



Reconstructing Chaima and Cumanagoto kinship categories: an exercise in "tracking down ethnohistorical connections"

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Introduction

It was my privilege to be one of the small group of students who attended the short course in descriptive linguistics given by Marshall Durbin in the old storehouse that constituted the Laboratorio de Antropología at the Instituto Venezolano de Investigaciones Científicas (IVIC) in October-December 1971. No one who attended that course could fail to have been inspired by Marshall's enthusiasm for the languages of the native peoples of the Americas. Some months later, I had a chance to put something of what we had learned into practice when I was fortunate enough to go with Marshall, Haydée Seijas and Nydia Ruiz to the Sierra de Perijá on a survey of the Carib languages of that region. During this trip, I came to appreciate not only Marshall's professional dedication but also his fine personal qualities. With his passing, we lose not only the most distinguished contemporary student of the Carib languages of Venezuela but also a stimulating and open-minded teacher, the memory of whose friendship will be treasured by all those who worked with him.

But although it was a stimulating experience to be in the field with Marshall, his enthusiasm was not merely for contemporary languages. In the same way

AUTHOR'S NOTE: I would like to thank Audrey Butt Colson for her comments on an earlier draft of this article and Marie-Claude Muller for her advice on handling some of the linguistic data. The article has benefitted greatly from their suggestions but any remaining faults should be laid entirely at my door. The basic information on which the article is based was collected and organized in the course of visits to Venezuela whilst I was a Research Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. These trips were variously financed by the Social Science Research Council (U.K.), the British Council and the Venezuelan Ministry of Education. Although the principal purpose of these visits was, in each case, something other than the study of the subject matter of this article, I am grateful to all these bodies for allowing me the opportunity to visit the Arcaya Library and browse amongst its holdings.

that he had earlier complemented his studies of modern Maya with an expert knowledge of classical Mayan stelae, so his knowledge of contemporary Carib languages was based on a thorough acquaintance with the early sources on Carib languages now long extinct. In a letter he wrote to me in early 1977, having replied to certain points about the ethnohistory of Orinoquia, he went on: "I must agree with you that the most exciting thing in the world is to track down these ethnohistorical connections in South America. There is nothing so exciting as that. One has two marvellous sources for that [in Venezuela]; the Indians on the one hand and the libraries on the other. That is why Haydée and I enjoyed so much the Arcaya Library when we worked there. It makes my blood get all prickly thinking about the great times we had."

One of the texts to be found in the Arcaya that must surely have made Marshall's blood "go all prickly" was *Algunas obras raras sobre la lengua Cumanagota*, edited by Julius Platzmann (1888). This work was prepared specifically for the Congress of Americanists of 1888.

It is made up of five volumes, each of which is a facsimile of an early missionary source on Cumanagoto or a closely related language. The volumes of particular relevance to the present article are the works by Tauste (1888), Yangües and Ruiz Blanco (1888) and Ruiz Blanco (1888). In republishing these sources, Platzmann performed a great service to contemporary ethnology since to consult the original texts would be both time-consuming and expensive. However, despite their ready accessibility in the Arcaya and elsewhere, they have not, to the best of my knowledge, been subject to thorough scrutiny by comparative linguists. This is surely a task which, had it not been for his tragically early death, Marshall would have turned to in due course of time. Now it is a responsibility that must perforce fall on the shoulders of others.

Being a social anthropologist rather than a comparative linguist, it is not a task that I would pretend to take on myself. But one does not have to be an expert linguist to appreciate how valuable such a study could be for the general ethnohistory of Orinoquia. In particular, it would be most useful in establishing more exactly the phyllogenetic relationship between, on the one hand, Cumanagoto, Chaima and the related languages of the coastal regions of Central and Eastern Venezuela and, on the other, the Carib languages spoken by the peoples living further South. For although all sources, both ancient and modern, agree that the coastal Carib languages can be clearly differentiated from Kari'nya, the theory has been put forward, at various times, that Cumanagoto, Chaima, etc. are closely related to Tamanaku, the language once spoken by a small group living on the right bank of the middle Orinoco between the Cuchivero and Tortuga rivers. Humboldt was one of the first to put forward this theory, based on a comparison of the vocabularies that he collected in 1799 in the Capuchin missions amongst the Chaima around Caripe with the Tamanaku dictionary in Gilij's *Ensayo*, published a couple of decades beforehand (Humboldt 1942, II: 184 *et seq.*; Gilij 1965). It may well have been Humboldt's observations that influenced Marshall when, in his classification of Carib languages, he grouped

Tamanaku together with the coastal Carib languages (Durbin 1977: 27). Subsequently though, in the letter I quoted from above, Marshall admitted that this classification was "obviously in error."

However, the most recent investigations have shown that if this classification was in error, it was because it separated Tamanaku off from the other languages of the middle Orinoco, and not because it associated Tamanaku with the Carib languages of the coastal region. For, on the basis of a recent comparative investigation, M.-C. Muller has been able to show that Tamanaku is very closely related to Yawarana and Wánai, which in turn are so closely related to one another that, from a purely linguistic point of view, they may be considered virtually dialectical variants of a single language. Thus, if Tamanaku is closely related to the coastal Carib languages, then so must Wánai and Yawarana be. On the basis of a preliminary examination of the Chaima and Cumanagoto material, Muller suggests that this is indeed the case, though she is unable to state exactly how close this relationship is, pending further investigation. What is clear however, even at this stage, is that the Tamanaku-Yawarana-Wánai group of languages is much more closely related to Chaima and Cumanagoto than any of these languages is related to their common pre-Columbian neighbour, E'ñepa.

For his part, Civrieux has put forward the suggestion that the coastal Carib groups may have been closely related to the Ye'kuana. He bases his argument on linguistic grounds, more particularly on the fact that the word for "people" in the coastal Carib languages, *choto*, is very similar to the equivalent Ye'kuana word, *shoto* (1980: 38). However, Marshall's classification of these various languages would lead one to question this association, at least in part. For, although there is no doubt that all are Carib languages and must therefore have developed from some common trunk in the distant past, Marshall places the coastal Carib languages in his Northern Carib group, whilst Ye'kuana he places in the Southern Carib group. The justification for this classification is that Ye'kuana features the loss of the proto-Carib *p and its replacement by a fricative. In this sense, Ye'kuana is apparently more closely related to the Carib groups of the Southern watershed of the Guianese Shield, Southeastern Colombia and the Upper Xingú, than it is to the peoples of Orinoquia and the Caribbean coast (Durbin 1977: 34).

A further investigation of the sources published by Platzmann would also be useful in establishing the exact nature of the relationship between the various coastal Carib languages themselves. As Civrieux has pointed out (1980: 35-37), the name "Cumanagoto" has been used in a vague way by recent ethnohistorians to refer to the totality of all the Carib-speaking peoples of Central and Eastern Venezuela. Moreover, they have sought to justify this usage on the ground that these groups all spoke dialects of a single language. However, in the most reliable colonial sources, the term "Cumanagoto" is never used in such a general way. In fact, it is used in two different ways in the early texts, but both of them are more restricted than the general modern usage: in its most restricted form,

the term was reserved for one particular group living in the vicinity of Nueva Barcelona at the mouth of the Neverí and inland along the valley of the Aragua river; alternatively, it could be used to refer generally to all the indigenous groups living in the Provincia de Cumanagoto, which extended along the coast from the Neverí to the Unare and inland for roughly 40 to 60 kms. In this latter, general sense, the term embraced the Chacopata, Píritu, Cocheima, Topocuar and Characuar, as well as the Cumanagoto *sensu strictu*. Whether this group of "true" Cumanagoto spoke the same language as all the other groups of the Provincia de Cumanagoto is a matter which is difficult to determine since the missionary sources on whom we are obliged to rely are ambiguous on this point.

For, although they stress the mutual similarity of the coastal Carib tongues in some contexts, in others, they emphasize their diversity. Thus Fr. Francisco de Tauste, an Aragonese Capuchin who worked amongst the Chaima around Caripe for 22 years and whose *Arte vocabulario* was originally published in 1680, notes that although the language he describes was "*más propia y connatural*" to the "*Chaymas, Cores, Cumanagotos, Quacas, Parias y Varrigones*" and other "*confinantes*" who lived in what is now Eastern Venezuela, he claims that it would also have been intelligible to the indigenous peoples living in the vicinity of Valencia, in what was then the Provincia de Caracas. But he later admits that each "*nación*" had such a distinctive manner of speaking that he was often unable to understand what the Indians were saying to him, despite the long period he had lived amongst them and despite the fact that he prayed, preached and took confessions in the language. On the other hand, this linguistic diversity does not seem to have prevented mutual understanding amongst the Indians themselves (Tauste 1888: 1, 3).

The same is true of Fr. Matías Ruiz Blanco, who lived in Puerto Píritu or the surrounding hinterland between 1672 and 1683 (Civrieux 1980: 34, 39-40). Ruiz Blanco produced two vocabularies, one of which was first published in 1683 together with a grammar written by his colleague in the Franciscan Observant missions at Puerto Píritu, Fr. Manuel de Yangües, whilst the other was published as a supplement to his own *Conversión de Píritu* in 1690. Interestingly, as Civrieux notes, Ruiz Blanco never actually lived amongst the Cumanagoto *sensu strictu* since his tours of missionary duty took him to the Characuar, Topocuar and Palenque (whose territory stretched to the South into the Llanos beyond the Provincia de Cumanagoto itself), whilst during his time as official historian of the Franciscan Observants he lived in Puerto Píritu itself, where the local indigenous population was mostly made up of Píritu and Chacopata. This varied experience apparently made him very aware of the linguistic diversity of the region, for, in a prologue to the 1690 vocabulary, he observes that the groups he knew "*componen otro Babel y...en breve distancia...diferencian las palabras, siendo uno el significado en seis, o mas modos de hablar sinonimos...*" (Ruiz Blanco 1888: 1-2). On the other hand, although he emphasizes that Palenque was significantly different from Cumanagoto *sensu lato*, the evidence he presents suggests that this difference was actually very

minor: having undertaken to indicate where Palenque words differed from Cumanagoto in his vocabulary, he lists only some three dozen words in the course of roughly 3,000 entries.

Of course, even in conditions in which the data are extremely comprehensive, it is often a difficult and even arbitrary matter to decide whether dialectical differences are sufficient to constitute a linguistic distinction. And, in the sources published by Platzmann, the data, although remarkably extensive for any material of this antiquity, are far from being comprehensive. Also, one should bear in mind in any assessment of these sources that they were written at a time when the Franciscans at Puerto Píritu and the Aragonese Capuchins at Caripe were in competition with one another for control of the missions of Eastern Venezuela. For this reason, both orders were very concerned at the time to develop a "*lingua general*," i.e. a *lingua franca* along the lines of the Tupian *geral* devised by the Jesuits in Brazil, that would enable them to proselytize throughout the region. This concern may well have led both Tauste and Ruiz Blanco to exaggerate, on occasion, the similarity between the languages of the various Indian societies over whom their respective missionary orders were seeking to gain exclusive control. But bearing all these factors in mind, my own naïve impression is that the languages Tauste and Ruiz Blanco were respectively dealing with must have been significantly different. Apparently Marshall Durbin shared this view for he identifies Chaima and Cumanagoto as distinct languages in his table indicating the internal relations amongst Carib speakers (1977: 35). But to what extent these differences can be put down to different degrees of competence or techniques of transcription, and whether, once these have been allowed for, they amount to a linguistic rather than merely to a dialectical distinction are questions that only further systematic study by an expert comparative linguist would stand any prospect of determining.

However, these early texts are not merely of interest to comparative linguists. My own motive for looking through the vocabularies of Tauste and Ruiz Blanco was to see if, hidden amongst these lexicons, there were any clues to the intellectual life or social behaviour of the Cumanagoto and Chaima that either on their own, or in conjunction with the sociological information contained in the early chronicles and/or with data from contemporary ethnographies of other Carib peoples, would help to fill out the ethnographic record of these now-extinct groups. To take a simple example: one of the phrases that Tauste gives in order to illustrate a linguistic feature is glossed as "*Muere el niño porque el padre trabaja de manos*" (1888: 33). This suggests that Chaima fathers were subject to couvade restrictions just as most indigenous peoples of the Guianese Shield region are (Rivière 1974). Moreover, there is further direct evidence for the custom amongst the Cumanagoto in the *Conversión de Píritu* (Ruiz Blanco 1965: 42, 45; Civrieux 1980: 173-174). There are many such snippets of ethnographic information to be gleaned from these sources, but those on which I shall concentrate in this article are those that pertain to the kinship categories of the Chaima and Cumanagoto since this is an aspect of their social organization

that is not dealt with in any detail in Civrieux's otherwise excellent reconstruction of these societies (1980).

It is also a subject which the early chroniclers themselves deal with in no more than a perfunctory manner. As one might expect, given that they were missionaries for the most part, they were generally much more concerned to expose what they considered to be the superstitions and moral deficiencies of peoples "*que no admitan los ministros del Evangelio,*" than they were to give an accurate description of their social organization. As it happens though, one of the earliest first-hand sources to relate details of Cumanagoto social organization was produced by a layman, Pedro de Brizuela, who as Governor of Nueva Andalucía (i.e. Eastern Venezuela) wrote a report in 1655 in which he observed that:

Todas las naciones de yndios...tienen por ley asentada casarse los primos hermanos con las primas, y enviudando la cuñada la elige por muger el hermano que queda bivo... (Brizuela 1957: 422-423).

When set against the evidence provided by modern studies of Guianese Carib kinship systems, Brizuela's report seems essentially reliable even if exaggerated in two minor respects: firstly, it is unlikely that the coastal groups married all categories of cousin since the contemporary ethnographic record indicates that whilst cross cousin marriage is universal to the Carib-speaking peoples of the Guianas, marriage with parallel cousins is generally condemned when the relationship is considered close; secondly, although the contemporary ethnographic record indicates that widows sometimes do marry their husband's brother, this is certainly not universally the case.¹

The most important early missionary source is undoubtedly the *Conversión de Píritu* (Ruiz Blanco 1965). Even though this author does not tell us very much specifically about the marriage customs of the Cumanagoto, his passing observations permit one to fill out the picture with certain important details. For example, he informs us that the Cumanagoto were polygynous and that a man would construct a house and garden for each of his wives so that they would live in peace. Despite these egalitarian arrangements, Ruiz Blanco claims that the first wife was "the most respected." This, however, may well be a case of wishful thinking on his part for elsewhere he describes polygyny as "the greatest obstacle to these people... becoming Christians" (Ruiz Blanco 1965: 39, 58): clearly, it would have been more comforting for him to believe that the first Cumanagoto wife was "the most

¹ This relatively widespread Guianese custom whereby a man may marry his brother's widow is frequently referred to as an example of the levirate, both by the early sources and by contemporary authors. However, the Guianese custom is different from the prototypical traditional Jewish levirate in two important respects: firstly, it does not appear to be an automatic right or duty on the part of the husband's brother to marry his brother's widow; secondly, any offspring of such a union are regarded in the Guianas as the children of the brother, i.e. the second husband, rather than as in any sense heirs of the dead first husband. For this reason, in line with the established jargon of kinship studies, it is more accurate to refer to the Guianese custom as an example of brother's widow inheritance" (Barnes 1959; Marshall 1968).

respected" since this would have augured well for the eventual introduction of monogamy.² Other details that Ruiz Blanco gives in passing are that the Cumanagoto expected their sons-in-law to perform bride service and that they practised brother's widow inheritance (1965: 42-43). He also makes the very interesting comment that "*Siendo ancianos suelen criar algunas muchachas, desde muy pequeñas para sus mujeres*" (1965: 39). From the limited perspective of this essay, this last observation is one of the most intriguing in the *Conversión* since a similar custom has been reported amongst the Trio of Surinam and in this society it is directly associated with the practice of sister's daughter (ZD) marriage (Rivière 1969: 161-162). As we shall see below, the structure of the Cumanagoto and Chaima kinship terminologies, once reconstructed, also suggest that these groups practised this form of adjacent generation marriage in addition to the basic cross cousin form.

In an earlier essay, I have suggested that in the Guianas generally, the practice of ZD marriage can be attributed to the strong preference expressed by all indigenous groups for locally endogamous marriage (Henley 1983-1984: 176-180). However, the information on the Cumanagoto's attitudes to exogamy is ambiguous. Brizuela's remarks (1957: 422-423) suggest that local groups would exchange women as part of a system of alliances. In contrast, Humboldt observes that "*los matrimonios no se hacen sino entre los habitantes de una misma aldehuela.*" Although he is writing specifically about the Chaima and 150 years later than Brizuela, he claims that this pattern is generally true of the indigenous groups of the area and, moreover, was the traditional pattern which the mission regime had failed to alter (Humboldt 1942, II: 167-168). Caulín, on the other hand, reports that prior to the mission regime, the Cumanagoto would sometimes steal their wives from other communities (Civrieux 1980: 146). Despite the apparent contradiction between these sources though, all these could represent merely local or temporal variations on a single social organizational system with a uniform set of underlying principles. One could imagine, for example, all the above remarks being made about the contemporary Yanoama, whose kinship organization is based on principles very similar to those of the Guianese Carib systems: whilst some Yanoama communities might raid their neighbours for

² In the interest of establishing that the Cumanagoto did indeed distinguish between first and subsequent wives, as Ruiz Blanco suggests, Civrieux makes much of the fact, reported by both Oviedo y Valdez and López de Gómara, that a first wife, and only a first wife, was subjected to a marriage ritual involving defloration by the shaman of the group. In this way, Civrieux argues, the first wife attained a status that subsequent wives were not able to since they did not pass through the same ritual (1980: 146-147, 176). However, in assessing this information, one should bear in mind, firstly, that neither Oviedo y Valdez nor López de Gómara visited the Cumanagoto area personally, relying instead on sources that were at best second or third-hand. Secondly, to my knowledge, no ritual defloration of this kind, nor any kind of marriage ceremony as such, nor even the systematic status differentiation of the wives in a polygynous union, have ever been reported amongst the Guianese Caribs by any trustworthy modern ethnographer. One might also note that the existence of such a ritual is completely at odds with one of Civrieux's own observations concerning the peoples of the Upper Orinoco that by implication he suggests is true of the Cumanagoto as well, namely that "*la virginidad no es considerada como un requisito para el matrimonio*" (1980: 145).

wives, others might prefer to prevent the outbreak of hostilities by exchanging women; others again might feel strong enough to ignore the possibility of attack and therefore concern themselves with reiterating alliances internal to their settlement group. Indeed, Chagnon has reported all these types of strategy amongst the Southwestern Yanoama groups (1974).

Less easy to reconcile is the information given by the sources as to the size of the settlement groups of the coastal Caribs. Ruiz Blanco states that they lived in family groups "*dispersas...por los montes, en poblaciones pequeñas*" (1965: 39). Humboldt, on the other hand, states that Chaima villages numbered, on average, 500-600 people whilst those of the Cumanagoto *sensu lato* numbered on average 2-3,000. These would have been very large settlements for the time, bearing in mind that even the population of Caracas, the largest town in Venezuela in 1799, had a population of no more than 40,000 (Humboldt 1942, II: 157, 301). In fact, a comparison of the figures given by Humboldt and Ruiz Blanco suggests that in the century between their respective accounts, the indigenous population of Eastern Venezuela had been concentrated into nucleated villages that were much larger than the traditional coastal Carib village. But exactly how large the traditional villages were, is not clear.

This outline of the general form of the traditional social organization of the coastal Carib groups, brief though it may be, provides us with sufficient detail to carry out an interpretation of the kinship terms in the dictionaries of Tauste and Ruiz Blanco. If one were to take the glosses that the authors themselves give for these terms at face value, one might well conclude that the Chaima and Cumanagoto both had systems that were essentially the same as the European in all but one or two quirky details. But some of these details are so bizarre as to suggest, at the very least, that the missionaries certainly did not fully understand how the indigenous systems worked and, more probably, that they merely attempted to make sense of them within a European kinship paradigm -with inevitably contradictory results. Moreover, it seems highly unlikely that the Chaima and Cumanagoto systems would have been similar to the European. Given that the majority of the extant Guianese indigenous societies most similar to them in terms of general cultural and social attributes have kinship systems based on terminologies of a particular type, it is reasonable to assume that the Chaima and Cumanagoto did so also.³ This assumption is further supported by the fact that most of the actual kinship terms of these two extinct coastal groups are obviously very close linguistic cognates of the terms used by many contemporary Guianese Carib groups.

I shall therefore begin by identifying the typical form of the kinship terminologies of the contemporary indigenous groups to whom the Chaima and Cumanagoto are most closely related and will then carry out a systematic comparison of the terms used in four contemporary Carib groups whose kinship

One of the very few groups of Orinoquia whose kinship system is quite distinct to that of the majority of the Guianese Caribs is the Warao (cf. H.D. Heinen, in press).

systems have been extensively studied in recent years. Both these procedures are necessary if we are to establish criteria by which to assess the information given by the colonial sources. The ensuing discussion may appear somewhat lengthy but I am sure that at least the archeologists who have contributed to this symposium will appreciate that in order to interpret relics from the distant past, it is often necessary to begin by sifting through a large amount of material.

The "Dravidian" systems of the Guianas

Throughout the Guiana Highlands, and indeed in many other regions of lowland South America, the set of categories used by native peoples to classify the members of their kinship universe tend to conform to a single underlying pattern, regardless of linguistic affiliation or any associated kinship institutions and jural norms. This pattern has been identified by a number of typological labels in the general literature but in this essay, following the classic example of Louis Dumont (1953a, 1953b). I shall refer to it as the "Dravidian" terminological system. This appellation derives from the fact that such systems are very widespread amongst the Dravidian peoples of South India (Trautmann 1981). They are also found in Melanesia (Scheffler 1977) and are very similar in certain respects to terminological systems of the *Kariera* type found in Australia (Radcliffe-Brown 1913; Scheffler 1977, 1981).

In systems of this kind, the principles which regulate the application of terms to close kin of the three medial generations are typically very simple: in each generation, individuals who are same sex siblings and parallel cousins to one another are classed together and distinguished from their cross cousins. In effect therefore, there are four basic categories for each of these generations, two for each sex. It is also very common in *Ego's* own generation for the sibling/parallel cousin categories to be further subdivided on the basis of relative age. In the generations two above and two below *Ego*, on the other hand, the cross/parallel distinction of the three medial generations breaks down and there are typically only two categories, one for each sex. In the simplest type of Dravidian terminological system, there are generally no terms for members of more distant generations; if they happen to be coeval with *Ego*, they are simply associated with one of the five central generations. On the other hand, the application of the terms in a lateral direction is theoretically infinite though this extension is governed by a series of very simple rules (Trautmann 1981: 51). The majority of Dravidian terminological systems are associated with a prescriptive rule of marriage with a category of relative which includes *Ego's* bilateral cross cousins, genealogically defined, as well as all those whom the latter refer to by the sibling/parallel cousin category. It is this rule that in effect ensures the replication of the system from one generation to the next. There are typically no exclusively affinal terms: actual affines of *Ego's* own and adjacent generations are usually referred to by the same terms that were used for the cross kin of these generations prior to marriage.

The fact that terminological systems of the Dravidian type are found in three different continents, amongst peoples of the most diverse cultural attributes and the most varied socio-economic organization, and whose ancestors could not have had any direct contact with one another for at least 40,000 years, rules out any simplistic explanation for such systems as a function of some particular social or natural environment or as in some sense the product of diffusion. Rather it suggests that the Dravidian terminological type represents a basic intellectual pattern, potentially accessible to all human beings, that has been adopted in some places but not in others for entirely local reasons. This, as I read them, is essentially the general view of such systems held by both Dumont (1961, 1964, 1966, 1968) and Lévi-Strauss (1969).

As one might expect, no real-life kinship terminology in the Guianas conforms exactly to the description I have just given of a Dravidian terminology. Nor does this description correspond to what one might consider the average or median case of all known Dravidian systems. Rather it is an ideal-typical description in the sense defined by Raymond Aron (1967), namely, an idealization of the range of empirically recorded Dravidian terminologies that highlights the common internal rationality of such systems. I have attempted to summarize the essential features of this ideal-type in Figure 1. It is important to point out, though, that the figure displays the ideal relationships that will hold between *categories* of people, provided the marriage rule that ensures the systematic reproduction of the system has been followed, rather than actual relationships between living individuals. Similarly, the English capital letters that have been used to identify each of the elements in the figure denote *categories* of people rather than genealogically specified individuals. Thus, for example, the element denoted by the letter "M" corresponds to the category of persons that includes all those whom the hypothetical Ego who acts as the centre of reference of the figure would call by the same term as he or she uses for his or her actual "carnal" mother. In an ideal-typical Dravidian system, this will include not only Ego's actual mother but also all those whom Ego's mother would call "sister." This category of Alter will include in its turn, not only all Ego's mother's actual sisters, but also all Ego's mother's female parallel cousins. It will also include all the female offspring of Ego's mother's mother's parallel cousins and so on, in conformity with the simple principles referred to above.

According to the intellectualist perspective adopted here then, the large number of real-life Dravidian systems, wherever they may be found, are no more and no less than so many diverse empirical manifestations of a single set of underlying intellectual principles. The particular way in which these principles are manifest in practice in any specific case will normally be affected by a multitude of local conditions —ecological, demographic, historical, social, jural, cultural and so forth— but for the present discussion, the most important of these local conditions is the nature of the associated marriage rule. Now, in the Guianas, there are very few societies with Dravidian terminologies that have a bilateral cross cousin marriage rule pure and simple. Most of the societies

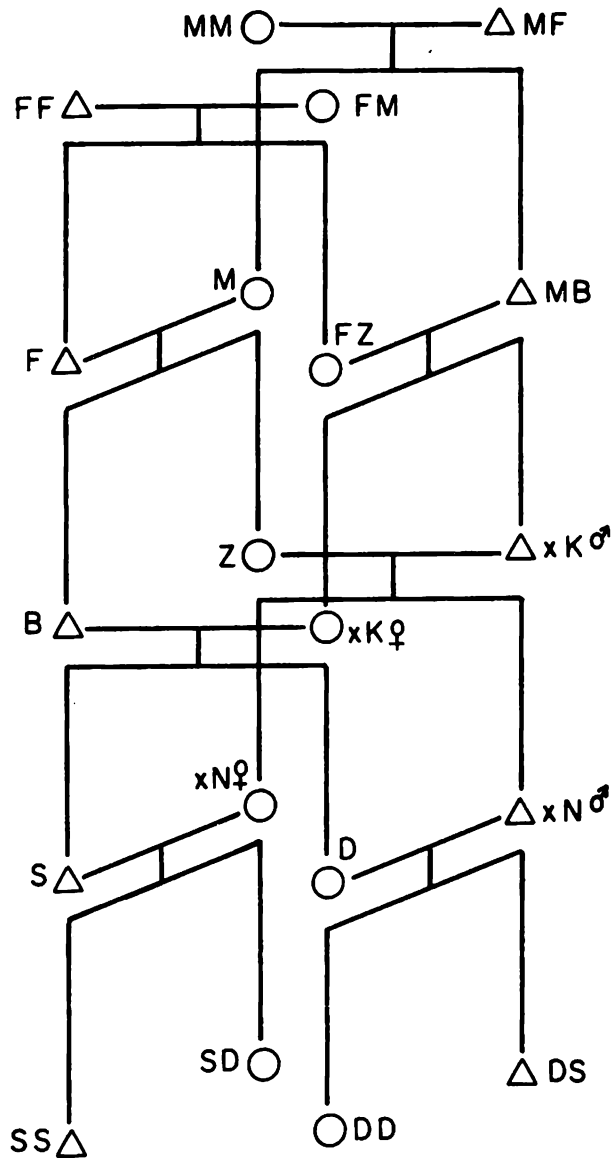


FIGURE 1
 A MODEL OF THE "DRAVIDIAN" IDEAL-TYPE^a
 (a) MALE EGO

^aKey: F = father, M = mother, Z = sister, B = brother, K = cousin, S = son, D = daughter, N = nephew or niece, H = husband, W = wife, P = spouse, e = elder, y = younger, x = cross, g = grand-; ms = male speaker, fs = female speaker; G+1 and G+2 stand for one generation above and two generations above Ego respectively, G-1 and G-2 stand for one generation below and two generations below Ego respectively, G.O stands for same generation as Ego.

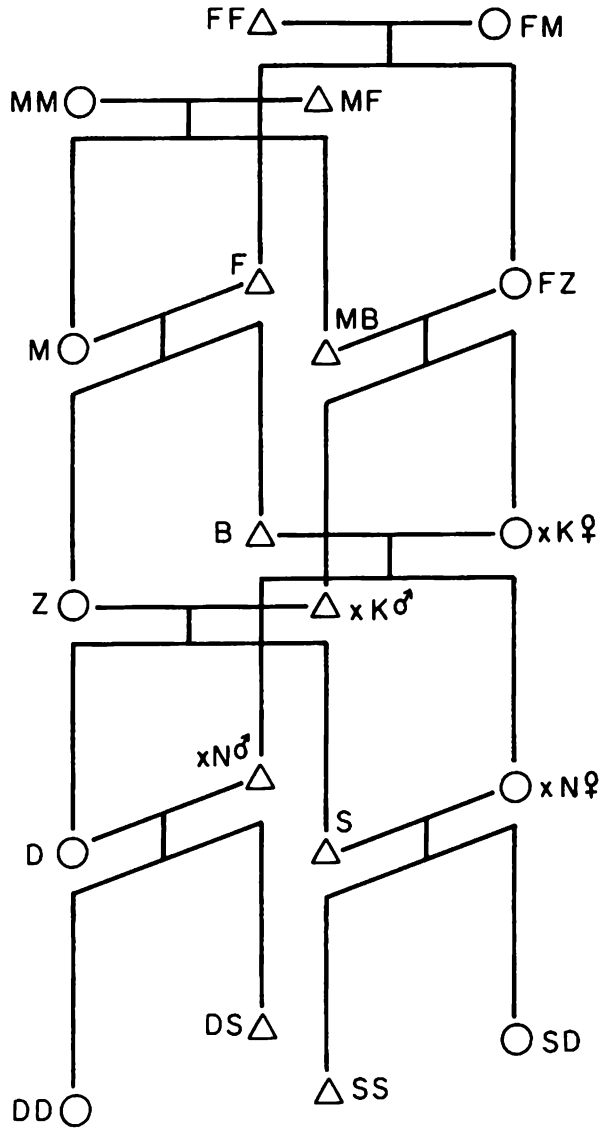


FIGURE 1
 A MODEL OF THE "DRAVIDIAN" IDEAL-TYPE^a
 (b) FEMALE EGO

^aKey: F = father, M = mother, Z = sister, B = brother, K = cousin, S = son, D = daughter, N = nephew or niece, H = husband, W = wife, P = spouse, e = elder, y = younger, x = cross, g = grand-; ms = male speaker, fs = female speaker; G+1 and G+2 stand for one generation above and two generations above Ego respectively, G-1 and G-2 stand for one generation below and two generations below Ego respectively, G.O stands for same generation as Ego.

situated to the east of the Caura practise sister's daughter, i.e. adjacent generation marriage, whilst a number lying to the west of that river, notably the E'ñepa, the Ye'kuana, the Cuiva and, probably, the Yawarana, under traditional conditions practise alternate generation marriage (Henley 1982, 1983-1984; Arvelo-Jiménez 1974; Arcand 1977). The incidence and the status of these intergenerational marriage forms appear to vary considerably from group to group, but in no groups is intergenerational marriage more than a secondary form that has been superimposed on a primary prescriptive rule of bilateral cross cousin marriage: in short, they are "privileged unions" in the original Lévi-Straussian sense of the term, presupposing another mode of marriage on to which they have been grafted (Lévi-Strauss 1969).

Following an extended review of the principal modern sources on intergenerational marriage in the Guianas, I have argued that these secondary forms of marriage should be viewed as a device whereby the peoples of this region can augment the degree of local and genealogical endogamy that is possible within their kinship systems (Henley 1983-1984: 176-180). This preference for endogamous marriage has two opposed but related faces. On the one hand, endogamous marriage avoids cohabitation with outsiders who are generally associated in the Guianas with metaphysical danger and who, furthermore, are likely to prove very demanding of bride-service from a man married in from another community. On the other hand, endogamous marriage allows one to build up a network of internal marriage alliances that reinforces the solidarity of the residential group. In societies in which intergenerational marriage is possible, the likelihood that any given individual will be able to find a spouse of an approved category within his own group is obviously increased. Moreover, it is increased in such a way as to permit the further elaboration of the reiterative system of alliances internal to the residential group. For, as Lévi-Strauss has pointed out (1969: 428-434), if cross cousin marriage can be conceived as a means whereby two men who exchanged their sisters may re-iterate their alliance by exchanging their offspring, then sister's daughter marriage may be conceived as involving a combination of these two forms of exchange, one man giving his offspring in belated exchange for the sister of the other. In both these forms of marital exchange, the male parties are members of the same generation; in alternate generation marriage, on the other hand, it is members of adjacent generations who may, in effect, reiterate previous alliances by exchanging their offspring (Henley 1982: 117-120).

Now these various forms of intergenerational marriage, when superimposed upon a system based on Dravidian principles and associated with a primary rule of bilateral cross cousin marriage, can be shown to give rise to a series of categorical ambiguities that can blur the distinction between cross and parallel relatives that is fundamental to any Dravidian system. The most dramatic example of this process is surely the confusion of the categories of "mother" and "father's sister's daughter" that arises as a result of sister's daughter marriage. How this

comes about is illustrated in Figure 2.⁴ The Ego in the diagram is the product of a ZD union and his sister (7) has also undertaken such a marriage. In a system in which bilateral cross cousin marriage is the primary form, Ego will be able to marry his FZD and MBD. But in the situation represented in the figure, Ego's MBD is, in effect, his ZD (9), whilst his FZD is, in effect, his mother (4). Of course, in reality, Ego's mother is likely to have a sister, real or classificatory (6), and he might be able to marry her. But the terminological ambiguity nevertheless remains and will reverberate through Ego's personal genealogy and that of his immediate relatives, permitting all sorts of future

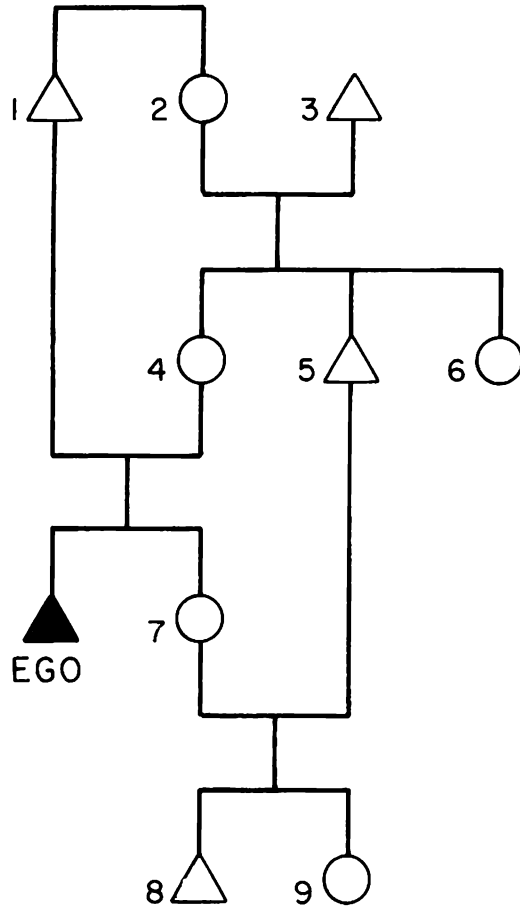


FIGURE 2
THE REPERCUSSIONS OF ZD MARRIAGE ON MALE EGO'S IMMEDIATE KIN CLASSIFICATIONS

⁴ A key to the acronyms used is this and other figures and at various points throughout the text is to be found at the foot of Figure 1.

manipulations of the distinction between cross and parallel relatives and hence of marriageable and non-marriageable categories of Alter.⁵

Nor is the identification of the categories of mother and potential wife the only terminological ambiguity that can derive from ZD marriage. Other immediate effects can also be demonstrated with reference to Figure 2. The individual marked (8) in the figure is obviously both Ego's ZS and his MBS. But the confusion does not rest there: given that Dravidian terminologies do not normally distinguish between cross cousins on the basis of laterality, the individual marked (8) in the diagram will also fall into the same category as all Ego's FZSs and, as the figure shows, one of these FZSs will be Ego's MB (5). In this way then, all three categories, ZS, xK♂ and MB can become equated. Moreover, further equations can derive from links traced through Ego's father. Most obviously, the woman marked (2) is simultaneously Ego's FZ and his MM. Her husband, in the most direct genealogical sense, is Ego's MF (3). But in a conventional Dravidian terminology a FZ is married to someone falling into the MB category and their offspring fall into the categories of potential wife, if they are female, and xK♂ if they are male. In this way, the MF category can become conflated with the MB category and, by extension, with the xK♂ and ZS categories. One could go on for ever tracing the categorical ambiguities that derive from the superimposition of ZD marriage on a basic Dravidian system. But suffice it to say here that, having made a systematic study of these ambiguities, I draw the conclusion that from male Ego's perspective all the following equations are possible:

$$\begin{aligned}
 &FF=F=B=S=SS \\
 &MM=FZ=Z=D=SD \\
 &FM=M=MBD=FZD=ZD=DD \\
 &MF=MB=MBS=FZS=ZS=DS
 \end{aligned}$$

A similar list of categorical equations could be demonstrated for female Ego also. However, I wish to concentrate on one particular equation because, as I shall show below, it is particularly relevant to the Chaima material. To make this demonstration requires a somewhat more complicated diagram, shown in Figure 3 (readers who are interested can also use this diagram to establish some of the male Ego equations I have just indicated). The case illustrated in

⁵ One further curious effect of this conflation of the categories of M and FZD is that it is possible for a given woman to be a potential wife for men who stand in the relationship of father and son: if the mother of the Ego in Figure 2 had a sister she would fall into the category of potential spouse *qua* patrilineal cross cousin for Ego and into the category of potential spouse *qua* sister's daughter for Ego's father. In fact, reports of father and son being married to sisters or even to the same woman (normally in succession, but in a few cases, at the same time) turn up relatively frequently in the literature and can probably be attributed, at least in part, to the terminological confusions that derive from the systematic practice of sister's daughter marriage (see Henley 1983-1984: 165-167).

Figure 3 involves a group of four siblings (5-8) who have married into an adjacent generation. The sisters (5) and (7) have married the father of female Ego (1) and his brother (2) respectively, whilst their brother (8) has married his ZD (10). Only the marriage of (6) is at all problematic since she is married to a ZS (9). However, from the latter's point of view, (6) is the daughter of a FZ (3) and therefore marriageable. As a result of this situation, the personal genealogy of female Ego is replete with categorical ambiguities. Most obviously, her mother is also her FZD and her MB is also her FZS. (9) is simultaneously her MZH, normally equivalent to the F category in a Dravidian system, as well as her MZS, normally equivalent to the B category. More remotely, i.e. when traced through Ego's father's links, (9) is the son of a FZD, and therefore equivalent to a cross nephew/son-in-law. Similarly, (10) is simultaneously a MBW, i.e. equivalent to a FZ, and a MZD, i.e. equivalent to a Z, whilst more remotely, she is a FZDD, i.e. equivalent to a cross niece/daughter-in-law. In the grandchild generation, (11) and (12), as the offspring of (9), are both equivalent to siblings (as the offspring of a MZH) and equivalent to a MZS's children, i.e. cross nephews and nieces. But traced through Ego's father, (11) and (12) are FZDS's children, which in a conventional Dravidian system would be equivalent to DD and DS. Likewise,

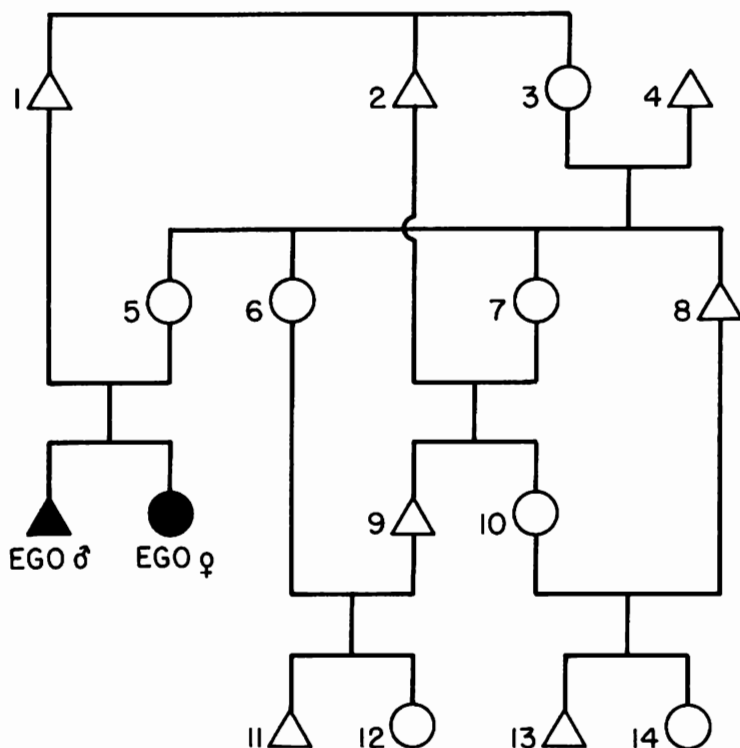


FIGURE 3

THE REPERCUSSIONS OF ZD MARRIAGE ON FEMALE EGO'S KIN CLASSIFICATIONS

(13) and (14), the offspring of (10), are simultaneously cross cousins to female Ego, for being the offspring of a MBW, and equivalent to the S and D categories, for being the offspring of a Z. More remotely, traced through Ego's father, (10) falls into the cross niece/daughter-in-law category, as we have noted, so her children would be equivalent to the categories SS and SD for female Ego. It is this last set of equations, whereby, for female Ego, an Alter can be simultaneously a cross cousin and a grandchild that we will have cause to come back to when we consider the Chaima system.

All these categorical elisions and ambiguities are, of course, merely *possibilities* that derive from the superimposition of ZD marriage on a Dravidian system. I would argue that they are likely to be found in personal genealogies in all societies that practise ZD marriage to any significant degree. However, it need not be the case that these categorical confusions will become a normal feature of the conventional terminology of all societies that practise ZD marriage. And, in fact, a review of the literature indicates that there is considerable variation in the manner and degree in which conventional Guianese terminologies have been affected. The Guianese Dravidian system most extensively modified by the practise of ZD marriage is that of the Trio (Rivière 1969: 143-158), though less dramatic modifications have also been noted, *inter alia*, in the systems of the Kari'nya (Kloos 1971: 284) and the Makuschi Pemon (Diniz 1965: 5). Interestingly, however, the presence of terminological modifications of the kind one would expect to derive from ZD marriage apparently bears no direct relationship to the actual present-day empirical incidence of this form: some communities of the above mentioned groups now no longer practise ZD marriage (though recognizing that it occurred in the past) whilst other groups, such as the Arekuna Pemon and the Kapon, who continue to do so, have terminologies that do not show any evidence of modification (Thomas 1982: 65-67; Armellada and Butt Colson 1976).

Guianese Carib kinship terminologies: a comparison

Having established the overall form of the ideal-typical Guianese kinship terminology and some of the distortions worked upon it by the practice of intergenerational marriage, we may now turn to a systematic linguistic comparison of the terms themselves. The societies whose kinship terminologies I shall compare are the Kari'nya, the Pemon, the Ye'kuana and the E'ñepa. The sources I shall use for this purpose are respectively Kloos (1971), Thomas (1982), Heinen's recent work on the Ye'kuana (1983-1984: 278-280) and my own material from the E'ñepa (Henley 1982).⁶ The kinship terminologies of these groups are arranged in the Table 1 on a generation by generation basis. The elements listed in the left hand column are somewhat more numerous than those in Figure 1 in order to accommodate some of the distinctive deviations of these real-life

⁶ The spelling of the E'ñepa words in Table 1 is somewhat different to that in my monograph and is based on recommendations made by M.-C. Muller.

TABLE 1
A COMPARISON OF SELECTED GUIANESE CARIB KINSHIP
TERMINOLOGIES

	<i>Kari'nyu</i> (Kloos 1971)	<i>Pemon</i> (Thomas 1982)	<i>Ye'kuana</i> (Heinen 1983-1984)	<i>E'ñepa</i> (Henley 1982)
G+2				
FF	taamulu	taamo	tamuudu	i' najpan
FM	no	nok	nootĩ	no'
MF	taamulu	taamo	tamuudu	tamun
MM	no	nok	nootĩ	wachon
G+1				
F	yuumĩ	yun	umĩ	yĩm
FZ	oopĩ	wa'nĩ	waiñe'nẽ	wa'nene
MB	kahtobo	mui (ms), yawo (fs)	wo	yawon
M	saano	san	yenĩ	yanẽ
G.0				
eB	(ms) lii	ru	du	yako
	(fs) pi	pi	fiyĩ	pin
yB	(ms) pi	yakon	akoono	yako
	(fs) pi	pi	akoono	pin
eZ	(ms) enau	na'nai	faduichĩ	natsu
	(fs) pai	pasi	faichĩ	yako
yZ	(ms) enau	parusi	faduichĩ	natsu
	(fs) pi	yakon	akoono	yako
xK♂	(ms) paatimĩn	yese	waiñĩhĩ	paamo, tamun
	(fs) taakano, paase	pi	akoono	tamun
xK♀	(ms) taakano	parusi	faduichĩ	pi'
	(fs) ma'e, paase	yeruk	yaako	-
G-1				
S	(ms) mu	mu	ne	nẽwan
	(fs) 'me	me	ne	nkin
D	(ms) eemĩi	yensi	ne	yinsẽn
	(fs) eemĩi	me	ne	nkin
xN♂	(ms) piĩto	poito	foonĩ	paamẽyim
	(fs) -	nwanipĩ	foonĩ	yawon
xN♀	(ms) taakano	pase	fa'se	wa'nene
	(fs) -	pase	fa'se	wa'nene
G-2				
SS	(ms) pa	pa	fa	yako
	(fs) pa	pa	fa	namcha
SD	(ms) pa	pa	fa	natsu
	(fs) pa	pa	fa	namcha
DS	(ms) pa	pa	fa	paamo
	(fs) pa	pa	fa	namcha
DD	(ms) pa	pa	fa	pi'
	(fs) pa	pa	fa	namcha

TABLE 1 (cont.)
A COMPARISON OF SELECTED GUIANESE CARIB KINSHIP
TERMINOLOGIES

	<i>Kari'nya</i> (Kloos 1971)	<i>Pemon</i> (Thomas 1982)	<i>Ye'kuana</i> (Heinen 1983-1984)	<i>E'ñepa</i> (Henley 1982)
<i>Affines (exclusive terms only)</i>				
PF	'me daamulu			
PM	'me nootī	-	wo'hi	
H	iino	tiyemu	ño	
W	bī	nopī	hiññāmo	
PB	(ms) paamī	-	eiye	
	(fs) paamī		eta'na	
PZ	(ms) -		eta'na	
	(fs) yeelu	-	faimīdī	
DH	(ms) paalīmi	payīnu	fannī	
	(fs) paalīmi	payīnu	fannī	
SW	(ms) paalisāano	-	fadaanī	
	(fs) paalisāano	-	fadaanī	-

terminologies from the Dravidian ideal-type. I would remind the reader that a key to the acronyms used here and in the text is to be found at the foot of Figure 1.

Another important feature of Table 1 is that I have included only reference terms on the grounds that, in the majority of cases, reference terminologies are a more reliable indicator of the underlying structure of systems of kinship classification than terms of address. The latter appear to be more subject to aleatory manipulation in the course of day-to-day social interaction for the purposes of diminishing potentially embarrassing social classifications, most notably when matters of relative affinal status are at issue. Also, as Murdock (1949: 98) has observed, "Terms of reference are normally more specific in their application...[and] usually more complete than terms of address...Furthermore, terms of address tend to reveal more duplication and overlapping than do terms of reference... For these reasons, terms of reference are much more useful in kinship analysis..." To aid comparison, whenever it has been possible to isolate them, I have eliminated the prefixes and suffixes denoting possession, acting as honorifics or as affectionate diminutives, etc.

Also in the interest of aiding comparison, I have attempted to transcribe the terms from all four languages in a uniform way. This has presented certain difficulties since each of the authors whose information I use has transcribed his material in a distinct way. Kloos uses an orthography that closely follows the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) whilst Heinen uses the alphabet proposed by the Ministerio de Educación for the *Programa de Educación Intercultural Bilingüe*. Thomas, for his part, uses a "customized" version of the

IPA. In addition, one should bear in mind that each of the original authors merely transcribed the terms as they were pronounced in the one particular dialect of the language spoken in the area in which he worked. Comparison of Jorge Mosonyi's Kari'nya dictionary (1978) with Kloos' transcriptions, of Koch-Grünberg's Pemon dictionaries (1928) with Thomas', and of Arvelo-Jiménez's transcriptions of Ye'kuana terms (1974) with those of Heinen, all suggest considerable dialectical variation within each group. Moreover, it is not clear in any of these sources to what degree, if any, phonemic reduction is involved in the method of transcription. In order to eliminate these uncertainties and draw a controlled comparison of kinship terminologies that would meet the requirements of a fully-fledged linguistic analysis, it would be necessary to carry out a detailed study of each of the languages involved. As this is clearly beyond the scope of the present paper, I have merely attempted to reduce all the methods of transcription used in the sources to an orthography that follows English values, as far as this is possible, with the addition of the unrounded high vowel /i/, the central mid vowel /ë/ and the glottal stop /'/. As a result, of course, the transcriptions I give can only be approximate and, as in any comparison of this kind, all sorts of allophonic subtleties are lost.⁷ Even so, for the purposes of the present comparison -which is merely a means to the end of interpreting the Chaima and Cumanagoto material- I believe that these transcriptions are quite accurate enough.

I shall now proceed to draw out some of the implications of the comparison made in Table 1, working through the data on a generation by generation basis. The terms in G+2 form, for the most part, a neat group of correspondence sets. Only E'ñepa is somewhat anomalous, differentiating four categories rather than two. This greater discrimination is directly related, as mentioned above, to the possibility of alternate generation marriage in E'ñepa society, as result of which a *no'* is associated with the category of potential wife (even if the actual grandmother is not marriageable) and a *tamun* is a potential husband for female Ego. The other two categories, *i'najpan* and *wachon*, have no affinal valence however. I cannot give a convincing etymological explanation for either of these terms, though it is worth noting perhaps that *wachon* literally means "old" in more general usage in E'ñepa and that it may be related etymologically to the Ye'kuana address term for the gM category (regardless of line), *ai'cha* (Arvelo-Jiménez 1974).

The terms of G+1 also make up a relatively neat set of correspondences. The most apparently anomalous terms in the generation are *oopi* and *kahtobo* in Kari'nya, and *mui* in Pemon. However, an etymological explanation can be proposed for the Kari'nya term *oopi*: on comparative grounds I would suggest

⁷ Of the latter, I might mention only a couple that are particularly relevant to the present comparison: in E'ñepa and in Pemon, a final /n/ is generally velarized, whilst in E'ñepa, a /n/ preceding an /e/ is lightly palatalized, as in the name of the group itself; in Pemon, /ch/ and /sb/ are both allophones of the s phoneme.

that this term is a contraction of *awopi*, meaning literally "mother's brother's wife." Two generations ago, Ahlbrinck (1931) recorded the term as *wopri* in roughly the same area of Kari'nya territory in which Kloos worked whilst amongst the Barama River Kari'nya, somewhat further to the west, Gillin (1936: 71-100) recorded the term as *wopui* one generation ago. Still further to the west, amongst the Kari'nya of Estado Anzoátegui, Venezuela, the term has become *boxpi* or *vojpi* (Schwerin 1966: 61; Mosonyi 1978: 156), whilst in the easternmost extreme of Kari'nya territory, on the Brazil-French Guiana border, the term is still found in almost the original form (Arnaud 1968). Similar constructions are also found in certain Pemon sub-groups (*yaohpi*, *awobu*) (Simpson 1940; Koch-Grünberg 1928: 28-34, 262-263), the Kapon (*yewopi*) (A. Butt Colson, personal communication), the Trio (*yaupi*) (Rivière 1969: 282-284), the Wayana (*wotpö*) (Hurault 1968) and the Apalai (*o'pi*) (Koehn 1975). In the light of this evidence, and bearing in mind that the proto-Carib *p has changed to a fricative in this language, I would suggest that the Ye'kuana term for the spouse's mother category, *wo'bi*, has the same origin, even though the word for "wife" is quite different from the /*p̃i*/, /*b̃i*/, etc. form in which it is found in other Carib languages. On the other hand, I can suggest no etymology for either of the other two apparently anomalous terms in this generation. *Kahtobo* crops up again in the Arawakan Kariphuna terminology but this might be as one would expect given that the latter language has been extensively influenced by Kari'nya (Taylor 1946). It is found from one end to the other of Kari'nya territory but it is not apparently universal. In contrast, Koch-Grünberg's vocabularies (1928) suggest that *mui* is virtually universal amongst Pemon groups, except for the Makuschi who have the equally unusual term *tori* (Diniz 1965).

The over-riding impression given by parallel kin terms in G.O is of so many permutations on a common theme. All four terminologies involve some degree of differentiation between male and female Ego terms, but in no terminology is this differentiation maximal -in all of them, there is at least one term that is shared by both male and female Ego. Similarly, all the terminologies, except E'ñepa, involve discriminations of relative age, but in no case do both male and female Ego distinguish siblings of both sexes by relative age. At the same time, although the actual words used in this matrix of sibling terms seem to have all been drawn from a common pool, they do not always have precisely the same meaning. Thus *pi*, *p̃i*, *fiyi* and *p̃in*, female Ego's terms for eB, make a neat correspondence set, from a purely phonetic point of view, but the E'ñepa term *p̃in* also designates the yB category, in Pemon *p̃i* designates two other categories whilst in Kari'nya it designates three others at this generational level. A similar observation might be made about *yakon*, *akoono* and *yako*, all yB terms for male Ego. The semantic spread of these phonetic correspondences is slightly different in Pemon and Ye'kuana and quite different in E'ñepa. The particularly interesting feature of the term *yako* in E'ñepa is that it is used reciprocally between siblings of the same sex. Thus, for male Ego, it means "brother" whilst for female Ego it means "sister." In

contrast, the cognate forms in Pemon and Ye'kuana are not used reciprocally: *yakon*, in Pemon, denotes a younger same-sex sibling for both male and female Ego, whilst *akoono* in Ye'kuana denotes a younger same-sex sibling for male Ego and a younger sibling, regardless of sex, for female Ego. Only the cognate Ye'kuana term *yaako*, denoting a female cross cousin for female Ego, involves any form of reciprocity.

As for the cross relative G.O terms, there is a certain ambiguity in the sources about these. This is not on account of any deficiency in the sources (or at least, not necessarily) but rather because there is generally some ambiguity in real-life Guianese Carib society about relations between cross cousins since, due to the rule of bilateral cross cousin marriage, they will normally be either potential brothers- and sisters-in-law or potential spouses to one another. As actual or potential affines they will be expected to practise mutual avoidance or other forms of restraint in their public social relations. But this conflicts with the fact that groups of intermarried cross cousins frequently form the kernel of the ideally kindred-based settlement groups of the peoples of the Guianese Shield. As a result of this residential pattern, the members of such a group of intermarried cross cousins will often spend many years, even whole life-times, living in intimate contact with one another. Under these conditions, the degree of restraint that the members of such groups show in their relations with one another is frequently reduced in the interest of maintaining the internal solidarity of the residential group. One of the principal ways in which the reduction of restraint between affines is expressed is in the substitution of kin terms with a consanguineal valence for those with affinal connotations. Although the extent to which this tendency is taken varies considerably, it has been noted throughout the Guianese Shield, amongst both Carib and non-Carib groups (Kaplan 1972, 1975; Rivièrè 1984).

It is in the light of these general considerations that one should interpret the fact that, as reported by Thomas, the Pemon terms for opposite sex cross cousin are the same as those used for opposite sex siblings. Urbina (1979: 109-110), who has worked in the same general area as Thomas, has challenged this account, reporting that male Ego may refer to his female cross cousin as *wirichí* whilst female Ego may refer to her male cross cousin as *kurai*. From Koch-Grünberg's vocabularies it is apparent that these terms are closely related to the terms "female" and "male" respectively, whilst comparative evidence indicates that there are a number of Guianese Carib societies (e.g. Wanai, Yawarana) whose terms for "actual" or "potential spouse" are very similar to those indicating gender (Koch-Grünberg 1928; Muller 1975: 62-63; Méndez-Arocha 1959: 67).

However, it is possible to reconcile the two reports by suggesting that the Pemon refer to their opposite sex cross cousins by both sibling and potential spouse/gender terms, depending on whether they wish, in any particular context, to emphasize the affinal or consanguineal nature of the relationship. Indeed, this would appear to be what the Ye'kuana do: although they will normally

refer to co-residential cross cousins by sibling terms, if they wish to stress the affinal nature of the relationship in order to make a marital (or sexual) proposition, they will recur to the term *eta'nadi* (Heinen 1983-1984: 277).

Considerations of relative affinal status apparently also underlie the distinction between the E'ñepa terms *paamo* and *tamun*. When questioned closely on this point, informants explained that the term *tamun* may also be used by a woman to refer to her husband (even though some teknonymous construction is more usual) and that therefore, for a man, *tamun* denoted "a sister's husband." In practice, however, I found that *paamo* and *tamun* were used almost interchangeably by male Egos to refer to male cross cousins, regardless of whether the latter were married to their sisters or not. I suspect that *tamun* may have somewhat more intimate connotations than *paamo*, but whatever the precise rules governing its social use may be, the point of greatest structural significance about the term *tamun* is that it also denotes a mother's father, as we noted above. This categorical identification reflects the possibility of marriage, as a secondary form, between male Ego and his DD. As such, it is merely one of several cases in the E'ñepa terminology of categorical identification between alternate generations that can be attributed to this possible marriage form. In the Western E'ñepa terminology, the others are the identification by both male and female Ego of parents' cross sex siblings with cross sex siblings' children, and the identification by male Ego of same generation parallel relatives with a son's offspring and of same generation cross relatives with a daughter's offspring. In the Southern E'ñepa terminology, which is slightly different, this categorical identification spans three generations in one instance, the term *no'* being used by male Ego to refer to FM, xK♀ and DD, all of whom are considered marriageable (Henley 1982: 99-100).

As in the case of the terms in G.O, the G-1 terms for parallel kin appear to draw on a common stock of terms but the semantic range of the terms varies from one language to another. The degree to which the use of these terms is dependent on the speaker also varies from language to language: in Kari'nya, both male and female Ego differentiate between their offspring on the basis of sex; in Pemon and E'ñepa, male Ego makes this distinction whilst female Ego does not (moreover, the E'ñepa female Ego term, *nkin*, is not strictly a kinship term, but means literally "child" and, in the form of a suffix, acts as a diminutive) whilst in Ye'kuana there is no differentiation of offspring on the basis of sex by either speaker.

A point of particular interest to be raised with regard to G-1 concerns the term *mu*. Kloos reports (1971: 282) that this term literally means "testicle" in Kari'nya. This is the same meaning as it has in E'ñepa, though in this case it does not figure as a kinship term. In Pemon, on the other hand, *mu* means "semen" (Thomas 1982: 62). This morpheme also turns up in the Trio and Kapon words for "son" as well as in the general word for child in many Carib languages: for example, *mure* in Tamanaku (Gilij 1965, III: 155), *muku* or *mumu* in Wanai (Muller 1975: 62-63), *muuku* in Yawarana (Méndez-Arocha 1959: 66),

etc. This particle would appear to have a clear association with the process of reproduction and in particular with the male role in it. This suggests that it may have formed part of the proto-Carib words for "father" and "grandfather" and that the contemporary Guianese Carib words *yuumi*, *umi*, *yim*, etc. and *taamulu*, *tamuu*, *taamo*, etc. all show evidence of this. The same may even be true of the terms *paami*, *paamo*, *pami* (Trio), *poimo* (Waiwai), the basic meaning of which is "male cross cousin" and/or "brother-in-law," or, in groups whose terminologies have been distorted by ZD marriage, "sister's son" and/or "son-in-law" (Rivière 1969: 282-284; Fock 1963).

These are also some points of general significance to be made about the G-1 cross relative terms. As in the case of the cross relative terms of G.O, there is some uncertainty in the actual usage of these terms and for the same reason, namely, that in accordance with the conventional rules of a Dravidian system, cross relatives of G-1 are simultaneously real or potential affines and close consanguineal kin. Moreover, in this case also, kinship terminology is often manipulated to emphasize the consanguineal over the affinal nature of the links between Ego and Alter. In this case though, this is achieved by means of teknonymous references to G-2 rather than through the simple substitution of parallel kin terms. Kloos reports, for example, that the literal meaning of the Kari'nya terms *paalimi* and *paalisaano*, used to refer normally to son- and daughter-in-law respectively, is "father..." and "mother of my grandchild": once the term for grandchild (*paa*) and its possessive suffix (*-li*) have been removed from these terms, what remains are morphemes clearly derived from the terms for "father" (*yuumi*) and "mother" (*saano*). Given that in a conventional Dravidian system associated with a rule of bilateral cross cousin marriage, one would normally expect an individual's sons- and daughters-in-law to be cross relatives of G-1, one might anticipate that such teknonyms would be used of the latter whether or not they were not married to Ego's actual offspring (in the same way that, for example, cross cousins are referred to by spouse terms even when Ego is not married to them). But in the particular case of the Kari'nya, Kloos gives no specific term for ZS, whilst the term for ZD he reports as *taakano*, which is an interesting term in its own right and which I will return to in a moment.

One finds many such teknonymous usages in Guianese Carib terminological systems, distributed unevenly amongst the categories of cross kin and affines of G-1. Amongst the Pemon, for example, the term *poito* is used both of G-1 cross kin and G-1 affines, whilst the term *payinu*, obviously a teknonymous construction composed of the Pemon terms for "grandchild" and "father," is used exclusively for a DH (Thomas 1982: 65-67). This usage, combined with the comparative evidence from the Kari'nya, suggests that the Pemon term *pase*, used to refer both to female cross kin and actual female affines of G-1 by both male and female Ego, is also a teknonym composed of the term for "grandchild" and a morpheme, *-se*, originally derived from *san*, the term for "mother." I would suggest that the same might apply in the case of the Ye'kuana G-1 terms *fanni* and *fa'se*, as well as to certain G-1 terms in Kapon (*barse*), Wayana (*patum*, *pabe*) and Apalai

(*patumi*, *parieni*). In Trio, on the other hand, there appears to be no such construction (with the possible exception of *paeye*), probably on account of the radical disruption of the Dravidian system by ZD marriage. In E'ñepa, although the term *pa* is not used to denote grandchildren, one also finds a teknonymous construction at the G-1 level of male Ego's terminology: this is the term *paamëyim*, literally "father of my *paamo*." If the *paamo* in question were of Ego's own generation, i.e. a male cross cousin, then Ego would refer to his father as *yawon*. However, when the *paamo* is Ego's DS, then his father should be Ego's ZS. I have suggested that the reason for the use of the teknonymous construction *paamëyim* for the ZS is that the use of *yawon*, with its connotations of respect, would be inappropriate for an older man to use with reference to a younger (Henley 1982: 95).

But of the terminologies considered here, it is in the Kari'nya that there appears to be the greatest development of teknonymy. In many Carib societies, teknonyms are frequently used between spouses (Henley 1982: 102-103), but otherwise are restricted to G-1. In the Kari'nya terminology however, teknonymous constructions are also used to refer to members of the G+1 level. Kloos reports that the terms for "father" and "mother-in-law" are rendered as '*me daamulu* and '*me nooti*', and that these mean literally "grandfather" (*daamulu*) and "grandmother" (*nooti*) of my "children" ('*me*). The point is not made by Kloos but I would suggest that the G.O term *paatimin*, used to refer to a male cross cousin, may also be a teknonymous construction, meaning "grandfather of my grandchild," derived from the combination of the roots of *taamulu* and *pa*.

Two other terms in G-1 invite specific mention. One is the Kari'nya term *taakano*. The use of this term to refer to a sister's daughter is interesting since the same term is also used to refer a female cross cousin. This suggests that ZD is a potential spouse for male Ego. Moreover, as reported by Kloos, the Kari'nya's traditional prescriptive marriage rule merely requires one to marry a *taakano* without distinction as to generation. However, in the particular case of the contemporary Maroni River Kari'nya, marriage with an actual sister's daughter is disapproved on the grounds that it is genealogically too close and/or would require one to practise avoidance with members of one's own primary kin (Kloos 1971: 134, 136). The same appears to be the case amongst the Kari'nya of Edo. Anzoátegui (Schwerin 1966: 67, 154). However, in both these sub-groups cases of classificatory ZD marriage are reported. Moreover, one should also bear in mind that both have passed through a considerable degree of acculturation in recent years and may well have been influenced by European attitudes to close marriages. In the more traditional Barama River Kari'nya, Adams (1977: 13) recorded five cases of ZD marriage whilst, forty years earlier, Gillin (1936: 95) reported two from the same group, which given the demographic increase of the population (from roughly 200 to 550) represents about the same proportion.

Lastly, for this generation, there is the Pemon term *poito*. This term, or some apparent derivation, has the meaning of cross-nephew and/or "son-in-law" in a number of Carib languages. In addition to the various dialects of Pemon,

it is also found in Waiwai (*pīīī*), Wanai (*yapoote*) and Yawarana (*poyo*). In Trio (*pito*), due to the effects of ZD marriage on the terminology, it is a reciprocal affinal term used between cross cousins: in effect, the term has moved up a generation. As a result it has also changed its connotations. In its original usage, an integral meaning of the term would appear to have been some sort of subservience connected with the fact that a son-in-law generally owes bride-service to his wife's parents. Thus, although he does not list it as a specific kinship term, Kloos notes that amongst the Maroni River Kari'nya, a son-in-law is referred to as *pīito*, "one who must obey," complying with his father-in-law's requests to work (1971: 81). Amongst the Trio, on the other hand, Rivière reports that *pito* signifies a relationship between equals. By extension, it may even be used between unrelated trading partners (Rivière 1969: 78-81). In contrast, in some contexts, the term may be used to denote a subservient relationship that does not necessarily imply some prior kinship relationship. Gilij records how, in colonial times, *poito* was an insulting term used in Orinoquia to describe the slaves taken by the Kari'nya and Guipuinave either for their own use or for sale to Europeans (Gilij 1965, II: 287-290).

The use of the term *pa* (or some variant such as *ha*, *fa*, *ba*) to denote grandchildren is virtually universal in the Guianese Carib languages spoken to the East of the Caura. Otherwise, the only important point to be made about the G-2 terms is that the elaboration of four distinct terms for the E'ñepa male Ego, two of which are identified with parallel kin of G.O and the other two with cross relatives of that generation, can be associated with the possibility of alternate generation marriage in E'ñepa society. In addition, one might note that the E'ñepa female Ego term for all four categories of grandchild, *namcha*, is not a kinship term at all, strictly speaking, but means simply "baby." If an E'ñepa woman wishes to specify her exact relationship to her grandchild, she will say "He/she calls me *no'*" or "*wachon*," as the case may be.

Finally, a note on the terms included under the affinal heading in Table 1. In the ideal-typical Dravidian system there are no exclusively affinal terms since, if the marriage and category rules are followed exactly, they would be redundant. However, in practice, it is obviously often the case that due to incorrect marriages, or marriages to outsiders, or as a result of the systematic ambiguities that are the consequence of intergenerational marriage, there is no automatic correspondence between affinal and cross kin categories. With the possible exception of the E'ñepa, all Guianese Carib groups have developed at least one exclusively affinal term that can be used to deal with any case in which kin and affinal statuses are in conflict with one another or in which an affinal relationship is not preceded by a relation of kinship (Rivière 1984). In addition, in many Guianese Carib systems there are one or more terms, that although they may be used for relatively close consanguines on occasion, have a primarily affinal valence. The terms listed under the affinal heading in Table 1 are of one or the other of these two types.

Chaima and Cumanagoto kin classification: a reconstruction

This systematic comparison of four contemporary Guianese Carib terminologies enables us to establish a clear association between certain word-roots and their denotata and will therefore now help us in reconstructing the kinship terminologies of the Chaima and Cumanagoto. I will begin by presenting the information as it is to be found in the dictionaries of Tauste and Ruiz Blanco. This presentation of data will also permit the reader to assess the validity of the reconstruction I propose as well as elaborate his own reconstruction, if he sees fit. The only modification of the data pertains to the order in which they are presented: whereas the dictionaries are ordered alphabetically, I have presented the kinship terms in Tables 2 and 3 on the same generational basis as I employed in Table 1. The numbers in brackets indicate the page numbers on which the entries are to be found in the original sources. All page references in the Chaima material presented in Table 2 are to Tauste.

Prior to beginning our analysis of the terms themselves, we may carry out certain minor modifications to the form in which they are presented in the original dictionaries. Most simply, we may replace certain elements of the seventeenth century Spanish orthography of the original sources with contemporary English equivalents. Thus, we may replace all the /c/s, as well as the

TABLE 2
CHAIMA KINSHIP CATEGORIES (AFTER TAUSTE 1888)

G+2

abuelo: *tamor*; mío: *vtamor*; tuyo: *atamor* (6)

abuela: *not*; mía: *vnot*; tuya: *anot* (6)

"a la abuela llama la nieta": *juruto* (33)

G+1

padre: *yumi*; mío: *vyumi*; tuyo: *ayumi* (36)

huérfano, sin padre: *yumupuin*, *yumupra* (29)

madre o tía: *zan* o *yumac* (33)

huérfano, sin madre: *ychanepuin* o *ychanepra* (29)

"Al tío o tía por parte del padre llama los sobrinos también como al padre, o madre, *yumi*, *zan*; pero si es de parte de madre el ser tíos, la sobrina llama al tío como suegro *zaur* y a la tía *guatnepuirpe*" (43)

hermano de madre (de hombre): *zaur* (33)

G.0

hermano mayor (de hombre): *rui*; mío: *vrui*; tuyo: *arui* (29)

hermano mayor (de mujer): *pir* (29)

hermano menor (de hombre): *pir*; mío: *vpir*, *pretur* (29)

hermana y primas hermanas (de hombre): *nachuto*; mía: *vyenachuto*; tuya: *eyenachuto*; suya: *tenachuto* (29)

hermana mayor (de mujer): *pachir* (29)

hermana menor (de mujer): *pít* (29)

"primos se dicen hermanos" (36)

TABLE 2 (cont.)
CHAIMA KINSHIP CATEGORIES (AFTER TAUSTE 1888)

G-1

hijo varón: *mur*, *murer*; mío: *vmur* (29)
hijo de hermano (hombre): *murer* (40)
"la madre o tía a sus hijos": *murer* (8)
hija (de hombre): mía: *vyemchir*; plural: *yemchiman*
hijo de hermana (hombre): *yacorur*; mío: *vyarocur*; tuyo: *zarocur* (41)
sobrina: *vpache* (8)

G-2

nieto: *pir*, *par* (34)

Affines

"al suegro, la nuera [dice]": *yaur* (8)
suegro, tío: *zaur*; mío: *vyaur* (40)
marido: *guaner* o *guaraytur* o *guarachurpe* (33)
soltero: *yquetepuin* o *yguanepuin* (41)
soltera: *yguanepuin* o *yguanepra* (41)
viudo: *ypuetepuin* o *ypuetepra* (12)
viuda: *yguanepuin* o *yguanepra* (12)
"las cuñadas se llaman": *yuruto* (8)
"y los cuñados" [se llaman]: *yacon* (8)
yerno: *paton*
"a la nuera [llama] el suegro como... el marido a la mujer": *vpache* (8)

Other kinship-related terms

niño párvulo: *mico*; mío: *vmicur* (32)
niño: *micune*; mío: *vmicur* (26)
mujer estéril: *murepuin*, *murecui* (25)
hombre, varón macho: *guarayto* (28)
partes venéreas de varón: *yauquir*; neg.: *yaucupuin*, *yucupra* (21)
testículos: *chomur* (21)
capón: *omopuin*, *temukachen* (21)
con bolas: *tomoken* (21)
mujer, hembra o bruta: *guariche*; mía: *vguarichir* o *vpuet* (32); tuya: *aguarichir* o *epuet* (32)
partes venéreas de hembra: *chetir* (21)
amigo: *yacono* (8)
"compañero viviente" (?): *yacorom* (15)
pariente, compañero: *meytur*; mi: *vmeytur*; tus: *ameytunan* (36)
gente: *pirian*; mía: *vpirian*; nuestra: *epiriancon* o *echontonan* (28)
"el hermano que se le sigue": *tizon* o *yzon*; plural: *echoncon* (26)
vuestros descendientes: *yzontonan* (26)
indio, india: *choto*; plural: *chotocon* (29)

TABLE 3
 CUMANAGOTO KINSHIP CATEGORIES
 (AFTER RUIZ BLANCO 1888; YANGÜES Y RUIZ BLANCO 1888)

G+2 and above

bisabuelo: *vícor* (II:56)
 bisabuela: *notochan* (II:56)
 abuelo: *tamor* (II:56)
 abuela: *noto* (II:56)

G+1

padre: *amo*: tuyo: *amo*: plural: *amcom* (?)
 papá: *papue* (?)
 padrino: *huyono*, *huyotono* (II:203)
 madre: *ymaque*, *mama* (I:167), *chan* (II:165)
 madrastra: *chanuptency*, *chanupter* (I:167), *chanipter* (II:185)
 tío: *papuer*, *papueyemar* (I:211), *papuerte* (II:240), *yabuo*, *vtuyo* (II:240)
 tía carnal: *chanayemar* (I:211), *ymaque* (II:240)

G.0

hermano mayor: *ruyu* (I:139), *ruyo* (II:148)
 hermano menor: *piri* (II:148)
 hermano "de vientre": *chon*: plural: *yemarcom* (II:148)
 hermana mayor: *macur* (II:148)
 hermana menor: *picbi*
 primo hermano: *yemar* (I:189), *yacochur* (II:115)
 prima: *maquíantpe* (II:115)

G-1

hijo (de hombre): *umr* (I:154), *umur* (II:168)
 hijo (de mujer): *yemar* (II:168)
 hija (de hombre): *iyemchir*, *yemchir* (II:168)
 hija (de mujer): *imrer*, *yemar* (I:154)
 hijo (¿en general?): *imrer*, (II:168)
 sobrino: *piriam* (II:233)
 sobrina: *paiche* (II:233)

G-2

nieto, nieta: *par* (II:196)

Affines

suegro: *yabor* (I:208), *yanor* (II:236)
 suegra: *yaborpur* (I:208), *yauorpur* (I:236)
 esposo: *huit*, *upiar*. En Palenque: *huaner* (II:151, 187)
 viuda (sin esposo): *yuyepum*, *yuyepra* (I:219), *uyetpur* (II:248)
 esposa: *puit* (I:142), *pachir*, *puir* (II:152)
 viudo (sin esposa): *ipuitpum* (I:219), *puitpue* (I:248)
 cuñado: *yecher*: plural: *yechercom* (II:115)
 cuñada: *yumputpter* (II:115)
 yerno: *patum*: tuyo: *apatum*; suyo: *ipatum* (I:161)
 nuera: *paiche* (II:197)

TABLE 3 (cont.)
 CUMANAGOTO KINSHIP CATEGORIES
 (AFTER RUIZ BLANCO 1888; YANGÜES Y RUIZ BLANCO 1888)

Other kinship-related terms

niño: *imadpe* (I: 176), *mico*, *pico* (II: 196). En Palenque: *buaneuptic* (I: 176)

niña: *huarichuptic* (I: 176)

varón: *huaraco*. En Palenque: *buane* (II:244)

hembra: *huariche* (I:153), *huarich*; plural: *huarichamo* (II:194)

compañero: *yemar* (I:110), *yacono*, *yemarpe*, *vpiar* (II:113)

amigo: *punoto*, *yacono* (I:86), *piuono* (II:73)

gente: *choto*, *toto*; plural: *totocom* (II:161)

familia: *putarcom* (?)

casa: *putar*, *puta* plural: *putarcom* (?)

/qu/s before */e/s*, with */k/s*. All the */gu/s* may be replaced with */w/s*. We can also replace the initial */y/s* and */v/s* that come before a consonant, required by Spanish literary convention at the time, with */i/s* and */u/s*. Most of these will go anyway, for they mostly appear in the form of possessive prefixes, which I shall also eliminate, as I did in Table 1, to facilitate more direct comparison of roots. In doing so, we are greatly aided by the fact that Tauste frequently gives one or two possessive forms of a particular entry and from these it is clear that, in the singular at least, the prefixes for the first and second person were */u-/* and */a-/* or */e-/* respectively, whilst the third person or reflexive form appears to have been */i-/* (cf. the terms for *soltero*, *viudo* etc.), */t-/* or */ch-/* (cf. the terms for sexual parts). One word that does not appear to conform to this pattern is *nachuto*, the gloss given for the male Ego Z category. However, the extra */ye-/* syllable that appeared in the possessed form between the possessive prefix and the root of this word can be explained, on comparative grounds indicated below, as a part of the original term that had been lost in the simple form but which reappeared in the possessed forms. Also on comparative grounds, I would assume that the suffix */-r/* was a further marker of possession, and equivalent to the suffixes */-ri/*, */-rî/*, */-ru/*, etc. that are very common markers of possession in other, contemporary, Carib languages (M.-C. Muller, personal communication). Tauste himself does not appear to have perceived this function of the final */-r/*, presumably because possessive suffixes are not found in his native Spanish. On the other hand, he makes it quite clear that plural forms were indicated by the suffixes */-nan/* and */-kon/* and negative forms by the suffixes */-puin/*, */-pra/* or */-kui/*. Finally, the glosses given for *capon* and *con bolas* indicate that the suffixes */-kachen/* and */-ken/* meant simply "without" and "with" respectively.

Having completed these modifications to Tauste's list, we can take the Chaima terms on a generation by generation basis (see also Table 4). The grandparental terms in this terminology present no problem: once modified in a way I have just described, *tamo* and *not* are obviously closely related to grandparental terms

in Table 1. More problematic is the fact that female Ego's term for grandmother is *yuruto*, which is the same as the reciprocal female Ego term for sister-in-law. This immediately suggests that some form of intergenerational marriage was practised by the Chaima, but for the moment we shall reserve judgement as to which kind.

For the most part, the Chaima G+1 terms are also very familiar. *Yum* and *zan* are obviously very close to the equivalents in Table 1, even if the initial groove fricative was apparently sometimes voiced in the latter term whereas in the equivalents in two of the languages in Table 1 it is not, whilst those of the other two begin with a /y/. It may not always have been the case though that the Chaima term for the M category began with a groove fricative since the term given for *tío* and for *suegro* is sometimes given as *zau* and sometimes as *yau*, suggesting that /z/ and /y/ may have been in free variation. Alternatively, this variation may have been dependent on whether the terms were used in reference or address, as it does in the case of the contemporary E'ñepa term for the M category: in this latter case, although the reference term is *yaně*, as in Table 1, the address form is *saně*. On these grounds then, I would suggest that a similar variation, either free or context-dependent, probably existed between the *zan* and *yan* forms of the terms for the M category in Chaima, whilst the term *yamak* was probably an address form since address terms for the M category featuring the syllable /ma/ are very common, not only in the Guianas, but on a worldwide basis.

Turning to the sociological aspect of the terms in G+1, I believe that Tauste was probably mistaken in reporting that the M category was identified with the FZ and distinguished from the MZ: such a distribution of terms would be unique, certainly in the Guianas, and possibly in the whole world as well. Much more likely is that the MZ was referred to as *zan* and the FZ as *watnepuirpe* or better still as *watnepui*, since the final /-pe/ is probably some adjectivizing suffix (as is /-pe/ in E'ñepa) whilst the preceding /r/ is clearly a possessive. In this latter form, the Chaima term bears an convincing resemblance to the terms in Table 1.

As for the sibling terms, these present little problem. The terms for brother for both Egos and for both older and younger varieties are almost identical to the Kari'nya terms. The male Ego sister term does not involve any differentiation on the basis of relative age, and in this regard is the same as the equivalent Kari'nya term. On the other hand, morphologically, the term is closer to the E'ñepa. On closer inspection though, looking at the various possessed forms given by Tauste, we find the syllable /ye/ or /e/ that crops up at the beginning of the Kari'nya word. Although it might be assumed that the Chaima and Kari'nya terms are derived from the same proto-Carib term, this is made almost unrecognizable by the fact that the Kari'nya term has lost both the central alveopalatal consonant and the final /-to/. The lack of the central alveopalatal also distinguishes the Kari'nya term for the female Ego eZ category from its Chaima equivalent (*pai: puchi*) whilst looking up and down the Kari'nya list

we see that the lack of the final /-to/ distinguishes the Kari'nya gM and female Ego PZ terms from their Chaima equivalents (*no: not; yeelu: yuruto*). In fact, as far as the gM and female Ego eZ categories go, Chaima is apparently closer to Ye'kuana (*not: nooti; pachi: faichi*) than it is to Kari'nya. Systematic comparison of the female Ego yZ terms is also intriguing: whereas in the Kari'nya terminology this term is identical to the terms for the female Ego eB and yB categories as well as to the term for the male Ego yB category, in Chaima, the female Ego yZ category is distinguished from these others by a final /-t/. This suggests the hypothesis that at some stage in Kari'nya there may also have been a distinction between an e/yB category *pi* and a yZ category *pit(o)*.

If one assumes that the Chaima had a terminology approximating to the Dravidian type, then one would conclude that when Tauste remarks that "*los primos se dicen hermanos*" (1888: 36), he is referring to the use of sibling terms for parallel cousins. However, it could well be, as in the case of the contemporary Ye'kuana and Pemon, that in day-to-day life Chaima cross cousins would have referred to one another by sibling terms, reserving specifically cross cousin terms, with their affinal valence, for situations in which they wished to emphasize affinity. All that Tauste tells us on the use of terms for G.O affinal relatives is that these were reciprocal terms for "brother-" and "sister-in-law" and that these were *yakon* and *yuruto* respectively. In addition, he glosses two close cognates of *yakon* as *amigo* (*yakono*) and *compañero viviente* (*yacoron*). These various usages suggest that the Chaima term *yakon* was associated with affinity and non-kinship, i.e. with relative outsiders. In contrast, the obvious cognates of the term *yakon* in Pemon and E'ñepa denote close parallel relatives who, in E'ñepa at least, are specifically distinguished from affines and outsiders. Ye'kuana seems to stand in between these other languages since cognates of *yakon* are used both for parallel and cross relatives of G.O. Kari'nya, on the other hand, does not feature the term at all, unless one considers *taakano*, designating xK♀ and potential spouse, to be such. In any case, it is clear that some sort of semantic shift has taken place with this term although the direction remains obscure. As for *yuruto*, this has obvious equivalents both morphologically and semantically, in the Pemon *yeruk* (xK♀ for female Ego) and Kari'nya *yeelu* (HZ for female Ego).

In G-1, the terms for the male Ego S category and the female Ego "child" category, *mu* and *mure*, have many cognates in other Carib languages: moreover, the association of these terms and male sexual organs is also borne out in that the Chaima word for "testicle" was apparently *omu*. Comparison of the male Ego D category *yemchi* with the Kari'nya equivalent, *eemii*, demonstrates that, as in the Z category, the latter has lost the central alveopalatal consonant cluster. *Yemchi* also obviously bears the same correspondence to its Pemon equivalent, *yensi*, as the female Ego eZ category (*pachi: pasi*) and the xN♀ category (*pache: pase*).

This latter term, *pache*, deserves further attention for it is a key term in our interpretation of the Chaima system of kin classification. Tauste makes it clear that *pache* was used by male Ego to refer equally to a niece (one assumes

a cross niece), a daughter-in-law and a wife: "*a la nuera el suegro como el tío a sobrina o el marido a la mujer*" (1888: 8). One would have to be extremely chary to ask for a clearer indication from a 300-year old source for evidence of ZD marriage. Once this is made clear, it aids in the interpretation of other features of the terminology. Most immediately, it suggests a reason why a sister's son was called *yakoru*, apparently a close cognate of *yakon*, the xK♂ category: as I noted above, when discussing the distortions to an ideal-typical Dravidian system brought about by intergenerational marriage, the terminological identification of xK♂ and ZS was precisely one of the effects we noted as following on from the practice of ZD marriage (see Figure 2). It also suggests a reason why female Ego should have called her grandmother by the term *yuruto*, the same term as she used for her sister-in-law. Tauste specifies that this term is reciprocal: "*las cuñadas se llaman yuruto.*" So, if female Ego called her grandmother *yuruto*, it is reasonable to assume that the grandmother would have called her granddaughter by the same term. In other words, we are confronted here with a case of the conflation of the categories of cross cousin and grandchild, an effect, which as I demonstrated with the aid of Figure 3, can also be attributed to the influence of ZD marriage on a basic Dravidian system.

The practice of ZD marriage would also suggest some reasons why there were at least two Chaima terms for grandchild. Referring to the list, we see that one of these is the familiar term *pa*, whilst the other, *pi*, is the same as the male Ego yB category and the female Ego eB and yB categories. Unfortunately, Tauste does not indicate whether the use of these terms depended on the sex of the grandchild, and/or whether the grandchild were the offspring of a son or of a daughter. Nor does he indicate whether the usage depended on the sex of the speaker. All these variables can affect the exact distribution of terms and hence their precise meaning. Of course, it is also possible that the terms were merely synonyms. In view of these uncertainties, there seems little point in taking up space examining all the possible permutations, one by one: instead, I shall consider only the most likely possibility given the nature of the source, namely, that the terms were male Ego terms used to refer to grandchildren of either sex. In doing so, I would refer back to the demonstration given above that, following the superimposition of ZD marriage on a conventional Dravidian system, the male Ego categories SS and SD can become equated with parallel categories of G.O In view of this fact, perhaps the most economical explanation for the presence of the two terms in the Chaima G-2 level is that *pi*, a term that in G.O referred to parallel kin, would have referred in G-2 to the SS and SD categories, whilst the *pa* term would have been reserved for the cross kin categories, DS and DD.

Of the affinal terms, we have already dealt with the term for father-in-law in the context of discussing the MB category. No term is given for mother-in-law but by analogy with the Dravidian ideal-type we may assume that *watnepui*, the term for the FZ category, would have been used for this relation as well. Turning to the G.O terms, it is clear that two of the terms given for husband,

waraitu, *warachu* (the final *-pe* having been eliminated in this latter case on the grounds that it was probably an adjectivizing suffix), are derived from or closely related to the male gender term, *waraito*. *Wane*, on the other hand, appears to have been a term used for both husband and wife, since it turns up again in the *iwanequin*, the term for "bachelor," "spinster" and "widow." As the suffix *-quin* obviously fulfills a negativizing function, the most economical gloss for this term would be something like "without spouse." By eliminating this and the other negative suffix / *-pra* /, as well as the reflexive prefix / *i-* / from the terms for "bachelor" and "widower," i.e. men without wives, we are left with two other possible terms for wife, *quet* and *puet*. The latter is an obvious cognate of the Eñepa term *pi'*, the Kari'nya term *bi* and the Pemon term *nopi* (see Table 1). As for *quet*, I suspect that this is merely a misprint. I have already dealt with *juruto*, *yacon* and *pache*, so the only affinal term that remains to be considered is *paton*. The initial syllable of this term suggests some teknonymous reference to the G-2 level but it is difficult to see how the second syllable, /*ton*/, could be derived from the term for the F category. Possibly there is some other root at work here, of the same origin as the second syllable in the Kapon xN♂ category *baido* (A. Butt Colson, personal communication).

This exhausts the interpretations I can presently make of the Chaima material presented in Table 2. But before I propose a reconstruction of Chaima terminology as a whole, I want to consider the Cumanagoto material presented in Table 3 since this may modify our ideas somewhat. We will be able to proceed more quickly, partly because the material is less detailed, and partly because prior acquaintance with the Chaima material obviates some parts of the discussion. There is, however, a particular problem with the Cumanagoto material that did not apply to the Chaima. This relates to the fact that, as I described above in the Introduction, in the Franciscan Observant missions where Ruiz Blanco collected his information, there were, in addition to the Cumanagoto *sensu strictu*, a number of other indigenous groups who were also frequently referred to collectively by the generic term "Cumanagoto." Moreover, as I also noted above, the relative status of the languages or dialects spoken by these various peoples is uncertain. Although Ruiz Blanco specifically undertakes to indicate the Palenque words in his dictionary that were significantly different from their Cumanagoto equivalents, it probably also includes a mixture of terms from the various languages or dialects spoken by the groups that made up the Cumanagoto *sensu lato*. If this were indeed the case, it would explain why Ruiz Blanco sometimes gives several slightly different terms for particular kinship categories.

As in the case of the Chaima data, I begin by presenting the material more or less as it is found in the original dictionary, save for the actual order of the presentation. The references in the Table preceded by 'I' are to Ruiz Blanco's dictionary in his joint work with Yangües (1888) and those preceded by 'II' are to the later dictionary that he published independently (1888). Words from the earlier text are only entered when they are different or additional to those in the later text. Regretably, there are one or two lacunae in these page references

to the Cumanagoto material. These are indicated by question marks in parentheses.

Again, to aid comparison we may begin by compensating for the antique form of orthography and removing possessive and other supplementary affixes from the roots of the Cumanagoto terms. As far as the orthography is concerned, I will proceed as in the case of the Chaima material. In carrying out the first step, we are helped by the fact that in the grammar part of Yangües' and Ruiz Blanco's joint work, the possessive prefixes of Cumanagoto are laid out very succinctly. For animate objects, they report that nouns beginning with a vowel took the prefix /a-/ for the first person, /aya-/ for the second person and /ch-/ , /o-/ or /t-/ for the third or reflexive person. Before a noun beginning with a consonant, there was no possessive prefix for the first person, whilst the prefixes /a-/ and /i-/ were used for the second and third persons respectively. But like Tauste, and probably for the same reason, Yangües and Ruiz Blanco were apparently not aware of the function of the final /-r/ as a possessive suffix. In addition to the comparative reasons for making this assumption laid out above, there is the fact that in Yangües' and Ruiz Blanco's discussion of possession, all the examples of possessed terms that they give terminate in an /-r/, whereas the same terms in their simple form do not (1888). Plural suffixes are also laid out very clearly in the grammar as being /-com / , /-tom / , /-amo / and /-damo / (Yangües and Ruiz Blanco 1888: 6). From the terms in the dictionary itself (cf. the terms for *viudo*, *viuda*) it is clear that the suffixes /-pue/, /-pur/, /-puin/ and /-pra/ all had a negative function. Although there is also a number of other supplementary affixes that may be eliminated, I will leave discussion of these until we discuss the particular terms on which they appear.

Kinship terms that are exclusive to G+3 or above are, to my knowledge, unknown in the Guianas so one must treat the great grandkin terms given by Ruiz Blanco with caution. The "great grandmother" term is obviously a merely descriptive term, literally meaning "mother of grandmother" and composed of *noto* + *chan*, the term for the M category. I have no ready explanation though for the "great grandfather" term, *uiko*, but suspect it may be a general term for "ancestor" rather than a kinship term specifying a particular relation.

The gF and gM categories present no difficulties so we may proceed directly to the G+1 terms. Of these, the term for father, *umo*, is slightly different from the Chaima, but insignificantly so. *Papue* is clearly an address term. *Huiyono*, *huiyotono*, the terms glossed as *padrino*, are more complicated to interpret. By analogy with the Kari'nya terms for "step-father" and "step-mother," which are *duwmõtone* and *saanontone* respectively (Mosonyi 1978: 125, 133), it would seem that the final two syllables, /tono/, constitute a suffix meaning something like "one who stands for." *Huiyo-*, on the other hand, is very similar to one of the terms given for "husband" (cf. *infra*), suggesting that in the native conception the term was applied to one who fulfilled the role of substitute husband rather than of substitute father. For this reason, I would suggest that this was a term used of the old men who brought up their wives from the time they

were young girls, a Cumanagoto custom reported by Ruiz Blanco himself (1965: 39). When I referred to this practice in the Introduction, I pointed out that by analogy with a similar institution found amongst the present-day Trio, this custom may well have been associated with intergenerational marriage of the ZD variety.

The M category terms, on the other hand, are relatively straightforward: *mama* was probably the address form and *chan* the reference form. *Make* was probably also an address form but in at least one Guianese Carib group (the Yawarana) it is apparently also used as a reference form (Wilbert 1963: 139). The terms given for *madrastra* are obviously composed of *chan* plus two possible suffixes, *-ufter* or *-ipter* and *-upteney*. The latter seems to represent some sort of combination of the *-u/ipter* form and the *-tono* form discussed above and probably had a similar meaning. It may also be some variant of this suffix that one finds on the word for *tío* (presumably the FB category of uncle), *papuerte*. The suffix *-yema* that appears on another gloss for *tío* turns up again in a number of contexts but possibly the basic meaning is that which Ruiz Blanco glosses as *primo hermano* and which we might gloss as "parallel cousin." These usages would indicate a conventional Dravidian bifurcate merging avuncular terminology. A similar pattern for G+1 female primary kin is indicated by the glosses *make* and *chanayema* for *tía carnal*, presumably a reference to the MZ category. The other glosses given for *tío* are *yahuo* and *tuyo*. The latter is obviously a loan word from Spanish, whilst the former is clearly a variant of the terms given for *suegro*, i.e. *yauo* and *yabo*. Clearly then, this is a reference to the MB category. No specific term is given for FZ but by analogy with the contemporary cases examined above, we might assume that the forms *yauorpu* and *yaborpu*, meaning literally "yauo's wife" and given as a gloss for *suegra*, would have designated this category of relative.

Three of the sibling terms have obvious cognates in the contemporary list though *maku* for the eZ category is problematic -possibly it is a misprint for *naku*. It is also interesting to note that the yB (*pi*) and yZ terms (*pichi*) are distinguished, though Ruiz Blanco does not indicate whether these terms were dependent on the sex of the speaker, so any further direct comparison with the Chaima terms is impossible. By analogy with the Chaima material, it seems likely that *yakochu*, given as the gloss for *primo hermano*, would have referred to the cross rather than the parallel cousin whilst the gloss given for female cousin, *makiampe*, probably denoted a parallel cousin since once the adjectivizing suffix */-pe/* is removed, it appears to be a composite term meaning literally "child of a *make*." The term specifically denoting a brother-in-law, who, according to the Dravidian system, would also be a cross cousin, is given as *yeché*, which would appear to be a cognate of the Ye'kuana *eiye*.

The terms for the male Ego S and D categories, *um*, *umu* and *yemchi*, have obvious cognates both in Chaima and in the contemporary Carib languages, as does *mre*, one of the glosses for the female Ego D category and for "child" in general. *Yena*, the female Ego S category, for its part, may be etymologically

related to the Ye'kuana equivalent *ne*. As for the cross relatives of G-1, the xN♀ and daughter-in-law categories are clearly equated, as one would expect, since both are referred to by the term *paiche*. This term is clearly cognate with the Chaima term, as well as the contemporary Carib terms *pase*, *fa'se*, *batse*, etc. *Piriam*, the term for xN♂ category, is particularly interesting since it appears to be a teknonymous construction meaning literally "father of *pir*," which as we saw in the Chaima case was a term used to designate a grandchild. However, in Ruiz Blanco's list only the familiar *pa* is given as a gloss for the grandchild category. Another problem with this interpretation is that Ruiz Blanco distinguishes *piriam*, the term for *sobrino* from the term *paton*, the term for *yerno*. If it is true that teknonymy normally fulfills the function of suppressing the affinal content of relationships in the Guianese kinship system, if one were to find a teknonymous construction anywhere at this level of the Cumanagoto terminology, one would have expected *piriam* to refer to the son-in-law rather than to the cross nephew as such.

As far as the affinal categories are concerned, we have already dealt with those of G+I, so we can turn directly to the spouse category terms. Three terms are given for "husband": the first is *huit*, already mentioned and which seems to form the root of all the terms given for "widow" which would effectively mean "without husband"; the second, *upia*, turns up again in the terms given for "friend" and "companion" but has no obvious cognates in either Chaima or the contemporary Carib languages; the third term, *huane*, identified specifically as a Palenque term, is obviously cognate with the Chaima term *wane*. This latter term is also derived from the term for "male" in Palenque. Interestingly, it turns up again in the term for "small boy," where it is contrasted with the term for "girl." This suggests that it is intimately associated with the male gender and that therefore Tauste may have been mistaken to say that it could be used to describe a wife as well as a husband.

So far, the only evidence we have discerned in Ruiz Blanco's list of terms that the Cumanagoto practised some form of intergenerational marriage pertains to the somewhat marginal terms *huyono*, *huyotono*. But in the terms given for *esposa*, there are some further clues that the Cumanagoto practised ZD marriage. One of the two terms given, *puit* or *pui*, obviously has many cognates in other Carib languages. It also seems to be at the root of the term given for *cuñada*, *yumputupter*. The last part of this word, *-pter*, is the same suffix as we met above and which we suggested meant something like "one who stands in the place of." One hypothesis therefore would be that the first syllable of the word is a first person possessive prefix (that went unrecognized by Yangües and Ruiz Blanco) and that therefore its full meaning would be "the one who stands in the place of a wife to me." This gloss would be entirely congruent with what one would expect the relative status of male Ego and his sister-in-law to be given the conventional rules of a Dravidian system. A less likely though interesting hypothesis is that the first syllable refers to Ego's father *yum* and that therefore the term means "one who stands in the position of

wife to my father." Now in a system in which ZD marriage is condoned, Ego's cross cousin/sister-in-law does represent a potential spouse for Ego's father since she will normally be Ego's father's ZD. However, this seems a rather long-winded way of denoting the relationship, so personally I prefer the first hypothesis.

Better evidence for ZD marriage can be gleaned from the fact that the other term given for wife is *pachi*. At first sight this might appear to be a close cognate of the eZ category terms (*pai*, *pasi*, *faichi*) in contemporary Carib languages. From this one might conclude that the Cumanagoto referred to their cross cousins by sibling terms unless their intentions were serious, in which case they would have used the other available term, *puiti*. However, the weakness of this argument is that the cognates in the contemporary languages are all exclusively female Ego terms. There seems therefore to be a better case for arguing that *pachi* is a close cognate of the Chaima term *pache* which denoted both wife/cross cousin and ZD and therefore, in that case, indicated the possibility of ZD marriage. In the Cumanagoto case though, the term for the xN♀/daughter-in-law category is indicated as being *paiche*, as we have seen, which is somewhat different. But this is not a great difference after all and I would therefore be inclined to accept that in practice, *pachi* and *paiche* were either dialectical variants of the same term or were indeed identical but not recognized as such by Ruiz Blanco. This latter hypothesis seems more likely when one bears in mind that Ruiz Blanco would have found it anomalous for the categories of "niece" and "wife" to be identical (and probably morally repugnant as well) and may therefore have discerned them as different even though they were not so in reality.

Having completed our review of the terms on a generation by generation basis, we may at last proceed to set out the Chaima and Cumanagoto terminologies in a manner that allows them to be compared directly both with one another and with the terminologies of the contemporary Carib groups presented in Table 1. This I have attempted to do in Table 4. One or two small points should be made about this table: I have made no attempt to distinguish affinal from cross kin categories since the sources are not sufficiently specific to allow this to be done systematically; similarly, I have made no attempt to identify the female Ego terms for cross relatives of G-1 or any relatives of G-2, again because the sources do not allow one to do this systematically. The acronyms used in this table are the same as those used in Table 1 and the key at the foot of the latter should be consulted again if the reader is in any doubt.

Conclusion

At this point, the sceptical reader might be tempted to conclude that in this paper we have reviewed a large amount of material merely to confirm what we suspected was the case already. However, there is a great difference in any serious ethnohistorical study, as in any branch of anthropology, between a hunch and a fact established beyond reasonable doubt. In this paper, I would argue that we have established beyond reasonable doubt that the Chaima and

TABLE 4
THE CHAIMA AND CUMANAGOTO KINSHIP
TERMINOLOGIES RECONSTRUCTED

	Chaima	Cumanagoto
<i>G+2</i>		
FF	tamo	tamo
FM	not	noto
MF	tamo	tamo
MM	not	noto
<i>G+1</i>		
F	yum	umo
FZ	watnepui	yauorpu, yaborpu
MB	yaur, zaur	yauo, yabo, yahuo
M	yan, zan, zam	chan
<i>G.0</i>		
eB (ms)	rui	ruyo, ruyu
(fs)	pi	?
yB (ms)	pi	pi
(fs)	pi	?
eZ (ms)	nachuto	maku
(fs)	pachi	?
yZ (ms)	nachuto	pichi
(fs)	pit	?
xK♂ (ms)	yakon	yeché
(fs)	wane, waraitu	huit, pia, huane
xK♀ (ms)	pache, puet,	pachi, paiche,
	wariche	yumputupter, puit, pui
(fs)	yuruto	?
<i>G-1</i>		
S (ms)	mu	umu
(fs)	mure	yena, mre
D (ms)	yemchi	yemchi
(fs)	mure	yena, mre
xN♂ (ms)	yakoru, paton	piriam, patum
xN♀ (ms)	pache	pachi, paiche
<i>G-2</i>		
SS (ms)	pi	pa
SD (ms)	pi	pa
DS (ms)	pa	pa
DD (ms)	pa	pa

Cumanagoto had terminologies of a kind that approximated to the Dravidian ideal-type and that they practised both the xK and ZD forms of intergenerational marriage. In interpreting these terminologies within this paradigm, I think that it is not too much to claim that we have achieved a fuller understanding of these terms than either of our principal sources, Tauste and Ruiz Blanco, despite the fact that, between them, the latter spent over 30 years living amongst the Carib societies of Eastern Venezuela.

I am sure that Marshall would have agreed with me that there is something fundamentally exciting about retrieving such small chards of long extinct languages from the margins of oblivion and discerning an order and a meaning between them that those who recorded them failed to perceive. However, such exercises are of more than mere antiquarian interest. For in drawing up this systematic comparison of four living and two dead Carib languages over a strictly delimited semantic field, we have learnt something about the semantics and morphology of all of them. Accordingly, I feel that in the case of the contemporary languages also, it is not too much to claim that this comparative analysis has enabled us to identify certain fundamental connotations of kinship terms that have apparently remained obscure to the anthropologists who reported them and may even, perhaps, be so to those who continue to use them in everyday life.

It must be acknowledged though that the systematic comparison which I have carried out here is merely the first step towards a much more ambitious goal, for there remain many more Carib terminologies that could be profitably compared with those considered in this paper. In the hands of someone with sufficient competence in comparative linguistics, such a systematic comparison of all the known Carib terminologies of the Guiana Highlands could lead to the elaboration of a model of the proto-Guianese Carib kinship terminology. This would indeed be a mighty labour since it would involve the examination of a large number of sources of highly eclectic quality. But the final result would be of great interest to linguists, anthropologists and archeologists, indeed to anyone concerned with the ethnohistory of the Guianas. Now that Marshall Durbin is no longer with us, those of us who sit on the sidelines of comparative linguistics must look to others to perform this task.

Abstract

The principal purpose of this article is the reconstruction of the kinship terminologies of two extinct Carib groups of Eastern Venezuela, the Chainua and the Cumanagoto. This is achieved by carrying out a systematic comparison of kinship terms extracted from two seventeenth century sources with the terminologies of four extant Carib groups of Venezuelan Guiana, the Kari'nya, the Pemon, the Ye'kuana and the E'ñepa. This comparison suggests that the extinct groups had terminologies of the "Dravidian" type and that they practised both sister's daughter and cross cousin marriage.

Resumen

En este artículo reconstruimos las terminologías de parentesco de dos grupos Caribe ya extintos (Chaima y Cumanagoto), comparando sistemáticamente los términos que brindan dos fuentes históricas del siglo XVII con los de cuatro grupos Caribe actuales (Kari'ña, Pemón, Ye'kuana y E'ñepa). De la comparación se desprende que sus terminologías eran del tipo "Dravidiano", y que los hombres contruían matrimonio con mujeres que se hallaban incluidas tanto en la categoría de sobrina cruzada como en la de prima cruzada.

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