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CHILDREN OF MIXED MARRIAGES IN RELATION TO KAINGANG SOCIETY

by

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The Kaingáng Indians, who live scattered through the four southern states of Brazil, have lost most of the elements of their social structure, as they try to integrate into Brazilian society. Their dual system however, as described by Herbert Baldus in his article *DAS DUALSYSTEM DER KAINGANG-INDIANER* ⁽¹⁾ is still in existence today, though falling into disuse. The two moieties are identified by charcoal facial marks: the members of one moiety have a long mark (*rö yo:yo:* ⁽²⁾ in the Paraná dialect ⁽³⁾, *rö tey* in the South dialect); the members of the other moiety have a round mark (*rö ro:ro:* in both dialects). These marks are used only very occasionally today. In five years of contact the author had occasion to observe them once only. At the funeral of a very old Indian his grandchildren were painted to protect them from the dangerous influence of his spirit.

In the South dialect the Indians belonging to the moiety identified by a long mark are still called *kabme(n) kre(n)* 'children of fear'; those belonging to the moiety identified by a round mark are called *kayro: kre(n)* 'children of knowledge'. In the Paraná dialect these expressions have not been encountered.

1) Actes du IV^e Congrès International des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques, Vienne, 1952, Tome II, pp. 376-378. See also by the same author *ENSAIOS DE ETNOLOGIA BRASILEIRA*, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937, pp. 29-69; and Loureiro Fernandes, *OS CAINGANGUES DE PALMAS*, Arquivos do Museu Paranaense, Vol. I, Curitiba, 1941.

2) The phonetic transcription is as used in an article by the author *SEMANTIC CATEGORIES OF "GOOD" AND "BAD" IN RELATION TO KAINGANG PERSONAL NAMES*, Revista do Museu Paulista, Nova Série, Vol. XII, São Paulo, 1960, pp. 177-184.

3) The existence of four Kaingáng dialects, Paraná, South, São Paulo, and Xokréng, has been discussed by the author in a paper *NOTAS SOBRE PROTO-KAINGANG: UM ESTUDO DE QUATRO DIALETOS*, which is soon to be published. The Paraná and South dialects are very closely related and mutually intelligible.

The moiety is inherited through the father. Usually marriage is with a member of the other moiety, although today some couples are married without either member knowing what moiety they belong to.

This paper discusses the integration of children of mixed marriages into this system. The data were gathered on a short trip to the Pôsto Indígena Interventor Manuel Ribas (Paraná) where the Indians speak the Paraná dialect, and to the Pôsto Indígena Guarita (Rio Grande do Sul) where the Indians speak the South dialect. In Paraná the informant was Pedro Rosário, over sixty years old; in Guarita Santo Claudino, probably around thirty years old, served as informant.

Mixed marriages on the P.I. Interventor Manuel Ribas:

1. A white woman, Conceição, is married to an Indian, João Lívio, who has a round mark. Their children, Maria and Dival, both have round marks.

Maria is married to an Indian, Arsimindo Fernando, who has a long mark.

Dival is not married.

2. Carmelina, a middle aged Kaingáng woman, had an Indian father and a non-Indian mother. Her father, Ribeiro, had a round mark, but Carmelina has a long mark. The reason for this is unknown to the informant, and she herself could not be consulted at this time.

3-4. A colored woman, Floripa, is married to an Indian, João Capanema, who has a long mark. Their children, João, Teresa, and Nair, have long marks.

João is married to an Indian woman, *Mi(n)nkökfi*, (her Brazilian name is not known to the informant) who also has a long mark like her husband; their children have long marks.

Teresa is now married to an Indian, Diamiro, who has a round mark; their daughter has a round mark.

4. Nair is married to a Guaraní Indian, Antoninho; their children have round marks, the same as their father would have, if he were a Kaingáng Indian and the marriage had followed the custom of marrying someone of the other moiety.

5. A Guaraní woman, Joana, is married to a Kaingáng, *WogNyöbmbü*, who has a round mark. Their daughter, Mariquinha, has a round mark.

Mixed marriages on the P.I. Guarita:

6-8. A Kaingáng woman, França Claudina, who has a long mark, was married to a non-Indian man and had two daughters, Dolirda and Calita, who both have a round mark, like their father would have had, had he been an Indian and married according to the marriage ideal.

Dolirda is married to an Indian, Martins Carvalho, who has a long mark.

7. Calita is married to a Mestizo, José Sales, who has a round mark like his wife.

8. José's mother was a non-Indian, his father a Mestizo whose mark is unknown to the informant. He deduced José's mark from the marriage of his sister, Alcilha Sales, who is married to an Indian, Florindo Amararo, who has a long mark. Therefore his wife (and her brother José) must have a round mark.

9. The informant Santo's mother's father was a non-Indian, his mother's mother was a Kaingáng with a long mark. Their daughter (Santo's mother) has a round mark, her husband has a long mark, and Santo also has a long mark like his father.

10. A Kaingáng woman, Joana Claudina, with a long mark, is married to a Guaraní Indian who is classed as *kayro: kre(n)* (having a round mark) by virtue of his marriage to a woman who is *kabme(n) kre(n)* (having a long mark). There are no children.

Conclusion:

The ideal marriage is between members of different moieties, although in actual fact sometimes members of the same moiety marry as in the case of João and *Mi(n)nkökfi* in Paraná and Calita and José in Guarita. This is not only true of Mestizos but was observed in at least one case on the P.I. Interventor Manuel Ribas between full blooded Indians.

A non-Kaingáng married to a Kaingáng is usually classed according to the moiety he would belong to under ideal circumstances (the opposite of his marriage partner's), and the children belong to the moiety their father belongs to if he is a Kaingáng Indian or would have belonged to under ideal circumstances if he is a non-Kaingáng. The one exception to this general habit is Carmelina on the P.I. Interventor Manuel Ribas, who belongs to the same moiety her mother would have belonged to, had she been a Kaingáng Indian and had married according to the marriage ideal.