Intergenerational marriage amongst the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas: a preliminary survey

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Introduction

Although the custom of marriage with a sister's daughter has often excited the interest or curiosity of the European missionaries, explorers, and latterly, anthropologists who have lived amongst the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas, the institution has been the subject of relatively little comparative study. Notable exceptions include Kirchhoff's comprehensive survey of the social organization of Northern Lowland South America and more recently, Rivière's detailed case study of marriage amongst the Trio, which concludes with a brief discussion of certain comparative aspects of sister's daughter marriage (Kirchhoff 1931, 1932; Rivière 1969a). But the time is ripe for another look at this institution in comparative perspective. Kirchhoff's survey is already more than fifty years old and is based to a large extent on ethnographic data from the nineteenth century, if not before. Even Rivière's study invites some reconsideration in the light of the large body of literature on the Carib societies of the Guianas which has appeared in the decade or so since the publication of his monograph.

From the particular perspective of intergenerational marriage, one of the most significant discoveries to have emerged from this recent research is that sister's daughter marriage is not the only form of marriage between members of different generations that exists, in more or less institutionalized form, amongst

the Guianese Caribs.[1] Two recent studies, that of Arvelo-Jiménez dealing with the Ye'kuana, and my own dealing with the E'ñepa, or the Panare, as they are more commonly known in the literature, have demonstrated that in these two societies, marriage with certain members of the generations two above and two below Ego is permitted, whilst marriage with a sister's daughter, or any other Alter of an adjacent generation is considered decidedly wrong.[2] But in no other way can these two societies be considered exceptional. As in all other Guianese Carib societies, their systems of kinship and marriage are regulated by a rule which constrains an individual to marry someone who falls into a kinship category which includes his bilateral cross cousins, genealogically defined. They are also typical of the Guianese Caribs in that they lack any form of genealogically defined corporate group, based either on descent or on some "horizontal" principle of recruitment; state a strong preference for locally endogamous marriage; are occasionally polygynous; practise uxorilocal post-marital residence associated with a limited form of bride service. Moreover, like most Carib-speaking groups, the Ye'kuana and the E'ñepa are both

[1] Throughout this essay, unless otherwise stated, I shall use the term "generation" to refer to what Rivière (amongst others) has identified as a "genealogical level," i.e. a step in a line of descent from an ancestor (Rivière 1969a: 67). This is a more limited definition than the popular use of the term to refer, in a generally imprecise way, to all those born about the same time. This definition is also significantly different to the way in which a demographer might use the term, i.e. to identify the members of an age cohort of some conventionally determined span of years, such as fifteen or twenty-five. In many societies, particularly those which practise polygyny, as the Guianese Caribs do, a generation defined as all those of a given genealogical level need not coincide with a generation defined as all those of a given age cohort. This is because, in a polygynous society, a man can go on having children, by various different wives, until he is seventy or more, making it quite feasible for his youngest child to be fifty or more years younger than his oldest. In terms of the definitions that I have just given, these two siblings would be of the same genealogical level, even if they might be separated by one or more generations defined on an age cohort basis. Similarly, although the youngest sibling might be of the same age cohort as the grandchild of the eldest sibling, he would belong to the genealogical level two above. One solution to this definitional problem would have been to follow Rivière's example and simply replace the term "generation" by the term "genealogical level" throughout the text. However, I find that this makes for unwieldy adjectival phrases and therefore prefer to stick to "generation." However, in case of need, I suggest that one might distinguish between "age cohort generations" and "genealogical generations."

[2] Although I will often refer to "sister's daughter marriage," it should be borne in mind that this is merely a shorthand for a general category of adjacent generation marriages that embraces unions between people whose genealogical relationship prior to marriage can take a diverse number of forms. Firstly, in the terminological system that is found throughout the Guianas, the category into which a male Ego's real sister's daughter falls also includes all those whom the latter would call by a same sex sibling term. These will include, amongst others, all the sister's daughter's parallel cousins. Secondly, following the marriage of a man to his sister's daughter, for reasons that are dealt with at length in the text, all sorts of ambiguities are introduced into the terminologies of the contractants and their immediate relatives. As a result, other men may find that they will be able to apply the category denoting a potential spouse, not merely to people related to them as real or classificatory cross cousins or sister's daughters, but also to certain women whose relationship to them is that of real or classificatory mother's sister, daughter's daughter and even father's mother. Other terms that have been used to denote what I here refer to as "sister's daughter" marriage, include the terms "avuncular" and "oblique" marriage. I have no serious objection to either of these terms, but the former is simply slightly less explicit than "sister's daughter," whilst the latter only has meaning in the context of a formal diagram. Although this does not necessarily detract from the latter term's validity, I have avoided it since it is often employed in a rather indiscriminate way to refer both to adjacent generation and alternate generation marriages.

politically and economically decentralized. The settlement pattern of both consists of small communities, rarely numbering more than eighty, and often much less, scattered over a vast area. The political authority of those regarded as leaders rarely extends beyond the communities in which they live and few, if any, privileges accrue to their role. Economic life is based on a mixture of hunting, fishing, slash-and-burn agriculture and collecting. The principles that govern their exploitation of the environment give rise to a pattern of extensive resource use rather than to the intensive use of the resources at any one point. As far as the relations of production are concerned, there is no division of labour, except for the fundamental one between the sexes. And since an adult man and an adult woman can together fulfill the majority of day-to-day subsistence tasks, nuclear families enjoy a high degree of autonomy in the sphere of production, even if their products are normally consumed collectively within the settlement group (Arvelo-Jiménez 1971; Henley 1982).

I would argue that the particular details of the systems of kinship and marriage of the peoples of this region, including the various forms of intergenerational marriage that have been reported from the area, cannot be properly explained without reference to these more general characteristic features of Guianese Carib society. However, in this paper, I shall not be attempting any such explanation. Clearly, prior to attempting to explain any kind of social institution, it is necessary to examine the ethnographic data in order to establish the empirical parameters of the institution in question. This is the principal purpose of this paper: it might be regarded as an attempt to bring Kirchhoff's survey up to date so far as intergenerational marriage in the Guianas is concerned. Although I believe that I have consulted the most important sources, I have not been able to consult them all by the time of writing and for this reason regard this survey as no more than preliminary. Even so, it has required the examination of a large number of sources of very variable quality and to provide a synthetic account of these presents a number of difficulties. The first concerns the units of the survey, i.e. the definition of the boundaries between the various societies of the Guianas.

Methodological considerations

At the beginning of the sixteenth century of the European calendar, when the Carib societies of the Guianas were at the height of their territorial expansion, they occupied an area of roughly oval dimensions, stretching some 2000 km. in an East-West direction from the mouth of the Meta on the Middle Orinoco to the mouth of the Oyapock on what is now the frontier between French Guiana and Brazil. At the widest points, this area extended at least 800 km. in a North-South direction as well. Some Carib-speakers had even begun to colonize those islands of the Lesser Antilles that lie closest to the mainland. The picture that the early sources give us of this vast territory is one of a mosaic of small groups, each clearly distinguishable from the next. In retrospect, with the benefit of the hindsight provided by several centuries of ethnography, this picture now seems rather unlikely. Even today, most Carib peoples express, as one of the most cherished of

their ideals, a concern for the self-sufficiency and autonomy of their communities. One expression of this general ideal is the strong preference that many show for both genealogical and geographical endogamy. Another is the frequently expressed belief that one's own community is so much better than any other, even than those with whom one has close social contacts. Yet another, clearly the obverse of the previous aspect, is the fear and suspicion shown towards outsiders, both Indian and non-Indian. Thus if the early chroniclers came to believe that the areas through which they travelled, or set up their missions, were peopled by a large number of different groups, this impression was certainly not one that the ideology of the Indians themselves would do anything to dispel.

However as our ethnographic knowledge of the region has developed, it has become increasingly apparent that, in many cases, groups that were previously treated in the literature as independent are, in fact, not only in regular social and economic contact with one another but even share a common language and are interlinked by marriage alliances —whatever they might say to outsiders when the latter first arrive. Many authors write as if the reduction of the large number of groups identified in the early sources to the handful of contemporary ethnography were entirely the result of acculturation and disease following contact with the modern world. But although there is no doubt that this contact has had the most tragic effect, resulting in the extinction of some groups and the levelling of differences between others, this effect can be exaggerated. Often a reduction in the number of groups reported in a given area reflects an increasing awareness on the part of anthropologists and others of common identities rather than the destructive effects of contact.

In the following catalogue of Guianese Carib groups, as a general rule of thumb, I have classified all those who share a common language as a single unit. The most common alternative designations, both internal and external, and the names of sub-groups are listed under the item "synonyms" in each case. In practice though, it is sometimes difficult to decide from the information available whether two groups do, in fact, share a common language. Moreover, there are also instances of two groups whose languages may be clearly distinguished but who are so intermarried that it makes more sense, from a sociological point of view, to regard them as a single unit. Indeed there is an element of arbitrariness about almost all of the classifications in the catalogue. But for reasons of space, I shall mention only three cases in which a classification on linguistic grounds and a classification on sociological grounds are particularly at odds.

Moving from West to East, the first case involves the Wánai and the Yawarana of the Middle Orinoco region. A recent comparison by M.-C. Mattéi-Muller of the material that she and I collected amongst the Wánai (Henley 1975; Muller 1975) with the material collected by Méndez-Arocha (1959) in the 1950s amongst the Yawarana indicates that one is dealing here with two closely related dialects of a single language. This is despite the fact that the two groups, both of which have undergone a considerable degree of acculturation, have nothing to do with one another at the present time, live at some distance from one another and do not even know of one another's existence (W. Coppens: personal communication).

For these reasons, I have classified them independently in the catalogue. From the restricted perspective of this survey, it is interesting that despite their linguistic similarity, they appear to practise different forms of intergenerational marriage.

The second case involves the Waiwai and the plethora of small groups that have been identified at the headwaters of the Mapuera and Trombetas rivers, in the Serra Acaraí on the Guyanese-Brazilian border, and whom I refer to by the local generic term, "Parukoto." The linguistic data on these groups that is available in published form is rather unsatisfactory but is nevertheless sufficient to indicate that at least some of the Trombetas/Mapuera groups speak languages that are different from the Waiwai language. From a sociological point of view however, it would appear to make more sense to regard all these groups as a single social unit since they have been extensively intermarrying for at least a century. What little evidence there is suggests that they practise the same form of intergenerational marriage. Moreover, even if there were good reason for distinguishing between them sociologically in the past, there would not appear to be so now since a large proportion of the Parukoto population has moved North to settle at the Waiwai Evangelical mission station on the Upper Essequibo (Fock 1963: 5-9; Migliazza 1980: 139-140; Mentore, this symposium). On the other hand, I have chosen to distinguish the Waiwai-Parukoto from the Hishkaryena and Warikyana, who live further South, on the Nhamunda and Lower Trombetas rivers respectively. In addition to being relatively independent in a simple geographical sense, these two groups appear to be less intermarried with the Waiwai-Parukoto than the latter are with one another. From a linguistic perspective, Waiwai, Hishkaryena and Warikyana have been identified as three distinct languages by Derbyshire (1961). Unfortunately, I have no information whatsoever on the marriage practices of these latter two groups.

Finally, I should mention the case of the Wayana and the Aparai who live in the Eastern Tumuchumac mountain range, on the watershed that forms the boundary between Brazil and French Guiana and Surinam. These two groups are extensively intermarried, particularly on the Upper Paru River. But elsewhere they live as discrete groups and their languages are significantly different: both insiders and outsiders agree on this point (see Lapointe 1970: 15-17). For these reasons, I have classified them independently in the catalogue. As far as the evidence goes, it would appear that neither group practises intergenerational marriage in any institutionalized way.

The second major problem that I have encountered in presenting the results of this survey in abbreviated form concerns the criteria by which the presence or absence of intergenerational marriage should be gauged. I should stress that I am not primarily concerned here with the statistical incidence of intergenerational marriage so much as with its presence or absence as a social institution. On general methodological grounds, it would be conventional to argue that a given society practised intergenerational marriage in an institutionalized form if this type of marriage received some kind of jural recognition, even if actual cases were very rare; similarly, but in contrast, if such marriages were regarded as illegitimate, and/or merely as aberrant, by the members of the society, then one might argue

that it did not occur in an institutionalized form, even if the actual cases were relatively common. In practice though, such a simple methodological procedure has often been difficult to follow in the course of this survey, for two simple reasons: firstly, in many cases, the attitudes of members of the societies in which intergenerational marriages are said to occur has not been recorded in any detail; secondly, the notion of "jural recognition" covers a wide spectrum of attitudes and is therefore inherently imprecise.

This latter consideration is particularly relevant in the case of the sister's daughter form of adjacent generation marriage. In no society does this form of marriage appear to be regarded in an unambiguously positive light. Amongst the Kapon, for example, it is regarded as a shameful form of marriage that one should only practise for want of a viable alternative. The Kapon claim to be shocked by the relative ease with which their neighbours, the Pemon, will enter into such unions (Armellada and Butt Colson 1976: 30). But although the Pemon may be less ashamed of this institution than the Kapon, they still regard sister's daughter marriage as no more than "quasi-licit" (Thomas 1982: 219). Even in Trio society, in which sister's daughter marriage represents a "primary and fundamental" aspect of the system of kinship and marriage, people prefer to present such marriages as if they were between members of categories that include cross cousins, genealogically defined (Rivière 1969a: 85, 142, 273). But despite the ambiguity with which this form of marriage is viewed in these particular societies, I would nevertheless suggest that sister's daughter marriage can be regarded as an institution of their social life on the grounds that it is given some sort of jural recognition, even if reluctant, and may even be recommended under certain circumstances (see Butt 1970: 41-42; also Butt in Rivière 1969a: 202-203n).

The question of the jural recognition given to intergenerational marriage is closely related to the question of the effect that such marriages have had on kinship terminologies. All the societies dealt with in this survey have terminologies which conform, to a greater or lesser degree, to a common formal ideal-type of terminology known by various different labels in the literature, including "Dravidian," "Dakota-Iroquois," "bifurcate-merging," "two-line," "symmetric," etc. For the purposes of this essay, I shall refer to this ideal-type of terminology as "Dravidian." An ideal-typical terminology of this kind divides Ego's universe of relatives into five generations —his own and two generations both above and below his own. In the generations two above and two below (G+2 and G—2), there is typically a single category for each sex, whilst in the three medial generations (G+1, G.0, G—1), there are two for each sex. The greater elaboration of terms in the three medial generations is associated with a distinction between categories of relative that are conventionally, if somewhat unsatisfactorily, known as "cross" and "parallel" relatives. This distinction breaks down in G+2 and G—2.

I should stress that this description refers only to an ideal-type: no Guianese Carib terminology conforms exactly to this pattern. For example, a very common elaboration of the type involves the distinction of three categories of relative of either sex in Ego's generation. One of these categories, as in the ideal-type, corresponds to cross relatives of a given sex. The parallel relatives of the same sex

may then be divided into two categories, one corresponding to those older than Ego, the other to those younger. Somewhat less common is the distinction of one or more of Ego's primary relatives from the latter's siblings or parallel relatives: thus actual parents may be distinguished from their siblings, Ego's own siblings distinguished from parallel cousins and his children distinguished from those of same sex siblings. However, the deviation from the ideal pattern that is of most immediate relevance to this essay involves the use of a single term to refer to relatives of different genealogical generations.[3] I shall be arguing below that deviations of this kind may be attributed to the effect of intergenerational marriage.

However, although both the forms of intergenerational marriage and the status they enjoy vary from to group, all the Carib-speaking societies of the Guianas recognize a positive rule of marriage that requires an individual to marry a category of relative that includes his or her cross cousin of the opposite sex, genealogically defined. Bearing in mind the homogeneity of the culture and social institutions of the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas, this fact suggests that bilateral cross cousin marriage should be considered as historically prior to intergenerational marriage amongst these peoples. The various societies of the region appear to have taken their common sociological inheritance of bilateral cross cousin marriage and developed it in a number of different ways. Thus, some give jural recognition to adjacent generation marriage, others to alternate generation marriage (whilst prohibiting adjacent generation marriage), others again appear to recognize neither form of intergenerational marriage as legitimate. However, such historical speculation is not open to any form of empirical test. Moreover it is essentially unnecessary for present purposes since an argument for considering cross cousin marriage as more fundamental than intergenerational marriage to the kinship systems of the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas can be made on purely analytical grounds.

As I shall indicate in greater detail below, the principles of intergenerational marriage and those of bilateral cross cousin marriage can be at odds with one another, particularly so in the case of the sister's daughter type of intergenerational marriage. This suggests that one form is an accretion upon the other. Now, although it may be possible to construct a theoretical model of how a marriage system based exclusively on one or other of the two basic types of intergenerational marriage practised in the Guianas could work (see Rivière 1966a; 1969a: 278-279), to the best of my knowledge, no empirical example of such has been found. In contrast, of course, there are many examples in the anthropological literature of systems based exclusively on the principles associated with bilateral cross cousin marriage, functioning quite independently of any form of institutionalized intergenerational marriage. Thus if one form of marriage is an accretion upon the other, it seems more likely that intergenerational marriage is an accretion upon bilateral cross cousin marriage rather than vice versa.

These considerations have been taken into account in the elaboration of Figure 1, which I would describe as a graphic representation of an "ideal-typical Guianese

[3] See note 1 for a definition of the term "genealogical generation."

FIGURE 1
AN IDEAL-TYPICAL DRAVIDIAN REFERENCE TERMINOLOGY[a]
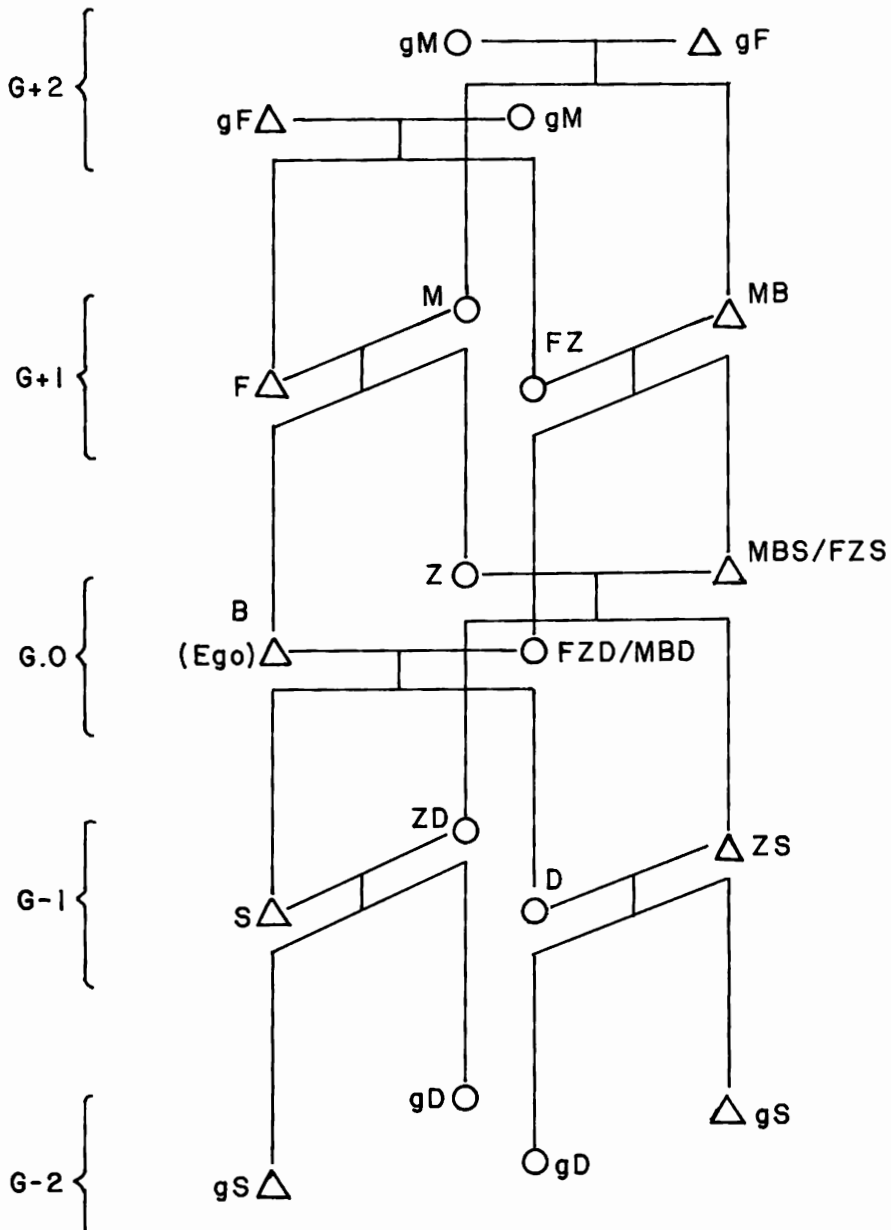
[a] Key: gF = grandfather; gM = grandmother; F = father; M = mother; B = brother; Z = sister; S = son; D = daughter; gS = grandson; gD = granddaughter; e/y = elder or younger; G = generation.

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Carib social structure." More specifically, it represents the pattern of relations of kinship and marriage that should ideally pertain between the persons falling into the various categories of an ideal-typical Dravidian terminology in a society whose marital alliances are governed by a positive rule of marriage that enjoins an individual to marry a category of relative including his cross cousins of the opposite sex, genealogically defined.[4] I would argue that a pattern of this kind underlies all the kinship systems of the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas, even if no particular system conforms to it in its entirety. Deviations from this ideal pattern may be explained on various grounds, but one of the most important causes of such deviations is, I would suggest, the superimposition of intergenerational marriage on a basic system of bilateral cross cousin marriage.

If one accepts this argument, one can then posit that some forms of intergenerational marriage are more likely to be adopted than others due to the nature of the underlying Dravidian terminological system. Let us consider the case of adjacent generation marriage first. Typically, a male Ego in a Dravidian terminology distinguishes between two classes of women in each of the generations adjacent to his own. In the generation above, one of these classes includes his mother and all the women she calls by a same sex sibling term; the other includes those whom his father calls "sister" and all her same sex siblings. All those who fall into this latter category are potential affines (though they do not belong to any corporate group of affines in the Guianas) since they are real or potential mothers-in-law for male Ego. In view of this fact, it seems reasonable to propose that if the peoples of the Guianas were to amplify a system of bilateral cross cousin marriage by permitting marriage with the generation above Ego, they would be more likely to do so by permitting marriage with the category embracing Ego's father's sister and her siblings. A similar argument can be applied to the case of the categories of women in the generation below Ego, who in an ideal-typical Dravidian system are also divided into two classes: one embracing Ego's real or classificatory daughters, the other his real or classificatory sisters' daughters. Given that in this termino-logical system, a sister's daughter is an actual or potential affine for Ego by virtue of her position as a potential spouse for Ego's sons, real or classificatory, it seems reasonable to propose that if the basic system of bilateral cross cousin marriage were to be extended to permit marriage with members of the generation below Ego, then the peoples of the Guianas would be more likely to do so by permitting marriage with the category of women that includes the sister's daughter than they

[4] Some misunderstanding may arise from the use of the initial letters of English terms to designate the various categories of the ideal-typical Dravidian terminology in Figure 2. In each case, the English term should be regarded as a shorthand device standing for "a category of relatives that includes the genealogically defined relative known by the English term indicated here." Thus, "F" in the diagram stands for a category of relative that includes not only Ego's actual father, but also all his father's brothers and parallel cousins. Likewise "M" covers all Ego's mother's sisters and her female parallel cousins as well as his actual mother. And so on, in accordance with the principles of classification typically associated with a Dravidian terminology. In view of this ambiguity, some readers may feel that a system of purely algebraic notation would be more advisable. However, I feel that notations based on English terms are easier for most readers to "handle" and need not necessarily lead one into error provided the proviso just indicated is borne in mind.

would with the category of women that includes those whom Ego would call "daughter."

In short, given the nature of the terminology associated with the underlying system of bilateral cross cousin marriage, one could posit that adjacent generation marriage involving the father's sister and the sister's daughter categories would be more likely than marriage involving the categories of mother and of daughter. As a matter of empirical fact however, the only form of adjacent generation marriage that is found in the Guianas in institutionalized form is sister's daughter marriage. Although father's sister marriages do occur, they are statistically very rare and do not receive even the grudging jural recognition that sister's daughter marriage does. Much the same can be said of marriage between Ego and a classificatory daughter, whilst marriage between Ego and a real daughter would be generally regarded as completely aberrant. A case of marriage between Ego and his real mother would also be regarded as very odd but a case of marriage between Ego and a woman who falls into the same category as his mother is slightly more complicated. As a matter of empirical fact, such marriages do occur in some Guianese societies and are regarded as entirely legitimate. But, as I shall show in greater detail shortly, the legitimacy of such marriages derives from the fact that the category of father's sister's daughter, i.e. of potential spouse, and the category of mother become conflated following the superimposition of the sister's daughter type of intergenerational marriage on a basic system of bilateral cross cousin marriage. To the best of my knowledge, no society in the Guianas permits marriage between Ego and the category of women that includes his mother if that category does not also cover the patrilateral cross cousin.

As far as marriages between members of alternate generations are concerned, the nature of the categorical distinctions in a Dravidian terminology does not suggest that some forms of alternate generation marriage will be preferred over others. In an ideal-typical Dravidian system, there is only one category of women for male Ego in the generation two above his own; likewise in the generation two below. Neither one nor the other has any actual or potential affinal status for Ego. However, in the only two societies in the Guianas for which there is entirely reliable evidence for alternate generation marriage, not all members of the generations two above and two below male Ego are regarded as legitimate marriage partners. In the case of the E'ñepa, a real son's daughter and a real mother's mother are not regarded as potential spouses for Ego: otherwise all the women of the generations two above and two below Ego are marriageable, including a real daughter's daughter and a real father's mother —at least in theory. In practice, although a father's mother is said to be "like a wife" in Western E'ñepa territory and even referred to by the same term in Southern E'ñepa territory, marriage between Ego and a paternal grandmother is usually impracticable simply on grounds of relative age. On the other hand, marriage between male Ego and his real daughter's real daughter is regarded very favourably, by E'ñepa men at least, and I recorded several cases of this type of union in the genealogies that I collected in 1975-1976. Compared to the E'ñepa, the Ye'kuana seem to be somewhat more restrictive about those whom they regard as legitimate spouses for Ego in the generations two above and two below. In the

Ye'kuana case, both real opposite sex grandparents and both real opposite sex grandchildren appear to be prohibited: but, as in the E'ñepa case, all other members of these generations are potential spouses for Ego (see Henley 1982: 95-100; Arvelo-Jiménez 1971: 158).

The proposition that intergenerational marriage in the Guianas should be regarded as superimposed upon a basic system of bilateral cross cousin marriage receives some support from Rivière in his classic monograph on the Trio. Although he recognizes that "it is a matter of conjecture," he argues that in the particular case of this group, one is dealing with "the imposition of marriage with a sister's daughter on a system of bilateral cross cousin marriage" (Rivière 1969a: 88). A large section of the early part of the book is then dedicated to showing how this conjunction of marriage forms gives rise to certain characteristic ambiguities in the "criteria of social classification" and to how the Trio deal with the practical consequences of these. But for present purposes, it is easier to stick to hypothetical examples in order to demonstrate the nature of these terminological ambiguities. Figure 2 shows an individual, Ego, who is the product of a sister's daughter marriage and whose sister has also undertaken such a marriage. In a society in which the kinship system is based on the principles of cross cousin marriage, the Ego of our diagram would be able to marry a category of relative which included his mother's brother's daughter (MBD) and father's sister's daughter (FZD), genealogically defined. However, if we trace such relatives in the Figure, we see that Ego's MBD is also his sister's daughter (ZD). This is nothing serious if the society condones sister's daughter marriage. The difficulty pertains rather to the patrilateral cross cousin: if we trace Ego's FZD, we discover that she is none other than his mother. In reality, of course, Ego's mother is likely to have sisters, both real and classificatory, and he might be able to marry them. But the terminological ambiguity nevertheless remains: in a system in which sister's daughter marriage is permitted whilst the underlying system is based on the principles of bilateral cross cousin marriage, a man's mother can fall into the same category as his potential spouses.

One intriguing further effect of this ambiguity is that it is possible for a given woman to be a potential wife for men who are father and son to another. Let us imagine that Ego's mother in Figure 2 had a sister. Such a woman could be a potential wife qua patrilateral cross cousin for Ego and a potential wife qua sister's daughter for Ego's father. In fact, reports of father and son being married to the same woman, normally in succession, but sometimes even at the same time, turn up relatively frequently in the Guianese Carib literature. These include cases of father's widow inheritance amongst the Kari'nya, Tamanaku, Pemon, Trio and Wayana (Gumilla 1963: 465; Gilij 1965, II: 207-208; Diniz 1965: 5-6, 28; Lapointe 1970: 125), son's widow inheritance amongst the Wayana (Coudreau 1893: 127 apud Kirchhoff 1931: 129) and father and son polyandry amongst the Waiwai (Fock 1963: 202). Rivière also came across a number of cases amongst the Trio of father and son whose respective wives were sisters to one another. As he points out, all such unions are entirely compatible with the rules of a system in which sister's daughter marriage has been superimposed on a system of bilateral cross cousin

FIGURE 2
THE EFFECT OF ZD MARRIAGE ON THE CATEGORIES OF AN
IDEAL-TYPICAL DRAVIDIAN TERMINOLOGY
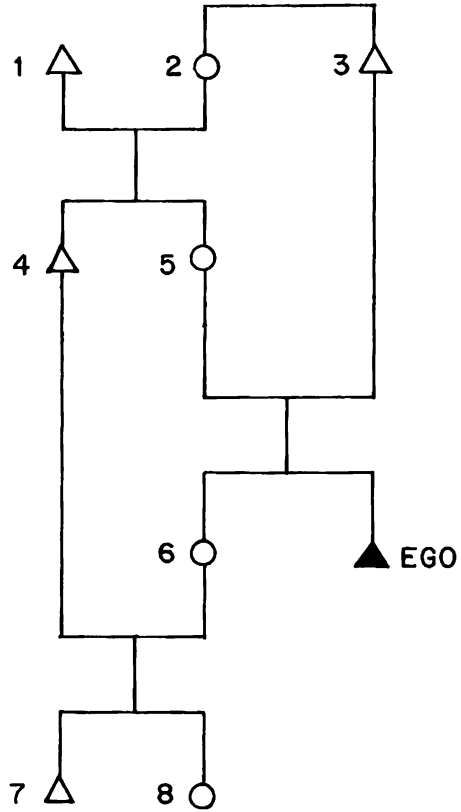
marriage (Rivière 1969a: 158-162).

However, this is not the only ambiguity that can arise following the superimposition of sister's daughter marriage upon a system of bilateral cross cousin marriage. Another is the conflation of the category of male grandparent with the category that includes a mother's brother, who under the principles of a bilateral cross cousin marriage system, is usually a real or potential father-in-law as well. Again, we can refer to Figure 2 to illustrate this proposition. The man marked 1 in the diagram is Ego's mother's father. But he is also Ego's father's sister's husband. And in a bilateral cross cousin marriage system, the latter type of relative normally falls into the same category as a mother's brother. The same logic can be applied to the situation of the woman marked 2 in the Figure. In one sense, she is Ego's mother's mother, yet in another she is his father's sister, who in a normal system of bilateral cross cousin marriage is a real or potential mother-in-law for Ego as well. Ambiguities of this kind appear to have become a conventional feature of the kinship terminologies of several Guianese Carib groups.

Such terminological ambiguities can go on reverberating through the personal genealogical network of anyone who has himself or whose close relatives have married into an adjacent generation. Yet another possibility is the equation of a sister's daughter with a daughter's daughter. Again we can look at Figure 2 to see how this works. In the most straightforward sense, the woman marked 8 in the diagram is Ego's sister's daughter. But imagine that Ego married a father's sister's daughter who was a real or classificatory sister of his mother. For the reasons explained above, this is entirely feasible when an adjacent generation marriage is superimposed upon a system of bilateral cross cousin marriage. For Ego's wife, Ego's sister would be a classificatory daughter and Ego's sister's daughter would therefore be a classificatory daughter's daughter. But if Ego's sister's daughter is a classificatory daughter's daughter for Ego's wife, is she not, in a sense, a classificatory daughter's daughter for Ego as well? And if she is of the same category as a sister's daughter and a sister's daughter is regarded as marriageable, does this not mean that Ego's daughter's daughter is, in fact, a potential future spouse? At first sight, this hypothetical argument might seem a little far-fetched, but it is based entirely on the categorical consequences of the superimposition of sister's daughter marriage upon an underlying system of bilateral cross cousin marriage. Moreover, it seems that amongst the Choto, a now-extinct indigenous society that once occupied an extensive territory in Eastern Venezuela, this conflation of the categories of daughter's daughter, sister's daughter and spouse had become a conventional aspect of the kinship terminology (see Tauste 1888: 8, 33, 34).

The conflation of categories that occurs when alternate generation marriage is superimposed upon a system of bilateral cross cousin marriage is less confusing. If an individual can marry into his grandparents' or grandchildren's generation, one would expect certain categories of relative from these generations to become identified with the categories that include the real cross cousins, genealogically defined. One of the most dramatic examples of this is the identification in the kinship terminology of the Southern E'ñepa of the paternal grandmother, the female cross cousin and the daugher's daughter. All are referred to by the term *no'*,

and are considered, in theory, marriageable. In the terminology of the Western E'ñepa, whose kinship system I have studied in greater depth, this identification is not quite so straightforward, although it is nevertheless present. Moreover, in Western E'ñepa terminology, as in Southern E'ñepa terminology, there is a partial identification of the generations one above and one below Ego. A similar partial identification of alternate generations can also be discerned in the Ye'kuana terminology (Henley 1982: 90-91; Arvelo-Jiménez 1971: 151-154).

The degree to which the ambiguities arising from the conjunction of bilateral cross cousin and intergenerational marriage have become a conventional aspect of the kinship terminology varies considerably in the Guianas. In this conection, one might compare the terminology of the more northerly Pemon groups with the terminology of the Kari'nya. In both cases, the practice of sister's daughter marriage is well attested under traditional circumstances. But whereas in the Kari'nya terminology, the categories that include the bilateral cross cousin and the sister's daughter have become conflated, in the Northern Pemon terminology they have not (compare, for instance, Kloos 1971: 284 with Thomas 1982: 65-67).[5] On the other hand, when compared with the Trio terminology, the disruption brought about in the Kari'nya terminology is comparatively minor. Why one terminology should be affected more than another it is difficult to say. Certainly this effect does not seem to bear any straightforward correspondence to contemporary attitudes to sister's daughter marriage. As I have already mentioned, the Northern Pemon seem to have a relatively open mind about these unions when compared with other groups in the region and yet their terminology remains unaffected. In contrast, some contemporary Kari'nya communities now regard both real cross cousin and sister's daughter marriage as incorrect, yet continue to identify these relatives terminologically both with one another and with the approved category of potential spouse (see Kloos 1971: 134 for the Maroni River Kari'nya). But this would appear to be a very recent effect of acculturation to European attitudes since there is evidence from other Kari'nya communities for both cross cousin and sister's daughter marriage going as far back as the eighteenth century (see Kirchhoff 1931: 135-136).

As the Northern Pemon case clearly demostrates, one cannot automatically assume that if a terminology shows no sign of terminological adjustments of the kind that I have described, then the society which employs the terminology does not recognize intergenerational marriages as legitimate. On the other hand, if one comes across a terminology which does appear to have been modified as a result of intergenerational marriage, then it seems reasonable to conclude, in the absence of any more direct sources of evidence, that such marriages did in fact take place and that they were probably accorded some degree of jural recognition within the society in which the terminology was employed. If this assumption is granted, then if affords a useful insight into the marriage systems of societies that have long been

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[5] Kinship terminology is not uniform throughout Pemon territory and the terminology of the most southerly groups of Pemon (known locally as "Makuschi") does appear to have been affected by sister's daughter marriage: female Ego uses a single term to refer to female cross cousin and brother's wife in her own generation and to daughter and sister's daughter in the generation below (Diniz 1965: 5).

extinct but whose kinship terminologies have been preserved in the form of dictionaries collected by missionaries and other early travellers. The question then becomes: how do we know that such modifications have taken place?

The short answer is that we can detect such modifications by means of a careful comparison of all the reported terminologies of Guianese Carib societies. In a straightforward lexical sense, the terminologies used throughout the vast area occupied by Carib-speaking peoples are remarkably similar. To take a simple example: the Wánai of the Middle Orinoco use the term *taamu* to refer to a grandfather (Muller 1975: 63) whilst the Wayana, at the opposite end of the Guianas, some 2000 km. away, use the term *tamu* for the same purpose (Lapointe 1970: 109). With one or two exceptions, all the Carib groups in between use the same term, or some minor variant, to refer to a grandfather.[6] Several other terms have a similar, almost universal, Guianese Carib distribution. If one therefore comes across such a term which, in addition to or instead of its statistically normal use, is employed for some other category of relative, one can assume that some modification in the referential field of the term has taken place. If this change corresponds to one that one would expect to be induced by the superimposition of intergenerational marriage on a basic system of bilateral cross cousin marriage, along the lines of the various hypothetical examples cited above, it seems reasonable to conclude that this is what has happened.

To validate this argument, it would be necessary to present the careful comparison of terminology to which I have alluded —something which is clearly beyond the bounds of this paper. But to go back to the simple example that I have already discussed: if we discover the term *tamu*, or some obvious cognate of the same, being used to designate not only a male grandparent but also a mother's brother, I submit that we are entitled to conclude that this is an effect of the practice of sister's daughter marriage. Those that agree will then find a large domain of information about intergenerational marriage at their disposal. Many of the earliest sources on the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas were written by men who appear to have been conceptually hide-bound by the assumptions of European culture and as a result, they tended to assume that either the indigenous people amongst whom they lived or travelled had some sort of variant of the European system of kinship and marriage, or that they had none whatsoever and lived in a sort of primitive promiscuity. (There were, of course, some noble exceptions, such as Breton and Gilij, for example). However, many of the authors of these early sources were missionaries who took an active interest in the language of the peoples amongst whom they worked in order to be able to preach and make confessions. The grammars and dictionaries they wrote were designed to make the process of learning the language easier for their successors. But in writing these texts, they recorded, almost despite themselves, the kinship terminologies of the

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[6] It should be borne in mind that in many societies the address and reference terms used for "grandfather" are distinct and that in a number of societies, one or more affixes indicating either possession or respect may be appended to these terms. In order for the similarity of the terms "grandfather" (or any other relative) in the various Carib languages of the Guianas to be fully apparent, the presence of these affixes has to be allowed for.

peoples whom they were hoping to convert. When these terminologies are extracted from their various works, they provide us with clues as to the forms of marriage that were permitted. These fleeting glimpses of the kinship systems of long extinct peoples can then be fitted together with whatever ethnographic information may be available. I have found this technique particularly useful in reconstructing the kinship system of the Choto.

Catalogue of intergenerational marriage in the Guianas

In the catalogue below, which is designed to summarize the results of the survey that I have carried out of intergenerational marriage in the Guianas, I make reference to both direct and indirect sources of evidence. The direct evidence consists, quite simply, of observations made by one or more authors in the field. The indirect evidence consists primarily of the kind of terminological adjustments that I have discussed above and, in some cases, certain ethnographic observations which, in the absence of more detailed studies, suggest that intergenerational marriage may have been practised. The sources listed with reference to each group are those that bear most directly on the practice and rules of kinship and marriage in that group and/or the identification and demography of the same. It should be borne in mind that the population estimates given here are based on sources of highly variable reliability. In some cases, they are little more than informed guesses. The societies in the catalogue are ordered according to two principles: in the first instance, they are ordered according to which form of intergenerational marriage they practise, if any, and in the second instance, on a geographical basis, proceeding roughly from the North-west to the South-east.

Adjacent generation marriage

Choto
Synonyms: Chaima, Coaca, Core, Paria, Cumanagoto, Palenques, Guaribes,. Tomuza, Teserma, Tucuyo, Farantes, etc.
Population: Presently considered extinct but possibly numbered as many as 50,000 in 1799. A few speakers are said to live in the vicinity of Caripe, Edo. Monagas, Venezuela.
Location: From the Península de Paria and the Serranía del Oriente in Eastern Venezuela, right across to the Serranía del Interior in the centre of the country, and possibly as far west as the Lake of Valencia.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: terminological adjustments (ZD = daughter-in-law = wife for male Ego; male Ego distinguishes between SS and DS; female Ego equates sister-in-law and grandmother) (Tauste 1888: 8, 33-34). Some indirect evidence in the report that older men used to bring up young girls in order to marry them (Ruiz Blanco 1965: 39, 42).

Additional sources: Brizuela 1957; Caulín 1966; Civrieux 1970b, 1980; Humboldt
1942; Ruíz Blanco 1888; Yangües y Ruíz Blanco 1888.[7]

Kari'nya

Synonyms: Carinya, Kalina, Karaïb, Caribe, Galibi, Marwôrno, etc.[8]

Population: If all the scattered communities are added together, the total
                 comes to well in excess of 9,000.

Location: Lower and Middle Orinoco, Central Edo. Anzoátegui, Venezuela;
                 coastal regions from the Barama River, Guyana, right across
                 Surinam and French Guiana to the Oyapock River and tributaries
                 on the Brazilian border. Throughout this area intermixed with
                 Lokono (Arawak) and creole population.

Evidence for intergenerational marriage: directly observed cases (e.g. Gillin 1936:
                 95; Adams 1977: 13); father's widow inheritance (Gumilla 1963:
                 465); terminological adjustments (female cross cousin = ZD)

[7] The Franciscan Observants missionary order, to which Ruíz Blanco and Yangües belonged, was in
competition for a long period in the seventeenth century with the Aragonese Capuchin order, to which
Tauste belonged, for control of the Choto population (Civrieux 1980: 90-105). Both orders were
therefore concerned to develop a lingua franca which could be used in the evangelization of the whole
Choto population and their claims as to the unity of the Choto language should be interpreted in the
knowledge of this fact. If the missionaries were concerned to stress the unity of the language in some
contexts, in others they stressed its diversity. Ruíz Blanco goes so far as to describe Choto territory as
"another Babel" (and to prove his point, informs the reader of six different ways of saying, "I don't
know," in the various dialects spoken by the Choto). Moreover, my own impression on the basis of the
relatively superficial comparison of Ruíz Blanco's and Tauste's dictionaries is that they are significantly
different. But to what extent these differences can be put down to different levels of linguistic
competence of the authors, or different techniques of transcription and whether, once these have been
allowed for, the differences in their respective lexicons amount to a linguistic rather than merely
dialectical distinction, are questions that only a systematic study by a linguist would stand any prospect of
determining.

[8] Despite the demonstration by de Goeje (1939) some forty years ago, and more recently and
extensively by Taylor (1946, 1958a, 1958b) that the peoples who occupied the Lesser Antilles in the
seventeenth century and who were known to the French chroniclers of the time as "Caraïbes" spoke
what was, both in syntax and in the greater part of its lexicon, an Arawak language, some authors
continue to write as if these "island Caribs" and the mainland or "Coastal Caribs" were one and the same.
This confusion is easy enough to understand: not only were the two groups called by similar terms in
European languages but also one of the self-designations of the Island Carib, recorded by the Frech
chronicler Breton, was *Callinago*, an obvious linguistic cognate of *Kari'nyakon*, the plural form of the
self-designation of the modern day Kari'nya (Mosonyi 1978: 115). However, *Callinago* was merely an
item from a limited lexicon, apparently of Kari'nya origin, that was used exclusively by the male
population. The oral traditions recorded by Breton suggest that this intrusion of Kari'nya terms followed
the conquest of the original Arawak-speaking inhabitants by a group of raiders·from the mainland. But
the languages spoken by the peoples of the Lesser Antilles and the Kari'nya remained basically distinct.
As early as the seventeenth century, this distinction was noted by Breton and also by his contemporary,
Pelleprat who, like Breton, had direct personal experience of both groups. (It is Pelleprat who reports
that the Galibi, i.e. Kari'nya, occupied Tobago and shared Grenada with the "Caraïbes") (Pelleprat 1965:
36-37; Dreyfus 1977). Breton reports that in the greater, Arawak component of their language, the
Caraïbes' term for themselves was *Calliponam*. This term probably gave rise to *Kariphuna*, reported by
Taylor to be the self-designation of the few surviving contemporary "Caribs" of Dominica (Taylor 1946:
180).

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(see inter al.: Schwerin 1966: 61; Ahlbrinck 1931: 357; Kloos
1971: 284; Arnaud 1968: Fig. 2).
Additional sources: Adams 1978; Arnaud 1966; Arnaud e Alves 1975; Drummond
1977; Hurault 1972; Kirchhoff 1931; Mosonyi 1978; Schwerin
1980.

Tamanaku
Synonyms: Tamanaco, Tamanak.
Population: Extinct and probably numbered no more than 125 even in 1759.
Location: Approximately between mouth of Tortuga River, near modern
                 La Urbana, to the mouth of the Cuchivero, both right bank
                 tributaries of the Middle Orinoco, Edo. Bolívar, Venezuela.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: directly observed: father's widow inheri-
                 tance (Gilij 1965, II: 207-208, 211-213).
Additional sources: Bueno 1965: 146; Codazzi 1940 II: 17.

Wánai
Synonyms: Mapoyo, Nepoye, Cuacua, Uruwanayes, etc.
Population: Approximately 115 in 1976, of whom about a third had emigrated
                 to local towns.
Location: A single community living on the savanna between the Villacoa
                 and Caripe rivers, right bank tributaries of the Middle Orinoco,
                 Edo. Bolívar, Venezuela.
                 Former territory, according to Wánai oral tradition, was much
                 larger, consisting of all the land enclosed by the Orinoco, Suapure
                 and Parguaza rivers.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: terminological adjustments (ZD = gM;
                 M = ZD) (Muller 1975).
Additional sources: Henley 1975; Tavera Acosta 1907: 97-107.

Pemon
Synonyms: Arekuna, Kamarakoto, Taurepang, Makuschi, Purugoto, Sapara
                 (?).
Population: Probably in excess of 16,000.
Location: Upper Paragua River and highland savannas of South-eastern
                 Venezuela and adjacent regions of Brazil and Guyana.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: directly recorded cases (Thomas 1982:
                 103-104; Simpson 1940: 539; Martius 1867: 645 apud Diniz 1965;
                 Schomburgk apud Kirchhoff 1931: 102); terminological adjust-
                 ments in Southern Pemon (for female Ego, D = BW = female
                 cross cousin) (Diniz 1965: 5).
Additional sources: Armellada and Butt Colson 1976; Farabee 1924: 121-152, 242;
                 Koch-Grünberg 1916-1928, IV: 28-33, 250-251, 262-263; 1979-
                 82, I and III: 94 et seq.; Migliazza 1980: 128-131; Thomas 1978,
                 1979; Urbina y Mandé-Urbina 1981.

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Kapon
Synonyms: Akawaio, Waika, Ingarikó, Patamona.
Population: Approximately 7,000.
Location: Area around the headwaters of the Mazaruni River in the North,
                the Cotinga and Ireng in the South-west and the Potaro and
                Siparuni in the South-east. Mostly in Guyana, but there are small
                groups in adjacent areas of Venezuela and Brazil.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: directly observed cases (Armellada and
                Butt Colson 1976: 30; Butt 1970: 41-42; see also Butt in Rivière
                1969a: 202-203n). No terminological adjustments however.
Additional sources: Butt Colson 1971b, 1973: 5-11, 19; Fournier 1979.

Wayumara
Synonyms: Azumara, Waiyamara.
Population: Probably extinct though they may be related to the Waimiri-
                Atroari.
Location: Isla de Maraca, Mid-Uraricoera River, Northern Brazil.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: terminological adjustments (gF = father-
                in-law) (Koch-Grünberg 1916-1928, IV: 262-263).
Additional sources: Farabee 1924: 242-245.

Waiwai-Parukoto
Synonyms: Ouyayeoue, Waiwe, Parukutu, Charuma, Chikena, Katwena,
                Marakayena, Maopityan, Mawakwa, Mouyenna, Shereo, Taruma,
                Tunayenna, etc.
Population: 1,000 (?)
Location: Serra Acarai, Upper Essequibo, Mapuera and Trombetas rivers,
                on the Brazil-Guyana border.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: observed cases (amongst Waiwai, Fock
                1963: 202; amongst the Charuma, Frikel apud Diniz 1965: 7);
                terminological adjustment (amongst Waiwai, male cross cousin
                = son-in-law for male Ego).
Additional sources: Derbyshire 1961; Farabee 1924: 153-196, 215-216; Mentore
                this symposium; Migliazza 1980: 139; Yde 1965.

Trio
Synonyms: Tiriyo, Tareno, Diau, You, etc.
Population: In excess of 1,000.
Location: Upper reaches of the Tapanahoni-Palomeu, Sipaliwini and West
                Paru rivers in the Tumuchumac range, on the Surinamese-
                Brazilian border.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: observed cases and extensive terminolo-
                gical adjustments (Rivière 1969a: 143-158).
Additional sources: Rivière 1981.

Alternate generation marriage

E'ñepa
Synonyms: Panare, Mapoyo, Oye.
Population: Probably over 2,000.
Location: Middle and upper reaches of the Suapure, Maniapure, Chaviripa,
               Guaniamo and Cuchivero rivers, all tributaries of the Middle
               Orinoco, Venezuela.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: observed cases and extensive terminolo-
               gical adjustments (Henley 1982: 87-123).
Additional sources: Dumont 1978: 69-89; Villalón 1978.

Ye'kuana
Synonyms: Soto, De'kuana, Maquiritare, Mayongong, Kunuana, Ihuruana,
               etc.
Population: 3,000.
Location: Watershed region of the Upper Caura and Upper Ventuari.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: informants' statements; terminological
               adjustments (Arvelo-Jiménez 1971: 151-154, 158).
Additional sources: Heinen, this symposium.

Yawarana
Synonyms: Yabarana, Orechicano, Wokiare, Kurasikana, Areveriano (?).
Population: 20 (?)
Location: Manapiare and Parucito rivers, Territorio Federal Amazonas,
               Venezuela. Living in mixed communities with other ethnic
               groups.
Evidence for intergenerational marriage: terminological adjustments (a distinction
               appears to be made between paternal and maternal grandparents,
               and the male cross cousin is identified with one of these.
               Combined information from Wilbert 1963: 138-146 and Koch-
               Grünberg 1916-1928, IV: 238, both of whom appear to have got
               half of the story).
Additional sources: W. Coppens 1983: personal communication.

No institutionalized intergenerational marriage

Wayana
Synonyms: Urukuyana, Roucouyennes.
Population: 770.
Location: Eastern Tumuchumac, on upper reaches of Palomeu/Tapanahoni,
               Litani, Paru-Citaré and Jari rivers on the boundary between
               Brazil, Surinam and French Guiana.
Sources: Grenand et Grenand 1979; Hurault 1968; Lapointe 1970.

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Apalai
Synonyms: Oupouloui, Aparai.
Population: 100.
Location: Upper Jari and Paru rivers, Northern Brazil.
Sources: Unkel (Nimuendajú) in Farabee 1924: 229; Koehn 1975.

No information on marriage systems

Akuriyo
Synonyms: Wayarikure, Okomoyana, Wama, etc.
Population: 50.
Location: At the Trio village of Tepoe on the Upper Tapanahoni,
              Tumuchumac mountain range on Surinamese-Brazilian border.
Sources: Kloos 1977; Rivière 1981: 2.

Waimiri-Atroari
Synonyms: Krischana, Jauapery, Pariki, Anfika, Anfehine, etc.
Population: 1,200 (?).
Location: Headwaters of Jauapery, Alalau and Uatuma rivers, Brazil.
Sources: Aspelin and Santos 1981: 95-97; Migliazza 1980: 140.

Hishkaryena
Synonyms: Piskaryena, Chawiyana, Kumiyana, Sokaka, Tukano, etc.
Population: 500.
Location: Nhamunda River, some living at Waiwai-Parukoto mission
              station on Upper Essequibo.
Sources: Derbyshire 1961; Migliazza 1980: 143.

Warikyana
Synonyms: Kashuyana, Ingarune, Arikiena, Pawiyana, Yaskuriyana, Ewarho-
              yana, etc.
Population: 300 (?).
Location: Some on Lower Trombetas, others living amongst Trio at the
              Franciscan mission in Northern Brazil, near Surinamese border.
Sources: Derbyshire 1961; Frikel 1961; Frikel e Cortez 1972; Migliazza
              1980: 145-148.

Conclusion

The considerable quantity of ethnographic data surveyed here points to a
relatively simple conclusion: most Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas either
once did or still do practise some form of institutionalized intergenerational
marriage. Of the fourteen societies on which it has been possible to gather adequate
information, nine practise the sister's daughter type of adjacent generation
marriage; three societies geographically adjacent to one another on the western

margin of the Guianas practise alternate generation marriage; only two societies appear to have no institutionalized form of intergenerational marriage at all. These two societies, the Wayana and the Apalai, are located side by side on the eastern margin of the Guianas. Although there is no evidence that intergenerational marriage has received jural recognition as a legitimate form in these societies, intergenerational marriages do nevertheless occur (see Hurault 1968: 36-37; Lapointe 1970: 124; and Koehn 1975: 100). Moreover, in neither case is the account that has been given of the system of kinship and marriage as complete as it might be. It is possible that further study would reveal that these societies are not so exceptional as the presently available information suggests. For example, Hurault claims that most modern Wayana marriages do not conform with the rule of marriage with a cross cousin, real or classificatory, which, according to Wayana tradition, is the only legitimate form. But if it is true that the majority of modern Wayana marriages are no better than the "mating of dogs" (as they themselves describe incorrect marriages), this is a remarkable fact since in other respects (with regard to male initiation ceremonies, for example), they are very respectful of their traditions. Another possible explanation for this state of affairs is that the "incorrect" marriages that Hurault describes are, in fact, merely an artifice of the confusion of kinship categories that normally takes place following the conjunction of sister's daughter with cross cousin marriage (Hurault 1968: 21, 30-31).

I now propose to round off this essay by considering how, if at all, the empirical results of this survey may help us prepare the way, as it were, for an explanation for institutionalized intergenerational marriage in the Guianas. In the first place, we can immediately dismiss the idea that intergenerational marriage amongst the Guianese Caribs has anything directly to do with the fact that they all speak languages belonging to the same language family. The near-universality of institutionalized intergenerational marriage amongst the Carib peoples of the Guianas is impressive, as is its corresponding absence amongst the non-Carib peoples of the region whose kinship systems are based on the same general principles, i.e. those embodied in a Dravidian terminology coupled with prescriptive bilateral cross cousin marriage (Kirchhoff 1931: 143-151, 155-158; Herrmann 1946/7; Diniz 1968; Ramos and Albert 1977; Lizot 1977b; Chagnon 1968; Mitrani 1975; Morey and Metzger 1974).[9] However, one should not read too much into this: it is difficult to conceive how the properties of a language per se could give rise to a

[9] The only non-Carib-speaking groups within the Guianas which might be deemed to be exceptions to this generalization are the Piaroa and the Warao. The Piaroa system of kinship and marriage is very similar, in a general way, to those of their Carib neighbours to the East. Moreover, although the Piaroa regard sister's daughter marriage as "incorrect," almost all incorrect Piaroa marriages are of this kind (Overing Kaplan 1975: 133). Thus one might say that it is almost as institutionalized an aspect of the Piaroa marriage system as it is of the marriage systems of the Carib societies of the region that practise this type of intergenerational marriage. The system of the Warao, on the other hand, is based on principles that are entirely different to those underlying the Guianese Carib systems. Thus although the Warao are reported to practise an institutionalized form of intergenerational marriage, it is of a type that is not directly comparable with the cases examined in this paper (H. D. Heinen: personal communication).

social structural phenomenon of this order. Moreover there is also the celebrated case of the Tupi-speaking peoples of the Atlantic coast of Brazil who were described by the earliest Portuguese chroniclers as practising sister's daughter marriage as a conventional means of providing for a widowed sister (Kirchhoff 1931: 185-186). This case demonstrates not only that intergenerational marriage is not an exclusively Carib phenomenon but also that it is not an exclusively Guianese phenomenon either.

In the second place, it is clear that a comprehensive explanation for the phenomenon of intergenerational marriage in the Guianas should cover all the forms identified in this survey. It would therefore cover both the systems that permit marriage between members of adjacent generations and those that permit marriage between alternate generations. In my monograph on the E'ñepa, I suggested that these two forms of intergenerational marriage could be viewed as alternative means of increasing the degree of endogamy that is possible within a basic system of bilateral cross cousin marriage (Henley 1982: 94). But this merely begs another question: why should the people of this region be so concerned to improve their chances of marrying endogamously?

Most answers to this question have been couched in terms that refer to bride service responsibilities. Due to the pan-Guianese custom of uxorilocal post-marital residence, a prospective bridegroom can avoid moving out of his own settlement if he marries his sister's daughter because the prospective bride's mother, Ego's sister, will normally be living in her parents' settlement. The same applies in the case of granddaughter marriage except that, in this case, obviously, the prospective bride's mother is Ego's daughter rather than his sister. By remaining at home, a prospective bridegroom can generally minimize his bride service obligations since his new in-laws will all be close kin. An argument along these lines has been advanced by several authors, including Fock for the Waiwai, Butt Colson for the Kapon and Gillin for the Kari'nya (Fock 1963: 160, 201-202; Butt 1970: 42; Gillin 1936: 96). However, the universal application of this explanation has been challenged by Rivière. In the particular case of the Trio, he points out, a son-in-law's duties to his wife's people cannot be separated off from a much more global series of exchanges between affines corresponding to all spheres of social life, being most dramatically represented in ritual and even extending beyond the life of the individual who contracted such affinal obligations in the first place. Rivière even questions whether bride service sensu stricto can be said to be a Trio institution since the duties between affines are basically symmetrical: a son-in-law's responsibilities to his affines may be substantial, but so are theirs to him. Moreover, he states as a matter of ethnographic fact that: "Although a Trio gains certain advantages from marrying his sister's daughter, the removal of all affinal duties is not one of them" (Rivière 1969a: 208-209, 224, 272-273). Instead Rivière prefers to view sister's daughter marriage within the context of the relationship between cross sex siblings in Trio society. He seeks to establish the importance of this relationship in a number of ways, including a statistical demonstration of the high frequency of brother-sister co-residence (Rivière 1969a: 109-128); an ethnographic account which highlights the practical interdependence and emotional attachment of cross

sex siblings, particularly during pre-marital life (Rivière 1969a: 187-191); and a formal analysis of this relationship within the network of Trio interpersonal relationships as a whole (Rivière 1969a: 193-196). For Rivière, it is this relationship which holds the key to understanding sister's daughter marriage since, in his view, "marriage with the sister's daughter confirms, even duplicates, a pre-existing set of ties and obligations between brother and sister" (Rivière 1969a: 275).

Several points can be made about this apparent divergence of views as to the reasons for sister's daughter marriage. Firstly, I feel that Rivière's comparison of the Trio material with that from other Carib groups has the effect of over-emphasizing the differences between them. It is far from clear, for example, that all of the authors who have given a "bride service interpretation" of sister's daughter marriage have claimed that this type of union leads to the total elimination of bride service obligations. Gillin appears to be arguing that by permitting a man to remain in his own community, sister's daughter marriage leads merely to the reduction of bride service duties (see Gillin 1936: 96). For her part, Butt Colson implies that a man's labour is not so much reduced when he marries his sister's daughter, as retained for the use of his own family unit (Butt 1970: 42). Since this unit includes a man's sister, Butt Colson's view would seem to be very similar, in effect, to that of Rivière. As for the Trio themselves, it would seem from Rivière's own account, that even if sister's daughter marriage does not result in the elimination of bride service obligations, a prospective Trio groom would do well to try and marry a woman of his own community if he can. Rivière is clearly correct in arguing that it is false to separate off the son-in-law's obligations from all the other duties that pertain to the affinal relationship between a man and his wife's kin, which may be more or less symmetrical when considered overall. But it is also incorrect to separate off from a man's bride service obligations, all the other unpleasant consequences that stem from marrying out of the community: Rivière reports how, in the Trio case, these include being subject to extremely stringent avoidance by one's affines (Rivière 1969a: 164-165, 199-208). Given that a Trio son-in-law stands to minimize all these unpleasant consequences of marriage by staying at home (as well as reducing his bride service obligations into the bargain), he would appear to have just as strong a reason for marrying his sister's daughter as a prospective bridegroom from any other Carib-speaking society that practises this form of intergenerational marriage. Furthermore, in the Trio case, an explanation of sister's daughter marriage in terms of realizing rights and duties between cross sex siblings does not appear to be incompatible with one couched in terms of minimizing (if not eliminating) affinal obligations. By marrying his sister's daughter, a Trio could apparently achieve both objectives simultaneously.

However, although an explanation in terms of rights and duties between cross sex siblings may be compatible with an explanation with reference to the reduction of bride service obligations in the case of sister's daughter marriage, they are not so in the case of granddaughter marriage. In the latter case, an explanation in terms of cross sex siblings' rights cannot make sense, although an explanation in terms of reducing bride service obligations may. Clearly, if all forms of intergenerational

marriage found in the Guianas are to be covered, some more general explanation is called for. And, in attempting to develop such an explanation, one is obliged to go beyond the particular terms that native informants may offer to explain their marriage practices. A Pemon may explain his choice of a sister's daughter as marriage partner with reference to the unpleasant consequences of living with one's affines in an alien community, whilst an E'ñepa may explain his marriage to a daughter's daughter in terms of the reiteration of previous marital alliances between his family and hers. But in analytical terms, the result is the same: in both cases, we are confronted with a system of bilateral cross cousin marriage with an intergenerational form of marriage superimposed upon it. An adequate explanation for the latter would have to be couched in terms that applied to both these societies, as well as to all the other societies that practise institutionalized intergenerational marriage, of whatever type.

Rivière recognizes that the explanation of sister's daughter marriage that he offers refers only to the particular case of the Trio. However, he suggests that it contains "the seed of a potentially universal explanation of such unions." But in order to fulfill this function, the case-specific explanation has to be re-cast in more universalistic terms. To this end, Rivière proposes that one view the preference that some Trio men show for marrying their sister's daughter as a reflection of the fundamental dichotomy between inside and outside in Trio thought which, in the course of his monograph, he shows to have "practical value in the ordering of their cosmos, both social and natural." Certain Trio attitudes and practices are said to "enforce the existence of this dichotomy, whilst others are concerned to resolve its indisputable existence. Marriage with the sister's daughter has been interpreted as one of the latter." Within the context of this dichotomy, Rivière claims that a man's sister "represents the inside and the dyadic relationship symbolizes harmony and security; marriage with a sister's daughter not merely reaffirms the relationship but adds the single missing component, the sexual aspect" (Rivière 1969a: 276, 279). It is with sister's daughter marriage presented in this light that Rivière attempts to relate the Trio case, not merely to other Guianese societies, but also to a number of celebrated cases from South India. After a short comparative discussion, he puts forward, as a tenuous hypothesis, the idea that sister's daughter marriage is likely to become institutionalized in circumstances where there is a perceived shortage of possible spouses and/or a sense of danger emanating from outside the society that threatens (either through pollution or through simple physical extermination) to destroy it (Rivière 1969a: 279-282).

Whilst I am not in a position to judge how valid this explanation is with regard to the South Indian material, there is no doubt that in the thought of Guianese Caribs as a whole, the distinction between the security of the inside and the danger of the outside world is of fundamental importance. It seems to have an apparently endless echo at all levels of their society and culture. But notwithstanding this fundamental importance, I do not think that by identifying a correspondence between this dichotomy and intergenerational marriage, one has arrived at a sufficient explanation of the latter.

Most of the explanations for intergenerational marriage that we have

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considered so far, including the last, have been expressed, at varying degrees of abstraction, in the terms of the peoples who practise it. Indeed this is exactly what Rivière believes one ought to be doing: "My claim... is that we must turn to society's own view of itself and the principles by which it orders and organizes itself in order to explain the presence or absence of certain social practices, such as marriage with the sister's daughter" (Rivière 1969a: 282). This view is highly characteristic of the rationalist theoretical approach to the study of kinship systems associated with Needham and his colleagues and former students at Oxford, amongst whom Rivière numbers. However, to my way of thinking, an explanation of the kind offered by Rivière, although a necessary aspect of any explanation, does not exhaust the questions we might ask about the phenomenon at issue. To my mind, an explanation of this kind represents merely a transformation of the ideology of the people whose social system one is dealing with. Here I use the term "ideology" in the most conventional sense, i.e. as denoting a body of ideas and values that is essential to the operation of a system of kinship and marriage —or any other aspect of social life— since it provides some sort of legitimation in the minds of the actors within that system for the practices they are engaged in. But one need not accept this ideology as an irreducible explanation for the social practices that it legitimates. Thus, although Rivière is undoubtedly right in emphasizing the fundamental distinction between inside and out in Guianese Carib thought, one should recognize that these peoples regard the outside as remarkably close in. All societies probably have some sort of notion of inside and outside but few are quite as selective as the Guianese Caribs. They feel themselves threatened by the outside but this outside includes members of geographically proximate communities with whom they share a common language and culture and perhaps even kinship ties. Why should this be? They may explain their preference for systematic local and genealogical endogamy by reference to the threat that they perceive as emanating from the outside. But the anthropological literature is full of peoples whose preference for systematic exogamy is encapsulated in such normative dicta as "we marry our enemies" or something similar. Why should the Guianese Caribs be different? Also, in a general way, such explanations, by their very nature, do not encourage one to consider alternative possibilities. The Guianese Caribs may practise preferential local and genealogical endogamy because they do not like the consequences of marrying out, but why do they prefer to marry their sister's daughters and/or their daughter's daughters, rather than their son's daughters or their father's sisters?

I would suggest that in order to answer these questions, one must refer to the complex of social and economic relations identified as typical of the peoples of the Guianas in the introduction to this paper. Furthermore, any general explanation one might propose for intergenerational marriage in the Guianas should also be applicable to their practice of cross cousin marriage. In its turn, this global structure of relations governing kinship and marriage cannot be separated off from the set of relations by which these peoples organize themselves to appropriate and distribute the resources of the environment in which they live. Put another way, a sufficient explanation for the set of relations of reproduction requires some reference to the set of relations of production. I attempted to show how these two spheres of social

life interact in my study of the E'ñepa. If this approach were extended to other Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas, I believe it could increase our understanding, not only of intergenerational marriage but of their social organization as a whole. But this is clearly a topic for another paper.

Abstract

Although the institution of sister's daughter marriage amongst the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas has often been remarked upon in the literature of the last 250 years, it has only rarely been subject to systematic comparative scrutiny. The need for such a comparative examination has become all the more evident since the discovery over the last decade or so that sister's daughter marriage is not the only form of intergenerational marriage that exists in more or less institutionalized form in the Guianas. At least two cases (the Ye'kuana and the E'ñepa) have been recorded of peoples who reject sister's daughter or any other form of adjacent generation marriage but permit marriage between certain members of alternate generations.

This paper surveys data from 14 different Carib-speaking Guianese groups in order to establish the relative distribution of alternate generation and adjacent generation marriage. The presentation of the results of the survey makes up the central portion of the paper. It is preceded by a discussion of some of the theoretical and methodological problems encountered in presenting the data and is followed by a discussion of the way in which one might go about elaborating an explanation for intergenerational marriage in the Guianas.

Resumen

En la literatura de los últimos 250 años sobre los grupos indígenas de la región guayanesa aparecen frecuentes comentarios acerca de la institución del matrimonio de Ego con la hija de su hermana; sin embargo, pocas veces este tema ha sido objeto de un detenido estudio comparativo. En la última década se ha descubierto que, en las sociedades de habla Caribe de Guayana, éste no es el único patrón matrimonial (más o menos institucionalizado) entre personas de distintas generaciones. Tal descubrimiento puso de manifiesto la necesidad de profundizar en el tema. En Venezuela existen, por lo menos, dos casos de grupos indígenas (Ye'kuana y E'ñepa) que rechazan el matrimonio de Ego con la hija de su hermana o con cualquier otra persona de una generación adyacente, pero, sin embargo, lo permiten entre ciertas generaciones alternas.

Con el propósito de identificar la distribución relativa de las formas de matrimonio entre generaciones, este artículo reseña datos sobre 14 sociedades de habla Caribe de Guayana. Los resultados de esta reseña se encuentran resumidos en un catálogo en la sección central del mismo. Dicha sección viene precedida por una discusión sobre algunos de los problemas (tanto metodológicos como teóricos) que surgieron a la hora de introducir los datos en el catálogo. La conclusión del artículo es una consideración acerca de cuál sería la vía más indicada para encontrar una adecuada explicación a este fenómeno tan característico de la región guayanesa.