



NATIVE SOUTH AMERICANS

Ethnology of the Least Known Continent

Patricia J. Lyon

The Kadiwéu are the only remaining group of the Mbayá, who, at the height of their expansion, dominated an area extending from Asunción, Paraguay, to Cuiabá in Mato Grosso and from the Chiriguana settlements in the west to the banks of the Paraná. They did not actually control this area, but raided through it, capturing resident natives as well as Spaniards and Portuguese for slaves. They considered themselves to have a divine right to make war upon, enslave and demand tribute from all other peoples. Nonagriculturalists themselves, they demanded tribute from surrounding agricultural groups. Only recently have they been forced to perform some farming which supplements the hunting and gathering pattern attributed to them since the earliest reports. The Mbayá had slaves at the time of first contact. There is no reason to assume that the highly stratified nature of their society was due to the adoption of the horse, although their warlike activities were greatly aided by the introduction of this animal. There is as yet no proper ethnohistorical study of this fascinating group, but considerable background material on their history may be found in D. Ribeiro (1950), Oberg (1949) and Métraux (1946). Ribeiro's work on the religion and mythology of this group (1950) is basic to any further study.

The present article includes a description of the mechanism by which slaves were incorporated into Kadiwéu society. Such incorporation was necessary to maintain the population. It is obvious that, in spite of the sad straits in which this group now exists, they still retain much of the spirit that characterized them when they were truly the lords of all they surveyed.

Although Darcy Ribeiro is probably best known to American anthropologists for his works on Indian policy and problems of contact between Indians and the outside world, he has a record of excellent and penetrating publications in "pure" anthropology. It is only on the basis of such scientific and disinterested observation and study that one may build a proper basis for deciding matters of application and policy. Darcy Ribeiro's stature in these latter areas is firmly grounded in his profound knowledge of the people for whom he speaks.

15 DARCY RIBEIRO

*Kadiwéu Kinship*¹

The Kadiwéu constitute one of the few remnants of the Guaikurú speaking groups who dominated great extensions of the Chaco until the end of the eighteenth century, forming a major obstacle to the expansion of European civilization and constantly menacing the Spanish establishments in Paraguay and access routes of the boat expeditions [monções] from São Paulo to Cuiabá. They now live in the south of Mato Grosso on a reservation that extends from the Serra da Bodoquena to the Paraguay River between the Aquidavão, Neutaka and Nabileque rivers, forming a triangle of about 100 square leagues of grassland and forest. This reservation was granted by the state government in 1903 and has been administered intermittently by the Indian Protection Service [Serviço de Proteção aos Índios].

The Kadiwéu began to settle permanently on the left bank of the Rio Paraguay at the beginning of the nineteenth century when they initiated peaceful relationships with the whites, relations that were only stabilized a century later with the total cessation of warlike activities and the adaptation, still in process, to those means of gaining a living that are approved by the dominant whites. Today, although they dress like their neo-Brazilian neighbors and raise cattle, hunt and cure hides by the same methods, they still preserve many of the characteristics of the lordly people, the celebrated Indian Cavaliers, who dominated almost all the tribes of the Chaco, enslaving many of them.

At the time of our visit the population consisted of 235 people: 94 near Posto Indígena Presidente Alves de Barros at the foot of the Serra Bodoquena, 60 km. from Coronel Juvêncio, station of the Northwestern Brazil Railway; 66 people in the vicinity of the Posto de Criação Pitoco, 24 km. from the previous one; 11 people in Limoeiro, the isolated residence of the most prestigious religious leader, 20 km. from Pitoco and 31 people in Tomásia, the most isolated community, 54 km. from Pitoco. Twenty-six Kadiwéu are still outside the reservation working on the Fazenda Francesa and at the Carandazal station of the Northwestern Brazil Railway. In addition to the Kadiwéu groups, five Tereno families comprising 28 people live on the reservation.

In the present article we will attempt to describe the Kadiwéu family system just as we saw it functioning. We are deliberately avoiding a diachronic treatment, indispensable for explaining the present day cultural reality of the Kadiwéu, both because the brevity of our stay among them did not permit the collection of sufficient data on many aspects of the kinship system, and because the various early sources on Guaikurú groups, written by missionaries, military men and travelers,² although very rich in data on other matters, are lamentably poor regarding kinship.

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All material appearing within square brackets [] has been added by the editor of this book.

We will, therefore, limit ourselves to a simple description of the kinship system and its principal connections with current social organization and cultural configuration.

RESIDENCE GROUPS

The most important functional unit in Kadiwéu society is the residence group, that is, a nucleus of biologically or socially related individuals who live in the same house. The residence group functions as a cooperative unit with a high degree of internal solidarity, and is the center of economic activity. The women work together, helping each other in domestic activities, the gathering of wild and cultivated foods and the manufacture of artifacts. The men, although without a strict division of labor, prefer collecting and hunting, cattle herding or agriculture. Each one works according to his likes and aptitudes, dividing the products of his activities with the others.

According to the results of the census we took, of the 27 residence groups on the reservation, 23 are located near others in three villages and four are isolated, each forming an independent unit. Analyzing these groups from the point of view of relationships among the members of each one, we find the following types of family association: a) conjugal families consisting of a married couple with their children and, sometimes, a close relative of one of the spouses; b) consanguineal families composed of a group of biologically related individuals, usually sisters, their spouses and children; c) groups of married couples socially related by ties of servitude between one member of a couple and other individuals in the group, or by intermarriages that led to the settling of the families of the two spouses in the same residence. Table I shows the distribution of these types of family association in the residential groupings, and the number of married couples and individuals within each type, and in the three principal communities and in the four isolated ones.

The data demonstrate the predominance in both number of people involved and frequency of occurrence, of residence groups composed of consanguineal families. Next in importance are the socially determined groups. Of these, those related by intermarriage are less stable, since all such cases are seen as provisional arrangements in the face of temporary difficulties, the component families being expected to dissociate later. Those groups related through servitude were much more important until a few years ago, many of them having disintegrated through the separation of the slave components who established themselves as conjugal families near the posts. In the table, the conjugal groups appear of greater consequence than they really are. It was determined, by studying the composition of each of them, that two of the five indicated at Presidente Alves were recently established there after splitting off from groups in which they had the status of slaves. The group at Pitoco was formed in an unusual manner; the husband bought his wife, who was a slave, and settled down with her. The families listed at Tomásia and in the isolated groups, although living in their own houses, are separated, in each case, by only a few meters from the house of the wife's family with whom their members function as an economic unit.

TABLE I

Residence Groups^a

Type of family association	<i>R e s i d e n c e s</i>						
	<i>P. Alves</i>	<i>Pitoco</i>	<i>Tomásia</i>	<i>Isolated groups^b</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Married couples</i>	<i>Indivi- duals</i>
Conjugal	5	1	1	2	9	9	39
Consanguineal	5	3	1	3	12	23	104
Intermarried	2	—	1	—	3	9	43
Servitude	2	—	1	—	3	5	22
Totals	14	4	4	5	27	46	208

^aThree families that were off the reservation and one man who lives alone are not included.

^bIncluding the groups of Jatobá (2 married couples, 7 individuals), Curicaca (3 married couples, 10 individuals), Morrinho (3 married couples, 11 individuals), and Limoeiro (3 married couples, 11 individuals).

We should also note disturbance of the social organization, affecting the Kadiwéu family system as well, that is caused by the presence of an official administration foreign to the group. The relatively great concentrations around the posts are largely due to the possibilities for work and assistance that the posts insure, making them more or less independent of the exigencies of an economy based on hunting, gathering and herding, which demands large areas for each family and a number of members larger than that usual in a conjugal family. Such a relationship is indicated by the fact that the majority of the conjugal groups are near the posts.

MARRIAGE AND SEPARATION

According to data obtained from various Kadiwéu, both men and women, girls can marry immediately after the initiation ceremony celebrated following first menstruation, and boys "when they find a woman." Our observations confirm these data. The youngest wife that we know is 16 years old and was married two years ago, and the youngest husband is 18, his case being exceptional as we will see. The data from the census we took in December 1947 indicate that the common age for first marriage is 20 for men and less than 16 for women. Of the 18 men between 16 and 20 years of age, 14 had not been married. Of women over 15 years old, only one had not been married and all individuals over 25 years of age had been married at least once. These data also show that women first marry men at least five years older than they are. The disproportion between the number of men and women under forty years of age who are either unmarried or separated—24 men to 9 women—is probably one of the factors causing men to marry later than women, since it increases the competition in acquiring a wife.

Marriage may occur earlier when it is contracted by the parents. In this case two

persons can be considered to be married at any age by an agreement and exchange of presents between the parents. The boy will visit the girl's house periodically, bearing gifts and receiving others, going to live with her immediately after the initiation ceremony. The Kadiwéu³ speak of this kind of marriage as one of the ordinary possibilities, but one occurring rarely, and mention some people that were married in this way. The usual marriage, however, occurs at the ages noted, formally on the man's initiative, it being common for the girl to insist on the boy's approaching her parents.

The Kadiwéu always emphasize that girls should be virgins when they marry, although they recount the love life of each woman, which generally includes premarital sexual relations. According to these sources, a woman's first sexual experiences occur shortly before initiation and generally with boys of the group from which will come her future husband, so that then they can settle on marriage partners, considering the girl's preferences. Not uncommonly a man has sexual relations with his future bride even before proposing. We heard from some young men of the relationships they are maintaining with their young girlfriends. According to these stories such encounters take place during mixed bathing and, more frequently, on nights when there are festivals or in the girl's house when her parents are absent. Concerning the pattern of virginity, the following commentary of a Kadiwéu⁴ is revealing. It refers to the chief of a Tereno family who did not let his daughters participate in the festivals: "It's stupid to hang on, girl is like fish [piaba], the tighter people hold on the more she slips away. You grab her but she slips up the creek, Caracará⁵ comes and yanks her under water and goes and breaks her winkle wide open."

Marriage between persons who call each other "sibling" is prohibited, except for socially determined "siblings," when marriage is permitted with some disapproval. Recently, the parents of a girl gave her in marriage to her mother's slaves' grandson who they found sleeping with her. They said, at the time, that it was better to have them married in the sight of all, but when there was a disagreement between the girl's parents and the son-in-law, they threw him out, although a daughter had already been born, stating that marriage between "siblings" was not permitted.⁶

According to João Apolinário, an extremely prestigious religious leader, on the occasion of her first marriage, a girl's father and mother should be asked for her hand, although if they have separated, then after the marriage of the daughter in question. For following marriages it is enough to ask the mother. If a girl has no parents, her hand should be asked of her closest relatives, those with whom she is living, or her elder brother. The request may be made by the interested party himself, but the custom is for the prospective groom to transfer this duty to his "best friend," if not to do the asking, at least to sound out the situation and prepare the ground.

A first marriage is considered ideal when it occurs between young people who have never been married; in that case the parents of the girl and of the boy give parties. Only the first marriage is celebrated in this way. The parties consist of Kadiwéu dances to the music of flutes and drums and Brazilian dances to the music of guitar and accordion, plenty of unsugared mate [Paraguay tea] and plenty of

cane alcohol served ceremonially, sometimes a horse race and hand to hand fights and, when the parents' wealth permits, the butchering of one or more steers for the guests. The parents of the newlyweds participate in these parties as they do in those held for initiations, which are the largest, only to serve the guests.

The groom must give a present to his bride and others to her parents; he also receives presents from the bride and his parents-in-law. In the case of subsequent marriages, the consent of the mother and the exchange of presents, which can take place later, is followed by the groom's moving into the bride's house.

The Kadiwéu are strictly monogamous. Marriages generally last only a short time, especially among young people, but no man has more than one woman as a wife and no woman has more than one husband at a time. Residence of the couple after marriage is matrilocal. At least during the first years, a husband lives in his wife's house and can never leave the village with her to attend any festivities unless accompanied by other residents of the house. Likewise, when a husband goes to work on the neighboring plantations he cannot take his wife with him. With the passing of the years, generally after the death of the wife's mother, the married couple, if it is still together—which is very rare—acquires greater independence and can establish their own residence.⁷ The husband, after marriage, not only moves in with his wife's relatives, but also becomes a part of their economic unit, separating himself from his previous one. He takes with him to the new residence all his cattle, which are henceforth at the service of the woman's group. We noted, however, that the belongings of the woman are never mixed up with those of her husband. Cattle, as well as all other possessions, are always distinctly separated, and the man never loses contact with his own family group; he frequently visits his sisters and also maintains close relations with his brothers.

The average length of conjugal unions is very short, as we said, seldom more than two years among young people. Separation can be effected on the initiative of either of the partners or the girl's parents. When it is on the initiative of the man, he generally alleges infidelity on the part of his wife. A Kadiwéu man about 30 years old, Antonio Mendes (É-txuá-uô), who had been married six times between 1940 and 1947, told us: "I've no luck with women, they go around doing bad things, run around with other men; you can't quarrel with the men, can't beat the women, just have to get out."

According to the accounts we collected about the motives behind the most recent separations, when a woman takes the initiative she makes accusations identical to those of the husband and, also, that he does not work or that she does not like him. The parents, or those responsible for the woman, take the initiative when they feel themselves exploited by the son-in-law, who is not contributing to the subsistence of the group to the degree they had expected, when he mistreats his wife or is disrespectful to them. The birth of a child is sometimes a motive for separation among young married people because a pregnant woman must sleep in a separate bed, abstaining from relations with her husband, for a period of approximately two months before, and one year after, the birth of the child. This practice, today little respected by newly married couples, is probably one of the factors that make abortion and infanticide so frequent among the Kadiwéu. In the case of

infanticide, the period of abstention from sexual relations after birth is one or two months; in the case of abortion it is even less. Sometimes men separate from their wives while expecting a child, marry another woman, and return to live with the first a year later. We knew one couple in this situation; the man had left his wife pregnant and married another and everyone said that, after the period of abstinence, they would go back to living together.⁸

Marital infidelity is considered good justification for separation but married couples do not always separate on this account, and there does not appear to be any resentment toward the person with whom the husband or wife had relations, at least not to the point of causing conflicts. There is no great secret made of one's own amorous adventures, nor of those of other people. A husband will be told of his wife's adventures and vice-versa without the least reserve. The expectation among young married people seems to be that, given the opportunity, they will be unfaithful. This expectation is manifest in the continual vigilance that they maintain towards each other.

It is common to see men and women who get married and separate almost yearly. We already noted one man who got married six times from 1940 to 1947. In the same period another⁹ also was married six times and one woman¹⁰ had seven husbands.

KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Kadiwéu have a classificatory type of kinship system, that is, they include under a single term groups of relatives of the same generation who are somehow equivalent in social relations (Radcliffe-Brown 1930-1931). The system is also bilineal, involving both paternal and maternal lines without emphasizing either of them. The Kadiwéu have no institution based on unilineal exogamous divisions. Kinship terminology reflects not only the family relationships of the Kadiwéu but also other aspects of social organization and the current cultural configuration. Some terms are employed to designate, in addition to relationships of consanguinity and affinity, certain kinds of socially determined kinship, such as those established between slaves and masters, godparents and godchildren. Also reflected in the kinship terminology are the modifications that occur in family relationships upon the death of a relative.

Kadiwéu kinship is very similar to the Tupí system (Wagley and Galvão 1946), the most notable differences being due to a greater elaboration of the former, which distinguishes a greater number of kin relationships, and to the correlations between the two systems and their respective social organizations.

I. Consanguineal Kinship

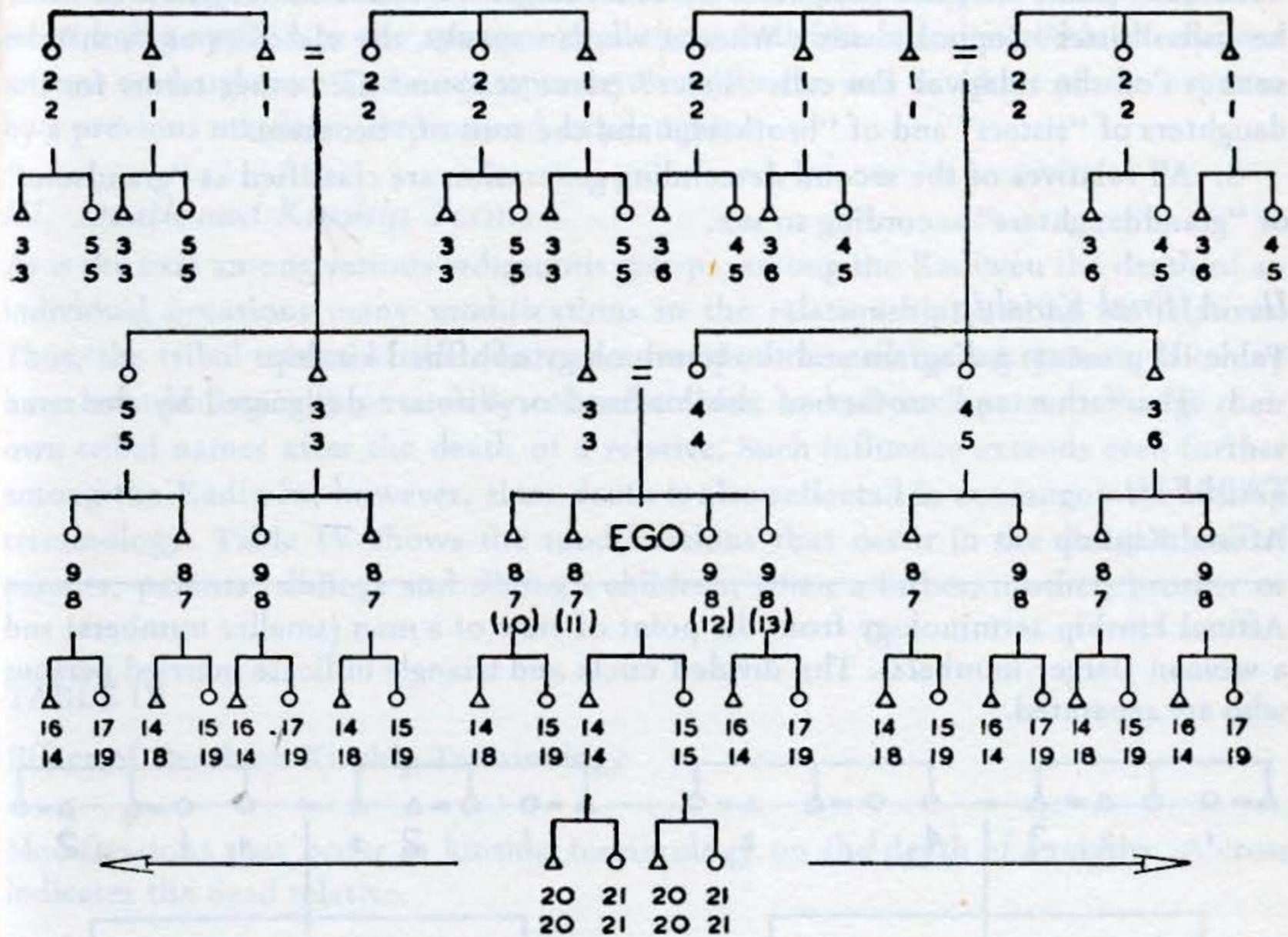
Table II presents a diagram and the terminology of consanguineal kinship, clearly indicating the tendency to designate groups of relatives of the same generation by a single term.

1. All the individuals of the grandparents' generation are classified as "grandmother" or "grandfather," according to sex.

TABLE II

Consanguineal Kinship

Terminology from the point of view of a man (upper number) and a woman (lower number). A circle signifies female; a triangle, male; parallel lines indicate marriage. All the terms are given in the possessive, "my father" not "father." The terms are transcribed following Portuguese pronunciation except the *h* which is pronounced as in English; the *gu* has the same value as in Portuguese *guia* [or English *guide*]; dashes indicate a glottal stop.



- | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|
| 1. iné-lôkud or ié-mé | 8. in-niô-txué | 15. iôn-nát |
| 2. iá-mít | 9. in-niô-álo | 16. ité-txeguít |
| 3. iá-tád | 10. ilí-drát (older) | 17. ité-txét |
| 4. ié-déd or é-iodôd | 11. ilô-txú (younger) | 18. ilé-dít |
| 5. iá-djiôdo | 12. ilí-drálot (older) | 19. ilé-té |
| 6. iné-txúd | 13. ilô-txô-txá (younger) | 20. í-uá-lúdi |
| 7. in-na-guín-há | 14. iôn-niguít | 21. í-uá-téti |

2. In the parents' generation there are different terms for "father," "mother," "father's sister" and "mother's brother" (woman speaking). A man classifies as "father" his father's brother and mother's brother, and as "mother" his mother's sister, using another term for father's sister, which is the same one used by a woman for mother's sister and father's sister. A woman classifies her father's brother as

“father” and designates her mother’s brother by another term. The same terms applied to brothers and sisters of the father or mother are also applied to the children of the grandparent’s generation.

3. Ego classifies as “sibling” all relatives of his own generation, not distinguishing between cross- and parallel-cousins. Siblings of the same sex as the speaker are designated by a single term, and two other terms are used for siblings of the opposite sex. There are special terms for older and younger siblings.

4. Correspondingly, in the children’s generation, when a man speaks, he classifies as “son” or “daughter” the sons and daughters of all the relatives that he calls “brother” (same sex) and designates by other terms the sons and daughters of those he calls “sister” (opposite sex). When a woman speaks, she classifies as “son” the sons . . . of the relatives she calls “sister” (same sex) and uses other terms for the daughters of “sisters” and of “brothers,” and the sons of “brothers.”

5. All relatives of the second descending generation are classified as “grandsons” or “granddaughters” according to sex.

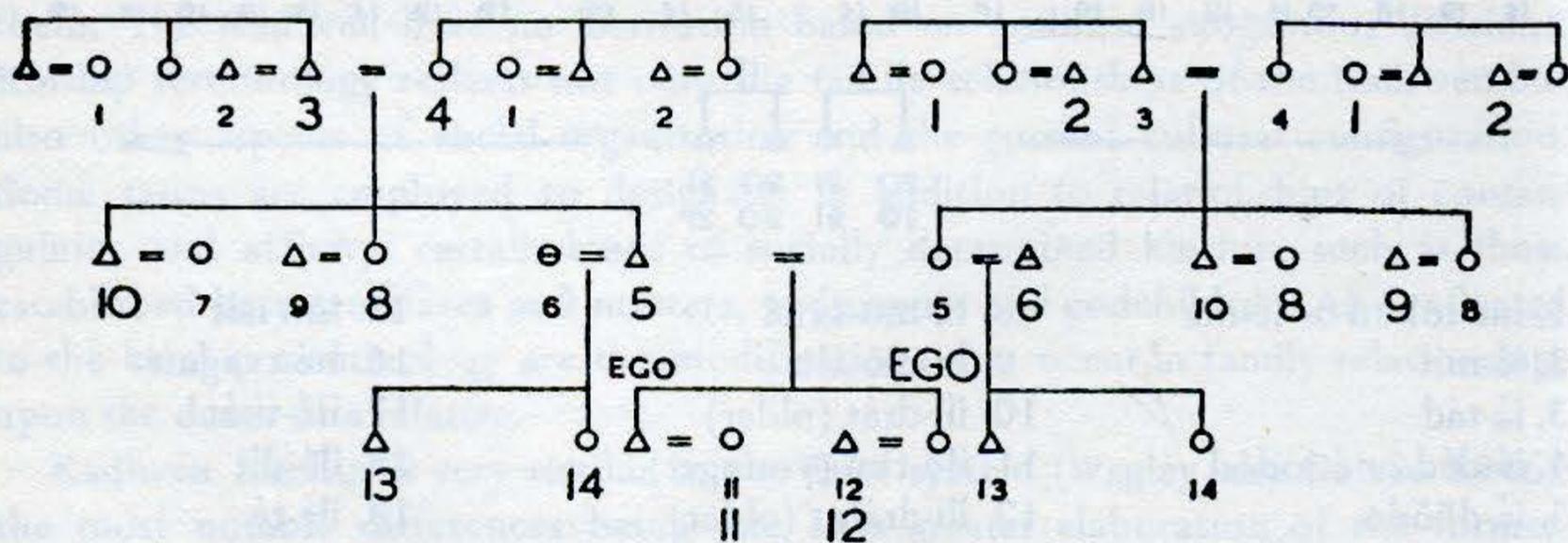
II. Affinal Kinship

Table III presents a diagram and the terminology of affinal kinship.

1. The father and mother of the husband or wife are designated by the same

TABLE III
Affinal Kinship

Affinal kinship terminology from the point of view of a man (smaller numbers) and a woman (larger numbers). The divided circle and triangle indicate married persons who are separated.



- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. iá-nín-hôdot (same as stepmother) | 8. ié-déu-dét |
| 2. iá-nín-húdi (same as stepfather) | 9. iá-níu-údit |
| 3. iô-txí-hádit | 10. ié-déu-dít |
| 4. iô-txí-hát | 11. ihá-tét |
| 5. iô-dauát (childless) | 12. ihá-dít |
| iô-txá-háua (with children) | 13. é-inigui |
| 6. in-nála-túdi (separated) | 14. é-iná |
| 7. i-lát | |

terms, "father-in-law" or "mother-in-law," depending on sex. A father's or mother's brother's wife or sister's husband is designated by the same term as a father's wife (stepmother) or mother's husband (stepfather).

2. The married couple call each other by a single term that varies depending on whether they have children or not; there is a special term to designate a married person who is separated. A husband's sister, a wife's sister and a brother's wife (woman speaking) are designated by the same terms. The husband or wife's brother is also designated by a single term, the same being true for a sister's husband (man or woman speaking) and there is a special term for a brother's wife (man speaking).

3. Two terms are used to designate a son's wife and a daughter's husband, these terms being applied to the spouses of all those individuals designated in the system as sons or daughters. There are separate terms for son and daughter of one's spouse by a previous marriage (stepson and stepdaughter).

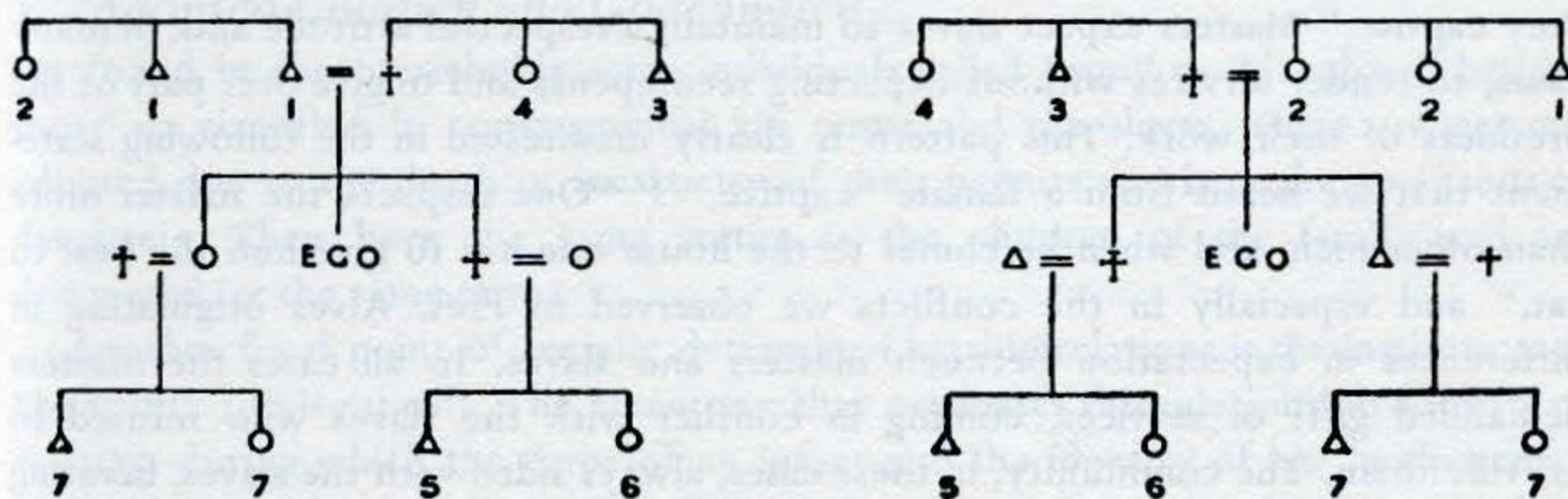
III. Death and Kinship Terms

As is the case among various indigenous groups, among the Kadiwéu the death of an individual occasions many modifications in the relationships among his relatives. Thus, the tribal names of the dead are never pronounced by any person who may have been biologically or socially related to him, and all such persons change their own tribal names after the death of a relative. Such influence extends even further among the Kadiwéu, however, since death is also reflected in consanguineal kinship terminology. Table IV shows the modifications that occur in the designations of parents, parents' siblings and sibling's children, when a father, mother, brother or

TABLE IV

Effect of Death on Kinship Terminology

Modifications that occur in kinship terminology on the death of a relative. A cross indicates the dead relative.



- | | |
|---------------|------------------|
| 1. iá-téu-hát | 5. iá-tín-niguít |
| 2. iá-té | 6. iá-titxút |
| 3. iú-ihát | 7. ilá-bát |
| 4. ida-gát | |

sister dies. These changes are made always maintaining the principles of the classificatory system of kinship.

1. The designations for widowed father and mother are also applied to the brother or sister of the father after the death of the mother, and to the brother or sister of the mother after the death of the father. There are two other terms for brother and sister of a defunct father, also applied to the brother or sister of a dead mother. Here, the distinctions between father's siblings and mother's siblings that we see in ordinary terminology disappear.

2. Ego designates the children of a dead brother by the same terms as those of a dead sister. Another term is employed to designate the children of a widowed brother or sister. Brothers and sisters, for this purpose, are all the relatives so designated in the system.

IV. Relationships of Servitude

Kadiwéu social structure is based on an ethnic division into two strata: masters and slaves, the slave stratum consisting of individuals captured or bought from other tribes and of their descendants in the first and second generations. Investigating the ethnic origin of the inhabitants of the reservation more than 16 years old that represented themselves as Kadiwéu, we found that only 10 men and 9 women, of a total of 144, are "pure" Kadiwéu, that is, descendants of parents and grandparents all of whom were Kadiwéu. We also determined that 11 men and 13 women came from other groups, 14 of them having entered the reservation while still children and been raised as Kadiwéu with the status of slave, or "captive" as they say. The remaining 101 are descendants of "captives," 63 in the first generation (one or both of their parents slaves) and 38 in the second generation (one or more grandparents slaves). Aside from the 10 individuals that settled among the Kadiwéu as adults, the rest identify themselves as Kadiwéu and speak only the Guaikurú dialect of this group in addition to the Portuguese known by the majority.

Relationships between masters and slaves are asymmetrical, the latter submitting to the former, and the common form of address between them is "my master" and "my captive." Masters expect slaves to maintain a respectful attitude and, in many cases, to render services without expecting recompense and to give over part of the products of their work. This pattern is clearly manifested in the following statement that we heard from a female "captive,"¹¹ "One respects the master more than other men, and when he comes to the house one has to give him the best to eat," and especially in the conflicts we observed in Pres. Alves originating in differences in expectation between masters and slaves. In all cases the masters demanded gifts or services, coming in conflict with the slaves who refused to provide them. The community, in these cases, always sided with the slaves, berating the "master" because "Now there are no longer captives, we are all brothers."

We know some slaves who live in their masters' house where they are treated as lower status members of the family, provide service as slaves and are very attached, emotionally, to their "masters." The behavior of slaves and masters, when a relative of either one of them dies, is the same as that among consanguineal relatives and slaves are buried in the family plot of their masters.

The following are the kinship terms used to designate relationships between slave and master:

1. The adult "captive" designates his captor as "my owner" (iá-dji-miguít) or "my master" (iniô-tágod), or even as "my grandfather" (ié-mé); if he was taken as a child, as "my father" (iá-tád); the captor's wife is "my mistress" (in-niô-tágod) or "my grandmother" (iá-mít), or even "my stepmother" (iá-nín-hôdot); he is called "my captive" (iô-taguít) or "my grandson" (í-uá-lúdi).

2. A captive's son designates the captor of his father or mother as "my grandfather" (ié-mé) and his sons as "my father" (iá-tád), and both as "my master" (iniô-tágod); he is called by the first "my grandson" (í-uá-lúdi) and by the second "my son" (iôn-nát) or "my captive" (iô-taguít).

3. A captive's son designates the grandson of his father's captor as "my brother" (in-niô-txuá) and is called the same in return.

The modalities that kinship terms take at the death of certain relatives [see Table IV] are also applied to the descendants of captives after the death of their slave parents.

Thus, the reciprocal address of the sons of the captor and the sons of the captive, *iá-tád/iôn-nát*, on the death of the captive's father change to *iá-téu-hát/iá-titxút*, on the death of the captive's mother the terms change to *iú-ihát/ilá-bát*.¹²

As can be seen, the kinship terminology clearly reflects the process of integration of the slave into Kadiwéu society, the descendants of captor and captive progressively approaching one another in social level, generation after generation, at a certain point coming to classify each other as brothers. The relationship between these brothers is not symmetrical as are those between consanguineal brothers, since the descendant of slaves may, at any time, hear a malicious allusion to the origin of the kinship that links him to the descendant of the captor. But as the designations "my master" and "my captive" disappear, so do the obligations that they imply.

V. Adopted Children and Godchildren

We found in the households some individuals called "son" or "daughter" besides those so classified in consanguineal kin terms and the slaves. These are persons adopted due to the death or incapacity of their parents and brought up as sons or daughters. They have the same status as the children of the family and are designated by the same terms.

Another focal point of socially determined kinship relations is the institution of "baptism" (dji-leguí-nal). The ceremony that originates this relationship consists of a party, during which the name of an infant and the identity of his "godparents" (inibedón-nuhúd) are communicated. The party is organized by the parents of the child with the help of the friends chosen as godfather and godmother; if means are lacking they do without the party, bearing the baptized child from house to house to communicate the name it received. In either of the two forms, they try to emphasize the relationship established between the parents of the baptized child and the godparents. They have no words in their language to designate these

relationships, using the Portuguese terms *compadre* and *comadre* which they repeat innumerable times during the party. This event terminates only when alcohol is served, the co-godparents then committing themselves to maintain close friendship and to live as brothers.

Children are "baptized" before reaching five years of age, this being the only ceremony for boys, whereas the girls later have an initiation ceremony. Although they use the same terms to designate the Catholic institution of baptism and their own, they consider them to be different. Parents, given the opportunity, "baptize" their children in both forms, seeing nothing incompatible between the two. The same child may be baptized three or four times and each new baptism establishes a new series of relationships, defining a rather precise status for the godchild, the godparents, the co-godparents and the respective families.

Relationships between godchildren (*inibedón-niguít*) and godparents are perfectly defined. They must help each other, and the godchild, at any time, may go to live in the house of his godfather. Marriage between a godchild and the children of his godparents—classified as siblings—is disapproved although it may not be impossible. Co-godparents and godchildren must be invited to all parties given by a godparent, and they must go or be represented by a close relative, receiving privileged treatment. Relations between co-godparents should conform to the relations between consanguineal siblings. We found in some family groups individuals whose relationships with other members were explained to us as being of this type, and the principal cooperative relationships that we observed were between co-godparents, such relationships being surpassed only by those between children of the same parents.

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE FAMILY

The interrelationship of biologically or socially related individuals are of familiarity or courtesy depending on the nature and degree of kinship. Relations between consanguineal and affinal relatives of different generations are respectful, members of the older generation (parents and grandparents) being allowed to have a joking kind of familiarity toward those of the following generations (children and grandchildren). Relationships are familiar among relatives of the same generation, and they joke with each other. Sex is one of the common themes of verbal jokes, but sexual relations per se are prohibited between related persons. Respect between individuals of the same social level, e.g., consanguineal grandfather and grandson, is different from the respect that a slave owes his master. This latter type admits of sexual relationships, although with some disapproval.

A man, in the matrilineal residential groups, always being able to go to neighboring groups for parties and hunting, relates more than does a woman to all the paternal relatives of his own generation, his parents' generation and that of his children. A woman's relationships remain more or less confined to those relatives of her mother who dwell in and frequent her own house, thus being less broadly integrated in the kinship system than is a man who relates to a larger circle, a fact that is reflected in the kinship terminology.

The degree of solidarity among biologically or socially related individuals varies, depending on the familiarity they maintain with one another. Close relatives are clearly differentiated from distant ones, although they may be classified by a single term. The strongest bonds are those uniting parents and children, and siblings of the same parents, equally in the conjugal and the consanguineal groups; next strongest are those among members of the same residential group and, gradually weaker, those among relatives of the same generation and among those of different generations.

Living with the Kadiwéu in their own houses, we were able to observe some of the typical relationships among relatives but for the following description we are using data from various Indians and from Sr. Anaudelino, agent at P.C. Pitoco, who has lived among the Kadiwéu since 1941 and speaks their language quite well.

I. Relationships Between Parents and Children

Women have children only after age 20, and the majority of them later still, not allowing those conceived earlier to "mature." Few Kadiwéu women have more than three children, it being more common to have one or two, and the great majority of them only allow a new child to be born after the previous one is more than three years old.

Abortion and infanticide are widely practiced, as we said. Abortion is accomplished by means of a decoction of bitter roots, principally *fedegoso* (axalá-kri),¹³ or by mechanical means, pounding the fetus in the mother's belly until it is killed. If the mother cannot manage alone, she asks the help of a specialist who, for abortions, is always a man. They kill the fetus mechanically, without the mother, who lies on the ground for this purpose, feeling any pain. Infanticide, to which they resort when attempts at abortion were not successful and, primarily, when a child is born who is not of the desired sex—boys are generally preferred—is performed by the mother or by a "killer." In such a case, they break the child's neck or asphyxiate it and bury it inside the house underneath the platform bed on which the parents sleep. The father cannot see a child that is not to be allowed to "mature." Men cannot practice infanticide, it being a function exclusive to women. There is presently a great battle within the group against abortion and infanticide, but both continue to be practiced on a grand scale, as evidenced by the composition of the Kadiwéu population.¹⁴ Recently, a woman obliged her niece, who lives with her and is married to a son of a Xamakoko, to abort, saying that she did not want a Xamakoko grandson; she herself, however, is a descendant of that tribe.¹⁵ Among the justifications that I heard for practicing abortion and infanticide, those that occur most frequently are that there is no clothing for a new child and that the last one is still very small. Probably abstinence from sexual relations between the parents before and after the birth of the child is still one of the factors.

Kadiwéu mothers care for their children with the greatest vigilance, leaving them only when they are asleep, accompanying them all day long, watching their slightest move. A woman generally stops cooking for her husband, he himself preparing the meals if they live alone, and only at night will she go to bathe and wash clothes. We heard from Julia (In-nium-nalôe) of Pitoco the following commentary about the

work that children cause: "You have to keep watching all day long, a kid is an animal, it doesn't know anything, if you leave it it might even eat chicken shit, any filth off the ground." Children are nursed for two years and sometimes considerably longer. There are no secrets for children, everything can be heard, the adults converse in front of them with no constraint whatsoever. Their questions are always patiently satisfied with all the details that they want about anything. The father and the mother feel equally responsible for the orientation and teaching of the children, which is never done formally. For this purpose boys are more attached to their father and girls to their mother by virtue of the division of labor by sex, but the entire maternal group collaborates in the education of children. The authority of parents over their daughters is greater than that of husbands over their wives. This pattern is seen in the conflicts that occur between father-in-law and son-in-law in which, generally, the son-in-law is separated from his wife. Sons and daughters inherit equally when their parents die and the property rights of each member of the family are perfectly defined.

II. Relationships Among Siblings

Siblings, in general, are socially equivalent, reciprocal dealings differing according to the nature of the kinship, degree of familiarity and age. They are very united and are always visiting each other, especially brothers visiting sisters. The first house to which a man moves after separating from his wife is the house of a sister, which he considers as his own. Within the group of siblings defined by the system, solidarity is greatest, first among sisters, second between brothers and sisters, third among brothers. Parallel- and cross-cousins, although classified as siblings, are linked by a much lesser degree of solidarity, it being more intense among those living in the same house. Relations between siblings whose kinship is determined by servitude are asymmetrical, although a joking familiarity is permitted. Relations between older and younger brothers, especially after the former marry and move to their wives' houses, are also asymmetrical. The older brother is, for the younger, a kindly authority who helps to solve problems and brings presents when he visits.

III. Relationships Between Husband and Wife

The social position of the husband, as well as that of the wife, varies with the type of family. In conjugal groups he is the uncontested chief, having marked dominance over her. This type of family is that which best fulfills the obvious aspirations of Kadiwéu men to dominate their wives, aspirations which are manifest in the fact that the men querulously attribute the conjugal infidelity of the women to matrilineal residence. Commenting on the amorous adventures of a young married woman, one Kadiwéu said to us:¹⁶ "If it were me, I'd drag her out of her father's house, even by force, and then I'd like to see her mess around with other men." Within the extended family a man's social position is markedly inferior to that of a woman. Husbands under 40 years of age are almost always treated as outsiders in these residence groups, being integrated into the group and improving their status only after that age when they finally settle down with one woman, then becoming one of the most prestigious elements of the group.

The social position of the woman varies correspondingly, greater submission in conjugal groups and greater independence when she lives with her own family. Since the number of unmarried and separated adult women (17) is much smaller than that of men in the same condition (29) competition for women becomes extremely intense, increasing their worth and thus helping to improve their social position. All the women under 40 who are separated had been "divorced" shortly before and are, with the exception of two who are under treatment for illness, being contended for by the men. Also influential in the present status of the woman is the role she plays in the group economy, especially her connection with the economy of the neighboring neo-Brazilians. One of the few means the Indians of the reservation have for acquiring money is the sale of plaited work. By virtue of the rigid division of labor in this field, women manufacture the greater part of these items and precisely the more profitable ones. Men plait only hats.

Even in consanguineal families, the married couple and their children are not completely absorbed into the family unit; they always maintain some liberty, functioning as small sub-groups with a higher degree of internal solidarity for the provision of food and the education of the children.

Young married couples are generally very affectionate and spend almost all the time the husband is at home together, telling stories and laughing, while the man plaits hats or tends to his riding gear and arms and the woman cares for the children, cooks, and makes plaited work or pottery. The man's obligations are caring for his own cattle, which are generally few but always give occasion to spend part of the day outside far from his father-in-law's farm, and hunting, which still represents a substantial source of food. Women, older men and children take care of gathering fruit, palm hearts and honey and, with few exceptions, only the older men in extended families and chiefs of the conjugal groups have cultivated fields. Before marrying, boys help their fathers a little, but principally they dance, make music and hunt. After marriage they continue the same way of life for several years, depending on their father-in-law's field or those of the older men of their wife's group.

Relations between separated married people are strictly regulated. They must maintain a respectful attitude toward one another and become good friends as soon as the resentment has passed. An ex-husband is, as are brothers, one of the people to whom a woman can appeal in case of troubles, especially if they have children. He is also the cause of friction between the woman and her new husband.

When a person dies, the Kadiwéu burn the house in which he lived and take his objects of personal use to the cemetery, the rest being distributed among the relatives. There are, however, still no universally accepted patterns regarding inheritance of the property of the dead and one of the uncertainties is whether the last wife has a right to inherit if she had no children by the dead man.

IV. Relations Between Son-in-Law and Daughter-in-Law— Father-in-Law and Mother-in-Law

A son-in-law never speaks directly to either his father-in-law or his mother-in-law. This pattern is considered to be a symbol of the respect that they must maintain

toward one another. "If a father-in-law or mother-in-law speaks to his daughter's husband, it is because he does not like the son-in-law any more, and he can pick up and go right now," a Kadiwéu told us.¹⁷ We observed that parents-in-law do not, even indirectly, take part in the conversations of groups in which the son-in-law may be present. When they want to speak to him they direct themselves to their daughter as though the son-in-law were not present. They also avoid looking at one another. According to information from chief Lauriano, confirmed by a story from the agent of P. C. Pitoco, if on a trip or hunt the wife's father or mother find themselves alone and need to say something to the son-in-law, they speak without looking at each other, the parents-in-law addressing themselves to their daughter and the son-in-law to his wife, as if she were present. This pattern is strictly observed by all Kadiwéu. Sons-in-law and parents-in-law, whether they live together or not, never speak to each other.

The daughter-in-law converses freely with her father-in-law and mother-in-law. These relationships are, according to a comparison made by one Kadiwéu,¹⁸ similar to those that should be established as a rule between distant relatives of different generations.

NOTES

1. This article is based on data collected during research carried out by the author in the last two months of 1947, among the Kadiwéu, as part of the program of the Research Section of the Indian Protection Service.
2. The principal sources of information on the early Guaikurú are the following: Dobrizhoffer (1784) [1750-1762], Sánchez Labrador (1910, 1917) [1760-1767], Prado (1839) [1795], Serra (1845-1850) [1803], Azara (1809) [1781-1801], Boggiani (1945) [1892 and 1897].
3. Ilidio and Luz Preto (Acía-toho and Habí-uá) of Tomásia.
4. Antonio Rufino (Omá-txé) of Pres. Alves.
5. Trickster hero of Kadiwéu mythology. [The caracará is a bird of the family Falconidae]
6. Berenicia (Ná-ué-ná) and Joaquim Mariano (Nôo-ták) of Pres. Alves.
7. Data provided by Luiz Pinto (Habí-uá) of Tomásia.
8. Nií-la of Pitoco and Rafael (Náo-umiligue) of Morrinho.
9. Eucridio Pinto (Dibí-té-ho) of Pitoco.
10. Amélia Marcolina (Abú-gô) of Morrinho.
11. Idalina (Liguí) of Campina.
12. All these kinship terms are from a man's viewpoint. For the opposite case, woman speaking, see Tables II and IV.
13. *Cisalpine leguminosa*, genus *Cassia*, probably *Cassia occidentalis*.
14. Leading this fight are "father" João Apolinário and chief Lauriano, the former in the name of sacred values and the latter "so as not to finish off the nation." From these men we obtained the data recorded on abortion and infanticide.
15. Maria (Anoã) of Pres. Alves.
16. Barbosa (Â-gô-lá) of Pitoco.
17. Mariano Rostes (Nôo-ták) of Pres. Alves.
18. Mariano Rostes (Nôo-ták) of Pres. Alves.