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Kinship and Naming Adjustments Necessitated By
Incestuous Unions Among the Cashinahua

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0. Introduction. Of the 55 Cashinahua marriage unions studied, 16 are considered by all informants to be incestuous. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the adjustments in the areas of kinship and personal names caused by such unions. As a background for this discussion it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the social organization of the Cashinahua.

1. Sketch of Cashinahua Social Organization. The Cashinahua, classified linguistically as Panoan (McGown, 1955), live along the Curanja River of eastern Peru, and the Embira, Muru, Taramáca, Jordao, Jurua, and Breu Rivers and their tributaries in the state of Amazonas and the Territory of Acre in Brazil, and correspond to the Cashinahua proper of Murdock's 195 classification. Unofficial estimates of the population of the group in Brazil range from several hundred to several thousand. There are 160 Cashinahua living in Peru. The data on which this paper is based were gathered while living with this latter group, but have been checked with informants visiting from Brazil, and appear to be equally valid for them also.

Cashinahua, which means "Bat People", is the name given them by the neighboring tribes. They do not use this term in referring to themselves, rather huai kuin, "the real people".

The basic economic and property-holding unit is the nuclear of polygynous family; the basic social, political, and ceremonial unit is the village, which consists of two or more matri-local extended families. Villages are loosely linked by extended kinship ties and by the ceremonially important moieties.

The tribe has no chief; in each village one man is recognized as headman. The office, which has little authority and few prerogatives, is passed down to the eldest son, or, if there is no son, to the eldest son of the next younger brother.

Descent is patrilineal: a son is a member of his father's moiety, and a daughter of her Fasi moiety. (An exception to this rule will be discussed later). The unilineal descent groups are unnamed as such, rather, the sub-groups determined by sex are named. The male moieties are inubaka, "children of the tiger", and guabake, "children of radiance". The female counterparts are respectively inani-bake, "children of inani (meaning uncertain)", and banubake, "children of banu (meaning uncertain)".

Cross-cousin marriage is in practice symmetrical, though the stated preference is patrilineal. It is exogamous with reference to the moiety, endogamous with reference to the village. (Only when a shortage of potential mates exists may a man marry into another village). When a man marries, he moves his hammock and goods from his father's house or part of house (if the village consists of only one long house), to that of his wife's parents, i.e. his MoBr and/or Fasi.

Plural marriages are frequent, with a strong preference for sororal polygyny: 13 of the 34 men have more than one wife, accounting for 54% of the unions studied. Of these, ten have two wives each, two have three wives each, and one man has four wives.

Each child at birth receives a group of from 4 to 8 names, which are closely associated with the generation/moiety group of which he is a member. A man is named after his FaFa, a woman after her FaFasi. (Exceptions to this rule will be discussed later).

Due to time limitations we will not discuss the kinship system, an analysis of which will appear in the fall issue of *Revista del Museo Nacional, Lima, Perú*. However, so that it will be easier to follow the discussion in Sections 2 and 3, a list of the kinship terms and two of the charts from that paper have been mimeographed and distributed to you.

There are twenty-two referential terms. Each term designates a moiety-age or generation category relative to Ego, with the exception of baba, which designates generation only. Following Edmonson's definition of kinship terms (1958:6), we treat the terms as status labels.

2. Incestuous Unions Defined. Incest, called "marrying badly" by the Cashinahua, is defined as marriage with any member of Ego's moiety, or of the opposite moiety, one generation removed. Marriage with those of two generations removal, opposite moiety, is permitted. For convenience in the discussion to follow, we will refer to unions which ignore the rule of alternating generations only as Type I, to unions which ignore the rule of moiety exogamy only as Type II, and to those which ignore both rules as type III. ^{Five} ~~three~~ of the unions studied were of type I, three of Type II, and 8 of type III.

Irregular unions within the extended families of Ego's parents are not tolerated, and no such cases exist. Incestuous unions outside the extended families are socially disapproved, Types II and III, more so than Type I, but subject only to supernatural sanctions.

Informants all agreed that the present rate of incestuous unions (30%+) is higher than formerly. However, they disagreed as to the cause. Most claimed that a sharp decrease in population caused by ~~population~~ epidemics following their initial contact with whites. Others, namely the young men without wives, said the

cause was an increased rate of polygyny. My most trusted informants gave both reasons.

3. Adjustments Necessitated by Incestuous Unions. Incestuous marriages require adjustments of kinship status of the couple and their offspring. Certain changes in naming of the offspring are also necessary. These vary with the type of incest committed. The adjustments described below are generally but not consistently followed and as one informant said in a text about incestuous marriages, "they (parents and offspring) go about confused".

3.1. In cases of Type I incest, where the rule of alternating generations has been violated, the husband assumes the kinship status normally held by the husband in a proper marriage, with reference to his Wifa and siblings. I.e. prior to the marriage Ego was chai to his Wifa and kuka to her siblings. Following the marriage he is dais to her father and chai and chaita to her siblings. Her father, who was his chai, becomes his kuka, and her siblings, who were his dais and babana, become his chai and ain.

The wife calls all her husband's kin as she did prior to the marriage except her HuFa, whom she calls kuka rather than chaita.

The offspring call all kin as they would if their mother's marriage had been proper, except their father whom they call epa rather than hachin.

The daughter's namesake remains the same, i.e. her FaFaSi, but that of the son changes from FaFa to MoMoMoHu or NoOlSiHu.

3.2. In cases of Type II incest, where the rule of moiety exogamy has been violated, the couple's kinship status changes with reference to the father of their spouse, who becomes kuka rather than epa.

For a son born to such a union, there is a change in his kinship status with reference to his mother and sisters. He calls his mother opa rather than achi until he marries, after which he calls her achi. He calls his sister pui until she marries, after which he calls her ain or xanu. All other kin are called as they ~~would~~ would have been if his father had married properly.

For a daughter born to incestuous union Type II, there is a change of status with reference to her father and brothers. She calls her father opa rather than kuka until she marries, after which she calls him kuka. She calls her brother pui until he marries, after which she calls him bene or chaita. All other kin are called as they would have been if her mother had married properly.

One further change, peculiar to daughters of incestuous unions of Type II and III, is made in moiety membership. Normally, a woman belongs to the moiety of her FaSi. However, she may not be a member of the same moiety as her mother and thus becomes a member of the moiety of her Brother *Mo Mo*

In cases of Type II incest, the son's namesake remains the same, i.e. FaFa. The daughter's namesake changes from FaFaSi to MoMo.

3.3. In cases of Type III incest, where both the rules of moiety exogamy and alternating generations have been violated, the couple's kinship status changes with reference of the father of their spouse as in Type II. For the Husband this has involved an additional change as in Type I but with reference to hsi WiFa only.

For daughters of unions of Type III, the changes of status are the same as in Type II. For sons, the changes of status are the same as Type II with reference to mother and sisters, and as Type I for all other kin.

A son's namesake remains the same as in Type II, i.e. FaFa, but a daughter's namesake changes from FaFaSi to ^{iv} FaFaFaWi or FaO1BrWi.

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