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# GUARANI KINSHIP TERMS AS INDEX OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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THE Indians called Guaraní by the Spaniards about the River Plate, Tupí by the Brazilians and Chiriguano in certain parts of Peru, Bolivia, and Argentina, but by themselves Abá, occupied most of the Atlantic coast between the Amazon river and the Brazilian state of Santa Catalina, also a considerable stretch of the Paraná river and its Delta between the Uruguayan Colonia and the old fort of Sebastian Cabot, at the junction of the Carcarañá river with one of the channels of the Paraná.

Peter Martyr of Angleria calls them "Caribs," because they killed and ate Juan Diaz de Solis and several of his men somewhere near the island of Martin Garcia (Book x, Ch. III) 1516.

Magellan on his voyage of discovery (1519) reached Brazil, and Pigafetta gives an amusing account of the cannibal Tupí Indians of that region (*cf.* J. A. Robertson's edition, pp. 39, etc.). They entered the river Plate more or less in the wake of Juan Diaz de Solis' unfortunate expedition, and tried to get some information from a tall Indian whom Pigafetta calls a "Cannibal," but who by his stature must have been a Charrua, near neighbors of the anthropophagous Guaraní of that region. The expedition sailed south and made itself famous by discovering the straits of Magellan and putting the first girdle round the world.

We next come to a very curious unpublished document, part of a lengthy MS. in the British Museum (Royal MS. 18, Book XXVIII ff., 82b–90); the author was Roger Barlow, who, with Henry Latimer, was sent out by their friend Robert Thorne in Sebastian Cabot's ill-starred expedition to the Moluccas; it started in 1526 and never got beyond the river Plate; but during the many months they were delayed in Pernambuco and Santa Catalina, Barlow picked up much curious information about the country and its

inhabitants, principally about the "Topys" of Brazil, by him also called "Tupys," who "eat one another"; not so other Indians that lived in the same region farther inland. He then goes on to tell us this:

And when the man diethe his next brother shal enherit all his wifes and he taketh to him self suche of them as he listeth and the rest he geveth to his owne children and kynsfolke or where it pleas him and lightlie the old men will have the yong women and the yong men shall have the old women and we askyd them wherefore thei dyd so, for we thought it unmeete to se very old men have yong wenches and to se yong boyes to have old women and thei said it was for this entent that the yong women cowd no skyll of worlde and therefore thei be coupled with old men for that thei maie instructe or teache them how thei maie order ther house and in lykewise the yong men can not skyll of the worlde how to lyve and therfore thei geve them old women to instructe them, etc.

Here we have the levirate in full swing—described by an Englishman who voyaged as intelligently as any modern traveler, at the same time that he no doubt attended to his employer's business. These two men figure very often in the documents of that expedition.

Gabriel Soares de Souza in 1587 wrote or published his *Roteiro do Brazil*, which was reprinted in 1851 by the Revista do Instituto Hist. e Geog. do Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, vol. XIV. On pp. 316 or 317 we find the following account which I have turned into English from the original Portuguese.

It is the custom among the Tupinamba Indians that when a married man dies his eldest brother must marry the widow; but if the man happens not to have a brother, then the next of kin on the dead man's side must take her to wife. The brother of the widowed wife must marry her daughter, if she has one; if it happens that the widow lacks a brother, she must take for her husband the nearest blood relative of her mother; but if the latter is not willing to marry this niece of his, he will not suffer any other man to go near her, but later on will give her any husband he chooses.

The uncle, father's brother of the girl, must not marry his niece nor go near her if he minds, doing his duty by her, but he treats her as his own daughter and she in her turn obeys him as if he were her own father and so calls him after her father's death. If these maidens cannot claim any uncle, their own father's brother, they choose in his place the next of kin.[1] And all their relatives on the father's side, in whatever degree, they call "father," and they in their turn call

[1] Paternally of course.

her "daughter"; but she obeys her nearest relative always. In the same way grandchildren call the brother or cousin of their grandfather "grandfather," and these in their turn call the others "grandchildren," and so do they also the latter's "children," and granddaughters of their brothers, and cousins. On the mother's side also the brothers and cousins call their nephews, "sons," and these call their uncles "fathers"; but they never hold them in such high respect as when the uncles are on the father's side.

These quotations are of the very greatest importance because they refer to marriage customs early and late in the sixteenth century among the Guaraní or Abá nations; all this indirectly is confirmed by Vasconcel-los in the following century, for the Tupí, and by Breton for the French Caraibi Indians of the Antilles. Both authors expressly state that there was no restriction as to intermarriage on the mother's side; but do not include that between parents and children in our sense of the words.

My interpretation of the Tupí "levirate" is this—a development of a previous polyandry in which the wife of one brother was common to all the others, as in the "sororate"[1]; originally the husband of a wife had a right to all his sisters-in-law first simultaneously or later on successively, itself a later degeneration of the fact that all the men were occasional husbands of all the women, or inversely, not promiscuously, but periodically, not salaciously but tribally or nationally. The survivals of all this were—the old saturnalia, under whatever name we know them, preserved under that of "carnibal," and Carnival itself as still practised in what we may call Indian Latin America—the Chaya of our Calchakee (*Calchaquí*) region with its Tincunacu, "Topamiento," or "Coming Together" rites and practices, including the time of the Algarroba harvest, camping out, and all that it means. "Saturnalia" have been christianized more than once in the world's history. Perhaps they were not more wicked when they were mere ritual *saturnalia* than now when they represent the *haut ton* manifestations of the Carnival festivities where they are still held.

In 1663 F. Simao de Vasconcellos, S. J., published his *Chrónica da Companhia do Jesu do Estado do Brazil.* I use the Fernandos Lopes edition, Lisboa, 1865; this information is consequently some

[1] Husband's right to possess wife's sisters, in succession or otherwise.

hundred years later than the medium date of the two authors previously quoted: what the good missionary writes is important but not quite so explicit as the previous accounts.

> As regards their intermarriages kinship is no obstacle in the female line, nay rather the sister's daughter is usually her maternal uncle's wife, or else the wife that was of his late brother.

The Portuguese phrase is rather obscure *a filha da irmaa he communmente a mulher do tio, ou a mulher que foi do irmao defunto*; the meaning is simply this: men usually marry a sister's daughter. Terms of kinship in America include all sorts of direct parallel or diagonal relationships. (Work cited, vol. 1, pp. LXXXII, 133.)

As it is impossible to ignore a certain connection which exists ethnically between the Guaraní or Tupí stock and those of the Carib-Arawak Indians of the Lesser Antilles, it may not be amiss to notice the following words to be found in Father Raymond Breton's *Dicty Caraibe Francais* (1665), p. 11, Platzmann's Ed.

> Those we call first cousins, children of a father's brothers, call themselves "brothers," and said brothers of the father are likewise called "fathers"; but the children of such brothers do not intermarry with one another, although they are quite ready to do so with the children of their father's sisters.

In p. 268 we find this further statement:

> No sooner is a lassie born than she is destined to be the wife of some one *maternal* cousin.

All this seems to point to a time when the Guaraní and the Carib tribesman had a polyandrian right over all the women of the nation, tribe or clan, out of which he was at liberty to take a wife; this would be a simple inversion of the other arrangement by which all the sisters became the wives of one man either simultaneously or in succession.

As far as I have gone into the matter, both Guaraní and Carib Indians seem to be patrilineal, whereas the Arawaks are matrilineal; but the two former have the same disregard for any connubial taboo between maternal cousins, though with both the paternal kinship is a bar in the same degree.

From what precedes it follows that among Indians of the Guaraní or Abá stock men and women might marry certain blood

relations but not others, hence we deduce that kinship terms would be invented to establish a certain verbal register by means of which a man or woman could not have any doubt as to whom he or she might take for a wife or husband. The following example will show how easy it was to place the matrimonial taboo:

*Non marriageable cousins*

1. *Che-tutĭ-r-aĭ* vel *r-ayĭ*,
   Cousins, children of maternal uncle.
2. *Che-r-ubĭ-r-aĭ* vel *r-ayĭ*,
   Cousins, children of my paternal uncle.

*Marriageable cousins*

3. *Che-yayché mêmbĭ cuimbae*, vel *cuñâ*
   Cousins children of my aunt, father's sister.
4. *Che-cĭĭ mêmbĭ cuimbae*, vel, *cuñâ*,
   Cousins, children of my aunt, mother's younger sister.

In the above example we have four different ways of expressing our idea of cousin, which grow into eight because they divide into two groups of four, one of them for the male, the other for the female side, all of them easily explained, for each distinct term is a phrase and not a simple word. As it happens the Indian syntactical construction corresponds exactly, to the English and not to the Spanish form:

1. *Che-tu-tĭ-r-aĭ* (vel)-*ayĭ* (the "Uncle" maternal).[2]
   My-the-uncle's-son or daughter (the "Uncle" maternal).[2]
2. *Che-r- U-bĭ-r-aĭ* (vel-*ayĭ* (the "Uncle" paternal).[2]
   My-the-uncle's-son or daughter (the "Uncle" paternal).[2]
3. *Che-yayché mêmbĭ cuimbae* (vel) cuñâ (the "Aunt" paternal).
   My-aunt's-child-husband or wife (the "Aunt" paternal).[3]
4. *Che-cĭĭ mêmbĭ cuimbae* (vel cuñâ (the "Aunt" maternal).
   My-aunt's-child-husband or wife (the "Aunt" maternal).

This sort of cross-cousinship table is of the greatest importance, because it contains most of the radical linguistic facts, which if

[1] *Tuti* is maternal uncle, with initial radical *t*, not a changeable prefix, as in *t-Ubĭ*-paternal uncle-, which in combination changes to *r-Ubĭ*.

[2] Both groups which *ought not* to intermarry *inter se*.

[3] *Yayché* or *Yaiché*—*cf*. Ruiz. "*Tesoro*," f. 1872. Madrid 1639—or Platzmann's reproduction. Could intermarry *inter se*.

well understood will serve us for all subsequent kinship tables. The Guaraní or Tupí (*i* = ee) or Abá language is as full of allophylian elements as any of the other tongues of our or any continent; in this case the affinities are in the direction of Arawako-Carib and to that norm I submit my remarks.

Once for all I insist on this postulate, if kinship terms are allowed to be descriptive, and not capricious happy-go-lucky hits, they must be so in every sense, ethnic, sexual or whatever else accords with the circumstances of the case, actual or traditional.

### Short Vocabulary

1. *Che*—Pron. 1st person—"I" and "my." T and r—usual relative infixes ( ).

1. *Tĭ*—Complementary suffix, in this case determining male sex *quo* "uncle"; the maternity results from the first infix t.

2. *Bĭ*—Complementary suffix; this and the first relative infix r establish the male avuncular and paternal value.

1 and 2. *Ĭ*—A peculiar vowel sound, which in truth has little or nothing in common with English i: it is more like the u in "hunt," or even the French *eu*. It has many meanings; for our purpose the best is "*seed*" *e.g.*, "seed of Abraham."

1 and 2. *U*—The root vowel or sound for "father"—*Tú-ba* or *Tó-ba*, "uncle"—*t-U-tĭ*, *t-U-bĭ*—and all their derivatives. The absolute or abstract form of both words is that here set down; *che-r-U-bĭ* on the contrary is a relative construction, corresponding to the usual *Abá* rule: as I maintain that in Abá there is a strong strain of Arawako-Carib elements, it is quite comprehensible that the feminality of the "maternal uncle" in *Che-t-U-ti* should be contained in the relative infix -t-, *vice* -r- of the other example, especially since, in the two outside tongues here referred to, suffix *-ti-* would be masculine, whereas prefix *t* on the contrary is feminine; the contrast of the two particles *t-* and *-ti* complete the idea of virility and "metavirility," to use Lucien Adam's terms. The whole scheme of Abá kinship terms hangs on this sound *U* and its sexogrammatical complements, therefore this long paragraph on fatherly, motherly and avuncular *U* is not out of place.

1 and 2. *Aĭ*—The word which determines cousinship as derived through a father's or mother's brother, *i. e.*, not marriageable *inter se:* the word in itself means "son" say, "little one" or "seed" (i) of the stock (a) (cf. Ruiz Tes: f. 351). Full translation: "My maternal uncle's son (male seed)."

1 and 2. *Ayĭ* vel *T-aĭĭ*—"man's daughter or niece." This curious word determines the sex of the cousin; in itself it is the former word *Aĭ* opened to admit the *y* sound, thus *A-y-ĭ*—The Dakota Indians know what this intrusive *y* means and we are full of it in South America—Guayana is only a Guana

or *Ua-na* nation with intrusive ethnic element *ya* to perturb the purity of the Arawak blood (*cf.* Ruiz Tes: f. 353).

2. *T-U-bĭ*, relative *r-U-bĭ*, general word for paternal uncle; the *bĭ* suffix fixes the lexical value of "uncle," by grading genealogically the fatherly *U*, and the cousinships male and female result from the filial values of the words *aĭ* and *a-y-ĭ*, who become nearest or next to brethren, by the parental value of *U* and the filial determinatives which complement it.

## Conclusions

1. That cousins, children of uncles, whether paternal or maternal, may not intermarry, because "uncles" are equivalent to "fathers," and "cousins," their offspring, to brothers and sisters, because "children."

2. That this is a relic of a time when woman, alone or as a sisterhood, belonged to a household of a polyandric brotherhood—originally exogamous.

3. Abá and Carib Indians when we got to know them had become endogamous and patrilineal.

We come now to the second group, numbers 3 and 4, the "aunts" paternal and maternal, interesting in many ways. To begin with in the first couple the fatherly idea is contained in one and the same *U* in both cases, as the difference between paternal and maternal "uncle" is simply marked by complementary particles; but in the second couple the difference between paternal and maternal "aunt" is lexically radical—*Yayché* is paternal, *cĭĭ* maternal "aunt."[1]

It would be premature to go afield for analogies in search of origins for the root sounds *ya* and *cĭ*, that will be done all in due time, but this fact is self-evident, the words for "uncle" presuppose ethnic identity, those for "aunt" a dual source; *ya* and *cĭ* are radically distinct and both American root and most important speech sounds.[2]

In this paper we must limit our research within the bounds of

[1] But it will be well to bear this linguistic fact in mind. In "paternal uncle" the radical sound is *U* of "father" graded by the *-bĭ* suffix to convert it into uncle; whereas in "maternal uncle" the root sound is *TU* and the *avuncular* particle *-tĭ*.

[2] After finishing this paper I disinterred from among my books Yves d' Evreux's excellent narrative on the Christian Mission in Marañam (1513). It is quite a revelation and out of it we may perhaps prove that *Aĭ* = *hai*—"mother."

the Abá *Tesoro*, bequeathed to us by Ruiz de Montoya. As in the first couple the words for "cousins" are really phrases descriptive of social organization, the key words being *yayché*, "paternal aunt" —and *cĭĭ*—"maternal aunt" the other words explain how and why the complete phrase comes to mean "cousin."

*Yaiché* is easily analyzed thus—*yché* or *iché*—a suffix meaning "truly" (*cf.* Ruiz *Tes*: f. 173), and *ya* a kinship sound of vast significance in America, as may be seen in Dakota or Lakota,[1] to go no farther (*cf.* Tes: f. 1812). Let us grant that *ya* means "origin," then *yayché* or *yaiché* means "true origin," and consequently the word for "paternal aunt" includes the idea of "real stock blood, with a possible hint of *Ai* ancestry."[2]

*Gĭĭ* or *cĭĭ* is even more transparent as regards its etymological value. *Cĭ* is the word for "mother" and the suffix—*ĭ* a diminutive particle; the natural meaning then is "little mother," so that "maternal aunt" to the Indian's mind conveyed the idea of "little mother," and so we come to the second meaning of *yaiché* "great or lordly mother," for one of the principal values of *ya* is—"great or grand," as in *yara* (*ya-r-a*)—"he who is Lord."[3]

Let us study numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4 in this way and we cannot but notice the perfect grading between the four different kinds of "uncles" and "aunts": "uncles" are *males* consequently of the *U* blood; "aunts" are *females*, therefore of *ya* or *cĭ* blood as may be, more or less outsiders. All these are connubial facts referable to old and obsolete social organizations.[4]

We pass on now to explain why phrases, numbers 3 and 4, mean paternally and maternally "aunt-cousins" if I may be allowed the expression, as the two former might be called "uncle-cousins."

[1] See *American Anthropologist*, N. S., vol. XVI, p. 96, "Oglala Lakota Kinship Terms." That page reads to me as if it were one stolen out of our own tongues.

[2] Later investigations show that *Ai* is the root word for "mother" all over South America and that it came from that earthly paradise the Antilles. In my second paper on Yves d' Evreux's work I shall have more to say on this point.

[3] Yves d' Evreux's assertion that in 1613 *Aĭ* (*Haĭ*) was the word for "mother" among *Toba-yara* and Topinambá Indians of the Marañam region may involve much additional information.

[4] The *U* blood may admit two subdivisions -*U* and *TU*- that "male," this "female."

To make lexical facts clearer the following is a short list of words—and their meanings which go to make up each phrase:

*Mémbĭ*—"a woman's child of either sex"—*cf.* Tes., f. 2192 ( ).
*Cuimbaé*—"man (*vir*) or male" *cf. Ibid.* f. 105 ( ).
*Cuña*—"woman, female, wife"—*cf. Ibid.*, f. 107 ( ).

It is very remarkable that in the former case the children of "uncles" were called "son" or "daughter" according to their sex, which of course converted them at once into "brother" or "sister" reciprocally; whereas in the present instance the children of "aunts" become at once "woman's-child male" and "woman's child female," that is to say, "tribal (possible) husband and wife," since the words *cuimbae* and *cuña* are, sexually speaking, "husband" and "wife" respectively, or say, "male" and "female"; not "son" or "daughter."

With these preliminary remarks we may at once pass on to translate each of the phrases 3 and 4:

3. *Che yayché mêmbĭ cuimbae* (vel) *cuñâ* — My paternal aunt's mother-child male or female } { "My cousin," father's sister's line.
4. *Che cĭĭ mêmbĭ cuimbae* (vel) *cuñâ* — My maternal aunt's mother-child male or female } { "My cousin," mother's sister's line.

*Note.*—Number 3 and 4. The male ready (by tribal custom) to receive female and so inversely, in both cases.

Any writer who chooses to ignore the connubio-social organization of the Guarani-Tupi-Abá nations or tribes could not easily explain the lexical anomalies of this short paradigm. From our point of view all becomes as clear as daylight.

*Paí* or *t-U-ba*—Father. *Haí* or *cĭ*—Mother.

A very natural question suggests itself to any casual reader—why I have begun with "uncles," "aunts" and "cousins" (male and female) and not with "father and "mother"? The answer is, because "uncleship" and "auntship" in primitive races is of more account than the paterno-filial relationship; therefore it is to this fact that we owe such works as Dr. W. H. R. Rivers's *Kinship and Social Organization.*

*Paí*—"father"—and *haí*—"mother"—are vocative terms of

respect, *U-ba* and *cĭ*, respectively, would be the usual words in conversation.[1]

That *U* in *U-ba* is the root sound we at once infer, because we have it also in the word *U-bĭ*—"uncle"—so that what determines the difference between "father" and "uncle" is the couple of suffixes *-ba* and *-bĭ* respectively.

If we choose to allow that *U* is an original root sound, with the Guaraní meaning that we assign to it, there is no more to be said, because every nation has a perfect right to the speech it has inherited, invented or adopted; this attitude has to be taken into account because Dr. T. A. Martinez of Goya in Corrientes, Argentine Republic, has lately published a very remarkable book on Guaraní in which he upholds the idea that this tongue is a mother language in every sense of the word. He speaks Guaran as a native and therefore has an intimate knowledge of many of its ins and outs; but I await his judgment after he shall have made as intimate an acquaintance with Carib and Arawak as with his own Guaraní.

My view of the case is quite another: the Abá stock is a medley of several others, and so is its language, though developed after its own particular fashion. At present we are only discussing kinship terms and so the proof of a common origin has to be confined to this line of the supposed kindred origin. Fortunately we have not far to go for our proofs:

*Words for "Grandfather"*

Abá or Guarani-Tupi *T-Amô-ĭ*, or *Paiamôî*

Caribic { Breton, Antilles, *-Tamu-cu*
Biet, Cayenne, *-Baba-tamu-ssi*
Venezuela, *-Tamor* }

If we consider that *Amô* is "kinship," "relative" and *Mû*, "distant relative," both words compared with *Amûndá* (*cf. Tes*: f. 332) we shall at once convince ourselves of the ethnic value of these roots. It would be well to consult Im Thurn's *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 305; there the full value of the "grandfatherly" sense of the word *Tamu* is established; the variant *Tamo* is the

[1] *Haĭ* or *gĭ-* Yves d' Evreux's vocabularies seem to point to *Aĭ* ( (*h*) *Aĭ*) as the older form.

Cumaná form. The prefix *t* is a particle in Carib, as well as in Abá or Tupí-Guaraní.

As this word for "grandfather" is general in Abá, a very natural fact since all the dialects keep very closely together lexically, vast geographical intervals notwithstanding, and general also in Carib, which is also widespread, though not with anything like the lexical uniformity of language, we may safely assume the common ethnic origin of this important word, but we have yet another proof or link in the chain.

The Abá or Guaraní word for "grandmother" is *ya-r-ĭ-î*, which takes us back to *yayché* or *ya-iché*—"aunt" or "father's sister." Both *ya-r-ĭ-î* and *t-amô-î* end in the ancestral or the acute *î*, which reappears in the other two *paî* and *haî*, "father" and "mother" respectively. The combination *hai-ya-r-ĭ-í* means "mother- grandmother."[1] *Paî-r-âmô-î* is the name they give to their grandfather or any old person, and *pai-r-U-bí* that for "uncle" or "old men." To deduce from this that *p-aî* and *h-aî* contain the idea of ancestral fathers and mothers of an old race, and as both Abá and Carib Indians seem to have had a common grandfather, that old stock we must seek among the extinct *Aï* of the Antilles. The English Chaco Missionary, R. H. Hunt, says his Lengua-Mascoy Indians call the Guaycurú-Toba tribes *A-ï*, and their near neighbors, the *Vejos* nation, calls itself *A-ï-yo*.[2] As *p-* and *h-* in *p-aî* and *h-aî* are simple prefixes it follows that with *p-* we got an *Aï* ancestor, and with *h-* an *Aï* ancestress: in the case of *car-aï* we have the meaning of a sort of cultural hero, equivalent to *paye*—"wizard"—a word in which *p-* reappears as a prefix. *Baba* is "father" in Carib, which in the Galibi dialect of Cayenne becomes *papa*. The name *Car-aï-bi* is represented by many native forms: the Arawak call them *Calina*, among themselves they are *Cal-li-na-go*[2]—"le veritable nom de nos *Caraibes*" (Breton, p. 105); womenkind called them *Cal-li-po-nam*.

Important as the *aï* clue may turn out to be, we have the word *p-Ai-r-U-bĭ* in which the two root sounds *aï* and *U* are combined as

[1] See note, p. 427.

[2] 30 bis.

linguistic and ethnic facts —*man of old* and that through the ideas of "father" and "uncle," two of the most important factors in ancient Indian social organization.

The accompanying table contains all the combinations of the *U* radical vowel; it mostly explains itself and any doubt may be cleared up by reference to the original works, Ruiz de Montoya's *Vocabulary* and *Tesoro*, Platzmann's Edition. The former is paged, the latter foliated, hence the difference "p" or "f"; the second side is marked thus $fx^2$. A peep into the *Tesoro* will make the reader thankful for my not sending him to search with an "*in voce*."

In the foregoing table of *U* terms it is quite clear that they are all derived from the same common root *U*, all initial *t*'s are articular, which in this case, as in so many others, change into *r* when combined with first and second person pronouns. In the third person they either remain as *t* or change into *g* or some other analogous particle; this *g* is very likely a modified *c*, it forms the so-called possessive or genitive case. *T* and *r* are constantly used in combination and in a way which seems to us redundant, in English, but in Spanish they would not be quite so, as still in the Lord's prayer, where we find the archaic forms *el tu reino* and *el tu nombre*.

It rather seems a surprise that our so often quoted text Ruiz de Montoya should not have given the Spanish equivalent for *atĭ*—"wife"—except in an indirect form, for instance in *t-U-b-atĭ*—"stepmother"—because "a father's wife," since "own mother" would be *cĭ*. "Step-father" is *cĭ-me*, because literally it means "mother's husband," and *cĭ ĭ* is man's word for "aunt"—his mother's elder sister, but the younger would be *cĭ-ĭ-quĭ*. This value of the suffix *ĭ* makes it probable that *t-U-bĭ;* "uncle"—"father's brother"—may have to be analyzed thus *t-UB-ĭ*: because according to Ruiz the word for "father" does include a latent sound.

Ruiz de Montoya, S. J., in 1640 published as part of his *Catechism*, a most important index of kinship terms for use in their missions, and I send a copy with the Spanish renderings turned into English. It will be found most useful. The church of Rome for some reason or another had very strict connubial regulations about

marriages between relatives and the forbidden degrees extended much beyond those set down in the Church of England. The taboo could be very much reduced by special licence or "dispensation," but without this preliminary a marriage was null and void. As a necessary consequence Roman Catholic missionaries were very careful to collect all the necessary information, hence all they have left us on this valuable branch of their subject; as most of the terms are descriptive, we get just what we want and more, since we not only fix kith and kin, but also often ethnic origin as well.

Kinship terms in Guaraní are descriptive also in an ethnic sense. We have a very convincing example, which comes down to us from the middle of the sixteenth century, written by Soares de Souza in his *Roteiro do Brazil*, pp. 93 and 94, chap. LVIII, where he describes the Indians called *T-Amo-yo*:

> These *Tamoyos* were lords of the whole coast from the river and cape of Santo Tomé to the Angra dos Reis (central point Rio Janeiro), whence they were hurled back to the primeval wilds and there they now live. They are a tall and well built race of men, brave and warlike, foes of all other nations, *T-Upinambas* only excepted, whose *kinsfolk* they claim to be, and their speech very much the same, as are also their manners and their customs, both neighbours and good friends. Their enemies are the Guaitacazes, neighbours as was said before, with whom they are at war, killing and eating one another. On the side of St. Vicent their neighbours are the Uayanazes, with whom they also carry on a merciless war.

The whole chapter is of very great interest, but for our purpose the name of *T-Amo-yo* suffices, because if they claimed to be kinsfolk of the Aba-Tupi, for the reasons stated in the passage quoted it is quite clear that the fact was established by the very name given to them by their friends and co-kinsfolk the *T-Upi-nambás*. The particle *yo* is of mutual reciprocity, our *co* prefix, therefore the word as it stands means "co-grandfather." See Ruiz, Tes., ff. 196[2] and 197; the whole series is most illuminating.

*Yo* is an affix which may be prefixed or suffixed, also infixed; in the case of *yo-aĭ-r-e-* "nephews *inter se*: offspring of two brothers or of two sisters"—we have a very good example of descriptiveness —"co-children"—that is, "cousins."

We are too much tempted to undervalue the psychological worth

of Indian mentality and yet when a Peruvian called a turtle *rumi ampatu*—"a stone toad"—a good deal of natural history knowledge must have been involved to be able to work out such a connection in the natural history of both reptiles, for the name is most apt in every sense.

In the accompanying table we have a formidable array of *U*-words as ideologues serving to form names meaning "father" or "uncle," perhaps in inverse order as to kinship importance. This confusion between the ideas of "father" and "uncle" must have much to do with an exogamous custom between two nations, in the one, patrilineal, all the men would be "fathers" and "uncles" of all the offspring and their children nationally "brothers" and "sisters" for they all would be of *U*-blood; the women as outsiders[1] would not be of any blood in particular, hence the rule that while paternal cousins could not intermarry those of maternal origin could, because their blood was of no account. The widow was the heirloom of her brother-in-law, but her daughter passed over to her mother's brother, as his inheritance.

When my original *U* table was prepared one very curious and valuable ethnic name was overlooked, that of *Tobayara*—probably because of the *O* instead of *u*; but as Roger Barlow more than a century before called his Abá Indians Topy and Tupy, vowels easily and usually confounded, I restore or add the find to the Tupi list reproducing Vasconcel-los account of this branch of the Abá stock.

> *Tobayaras* are the principal Indians of Brazil and hold themselves to be the first inhabitants and lords of the land. The proof of all this is the name they adopted as theirs; because *yara* means "lords" and toba—"face," that is to say that they are lords of the "face" of the land, or say "front" of their backcountry.

He goes on to tell us some fanciful interpretations of the term Tobayara, all of them in the sense of *toba*—"face"—and then finishes the paragraph with this sensible remark or commentary on the words "lords of the land of Bahia":

[1] 36 bis. Because of the *Tu* and not of *U* blood, that is to say of a feminine and not masculine stock. The *Tu* children would not of course be intermarriageable *inter se*, because *AyMu* or tribal children would rank as sons and daughters, *i.e.*, brethren, *inter se* also.

Sooth to say, as such they were always held in great repute by all the other Indians, quite the first and of great authority among them, because brave and always trustworthy. P. XVI.

In the *U* table they take their place with the *T-U-ba*, "fathers," *T-U-bĭ* or *T-TU-ti*, "uncles," *T-U-bi-chá*, "great chief," etc., all derived from the great root vowel *U*.

All American kindred terms in *U* are eminently descriptive and also of course sexually so, but with that part of our subject at present we are not concerned; it must have its turn later on, because to ignore it is to imagine that the Indian who formed his own language did not know what he was about. I have lived for half a century and more among Indian descendants of the Calchakee (*Calchaqui*), Peruvian and other Pacific cultures, with many of their rites and customs christianized, but psychologically pagan still, with many place names as salaciously improper as it is possible for them to be, and yet even English ladies living there use them every day. We may be quite certain that if we knew what our kinship terms really mean we should fly for refuge to some others less descriptive. But at present I only respond to Dr. R. H. Lowie's appeal:

In the first place, it is to be hoped that carefully prepared records of kinship nomenclature will begin to come in from all parts of the world. . . . The correlation of these terminologies with concomitant social customs and organization will henceforth become a duty . . . and may lead to a definite knowledge of the geographical distribution of distinctive features in terminology. . . . Finally, the intensive consideration of particular systems must bring to light many points of psychological interest, while comparison with the systems of culturally and linguistically related tribes will show what differences in nomenclature persist where differences in social organization are eliminated and linguistic differences minimized.[1]

GUARANI

*U* AND *TU* KINSHIP TERMS

*Che-r-U-r-ayĭ*.....my sister (father's daughter, man says).
(?) *t-U-beỹmbae*.....brothers and sisters on f. and m. sides.
*Che-r-Ú-ba*.....my father.
*t-Ú-ba*.....his father ("pater ejus").
*g-Ú-ba*.....his father ("pater suus").
*t-Ú-bété*.....real father
*t-Ú-bángá*.....step-father, godfather.

[1] *American Anthropologist*, vol. XVII, no. 2.

*Mê'nd-Ũ-ba* ..... husband's father, f. in-law.
*Che-r-atĭ-Ũ* ..... wife's father, f. in-law.
*yo-atĭ-Ũ* ..... co-father-in-law.
*t-Ũ-ba-atĭ* ..... father's wife, stepmother, f. 399[2].
*t-Ũ-bĭ* ..... uncle, father's brother, f. 400.
*Che-r-Ũ-bĭ-r-aĭ* ..... 1st cousin, paternal uncle's son.
*Che-r-Ũ-bĭ-r-ayĭ* ..... 1st cousin, paternal uncle's daughter.
*tŨ-tĭ* ..... uncle, mother's brother, f. 404[2].
*Che-Ũt-tĭ-r-aĭ-* ..... 1st cousin, maternal uncle's son.
*Che-tŨ-tĭ-r-ayĭ* ..... 1st cousin, maternal uncle's daughter, f. 404[2].
*Che-r-Ũ-ya-og* ..... near kinsman (paternal), 401[2].
*t-Ũ-ya-og-gue* ..... kinsman in ancient times, f. 255.
*t-Ũ-ya* ..... old age. See, *og-i-yâ-r-a*, ff. 255[2], 401.
*Che-r-Ũ-r-amôĭ* ..... my father's grandfather, f. 353[2].

### Other Derived Terms

*t-U-pa* ..... God. f. 402.
*t-U-bi-cha* ..... great in dignity or size, f. 400.
*t-O-ba-ya-ra* ..... chief nation of the Aba Indians.
*t-U-pi* ..... Guarani stock in Brazil.
*t-U-pi-namba* ..... same stock (Aba) North of Rio de Janeiro.
*t-U-pi-nikin* ..... same stock south of the former.
*t-U-pi-nae* ..... 1st invaders of Brazil of same stock.
*Membi-ra-U-pa* ..... woman's womb, voc. p. 80.
*Membi-r-i-U* ..... same as above, p. 80.
*U-g-i* ..... name given by a woman to all her sisters-in-law.

## Guarani Language[1]

### Kinship Terms

*Açĭguêra* ..... brother and sister.
*Aguaçá* ..... leman of both sexes (in a bad sense).
*Amô'* ..... kinship, relative.
*Anâ'* ..... of the same kith and kin.
*Cuñâ* ..... female, true wife, sister and kinswoma , word used by men.
*Çĭ* ..... mother.
*Çĭ angá* ..... stepmother, also godmother.
*Çĭĭ* ..... "aunt," man's word for the elder sister of their mother.
*Çĭĭquĭ* ..... "aunt," man's word for their mother's younger sister.
*Cĭmê'* ..... step-father.
*Haí* ..... true mother; also used to address elder women even when not their mother.
*Iaiché* ..... man's word for paternal aunt and female cousin. *Cheyayché mê'mbĭ.*+. *Ceû mbaé*—"my cousins male and female" —say they all.

[1] Ruiz de Montoya, S. T., *Catechism*, Madrid, 1640.

*Yarrĭĭ*.....grandmother, maternal and paternal.

*Yetipé*.....niece, man's word, for his sister's daughter; also cousin, his aunt's daughter.

*Cheyetipé mê'*....."My son-in-law, husband of my niece"—man's speech which also does for the husband of his cousin, daughter of his aunt.

*Yoaĭré*.....nephews.

*Yoayĭ*.....niece, man's word for his brother's daughter.

*Yĭra*.....nephew or male cousin, children of sister or aunt (*su* doubtful).

*Yĭtatĭ*.....man's word for sister-in-law—wife of his nephew.

*Marâ'nûngá*.....blood relation.

*Mêmbĭ Cuímbaé*...woman's son, also nephew of her brother's or sister's son (Spanish not at all clear).

*Membĭ raĭcé*.....woman's word for her son.

*Mêmbĭ ratĭ*.....daughter-in-law, woman's word for son's wife.

*Mênâ*.....(man), male, husband.

*Mêndĭ*.....mother-in-law, woman's word for her husband's mother.

*Mêndúba*....."father-in-law," she calls her husband's father.

*Méndĭbĭ*.....brother-in-law, her word for her husband's younger brother.

*Méndĭ queĭ*.....brother-in-law, if he is her husband's elder brother.

*Mû*.....distant relation, also friend, with whom one has frequent intercourse.

*Némoî*.....(Cumbleça) concubine.

*Ñômêmbĭ*.....nephews, woman's word for the children of her elder and younger sisters ("Hijos" in Spanish are "sons" and children).

*Pê'ng*.....woman's word for "nephew," when they are sons of her sisters.

*Pengatĭ*.....woman's word to address the wife of her nephew, son of a brother.

*Peû*.....son-in-law—woman's word used when she calls her daughter's or niece's husband.

*Quĭ pĭi*.....sister, woman's word, used by the elder when addressing her younger sister or niece.

*Quĭ pĭ'i mê'*.....brother-in-law—elder sister's word when addressing her younger sister's husband.

*Quĭbĭ*.....own brother, so the sister calls her brother or her cousin.

*Quĭbĭ quĭ*.....sister's word when calling her younger brother.

*Taĭcê*.....man, kinsman of my own people; used only by women. *Che membĭ raĭçe*, my boy child. (In Spanish, my boy son.)

*Taĭ*.....man's word for son, for nephew, when a son of his brother or first cousin and also *semen virile*.

*Taĭtatí*.....daughter-in-law, man's word for his son's wife, or for the wife of his nephew (son of his brother) or of his first cousin, *Cheraitate.*

*Taichó*.....mother-in-law—man's word: *Cheraycho.*

*Tayĭ*.....daughter and niece, man's word to signify his own daughter or that of any of his brothers.

*Tayĭrânga*.....goddaughter and stepdaughter—man's word.

*Taĭrângá*.....godson and stepson.

*Tayĭmê'nâ*.....son-in-law—man's word for daughter's or niece's husband.

*Tâ'*.....so the husband addresses his wife.

*Tamôi'*.....grandfather—general word used by all.

*Tatĭu*.....man's word for his wife's father.

*Teyndĭ*.....sister and female cousin—man's word. *Chereindi.*

*Teyndĭmê'*.....brother-in-law,—man's word for his sister's husband.

*Tembi recó*.....so a man calls his wife. *Cherembireco.*

*Tembirecó rĭq*.....sister-in-law, elder sister of wife.

*Tembirecó quĭ pĭí*..sister-in-law, wife's younger sister.

*Tembirecó membĭ*..stepchild, man's word for his wife's children not begotten by him.

*Temî'arîrô'*.....grandchildren, of both sexes—grandmother's word.

*Tĭbĭ*.....younger brother, so says his senior.

*Tĭbĭquĭ*.....*idem.*

*Tĭbĭratĭ*.....sister-in-law, elder brother's word when addressing his younger brother's wife.

*Tĭq̃ĭ*.....elder brother, so the younger brother names him.

*Tĭq̃*.....elder sister, younger sister's word.

*Tĭq̃ mê'*.....brother-in-law, younger sister's word when she speaks to her elder sister's niece's husband.

*Tĭq̃ĭtraĭ*.....sister-in-law, man's word to call his elder brother's wife.

*Tobayâ*.....so all, men and women, call their brothers and sisters-in-law.

*Túba*.....own father, father's uncle and cousin (male), as well as father's brother; word in use by all.

*Tubangá*.....godfather and stepfather.

*Tubĭ*.....general word for "uncle," father's brother.

*Tuyaogguê*.....blood relation.

*Tutĭ*.....uncle, general word used by all to name their mother's brother and her first cousin (male), the children also of her maternal uncle, who are their cousins.

*Tutĭ raĭ*.....first cousin (male).

*Tutĭ rayĭ*.....man's first cousin (female).

*Vq̃ĭ*.....sister-in-law, woman's word, when naming her brother's wife.

### First Degree as Between Brothers and Sisters

1. *Tĭ queĭ*.....elder brother.
2. *Tĭbĭ*.....younger brother.
3. *Tĭq̃*.....“elder sister,” says the younger.
4. *Quĭpĭí*.....“younger sister,” says the elder.
5. *Teyndĭ*.....“sister,” say the brothers.
1. *Cheriqueĭ*.....my elder brother.
2. *Cherĭbĭ*.....my younger brother.
3. *Cherĭ q̃*.....says the younger to the elder sister.
4. *Chequĭ pĭí*.....says the elder to the younger sister.
5. *Chereîndĭ*.....so the brothers call their sisters.

### Second Degree as Between Cousins (Male and Female)

1. *Tutĭ raĭ*.....male cousin on the male side.
2. *Tutĭ rayĭ*.....female cousin on the male side.
3. *Tubĭ raĭ*.....cousins (male) sons of uncle, father's brother.
4. *Tubĭ rayĭ*.....cousin, daughter of uncle.
5. *Yaichemê'mbĭ cuimbae'. cuñâ'*.....cousins, sons or daughters of father's sister.
6. *Çĭĭ mê'mbĭ cuimbaé.* 1. *Cuñâ'*.....cousins, sons or daughters of aunt, mother's sister.
7. *Che tutĭ raĭ*.....cousin, son of uncle, mother's brother.
1. *Chetutĭ raĭ*.....my cousin (male) on the male side.
2. *Chetutĭ rayĭ*.....my cousin (female) on the male side.
3. *Cherubĭ raĭ*.....my cousin, son of my uncle.
4. *Cherubĭ rayĭ*.....my cousin, daughter of my uncle.
5. *Cheyai che membi cuimbae'.* 1. *cuñâ*..my cousins, sons or daughters of my aunt, father's sister.
6. *Cheçĭ ĭ membĭ cuimbae.* 1. *Cuñâ'*....my cousins, sons or daughters of my aunt, mother's sister.
7. *Che tutĭ raĭ*.....my cousin, son of my uncle, mother's brother.

### Nephews and Nieces

1. *Tĭqĭ raĭ*.....nephew, son of an elder brother.
2. *Tĭqĭ rayĭ*.....niece—in the same way as the former.
3. *Teindĭ mê'mbĭ*....nephews, sons of a sister.
4. *Yetipé*.....niece of a man, his sister's daughter, and first cousin (female) his aunt's daughter.
5. *Tĭq membĭ*.....niece, aunt's word.
6. *Quĭpĭí mê'mbĭ*....*idem.*
7. *Pê'ngatĭ*.....niece, woman's word for her nephew's wife, when he is a brother's son.

1. *Cherĩq̃ĭ raĭ*.....my nephew, son of my elder brother.
2. *Cherĭq̃ĭ rayĭ*.....my niece.
3. *Chereindĭ mêmbĭ*..my nephews, sons (children?) of my sister.
4. *Cheyetipé*.....my niece, my sister's daughter and also my 1st cousin, daughter of my aunt.
5. *Cherĭq̃ membĭ*.....my niece, so says the aunt.
6. *Chequĭpĭí mê'mbi* .*idem.*
7. *Chepengatĭ*.....my niece, because she is married to my nephew, my brother's son.

### Third Grade, Second Cousins

1. *Tutĭ raĭ raĭréra*.....second cousin (male) on the man's side.
2. *Tutĭ rayĭ mê'mbĭ réra*.....second cousin (female) on the man's side.
3. *Tubĭ raĭ raĭ réra*.....second cousin (male) on the man's side.
4. *Tubĭ rayĭ mê'mbĭ réra*.....cousin (male) on the mother's side.
5. *Yaiché mê'mbĭ mê'mbĭréra*....cousins (female) on the mother's side.
6. *Çĭĭ mê'mbĭ membĭré*.....second cousins (female) on the mother's side.
7. *Tutĭ raĭ raĭre; yoaĭré*.....second cousins on the man's side.
1. *Chetutĭ raĭ raĭrêra*.....my second cousin, son's son of my uncle, mother's brother.
2. *Chetutĭ rayĭ mê'mbĭréra*.....my second cousin, daughter's daughter of my uncle, mother's brother.
3. *Cherubĭ raĭ raĭréra*.....my second cousin, son's son of my uncle, father's brother.
4. *Cherubĭ rayĭ membĭ rera*.....my second cousin, daughter's daughter of my uncle, father's brother.
5. *Cheyaiché mê'mbĭ membĭréra*..my second cousin daughter's daughter of my aunt, father's sister.
6. *Cheçĭ ĭ mê'mbĭ mê'mbĭré*.....my second cousin, daughter's daughter of my aunt, mother's elder sister.
7. *Chetutĭ raĭ raĭré; yoaĭré*.....the nephew, son's son of my uncle, mother's brother.

Museo de La Plata,
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