Brazilians already had developed, the hostilities almost certainly would have been under way for several years.

Whatever their date of initiation these hostilities continued until each group of the Pacaás-Novos was brought under pacification. Indian attacks were against isolated individuals or families, but sometimes very close to Guajará-Mirim or along what is now the road connecting Guajará-Mirim with Pôrto Velho. As late as 1969 a group of unpacified OroMun attacked a family along this road. In the 1940's the Pacaás-Novos attacked just outside of the town, and thus in an area which normally would have been considered safe:

"Actually, the Pacaás-Novos Indians appear from time to time in the vicinity of Guarjará-Mirim. They have shot at people living only three kilometers from the city."<sup>7</sup> (Ferreira n.d.:197).

The Brazilians' attacks on the Pacaás-Novos were more subtle, but apparently much more devastating. It is rumored that a "seringalista" from Guajará-Mirim at one time had employed a band of machine-gun toting mercenaries whose purpose was to kill Pacaás-Novos; the OroWuram confirm this rumor. The OroNao' themselves claim to have been sprayed with a white substance coming from a plane, at a time prior to permanent peaceful contact. They also claim that the spray caused the deaths of several infants, children, and aged.<sup>8</sup>

These practices were supported in part by the attitude which the Brazilians of the area held toward the Pacaás-Novos. In stories the Indians were portrayed as cannibalistic, necrophagous,

given to killing children during initiation ceremonies and later eating them, and killing whites, who enter their area, for the purpose of serving them as food (Carvalho 1962a). Even somewhat sympathetic observers of the situation implied that the problems in the relationship between Indians and non-Indians rested with the Indians:

"These Indians constitute a serious problem to undoing the savagery of the region. The animosity between them and the civilized is permanent."<sup>9</sup> (Ferreira n.d.:197)

The OroNao' reaction to the Brazilian intrusion into their region was dominated more by removing themselves from the intruders than by trying to kill them. This is clearly seen in the way the OroNao' changed their occupation area in the region. At one time, probably up until the end of the 19th century, the OroNao' lived in the area of the Rio Negro (a tributary of the Rio Pacaás-Novos). Then they moved away in a southwesterly direction. At first the OroNao' relocated to an area south of the Rio Pacaás-Novos where the rubber-tappers had not yet advanced. The environment into which the OroNao' moved was similar to that which they had left, except that it was not occupied by another people.

There is little doubt that this move was a direct reaction to the intrusion of non-Indians. The OroNao' credit the ones they so derogatively call the wijam ("stranger - enemy") with having intruded upon their territory, crossed trails, cut down bridges, and drastically reduced the fish and game supply. They hold a view

of the Brazilians as having entered the region in large numbers and having put an end to a period which they characterize, somewhat nostalgically, as one of general happiness and prosperity. The story of one OroNao' who was too young to have remembered the period nevertheless recounted how the OroNao' used to come out to the rivers to fish, play, and swim, but that after the intrusion of the Brazilians they were no longer able to do so. This parallels a remark of Donner-Becker in which she states that "about 20 or 25 years ago [circa 1930 or 1935], the seringueiros report that these Indians came frequently out to the rivers to fish." (1955:107).

Later, the OroNao' continued to move in a southwesterly direction until ultimately their occupation area centered on the Igarapé Dois Irmãos. The ironic point is that although the OroNao' thought they were moving away from the intruders, the changes in occupation area eventually brought them into greater potential contact with non-Indians than had they remained in the vicinity of the Rio Negro. The end point of their relocations brought them close to the confluence of the Rio Pacaás-Novos and Rio Ouro Preto. This was a point which all traffic into and out of the Pacaás-Novos environment had to pass.

In 1955 the OroNao' made their first "public" appearance on the bank of the Rio Pacaás-Novos at what is today the site of Posto Indígena Dr. Tanajura (more commonly called Posto Tanajura). A number of OroNao' simply appeared on the bank of the river as Brazilian rubber-tappers passed by in boats. Shortly thereafter missionaries of the New Tribes Mission of Brazil established

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residence in a boat at that point on the river and waited for the Indians to come to them. The OroNao' then made their first contact with the missionaries in June, 1956. For nearly three years the OroNao' repeatedly returned to Posto Tanajura, but only infrequently and for visits lasting only a few days at a time. The brief contacts during these first years were hectic. Several adult OroNao' males would appear suddenly at the site. The missionaries, in response, would barricade themselves within their boat (later within their house). Then they entertained each other, apparently mostly out of fear (not ill-founded on either side), through partially opened windows or through the walls themselves, each trying to get something from the other. The Indians wanted material goods such as machetes and axes;<sup>10</sup> the missionaries wanted linguistic data and a more permanent relationship. Both persevered in this manner for almost three years (Koop 1969).

Prior to permanent peaceful contact the OroNao' were isolated from other indigenous cultures and from the non-Indians who had moved into their region. The OroNao' conceptualization of other peoples, which simply amounted to recognizing that other peoples were "out there", was a fairly accurate assessment, for all other groups were either culturally distinct or physically separate in their locations. Within the Pacaás-Novos region the OroNao' had severed contact with their closest relations, the OroAt and OroEo', as a result of removing themselves from the intrusive non-Indians. Other Pacaás-Novos and other Chapakuran groups were found in locations separated from the OroNao' either

by areas of distinctively different natural environment, such as the upland serra or swamp-palm savanna, or by peoples of other linguistic and cultural affiliation, such as Arawakans or Tupians.

PART II: DEPENDENCY

Permanent Peaceful Contact

The missionaries, government agents, and local farmers may be distinguished from the other non-Indians -- the rubber-tappers -- who moved into the Pacaás-Novos region. The latter depend to a large extent upon the natural resources of the areas in which they live and collect latex. When the rubber-tapper travels his trail from one tree to the next he often hunts and sometimes gathers wild foods in addition to working the trees. In that respect he competes with the Indians for some natural resources. And since the latex-yielding trees are widely dispersed in the environment, small numbers of rubber-tappers tend to extract resources from extensive geographic areas. Generally, rubber-tappers cover an extensive area and are highly mobile in the environment.

Missionaries and government agents, on the other hand, depend heavily on foods and other materials which they bring with them from town. Sometimes they fish or cultivate small plots of land, but the products only supplement the bulk of purchased goods. Missionaries and government agents do not move about much, if at all, in the environment, and they do not compete with the Indians for land or resources.

Another distinguishing feature of rubber-tappers, and

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missionaries and government agents is their residential behavior. From the very beginning of the attempts to establish relations with the OroNao', the missionaries and government agents remained stable in their day-to-day, season-to-season, and year-to-year residential behavior. (Only in 1969, thirteen years after the first contact with OroNao' at Posto Tanajura, did the missionaries move from the Posto to the settlement Pitoo; the government agent's residence remains at the Posto.) The rubber-tappers, when viewed as one large population, appear to be unstable residentially. Whenever new rubber trails are cut or whenever the population of rubber-tappers is increased, it appears that the population itself is changing its occupation area.

The distinction between these two kinds of non-Indian is crucial to understanding the impact of each upon the OroNao'. Even though the rubber-tappers and Indians were competitive for natural resources, the OroNao' were able to maintain their mode of adaptation to the natural environment by removing themselves from the rubber-tappers. The two groups had complementary attitudes about their relationship with each other: the rubber-tappers wanted the Indians to stay out of their area, and the Indians wanted to stay out of the area of the rubber-tappers. The relationship between the Indians and the government agents and missionaries, on the other hand, if any relationship was to be maintained, required that each population depend on the other.

The pattern of relations with non-Indians described in the section "Early Contacts" came to an abrupt end in 1958 when the

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OroNao' moved permanently to Posto Tanajura. Although the entire population did not move there in the literal sense of the term, they did so in the figurative sense in which Posto Tanajura now became the center for most OroNao' activity -- a residential center for a majority of the population, a center for treating the ill and dispensing medicines, a center for the exchange and distribution of material goods, and generally a focal point for a new mode of relations with non-Indians. Agents of the SPI also moved to Posto Tanajura so that there was a constant presence of non-Indians, either in the form of missionaries, government agents, or both at the site. A few kilometers downstream from Posto Tanajura a few farms were being established by Brazilian families.

#### Residential Permanence

From the time of permanent peaceful contact and continuing into the present, the mode of relationship between the OroNao' and non-Indians has had a drastic impact upon the OroNao'. This is perhaps most visible in the realm of material culture -- tools, clothing, housing styles, foods, etc. But the impact has been equally if not more significant in less visible ways. The very fact that the OroNao' and the missionaries and government agents maintained a positive relationship with each other since 1958 implies that they have adapted to each other's presence. One of the key features of the OroNao' adaptation has been their accomodation to the residential permanence of the missionaries and government agents.

A description of the OroNao' condition in March of 1958,

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shortly after their contact, depicts an immobile population  
(although that is not the statement's principal intent):

"There are few Indians, less than a hundred. But, they are found in a pitiable condition because they were victims of a flu epidemic. The functionaries of the S.P.I. who reside here (one with his wife) can do nothing because the S.P.I. gives them neither medicine nor food. And here were all the Indians in such a sorry state: extremely thin, bones visible under the skin, weak, coughing, without any medicine and without any nourishment. They had absolutely no food so that they immediately began to eat the bread (two sacks) which the mayor had brought."<sup>11</sup> (Ferreira n.d.:198)

Ferreira's description conveys the impression of a motionless group in a state of ill health and contrasts sharply with his and other's impressions of the pre-contact Pacaás-Novos.

Perhaps the idiomatic expressions used by local Brazilians to classify pre- and post-contact Indians is a more parsimonious way of describing the same contrast: "Índios brabos" are literally "wild Indians", but after contact they are called "Índios mansos" or "Índios pacificados", connoting "domesticated" and lack of mobility.

Ferreira's description also mentions two of the factors -- food and medicine -- that were important in bringing about the OroNao' accommodation to the residential permanence of the missionaries and government agents. Although food supplies were not regularly distributed to the OroNao', corn, manioc flour, and other basic foods were supplied in crisis situations such as that described by Ferreira. The missionaries and government agents

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provided medical attention on a more regular basis. The missionaries especially emphasized proper medical attention; they have treated the OroNao' for a wide variety of common illnesses such as attacks of malaria, respiratory infections, dysentery, diarrhea, worms, the common cold, headache, cuts, bruises, burns, etc. The missionaries and government agents have also cooperated in the treatment of the ill by allowing each other access to the other's medical supplies whenever one of the parties was away from Posto Tanajura. The significant factor in the distribution of either food or medicine was that the OroNao' had to go to the missionary or government agent, and in most cases had to remain at the Posto for the duration of a food crisis or an illness.

Another service provided by the missionaries and government agents, in this case a service emphasized by the government agents, was the trade in material goods desired by the OroNao'. The OroNao' have sought knives, axes, machetes, cloth, nails, string, thread, shotguns, ammunition, sugar, tailored clothes, etc.<sup>12</sup> In order to obtain these the OroNao' exchanged Brazil nuts, latex, manioc flour, corn, rice, "poaia" (a medicinal plant), game animals, chickens, native implements, labor, etc. The value of each commodity was established by the non-Indians, based on current market values in Guajar-Mirim. The government agent usually added to the values of the items he sold the cost of transporting the goods to town, marketing the goods, and purchasing the

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goods, and in most instances rounded the figures in a way that provided him an additional advantage. The values of the goods exchanged by the OroNao' were also based on their market values in Guajará-Mirim, from which were subtracted many of the above costs. Missionaries were usually forced to trade at the same level of values established by the government agent, at whose pleasure the missionaries were allowed access to the OroNao'.

The record of transactions, especially the record of debts, in the exchanges between the OroNao' and missionaries and government agents was kept by the non-Indians. Later, at the time of my field work, the government agent imposed two restrictions on exchange with the OroNao': first, the missionaries and I were required to submit monthly statements of exchanges with the OroNao', specifying the goods exchanged, the values of the goods, and the names of the OroNao' involved in each exchange; second, the OroNao' were disallowed from directly transporting their own goods to town for exchange there -- all exchanges had to be made with the government agent or recorded with the government agent. Thus, in order for the OroNao' to obtain the materials they desired they had to meet the conditions of trade established by the government agents and, as well, had to make their exchanges at Posto Tanajura where the government agents and missionaries lived.<sup>13</sup>

A factor which should not be overlooked is simply the interest value which strange new people and things generate. It is unlikely that the OroNao' are alone among tribal societies

in the attention which they devote to the strangers who live with them and to the wide variety of material goods they accumulate.

Again, this interest was focused on the missionaries and government agents whose residence was Posto Tanajura.

The dependency relationship which the OroNao' established with the missionaries, government agents, and local farmers continued to develop along the same general lines in succeeding years. Changes in the relationship have had the effect of increasing the necessity of maintaining access to the residentially permanent non-Indians. For example, the OroNao' have expanded their demands for medical attention and for new and more material goods; and recently a new religious movement (what I will call the "Crente"<sup>14</sup> movement) has developed, with new beliefs, activities, and paraphernalia for the OroNao', but under the control of the missionaries. In every respect the dependency relationship has required of the OroNao' that they organize their subsistence and residential activities around the residentially permanent non-Indians.

The present subsistence and domestic organization of the OroNao' must be understood not only in terms of the traditional bases of that organization, but also in terms of the requirements of maintaining access to non-Indians and the contradictions implicit in and between these two modes of organization.

#### Inter-tribal Relations

The OroNao' were the first of the Pacaás-Novos groups to achieve permanent peaceful contact with non-Indians. (In 1940 the

OroMun were the object of an unsuccessful pacification attempt.) Then, following their own pacification, the OroNao' were employed in the pacification of the other Pacaás-Novos tribes: the OroAt and OroEo' on the Rio Negro (see Carvalho 1962a; 1962b), and the OroWuram and OroMun on the Rio Lajes and the Rio Ribeirão, respectively; as late as 1969 some residents of the settlement Piton joined the party that brought the remaining unpacified OroMun to Colônia Agrícola Sagarana.

By assisting in the pacification efforts the OroNao' established ties with and often took spouses in the other Pacaás-Novos societies. In most instances both male and female OroNao' brought their spouses back to the OroNao' area. Today, the relations between the different tribes continue to be dominated by individuals' interests in finding spouses. The communication and transportation between the tribes also continue to be controlled largely by missionaries and government agents.

The selection of spouses by the OroNao' from the other tribes was consistent with the traditional definition of the class of marriageable persons. The definition did not restrict marriage to persons within the OroNao', so that once the OroNao' had access to spouses in other societies, they could be taken without sanctions. However, the situation has created some difficulties in defining and acting on the incorporation of non-OroNao' Indians in OroNao' society, and for the actual organization of domestic groups.

## Dependency Options

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Before permanent peaceful contact the area occupied by the OroNao' was somewhat larger than that of the present day and considerably larger than that of the period when the OroNao' lived at Posto Tanajura. Originally, settlement groups, consisting of approximately 15 to 20 persons each, kept their home bases widely separated from each other. Groups ranged out from their home bases on foraging expeditions lasting from a few days to several weeks. Larger conglomerations of people occurred primarily in the form of ceremonial gatherings which lasted for only a few days during the dry season.

After contact Posto Tanajura became a home base for most of the OroNao' population. Foraging groups ranged out from one central location with the effect of severely restricting the area utilized.

Approximately six years after permanent peaceful contact the OroNao' began to move away from Posto Tanajura, either to settlements near Posto Tanajura or to the region of the Igarapé Dois Irmãos. This move reduced the extreme habitational centrality which accompanied permanent peaceful contact and still allowed the OroNao' to maintain their dependency on missionaries, government agents, and local farmers. Continued dependency was made possible by a division of the missionaries' operation into residences at Posto Tanajura and on the Igarapé Dois Irmãos and by one small group of OroNao' moving closer to the farmers near Posto Tanajura. The OroNao' who had moved to the Igarapé Dois Irmãos depended on the missionaries there; the OroNao' who had settled near Posto

Tanajura continued their dependency on the missionaries and government agent there; and the group that had moved closer to the farmers depended on the farmers. The dependencies were not divided exclusively in this manner, for all OroNao' continued to deal with the government agent at Posto Tanajura for certain purposes.

Finally, in 1969, the missionaries at Posto Tanajura moved to the settlement of Pitop. With this move the OroNao' were presented with four distinct, residentially separate sets of non-Indians upon whom to depend. The OroNao' reaction was to arrange their own residence in relation to these different non-Indians and to the different kinds of commodities and other, less tangible benefits each had to offer.

Criticism

In the period of approximately ten years since permanent peaceful contact the OroNao' have been subjected to a great deal of criticism by non-Indians. Criticism has been directed against an extensive range of OroNao' beliefs and practices. As a result the OroNao' have become reluctant to express themselves, either directly in the form of discussing their beliefs and practices, or indirectly, in the form of displaying ritually embellished practices.

The OroNao' are perhaps most reluctant to express religious beliefs and practices. By the time the Crente movement got under way in 1969 a distinctively OroNao' religion had been subverted or abandoned completely. One of the missionaries conceded that

their own critical attitude toward the OroNao' had made it impossible for them to realize the nature of native religious ideology. There was some hope that I would be able to elicit the desired information -- a hope based on the assumption that OroNao' religion had been subverted only and on the supposition that I would be dissociated from the missionaries and thus become someone whose criticism the OroNao' need not fear. In the abstract this seemed to make good sense, but, as it turned out, the OroNao' were not concerned so much with distinguishing between the critical and non-critical as they were with taking the safer course of being obtuse about their religion.

The OroNao' have been equally evasive about their religious rituals. For example, the practice of wailing over large game animals as an invocation of the spirits of the dead had been hidden from outsiders' view since first contact. The wailing invocation was performed only surreptitiously by some as others prepared the large game animals for roasting. The missionaries discovered the wailing only by accident. Today it appears that even the surreptitious wailing has been abandoned.<sup>15</sup>

The reluctance of the OroNao' to express the distinctive qualities of their life is not restricted to religious beliefs and practices -- it extends also to mundane matters. During the first few months of my field research the OroNao' even kept hidden from us several kinds of foods. The hidden foods included grubs, caterpillars, small fish, wasp larvae, etc. What all these foods had in common was that the OroNao' had been criticized for eating

them. It was only after an immoderate individual presented me with grubs, and after I had eaten them with approval, that this class of foods was no longer hidden from us.

For the most part, then, the OroNao' response to the criticism directed against them has been to subvert or dispense with many of the expressions that distinguish their way of life. Criticism directed against specific ideas and practices has been effective more widely as it extended to aspects of culture and organization in which the specific ideas and practices were embedded. There are few qualities of their existence which the OroNao' may take for granted as free from criticism. Correspondingly, the OroNao' express few values, norms, regulations, or "how-to-do-it" rules; and they display little ceremony and few ritually embellished practices.

A critical attitude was not unfamiliar to the OroNao' for criticism was, and still is, a customary practice with them. OroNao' criticism is distinguished by several qualities: the phonological qualities of speech employed by the critic are marked, and thus recognized easily, by stops being more well-punctuated, by final consonants being unreleased more clearly, by back vowels being rounded more, by pitch being deeper, etc.; although everyone criticizes, males and older persons are more effective in their criticism, and although everyone may be criticized, women and younger persons are criticized more effectively; this fact is due mostly to the association made by the OroNao' between age and sex, on the one hand, and "knowing",

on the other, and another distinctive quality of OroNao' criticism, namely, that generally criticism is effective as it makes an appeal to "knowing" (kataxiwa).

There are few great critical exchanges that take place on a daily basis. Criticism usually consists of a brief comment made directly to someone or, more often, about a third party who is not present. The more interesting and more effective critiques occur at a time of crisis, such as adultery, or when an important event, such as a ceremony, a church meeting, or a gathering of people from distant settlements, occurs. A case of potential incest illustrates quite well the style of OroNao' criticism.

A woman of Pitop had gone to the stream to get some water. She left behind two of her children who were old enough to be playing without supervision. The two children, along with a third of about the same age, slipped away behind one of the chicken houses where one, the male, attempted to penetrate without success his younger sister. At this exact moment a mother's brother of the children happened to be entering the settlement from a direction behind the chicken house. He interrupted the children and brought them to the edge of their own dwelling. There he announced with obvious delight what the children had been doing. A number of adults gathered and, again with delight, began asking the children if in fact they were engaged in a sexual relation and other related questions. The children clearly were beginning to enjoy the questions and no longer looked as worried as they had on being brought back to their dwelling.

About this time the mother was returning to the settlement with water. After learning what had happened she made a single comment, in a critical tone, which the adults thought hilarious but which greatly embarrassed the children. Looking at her young daughter the mother simply said, "You're hole is too small."

The effective critic usually calls upon his own "knowing", or the not-"knowing" displayed by the butt of a critique, in order to make a criticism effective. Today, however, it is difficult to know what one's "knowing" should be. In many respects the OroNao' value "knowing" the ways of non-Indians including their language, Portuguese. The Indians sometimes test each other, in Portuguese, as the following example shows:

- "Where did you get the shoes?"
- "I bought them from \_\_\_\_\_."
- "How much did you pay?"
- "Two'kilos'."
- (Laughter) "'Kilos' are not money!"

The instigator of this exchange informed most of the residents of Pitop of the other person's error, emphasizing each time, in a critical tone, that the other person did not know about money. A few months earlier the instigator himself had been criticized for wearing shoes; the grounds for the criticism in that case were that "people" (wari) do not wear shoes. While it often appears to the observer that the OroNao' criticize each other for improprieties against vague, and changing standards, it is ultimately, in the OroNao' scheme of things, a matter of not

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"knowing" that constitutes the basis for criticism.

The OroNao' qualities most criticized by the non-Indians have been those elements of culture and organization that one expects to be expressed openly: values, norms, rules, regulations, ceremony, ritual embellishment of practices, etc. These same qualities often made no sense from the point of view of non-Indians. For example, the heavy use of corn for corn beer, most of which was consumed at a single harvest ceremony, made little sense either in terms of the puritan values of the missionaries or in terms of the economic values of the government agents. Indeed, the harvest ceremony as a whole made little sense. Its ends were viewed as impractical by some and immoral by others. Thus, corn, corn beer, and the ceremony have all come under criticism! And the criticism has been so thorough and effective that the OroNao' of Pitop asked permission of the missionaries to attend a harvest ceremony to which they had been invited; they have cut down on their corn production and much of what they now produce is fed to chickens; and they now make and drink very little corn beer.

The non-Indians criticism of the OroNao' has been effective in part because criticism was an established tradition in OroNao' society. More specifically, criticism has been effective because it also appealed to a "knowing" which, either in the particulars of "knowing" or in the assumptions underlying them, was unfamiliar to the OroNao'. An example of a non-Indian's criticism of two young boys' play-hunting demonstrates how the assumptions to "knowing" differed greatly between the OroNao' and non-Indians. The two boys

had captured a lizard and proceeded to shoot their tiny arrows into it. This was great fun until a non-Indian approached them and severely reprimanded their behavior. In the course of the criticism the boys were offered a rhetorical question: "What harm has the lizard done you?" From the OroNao' point of view that question imposed a new, unfamiliar assumption. The question which would have followed from OroNao' assumptions about lizards (and a number of other animals) is: "What good has the lizard ever done you?"

Criticism, whether it is OroNao' criticizing each other or non-Indians criticizing the OroNao', is mainly negative in its effect on controlling behavior. Criticism is specific only about behavior that is unacceptable. At best, it is vague and imprecise about what behavior is acceptable. Thus, to the extent that criticism is effective in controlling behavior, and in OroNao' society criticism is the principal institutional means of controlling behavior, it has only a limiting effect; it is not a guide to behavior and does nothing to establish guides to behavior. The effect of the non-Indians' criticism of the OroNao' has been to reduce, rather than to substitute something for, the traditional beliefs and practices which once characterized OroNao' society.

The traditional of the family role... described in the previous chapters... of Groves'... and... retains all the... of... of substance, results... a patterned, repetitive quality...

... abstract expressions of attitudes and... expressed mainly in language and appear largely... in roles of ordinary... activities. The latter, expressed... of... of marriageable... and conceptual... of the... relationships. While these... a... indication of the traditional forms of... and...

### GENEALOGY AND MARRIAGE

... and marriage... the... of genealogical... and the... of the establishment of the marriage... describe two of the basic principles which run... social organization... the... of treating the... and... and... the marriage relationship between the... themselves. The principles are identified first in a discussion of Groves' genealogy and marriage. The organization of the... family... the "child-... family" -- is based on these two principles.

The conditions of the dependency relationship, described in the previous chapter, left few readily observable forms of OroNao' social organization. What remains are the activities and the on-the-ground relations of subsistence, residence, marriage, etc., which appear to lack a patterned, repetitive quality, and a number of abstract expressions of statuses and relations, which are expressed mainly in language and appear largely unconnected to roles or organizational activities. The latter, expressions of statuses and relations, include conceptualizations of genealogical relationship, kin terms, categories of marriageable and non-marriageable persons, and conceptualizations of the marriage relationship. While these features do not give a direct indication of the traditional forms of OroNao' social organization, they do provide the evidence from which the structure of OroNao' genealogy and marriage may be educed.

The conceptualization of genealogical relationship and the conceptualizations of the establishment of the marriage relationship comprise two of the basic principles which run through much of OroNao' social organization. These principles constitute the logic, peculiar to the OroNao', of treating the relationship between mother and child and between father and child, and of treating the marriage relationship between the parents themselves. The principles are identified first in a discussion of OroNao' genealogy and marriage. The organization of the minimal family grouping in the society -- the "child-centered family" -- is based on these same principles.

Similar principles appear in the system of partitioning persons by kin terms. The analysis of unitary kin lexemes, segmentable kin lexemes, and systematic errors reckoning kin status shows that the system of partitioning persons by kin terms is based in part on principles consistent with those of the genealogical and marriage relationships.

The structure of the kin term system is more complex, however, than that consisting merely of two principles. In certain respects the categories that might otherwise be expected according to the above-mentioned principles do not obtain in fact. The extensive network of relations in the domain of the kin term system involves concatenations of genealogical and marriage ties. The persons who are partitioned by kin terms often stand in multiple, sometimes ambivalent or contradictory, positions when treated only by genealogy and marriage relationships. The way in which the kin term system partitions persons resolves this problem of multiple relationships by assigning persons a single kin term. The nature of this resolution imposes a number of genealogical and marriage relationship "fictions" which, together with the categories of marriageable and non-marriageable persons, comprise the remaining structure of OroNao' genealogy and marriage.

In my analysis of OroNao' genealogy and marriage it will be seen that the system of kin terms partakes of a number of structural principles which are expressed individually, and in

somewhat different terms, in the conceptualizations of genealogy and of marriage, on the one hand, and in the categories of marriageable and non-marriageable persons, on the other. This raises the issue of the nature of the relationship between the internal and external orders of a system of kin terms.

The distinction between internal and external orders of a system of kin terms has been emphasized recently by Lévi-Strauss (1966a). After having conjured up the distinction from a Rabelaisian past he went on to point out that the internal and external orders, once distinguished, have directed the study of kin terminologies:

"Taken together or separately, regarded at times as sustaining each other or considered as a source of mutually exclusive principles of interpretation, they have never ceased to inspire and orient the study of kinship systems, and there is no reason to believe that they will not continue to do so in the future (1966a:13).

In Lévi-Strauss' view, a formal analysis of kin terminology would qualify as an analytic procedure for getting at the internal order of the system, whereas, for example, River's analysis of the Banks Island kin terminology in terms of marriage preferences would qualify as an explanation in terms of external features, or the external order.

The point of making the distinction between internal and external orders is that one may ask questions about the relationship between the orders. The predominant mode of explanation of kin term systems has been to attribute causal priority to orders external to kinship (McKinley 1971:229).

Lévi-Strauss may not be excepted from this mode of explanation. He admits to having favored explanations in terms of an external order in his own work (1966a:13). What he objects to is the causal logic which places external factors, for example, psychological or sociological factors (such as Lounsbury's laws of succession), independent of and prior to the system of kinship terminology (1966a:14). For his own part, Lévi-Strauss favors a final cause argument, such as, Crow and Omaha terminologies promote dispersed alliance (1966a:19).<sup>1</sup>

It is unnecessary to suppose that the relationship between the internal and external orders of a system of kin terms need be causal, either efficient or final. In OroNao' society the orders of genealogy and marriage, and of the categories of marriageable and non-marriageable persons display structural features similar to those of the system of kin terms because all three orders treat similar kinds of relations. The distinctions in the structural features of these three orders are a function of the differences in the modes of expression.

All three orders, taken together, provide a set of structural features, along with the features of the dependency relationship and other features to be described in the sequel, in terms of which the present social organization of the OroNao' makes sense.

Genealogy

In OroNao' society a woman's pregnancy and her parturition are highly visible, public matters. Parturition often occurs within the settlement in which the mother is resident and the

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actual birth of the child may be witnessed by a large number of people. For example, when one woman gave birth to her son most of the OroNao' had gathered in the settlement of Pitop for a ceremony; nearly 100 people witnessed the birth. The genealogical relationship between mother and child in that instance, as in most instances, was well known to all OroNao'. Indeed, it is virtually impossible that the genealogical continuity between mother and offspring not be well established.

The way in which the OroNao' express the relationship between mother and child focuses attention on the child, and specifically on the action of the child in parturition. The term which expresses parturition is pan (meaning, literally, "to fall"). The subject of the action is always the child itself. Furthermore, shortly after the birth of her child, a mother replaces her own name with one constructed by prefixing kon- or kam- (masculine and feminine possessives, respectively, meaning "with") to the name of her child, so that her status as mother is figuratively "with" her child.

The genealogical relationship between father and child is just the obverse of that between mother and child. The OroNao' term which expresses the notion of genitor is wanxi, whose stem wan- means "to have sexual relations." But the father is always the expressed subject of wanxi whereas his status as genitor is virtually impossible to establish.

A genealogical relationship between a father and child is established by a man's decision to accept the child as his own.

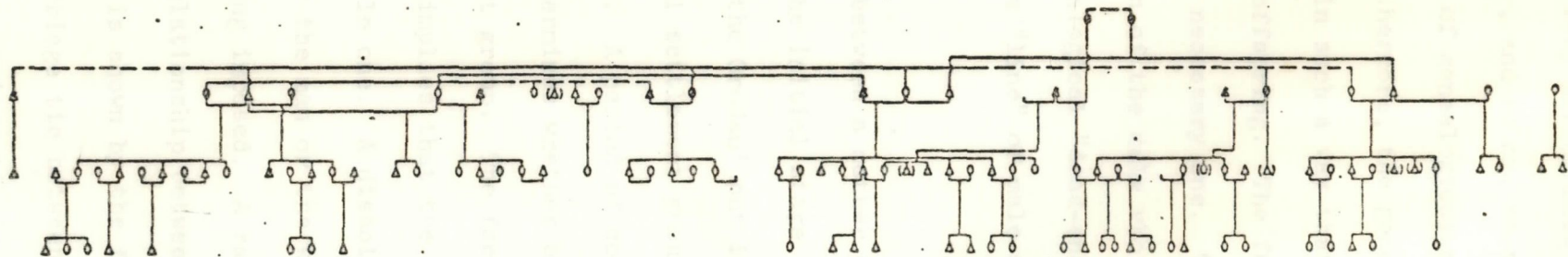
Because the relationship is established in this way it is possible for a child to be without a genealogical father. The OroNao' consider that such children "ought not have come" (makiximao'na), and their genealogical relations to others in the community are limited to being reckoned through their mothers. On the other hand, it is possible for men to claim the status of genealogical father in the face of evidence contradicting their position as genitor. In one instance, a woman's child was thought widely to have been fathered by a non-Indian, but the woman's husband, an Indian, accepted the child as his own and thereby became the genealogical father. The latter is more often the case with the OroNao' than is the example of another man who refused to accept his wife's child, leaving the child without a genealogical father, on the grounds that his wife frequently was having sexual relations with a non-Indian.

Since every OroNao' must have a genealogical mother, and since most persons have a genealogical father, the relationships which are thereby defined may be arranged, by concatenating these simple mother-child and father-child ties, in the form of a genealogical grid. A genealogical grid for the OroNao' of the Tanajura section is presented in Figure 1 (p. 91).<sup>2</sup>

The relationships between mother and child and between father and child are alike in that both are ties of procreation or putative procreation. However, in OroNao' conceptualizations, these relationships differ significantly. The mother-child genealogical relationship is necessary and construes the status

Figure 1: Genealogical Grid

○ observed  
△ non-observed



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of mother in terms of the child. Every person must have a mother, and every mother must have a mother, and so on, so that there exists, of necessity, a continuity of genealogical relations along a "line" of female ascendants; furthermore, the genealogical ties along such a "line" are construed in such a way that the status of the ascendants is skewed to their offspring. The father-child genealogical relationship is not a necessary one. The status of father is established by a decision of the male who comes to hold that status. The status is a genealogical "dead-end", and there is no "line", or continuity along a "line" of male ascendants.

### Marriage

The relationship of marriage between a mother and a father is established in two stages: in the initial stage the man "carries away" (an) the woman, as the OroNao' put it, from her former residence with her own natal settlement group into the residence of her potential husband. A period of cohabitation follows during which the woman determines whether or not she "sleeps well" in the new settlement group. The fact that the woman may make this determination implies that the relationship is, at this initial stage, a fragile one. A dissolution of the relationship may be made by either the man or the woman without the threat of formal sanctions being imposed. A rather extreme example of the fragility of the relationship between man and woman at this initial stage of marriage is shown by the frequent breakdown and re-establishment of a marriage tie between two young residents of Pitop. Each time the marriage tie is broken, the

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woman removes to live with her sister until her husband entices her to come back to live with his settlement group. The process has occurred so frequently that it is, by now, almost patterned.

The fragile quality of the marriage relationship at the initial stage contrasts with the enduring quality of the marriage relationship after the couple have produced offspring. When the woman gives birth to her first child, her husband determines whether or not to accept the child. The option is not as open as it appears on the surface, for very serious charges would have to be leveled to justify his refusal of the child: repeated adultery by the woman, or "insanity", evidenced mainly by the woman's lack of care for another child, are the main reasons advanced by the OroNao'. On the other hand, there are positive pressures for accepting the child, not the least of which is the fact that marriageable women are scarce, and one way of ensuring that one have a wife is to accept the wife's child. The husband prepares a bark sling for carrying the child, an act which symbolizes his acceptance of the child, and the child is given a name decided upon by the man and woman. These events mark the establishment of a family and the solidification of the formerly fragile marriage relationship between the adults.

Once the bond of "enduring marriage" is established between the adults, the relationship may be broken only with difficulty. In one case, a marriage was dissolved after the couple had two children. The dissolution was initiated by the husband just after one of the children had died (as a result of an illness which

affected several other OroNao'). The husband seized the opportunity to claim that the child's death had been the result of improper care afforded the child by his wife. However, the husband's claim was considered unjustified by the other OroNao', and by many as nothing more than an ill-conceived device for ridding himself of his wife. The marriage and the family was dissolved, the man carried away another wife, and the new relationship ultimately became an enduring marriage by the birth of their child. The man accomplished the ends he had in mind, but not without considerable cost. Today he is unable to command the respect which would otherwise be due him as a function of his position in his settlement group. This lack of respect can be traced back, in every particular, to community sanctions on his dissolution of his first family and marriage.

There is only one other case, which I have recorded, of a dissolution of a nuclear family and marriage. In this instance the dissolution was related to the Crente movement and the conversion of a woman who formerly had been involved in a polygynous marriage. The dogma of the Crente movement disallowed polygyny, and this was seen by the OroNao' as a legitimate ground for ending a polygynous marriage.

The change in the marriage relationship from fragile to enduring is accompanied by a change in the status of the adults, particularly the woman. This may be seen in the role of women in the ceremonies formerly held at harvest and planting times. Women with children did not participate in the central activities of the

ceremonies, whereas women without children, even those who had already become married (in the sense of the initial stage of marriage) did participate actively. What marks the change in status most clearly is that after an enduring marriage a woman is both figuratively and literally "with" her child. This would not be remarkable if it were not for the intensive care she provides her child.

Child-centered Family

In the family group it is the child, and not the parents, who holds the key status. It is the tie which each of the parents establish to their first child which transforms their marriage from fragile to enduring, and it is the child and subsequent offspring around whom the activities of the family group, as an identifiably separate grouping, are centered. While the OroNao' have no lexical equivalent to our term "family", and while they do not distinguish this grouping by any other linguistic means, the family group certainly exists, but only as an organization of activities centered on children.

Many of the activities of the family group arise from the concern of the mother in providing intensive care for her infant offspring. The name of the mother, indicating that the mother is "with" her infant, is certainly an appropriate means of reflecting her relationship to her child. A mother hardly ever is separated from her infant. When she is standing or walking the child is positioned on her hip, supported by her arm of bark sling; when she is seated she holds the child on her crossed legs, on her hip, on

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her chest, etc. In any event the child is always at the mother's breast, either feeding from it or using it as a pacifier.

The father's relationship with the infant is warm and affectionate, but not nearly as intensely so as the tie between mother and infant. He may hold the infant, fondle it, play with its penis (if, of course, it's a male), etc., but these are usually brief encounters. The father is not as relaxed with the infant as is the mother, and his affection is usually displayed in the relative privacy of the family's sleeping area. If the infant urinates or defecates while he is holding it, he finds this a good opportunity to hand it back to the mother. If the preposition "with" is appropriate to describe the mother's relationship to her offspring, it would also be appropriate to say that the offspring are "for" the father; children are the mother's responsibility but for the father's benefit.

When a child learns to walk and is better able to get about on its own, it gains a greater degree of independence from its parents. By the time the child is three or four years of age the parents are more nearly equivalent in their relationship to the child. And while the child is more independent at this age, the parents continue to direct their activities, with respect to the family group, around whatever the child is doing. Generally, the family environment is one suited to the child, rather than the child being suited to the family. A typical scene occurs when a child comes upon some dangerous item such as a knife or machete; the knife or machete is removed from the scene, rather than the

child being removed from the knife or machete. The activity and the attitude of the parents in relation to the child is based on their accommodation to it.

Each family group occupies a specific sector of a dwelling, separate from that of the other family groups in the same dwelling (see Fig. 2, p. 98). These areas are defined by sleeping mats and a log "pillow" laid out on the floor, or, more recently, by hammocks, covered by a large mosquito net. The mosquito net is perhaps the best single feature serving to define the family group; it is made large enough to accommodate the whole family group and provide it with a degree of privacy. In the immediate vicinity of each family's sleeping area are kept the pots, pans, plates, spoons, knives, cans, clothing, shotgun, cartridges, small baskets, and possibly a few animal bones with some meat left on them, all of which are the family's possessions. Some families have acquired one of the pressed paper suitcases that are common in rural Brazil; these serve to keep hidden some of the small items that family members have acquired. In dwellings which house more than one family group there are vacant areas between the families. The two most significant features of this arrangement of space by family groups are, first, the physical separation of families, and second, the position of the child in the center of the family's area when the group is asleep.<sup>3</sup>

Kin Terms

The OroNao' system of kin terms stands as one of the few intact, comprehensive cultural artifacts of the society. I

|                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| Xinxoin         | Orowoo'tukoinjein |
| Niro'           | Wanhon            |
|                 | Konwanhon         |
| Xinto           |                   |
| Xowalaktein     |                   |
| Woo'orotao'     |                   |
| Minainkoko      | Woo'jaxirim       |
| Woo'min         | Tompon            |
| Kamwao'min      |                   |
| Wao'min         |                   |
| Orowoo'xikonaji |                   |
| Xijam           |                   |

Figure 2: Family Groups in a Dwelling

The way I gathered information about how persons were labeled

have constructed the system from the particular behaviors of individuals who, except, for when I put questions to them about kinship in general or kin statuses in particular, do not use the system frequently. Otherwise, there are few occasions when the OroNao' actually use kin terms to refer to, or to talk about, each other. This much seems to conform with the use of kin terms in other societies. Unlike the use of kin terms in other societies, the OroNao' do not associate kin term statuses with roles or activities, or even notions of roles or activities. Therefore, the system of kin terms stands as a kind of abstract statement of the network of relations between persons.

In a scheme of classifying kin terms systems, the OroNao' system may be placed with the "Crow-type" by virtue of its exhibiting overt equivalences which presume a "covert equivalence between a woman's brother and her son" and, correlatively, a "covert equivalence between a man's sister and his mother," (Lounsbury 1965:152). Moreover, the particular overt equivalences of the OroNao' system would place it, in this sort of classification, as one of the variety called "Type IV" of the Crow-type by Lounsbury (1964:377). The classification of the OroNao' system is complicated, however, by the presence of an "Omaha-type" principle in the equation of father's sister with sister. This complication led me to re-evaluate the utility of a formal analysis, undertaken in the style of Lounsbury (1964), of the OroNao' kin terminology.

The way I gathered information about how persons were labeled

by kin terms was to ask an individual what his kinship relation was to some other person (kain ka nari mon (mam) (name of a person)?). Each term was then matched with the genealogical relationship between the individuals concerned.<sup>4</sup> The distribution between kin terms and the genealogical relations, or "kin types", to which each term applies is as follows:

| <u>KIN TERM</u> | <u>KIN TYPES</u> <sup>5</sup>  |
|-----------------|--|
| <u>pa'</u>      | MoMo<br>MoMoSi (FS)<br>MoFaSi<br>FaFaSi<br>MoFaSiDa<br>FaFaSiDa (MS)<br>FaFaSiDaDa (MS)<br>MoFaSiDaDa (FS) |
| <u>jeo'</u>     | FaFa<br>MoFa<br>FaMo (FS)<br>MoMoBr<br>MoFaSiSo (FS)<br>FaFaSiSo<br>MoFaSiDaSo<br>FaFaSiDaSo (MS)          |
| <u>wina</u>     | SoSo (MS)<br>DaSo<br>BrSoSo (FS)<br>MoBrDaSo<br>MoBrSoSo<br>MoMoBrSoSo<br>MoMoBrDaSo (FS)                  |
| <u>jina</u>     | SoDa (MS)<br>DaDa<br>SiDaDa (MS)<br>MoBrDaDa<br>MoBrSoDa (MS)<br>MoMoBrDaDa (FS)                           |
| <u>wiji</u>     | SoSo (FS)<br>SoDa (FS)   |
| <u>vivi</u>     | SiSo (MS)<br>FaDaDa (MS)<br>MoBrSoDa (MS)<br>MoMoBrDaDa (FS)   |

KIN TERMS

KIN TYPES

te

Fa  
FaBr  
FaMoSo  
FaFaSo  
FaSiSo  
FaMoBr (MS)  
FaFaDaSo  
FaMoDaSo  
FaSiDaSo  
FaFaSiSoSo (MS)

na'

Mo  
MoSi  
MoFaDa  
MoMoDa  
MoFaSiSoDa

arain

So (MS)  
Da (MS)  
BrSo  
BrDa  
FaSoSo  
MoSoSo (MS)  
FaSoDa  
MoSoDa (MS)  
MoBrSo  
MoBrDa  
MoFaSoSo  
MoFaSoDa  
SiSoSo (MS)  
SiSoDa (MS)  
MoSoSo (FS)  
MoSoDa (FS)  
MoMoSoSo  
MoMoBrDa (FS)  
MoMoBrSo  
FaMoBrSoSo (MS)  
MoMoSoDa

"homajo"

So (FS)  
Da (FS)  
SiSo (FS)  
SiDa (FS)  
FaDaSo (FS)  
FaDaDa (FS)  
MoDaSo (FS)  
MoDaDa (FS)

wixi

SiSo (MS)  
FaDaSo (MS)  
MoDaSo (MS)  
FaMoBrDaSo (MS)

KIN TERMS

KIN TYPES

nowin

SiDa (MS)  
FaDaDa (MS)  
MoDaDa (MS)  
FaMoBrDaDa (MS)

aji

ElBr  
MoElSo  
FaElSo  
FaBrElSo  
MoSiElSo (MS)  
FaFaSoElSo  
FaMoSoElSo  
MoFaDaElSo (MS)  
MoBr  
MoFaSo  
MoMoSo  
MoMoDaElSo  
MoSiElSo (FS)  
MoFaSiSoSo

we

ElSi  
FaElDa  
MoElDa  
FaBrElDa  
MoSiElDa (MS)  
FaFaSoElDa  
FaMoSoElDa  
MoFaDaElDa (MS)  
FaSi  
FaFaDa  
FaSiDa  
FaFaDaDa  
MoSiElDa (FS)  
MoMoDaElDa  
FaMoDa  
FaMoDaDa  
FaSiDaDa  
FaMoBrElDa  
FaFaSiSoDa (MS)

xa'

YoBr  
YoSi  
FaYoSo  
MoYoSo  
FaYoDa  
MoYoDa  
FaBrYoSo  
FaBrYoDa  
FaFaSoYoSo

Cont'd

KIN TERMS

KIN TYPES

xa' (Cont'd)

- FaMoSoYoSo
- FaFaSoYoDa
- FaMoSoYoDa
- MoSiYoSo
- MoFaDaYoSo
- MoMoDaYoSo
- MoMoDaYoDa
- MoSiYoDa
- FaSiSoYoSo
- FaSiSoYoDa (FS)

The kin term assignments for a hypothetical set of genealogical relations are displayed in Figure 3 (p. 104) and Figure 4 (p. 105) for a male ego and female ego, respectively.

There are two very general, covert principles underlying the entire system of kin terminology. One principle treats the continuity and lack of continuity along "lines" of ascendants - descendants, and is equivalent in form to the aspect of OroNao' genealogy which treats the relations between mother and child and father and child. The other principle treats the relationship between two or more persons who stand in a common relation to a single ascendant, and is equivalent in form to the aspect of OroNao' genealogy which establishes the relationship of "enduring marriage".

Since the covert principles of the kin terminology are equivalent in form to the elements of OroNao' genealogy and marriage I will review each of the latter elements before describing each of the corresponding principles of the kin terminology.

In OroNao genealogy the status of genealogical mother may be presumed for every person. By simple extension of this elementary notion, every mother must have a mother, and so on, so that we may

Figure 3: Kin Term Chart (Male ego)



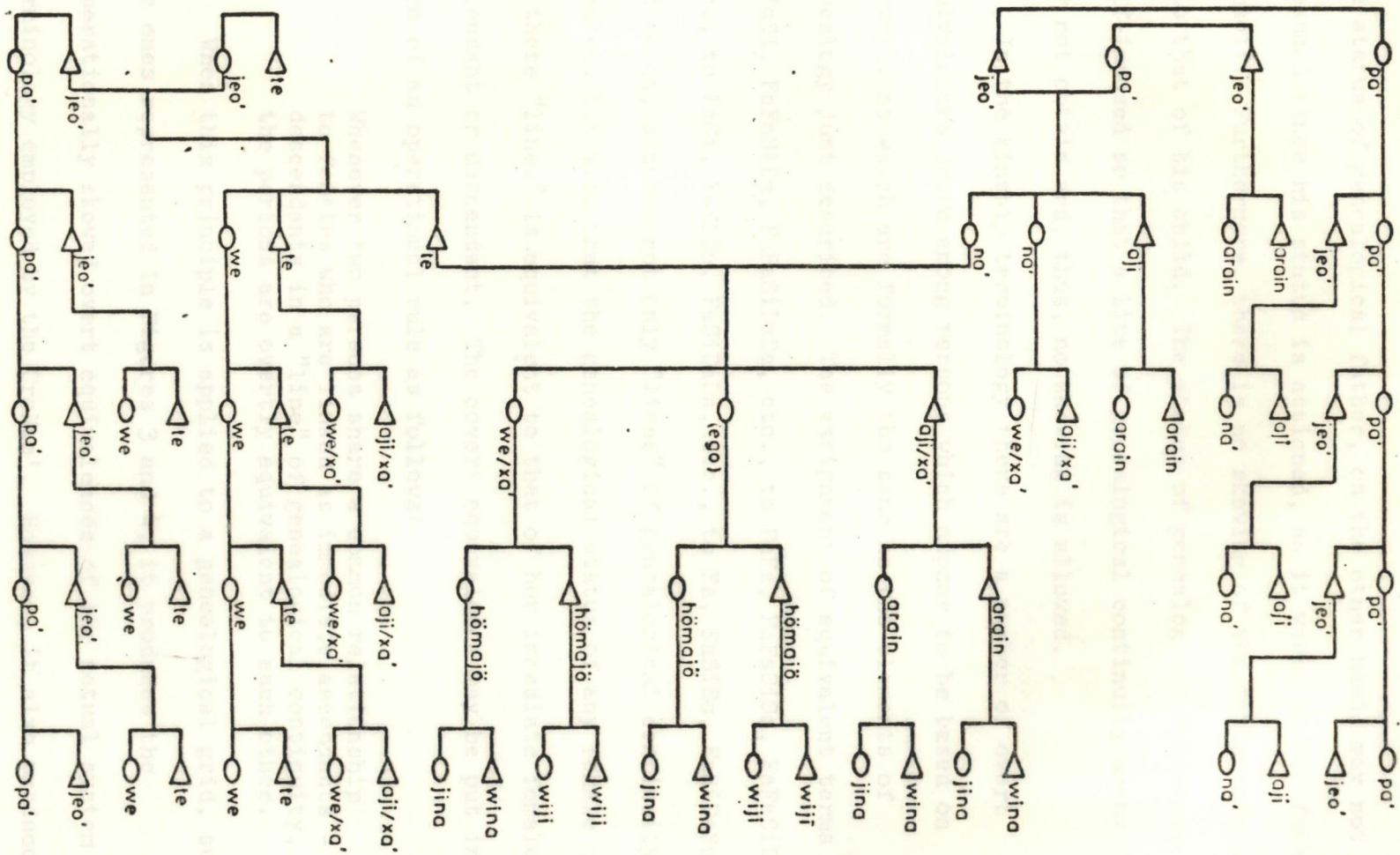


Figure 4: Kin Term Chart (female ego)

speak of a "line" of genealogical continuity among females, or a "matriline".<sup>6</sup> Within such a "line" of continuity, however, the status of genealogical mother is skewed into that of her child. The status of genealogical father, on the other hand, may not be presumed since his status is assigned, as it were, by the father himself. Furthermore, there is no skewing of the father status into that of his child. The status of genealogical father is self-imposed so that a line of genealogical continuity among males may not obtain and, thus, no skewing is allowed.

In the kinship terminology there are a number of overt equivalences drawn among persons which appear to be based on assumptions which are formally the same as the elements of genealogy just described. The assignment of equivalent terms to FaFaSi, FaFaSiDa, FaFaSiDaDa, etc., to FaFa, FaFaSiSo, FaFaSiDaSo, etc., to FaSi, FaSiDa, FaSiDaDa, etc., to Fa, FaSiSo, FaSiDaSo, etc., and so on, assumes not only "lines" of genealogical continuity among females, but also that the genealogical status of any female of one of these "lines" is equivalent to that of her immediate female ascendant or descendant. The covert equivalence may be put in the form of an operational rule as follows:

Whenever two persons share a common relationship to females who are linked as immediate ascendants - descendants in a "line" of genealogical continuity, the persons are overtly equivalent to each other.

When this principle is applied to a genealogical grid, such as the ones represented in Figures 3 and 4, it produces the generationally skewed overt equivalences of the actual system of kin terminology employed by the OroNao'. However, it also produces some

overt equivalences which are not made in the OroNao' system, notably in the "matriline" of ego's mother but also between other genealogical relations. Rather than restrict the generality of the above principle, which hereafter may be called the "skewing" principle, it seems to make more sense to assume that the principle underlies the entire system and to investigate whether or not some other quality of the system may not restrict its generality.<sup>7</sup>

The second covert principle which pervades the system of kin terminology is one which treats the ties of common ascendancy persons may share with ego. This principle is formally the same as the one which obtains in the OroNao' method of establishing the relationship of "enduring marriage". Again, it will be useful to review the corresponding aspect of the latter theory.

Earlier, I described the marriage relationship in terms of two stages: in the initial stage the relationship between man and woman is simple cohabitation -- the man carries the woman away so that they occupy the same domicile; it is only when the man and woman, each in their own manner, establish their status of father and mother, respectively, to a common child that the marriage relationship of the first stage is transformed into a stable, enduring bond.

The corresponding principle which is assumed in the kin terminology appears most clearly in a portion of the overt equivalences between persons called aji, we, and xa'. These overt equivalences assume that two persons are covertly equivalent if each shares with ego a common ascendancy relationship,

even though the two themselves may not share a common ascendancy relationship.<sup>8</sup> The inversion of the principle in the kin terminology from its expression in the marriage relationship, with which it corresponds, is a function of the ego-centric quality of the kin term applications.

When this principle is applied to a genealogical grid the overt equivalences between persons of the same generation called aji, we, and xa' (ignoring age and sex distinctions) are produced. The principle may be stated, operationally, in the following terms:

Any two persons each of whom shares with ego a common ascendancy relation are terminologically equated.

This may be called the "merging" principle.

The identification of the skewing and the merging principles, deduced by looking behind the overt equivalences to determine what sorts of covert equivalences would produce them, provides an understanding of the general outline of the system of kin terminology. However, certain of the overt equivalences and all of the partitions (or category boundaries) are not explained by the two principles. For example, the equation of FaFa with MoFa, FaFaSi with MoFaSi, and FaMo with all the latter, and the equation of the females of FaFaSi "matriline" with the females of MoFaSi "matriline", are not explained. The partitions which occur in ego's "matriline", which distinguish persons of one generation level from those of the next, seem to be a contradiction of the skewing principle. And, the equivalence of FaBr's offspring with MoSi's offspring even suggests that the merging principle, whereby

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These equivalences are produced, stands in direct contradiction with the skewing principle.<sup>9</sup>

These further categorizations and the manner in which persons are partitioned, one category from another, must be explained by features other than the skewing and merging principles. The subject more properly belongs in the discussion of the structure of marriage relations and the categories of marriageable and non-marriageable persons.

#### Segmentable Lexemes

Additional evidence that the system of OroNao' kin terms is based on principles formally equivalent to those which obtain in the conceptualizations of genealogy and the establishment of the marriage relationship, occurs in the use of "segmentable lexemes" (Conklin 1962) for referring to kinsmen.

When I asked individuals what their kinship relation was to other persons, they sometimes used segmentable lexemes in place of the kin terms identified above. There are several kinds of segmentable lexemes the OroNao' use, many of them having overlapping ranges of application. While their ranges of application are important to discovering the meaning of these terms, the arrangement of morphemic segments provides the best clue to understanding how the OroNao' actually construe kinship relations. I will stress the latter evidence in this section.

Between the two sorts of lexemes, unitary and segmentable, the OroNao' have no distinctive preference in usage and I could discover no contexts in terms of which the alternative usages could be assigned. Given two equally appropriate terms, one unitary, one

segmentable, the OroNao' consider either form appropriate in referring to the person in question; the terms are considered equivalent. I assume therefore, that the principles underlying the use of the segmentable lexemes, and the implications of their use, are equal in significance to those of the unitary lexemes.

One set of segmentable lexemes have the common property of beginning with the segment panxi-. The lexeme - kin type distribution of the panxi- forms is as follows:

KIN TERMS

KIN TYPES

panxita

- FaMoBrSoSo (MS)
- MoMoBrSo (MS)
- MoMoSoSo (MS)
- MoMoSoDa (MS)
- MoFaSoSo (MS)
- MoFaSoDa (MS)
- MoBrSo (MS)
- MoBrDa (MS)
- FaSoSo (MS)
- DaSoDa (MS)
- MoSoSo (MS)
- MoSoDa (MS)
- BrSo (MS)
- BrDa (MS)
- So (MS)
- Da (MS)
- SiSoSo (MS)
- SiSoDa (MS)

panxika'aji

- FaMoBrElSoSo (MS)
- MoMoBrSo
- MoMoBrDa (FS)
- MoMoSoSo
- MoMoSoDa
- MoFaSoSo
- MoFaSoDa
- MoBrSo
- MoBrDa
- FaElSoSo
- FaElSoDa
- MoElSoSo
- MoElSoDa
- ElBrSo
- ElBrDa

KIN TERMS

KIN TYPES

pankaxa'

FaYoSoSo  
FaYoSoDa  
MoYoSoSo  
MoYoSoDa  
YoBrSo  
YoBrDa

pankajeo'

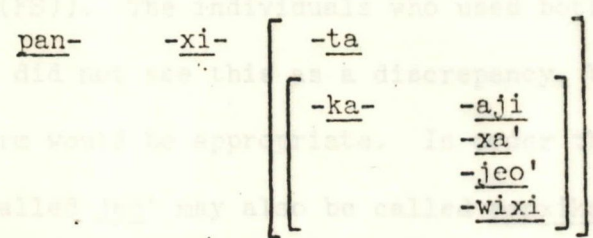
MoMoBrSo  
MoMoBrDa (MS)

pankawixi

SiSoSo (MS)  
SiSoDa (MS)

A comparison of the kin types of the panxi- forms with the kin types of the term arain indicate that the former partition the domain of the latter in various ways. Panxita and arain have identical ranges for male speakers; panxika'aji, pankaxa' and pankajeo' partition the entire domain of arain for female speakers. However, the real significance of these terms is not limited to their function in specifying portions of the domain of arain.

Clues to the meanings of the panxi- lexemes may be derived from a consideration of their morphemic segments and their combination. The arrangement of the segments is as follows:



The verb pan has been described earlier as one expressing the action "to fall". When the term is used to identify the genealogical relationship between mother and child, the child is always the agent of the action. The morpheme xi, in this instance,

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nominalizes the verb; ta and ka are possessives, first person singular and third person masculine singular, respectively; aji, xa', jeo' and wixi have already been identified; these are the kin term statuses, along with the first person, indicated by the morpheme ta, to which the "falling", or the birth, is relative.

The way the panxi- forms are constructed implies that the persons referred to are construed in relation to their male ascendants, and further, that what all the persons labeled by a panxi- lexeme have in common is that their birth is relative to (possessed by) their male ascendants (which is consistent with the notion of genealogical father).

The fact that, for a male speaker, the term panxita may be used alternatively with any of the other panxi- terms, not only implies that the referents are construed in relation to a male, but also that all of the male ascendants of these referents are equivalent to the male ego himself. Furthermore, the reader will note that an apparent discrepancy exists in the application of panxika'aji to the kin types of panxika,jeo' (viz., MoMoBrSo and MoMoBrDa (FS)). The individuals who used both terms for the same kin types did not see this as a discrepancy, but claimed that either term would be appropriate. In order that the offspring of persons called jeo' may also be called panxika'aji, the segments aji and jeo' in this instance must be made equivalent in some sense. The only sense I can discover in this is that the specific kin type MoMoBr must be covertly equivalent to MoBr with respect to their offspring. And this is consistent with the use of panxita to

refer to all of the offspring of males of ego's "matriline", and with respect to my interpretation of the implications arising from the category arain.

Another panxi- form which is used in certain contexts is panxikajina'. It is sometimes used to refer to any individual of the same range as the ranges of the panxi- forms, with the exception of So and Da, when the referent's male ascendant is deceased. With this, the interpretation seems conclusive that the panxi- forms are ways of referring to persons by means of relating them to the status of their males ascendants.

Another set of segmentable lexemes have the common property of beginning with the segments kawina- or kajina-. The following distribution of kin- types over the lexemes of this set is ideally as follows:

| <u>KIN TERMS</u>    | <u>KIN TYPES</u>               |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| <u>kawinakamwe</u>  | FaElDaSo<br>MoElDaSo<br>ElSiSo |
| <u>kajinakamwe</u>  | FaElDaDa<br>MoElDaDa<br>ElSiDa |
| <u>kawinakamxa'</u> | FaYoDaSo<br>MoYoDaSo<br>YoSiSo |
| <u>kajinakamxa'</u> | FaYoDaDa<br>MoYoDaDa<br>YoSiDa |
| <u>kawina</u>       | So (FS)                        |
| <u>kajina</u>       | Da (FS)                        |

The persons referred to by these terms are identified, then,

In actual usage, however, individuals tend to use the kawina- forms to refer to both males and females. On questioning this apparent discrepancy, the OroKao' maintain that either form is admissible, regardless of the sex of referent, and that the first four forms have the same meaning, providing the relative age of the intervening relative is respected in the term used. I also noted one instance of a woman referring to her son as kawiji alternatively with kawina, whereas she insisted that kajina, and not kawiji, must be used to refer to her daughter. These apparent discrepancies provide the most significant clues to the meaning of the kawina- and kajina- lexemes.

The segments of these forms may be combined in the following manner:

$$\text{ka-} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-wina-} \\ \text{-jina-} \end{bmatrix} \text{-kam-} \begin{bmatrix} \text{-xa'} \\ \text{-we} \end{bmatrix}.$$

The segment ka is a relative pronoun; kam is a third person singular feminine possessive; xa' and we have already been identified as unitary kin lexemes; and wina and jina have also been previously identified as unitary kin lexemes. But the two latter terms refer, most immediately, to second generation descendants. Thus, while some of these forms identify persons by reference to the kin term status of their female ascendants (xa' and we), and in that respect are similar to the panxi- forms, they also specify the kin term status of second generation descendants of the females whose status is we and xa'.

The persons referred to by these terms are identified, then,

in relation to the kin status of their immediate descendants, but from the point of view of the kin status of their immediate female ascendants; but the sex marker of the second descending generation kin terms ideally is applied on the basis of the referent himself, or herself. The logic underlying these terms is, admittedly, convoluted, but there appears to be no other way to account for the actual usage here, especially the usage of kawiji alternatively with kawina. The theoretically interesting aspect of this logic is that the segments employed in the forms are relevant only to the immediate female ascendant and to a generalized (i.e., sexually irrelevant) second generation descendant of hers, both being kin type positions on either the immediate ascending or descending generations of the persons labeled by the terms in question. The terms make no sense, if traced by genealogical concatenation from a male ego, for, from his point of view, SiSo (wixi) produces offspring he calls arain, not wina or jina. It is only his sister, kam xa' or kam we, who calls his SiSo offspring wina or jina. Thus the kawina- and kajina- terms have something of the meaning, "person who produce 'wina' or 'jina' from the point of view of one's we or xa'". Whereas in the panxi- forms the persons referred to are reckoned by defining the kin term status of their male parent, in the kawina- and kajina- forms persons are reckoned by defining the kin term status of their descendants, with respect to their female ascendants. And both means are perfectly consistent with the OroNao' notions of genealogy as defined for fathers and mothers respectively.

The OroNao' also sometimes refer to kinsmen by using composite lexemes of a type which are constructed by using, as the initial segment of the lexemes, the same unitary kin lexeme that would otherwise identify the person in question. Appended to the initial segment are a masculine or feminine possessive, and then another unitary kin lexeme. I have recorded the following examples of this type construction:

- tekanwe                      FaSi; FaSiDa; etc., but not ESi; etc.
- wekonte                     FaSiBo; FaSiBoDa; FaSiBoSo; FaSiBoDa;
- xa'konte                    but not xa'kamna'; YoBr; YoSi; etc.
- xa'kamna'                  YoBr; EBo; etc., but not YoFaSiBoSo;
- ajikamna'                  FaSiBoSiBo; FaSiBoEBo; etc.
- wixikamxa'                YoSiBo; etc., but not wixikamwe
- wixikamwe                 ESiBo; etc.
- pa'konjeo'                YoFaSi; YoFaSiDa; etc., but not
- na'konjeo'                YoFaSi; YoFaSiDa; etc.
- jeo'konkotere'            YoFaSiBoSo; etc., but not Yo; YoSi; etc.

The final segment of these lexemes, the possessor status, identifies the kin term status of a particular kind of relative, but not any kind of relative, whose unitary kin lexeme status would be the same as that of the final segment of the composite lexeme. Hence, these composite lexemes serve to contrast persons who would otherwise be called by the same unitary kin lexemes. The contrast is implicit in most cases, and is recognized only by recalling that the individual using the composite lexemes had, earlier in a conversation, identified some person's status with a unitary kin lexeme. For example, if an individual identifies FaBr as te and

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is then asked for the kin term status of FaSiSo, he will usually identify the latter as tekarwe, rather than as te, even though the latter would be perfectly appropriate.

The contrasts implied by these composite lexemes are as follows:

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| <u>tekarwe</u> :        | FaSiSo; FaSiDaSo; etc., but not Fa;<br>FaBr; etc.  |
| <u>wekonte</u> :        | FaSi; FaSiDa; etc., but not ElSi; etc.   |
| <u>xa'konte</u> :       | FaMoBrSo; FaMoBrDa; FaSiSoSo; FaSiSoDa; etc.,<br>but not <u>xa'kamna'</u> : YoBr; YoSi; etc. |
| <u>ajikamna'</u> :      | MoBr; ElBr; etc., but not MoFaSiSoSo;<br>FaSiSoElSo; FaMoBrElSo; etc.                        |
| <u>wixikamxa'</u> :     | YoSiSo; etc., but not <u>wixikamwe</u> :<br>ElSiSo; etc.                                     |
| <u>pa'konjeo'</u> :     | MoFaSi; MoFaSiDa; etc., but not<br>FaFaSi; FaFaSiDa; etc.                                    |
| <u>na'konjeo'</u> :     | MoFaSiSoDa; etc., but not Mo; MoSi; etc.   |
| <u>jeo'konkotere'</u> : | FaFaSiSo; FaFaSiDaSo; etc., but not<br>MoFaSiSo; etc.  |

It is clear from the evidence that the final segment of the lexemes does not identify the status of persons standing in a particular, consistent genealogical relationship to the referent. What the final segment does identify is the status of some person in such a way that the referent is "placed" in one line of genealogical continuity, rather than another. (The contrast between wixikamxa' and wixikamwe, which distinguishes persons

called wixi on the basis of the relative age of a male ego's sister, is excepted from this argument.) In tekamwe, the final segment identifies the referent by placing him in the father's sister's (we) "matriline"; in wekonte, the final segment identifies the referent by placing her in the father's (te) "matriline"; in xa'konte, the final segment identifies the referent by placing him or her in the father's (te) "matriline"; etc. But, note that it is not simply or always a "matriline" that the final segment identifies. In pa'konjeo', the final segment identifies the particular relative MoFa but not FaFa; and in jeo'konkotere', the referent is placed in relation to ego's fathers (kotere'), rather than the "matriline" of the referent.

This particular means of placing the referent suggests that the final segments of the last two examples provide a way of distinguishing between the pa' and jeo' statuses of the father's father's sister's "matriline" as opposed to those of the mother's father's sister's "matriline" and that the distinction must be based on the position of ego's parents, and ego's parents' parents in marriage. Additional evidence for this hypothesis will be advanced in the section on errors in kin status assignments, below.

Yet another type of composite kin lexeme used by the OroNao' are forms constructed by prefixing the segments iri- and xikon- (masculine) or xikem- (feminine) to a unitary kin lexeme. The following will serve as examples:

Constructing one person's kin status in terms of the status of the latter's close relative, parent or child. Hence, kin status may be determined by taking into account relationships of genealogy.

irina'

xikemna'

irite

xikonte.

The segments iri- and xikon- or xikem- are used in a variety of other linguistic contexts where they have the meaning "real", or "same as", and "other, different from", respectively. When these prefixes are used to form composite kin lexemes they serve to distinguish between persons who might otherwise be called by the same unitary kin lexemes.

If these forms are used, the iri- segment always identifies the person of the status in question as the genealogically closest relative to ego, and the xikon- and xikem- segments always identify persons of a distant genealogical relationship. For example, Fa will always be called irite and FaSiSo will always be called xikonte. Otherwise, the distinction between iri- and xikon- or xikem- is relative to an implied contrast between two persons. For example, FaBr may be called xikonte if the contrast is with Fa, irite; but FaBr may be called irite if the implied contrast is with FaSiSo, xikonte.

Errors in Reckoning Kin Status

In the previous section I noted that the meanings of segmentable kin lexemes suggest that kin status may be reckoned by construing one person's kin status in terms of the status of the latter's close relative, parent or child. Hence, kin status may be determined by taking into account relationships of genealogy,

as defined by the OroNao'. Patterned errors in kin status reckoning support this contention, because they all followed a similar logic.

If one knows the kin term that should be applied to a particular referent, then the kin terms that may be applied to that person's close relatives -- parents, children, or siblings -- are limited. This is seen most clearly in the application of the kin term pa'. In the system of kin terms there are "lines" of females called pa', and the female ascendants and descendants of these females called pa' also are called pa' presumably ad infinitum. The notion is recognized by the OroNao' when they say,

"Pa' pi pin inam kajinakar (name), kajinakam kem." ("I pa' the daughter of (name), her daughter too, etc."). The male offspring of these females called pa' are called jeo'. Similarly, all female descendants in father's sister's "matriline" are called we, and their male offspring are called te.

However, it is the case that, for example, the offspring of some persons whose kin status is pa' are not called pa' and jeo'; and the offspring of some persons whose kin status is we are not called we and te. Thus, mother's mother is called pa', but her offspring are called na' and aji; and a male's elder sister is called we, but her offspring are called wixi and nowin. Similarly, there are alternatives of kin status association between sets of siblings in which the same kin term appears in both associations. For example, the sibling pairs we and te and we and aji, and the sibling pairs we and aji and na' and aji have kin statuses in common.

... ego's parents' parents. The logic of the establishment of the

There are, in other words, sets of kin status associations between persons who are connected as parent and child; and there are sets of kin status associations between persons who are connected as siblings. But there are alternatives, although limited alternatives, in these kin status associations.

Patterned errors in reckoning kin status are inappropriate selections from these alternatives of kin status association. Thus, an informant appropriately called FaSiElDa we, but when asked for the kin status of the referent's younger sibling, inappropriately called her xa' from the we and xa' sibling association. Another person appropriately called his FaSiDa we, but when asked for the kin status of her son, inappropriately called him wixikamwe from the we and wixi (wixikamwe) ElSi and ElSiSo association. All patterned errors follow this logic.

The question raised by the above evidence is how do the OroNao' get these kin status associations placed (either properly or improperly)?

Marriage Categories

If the structure of the system of kin terms were exhausted only by the logic of OroNao' genealogy then we should have to expect the kinds of overt equivalences exhibited in the FaFaSi, the FaSi, and the MoFaSi "matrilines" to obtain in all "matrilines" of the system. However, the fact is that the system of kin terms also partitions persons on the basis of marriage relationships established between an ego's parents and an ego's parents' parents. The logic of the establishment of the

marriage relationship, as it applies to the system of kin terms, makes equivalent those persons who share a common ascendancy relationship. Thus, some persons who might otherwise be distinguished according to their position in a "matriline" are made equivalent to each other; and the system of kin terms, so constituted, entails implications concerning marriage arrangements.

Two forms of implied marriage arrangements correspond with the two principles I have identified as underlying the system of kin terms. One is that the overt equivalences drawn between persons who share a common ascendancy relationship suggest that women related as sisters marry men of the same kin status; and that men related as brothers marry women of the same kin status. For example, persons of the same generation as ego, whom ego calls aji, we, and xa', are treated as if their mothers and fathers stood in a marriage relationship equivalent to that of ego's own mother and father. The kin term system imposes the fiction that women follow their sisters in marriage and men follow their brothers in marriage.

Another implied marriage arrangement is that the equivalence drawn between males standing in the MoBr-SiSo relationship suggests that the men so related marry women of the same kin status; and that the equivalence drawn between women standing in the Mo-Da relationship suggests that women so related marry men of the same kin status. The kin term system imposes the fiction that men follow their mothers' brothers in marriage and

women follow their mothers in marriage.

Yet another implied marriage arrangement is that the equivalence drawn between ElSi and FaSi suggests that women so related marry men of the same kin status. Here the terminology imposes the fiction that women follow their fathers' sisters in marriage.

These marriage implications concern the continuation of alliances that had been established in an earlier generation between persons of distinct "matrilines". By implication, marriages that are established in one generation may be continued in similar fashion in subsequent generations.

One question raised by the implied marriage arrangements is whether or not the arrangements have any basis in practice. The restrictions on collecting adequate genealogical data prevent my reckoning the exact relationship between most OroNao' endogamous marriages. However, there are cases of two sisters marrying one man, and a pair of sisters marrying a pair of brothers.<sup>10</sup> Also, there are two known instances of a woman marrying her FaSiHu (or a man marrying his WiBrDa). I also have noted that the OroNao' sometimes indicate that this form of marriage arrangement would be appropriate by mentioning that the FaSiHu is ak ka taxikam ("like her husband"). There are, as well, two known instances of a man marrying the wife of his classificatory MoBr (or a woman marrying her husband's classificatory SiSo). The common status of a man and his SiSo with respect to their spouses or potential spouses is reflected

in the way men sometimes refer to their SiSo by the phrase waram wixi (that is, a wixi who is "entwined" or "wrapped around" in the fashion of a vine). Also, it will be noted that while the kin terminology is consistent in equating most males who stand in the MoBr-SiSo relationship, it fails in that respect precisely in the labels for a male ego's sisters' offspring and a female ego's offspring and sisters' offspring. In these cases the terms wixi, nowin, and homaio, respectively, are applied. These persons are assigned a kin term status which ignores the kin status of the fathers of the offspring, just as the wives of males of ego's "matriline" are ignored in assigning the kin term arain for their offspring.

In the context of discussing their marriage implications, Lévi-Strauss likened the Crow-Omaha type systems to a pump "which requires an external supply to draw upon according to its needs, and an outlet through which to reconstitute the byproducts of its ongoing operation." (1966a:19). He also described the systems as ones which turn affines into kinsmen (1966a:19). The reason is that "each marriage changes the structural pattern according to which marriages may or may not take place in the following generations." (1966a:19). The same characterizations may be applied to the OroNao' system. The particular way in which the OroNao' kin terminology accomplishes this change in structural pattern nevertheless allows persons to continue marrying, in subsequent generations, those who have the same kin term status as women who married MoBr and other males of ego's "matriline",

and those who have the same status as men who married FaSi and other females of father's sister's "matriline". But, whenever a man looks to his MoBrWi or other females of the same kin status he may find that the potential spouses there are limited increasingly to the extent that his MoBr and his Br have already taken spouses of the same status. The reason is that the offspring of MoBrWi and other females of her "matriline", who might otherwise be construed as potential spouses, are redefined when MoBr, Br, etc. become fathers of these offspring (see Figure 5, p. 126). Similarly, whenever a woman looks to her FaSiHu or another male of the same kin status she may find that the range of potential spouses is limited increasingly by the marriages of her FaSi, her ElSi, and other females of the same kin status (see Figure 6, p. 127).

The OroNao' more specifically distinguish the ranges of marriageable and non-marriageable persons by labeling them kahworamō nari and iri nari, respectively. The evidence I was able to gather on the definition of these categories is incomplete (due to the limitations on gathering genealogical data), but nevertheless sufficient to assess the marriage conditions of the present day OroNao'.

The verb kahworamōwa may be glossed as "to search for" or "to seek (out)". Alternative forms used to identify the same persons as kahworamō nari include kamapam nari, the verb stem of which means "to take" with the connotation that the action is done with concern, care, or even anxiety, and kaxikon wari, meaning the

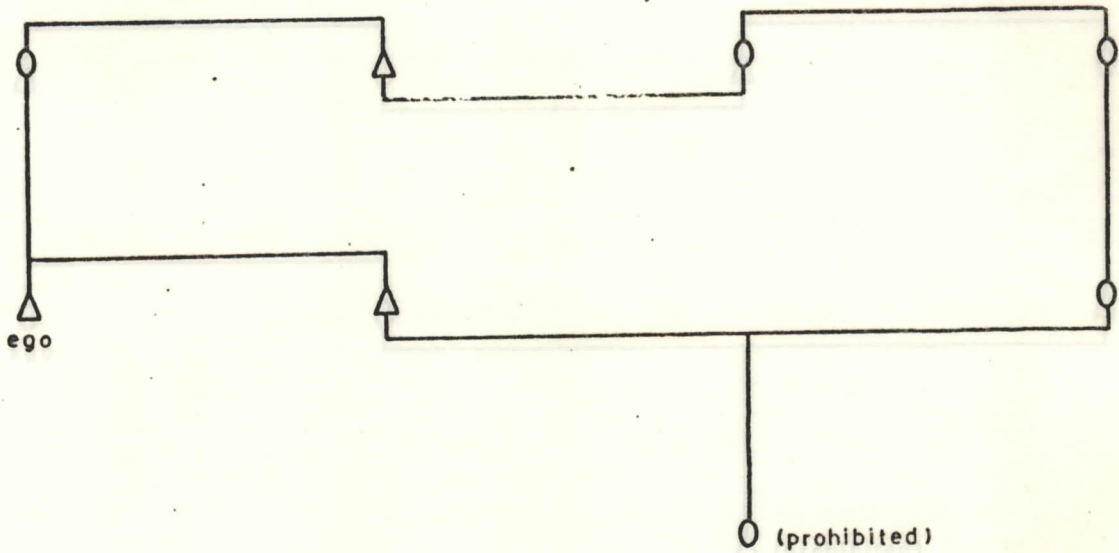
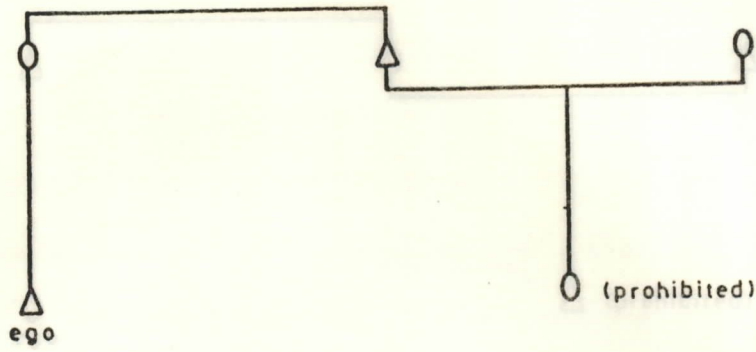


Figure 5: Marriage Implications (male ego)

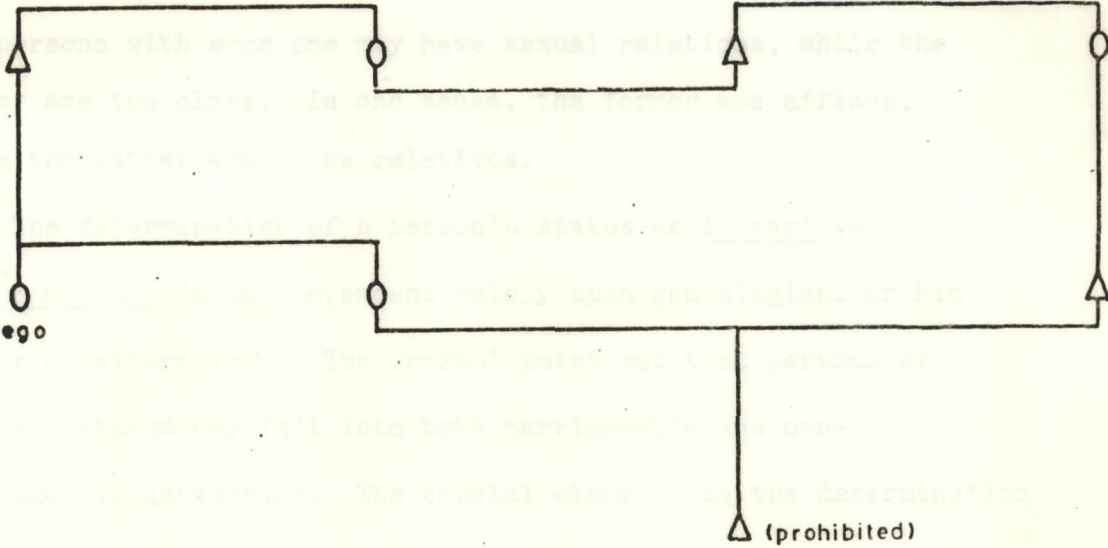
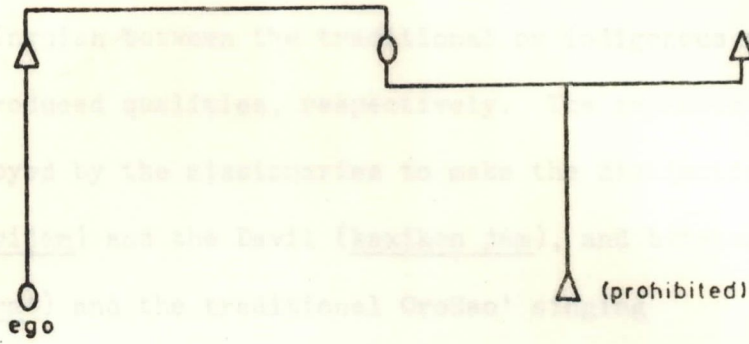


Figure 6: Marriage Implications (female ego)

"strangeness of people". The segment iri-, when prefixed to nari, distinguishes "real" or "genuine" relatives. The opposed segments iri- and kaxi- are used frequently in OroNao' speech to distinguish between the traditional or indigenous as opposed to introduced qualities, respectively. The segments have been employed by the missionaries to make the distinctions between God (irijam) and the Devil (kaxikon jam), and between hymns (iritamara') and the traditional OroNao' singing (kaxikon tamara'), whose terms have been switched from the expected usage.

According to the OroNao', kahwōramō nari are good to marry while irinari are not good to marry; the former are considered the persons with whom one may have sexual relations, while the latter are too close. In one sense, the former are affines, while the latter are close relatives.

The determination of a person's status as irinari vs. kahwōramō nari is not dependent solely upon genealogical or kin status considerations. The OroNao' point out that persons of each kin status may fall into both marriageable and non-marriageable categories. The crucial elements in the determination are persons' kin status and the position of their status in the context of existing marriage relationships. Thus, the statuses of pa' and jeo' which are applied to females and males, respectively, of the FaFaSi and MoFaSi "matrilines" are distinguished between these "lines". Pa' and jeo' of the FaFaSi "matriline" are irinari; those of the MoFaSi "matriline" are kahwōramō nari. The we and

te statuses, as they are associated for brother-sister pairs, also are divided. We and te of the FaSi "matriline" are irinari; we and te as offspring of jeo' of the FaFaSi "matriline" are kahworamō nari. These and the remaining distinctions of persons by the irinari vs. kahworamō nari categories are identified in Figure 7 (p. 130).

According to the ranges of permitted and prohibited marriages defined by these marriage categories the possibilities of finding a suitable spouse are limited. But when intertribal relations were opened by the pacification efforts of missionaries and government agents, a population which could not be defined as irinari, but which could be defined as kaxikon wari or kahworamō nari was made available as potential spouses. Today, marriage arrangements still fall under the injunction of selecting spouses from the kahworamō nari, and not the irinari, category. However, the range of potential spouses has become so extensive that the injunction is, in practical situations, almost meaningless.

The irinari and kahworamō nari categories and the marriage injunctions associated with them have become a non-issue for the OroNao'. The categories are not of much concern to the OroNao', which probably accounts for the fact that other observers of Pacaás-Novos groups have failed to recognize their existence. I did not recognize the categories until late in my field research and only then learned of them upon asking questions about a mother's behavior surrounding her daughter's marriage. The mother, and only the mother, had angrily denounced her daughter's marriage

Figure 7: Marriage Categories

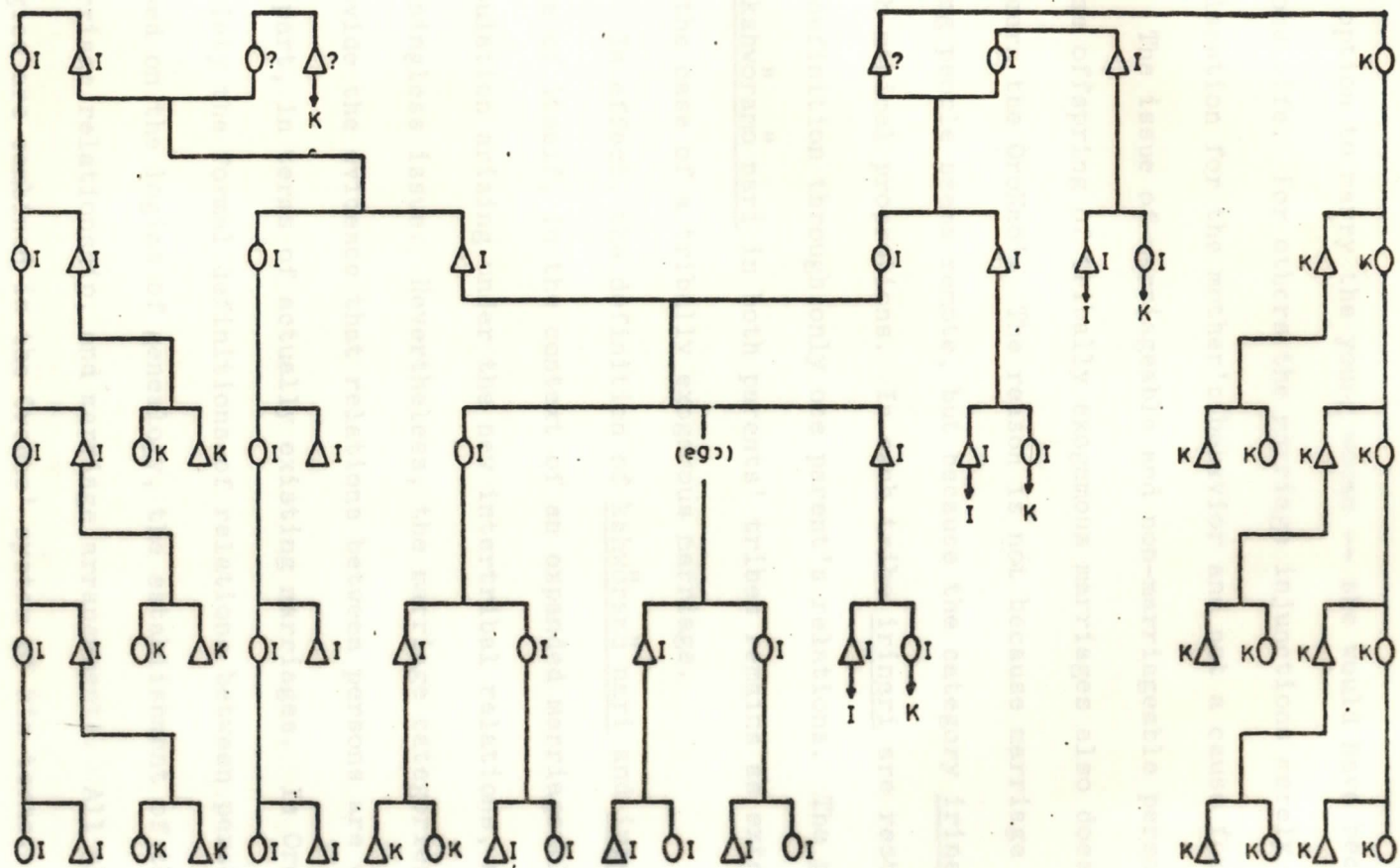


Figure 7: Marriage Categories

I = Irinari

K = kahwöramö nari

on grounds that the young couple were irinari to each other. The young woman also had been promised in marriage to another man. But that man already had become a Crente and thus renounced his option to marry the young woman -- she would have become his second wife. For others the marriage injunctions merely were an explanation for the mother's behavior and not a cause for concern.

The issue of marriageable and non-marriageable persons for those offspring of tribally exogamous marriages also does not concern the OroNao'. The reason is not because marriage for these young people seems remote, but because the category irinari is of such minimal proportions. In each tribe irinari are restricted to definition through only one parent's relations. The proportion of kahw<sup>"</sup>oram<sup>"</sup> nari in both parents' tribes remains as extensive as in the case of a tribally exogamous marriage.

In effect, the definition of kahw<sup>"</sup>oram<sup>"</sup> nari and irinari has made of itself, in the context of an expanded marriageable population arising under the new intertribal relations, a meaningless issue. Nevertheless, the marriage categories provide the evidence that relations between persons are defined, in part, in terms of actually existing marriages. In OroNao' society the formal definitions of relations between persons are based on the logics of genealogy, the establishment of the marriage relationship, and marriage arrangements. All three logics are combined in the OroNao' system of kin terms.

In any society some of the relations between individuals and between groups may change from time to time depending on the kinds of activities being performed at a given time. For example, a ceremony normally involves a different arrangement of people than, let us say, a fishing expedition. This particular notion of variation has been emphasized

CHAPTER 4

"structural poses" exhibited over a yearly period in the 17th century Cherokee villages:

The notion of structural pose . . . draws attention to the well-established fact that the social structure of a human community is not a single set of roles and groups, but is rather a series of several sets of roles and groups which appear and disappear according to the tasks at hand. The notion of structural pose elevates that known fact to a position of central importance in structural analysis. (Gearing 1958:1142)

THE YEARLY CYCLE

Gearing's treatment of structural variation is not unlike other attempts to locate variations in the context of events of a cyclical nature (e.g., Fortes 1949; Leach 1965), except that it focuses on the yearly cycle. Since the Oroñao' depend so heavily on extracting a livelihood from an environment which itself is characterized by recurrent "poses" occurring in a yearly cycle, the structural pose concept and its method seem particularly appropriate to an analysis of Oroñao' subsistence organization.

Specific subsistence activities of the Oroñao' are tied to seasonal variations in climate and environment. Furthermore, the nature of any one subsistence activity may complement or restrict the performance of another activity. As a result, the nexus among subsistence activities corresponds with the seasonal

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distinctions. Generally, the kinds of activities that take place during the dry season are ones requiring their performance in the vicinity of the settlements and their immediately surrounding cultivation plots; during the rainy season the kinds of activities required for subsistence are performed away from the settlements. Consequently, inhabitational and mobility implications of subsistence activities show up in the social organization of OroNao' society.

In this chapter the major features of OroNao' subsistence organization are described in the framework of the yearly cycle of subsistence activities. Seasonally sensitive variations in subsistence activities are emphasized, not because they expose a more fundamental organization, but because they constitute the basic features of OroNao' subsistence organization.

#### Seasonal Variation

The rhythm of the alternation between wet and dry seasons, along with the associated alternation between water-inundated and dry grounds, is one of the most visible climatic-environmental features which stands in relationship with OroNao' subsistence activities. The nexus among seasonal variations and subsistence activities points up a remarkably clear-cut correlation between the OroNao' tendency toward "inhabitation" during the dry season and "mobility" during the rainy season. "Inhabitation" may be defined as the performance of the overwhelming majority of activities in the vicinity of a settlement site; "mobility" may be defined as the opposite, that is, the performance of the

majority of activities away from a settlement site. These are poles on a continuum, but the distinction is so clearly apparent that it will be useful to begin the discussion of the yearly cycle on this basis.

The Pacaás-Novos environment is well within the boundaries, yet some distance removed (11° south latitude) from the epicenter, of the Amazonian tropical forest region (see Meggers 1971:7-14). The climate characteristics of the smaller region thus conform generally with those which obtain for most Amazonian tropical locations. Diurnal variations in temperature exceed yearly variations. Even with the occurrence of the "friagem" the seasonal range in temperature has little effect on vegetation since the temperature minima remain well above freezing. The relative duration of "daylight hours", and the duration and intensity of solar radiation, vary minimally,<sup>1</sup> although more so than at tropical epicenters.

In tropical regions climatic variations generally increase as distance from the epicenter of the region increases. Although climatic data specific to the OroNao' occupation area are unavailable, seasonal variation in rainfall is easily the most noticeable aspect of the local climate (as it is in tropical, as opposed to equatorial, regions generally (Aubert de la Rüe, Bourlière, and Harroy 1957:14)). Even if the area receives 2000mm of rain annually (extrapolated from Meggers 1971:41), this is still a low amount and is consistent with the amount of rainfall in most of those tropical regions which show similar seasonal variations (Richards 1952:138-139). The rainy season occurs

roughly between the months of September and April, and is, in this area, a single season. The period of heaviest rains is consistent with the season indicated by Meggers (1971:10) for the area south of the equator in Amazonia.

Rainfall in the Pacaás-Novos environment tends to be irregular in intensity, duration, and timing in comparison with more epicentric tropical locations (such as Belém, for example, where one reputedly may set watches and clocks by the regularity of the afternoon downpour). While thunder, heavy rain of short duration, and other characteristic features of rainfall in epicentric tropical locations do occur, the Pacaás-Novos region also receives light rains of several days duration, and rainfalls which begin in the early morning hours (i.e., non-characteristic features).

Vegetational activities are bound intricately to this rainfall-prominent seasonal variation. As Richards points out, "For the vegetation, the distribution of the rainfall through the year is usually of far more importance than the annual total." (1952:139). Since the OroNao' move their food rapidly from environment to mouth, their activities as well are bound to the seasonal variation in rainfall.

The importance of the seasonal variation in rainfall tends to be obscured by the fact that plant life in tropical regions exhibits an evergreen quality throughout the year. But, as Richards points out:

"Within the tropical zone, the more seasonal the climate the more the periodicity of the component species of the flora tends to become

On the synchronized and the more closely does it fit the periodicity of the climate."

(1952:192).

This became evident to me during the firing of cultivation plots around Piton in the dry season of 1969. The plant life at the forest floor had become so dessicated, despite appearances to the contrary, that the fires spread throughout a large area of primary forest between the stream of Taparain and the Igarapé Laranjal (see Map 5, p. 168).

Thus, what appears to the eye as a seasonal variation dominated only by the relative amounts of rainfall is in fact a whole complex of variations involving plant, animal, and cultural activities. The key feature of all these activities is their cyclical or recurring nature, and it is on this basis that aspects of OroNao' subsistence organization must be examined.

Seasonal Variation and Subsistence Activities

Specific aspects of hunting, fishing, and gathering, and horticulture in its entirety, stand out from the total range of OroNao' subsistence activities in the degree of intimacy with which they are related to seasonal changes. The timing of certain of these activities clearly is related to OroNao' conceptualizations about the relationship between the subsistence activity and climatic conditions. The burning of fields, for example, must be accomplished before the beginning of the rainy season. Planting must be concluded shortly thereafter, especially in the case of indigenous crops which would become rotten, according to the OroNao', if they were planted during the peak of the rainy season.

On the other hand there are many subsistence activities which could be carried on throughout the year, according to OroNao' conceptualization, if it were not for restricting limitations imposed by climatic-environmental conditions. The taking of fish by poisoning streams for example, is most effectively performed when the water level is low and its flow is considerably slowed, allowing for the effective spread of the poison in the water. Consequently this activity is most commonly performed during the end of the dry season and beginning of the rainy season. In contrast, peccary hunting is a year-long activity. The OroNao' will hunt peccary whenever they are sighted, but in fact, few are taken during the dry season. The animals' mobility is restricted less then and its food supply is more limited than during the rainy season, resulting in a wider range of distribution during the dry, non-inundated period. Consequently, peccaries are simply not sighted and thus not taken as frequently during the dry season. These few cases exemplify the direct temporal relationship which exists between seasonal variation and subsistence activities. Most of these temporal relationships are recognized by the OroNao'.

There are also a number of subsistence activities which stand in either complementary or restrictive relationship with each other. This is not to suggest that the previously discussed relationship between seasonal variation and subsistence activity is negated, but that both kinds of relationship must be seen as they operate together to form an integrated system of relations. Clearing primary forested areas for planting, for example, is a

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time consuming project among the OroNao', lasting for a period of one or more months. Furthermore, since a clearing project can only be initiated after the dry season is well under way, and since a period of drying must be allowed following the clearing, the project must be accomplished sometime during the months of June or July. Among the OroNao' the activity requires a greater amount of time than it does among many other tribal groups because of the techniques employed and the organization of workers. Therefore, during the period of clearing, types of subsistence activities which are usually accomplished away from the village for an extended period of time are severely restricted. During this time the kinds of hunting, fishing, and gathering activities that are undertaken are most often of short duration, such as the half-day hunting trip. The remainder of the day is usually given to clearing or simply relaxing around the settlement. Fishing by poisoning, latex collecting, and extended hunting expeditions normally commence only after the fields are ready for burning.

Complementary relationships between activities may take a variety of forms. In many cases a hunting expedition may lead to the discovery of additional food resources, but which require a different subsistence technique for their utilization. Fruits, berries, and honey are frequently discovered when trailing peccaries in areas removed from the more commonly traveled areas. These foods will usually be gathered on some subsequent occasion. Likewise, latex collecting (an introduced activity), since it requires following a trail between widely distributed, specific

kinds of trees, often takes the gatherer into areas that are not otherwise traveled and thus increases the possibility of encountering game animals or traces of game animals. The discovery of areas of suitable soil type for the planting of corn and other indigenous crops have been located during hunting trips. Most of the areas now under cultivation, including Pitop, were found in this manner.

The selection of a site for clearing and cultivation (xitot) is determined mainly by two factors: there is the quality of the soil, particularly its darkness<sup>2</sup>; and there is the availability of drinking and bathing water in the form of a stream (although holes dug in low-lying areas may be used in some cases). Larger streams are avoided, but this does not present any greatly restricting limitation on settlement location, for there are innumerable streams threading through the area, separated by not more than a few kilometers. The suitable soil type is quite limited in its distribution. In the immediate vicinity of Pitop the land on only one side of the stream is suitable for planting corn. By 1969 the people living in Pitop had exhausted almost completely the available area of suitable soil type. New areas for planting indigenous crops are being discovered primarily as a function of the strategy for hunting and gathering.

In summary, a variety of OroNao' activities have particular aspects which tend to complement or restrict each other and thus enforce an integration between the total range of activities. Furthermore, when the relationships between subsistence activities

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of a complementary or restrictive nature and the temporal relationship between activities and seasonal variations are seen together as an integrated system it becomes evident that there is a tendency toward increasing mobility or inhabitation which coincides remarkably well with the rainy and dry season distinction, respectively.

#### Inhabitation and Mobility

The same subsistence activities which stand out from the entire range of activities because of their intimate relationship with the seasonal variations are also the activities suggestive of tendencies toward mobility and inhabitation. This becomes readily apparent in the affective and social organizational implications of the activities themselves. Extended hunting is perhaps the best example of a mobility-implicative activity in that it is accomplished frequently by parties of people on extended leave from the settlement and is accompanied by an intensity of expectations. The hunting party leaves the settlement in favor of spending several days (sometimes as long as a week to ten days) on the move in search of game animals. The party depends on foraging for wild foods, for the most part, until a large quantity of animal foods can be taken. Only then does the party return to the settlement. This type of hunting activity brings the mobility tendency to its full force during the rainy season.

The period of relative mobility is brought to an end by intensive harvesting. This requires the cooperation of husband and wife groups, along with other temporary alliances, who focus interest

on the settlement and inhabitation. The harvested corn eventually is brought into the settlement and even into the house, the symbolic center of inhabitation.

It is of interest to note that the period during which a "friagem" may occur begins shortly after the harvest, and further reinforces the inhabitational tendency. During cold spells the OroNao' tend to remain in the settlement, huddling around fires or sometimes building fires directly under the sleeping area of the house, waking late in the morning and retiring early to bed.

There is an important factor which must be kept in mind if this distinction between inhabitation and mobility is to be judged adequate. Just as the distinction between rainy and dry seasons is a relative one, so the distinction between mobility and inhabitation, and the value each activity has in producing a tendency toward mobility or inhabitation, is a relative one. The movement of people in and out of a settlement has to be seen in terms of the nature of the specific activity which is being performed. For example, hunting may have either mobility or inhabitational implications depending upon the way the activity is performed. Hunting activity may range from a planned, well-organized excursion of perhaps a dozen persons, who stay away from their settlement for a week or more, to an individual walking along a trail for a short distance from a settlement, hoping to spot a bird or small rodent. The former hunting activity implies mobility, while the latter implies the opposite.

The pre-arranged, well-organized hunting trip normally

involves the planning of a date of departure, an area for hunting, the set of associated activities that will also occur, and the membership of the party. Usually, membership in the hunting party is based on an association of male siblings; their wives and children complete the party. The temporary residence of the hunting party centers on one of a number of shelters located not more than a few hours walk from any settlement. Corn, farinha, cooking utensils, hammocks, mosquito netting, and clothing are carried to the shelter in baskets by the women. This complement of material goods does not differ appreciably from that used in the settlement.

A similarly planned hunting excursion involves a group of males only. Preparations are similar but less extensive. In both types of hunting excursion the elements of excitement and positive expectations are dominant among members of the hunting party prior to their departure from the settlement.

The more frequently occurring, but less organized hunting activities are of one day duration or less, and consist of small groups of males, and sometimes only one man. While an excursion may be planned to a certain extent, supplies other than weapons are not taken and the intention is to return to the settlement by nightfall. This type of hunt usually is limited to approximately three individuals, and most often involves only one or two men. On occasion, the hunters have taken note of signs of small game feeding in a particular location and expect to take that game only. Birds, monkey, or other small game are the types most often killed.

on such hunting trips.

Perhaps the greatest sense of excitement surrounding the hunt as activity is present upon the sighting of peccary. This triggers a hurried preparation and departure of practically every male adult present in the settlement. Only when a sighting is made in the afternoon will the departure be delayed until the following morning. In that case, preparations are made during the evening and men sleep lightly throughout the night, waking frequently to talk with others about the hunt, and then rising before daybreak to leave at the earliest sign of light.

A specialized type of hunt is that planned for the taking of tapir. Since the tapir is primarily a nocturnal animal it is taken mainly at night by positioning oneself along a set of tracks indicating a recurrent movement. All recorded killings of tapir were made by individuals. Other night hunting does occur, but it is infrequent and conducted normally by two or more people who attempt to take a specific kind of game animal, primarily nocturnal, that has left some sign close to the village.

All of the latter types of hunting are characterized by the immediacy of the hunters' return to the settlement, a relative lack of organization of the hunting party, and the relatively small number of persons that may take advantage of the rewards which accrue to successful hunters. Naturally it is possible that less organized hunting occurs as a part of a pre-arranged hunting excursion. In that case, however, the effect is merely to prolong the length of stay away from the settlement and to incorporate the

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other members of the party in the rewards which would otherwise be given to the individual. The tendency is thus to increase the mobility aspect of the activity and to increase the socially-integrating aspects of the results of the activity.

Today the weapon of the hunt is almost always a shotgun<sup>3</sup>. Most adult males own a 20 gauge shotgun (but some have 16 gauge weapons). With the exception of taking some very small birds with bow and multi-tipped arrow, the native weapons are used primarily for trade or for diversionary enjoyment. Traps, pitfalls, deadfalls and other types of passive hunting techniques are not used.<sup>4</sup>

Birds and animals are taken by still shot and at close range. While birds could conceivably be taken in flight and animals on the move, the OroNao' do not risk such shots, preferring to observe the path of the game and then stalking it in its still position. The men display an excellence of skill in stalking. A fast and determined, but smooth and crouched approach puts the hunter in position for a shot before the game becomes frightened and moves.

It has been noted frequently that among foraging societies the actual food production of hunting is low as compared with the food production of other subsistence activities. This is true for the OroNao'. Intervals of weeks may separate the days when large quantities of game food are available.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, hunting is perhaps the most important activity in its affective qualities of producing a sense of shared expectations, and in its socially integrating and disintegrating effects. The excitement that accompanies the preparations of an extended hunt already have been

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mentioned. The social bond between men, which is already likely to be strong owing to the proximity of relationship between those who normally hunt together, it strengthened by their common participation. But it is the result of the hunt which is probably more important because the intensity of the excitement that accompanied the initiation of the hunt is either brought to its peak by success or it is nullified completely by failure. Success in hunting is without equal in the rewards which accrue to the individual. There are degrees of success, of course, defined by two conditions: one, a simple dichotomy between having made a kill or having missed the target (in which case the person is subject to a form of rebuff by being called a "woman" (narima)<sup>6</sup>, and the other a continuum of relative importance which particular animals are accorded. Thus, peccaries, tapir, deer, paca, monkeys, large birds, parrots, macaws, small animals, small birds, etc. form a roughly ordered set ranging from greater to lesser importance. The person who brings in peccary or tapir stands to gain more prestige than one who brings in birds. There is evidence to suggest that one who misses a peccary or tapir is subject to a greater public disgrace than one who misses a macaw or other small animal.

Success also is represented directly by the phenomenon of recounting the hunt. A successful hunter of peccary, tapir, etc. enjoys a position of respect in the form of having an attentive and uncritical listening audience for several days following the hunt. While recounting a hunt is not a formal affair, within the

few days following entry into the settlement with important game, most of the individuals of the settlement will have heard the hunt recounted in (sometimes excruciating) detail on at least one occasion.

The prestige which accrues to the successful hunter is in itself an important means of integration or sense of belonging in the settlement for that person. But more important is the fact that the game is distributed to the entire settlement, the socially integrating qualities of which already have been emphasized in numerous places (e.g., Mauss 1967: Sahlins 1965).

Like hunting activities, gathering activities are relatively continuous throughout the year. But unlike the case of hunting, with only one exception, all specific forms of gathering are short duration activities lasting one day or a part of one day.

The composition of foraging groups varies widely: women from the same settlement group usually comprise a foraging excursion, but sometimes nuclear families, or a few men, or a few adults of both sexes may forage together. For the most part, these groups forage in areas close to a settlement site and are not away from the site for more than a few hours. An exception occurs when Brazil nuts are gathered. Then, large groups, closely approximating the composition of the pre-arranged, well-organized hunting parties, stay away from the settlement for a week or longer.

Regardless of the nature of gathered food, whether or not it is distributed widely among the OroNao' depends mainly on the quantity of the food gathered. But there are few gathered foods

which can be collected in large quantities (Brazil nuts and "buriti" are the major examples: more rarely grubs and honey are collected in large quantity). Furthermore, foragers usually consume their fill while collecting, thereby greatly reducing the quantities that are returned to the settlement and thus available for distribution. However, gathered foods are reliable; almost always, one can get berries, fruits, or whatever. Perhaps these are the reasons why the OroNao' do not treat gathered foods in the same way as game animals. Foraging is considered unexciting, generally people do not recount a foraging expedition (even conversations that follow major Brazil nut collecting expeditions tend to focus on activities other than gathering, and conversations are dominated by those who have prestige for reasons other than foraging prowess), and people always leave gathered food in favor of game food. Generally, then, foraging activities do not have the same socially integrating or disintegrating qualities as hunting activities.

Four types of fishing technique are employed by the OroNao': catching fish by hand in shallow streams, by bow and arrow, by hook and line, and by poisoning. Only the latter type is important as an activity which involves more than one or two individuals who stay away from the settlement for an extended period. The groupings which fish by poisoning are formed in approximately the same manner as the larger hunting parties. In all other cases the fishing activity is usually performed for a short duration with a return to the settlement at the end of the day.

The clearing of fields is alone among horticultural activities in its requirement that relatively large numbers of persons maintain an inhabitational mode of residence. Working for short hours but on a fairly regular daily basis, and clearing a particular plot of land in its entirety (including the very large trees), focuses the activity of large groups in and around the immediate vicinity of the settlement. Burning, planting, and harvesting, on the other hand, tend to be short term activities carried out by groups of limited size, such as the nuclear family or a few individuals.

Having described, in general terms, the seasonal variation in climate and its effect on the environment, and having described the size, organization, and duration of the groups involved in subsistence activities, there remains an examination of the temporal relationships between all of these features. The yearly cycle diagram is a useful device for such an examination in that it allows a clear representation of temporal relationships between such diverse features as the alternation of rainy and dry periods, subsistence, and other activities. The diagram (Fig. 8, p. 150) is composed primarily of a series of solid and dotted lines, labeled according to the particular feature being represented. Lines represent temporal duration of the feature, but not in any way its importance as food supply. The lines representing activities (e.g., subsistence activities) emphasize the particular activities which have the greatest bearing on the inhabitation-mobility dichotomy. Solid lines indicate the principal temporal duration of the activity, while dotted lines indicate that the

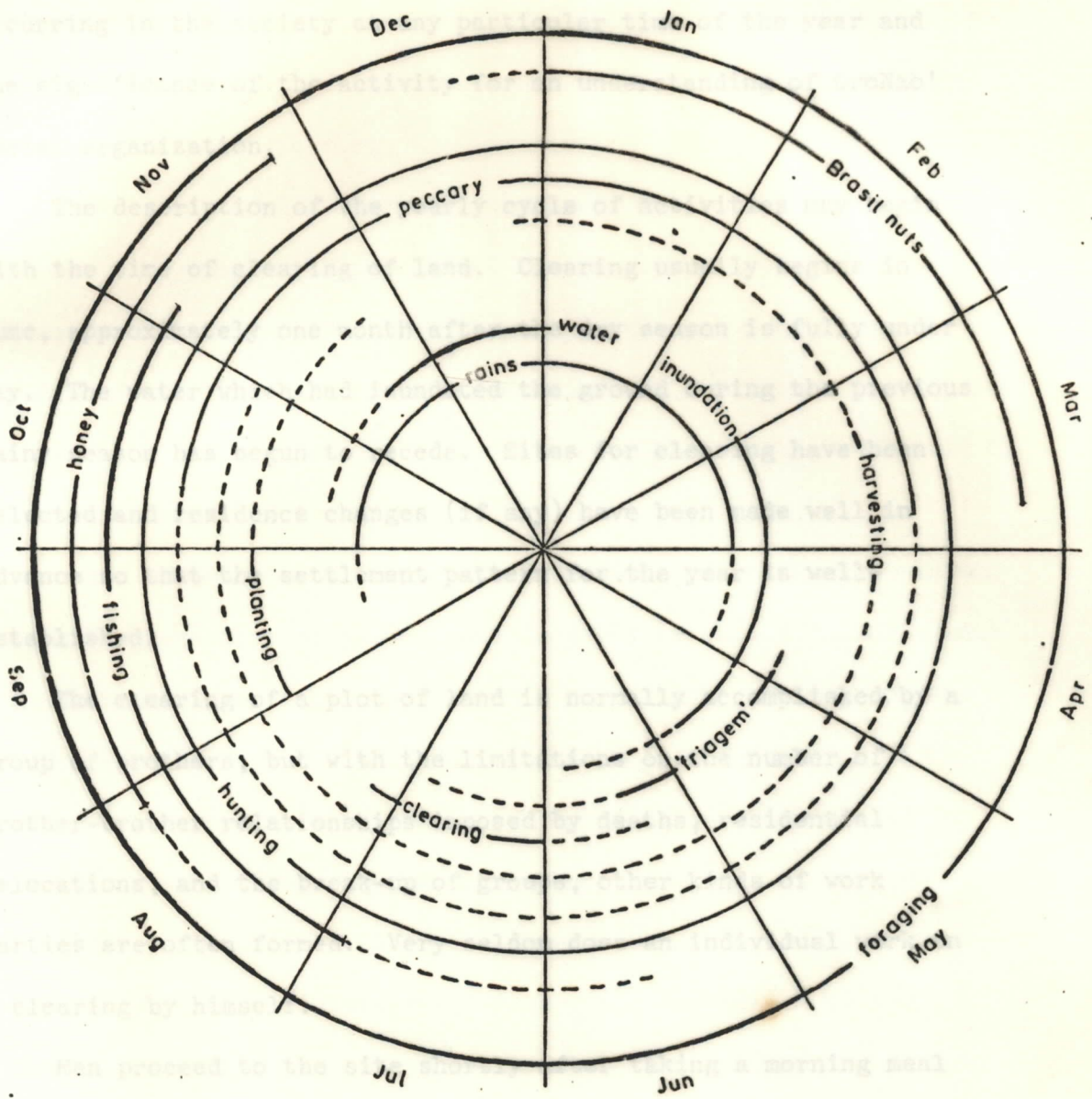


Figure 8: Yearly Cycle of Subsistence Activities

activity may occur, but with lesser influence on the inhabitation-mobility tendencies. In general, the diagram represents what is occurring in the society at any particular time of the year and the significance of the activity for an understanding of OroNao's social organization.

The description of the yearly cycle of activities may begin with the time of clearing of land. Clearing usually begins in June, approximately one month after the dry season is fully under way. The water which had inundated the ground during the previous rainy season has begun to recede. Sites for clearing have been selected and residence changes (if any) have been made well in advance so that the settlement pattern for the year is well-established.

The clearing of a plot of land is normally accomplished by a group of brothers, but with the limitations on the number of brother-brother relationships imposed by deaths, residential relocations, and the break-up of groups, other kinds of work parties are often formed. Very seldom does an individual work on a clearing by himself.

Men proceed to the site shortly after taking a morning meal prepared by the women (approximately 9:00 A.M.) and continue clearing for two to two and one-half hours. They then return to their residence for another meal, rest, and often bathing. The work party may return to the field in the afternoon. The size of the work party depends on a number of factors, principally the arrangements made for organizing the party, but also the period of

of the dry season when the work is performed. During the initial part of the dry season the work party tends to be small, being composed of some of the brothers of a settlement group, but as the end of the clearing period approaches the party tends to include larger numbers of people.

The area to be cultivated is cleared completely of all growth excepting small palm trees and the very hard woods. Underbrush is cut first, then larger growth, and finally the very large trees. There is no arrangement of the cut growth so that the clearing appears as a jumble of cuttings with an occasional palm or hard wood standing.

One of the most important food products of the OroNao' is one of a large variety of grubs taken from the trunks of fallen or cut palm trees. While this food product is available throughout the year, it must be noted that during the period of clearing there are usually several old palm trees in the sites which provide a supply of grubs close to the settlement.

Clearing activity does not proceed during each day of the dry season, but is interspersed with other activities of the period. At this time of the yearly cycle the predominant form of hunting consists of brief excursion for birds or small game. The long-term hunting excursion is not common during the dry season. Likewise, gathering and fishing activities are of short duration. Women tend to gather foods in small groups without male assistance. As clearing activities come to an end in the early part of August, fishing expeditions become prominent. During the dry season women

frequently take small fish by damming the water at two places along a stream and removing the water between these points until the fish are immobilized.

The period of clearing is a time when most productive activities are carried on in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling. Activities other than clearing tend to be of short duration until the work parties have completed their efforts. There is a tendency for primary forested areas to be cleared prior to secondary growth areas. Most primary areas are completely cleared by the end of July, leaving a period of one month for drying before the cut growth is fired.

At the end of the dry season there is a noticeable build up of cloud cover preceding the actual beginning of the rainy season. When the cloud formations move from an easterly direction and are dark, such that they appear to carry rain (when the sun and clouds come from the same direction, according to the Oro'Nao'), the Oro'Nao' set fire to the cleared areas. One or two persons will run out to the fields with a torch-like collection of dried palm leaves touching the fire to the perimeters of the dry vegetation until the entire mass of cut vegetation is in flames. Burning the fields appears to be a matter that must be properly timed. During the 1969 burning, all the fields in the vicinity of Pitop were fired on the same day and in a hurried fashion. And in both 1968 and 1969 the majority of the fields were fired by only a few individuals, not all of whom were connected with their clearing. Most other adult males were away from the settlement on hunting

or fishing expeditions.

The last native ceremony occurring in Pitop was held near the end of August of 1968, just prior to the burning of fields. The timing is not directly related to the ceremony, however, as the visiting group from the area of the Igarapé Dois Irmãos had already cut and burned their fields. The ceremony appears to be more closely related to planting than to any other activity. The ceremony is an example of the most intensive inhabitational tendency among the Orolhao'. The people of the Tanajura area assembled in Pitop, along with the visiting group from the Dois Irmãos, for a period of approximately one week. It is interesting that the "harvest" ceremony and the "planting" ceremony occur at the beginning and end of the dry season, respectively.

The predominant fishing activity at the end of the dry season is carried out by the technique of poisoning. The fishing party, usually comprising several families from the same settlement group, is away from the settlement for an extended period of time. The fish are usually prepared and cooked on a babricot at the site of their catching. Most of the catch may be eaten there as well, but sometimes a portion of the take is brought back to the settlement. These fishing expeditions frequently are combined with extended hunting at the beginning of the rainy season.

The planting of corn and other indigenous crops begins shortly after the fields have been burned. Since planting is a relatively simple operation, not requiring cooperative labor or a lengthy

period of work, the activity is usually interspersed with extended subsistence activity, such as hunting and fishing. The only requirement is that the indigenous crops be planted before the rainy season gets under way. As a result, planting is an activity which is interspersed with other subsistence activities. It is, in effect, subordinated to other activities. Once the fields are planted they are left to mature without further tending. Weeding or other care is not practiced.

It would be mistaken to give the impression that the settlement is now away on extended subsistence activities. Instead, while one group is away on an extended hunting or fishing expedition, others remain in the settlement, so that a few individuals are almost always present at the site.

Approximately at the time of burning, the collection of honey becomes an important activity. In itself, the collection of honey does not have any mobility or inhabitational influence, but can support either tendency. Honey is taken by cutting into the trunk of a tree at the point where the collector anticipates the hive will be productive. This normally requires cutting down the entire tree but if the tree is large and the hive is near the top of the trunk, a series of poles and vines may be constructed to get at the source. Some species of bee are smoked in order to make the work more bearable, for although most bees do not sting, they do become entangled in the hair, pulling on it with much the same pain as results from a sting. The majority of the honey is usually eaten at the site with the remainder brought back to the settlement.

The collection of latex is another important activity occurring during the end of the dry season. Many of the trails used for latex collecting are located away from the settlement, enforcing a mobility tendency for most people who become involved in the activity. The collection of latex by the OroNao' is performed in a manner consistent with other subsistence activities. Rather than spending a season at the collecting activity alone, they alternate collecting with other subsistence activities such as hunting or fishing. After several days of collecting latex, a group will return to the settlement for another type of activity. The time of latex collecting is limited normally to the period at the end of the dry season until grounds become water-inundated.

The period of hunting the highly valued game animals (peccary, tapir, etc.) roughly coincides with the duration of the full-blown rainy season. Both the collared and white-lipped peccaries are hunted whenever they are sighted, but they are sighted much more frequently during the rainy season. There is nothing in and of peccary hunting itself which requires a settlement or residence pattern away from a village. However, the kinds of activities which occur after the end of the dry season tend to enforce mobility. These include fishing, honey and latex collection, extended hunting expeditions not prompted by peccary sightings, and, later in the yearly cycle, Brazil nut collecting. Furthermore, since peccary hunting also takes the hunters into areas which normally are not traversed by trail, a wide variety of collectable food products is discovered for subsequent collection. The total

around fires.

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effect of the integration of all these subsistence activities, with their complementary relationships, is to produce a mobility-dominant existence during the entire rainy season.

The final mobility implicative activity of the rainy season is the collection of Brazil nuts. Brazil nuts are reputed to have been an important food supply for the OroNao' in pre-contact times. Today, however, they are collected mainly for their commercial value in exchange for material goods at Posto Tanajura. While some Brazil nut collecting does occur in the Tanajura area, most OroNao' today utilize the area of the Igarapé Dois Irmãos for all serious collection. The scarcity of the resource has made this collecting activity the most mobility-implicative activity of the OroNao' of the Tanajura area.

The period of extreme mobility and the dominance of extra-settlement activities is brought to an end, and replaced by an inhabitational existence, by the harvest of corn and other indigenous crops. While it is true that corn may be harvested intermittently, and in small quantities, from late December until well into the subsequent rainy season, the majority of the corn is harvested in March. Most of the harvest formerly was used in the production of corn beer for consumption during a subsequent ceremony for which most of the OroNao' gathered in one settlement site.

Finally, the occurrence of the "friagem" during this time of the year further promotes an inhabitational tendency in that people tend to remain in the immediate vicinity of their dwellings, warming themselves around fires.

Residential behavior of the most apparently irregular aspect of Orofeco social organization. In a period of just one year in which there were no significant changes in the size of the population, the number of occupied settlements in the Tanajura area increased from two to as many as six, and the number of settlements in the Bois Orofeco area decreased to four. In addition, several families moved from one dwelling to another within one site, and other families and families moved into the Tanajura area, with the intention of establishing permanent residence there, while others left the area altogether. This residential behavior seemed chaotic to me until it became apparent that a major change in domestic group organization was taking place.

CHAPTER 5

There are now two kinds of domestic groupings in Orofeco society, and it is the apparently irregular residential behavior makes sense. The smaller of the two I call "settlement groups", mainly because their members focus residence on a small collection of dwellings, which is one of the connotations of the term "settlement". The larger groupings I call by the names "Tanajura" and "Bois Orofeco" because there are only two of these groupings and because these names adequately describe the geographic locales in which they are found. The two kinds of domestic groupings are based on different principles of organization; the larger groupings, and the principles underlying their organization have developed only recently.

THE ORGANIZATION OF DOMESTIC GROUPS

Settlement groups have not always been constituted as

Residential behavior is one of the most apparently irregular aspects of OroNao' social organization. In a period of just one year in which there were no significant changes in the size of the population, the number of occupied settlement sites in the Tanajura area increased from two to as many as six, and then later decreased to four. In addition, several families moved from one dwelling to another within one site, and other individuals and families moved into the Tanajura area, with the intention of establishing permanent residence there, while others left the area altogether. This residential behavior seemed chaotic to me until it became apparent that a major change in domestic group organization was taking place.

There are now two kinds of domestic groupings in OroNao' society, and it is in terms of these groupings that the apparently irregular residential behavior makes sense. The smaller of the two I call "settlement groups", mainly because their members focus residence on a small collection of dwellings, which is one of the connotations of the term "settlement". The larger groupings I call by the names "Tanajura" and "Dois Irmãos" because there are only two of these groupings and because these names adequately describe the geographic locales in which they are found. The two kinds of domestic groupings are based on different principles of organization; the larger groupings and the principles underlying their organization have developed only recently.

Settlement groups have not always been constituted as

physically separate, on-the-ground aggregates. When I first entered Pitop in 1968 the aggregate living there was nearly three times its 1969 size. Several years earlier the OroNao' population had joined together in even larger numbers at a single site, Posto Tanajura. Both of these aggregates were comprised of a number of smaller, potentially separate settlement groups. It was only in the dry season of 1969 that the Tanajura population finally dispersed to form physically separate, on-the-ground settlement group aggregates.

The existence of sizeable aggregates occupying single sites, such as Posto Tanajura and Pitop, and the change to small settlement group aggregates occupying physically separate sites must be viewed in relation to the organization of the larger domestic groupings. The latter are organizations which have emerged only recently, following contact with missionaries and government agents. One of the residential organizing principles of the post-contact OroNao', and later of the Tanajura and Dois Irmãos groups, is that their members arrange their residence so that they may maintain effective trade, medical and other ties with the missionaries, government agents, and other non-Indians. The presence of a missionary in the Dois Irmãos area, and of both missionaries and a government agent in the Tanajura area has given rise to a separation of the OroNao' population into the two larger domestic groups. But then in 1969 the missionaries who formerly had lived at Posto Tanajura moved into Pitop, thereby separating their residence from that of the government agent. At the same time, the Tanajura OroNao'

dispersed into the six separate settlement sites. The residential behavior of the OroNao', in both the settlement group aggregates and the larger domestic group aggregates, closely followed the residential changes of the missionaries and government agents.

The use of the concept domestic group to describe these organizations of settlement group and Tanajura and Dois Irmãos groups is based on the notion that one of the fundamental principles of domestic group organization is a native ideology relating individuals to some territory or space. Actual spatial contiguity among people, which has more often been taken as the distinguishing feature of domestic groups,<sup>1</sup> is not an adequate criterion for distinguishing them. In some instances, spatial contiguity may be only an indirect consequence of other principles of organization. In some other instances, groups which are organized on the basis of spatial or territorial principles of organization may not present the appearance of distinct spatial contiguity among their members.

When domestic and non-domestic groups are distinguished in this fashion, the spatial feature of a group's organization may be seen to have a crucial bearing on the structure of the group. And since that spatial feature is largely a matter of definition, or, as is the case in OroNao' society, a matter of redefinition, it follows that the structure of domestic groups may change in ways that non-domestic groups may not.

The Structure of Settlement Groups

There are two residential norms which have a bearing on settlement group organization. One norm holds that before marriage a person should reside with his or her mother. In most cases adherence to this norm would result in a person living with both parents. But in the event of the disolution of the parents' marriage, by whatever means, the norm is singularly clear in specifying the mother as the person with whom one should reside. (In the absence of a genealogical mother a person should reside with a close classificatory mother.)

The norm is followed almost without exception. All of the young children aged seven or eight years or less follow the norm, as do most of the young, unmarried adults. The cases of a disolution of marriage involving parents with offspring show that the offspring follow the mother in her residence. There are unmarried adults whose mothers and close classificatory mothers are deceased. They usually reside with their siblings. The only clear exception to the norm occurred in relation to an incident of adultery. A young, unmarried adult male was caught in an adulterous relationship with the wife of his classificatory brother. The brother developed an intense hostility for the adulterer who at the time was living in the same dwelling. The adulterer decided to move. The residence he selected was one occupied by his FaSiDa, whom he should have called by the kin term we, and with whom it was inappropriate to live. When he moved in he took up calling

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his FaSiDa by the kin term na', thus treating her, terminologically and residentially, as a mother. This behavior continued until he had built and moved into his own dwelling, whereupon he returned to calling the woman by the term we.

2) The second expressed residential norm holds that a woman's post-marital residence should follow her husband. The large number of non-OroNao' females who have come to reside in the Tanajura area exemplify the norm. All except one of the marriages that took place during the period of field work involved the removal of the woman from her own residential site to that of her husband. The exceptions to the norm involve marriages between OroNao' females and non-OroNao' males in which the latter have become separated from their own tribal groups;<sup>2</sup> other exceptions to the norm have been short term arrangements.<sup>3</sup>

To the extent that these two residential norms are followed, settlement groups may take on the appearance of patrilocal extended families.<sup>4</sup> But the appearance is illusory in this case, for settlement groups are also ordered by a definition of space which they occupy. The OroNao' term which refers to this space, which includes both the dwellings and the central, cleared area of the settlement, is xirim (the first person plural inclusive is xirixi'; the stem would be xiri-).

There is a resemblance in sound, as well as a resemblance in the arrangement of sounds, of xirixi' and xerexi'. In the "Pacaás-Novos Dictionary" (Brown n.d.), the term xerexi' (the stem of which would be xere-) is defined as "someone's brothers and sisters".<sup>5</sup>

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But, according to the OroNao' the term may refer, as well, to half-siblings and to some classificatory siblings -- that is, to some of the kin types of the categories aji, we, and xa'. The term xerexi' is not a generalization upon the genealogical referents of these kin terms, for the latter include kin types such as MoBr and FaSi which are not considered xerexi'. Thus, the term is not a part of the taxonomic hierarchy in which the OroNao' partition the domain of relatives. Furthermore, an OroNao' usually includes himself or herself when asked to identify xerexi'. This suggests that xerexi' is not just a category term, but may refer to a specific grouping of persons as well.

Other aspects of the meaning of xerexi' and xirixi' may be derived from the linguistic forms themselves. A feature of the OroNao' language is the process of reduplication of the sounds of certain words, and associated with that reduplication, a shift in the meaning of the words. For example, the form of the verb kat ("to break", "to pull up") becomes karakat in its reduplicated form. The latter may be used with essentially the same meaning as kat except that the sense of action would be intensified or would be performed by a plurality. Thus, karakat may refer to an emotional state of brokenheartedness, for example, or it may refer to the action of breaking or pulling up some object, as performed by several people. Similar reduplications occur in hap to harahap, het to herehet, etc., along with the semantic shifts appropriate to these particular forms. The way in which a form is reduplicated depends on the form's constituent phonemes and their arrangement. In a form without consonant ending the reduplication

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is accomplished by the introduction of [r] before the reduplicated vowel of the simple form: pi becomes piripi, . . . i becomes . . . iri, etc. The term xerexi', then, is a reduplicated form of xe (it is the stem xere- that would be reduplicated).

The term xe refers to "fire" and to "firewood", but the connection between fire and firewood and someone's brothers and sisters seems remote. However, a connection does exist.

Another feature of the OroNao' language is that certain sets of words possessing a common sound in the same position, or common sounds in the same arrangement, also possess a common semantic element. Consider the following:

|             |   |
|-------------|---|
| <u>xe</u>   | ("fire, firewood")                      |
| <u>xain</u> | ("to burn, to be hot (in temperature)") |
| <u>xaji</u> | ("to be hot (as in spicy)")             |
| <u>xina</u> | ("the sun").                            |

The connection which xerexi' has with these forms is not immediately apparent until the significance of the former are made clear in OroNao' culture. Fire, firewood, the process of burning, the state of being hot, and the quality of spiciness are all associated with cooking. Cooking occurs, almost without exception, in the central cleared area of the settlement, known as the xirim.<sup>6</sup>

Fires are also set directly under dwellings during a "friagem".

Furthermore, the sun's rays have the greatest intensity, from the human point of view, in exactly that locale which is identified as the xirim. Finally, nearly every morning the OroNao' arise only after the sun has risen and then squat on their haunches just

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outside their dwellings with their backs to the sun. They usually take their first meal of the day in this position.

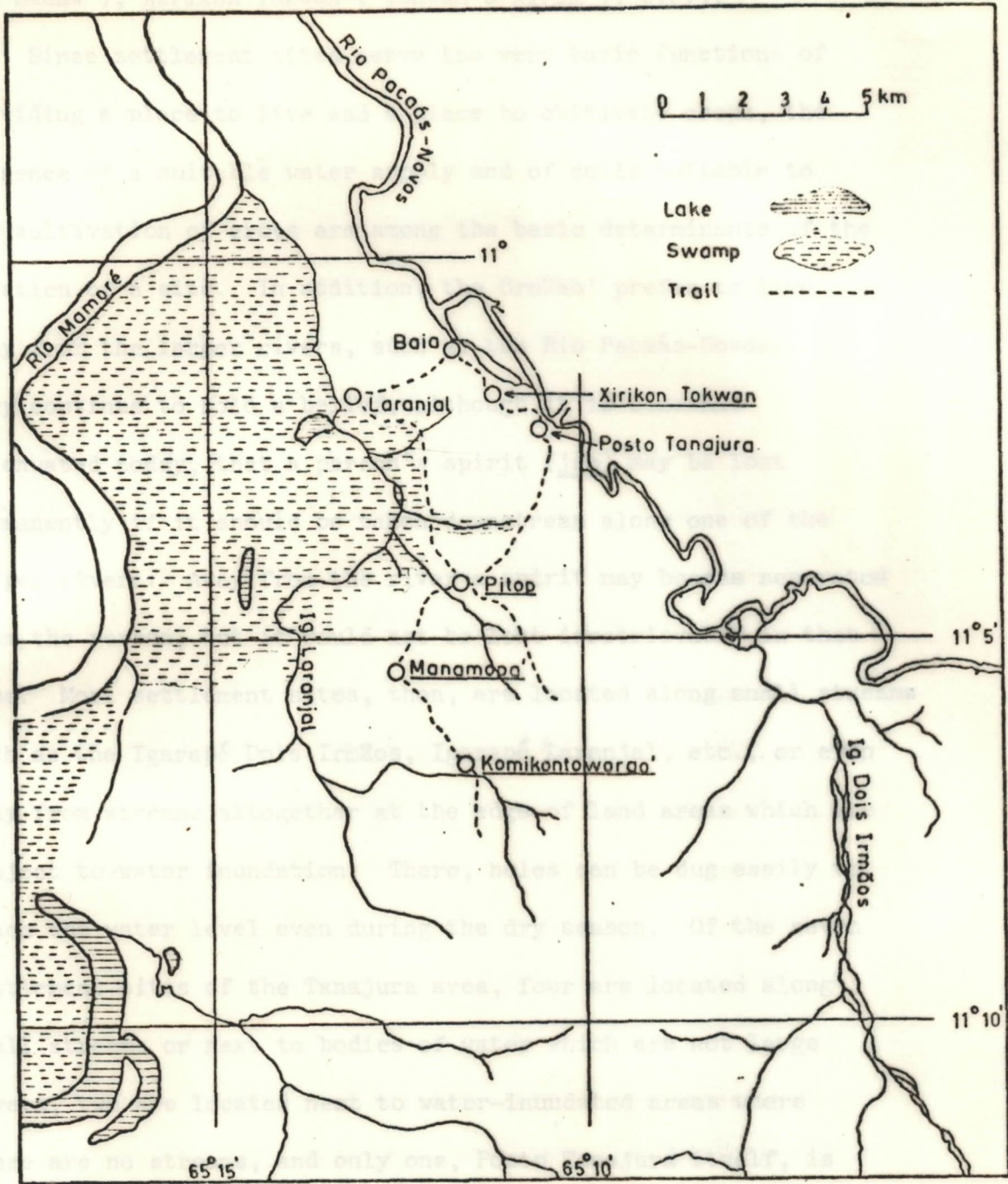
The point of all this is that the term xerexi', which denotes a sibling set, also shares an element of meaning with the term xirixi', as well as with xe, xain, xaji, and xina. The common element in all of these forms is a culturally defined space in which fire and firewood are used, the process of burning occurs, things are made hot or spicy, and in which the sun is most apparent -- i.e., the xirim. The concept of xerexi' denotes the sibling set, but by its association with the other terms, it connotes the cultural space which the sibling set occupies. It is a definition, rather than a prescription, of residential behavior.

This raises the question of what relationship the norms of residential behavior have to the settlement group defined as a sibling set occupying a xirim. The pre-marital residential norm serves to maintain the cohesiveness of the sibling set by virtue of aligning each individual member of the set with the same mother. The post-marital residential norm serves to displace female siblings from the set; it is neutral with respect to the residence of male siblings. The crucial issue, however, centers on the residential relationship between the set of siblings and their parents, after the marriage of the former. There is no norm indicating that the individuals of the sibling set continue to focus their residence on their parents (see note 4). But there is evidence that the OroNao' construe the relationship between parents as dependent on the existence of their offspring.

In summary, the structure of the settlement group consists of 1) the notion that a set of siblings constitutes a group, 2) an identification of the sibling set with a culturally defined space, the xirim, 3) a norm which aligns unmarried people with their mothers in residence, 4) a norm which serves to displace females from their sibling set at the time of their marriage, and 5) a principle which holds that the relationship between parents is dependent on their offspring. The existence of a set of siblings is necessary to the existence of a settlement group. The association of the sibling set with the xirim focuses residential behavior of the sibling set, their spouses, their offspring and their parents on a common space. The existence of any particular settlement group is therefore limited in its duration to a period of one generation, and is limited in size at both upper and lower levels to the number of people who can focus their residence on a particular sibling set.

Settlement Sites

Settlement sites in the Tanajura area (see Map 5, p. 168) may be identified readily by the physical features which they all have in common. Internally the sites are divided into an area under cultivation, or formerly under cultivation, which is called the xitot, and the smaller cleared area within which dwellings and other buildings are clustered, called the xirim. The site as a whole stands in sharp vegetational contrast with the primary forest surrounding it. The entire site is usually given a name (for examples, Pitop ("porcupine"), Komikontoworao' ("tears of



Map 5: Tanajura Area Settlement Sites

the macaw"), Xirikon Tokwan ("Tokwan's xirim"), etc.).

Since settlement sites serve the very basic functions of providing a place to live and a place to cultivate crops, the presence of a suitable water supply and of soils suitable to the cultivation of crops are among the basic determinants of the location of a site. In addition, the OroNao' prefer to live away from the larger rivers, such as the Rio Pacaás-Novos. They continue to hold a belief, although it is somewhat attenuated today, that a person's spirit (jam) may be lost permanently if it should be taken downstream along one of the larger rivers. Away from the river a spirit may become separated from the person, but it would not be lost irretrievably in that case. Most settlement sites, then, are located along small streams such as the Igarapé Dois Irmãos, Igarapé Laranjal, etc., or even away from streams altogether at the edge of land areas which are subject to water inundation. There, holes can be dug easily to reach the water level even during the dry season. Of the seven settlement sites of the Tanajura area, four are located along small streams or next to bodies of water which are not large rivers, two are located next to water-inundated areas where there are no streams, and only one, Posto Tanajura itself, is located along a large river.

The presence of dark friable soils is considered by the OroNao' to be a requisite to the cultivation of corn. Generally speaking, soils of this type are found only along one bank of a stream or water-inundated area. Furthermore, these soils

and others found there, among other reasons, in order to

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generally are not continuous along the entire extent of a stream. Thus, the number and areal extent of land areas considered suitable to growing corn varies from one locale to another within the OroNao' territory, and is an important restricting limitation on the size and distribution of settlement sites.

Settlement site locations also provide differential access to a number of other resources in the OroNao' territory. This is particularly true in the case of game animals and in the case of missionaries, government agents, and other non-Indians.

A majority of the larger, more important game animals (peccary, deer, tapir, etc.) were taken in the semi-circular zone stretching from the Rio Pacaás-Novos east of Posto Tanajura, to the east and south of the sites at Pitop and Manamopa', to the Igarapé Laranjal (see Map 5, p. 168). Thus, Pitop has an advantage over some of the other sites, such as Xirikon Tokwan or Posto Tanajura, in this respect.

Differences in access to non-Indians were minimal when Baia and Pitop were the only two occupied settlement sites of the Tanajura area. Later, with the establishment of Xirikon Tokwan as a permanent settlement site, and with the relocation of the missionaries to Pitop, it became clear that the residents of the former were investing in relations with the government agent, whereas the residents of Pitop were investing in relations with the missionaries. The government agent vs. missionaries option played a significant role in the decision to establish Xirikon-Tokwan. One of the residents of the latter site indicated to me that he and others moved there, among other reasons, in order to

avoid having to live next to the missionaries in Pitop.

The various settlement sites of the Tanajura area are linked with each other by foot trails so that no site is more than one hour's walk to the next, and so that the most distant sites may be reached within a three hour walk.

The Development of Settlement Groups

In the dry season of 1968 nearly 80% of the Tanajura OroNao' population lived in the settlement site called Pitop. (The remainder occupied the site known as Baia.) This large aggregate living in Pitop (see Figure 9, p. 172) gave the site an appearance which conformed with Murdock's definition of a village -- that is, it seemed to consist of a "cluster of dwellings near the center of the exploited territory." (1949:80). The organization of the aggregate was unclear, for there was nothing the aggregate members did in common except to live in the site. Most activities were organized along the lines of smaller aggregates, two of which were often involved in fractious disputes with each other.

All members of a settlement group, and even all members who are of the same sex, age group, or other common characteristics normally do not join together for labor or other activities. The settlement group is seen more appropriately as a pool of people from which some individuals may join together to perform some activity. This is particularly true in the case of subsistence activities. For example, two or three adult males of a settlement group will work together at clearing a piece of land. Foraging and fishing parties are similarly organized,

Figure 9. Pitop Aggregate, 1968

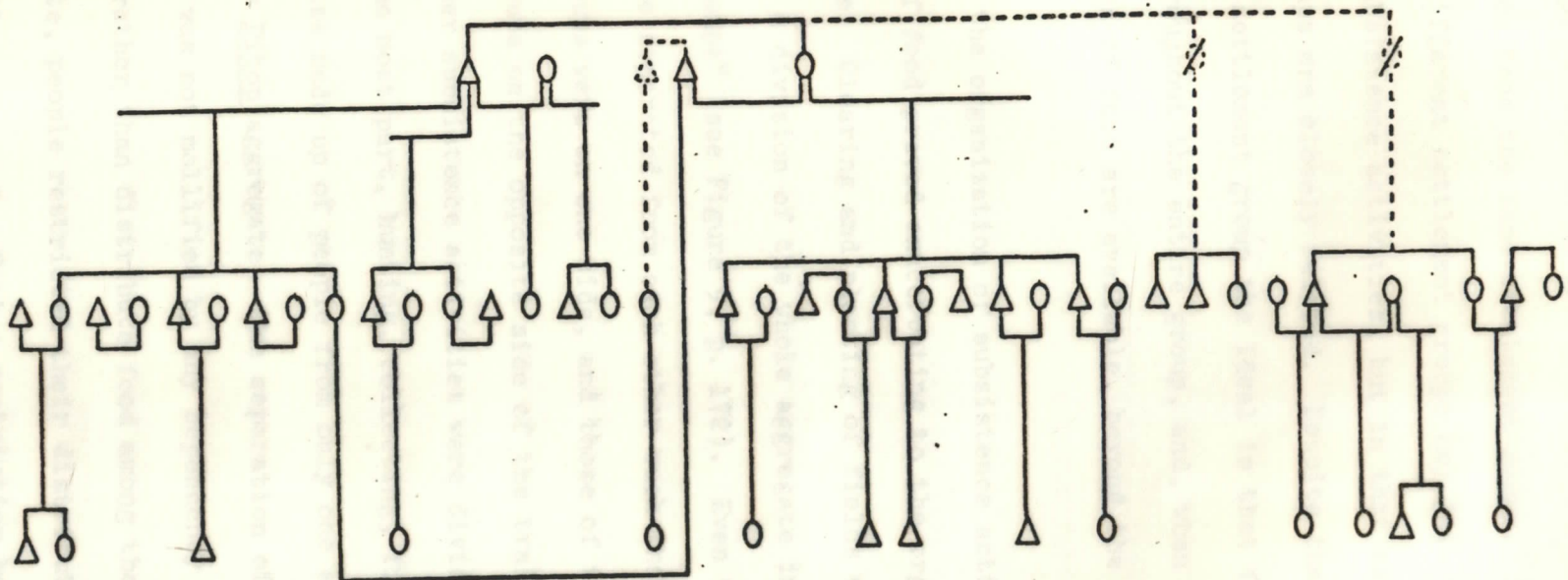


Figure 9: Pitop Aggregate, 1968

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involving a few adult males or a few adult females from the same settlement group. Groups on an extended hunt often involve two or three families from the same settlement group. Individuals and families from different settlement groups may join together to perform some subsistence activities, but in that case the two settlement groups are closely related. Despite these divisions of labor within a settlement group the ideal is that foods should be distributed throughout the entire group, and, when exceptionally large quantities of food are available, beyond the settlement group.

In Pitop, the organization of subsistence activities and the distribution of food proved exacerbating to the organization of the total aggregate. Clearing and planting of fields were organized along lines of a division of the whole aggregate into four distinct "settlement groups" (see Figure 9, p. 172). Even the fields themselves were separated from each other such that those of two settlement groups were on one side, and those of the other two settlement groups on the opposite side of the trail which bisects the site. Other subsistence activities were divided similarly, so that for the most part, hunting, collecting, fishing, etc. involved parties made up of people from only one segment or another of the Pitop aggregate. The separation of these people in their work was not mollified by any dependency on each other. For example, rather than distribute food among the members of the whole aggregate, people restricted their distributions to within their own settlement group. Such a restriction became known to

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everyone in the site. The problem was particularly acute when large quantities of food were brought into the site. Although these restrictions were perceived as violations of the norm of sharing food, the usual reaction was to similarly restrict the distribution of one's own food supplies.

At times, antagonisms in Pitop became so acute that many people would not speak to each other for periods of several weeks. There were incidents of people surreptitiously taking small articles, such as baskets, knives, etc., from others. Some people did not even pretend to hide their food supplies from the view of others. A hunting party made up of families from the Tokwan group returned to Pitop one afternoon with the meat of several white-lipped peccaries. They carried the meat straight through the site to their own residence where they constructed one of the babricot-type smoking racks for the meat. They gave none of the food to members of the Xijam group. All that the latter did, immediately, about this breach of norm was to complain among themselves about how the Tokwan group was becoming more like the wijam (whom the OroNao' criticize for not sharing in an appropriate way). The aggregate in Pitop was unable to maintain an organization, or to act, as if the site was occupied by a single settlement group.

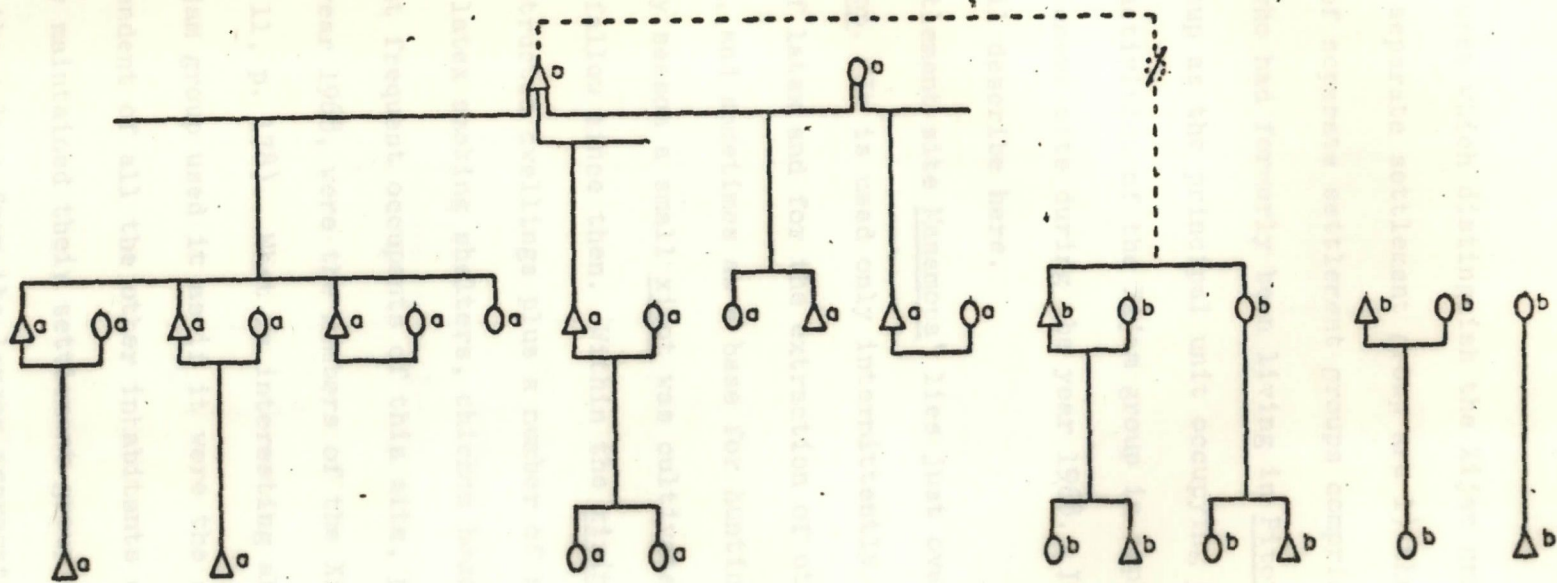
The 1968 Pitop aggregate had been brought together for reasons that even they considered to be unusual. The site was first occupied on a permanent basis in 1965 when the group headed by Xijam moved there from Posto Tanajura. Two OroMun males

had already become attached to the Xijam group as husbands of Xijam's daughters. Then, the Xijam group made an arrangement with the Tokwan group, which at the time was living with the OroWuram on the Rio Laje, whereby one of Xijam's daughters would be given in marriage to Tokwan, and the Tokwan group would come to live in Pitop. (The marriage had been anticipated for some time, but was delayed because of the residence of the Tokwan group at the Rio Laje, outside of OroNao' territory.) It was said that Oromem, Tokwan's first wife, had instigated this arrangement on account of her desire to live closer to her brother Xijam.<sup>7</sup> Oromem's residence in the same site as her brother was considered inappropriate, but the move from the Rio Laje to the Tanajura area could not have been accomplished by a group the size of Tokwan's without the assistance of a settlement group the size of Xijam's.<sup>8</sup>

By the end of the dry season of 1969 the aggregate in Pitop (see Figure 10, p. 176) had changed significantly by the outmigration of nearly one-half its former inhabitants. The dispersion of the former Pitop population marked the re-establishment of settlement groups more nearly like their pre-contact form and size. From the time the Tokwan group occupied Pitop until they left to establish other settlement sites, the Pitop aggregate was not a settlement group in the traditional sense. But once the Tokwan group left Pitop, Xijam, the oldest male of Pitop, remarked, "Now this is really my settlement".

The nature of settlement group organization becomes clear once the Tanajura OroNao' population is distributed more widely

Figure 10: Pitop Aggregate, 1969



a = Xijam Group  
 b = Jimainxukta' Group

Figure 10: Pitop Aggregate, 1969

into separate settlement sites.

Xijam Group

The features which distinguish the Xijam group as an identifiably separate settlement group are 1) the eventual development of separate settlement groups comprised of individuals who had formerly been living in Pitop, thus leaving the Xijam group as the principal unit occupying Pitop, and 2) some of the activities of the Xijam group in exploiting yet another settlement site during the year 1968. It is the latter feature I will describe here.

The settlement site Manamora' lies just over two kilometers south of Pitop. It is used only intermittently as a base for the collection of latex and for the extraction of other resources, such as wood, and sometimes as a base for hunting. During the 1967-68 rainy season a small xitot was cultivated there, but it has been in fallow since then. Within the xirim there are two hastily constructed dwellings plus a number of smaller structures suitable as latex smoking shelters, chicken house, etc.

The most frequent occupants of this site, particularly during the year 1968, were the members of the Xijam group (see Figure 11, p. 178). What is interesting about this site is that the Xijam group used it as if it were the site of their group independent of all the other inhabitants of Pitop. In effect, they maintained their settlement group organization by removing themselves from the larger aggregate normally associated with them in Pitop.

Figure 11: Xijam Group (at Manamora, 1968)

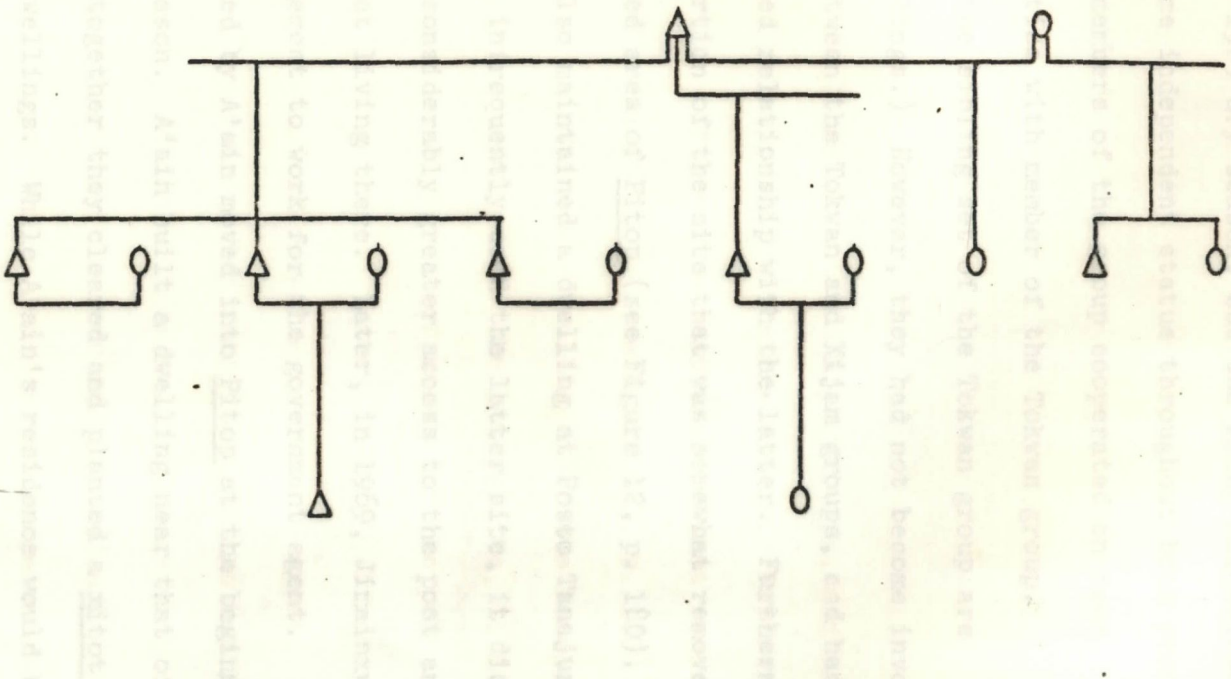


Figure 11: Xijam Group (at manamopa', 1968)

Jimainxukta' Group

A group headed by Jimainxukta' continued to live in Pitop in 1969 in much the same manner as they did in 1968. The specific individuals who focused residence on Jimainxukta' changed during the 1969 dry season, but the group maintained essentially the same independent status throughout both years.

During 1968, members of the group cooperated on some subsistence activities with member of the Tokwan group. (Jimainxukta' and the sibling set of the Tokwan group are classificatory siblings.) However, they had not become involved in the disputes between the Tokwan and Xijam groups, and had not developed a strained relationship with the latter. Furthermore, they occupied a portion of the site that was somewhat removed from the central, cleared area of Pitop (see Figure 12, p. 180).

Jimainxukta' also maintained a dwelling at Posto Tanajura. Although his group infrequently used the latter site, it did provide the group considerably greater access to the post and to the government agent living there. Later, in 1969, Jimainxukta' had made an arrangement to work for the government agent.

A family headed by A'ain moved into Pitop at the beginning of the 1969 dry season. A'ain built a dwelling near that of Jimainxukta', and together they cleared and planted a xitot around their two dwellings. While A'ain's residence would have been more appropriate in Dois Irmãos where his siblings lived, he clearly preferred the greater access which the Tanajura area provides to missionaries, the government agent, the river, and

Figure 12: Dwellings in Pitop

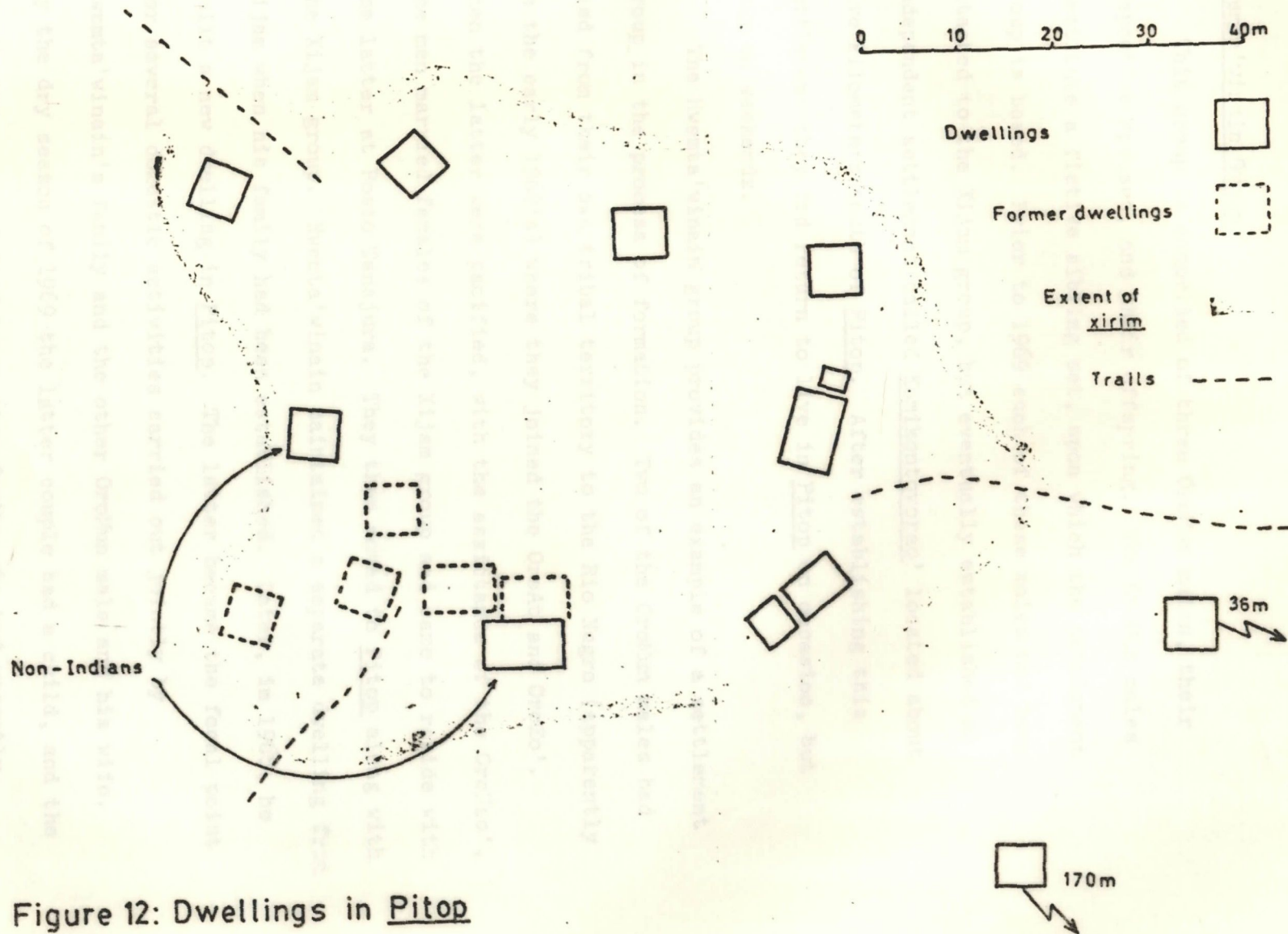


Figure 12: Dwellings in Pitop

other things non-Indian.

Hwenta'winain Group

This group is comprised of three OroMun males, their respective spouses, and their offspring. The OroMun males constitute a fictive sibling set, upon which the settlement group is based. Prior to 1969 each of these males had been attached to the Xijam group, but eventually established an independent settlement called Komikontoworao' located about five kilometers south of Pitop. After establishing this settlement they did return to live in Pitop on occasion, but only on weekends.

The Hwenta'winain group provides an example of a settlement group in the process of formation. Two of the OroMun males had fled from their own tribal territory to the Rio Negro (apparently in the early 1960's) where they joined the OroAt and OroEo'. When the latter were pacified, with the assistance of the OroKao', the men married females of the Xijam group and came to reside with the latter at Posto Tanajura. They then moved to Pitop along with the Xijam group. Hwenta'winain maintained a separate dwelling from Xijam when his family had been established. Later, in 1968, he built a new dwelling in Pitop. The latter became the focal point for several domestic activities carried out jointly by Hwenta'winain's family and the other OroMun male and his wife. By the dry season of 1969 the latter couple had a child, and the two families, now joined by another OroMun who had recently married another female of the Xijam group, established their

Figure 13: Hwenta'winain Group



independent settlement group (see Figure 13, p. 182) at Komikontoworao'. I have learned, more recently, that a sizeable complement of OroMun have moved into the OroNao' territory and are living in the vicinity of Komikontoworao' (Kern 1972). On the surface, this would appear to be an organization similar in form to the Pitop aggregate as it appeared in 1968.

Orowao'xikonaji Group

Three unmarried siblings, two males and one female, had been attached to the Tokwan group in Pitop in 1968. Their attachment was based on their relationship to Oromem, their classificatory mother, by the "rule" that unmarried people follow their mother in residence. The oldest of the siblings had been called back from a "seringal" by the Tokwan group.

During the 1968-69 rainy season Orowao'xikonaji was involved in an adulterous relationship. The upshot of the situation surrounding this incident was that Orowao'xikonaji ultimately decided to build a separate dwelling in Pitop. His sibling group occupied this dwelling for the remainder of the rainy season. Later, they established a xitot and dwelling at Komikontoworao', somewhat removed from that of the Hwemta'winain group. By this time the female sibling had married and removed to the Dois Irmãcs, and the two males had married and brought their wives to live at Komikontoworao'. They also returned to Pitop for the weekends.

Tokwan Group

The change of greatest visible impact in the composition of the aggregate in Pitop between the dry season of 1968 and that of 1969

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resulted from the removal of the Tokwan group. More than 20 people, and thus nearly one-half the population of the site, left to establish, at first, three separate settlement groups, and later, a single settlement group.

A small group consisting of the families of Jimainxiparaji and Horenkatowa joined together and occupied the site called "Laranjal". This was a short-lived, identifiably separate settlement group; by the end of the 1969 calendar year the group had moved to Xirikon Tokwan and were building a new dwelling there. This action had the effect of turning "Laranjal" into a temporary settlement site, much like Manamopa', and of joining the members of the Jimainxiparaji group to the Tokwan group once again.

Several other former members of the Tokwan group, in this case headed by Kotemwe', established a separate settlement group at Posto Tanajura. Posto Tanajura had been used only as a temporary residence site for several years prior to their move. Although there were almost always a few OroNao' at the site, they stayed there for short periods and for special purposes -- primarily for trading with the missionaries and government agent, receiving treatment for illnesses, visiting non-Indians, etc.

The Kotemwe' group constructed a new dwelling at the post and intended to stay there in permanent residence. Their xitot was located some distance from the site, along the trail from the post to Pitop, on account of the land at the post being unsuitable for cultivation. The group's residence at Posto Tanajura was as

short-lived as was Jimainxiparaji's at Laranjal. They also moved to Xirikon Tokwan, leaving Posto Tanajura as a temporary settlement site once again.

The remainder of the former Tokwan group, which at the beginning of the 1969 dry season consisted only of Tokwan's family and To'o'em and daughter attached to them, established Xirikon Tokwan as a new settlement. Shortly after this aggregate moved from Pitop they were joined by Wemkanöm and family; then later they were joined by the Jimainxiparaji and Kotemwe' groups. The Tokwan group was thus divided and reformed (see Figure 14, p. 186) in the short period of a few months.

About the time the Tokwan group was reorganized at Xirikon Tokwan, and as the Crente movement was attracting large numbers of converts, Tokwan's younger wife left the group and returned to live in Pitop. This action was precipitated by a dispute between Tokwan and his wife over the issue of the latter's intention to join the Crente movement, and the irritation to Tokwan of her singing hymns. When the wife returned to Pitop she was employed by the missionaries to perform household chores on a live-in basis. The members of the Tokwan group appealed to the government agent, claiming that the missionaries were interfering with the marriage. The government agent sent a note to the missionaries demanding the return of the woman to her husband. At that point the Xijam group, and in particular the male siblings of Xinto, gave notice that they were taking Xinto back; that they had given her in marriage in the first place and that it was on their

Figure 14: Tokwan Group

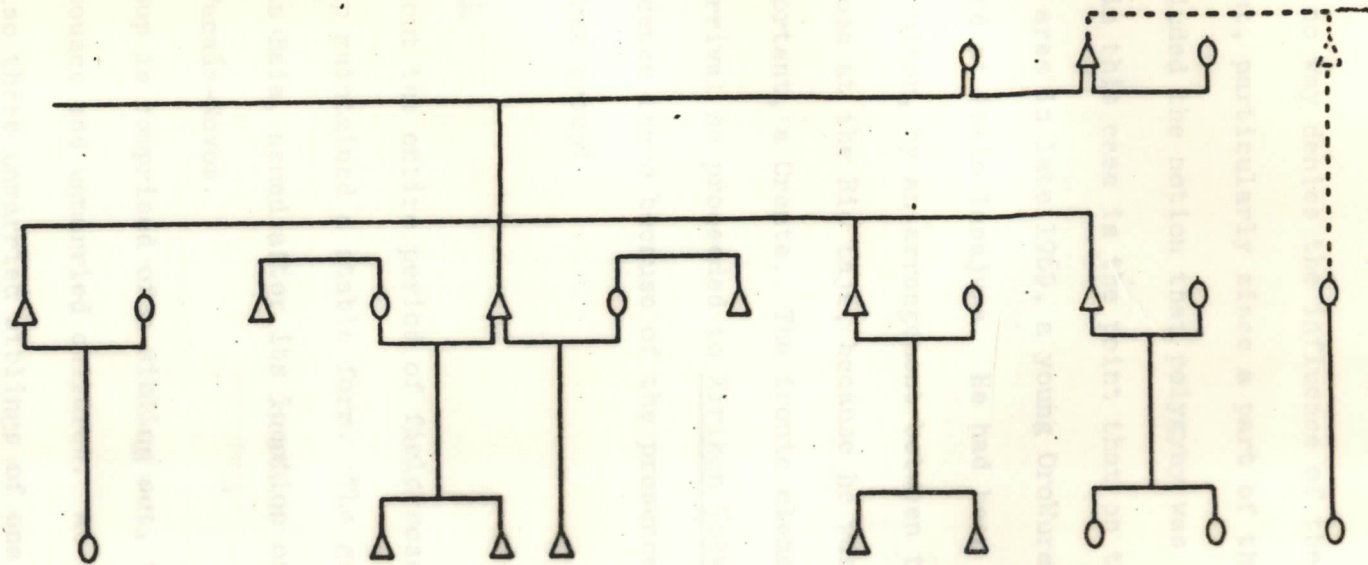


Figure 14: Tokwan Group

authority that the marriage was now dissolved. The significance of this action, in the present context, is that it illustrates the importance of the siblings in the settlement group organization.

This in no way denies the influence of the missionaries in this whole incident, particularly since a part of the dogma of the Crente movement included the notion that polygyny was inappropriate. Also interesting in this case is the point that on the day I was leaving the Tanajura area in late 1969, a young OroWuram male, a suitor of Xinto, arrived at Posto Tanajura. He had been selected as an appropriate suitor, by an arrangement between the missionaries at Pitop and those at the Rio Laje, because he was unmarried, young, and most important, a Crente. The ironic element is that upon this man's arrival he proceeded to Xirikon Tokwan to take up initial residence there because of the presence of OroWuram females in that group!

Wenkami Group

Throughout the entire period of field research only the Wenkami group maintained a stable form. The group occupies the site known as Baia, named after its location on a cul-de-sac bay of the Rio Pacaás-Novos.

The group is comprised of a sibling set, their parent, and all their spouses and unmarried children. At the present time there are also three unmarried siblings of one of the spouses (see Figure 15, p. 188). All of the married males are OroNao' and all of the married females are non-OroNao'. The unmarried siblings to the spouses are actually resident in Baia on a temporary basis.

Figure 15. Wenkami Group

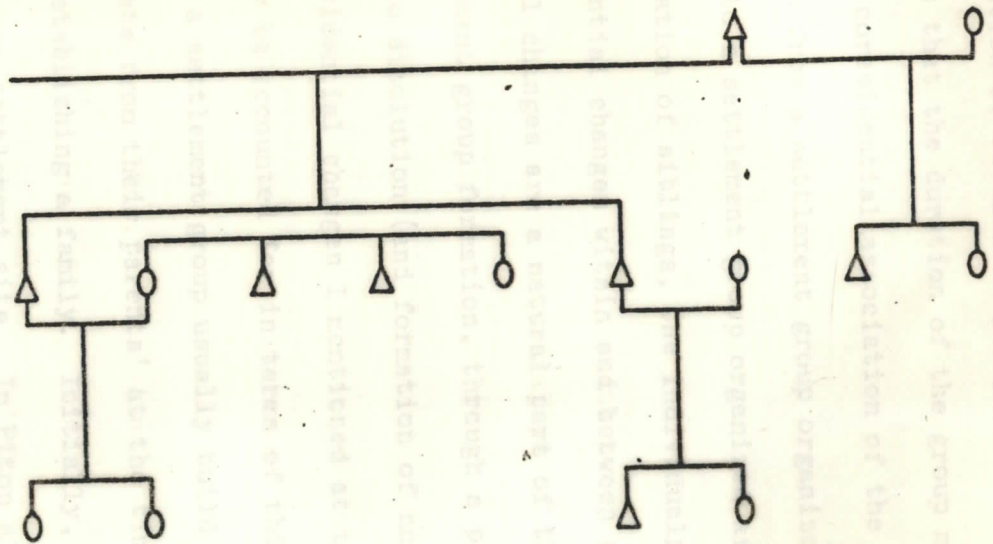


Figure 15: Wemkami Group

Two of them are looking for wives. The third is a female who, when she is married lives in Pitop, but who removes to Baia to live with her sister whenever she and her husband are having marital disputes; in that case her residence in Baia is as an unmarried female.

Internal Relationships

The organization of settlement groups around a set of male siblings requires that the duration of the group must be limited to the period of coresidential association of the sibling set. In the transition from a settlement group organized around one set of siblings to a settlement group organized around a subsequent generation of siblings, the individuals may make a number of residential changes within and between settlement sites. These residential changes are a natural part of the process which runs from settlement group formation, through a period of full-establishment, to dissolution (and formation of another group). The internal residential changes I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter may be accounted for in terms of this process.

Members of a settlement group usually build and occupy dwellings separate from their parents' at the time of becoming married or of establishing a family. Initially, these dwellings are within the same settlement site. In Pitop all the male siblings of the Tokwan group, along with their families, at one time or another occupied dwellings separate from their parent. Three of the siblings of the Xijam group were similarly distributed in dwellings separate from Xijam. The remainder of the Xijam group siblings, who were either not married or had not

established families, lived within the same dwelling as Xijam. Prior to the formation of the Hwemta'winain settlement group in Komikontoworao', Hwemta'winain and his family lived in a dwelling separate from Xijam. But Xinxoin and his wife continued to live with Xijam until the birth of their child, and Xowa and his wife, the other couple that ultimately made up the Komikontoworao' settlement group, lived with Xijam until they removed to the latter site. The OroWao'xikonaji group members built and occupied their own dwelling in Pitop before any of them had married (for reasons associated with the incident of adultery described earlier). In any event their building a dwelling in Pitop and later their removal to Komikontoworao' as an independent settlement group conforms with the pattern of the sibling set removing itself from the dwelling of the parents, but remaining within the same settlement site, and then later establishing a new settlement site.

Today, with the Indians depending heavily on relations with the missionaries, government agents, and other non-Indians, settlement sites have become more permanent residential locales than in the past. As a settlement group develops, based on residential association of married male siblings and their families, the members may only establish new dwellings within the same site without eventually removing to a new site. Thus, in Baia, Pitop, and Xirikon Tokwan, the male siblings around which these settlement groups are formed have remained within the same site as their parents.

particularly close relationship with the missionaries who were based in Pitop. Of the first three Yanajura Wahao' to be associated with the Cronin movement, two were siblings of the Xijam

The transition from settlement groups organized around siblings of one generation to groups organized around siblings of the next generation is accompanied by a transition in the organization of subsistence activities. The older members of a sibling set, those who are establishing the new settlement group, tend to cooperate with each other in subsistence activities, while the younger members of the sibling set continue to work with their parents (especially on the clearing of xitot).

The transition is also marked by the transfer of a weak sense of leadership and control over the activities of the whole group. The transfer is evident in the example described earlier involving the dissolution of marriage between Xijto and Tokwan. Today, with the settlement group having very little control over marriage arrangements, control is now exercised primarily on matters of a group's relations with missionaries and government agent. Consistent with this, control is exercised by those individuals who have developed some ability to count and speak in Portuguese or to perform the kinds of activities that are important in the Crente movement, such as delivering sermons, memorizing lessons, etc.

External Relationships

Each of the settlement groups which had been formed during the dry season of 1969 made a distinctive adaptation to the non-Indians within their area. The Xijam group maintained a particularly close relationship with the missionaries who now resided in Pitop. Of the first three Tanajura OroNao' to be converted to the Crente movement, two were siblings of the Xijam

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group. Later, the members of this group were solidly in support of the Crente movement at a time when some members of other settlement groups were still holding out, and one of the Xijam group was emerging as a leader in the Crente activities for the whole Tanajura population.

The Tokwan group was somewhat split in its relations with the missionaries. Only one individual was clearly in support of the Crente movement from the beginning, while the others favored maintaining closer relations with the government agent. The latter relations were favored by their removal from Pitop to Xirikon Tokwan. One of the group became a helper to the government agent. His duties included such activities as keeping a simple record of the number of cans of Brazil nuts deposited with the government agents by each of the Indians. He would mark a line with a pencil in a notebook for each can of nuts. The record would then be brought to the agent and the name of the Indian told to the agent. The process was then repeated. In this way the individual gained a considerable degree of prestige among his fellows as someone who was able to write; and the government agent benefitted from not having to deal directly in the task but could look on from his dwelling. Generally, there was a close relationship between all members of the Tokwan group and the government agent as the former visited the agent more frequently than other Indians and could act as intermediaries for other OroNao' with the agent.

The Wemkiami group maintained close relations with a few

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Brazilian families living on the opposite side of the bay from them. They traded goods with each other, mainly small quantities of meat, latex and other products in exchange for the kinds of supplies which the Brazilians are able to bring from town.

The other settlement groups maintained a less intense relationship with either missionaries, government agent, or other non-Indians. The Orowao'xikonaji group was intent on producing cash crops and other supplies which they hoped to trade directly in town, by-passing the missionaries and government agent. There was always a great deal more talk than action in this respect. Nevertheless, they did maintain a greater degree of independence than the other settlement groups.

The Hwemta'winain group continued to rely on the missionaries more so than on the government agent, a relationship which was consistent with their closer ties to the Xijam group and their longer association with the missionaries.

The Jimainxukta' group favored relations with the government agent only slightly. Both of the latter two groups were less closely tied to the non-Indians than the Xijam or Tokwan groups.

Once the various settlement groups had become established in their own settlement sites the kinds of disputes that had characterized the relationship between the Xijam and Tokwan groups disappeared, and all of the settlement groups became more independent of each other. The day-to-day activities of each group were now known only to the members of the group so that the distribution of food supplies was not longer a contentious issue.

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When the food supplies procured by one group were particularly large the distribution was widened to include even the Xijam group or the Tokwan group. The relations between the settlement groups were much more amicable after the dispersion of settlement groups out of Pitop.

## PART II: THE TANAJURA AND DOIS IRMÃOS DOMESTIC GROUPS

The Tanajura and Dois Irmãos groups are equivalent forms of organization. I will describe only the former since it is the population with which I am most familiar. First, however, it will be necessary to describe the principles of organization of the OroNao'.

In the years prior to permanent peaceful contact the OroNao' had established themselves as a physically separate, independent tribal group. They were, at the time, unaware of the existence of the OroMun and OroWuram and their contacts with the OroAt and OroEo', with whom they formerly held ceremonies, were terminated when the OroNao' relocated in the area south of the Rio Pacaás-Novos. One of the conditions of this isolation from other groups was that the OroNao' became a tribally endogamous group.<sup>9</sup> But their endogamy was one of circumstance rather than design. Spouses were necessarily of the same tribal group, and thus, the determinative factor of one OroNao' marrying another was simply that no other alternatives were available. This situation is reflected even today in the fact

that OroNao' marriages contracted before contact are marriages between OroNao' only. It is also reflected in the fact that the OroNao' do not express any preference or regulation for endogamous unions, nor do they recall there ever having been such a regulation. In more recent years, following contact with the other Pacaás-Novos groups, the OroNao' have taken their spouses with increasing frequency from these non-OroNao' groups. The once endogamous character of the OroNao' has given way, gradually, until by the year 1969 only 36% of the extant marital unions in effect in the Tanajura population were OroNao' endogamous.

Closely following this shift from tribal endogamy to exogamy, and partly as a consequence of it, a similar change has occurred in the matter of individuals' tribal affiliation. Formerly, everyone was OroNao' because there was no other alternative. Today the matter is not so simple. While adults may be identified according to their tribal affiliation, the offspring of exogamous unions exist in a state of tribal-affiliative limbo. They are certainly of the same group as one or the other of their parents, but beyond that there is widespread disagreement and confusion, partly on the manner in which tribal affiliation is to be determined, and particularly on the actual affiliation of each individual.

The OroNao' proffer two methods of determining tribal affiliation: one is that the child's affiliation follows the mother, and the other is that the child's affiliation follows the

tribe associated with the area in which the child is born. It is clear that these two methods would be mutually consistent within the context of the former tribal endogamy, and in that case amount to different ways of saying the same thing.

In the actual determination of tribal affiliation of children, the two methods frequently are ignored. I made an effort to determine the affiliation of each child in the Tanajura area with the following, overwhelmingly unsuccessful results. In some cases a person would claim that a child belonged to the same tribe as the mother, while another person would claim it belonged to the group of the father. In some cases the same person would make these contradictory claims, but at different times, of course. In some cases individuals would claim not to know (trata) the child's affiliation. And finally, in some cases a person would indicate that an older person might know of the child's affiliation.

Since the responses varied widely I checked them in relation to several contextual features such as sex, the tribal affiliation of the informant, the situational context in which the claim was made (on the thesis that one sort of response might be appropriate in the company of certain people, whereas another response might be appropriate in relative privacy), etc. The inconsistencies remained.

Post-contact tribal exogamy, arising in the absence of any positive mechanism for determining tribal affiliation, has left the issue of tribal affiliation of offspring unresolved, and has left a number of children whose status as Cro'Nao' (or any other

tribal group) is in question.

In addition, there are a number of non-OroNao' adults who have established their residence in what is considered to be OroNao' territory. The number of definitively OroNao' individuals living in the Tanajura area in 1969 amounted to only 50% of the Tanajura population.

The principles which underlie the organization of OroNao' society itself must, therefore, be based on something other than succession.

Even though non-OroNao' adults in the OroNao' territory may be identified readily by their tribal affiliation, they act for the most part as if they were OroNao'. They do this by masking their identity with the kinds of behaviors which the OroNao' point to in distinguishing themselves from the other Pacaás-Novos groups: speech, observance of specific food taboos, a dependency on certain material goods more heavily than others, and an identification with a territory. These are all behaviors which may be easily altered.

The OroNao' consider their language to be different from that of every other tribal grouping of the Pacaás-Novos categorization. Furthermore, when they speak of differences in language they refer to other languages as xijexi' ("other different from"), conveying, thereby, a sense of difference in kind, rather than difference in degree. The exemplary evidence they use to make the differences clear consists of comparisons of the sort te vs. ate ("father"), but also a number of more elusive qualities such as differences in

sibilance. All of these differences are of equivalent value in the OroNao' analysis.

The most notable difference in cultural practice may be found in the production of material goods. Baskets, clay pots, bows and arrows, etc. are some of the examples the OroNao' point to in this respect. The OroWuram are seen to, and do in fact, depend more heavily upon the use of clay pots than do the OroNao', even though both groups have relatively equal access to the metal containers which the OroNao' have adopted. On the other hand, OroNao' basketry is more refined and aesthetically pleasing, as well as more extensively used, than that of the OroWuram. Bows and arrows, although they are produced in small numbers and almost entirely as trade items, are distinguishable by individual manufacturer and by tribe.

Differences between tribes may also be seen in the kinds of food taboos respected by each. For example, the OroMun and OroWuram eat sloth, and the OroEo' eat a red-haired spider monkey, both of which are avoided by the OroNao'. All of these differences, which I have treated only by way of example, serve the OroNao' in distinguishing themselves from the other Pacaás-Novos groups.

Finally, the OroNao' consider themselves to be identified with an ill-defined territory. The identification is made in terms of an association between clusters of settlements and the area which surrounds them, and not in terms of specific boundaries. Thus, while there is no limit to OroNao' territory in the strict definitional sense, there is in the sense of their utilization of identity. However, the manner in which territory is

an area surrounding the settlement clusters. Today, these surrounding areas do not overlap those of the other Pacaás-Novos groups. One of the consequences of this definition of territory is that, from the OroNao' point of view, their territory changes as a function of their settlement locales and how far they extend their utilization of the environment out from their settlements. The OroNao' migration from the Rio Negro to their present locale, along with their presently more restricted use of the surrounding environment, has had the effect of simply deleting the area north of the Rio Pacaás-Novos as a part of the territory with which they identify themselves.

Under these conditions, what remains of an OroNao' identity is one based primarily on speech, a style of material goods production and use, food taboos, and an identification with a territory. These conditions may be attained by any Pacaás-Novos who is willing to reside in the OroNao' area and behave like the OroNao'. This is exactly what non-OroNao' who have taken up residence in OroNao' settlements do -- their behavior is well within the range of behaviors of those identified as OroNao' by virtue of the unintended endogamy. Thus, the formerly definitive element of being OroNao' has been eliminated for all practical purposes by the tribally exogamous marriages and has been replaced by a few behavior conditons.<sup>10</sup>

The Tanajura Group

Association with a territory is a central factor in the OroNao' identity. However, the manner in which territory is

construed allows for a number of alternatives. While there is certainly a sense in which the Tanajura group associated itself with the whole area south of the Rio Pacaás-Novos, they have also developed an association with the more restricted area immediately surrounding the settlements of the Tanajura area. This is a territory which does not overlap the territory of the Dois Irmãos OroNao'. Thus, the OroNao' population of approximately 140 individuals is divided into nearly equal sized units. This division, which was only immanent a few years ago, has developed to the point where the Tanajura and Dois Irmãos are now nearly separate tribal groups.

After permanent peaceful contact, the OroNao' settled in large numbers at Posto Tanajura. A few years later, however, they began to relocate along the Igarapé Dois Irmãos and in sites near Posto Tanajura at places like Piton and Baia. Subsequently, the missionaries established a station in the Dois Irmãos while at the same time they maintained their original station, along with the government agent, at Posto Tanajura. The entire OroNao' population was distributed either in the Dois Irmãos or in the Tanajura area, each area having its resident missionary, and the latter area having its government agent as well.

The distance between the residential centers of Dois Irmãos and Tanajura is only about 15 kilometers, but today the sole means of communication between them is by canoe from Posto Tanajura up the Rio Pacaás-Novos and then along the Igarapé Dois Irmãos. It is a difficult trip during the rainy, water-inundated

period, and nearly impossible during the dry season. Consequently, communication between the populations is severely restricted, and occurs mainly during the Brazil nut gathering expeditions when people from the Tanajura forage for nuts in the Dois Irmãos area, but also occurs when the Dois Irmãos bring Brazil nuts to Posto Tanajura for exchange with the government agent. Until 1968 the two populations also gathered together for ceremonies held alternately in the Dois Irmãos and Tanajura areas. Otherwise, interaction between the two populations was limited to contacts between individuals.

The combination of these two factors -- the presence of missionaries in each area and the difficulty of communication between the areas -- has led to a differentiation of the OroNao' into two groups closely approximating the differences which distinguish the various Pacaás-Novos tribes. Missionary presence in the two areas has been essential to this differentiation, just as missionary, government agent, or other non-Indian presence has been essential to maintaining tribal differentiation between the larger Pacaás-Novos groups. Since contact, all of the Pacaás-Novos tribes have focused their residence on missionaries, government agents, and other similar non-Indians. The only Pacaás-Novos group which does not have its resident non-Indians is the OroMun of the Rio Ribeirao. In early 1968 Bontkes reported that 94 individuals were living on the Rio Ribeirao, but by the middle of 1969 the group had been reduced by more than one-half its former size by the outmigration of OroMun to either the Rio

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Laje or to the Colônia Agrícola Sagarana (both of which are dominated by missionaries, government agents, and other similar personnel).

As the Crente movement got under way with the OroNao', the differentiation between the Dois Irmãos and Tanajura populations developed even further into an ideological schism. During a Brazil nut gathering expedition people from the Tanajura area were criticized by the Dois Irmãos for lack of faith. The latter had taken the lead over the Tanajura with the conversion of two members to the Crente movement and with many others ready for conversion. The issue of which population was the "first", the "real", and the "better" Crentes was enjoined. At the same time the ideology associated with the Crentes movement denied the possibility of holding native ceremonies involving the two populations, thereby further reducing the communication between them.

#### Settlement Groups in Relation to the Larger Domestic Groups

The native ideology which relates individuals to some territory or space in the context of the larger domestic groups is one of desiring material goods, medical treatment, and other, less tangible rewards which come from maintaining relations with non-Indians. Its effect is to require the OroNao', in so far as they continue to deal with the non-Indians, to live near them. Since the non-Indians are normally immobile in their residential behavior, the spatial principle of the larger domestic group organization implies that OroNao' residential behavior will be centripetal with

respect to the non-Indians.

The structure of settlement groups, on the other hand, in particular the residential association between the sibling set and the xirim, implies that OroNao' residential behavior will be centrifugal with respect to the various settlement groups.

The existence of larger-than-settlement-group aggregates, first at Posto Tanajura and later at Pitop, and also the dispersion of settlement groups into separate settlement sites in 1969, a move which was made possible by the residential separation of the missionaries from the government agent, points up the impact of this new, larger domestic group organization on the traditional settlement group organization. The changing conditions of OroNao' residential behavior are due, in large measure, to the antagonism between the two forms of domestic group.

The concept is that of social order in society  
traditionally has been understood as a unity. The  
assumption is that the relationship between the ideal and the  
phenomenal orders is necessarily either constitutive or  
at least tends toward a unity, and, when variation has been  
observed, it is assumed that the terms of the  
ideal order nevertheless constitute or tend toward a  
unity.

CHAPTER 6

This approach both supports the  
assumption that the relationship between ideal and  
phenomenal orders necessarily either constitutes a unity  
or at least tends toward a unity, and, when variation has been  
observed, it is assumed that the terms of the  
ideal order nevertheless constitute or tend toward a  
unity.

The conditions of social organization in Grolan's  
society not only call into question the traditionally  
assumed relationship

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

They also  
negate the very terms in which the equation between idea  
and action has been set out. A consideration of the full  
range of conditions, including negative conditions, is  
essential to the perception of order in Grolan's society  
and forces a re-evaluation of the nature of the relationship  
between ideal and phenomenal orders.

The point may be made by summarizing some of the  
conditions in Grolan's society and by examining more specifically  
the modes of relationship between these conditions.

The dependency relationship established between the  
Grolan and non-Indians required that the Grolan adjust their  
social and administrative organization in ways that would allow

The concepts in terms of which order in society traditionally has been perceived are inappropriate. The concepts ignore, by their preoccupation with consistency, the range of actual conditions, including inconsistencies and contradictions, which they nevertheless pretend to treat. This ignorance both permits and supports the assumptions that the relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders necessarily either constitutes a unity or at least tends toward a unity, and, when variation has been recognized in the phenomenal order, that the terms of the ideational order nevertheless constitute or tend toward a unity. The conditions of social organization in OroNao' society not only call into question the traditionally assumed relationship between idea and action, they also negate the very terms in which the equation between idea and action has been set out. A consideration of the full range of conditions, including negative conditions, is essential to the perception of order in OroNao' society and forces a reconsideration of the nature of the relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders.

The point may be made by summarizing some of the conditions in OroNao' society and by examining more specifically the modes of relationship between these conditions.

The dependency relationship established between the OroNao' and non-Indians required that the OroNao' adjust their domestic and subsistence organization in ways that would allow

them access to the materials and services dispensed by the non-Indians. The adjustment had to be made to the residence of non-Indians. Initially, the non-Indians occupied a single site; later they were dispersed more widely in the OroNao' area. The residence of non-Indians and the changes in that residence became conditions in terms of which OroNao' domestic groups were organized. And since OroNao' subsistence organization is dependent in part on the composition and distribution of domestic groups, the condition of non-Indians' residence was extended to the organization of OroNao' subsistence.

The traditional form of OroNao' domestic group organization consisted of a set of male siblings, along with their wives, their offspring, and their parents. This particular form of organization -- what I have called the settlement group -- is defined now by the logics of OroNao' genealogy and the establishment of the marriage relationship, by the norms of pre- and post-marital residence, and also by an association made between the concept for the sibling set and the culturally defined space which it ideally occupies.

The day-to-day activities of OroNao' residence and subsistence organization constitute an accomodation to the contradictory principles of maintaining access to non-Indians, with its residentially centripetal tendencies, and of maintaining the traditional spatial separation of settlement groups, with its residentially centrifugal tendencies. The

accomodation has been complicated by the changes in residence of non-Indians. As a result, the actual form of organization in residence and subsistence appears chaotic because in fact practice lacks consistency both over time and at any particular time.

In this instance the ideational order consists of two contradictory elements. A traditional organization is expressed in the formally abstract terms of linguistic associations, residential norms, and the logics of the relationship between siblings and between parents and offspring. A new mode of organization is expressed, less formally, in terms of the values of obtaining material goods, medical attention, becoming a Crente, etc. The ideational and phenomenal orders are consistent in a certain sense, but because of the contradiction in the ideational order, inconsistencies appear in the phenomenal order.

One of the consequences of the dependency relationship established between the OroNao' and non-Indians was that, through the latters' practice of promoting permanent peaceful contact, relations between the various Pacaás-Novos groups were opened. Prior to contact the OroNao' had been isolated to the extent that marriage arrangements had been unintentionally but necessarily endogamous. After contact the opening of relations between the Pacaás-Novos groups made possible, and the definition of marriageable and non-marriageable persons promoted, an arrangement of exogamous marriages. The conditions

of tribal isolation and of everyone being OroNao' because there was no other possibility were eliminated. Exogamous marriages, combined with the norms of residence, incorporated non-OroNao' adults and offspring of exogamous marriages into settlement groups, now comprised partly of OroNao', partly of non-OroNao', and partly of individuals whose tribal affiliation remained unresolved, all occupying a territory construed as OroNao'.

Under the conditions of tribal isolation and endogamy the marriage category distinctions had been important precisely because everyone was OroNao'. The category distinctions ensured that a part of the population, which was otherwise singularly OroNao', could be treated, at least by definition if not in practice, as potential spouses. Under the new conditions of intertribal relations the marriage category distinctions were equally important, but in a different sense. The categories defined the stock of potential spouses as numerous, which it now was in fact, and the non-marriageable persons in the same manner as they had been defined prior to contact. Actual marriage arrangements reflect the expanded definition of potential spouses. Marriages have been arranged increasingly in an exogamous mode. However, the marriage categories also have had the seemingly paradoxical effect of making the category distinctions themselves and the reckoning of tribal affiliation largely irrelevant as conditions in the normative system. The category of marriageable persons now is so numerous that the distinction between it and the non-marriageable

category is made only unnecessarily. Indeed, the OroNao' treat the whole system of marriage categories as irrelevant. The system of marriage categories was relevant to the OroNao' as a norm respecting marriage arrangements only when the population was defined otherwise as being of one kind -- i.e., only OroNao'. The promotion of exogamous marriages by the definition of an expanded stock of marriageable persons has created a population which is no longer of one kind. As a result, the system of marriage categories as norm controlling marriage behavior has become irrelevant.

Tribal affiliation and the means of reckoning tribal affiliation of offspring of exogamous unions are confused issues at best, and unresolved in any event. The absence of norms respecting tribal affiliation is consistent both with the former conditions of tribal endogamy and the necessity that everyone be OroNao', and also with the present practice of exogamous marriages -- that is, marriage practices which created a population not of one kind.

The relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders is complex in the above example because of the number of conditions which impinge upon each other. A distinction must be made between the system of marriage categories purely as definition and marriage categories as definition combined with rules, values, sanctions, etc. respecting the definition. Presumably, the latter conditions obtained when the OroNao' were isolated and there were only other OroNao' as spouses.

But under the conditions of opened relations among Pacaás-Novos groups and exogamy the norms associated with the marriage categories became irrelevant. All that remained was the system of abstract definitions. In that case, the norms required the existence of specific conditions for their perpetuation. And once marriage arrangements were actually practised in an exogamous mode the practice made even the definitions largely irrelevant. Similarly, an ideology respecting tribal affiliation required the existence of conditions for their perpetuation. The definition of an expanded marriageable class eliminated those conditions.

I hasten to add that the above examples do not constitute a case in support of the unity between norm and action. Norms have not been adjusted to fit the new reality; it is much more a case for the contention that the phenomenal order is not irrelevant to the ideational order.

The traditional form of organization of the OroNao' as a tribe was based primarily on the isolation of the population from other peoples. In that respect the tribe consisted of an aggregate without any formally expressed ideology of spatial contiguity. The isolation of the tribe ended when non-OroNao' were incorporated into the population through exogamous marriages. The qualities of being OroNao' were then reduced to the few features which the OroNao' used to distinguish themselves from the other Pacaás-Novos groups. More recently, settlement groups have arranged themselves in proximity to the

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non-Indians of their particular area. The population has become divided into two units. (The non-Indians of the Dois Irmãos area are resident in one locale; the three kinds of non-Indians of the Posto Tanajura area are somewhat removed from each other in residence, but not enough to inhibit communication between the settlement groups which focus on each of them.) Communication between the populations of the Dois Irmãos and Tanajura areas has diminished increasingly as the OroNao' gave up their traditional ceremonies in the face of criticism. Most recently, an ideological division has been suggested by the two populations based on the differences in their accommodation to the Crente movement. I have suggested that the two populations now constitute incipient domestic groups, each being roughly equivalent to the organization of a tribe as a population focused spatially on a resident non-Indian population.

In this example the tribe formerly existed as an aggregate with spatial contiguity, that is, isolation from others. It existed in a practical sense and certainly in the conceptualization of the OroNao', but without any ideological basis to maintain it. Thus, the separation of the population, merely as a consequence of individual settlement groups arranging their residence in relation to non-Indians in their area, could have remained as nothing more than that. However, the development of an ideological basis for the division suggests the possibility of a new form of organization, complete with a focus on spatial separation. But the ideological schism has developed

too recently to take the argument any further than to point out that the ideological basis of the potential domestic group bears little relationship to the conditions which gave rise to it.

The OroNao' always had criticized each other for transgressions of norms or for uncommon practices. The critical attitude of the non-Indians confounded this situation by expanding the objects of criticism to include OroNao' norms and common practices.

A quality of criticism, not restricted to OroNao' society, is that its effects are mainly negative. Criticism tends to control by means of reducing the conditions subjected to effective criticism. However, there are limits to effective criticism. Specifically, in OroNao' society criticism tends to be effective to the extent that it appeals to "knowing". More generally, criticism tends to be effective to the extent that the conditions criticized are specific in content. The ideational order may be distinguished in much the same way as Murphy distinguished norm and action: he says that norms are formally specific and diffuse in content while actions are formally diffuse and specific in content (1971:241-242). The ideational order consists not only of rules and norms, but also of the categories which partition and define that to which the rules and norms pertain. The distinction is important to understanding the persistence of an OroNao' system of kin terms. Kin terms statuses lack specific content and therefore, to the

casual observer, are innocuous and without apparent import other than as customary, but empty, usages. Roles associated with kin term statuses are specific in content. They go beyond mere definitions of persons to state how persons do, or even should, behave.

Much of traditional OroNao' culture has been reduced while the category distinctions in kin term systems, marriage systems, etc. persist. Traditional norms and practices have been criticized effectively, but only to the extent that they are aspects of the normative system which are specific in content by stating or implying what behavior is or should be.

The reduction of a traditional OroNao' culture and forms of organization is not due solely to criticism. Particular elements at the ideational level have been reduced by the impact of their internal relations with other conditions of existence in OroNao' society.

The question of order in OroNao' society may be treated only in terms of the conditions peculiar to the society. The question of the general nature of the relationship within and between the terms of the distinction between ideational and phenomenal orders may be treated only as a conceptual problem; any particular example, including the OroNao' example, pertains to the general question only as a critical interruption.

Ideational and phenomenal orders distinguish aspects of

behavior rather than kinds of behavior. The distinction is drawn more accurately, for example, by Leach (1965:12-14) than by Murphy (1971:241-242). In any event, the point of making the distinction is the same. The qualities of behavior in their ideational aspects differ from the qualities of behavior in their phenomenal aspects according to the extent to which the former are abstract and thus removed from being sequential, continuous, and hence non-repetitive (Cf. Murphy 1971:242). These differences in qualities limit the kinds of relationships which obtain within and between the terms of the two orders. The same point is made, although less explicitly, by Leach and by Murphy. I have attempted to develop this thesis in the exposition of order in OroNao' society. In other respects, the OroNao' example constitutes a negation of the conditions of a universal mode of relationship presumed by other solutions to the question of the relationship between ideational and phenomenal orders.

More specifically, order in OroNao' society has been treated in terms of the particular conditions in the society, including variations in practices, the absence of norms, rules, and other aspects of the ideational order, and the relationships of consistency, inconsistency, congruity, incongruity, contradiction and fit among them. These conditions, explicated in the preceding pages, especially in Chapters 2 through 5, constitute, as the title of the whole work suggests, OroNao' social structure.

## Preface

1. In writing native terms I have adopted, with one exception, the orthography developed by the New Tribes Mission of Brazil, as exemplified in the "Pacaás-Novos Dictionary" (Brown n.d.). The exception is that I have used the symbol "k" in place of the two symbols "c" and "qu" used in the Dictionary.
2. The name Pacaás-Novos, or one of its spelling variants (Pacaas-Novos, Pacahás-Novos, Paca-Nova, Paca-Noa, etc.), refers to any one or all of the tribes who distinguish themselves as OroKao', OroAt, OroEo', OroMun, OroWuram, and OroWuramXijein. The origin and meaning of the term are unknown to me.
3. I use the concept "forms of organization" to refer to those readily observable, persistent social groups in society. The concept approximates the use of the concept "social structure" as it refers only to the morphology of a community or society (Cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1952:191).
4. The agency of the Brazilian government charged with responsibility for the protection of Indians. Henceforth the name is abbreviated as "SPI".
5. An administrative subdivision of the SPI responsible for the region of the Federal Territory of Rondônia.
6. I learned later that the Chief's position was weak. He recently had been reprimanded for authorizing a missionary group to conduct aerial reconnaissance flights over an area east of the Rio Machado. These flights were seen as a provocation of Cinta Larga hostilities. Thus, the Chief had taken a most cautious stance on granting authorizations -- granting none.
7. A "seringal" is a rubber plantation, or, more accurately, an area in which latex bearing trees are being tapped by resident laborers, called "seringueiros", under the control of an owner or manager, called a "seringalista". The "seringalista" advances credit in the form of food supplies, equipment, etc. to "seringueiros" in exchange for exclusive rights to the laborers' product -- balls of coagulated latex. Normally, the debt of the "seringueiro" is not equalled in any given period of time by the value of his products. As a result he may remain indefinitely in debt to the "seringalista". Frequently, the debt of the "seringueiro" and the rights to the products of his labor are inherited by the offspring of the "seringueiro" and the offspring of the "seringalista", respectively (Cf. Lévi-Strauss 1961:363-367; Murphy 1960).

During our visit at Seringal Apena, one "seringueiro" was allowed to leave the "seringal". The "seringueiro", his wife, child, dog, and one sack of belongings joined us on the trip up the Igarapé Lourdes and then on the return back toward Villa Rondônia. On the return trip we had to put up at a "seringal" about half-way between the mouth of the Lourdes and Villa Rondônia. When we were ready to leave the next morning, this being the last day of the trip before we would arrive in Villa Rondônia, the "seringueiro" announced that he would stay at the new "seringal" rather than go on. He preferred the security of the relationship as "seringueiro" to "seringalista" over the insecurity he would have had to face in Villa Rondônia. Thus, the "seringueiro" is not simply a forced laborer, but one who perceives advantages to his position.

8. A gnat (Simulium pertinax) which is common in this area.

9. Literally, civilized people. The term is most frequently used in the context of discussing Indians, in which case it serves implicitly to contrast "civilized" non-Indians and "wild" Indians.

10. Whenever I quote from a Portuguese source I use an English translation in the text while retaining the Portuguese original in the end notes. Thus,

"Entretanto, foram conduzidos novamente à ação pacífica pelo novo proprietário daquele seringal, senhor José Bezerra de Barros, que os convenceu da vantagem que para eles significa a paz com os civilizados mais numerosos e melhor armados."  
(Schultz 1955:82).

11. By this time the SPI official who had earlier pressured for our authorization had left Pôrto Velho, leaving the Chief of the Inspectoria much greater latitude of action. In fact, the Chief later admitted, although not to us, that he had received positive replies for our Urukú study from Brasília (the replies apparently being responses to our several telegrams requesting authorization).

12. Posto Tanajura was not a permanent residence for the OroNao' at the time. The 18 people recorded at Posto Tanajura were staying there temporarily.

13. Pitop is an OroNao' term referring to the settlement which lies 4.5 kilometers south of Posto Tanajura.

14. Colônia Agrícola Sagarana is a reserve-like area rather than an aboriginal residence of the Pacaás-Novos. It is located on a lagoon near the confluence of the Rio Mamoré and Rio Guaporé. The figure of 70 Indians for this location includes a few who are not Pacaás-Novos -- for example, Jabutí, Macuráp, etc.

15. Indigenous posts are simple affairs, consisting of a house for a government agent located at the most convenient point of entry to the territory occupied by an Indian group.

Chapter 1

1. Carvalho's description, in Portuguese, is as follows:

"No mesmo dia da chegada de Jósias, uma criança índia, enfôrma de disenteria, moria e um grupo de índios fazia côro de lamentos. Jósias entendeu tudo. Sabia que os Pakaanovas eram antropófagos e que, se a menina moresse, êles iriam comê-la. Ao meio-dia uma voz cava destacou-se no côro:

-- Pipini! Pipini! Pié utá!

A criança acabava de morrer. O velho pai levantou-se, erqueu os braços aos céus e falou: 'Tchutá uari! Mona kankão nariná pié pipini!'

Jósias espantou-se:

-- Fernando! Êles vão comer a criança!

E Comeram." (1962b:58a).

This account of Pacaás-Novos cannibalism fails to mention that the body was roasted before being eaten. I have not translated the Pacaás-Novos expressions in the above passage because they amount to gibberish.

2. However, Murphy has also distinguished cultural ecology from the "new ecology" (1970:163ff.) and in the process attributed the premises of systemic complementarity only to the latter, and hence, implicitly, not to the former. As he puts it:

". . . there are more ways of relating than through symbiosis and complementarity, for durable ties may also be maintained by opposition and separation." (1970:168).

3. "Permanent peaceful contact" is a commonly used euphemism for describing the condition of a native society having been brought under the control of non-Indians.

4. Actually, a "genealogic" (Cf. Buchler and Selby 1968:43).

1. The analogy with the shape of a fan is used by Sauer (1950:323) to describe Amazonia, but seems equally appropriate in describing the Mojos drainage system.
2. The pre-contact location of the OroWuramXijein and their linguistic and cultural relationships to the other Pacaás-Novos groups is unknown to me.
3. Mason (1950:278) says it is claimed that the groups of the Madeira division moved into their present locations in post-Colombian times, but does not indicate the source of his information.
4. Mission locations are unreliable indicators of areal distribution since they usually represent drastic relocations from pre-contact positions.
5. ". . . sempre fuge de ter comércio com os Negotiantes do Para." (Macerta, cited in Hugo 1959:344).
6. "ferozes ainda hoje, ao ponto de agredirem nas proximidades de Guarjara-Mirim. Em 1913 eles eram muitos." (Hugo 1959:203).
7. "Realmente, índios Pacaás-Novos de vez em quando aparecem bem nas proximidades de Guajarará-Mirim. A três quilômetros da cidade, já flecharam moradores." (Ferreira n.d.:197).
8. One afternoon the residents of Pitop became exceedingly perturbed when they noticed the vapor trail of a large jet aircraft, forming at a high altitude directly over the settlement. People shouted to each other and ran for cover, some into their dwellings and some into the forest.

An age profile for the Tanajura area population (in May 1969) shows disparities in the age structure, supporting the OroKao' contention that many young and aged persons were killed off shortly before permanent peaceful contact. (Each dash (-) represents one individual.)

|       |       |      |
|-------|-------|------|
| 0- 4  | ----- | (17) |
| 5- 9  | ----- | ( 5) |
| 10-14 | ----- | ( 3) |
| 15-19 | ----- | (10) |
| 20-24 | ----- | (23) |
| 25-29 | ----- | ( 4) |
| 30-34 | -     | ( 1) |
| 35-39 | -     | ( 1) |
| 40-44 | --    | ( 2) |
| 45-49 | --    | ( 0) |
| 50-54 | --    | ( 2) |

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9. "Esses Índios constituem um problema serio ao desbravamento da região. A animosidade entre eles e os civilizados e permanente." (Ferreira n.d.:197).

10. Ribeiro remarks on the rapid extinction of tribes in the Guaporé region (1967:97), and considers among the factors responsible ". . . the docility with which some tribes spontaneously approached civilized men who came to them with the all-powerful attractions of metal instruments, porcelain beads, guns, and other marvels." (1967:97-98).

11. "São poucas índios, menos de uma centura. Mas, encontraram-se em lastimavel estado, pois eram vítimas de uma epidemia de gripe. Os dois funcionários do S.P.I. que ali residem (um com a sua esposa), nada podem fazer, pois o S.P.I. não lhes da nem remédio, nem alimentação. E ali estavam todos os índios em estado de causar pena: extremamente magros, vendo-se-lhes os ossos sob a pele, fracos, tossindo, sem remédio, sem alimentação alguma. Não tinham alimentação alguma, tanto que imediatamente passaram a comer os pães (dois sacos) que o prefeito levava." (Ferreira n.d.:198).

12. These examples include many items that have come to be important over a period of years. All of them were not a part of the trade relationship in the early days of contact.

13. Not all government agents have exacted this kind of trade relationship with the Oroñao', but over the long run and in most cases, the situation is as described. Some government agents appear to have handsomely supplemented their incomes from this trade.

14. In the literal sense, a "Crente" is a "believer". In common usage the term distinguishes fundamentalist Protestants from Roman Catholics and a host of others of less definite religious persuasion.

15. My careful observations of the preparations of game animals for roasting and of the activities of others during these preparations showed no evidence that the Oroñao' have continued their wailing practice. In one instance some fruit was placed in the mouths of peccaries, just before their slaughter.

### Chapter 3

1. In order for a Crow-type terminology to promote dispersed alliance all persons of a particular kin term status would have to be redefined upon one of those persons having married a close relative of ego. For example, the kin term status of MoBrWi and all females of her "matriline" would have to be redefined upon her marriage to MoBr.

2. The data from which the genealogical grid is constructed requires comment. The Oroñao' continue to respect a taboo on

talking about the dead, a taboo which includes mentioning their names. Whenever I attempted to establish the identity of a person's deceased relative I was faced with either no response or, more commonly, the frustrating response trata (literally, "my doubt"; this is a way of indicating lack of knowledge without implying that one actually does not know, or, as in the present case, a way of avoiding an answer). Since the identity of deceased relatives was impossible to establish through direct questioning I had to rely in many respects on circumstantial evidence. (I was able to find only one individual willing to speak, in private, about the deceased. Unfortunately, he was ill-informed. He had spent most of his adult life working as a rubber-tapper with Brazilians, and could only recall that his parents were siblings to a couple of the older residents of Pitop.) I obtained evidence on the genealogical relations of the deceased by employing circumlocutions in discussing them. For example, I asked if two persons shared the same (deceased) mother or father; I applied the distinction between "real" (iri) and "other" (xikem; xikon), and asked if one person's "real" father or mother was some other person's "real" or "other" mother or father. In this way I was able to establish, within fairly restrictive limits, the identity of at least a few deceased persons. Generally, however, the genealogical grid has a shallow depth and does not represent all of the actual genealogical relations which obtain between the living persons represented.

3. The way in which enduring marriage relationships and family groupings are formed in OroNao' society contradicts Goodenough's definition of marriage, "Marriage is thus a social transaction that establishes a nuclear family." (1970:4), as well as his notion that marriage is a transaction which establishes a claim to the sexual access of a woman, thereby making her eligible to bear children (1970:12-13).

4. Kin terms must be viewed against some means of identifying the persons they categorize and partition. The use of a genealogical means of identification does not imply or require that genealogical relations are the basic materials of which the kin terminology is made. I will present evidence that OroNao' kin terminology does indeed have a genealogical base, but only in the sense that the principles which underlie the terminology also are represented in OroNao' genealogical theory. This is quite distinct from saying that the OroNao' employ genealogical concatenations as the cognitive basis for sorting out kinsmen according to their appropriate kin term statuses (Cf. Scheffler 1972).

5. Kin types are identified by concatenations of symbols having the following meanings:

- Mo = mother
- Fa = father
- Da = daughter
- So = son
- Si = sister
- Br = brother
- El = elder
- Yo = younger
- MS = male speaker
- FS = female speaker.

Later in this chapter I also use the symbols:

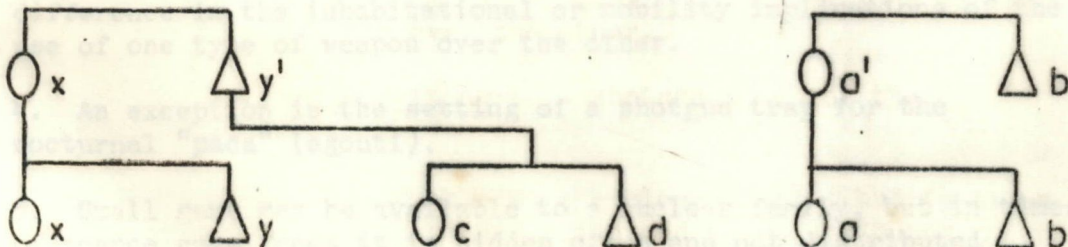
- Wi = wife
- Hu = husband.

6. "Matriline" and "line" are used throughout this chapter in the sense of an abstract line of relations, as opposed to an actual group of persons (Cf. Leach 1951).

7. Lounsbury's formal account of Crow and Omaha terminologies (1964) takes an opposed view. The latter is required by the assumption that the rules or principles of a system of kin terms must operate on a set of primitive elements in order to generate a reasonable facsimile of the overt equivalences with which one started. This leads to the position that the equivalence between ElBr and MoBr is due to the same principle, in restricted form, as that which obtains in the equivalence of MoMoBrSo and MoBrSo. If the assumption of primitive elements is eschewed a quite different interpretation is made possible.

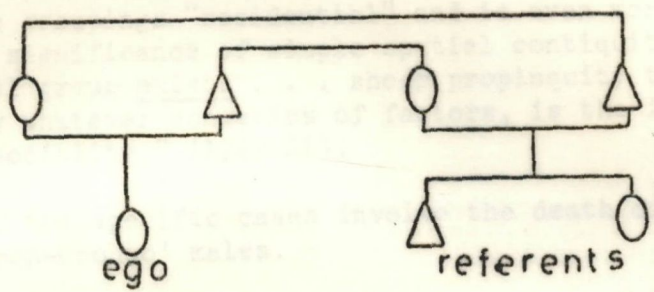
8. These equivalences are not based on the leveling of any natural criterial distinction between half siblings and full siblings. If this were the case then MoSo would be equivalent only to FaSo if one or the other shared both a Fa and Mo with ego. But in the OroNao' terminology FaSo, who is not ego's MoSo, and MoSo who is not ego's FaSo are equivalent.

9. According to the operation of the skewing principle two lines of genealogical continuity may be distinguished from each other ("x-y" and "a-b") and the offspring of "y" may be treated as if they formed yet another line of genealogical continuity ("c-d"):



But, if "y<sup>1</sup>" and "a<sup>1</sup>" should become married in the sense in which I have identified enduring marriage, then according to the merging principle the persons labeled "c-d" would become terminologically equivalent to "a-b".

10. In this case it would appear that the offspring would be able to reckon kin statuses through two distinct kinds of relationships. In practice, however, the OroNao' dispense with one of the relationships in favor of the other. Consider the following:



Where the referents theoretically may be labeled either ve and te or arain, the relative age is imposed, in this particular case, to throw the referents into the category arain. Conversely, the referents label ego we and her brothers te.

Chapter 4

1. These factors may be important in understanding plant activity on a seasonal basis (Richards 1952:192).

2. The OroNao' make no lexical distinctions of soil type. They simply associate darkness of soil with its favor for the growth of corn.

3. The effectiveness of the shotgun over the bow and arrow would appear to make inhabitation infinitely more possible than it was in previous times when bow and arrow alone were used. This certainly is the case: today the OroNao' utilize a smaller area and are more settled in their residential behavior. The effectiveness of the shotgun has made this more settled way of life possible. However, the distinction between inhabitation and mobility is a relative one, and in that sense there is no noticeable difference in the inhabitational or mobility implications of the use of one type of weapon over the other.

4. An exception is the setting of a shotgun trap for the nocturnal "paca" (agouti).

5. Small game may be available to a nuclear family, but in times of scarce game foods it is hidden often and not distributed beyond the nuclear family.

6. Most individuals attempt to reduce the effect of the rebuff by calling themselves narima' before another person has the opportunity to do so.

Chapter 5

1. Buchler and Selby consider the domestic grouping to be "a visible, 'on-the-ground,' assemblage of persons who are seen to share the life space of a delimited number of alters in a specifiable manner." (1968:47). Service (1962) calls these same groupings "residential" and is even more specific about the significance of simple spatial contiguity: "a residential group exists . . . sheer propinquity through time, created by whatever congeries of factors, is the important basis of sociality." (1962:21).

2. All of the specific cases involve the death of the parents of these non-Oroñao' males.

3. There are two cases. One involves a young Oroñun who lived in Pitop for a short period until he and his wife joined the other Oroñun males in establishing Komikontoworao'. The other involves yet another Oroñun who had married a sibling of the Jimainxukta' group and who was living in Pitop until the dry season of 1969; although he and his family lived with the others of the Jimainxukta' group, he was involved frequently with other Oroñun in subsistence activities.

4. Men say that they should live with their fathers. While this norm may be consistent with a patrilocal extended family organization it does not "create" such an organization, as the evidence shows.

5. "Irmãos e irmãs de alguem" (Brown n.d.).

6. Most foods are eaten in a raw state in the forest, but in a cooked state after they have been brought back to the settlement. The association between cooked foods and the settlement vs. raw foods and the forest is seen most clearly in the consumption of grubs harvested from palm trees. They are eaten raw while they are being gathered in the forest, but they are cooked before being eaten in the settlement.

7. The non-Oroñao' Indians living in the Tanajura area often express a desire to be with or to visit their relatives.

8. The group would have had to abandon its xitot, and live for a period of nearly one year without corn or other cultivated foods, were it not for their dependence on the Xijam group.

9. I have no knowledge of how long the Oroñao' had been tribally endogamous.

10. These conditions contrast in their specifics with the situation of the Terena and Tukuna, as reported by Oliveira (1960), where adjustments were made from a unilineal clan and moiety succession to an ambilineal mode of succession. Apparently, the change was made in order to accomodate the possibility of maintaining status as Terena or Tukuna in the absence of recognized lineal predecessors. With the Orolao' the mechanism of succession remains as indefinite as it had been formerly when they enjoyed an unintended tribal endogamy.

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