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### ***Cashibo kinship system and social relationships***

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## CASHIBO KINSHIP SYSTEM AND SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

### Introduction

The Cashibo Indians<sup>1</sup> are a small tribe numbering about 1,000 in the Central Peru jungle area, living along the banks of the Aguaytia, San Alejandro and Sungaruyacu Rivers, affluents of the Ucayali River. This tribe is the most linguistically divergent member of the Pano family of languages in Peru. Pano is classified by Murdock as part of the Jurua-Purus cultural area, a special sub-type of general Tropical Forest culture.<sup>2</sup> Tessmann (1930) gives the most complete ethnographic report on this tribe, and was the chief source for material on the Cashibo in the Handbook of South American Indians.<sup>3</sup> Tessmann's work was remarkably thorough and accurate in spite of his lack of fluency in the Cashibo language and lack of phonemicization in transcription of the language. Since 1946 members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics have intermittently done field work with the Cashibos resulting in several published articles on the phonemics and grammar of that language.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of this paper is to give detailed, up-to-date ethnographic material on the Cashibo kinship system and pertinent facts on the social system. After a brief historical introduction we present the two main systems mentioned by Lévi-Strauss in connection with kinship study: (1) the system of appellations in which we list and describe kin terms, related familial and group terminology,

and (2) a system of social attitudes including maps of villages with their statistics, life cycle and specific kin social attitudes.<sup>5</sup> Following this are analyses of two texts to show kin terms in context and to illustrate their usage, then a final summary and conclusion.

### Brief Historical Background

Native stories say that this tribe originated downriver; that is, down the Ucayali River and possibly down the Amazon in Brazil. After Cashibos migrated to the present general occupied area the Spaniards arrived and Spanish Catholic missions made several attempts to civilize them. The most recent far-reaching attempt at civilization was made about thirty years ago by Bolivar Odicio, a Cashibo raised by the neighboring Shipibo tribe.<sup>6</sup> Odicio, from the Lower Aguaytia area, made raids on the Upper Aguaytia, San Alejandro and Sungaruyacu areas and succeeded in taking many people captive to be acculturated to semi-mestizo culture among the Shipibos and in his own group. Under Odicio's leadership Cashibos helped clear and construct the last jungle section of the Carretera Central or Central Highway from Lima to Pucallpa, opening the area to mestizo culture and traffic. The Cashibos were outwardly civilized and subdued, but suffered decimation through epidemics of measles, whooping cough and tuberculosis as well as extreme cultural shock. The captives finally wandered back to their original areas, faced with the job of

reconciling newly-learned norms and values with old kinship system, social relations and values. Some few young men had learned to read, write and speak Spanish, and those most adept became the leaders of the present generation. On the three rivers, three groups have been pushed farther and farther up-river to the headwaters in order to keep isolated from the mestizos, but all areas are now influenced by that culture to a greater or lesser extent.

### System of Appellations

The name Cashibo, a Shipibo word meaning "bat people" (cashi "bat" -bu "people,") is distasteful to most members of the tribe. All Cashibos consider themselves uni "men, people" and all other people in the world as noo "enemies, strangers, foreigners." Hati noo, literally "to-kill people" are other tribes and peoples with whom they are, or were, on warring terms. The latter term occurs chiefly in mythological and historical texts. The meaning of noo today extends to mestizos and other white people rather than meaning simply "Indian" as stated by Tessmann (1930). Mestizos are also called hiracucha, though this term is being replaced by noo. Extremely light-skinned people are infrequently called inca, though this term is usually reserved for mythological gods, ancestors of the Cashibos. Noo is also a reference term used with kinship terms referring to persons of another tribe or group who have married a member or members of one's own band.

The term uni is sub-divided into two types of people: caibu "other tribespeople (of the Cashibo tribe)" and aintsi "members of one's own band." The term caibu derives from the verb caiti "to augment, multiply in number" referring to a man's enlarging his family by having many children or to a band's numerical increase.

On each of the three rivers the people are grouped in the following manner:

<u>River</u>	Villages or Bands			
	Lower		Upper	
	<u>Lower</u>	<u>Upper</u>	<u>Lower</u>	<u>Upper</u>
Aguaytía:	Shambuyacu,	Shambillo	Puerto Azul	Nueva Vista
San Alejandro:	Sinchi Roca	Chanintía	Buncuya <sub>1</sub>	Criminal
Sungaruyacu:			Santa Marta	Buncuya <sub>2</sub>

Each place named is a clearing with a cluster of houses or a group of clearings within a few minutes' walking distance of each other. Satellite dwellings exist along the rivers between or near these main areas. The four main bands are named after animals and birds in the following manner:

Lower Aguaytía:	Canabaë Uni	"Guacamayo men"
Upper Aguaytía:	Ruubu	"Howler monkey people"
Sungaruyacu:	Isunoobu	"Spider monkey people"
San Alejandro:	Cacataibu	"Cacatai people"

These are what Tessmann termed "clans" and which we are reluctant to call clans. True totemistic groups are not evident today, since young people of each area now eat the animals or birds after which they are named. Descriptions of these villages and examples of intermarriage follow later in this paper.

Two types of kin terms exist: reference terms and vocative terms. The vocative is formed by addition of stress and high tone to the final vowel of the reference term plus -n nasalization of the final vowel. Some few terms are used almost exclusively as vocative terms: unchí, buchí, ěnchí. These are terms referring to older and younger siblings. A few shortened forms of the vocative occur in formal greetings and texts: hěěn pá "my father" (from papa)

hěěn cú "my maternal uncle" (from cucu)

All kin terms aside from the vocative are accompanied by a possessive pronoun, and sometimes the vocative is also used with the possessive pronoun, as illustrated above. The suffix -baě is a pluralizer of kin terms, e.g. nucěn chaitíbaě "our many ancestors, great-grandfathers." The term hura "far away" is prefixed to kin terms referring to literal distance as well as a feeling of social and genetic distance. E.G. hura cucúnbaě "distant maternal uncles."

We shall now note the usual five categories of generation and their significant components and contrasts.

Cashibo kinship terms used by male and female ego alike are:

chichi	"grandmother".....EM, MM
papa	"father" .....F, FB, MF
cucu	"uncle" .....B, WF, FSH, HF
tita	"mother" .....M, MS, FW
xucěn	"sibling".....B, FBs, MSs; S, FBd, MSd
baba	"grandchild" .....ss, sd, ds, dd

F. ...  
B. ...  
W. ... 6

Separate terms used by male and female egos are as follows:

Ego

Male Female

xuta --- "grandfather" .....FF, MF, FFB, MFB  
 --- bēnta "grandfather" .....FF, MF, FFB, MFB  
 nachi --- "aunt" .....FS, WM, MBW  
 --- ñe xuta "aunt" .....FS, HM, MBW  
 chirabacē -- "sister" .....S, FBd, MSd  
 -- rarēbacē "brother" .....B, FBs, MSs  
 xucēn --- "brother" .....B, FBs, MSs  
 --- xucēn "sister" .....S, FBd, MSd  
 chai --- "male cross cousin" .....FSS, MBs, SH, WB  
 --- tsabē "female cross cousin" .....FSd, MBd, BW, HS  
 aini --- "female cross cousin" .....FSd, MBd, W, BW  
 xanu --- "wife, woman" .....FSd, MBd, W, BW  
 --- bēnē "male cross cousin; hus."..FSS, MBs, H, SH  
 bēchicē--- "offspring" .....s, d, Bs, Bd, WSs, WSd  
 --- tuá "offspring" .....s, d, Ss, Sd, HBd, HBd  
 piaca --- "nephew, niece" .....Ss, Sd, dH, sW, FSss, MBss  
 "son-in-law; dau.-in-law"..BSW, FSsd, MBsd, WBS, WBd  
 --- papa xuta "nephew; son-in-law" .....Bs, dH, FSds, MBds, HSs  
 --- ñee xuta "niece; daughter-in-law"..Bd, sW, HSd, FSdd, MBdd

The following age distinctions are made:

Ego

Male Female

unchi --- "younger brother" .....B, FBs, MSs  
 buchi buchi "older brother" .....B, FBs, MSs  
 hēnchi hēnchi "younger sister" .....S, FBd, MSd  
 --- chuchu "older sister" .....S, FBd, MSd  
 pui pui "older opposite<sup>ex</sup> sibling"....S, B  
 chaipa --- "younger cross cousin" ...FSS, MBs,  
 --- bēnta xuta "yr. cross cousin" ....FSS, MBs,



For a man to have children the verb běchiti is used which literally means "to take from" or possibly "to take from the face of." The etymology of the word involves one of two meanings for the morpheme bě- : from běti "to bring" or bě- prefix having to do with the face or eye. A parallel word ěchiti means "to pull out," although relationship is not clear. When a man has a daughter (ini běchiti: female sex + vb.infinitive) he calls her his ini běchicě (female sex + nominalized verb) or the opposite for a son (bacě běchiti, bacě běchicě.) On the contrary, for a woman to bear children the term tuati is used, the noun tuá "child" made into a verb by the addition of the suffix -ti "to have a child." When a woman is pregnant she is tuu-ñu "with child". A daughter is her ini tuá, a son her bacě tuá. The sex reference terms are sometimes used without specifying whether běchicě or tuá, though this is usually clear from the context or situation. A woman more often uses the terms ini and bacě without the accompanying tuá; a man more often uses both terms together bacě běchicě, ini běchicě (see text A.) When either father or mother is asked whether a new baby is a boy or a girl, besides showing the visitor the baby's sex organs to demonstrate his sex, the parent also says either ainbu "female" or běbu "male". Ainbu literally means either ain "its, her" + buu "hair" or ain "its" + -bu "people" with the former as preferred meaning. The sex of animals is referred to as ain xanu "its woman, wife" and ain běně "its husband," meaning simply female or male respectively.

A dialectical variation of běchicě is uniacě used by the Cacataibos without the sex reference terms. When the latter are used alone, they specify sex after the children are older. Dialects who use běchicě may also use uniacě with the narrower range of meaning 'very young son or daughter.'

The reference term itsi "other" follows four kin terms. It means that the person is of the same relationship as the main kin term but with an added component:

pa itsi - FB

tita itsi - MS

běně itsi - SH Same as běně (MBs, FSs) with marriage link to sister. (Female ego)

ainitsi - BH Same as aini (MBd, FSd) with marriage link to brother. (Male ego)

In cases of polygyny, first and second wives are distinguished thus: cuee (que) xanu "first or older wife" chini xanu "second or younger wife." In cases of polyandry or a widow referring to dead and living husbands, the same reference terms are used with the word běně "husband." One wife refers to her co-wife as ra-itsi (ra- "side" + itsi "other.") A child calls his sibling by his mother's co-wife bětsi pucu buchi which means literally "other stomach brother" (or other sibling term may be used.) A sibling by your same mother is called hěěbě chiqui chirabacě "with-me come-out sister" (or other sibling term.) A woman uses the reference terms bětsi pucu plus tuá referring to children of her co-wife.   
 "other stomach" "child"

Cashibo kinship terminology equates some kin of the same generation and some kin of different generations:

#### SAME GENERATION

$G^{+2}$	FF - MF - FFB - FFB	Male and female ego
	FM - MM - FFS - FMS	" " " "
$G^{+1}$	F - FB	" " " "
	M - MS	" " " "
$G^0$	B - FBs - MSs	" " " "
	S - FBd - MSd	" " " "
	FSd - MBd	" " " "
	FSd - MBs	" " " "
$G^{-1}$	s - Bs	Male ego
	d - Bd	" "
	s - Ss	Female ego
	d - Sd	" "
	Ss - Sd	Male ego
$G^{-2}$	ss - sd - ds - dd	Male and female ego

#### DIFFERENT GENERATIONS

<u>xuta</u>	FF - ss, ds	Male ego
	FS - Bd	Female ego
	F - Bs	Female ego
	MF - MBs	Female ego
<u>chai</u> - <u>chaiti</u>	FSs, -MF, MFF, etc.	Male or fem. ego
	MBs	Male ego
<u>nusi</u>	FM, MM	Male ego
	FF, MF	Female ego
	ss, ds	Male or female ego

The equivalents in the same generation are normal for a system of sister exchange or cross cousin marriage, and fairly self-explanatory.

Of the equivalent terms for differing generations, the term xuta is a composite term referring to the patrilineal descendent in the second generation of any person. A male ego uses xuta in reference to male relatives only, referring to his paternal or maternal grandfather or to his son's son or daughter's son. A female ego uses the term in reference to male or female relatives, e.g. her father's sister (nee xuta, her brother's daughter (xuta, nee xuta), her brother's son (papa xuta) and her younger cross cousin of the opposite sex (benta xuta.) Thus the three reference terms used with the kernel term xuta are: nee (FS), papa (F), and benta (FF, MF.) This results in a linking of children to their father's father, whether the child be male or female. Evidence for a patrilineage results from the linking of a man and his sister to their father's father. A female ego links her father's sister with her father's grandfather. She links her brother's son to her father and the child's paternal grandfather, and also links her brother's daughter to the child's paternal grandfather. A female ego also links her younger cross cousin of the opposite sex to her mother's father (the child's paternal grandfather) through the term benta xuta. The term chaiti for  $G^{+3}$  and back links the term chai (FSS, MBs, male ego) to his grandfathers of his mother's patrilineage. Chaiti "ancestors, great-grandfather" relates with a man's chai "male cross cousin; brother-in-law" just as its opposition term aintsi relates with aini "female cross cousin (male ego) or to ainbu "girl, female sex." Both

are male ego terms referring to cross cousins of each sex respectively. The time dimension differs for the two terms aintsi and chaiti in that one's aintsi may be one's ancestors or contemporaries whereas one's chaiti are almost exclusively referred to in texts as one's ancestors. Although the terms may originally have referred to matrilineality, that is, female and male matrilineal relatives, present usage does not allow this interpretation, for either term refers also to patrilineal relatives. Marriageable cross cousins are not aintsi "relatives." Other general terms referring to ancestors are:

nucën rara "our great ones"

nucën taínqui "our first ones"

nucën rëbúngui "our earlier ones"

The term rara means "great, large" and is used to refer to a large river also. Rëbu means "head, upper end" and refers also to the headwaters of a river. These terms used frequently in men's and women's chants and texts, are usually grouped as two or three terms; two terms in opposition, two terms in apposition or three terms from the most extended element to the least extended element.

<u>nucën chaiti</u>	<u>nucën rara</u>	<u>ain aintsi</u>
our ancestors	our ancestors	their relatives
(great grandfathers)		

The first two terms could be opposition terms referring to male and female ancestors respectively, though social activities in the text indicate that more likely they were of the same sex, mainly male. The first term is the most extended element, used more frequently alone in the text. The latter term refers

to the brothers and parents of the chaiti. It is stated that the chaiti lived well together without fighting, a group including ain xucën "their brothers" ain chirabacën tuábě "their sisters' children-with".<sup>7</sup> The terms ain taënqui (dialectical variation of taínqui), ain rara is also used following the pair nucën chaiti, nucën rara. The latter two may refer to male and female relatives of generation <sup>+3</sup> and the former two refer to male and female relatives of generation <sup>+4</sup> and above. Text A included in this paper uses the terms hěën xuta and hěën ñusi, terms of generation <sup>+2</sup> referring to MF and MM (male ego.) Text B refers to a woman's ñusi in apposition to her běntan FF, female ego. Thus the term ñusi refers to a person of G<sup>+2</sup> of opposite sex as ego. This term is also used to refer to a woman's grandchild, just as the term xuta also refers to a man's grandchild. The term chichi "grandmother" is not listed as a categorizing term through whom kinship is reckoned.

The term sěcě is a reference term used with kin terms of the primary family meaning "step-child, step-sibling." There is no evidence that a child uses this term for his step-parent. The terms hunán "foster child" and hunán papa, hunán tita "foster father, foster mother" are used mutually in cases of adoption. An orphaned child is said to be hibuñumocě "made without an owner," whether one or both parents has died. The term hibu follows a sibling kin term to indicate an older person from a different generation but in the same patrilineage.

but in the same patrilineage; e.g. chirabacë hibu "sister, same father, different mothers, younger male ego."

The term -ocë with variant -acë following a kin term has one of two meanings: 1) reference to a dead person or one not seen; 2) calling a person by that particular term. The kin term plus the infinitive oti means "to call by \_\_\_\_ kin term." Thus a person from an unknown group brought to a settlement to live is told: Hëë ca papót (papa + ot [imperative]) "call me father." Hëë ca titot. "Call me mother," and so on by all other group members. There is extension of kinship terminology to include all civilized members of the tribe, or all one's caibu as in the Australian systems, whereas uncivilized members of one's own patrilineage are still considered noo "enemies, strangers." Any person living among a group of Cashibos for any length of time or married into a Cashibo group is adopted into that group. Formal adoption took place after a distant relative or non-relative burned the body of a dead person and then was adopted to take the place of that person. Each of the relatives performed the ceremony of mapatsananti "mutual head-stroking" with the person they were adopting. The head-stroking was accompanied by wailing. If their brother had died, they called the new relative "Brother," if their father had died, they called him "father," etc. There is not a strict adherence to geneological relationships in the adoption. Generation and age plays a great part in deciding whether to call an older man father or grandfather. At the same time, a woman may say to another woman,

"My child doesn't have a grandmother. My child will call you grandmother," regardless of what relationship terms others in the village use toward the adoptee, and regardless of the age of the person being adopted. Because many older men have married women one or two generations down from them, a "mother" is often considerably younger or the same age as a "child." The two retain a relationship of respect but the respect is in the opposite direction since it is the relative age of the two that is actually significant.

Included here are two charts showing the ideal of sister exchange or cross cousin marriage as in the Kariera system.<sup>8</sup>



Birth. A pregnant Cashibo woman has a very restricted diet. She is allowed to eat the meat of certain birds and fish such as wide-mouth bass, paujil, panguana, unchala, trompetero, anchuveta and carachama. She must eat no red meat. The husband also diets during his wife's gestation and until the child is two or three years old. It is considered taboo for him to touch or kill a tiger, snake or lobo during this time. If the parents want a baby girl to be born, they arrange to have one of the older women wash the pregnant woman's body and genitals with water and flowers of a wild vining plant. These flowers are shaped like a woman's genitals. If they desire a baby boy, the older woman bathes the future mother with a mixture of water and the newly-forming pods after the petals have dropped off the above-named flower. These pods are shaped something like penises. Bathing takes place any time before the birth of the baby, even in the eighth month.

In preparation for the actual birth, a strong pole is planted in the ground and clean sand and banana leaves spread over the ground somewhere near the edge of the clearing. The woman's mother and several other women are present. Sometimes the woman's husband is also present who alternates with his wife's mother stroking the pregnant woman's body over the fetus area with downward motions to encourage the baby to drop, while the woman, in a squatting position, grasps the pole. Previously the umbilical cord was cut with a newly-made bamboo knife, but presently a razor blade is often used. After the delivery the

mother and baby are confined to a mosquito net for eight days. The umbilical cord is buried near-by, so that a person later thinks concerning that area of land, "My blood is there." No head forms are used. The child is washed after a few days, and the more progressive Cashibos have modified the mestizo custom of having god-parents by calling the woman who washes the baby its coma (comadre) or god-mother, this preferably being a mestizo or white woman. The god-mother is expected to give gifts to the child and take care of him if something should happen to the mother. *Male counterpart is compa (compadre) god father.*

There is a marked decrease in childbirth which is a sign of the existing cultural stress and lingering anomie of this tribe. Two reasons for this decrease in childbirth are 1) use of jungle leaf medicines available locally which prevent childbirth because of women's desire to avoid the pain of bearing children and the work of raising them, and 2) sterility as the result of high incidence of venereal disease. Jungle leaf medicines seem more effective in permanently leaving a woman sterile than in making her bear children, though they exist for both purposes. Women nurse their children for about two years and refrain from having sex relations with their husbands. The women are insulted if they are asked whether they are pregnant while a child is still nursing. There is almost never less than two years between children. When a woman expects a second child, she sends the first child to stay with her mother for weaning. During those first two years of care, the mother and father are

very indulgent toward the child. They are also very careful to keep him from crying or falling, for if this happens all other adult relatives scold the parents. Many maladies including mental slowness are attributed to a child's fall from a height of one to several feet.

### Training and Initiation

A father has the chief responsibility of teaching his son to hunt and fish, beginning by making miniature bow and arrows for him. He also teaches him to recognize which jungle plants and trees are edible, which are medicine and which are poison, as well as the names of all the animals, birds and fish. The maternal uncle aids in teaching his nephew these things if he lives near-by. A father teaches his son values, taboos, myths and tribal lore though previously more formal training took place when men's rites existed led by the grandfathers and great-grandfathers. Cashibos do not practice circumcision nor do they hold initiation rites today. Older men tell myths in evenings.

Mothers teach their daughters tasks of the home such as gardening, spinning and weaving, cooking, etc. They also teach customs and values by what is called hēsēti bana "counseling words" and some myths through what is called bana tuputi "to-count words; words in rhythm" or chanting. These chants employ many circumlocutory and symbolic expressions understood only by the women and often last for two or three hours.

Cashibos today believe that no girl menstruates without having had sex relations. At puberty the girls are isolated

in a small temporary shelter where they cook their own food and learn to sit on sand for their condition. The term for menstruate pëi machácë means "mashed leaves" as a circumlocutory expression. The direct term meaning "to bleed" is taboo for mixed company.

Marriage. Ideal Cashibo marriage type is sister exchange or symmetrical cross cousin marriage. Rather than marry his preferred mother's brother's daughter and/or father's sister's daughter, if such a kin is not available a man may marry the sister or daughter of his male cross-cousin, step daughters of prohibited relationships, his mother's half-brother's daughter or his father's half-sister's daughter. Marriage is prohibited with a man's father's brother's children and mother's sister's children, his step-sister, sister or daughter. In a few cases, although Tessmann mentioned that this type marriage is prohibited, men have married their piaca "sister's daughter" or baba "sister's son's daughter." Sororal polygyny is permitted and exists, yet statistics reflect that present shortage of available girls in at least two areas makes <sup>continuation of</sup> this practice presently prohibitive. A woman and her brother or parallel cousin arrange the marriage of their offspring, with the permission of the girl's father and brothers. There is a period of bride service by the young man to his father-in-law who is usually his maternal uncle. There is no ceremony for marriage. Occasionally there is a fiesta between the two family groups, after which the couple live together. Bride service is dispensed with if the man or his father is powerful and wealthy enough to pay a gun or cloth in exchange

for the girl when there is no reciprocal sister exchange. Older men of the second generation up from a girl usually get first choice and girls are often contracted for marriage through infant betrothal or when they are just six or eight years old. A man calls the girl his catacë xanu "contracted-for wife." He may take her to his home at this young age, but usually a father will not permit the girl to leave home until her puberty unless he has six or eight children to feed and feels the need for reducing this number.

One of the great causes of divorce is a young man's unwillingness to help his maternal uncle (father-in-law) with work during his term of bride service, or a young girl's laziness when she has gone to live with her husband and his family. Second cause for divorce is infertility, caused by either jungle medicines taken or effects of venereal diseases. In case of divorce, the children belong to the father. If a family has too many girl babies, rather than practice infanticide the parents usually give the child to a childless couple for adoption, since there are many childless couples. A maternal uncle and wife may take a woman's child to raise. An illegitimate child stays with his mother while he is young. When he is weaned and old enough to be away from his mother, usually at about eight or nine years old, he may be taken by his father who teaches him to hunt and fish.

Death and Mourning. Cashibos today do not believe in mercy killing, even of animals, except in the case of new-born

babies which show definite signs of malformation. Infanticide of unwanted girl babies was practiced until about ten or fifteen years ago, in contrast to the Shipibos' practice of valuing female children. There is no suicide among Cashibos such as you find prevalent among the Aguarunas. Revenge killings have supposedly been discontinued since Odicio's efforts at civilization but as recent as 1963 a revenge killing took place.

Cashibos believe that persons always recover from simple illness but when they die they were poisoned or bewitched by their enemies. If a child has died, each of the female relatives holds the child on her lap and wails. In return, the grieved father gives a gift to each of those women. Different men take turns lying across the body of a dying old and influential person and breathing mouth-to-mouth fashion while the rest of the relatives stand around and clap their hands. Original Cashibo cultural practice was cremation of all the bodies of the dead. They commissioned a non-relative to scrape the flesh from the bones as the body burned, then adopted this person to replace the deceased. They scraped the bones from the fire, ground them to a fine powder and mixed them with masato. Members of the primary family, maternal aunt, paternal fathers, sons and daughters drank in order to receive some of the special qualities of the deceased. They made a bone drink of only the more influential and powerful persons. As recently as 1963 members of Criminal village on the Upper San Alejandro River continued this practice. All other areas bury the bodies in the house where the person lived and usually but not always abandon that house. ~~Relatives~~

Relatives cut a canoe to the length of the body, wrap the body, place it in the canoe with the head pointing up-river and bury it after one or one and one-half days. All belongings of the deceased are burned. Everyone in the village goes to his chacra, digs up the yuca of the dead man and eat it. His footprints are dug up and thrown into the river. His paths in the jungle for hunting, marked by bent twigs, are destroyed. Girard speaks of the mythical monkeys which protect and help the dead during their post-mortem journey. He also states that when a child dies Cashibos kill a chicken and bury it with his body so the spirit of the chicken will accompany the child in the other world.<sup>9</sup> As a sign of mourning women cut off all their hair and cover their heads with a cloth or bath towel until the hair grows out. They do this at the death of all primary relatives and most secondary relatives. A widow's sister-in-law and daughter-in-law take care of her. She begins to feed the brother of her dead husband and within two months or a year after being widowed he takes her as wife. Other male relatives advise a deceased man's brothers of his death. The brothers then come and shoot arrows into the ground around the widow, though they do not hit her.

System of Social Relations: Kin Relationships

Father-son relationship is close, whether this be true biological or simply social relationship. A son is valued as one who will continue and strengthen the patrilineage where there are a number of brothers with their parents. One informant said people of a band or group do not like to see a man have too many sons because he will have too much power, and try to kill some of the sons to keep down that power. A young man receives most of his training, after weaning, from his father. A young man and his father have no joking relationship, but one of serious respect. They would not consider witchcraft, <sup>against</sup> ~~nor~~ poison one another.

Grandfather-grandson relationship is also close, enhanced by the ties between these generations in the kinship terminology. A young man is also named after his grandfather, as illustrated in Text A, or after his father. A grandfather was revered and obeyed, for he had more power and knowledge than one's father. Grandfathers were in charge of the men's rites and demanded strict obedience, meting punishment to the careless. Their chief responsibility was to teach the sacred beliefs and ritual to the young men. Today formal rites are discontinued, but in the evenings grandfathers tell myths to their grandsons. Although they are indulgent towards their grandsons, they are also feared and respected because of their knowledge of poisons and the spirit world.

Maternal uncle-nephew relationship is one of respect and fear or of closeness. The maternal uncle often helped teach a young man to hunt and fish. Cashibo texts reflect a close



association between a man, his father and his mother's brother in activities of hunting, war and general decision-making by repeated use of the vocatives hěěn pá, hěěn cú, hěěn unchí "my fathers, my uncles, my brothers" in this order. In cases of bride-service to a powerful uncle, if a nephew (son-in-law) submits and serves his uncle properly, a close relationship may exist. This relationship is strengthened when a man's father is not living. A displeased maternal uncle has power to take his nephew's wife away if the nephew is lazy or disagreeable in bride service. Or, if the nephew is married to someone other than the maternal uncle's daughter, a widowed uncle may take the nephew's wife or the oldest of his two wives as his own. In cases of shortage of women, maternal uncle and nephew have shared a common wife.

Siblings of the same sex enjoy a respect relationship and closeness which follows through adulthood. Brothers prefer to marry sisters. Previously wife-exchange<sup>-sharing</sup> existed with the older brother having the most authority and preference of wives but this practice remains only in the Criminal village. Brothers do not fear being poisoned by one another. A large family of many sons is preferred for strengthening the patrilineage, as mentioned above.

Father-daughter relationship is not as close as that of father-son. There is no joking relationship, but one of extreme respect. A father who is powerful may succeed in keeping his daughter at home and gain the help of his son-in-law for daily work.

Mother-daughter relations are very close. The two work together in the household in close association. The mother arranges with her brother for her daughter's marriage partner. She defends her daughter by long harangs when her daughter's in-laws are angry with her. Mother and daughter show mutual respect.

Mother-son relations, though close during early childhood, are followed by decreasing closeness as the son grows older and begins to accompany his father on hunting trips. Mother-son relationship is closer when the mother is a widow. Then she teaches her son more of the tribal lore. Since men and women do not eat together, a mother never eats with her son. No joking relationship exists, and when father is living mother-son relationship can be almost one of avoidance.

Siblings of opposite sex enjoy a closeness in early childhood followed by respect but avoidance during puberty and early adulthood. A father teaches his son not to touch his sister. A girl's brothers must give their consent to her betrothal, particularly when her father is not living. A woman may give her brother's daughter to her son as wife.

Cross cousins of the same sex enjoy a joking relationship; of opposite sex practice avoidance, since they are potential mates.

Maternal uncle-niece relationship is avoidance because she is a potential marriage partner for him. A man also avoids his mother's brother's wife or his father's sister.

Husband-wife relationship is often characterized by unfaithfulness, adultery and general instability. Men often poisoned

their wives, shot them with bow and arrow or beat them to death in earlier days, but now that there exists such a shortage of women the men cannot exert the authority over them as previously. Tessmann mentions the existence of harlots. This type woman today is a married woman, usually one married to a man much older than she.

System of Social Relationships: Statistics of Four Areas

Introduction: Residence. Cashibos before becoming civilized built large communal houses called quenincocë or hoó xubu holding up to 160 persons and sectioned off for families with fences. Previous communal houses have disappeared and are replaced by square palm thatch roofs with or without walls and pona (palm) bark floors. The cultural habit of scattering houses within a broad general area has been broken in all areas by attempts to form mestizo-style villages with central plaza area and houses only a few meters apart in rows as a status symbol to identify with and be recognized by mestizos and the Peruvian government. These villages or caseríos are repeatedly abandoned and re-formed because of: 1) the river ravaging the banks or flooding the area, 2) many deaths from tuberculosis, measles, etc., 3) dissention, accusations of poisoning, 4) need to cut new gardens farther away, and 5) retreat farther up-river to escape encroachment of mestizos.

Although there are no chiefs as Tessmann states, there is an outstanding middle-aged man in each area who speaks good Spanish, handles business for the non-Spanish-speaking members

of the community and represents them in official business. Besides this man there are several men ages 40-50, usually brothers or men and their brother-in-laws, who make important decisions for the group.

The villages consist of single-family or extended-family dwellings. Two-family units consist of an older married couple, their children, their married sons and/or daughters with their spouses and children. Although both Shipibo and Cashinahua claim matrilocality, Cashibo shows both patrilocality and matrilocality depending on a number of variants.

Cashibos decide on residence locality for a young couple considering the following variables: whether the respective fathers are living or dead, status and power of the respective fathers, number and influence of the respective brothers, age and influence of the prospective husband, and distance between the respective homes. There is a great interplay of these factors but power and influence are the central determining factors for residence, whether it be on the part of the new husband or between the respective parents. If the new husband is an older man, a father will often permit his daughter to go away from home to stay with her husband. A gun, cloth, machetes, etc. are paid as bride price if there is no bride service. A young man usually serves bride service to his father-in-law for at least a short period, in order to demonstrate to his wife's father that he is capable of providing for her. If the distance is short between the parents' homes, the couple often spends some time making and tending gardens in the vicinity of each set of parents,

as food-gathering requires. If a man's parents are living and his father is more influential than his wife's father, the couple will live with the young man's family. If a man's parents are not living and he has no brothers, he is likely to align himself with his mother's brother (father-in-law) for an indefinite length of time, or with his wife's influential brothers if her parents are not living. If she has only one brother, she will go to live with the patrilineal-patrilocal group of her husband.

Since the entrance of civilization the levelling norms and values of the tribe have been gradually giving way to an emphasis on status. This emphasis involves: 1) living in a Peruvian or mestizo-style house, 2) wearing Western-type clothes (including shoes for the young men), 3) speaking Spanish, 4) owning a gun, 5) selling bananas, rubber or hides commercially. The parents of the bride do not place value on items 1-3 alone when looking for a son-in-law, for he could meet those requirements and remain very lazy and uninfluential. They desire a son-in-law who has qualities 1-3 if they are accompanied by industriousness, especially proved by items 4-5. Charting the factors which influence residence, we find that all important factors concerning the girl are negative. Factors concerning her parents, the new husband and his parents may be positive or negative with the following possibilities: (see chart.)

Items which give a man a plus rating are: qualities 1-5 listed above, parents living or older age such as above middle age, many brothers, qualities of being ambitious and influential. He gets a minus rating from: lack of one or all of qualities 1-5, parents dead, youth, few brothers, lack of ambition and influence.

Girl	Man	Girl	Man
-	+	-	-
-	+	-	+
Girl's parents Man's parents Patrilocal		Girl's Par. Man's parents Patrilocal	

Girl	Man	Girl	Man
-	-	-	+
+	-	+	-
Girl's parents Man's parents Matrilocal		Girl's par. Man's parents Matrilocal or Patrilocal	

Items which give a plus rating to either set of parents are: qualities 1-5 listed above, power and influence. Deceased parents gives an automatic minus rating unless a girl has very influential brothers who would take the place of her parents in negotiations.

We now list statistics for four main Cashibo areas based on original listings from a census taken in 1958 but with some up-dating to 1964 showing births and deaths in families of the original census. A few cases of divorce are not shown.

## STATISTICS OF FOUR AREAS

	Upper Aguaytia	Lower Aguaytia	Upper San Alej.	Lower San Alej.
Total no. persons.....	137	137	64	94
Nuclear households.....	9	12	6	3
Extended households.....	7	8	3	7
Total no. of households.....	<u>16</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>
No. of monogamous families.....	18	22	12	21
No. of polygynous families.....	1	5	1	0
No. of polyandrous families.....	2	0	0	0
No. of widows or widowers with fam.	2	2	0	1
No. of homosexual relationships....	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total number of families .....	24	29	13	22
+Residence with/near husband's fam.	4	11	5	5
+Residence with/near wife's family	8	9	3	4
#Two or more married brothers with or near each other .....	1	3	2	3

+These figures do not reflect the true picture of bilocality in some cases.

#Each unit may consist of up to five married brothers and may include their sisters also.

Upper  
Aguaytia



Puerto Nueva  
Vista

Upper  
Aguaytia

Distance from #1 to #16:  
About 3-4 miles.

Puerto  
Azul

Airstrip

Carachupa River (Paentena)

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

10

9

11

12

13

14

15

16



## UPPER AGUAYTIA: PUERTO AZUL AND NUEVA VISTA

Households

## #1. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

## A. Basic:

- (1) Simón - 60 yr. (married his granddaughter baba)
- (2) Wife: Sarita 15 yr - from #10. (actually Wife II)
- (3) Son by Wife I: Eduardo - married and moved to #4

## B. Extension:

- (4) Son by Wife I: Felipe - 30 yr. Married mestiza.
- (5) Son's wife: Ameliz - 30 yr.
- (6), (7), (8), (9) Three sons, one daughter of Felipe

## #2. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

## A. Basic:

- (1) Mateo - 45 yr. (now deceased)
- (2) Wife: Hamén Xanu - 50 yr. (from Sungaruyacu)

## B. Extension:

- (3) Daughter: Julia - 35 yr. Married MMBs
- (4) Daughter's husband: Pedro 35 yr.
- (5), (6), (7) Daughter's three sons.

## #3. Nuclear family - Monogamous (extension of #2)

- (8) Son: Israel - 25 yr. Married girl from Sungaruyacu.
- (9) Son's wife: from Sungaruyacu.
- (10), (11), (12) Son's wife's children by previous marriage.
- (13) Son's child.

## #4. Extended family - Monogamous

## A. Basic family:

- (1) Nana (now deceased)
- (2) Widow Chaquixanu
- (3) Son: Lizardo
- (4) Son: Chunu

## B. Extension:

- (5) Daughter: Victoria Married MBs
- (6) Daughter's husband: Eduardo (from #1)

## #5. Extended family - no wives.

## A. Basic family:

- (1) Sätēno 65 yr.
- (2) Son: Juan 45 yr. Homosexual

## B. Extension:

- (3) Acosto (widower now living in homosexual rela. with Juan)
- (4) Son: Vinu
- (5) Son: Julio
- (6) Son: Samuel

## Upper Aguaytia: Puerto Izul and Nueva Vista

## #6. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Chaparrin (from Sungaruyacu)
- (2) Wife: Rosa (Ho/Chapa)
- (3) Daughter Cristinita - married and moved to Sungaruyacu
- (4) Victor - arranging to marry and move to Sungaruyacu
- (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) children (5 sons, 1 dau.)

## #7. Nuclear family - Polyandrous

- (1) Juan Dela - 55 yr. (Husband I)
- (2) Wife: Maria (Numénque)
- (3) Daughter - married and later moved to #12. Now deceased.
- (4) Daughter - Hatoripa - married and moved to #12.
- (5) Son: Pablito (Hiru Ho)
- (6) Son: Marcos
- (7) Husband II: Alejandro (Insóni) (Now deceased)
- (8) Son

## #8. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Fernando 45 yr.
- (2) Wife: Naia
- (3) Daughter: Isabel - married and moved to #13. (Husb. fm. Sung.)
- (4), (5), (6) Sons

## #9. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Noico 65 yr.
- (2) Wife: Chumón 40 yr.
- (3) Son: Cesar
- (4) Son: Xēmēn
- (5) Son:

## #10. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

## A. Basic:

- (1) Antonio 40 yr.
- (2) Wife: Maria (from Sungaruyacu)
- (3) Son: Felipe
- ~~(4) Daughter: Chira~~
- (4) Son: Bitu
- (5) Son: Antishiu
- (6) Daughter: Chira
- (7) Son: Hinu Bēru

## B. Extension:

- (8) Daughter: Isabel (previously wife of #5A.2.)
- (9) Daughter's husband: Tito (from Sungaruyacu)
- (10) Daughter's dau. by previous marriage

#11. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

A. Basic:

- (1) Isacama Mëo 60 yr.
- (2) Wife: Teresa 35 yr. (Wife II) (From Sungaruyacu)
- (3) Son by wife of #8, previously wife here: Noorua
- (4) Son " " " " " " " : Canino

B. Extension:

- (5) Daughter by Wife II: Victoria (married FSs)
- (6) Daughter's husband: Martín (married MBd)
- (7) Daughter's daughter

#12. Nuclear family - Polygamous (Sororal)

- (1) Eriberto Pacárua - 45 yr.
- (2) Wife I: Katoripa - from #7
- (3) Son by wife I
- (4) Wife II: Jacinta (now deceased)

#13. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Luis - 25 yr. (From Sungaruyacu)
- (2) Wife: Isabel (From #8)
- (3) Son: Benjamin (wet-nursed by 11.A.2, raised at #11)
- (4), (5) Daughter, son.

#14. Extended family - Monogamous and Polyandrous

A. Monogamous

- (1) Lizardo - 40 yr.
- (2) Wife: Mëa 48 yr.
- (3) Wife's son: Enrique
- (4) Son: Shitu

B. Polyandrous

- (1) Husband I: Mëtsa 55 yr.
- (2) Husband II: Eliseo 40 yr.
- (3) Wife: Cënaque 40 yr. (childless)

C. Monogamous

- (1) Raimondo 50 yr.
- (2) Wife: Hamën Xanu (now deceased)
- (3) Son: Lázaro
- (4) Son: Román (married woman from Sungaro & moved to #15)

#15. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Román 25 yr.
- (2) Wife: widow from Sungaruyacu
- (3) Wife's child

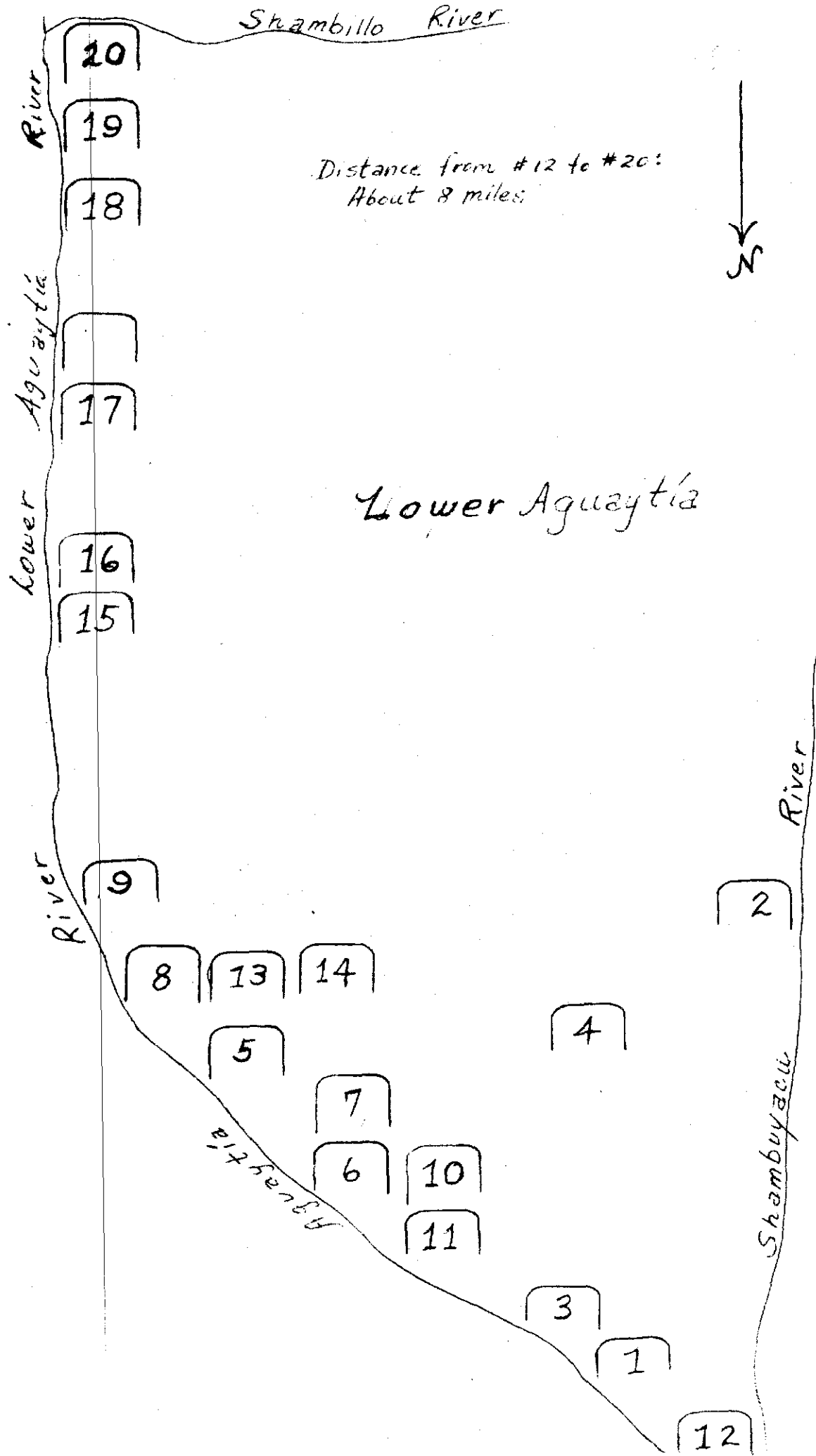
#16. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Julián 25 yr. (from #4)
- (2) Wife: Ermita (Wilda) Was wife of 5.A.2. From Sungaro.  
Sister to Luis, #13.
- (3) Daughter

Juan Chavez (#5.A.2) has been considered chief of this area because of his adeptness at speaking Spanish and literacy. People are discontent with him because of his homosexuality and his father's magic powers. An election held by the dissatisfied ones resulted in the election of Eriberto Pacárua, (#12.1), probably from fear of retaliation because he is a medicine doctor. He proved unsatisfactory because of inability to speak good Spanish and illiteracy, as well as stupor much of the time from many nights of ayahuasca seances, including treatment of mestizos. Mestizos and officials still want to deal with Juan Chavez because he is the most subtle and vociferous, knows the most Spanish and is able to read and write.

Wives in households #2.A, #4.A, #6 and #7 are all sisters to Juan Chavez and all are children of #5.A.1, who knows jungle medicine and has been accused of witchcraft. Chavez has had three young wives stolen by nephews #13.1, #16.1 and #5B.5. The latter was subsequently stolen by #10B.9 because her father did not like the way the young fellow loafed and did not help with work in the garden, bringing firewood, etc., nor did he have any power or influence being out of the good graces of his influential uncle.

Before contracting for his two wives in sororal polygyny, Eriberto Pacárua, a medicine man, lived in a polyandrous relationship with #1B.5. This ended in a fist fight. He later contracted for the sisters, then a widow also who helped with the work while the two young wives were pregnant, but this relationship lasted only a year.



## LOWER AGUAYTIA: SHAMBUYACU AND SHAMBILLO

Households

## #1. Extended family - Monogamous

## A. Basic:

- (1) Huayta 55-60 yr. (Medicine man)
- (2) Wife: Shipibo woman 35 yr.
- (3), (4), (5) Young children
- (6), (7) Daughter with child out of wedlock

## B. Extension:

- (8) Son 25 yr.
- (9) Son's wife:- Shipibo girl 18 yr.
- (10) Young child

## C. Extension:

- (11) Daughter - married FSs
- (12) Daughter's husband: Emilio (from household #8) Married MBd

## #2. Extended family - Polygynous and Monogamous

## A. Basic: Sororal polygyny

- (1) Poloponte 50 yr.
- (2) Wife I Daughter of Matuntu, household #14
- (3) Wife II " " " "
- (4) ~~Julia~~ Son Julio - married FSd Gloria, moved to #8
- (5) Daughter Rita - married Ramón, #11 and moved there.
- (6), (7), (8) Young children

## B. Extension: Monogamy

- (9) Daughter Birinanti - married FSs
- (10) Dau. Husband Agosto - married MBd. (Came from #8)
- (11), (12), (13) Young children.

## #3. Nuclear family - Polygynous

- (1) Pinu 53 yr.
- (2) Wife I - Suitina
- (3) Daughter Cristina
- (4) Wife II - Sara (was wife of Bolivar Odicio)
- (5) Adopted son Guillermo (Son of " " )
- (6) Son Piriquin - married Amanta from #15, moved there
- (7) Son Cesar - married Olita from #15, moved there
- (8) Son Palomino - married Alicia of Sungaruyacu and moved there.

## #4. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Maximo 45 yr.
- (2) Wife Carlota (childless)
- (3) Son Castillo (by deceased wife)
- (4) Adopted daughter (Sdd of Maximo, from #13)

#5. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Gregorio 35 yr.
- (2) Wife Chumón (Belfina) (was wife of Bolivar Odicio)
- (3), (4), (5) two sons, one daughter

#6. Nuclear family - Polygynous (later monogamous)

- (1) Tito 30 yr. (Married FBd)
- (2) Wife I: Clara (was wife of Bolivar Odicio) (Childless) 40 yr.
- (3) Wife II: Marina (daughter of Huayta, #1; married FBs)
- (4) Wife's son by previous marriage
- (5), (6) Son and daughter

#7. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Nicolás - 27 yr. (captured from Upper Aguaytía)
- (2) Wife Ana - 40 yr.
- (3) Wife's son by previous marriage
- (4) Son Julio

#8. Extended family - Polygamous and Monogamous

A. Basic: Sororal polygyny

- (1) Chapa 60 yr.
- (2) Wife I: María 50 yr.
- (3) Son Agosto - married and moved to #2) Married MBd.
- (4) Wife II: Angélica 32 yr.
- (5) Son Emilio - married and moved to #1. Married MBd.
- (6) Daughter Laura - married and moved to #13. Married FSs.
- (7) Amalia - married and moved to #15.
- (8), (9) Small children

B. Extension: Monogamy

- (10) Daughter Gloria - Married MBs
- (11) Daughter's husband - Julio (from #2) Married FSd.

#9. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Mayo - 50 yr. (now deceased)
- (2) Wife Bariria 50 yr. (now deceased)
- (3) Son Antonio - 25 yr. Married MBd and moved to #17.
- (4) Daughter Livia - Married MBs and moved to #19.
- (5) Son Herenzo

#10. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Andrés - 55 yr.
- (2) Wife Puri (taken from an uncivilized tribe)

#11. Nuclear family - Polygynous (later Monogamous)

- (1) Ramón - 30 yr.
- (2) Wife I - Rosa (28 yr) (was living with a mestizo)
- (3), (4), (5) three small children
- (6) Wife II - Rita (lived at home #2 until Wife I left and married a mestizo)

#12. Nuclear - Monogamous

- (1) Rimache 50 yr.
- (2) Wife Margarita (from household #14) 30 yr.

#13. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Manuel - 30 yr. (Son of Matuntu, #14) married
- (2) Wife Laura - 25 yr. (from #8)
- (3), (4), (5) Three daughters.

#14. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Widow Matuntu 60 yr.
- (2) Son Daniel - bachelor 30 yr.
- (3) Son Manuel - married and moved to #13.
- (4) Daughter Margarita - married and moved to #12.

#15. Extended family - All Monogamous

A. Basic:

- (1) Angulo 50 yr.
- (2) Wife
- (3) Daughter
- (4) Daughter's child born out of wedlock

B. Extension:

- (5) Son Roberto
- (6) Son's wife Amalia - from #8

~~Extension:~~

- (7) Son Martín - married and moved to #17

~~(8) Son's wife~~

#16. Further extension of #15 - Monogamous

C. (8) Daughter Amanta -

- (9) Daughter's husband Piriquín - from #3
- (10), (11), (12) three children

D. Extension:

- (13) Daughter Clita
- (14) Daughter's husband Cesar
- (15) Daughter's son born out of wedlock
- (16), (17) two children



#17. Extended family - All Monogamous

A. Basic:

- (1) Jacob - 45 yr.
- (2) Wife - from Upper Aguytia
- (3) Son Antonio - wanted to marry dau. of Huayta, #1

B. Extension:

- (4) Daughter
- (5) Daughter's husband Martin - from #15

#18. Extended family - All Monogamous

A. Basic:

- (1) Cervantes 50 yr.
- (2) Wife - from Upper Aguytia
- (3) Son Jaime - in Armed Service in Lima
- (4), (5) two daughters

B. Extension:

- (6) Daughter Regina
- (7) Daughter's husband Antonio - from #9

#19. Nuclear family - Monogamous (further extension of #18)

- (1) Julián
- (2) Wife Livia - from #9
- (3) Son

#20. Extended family - Monogamous

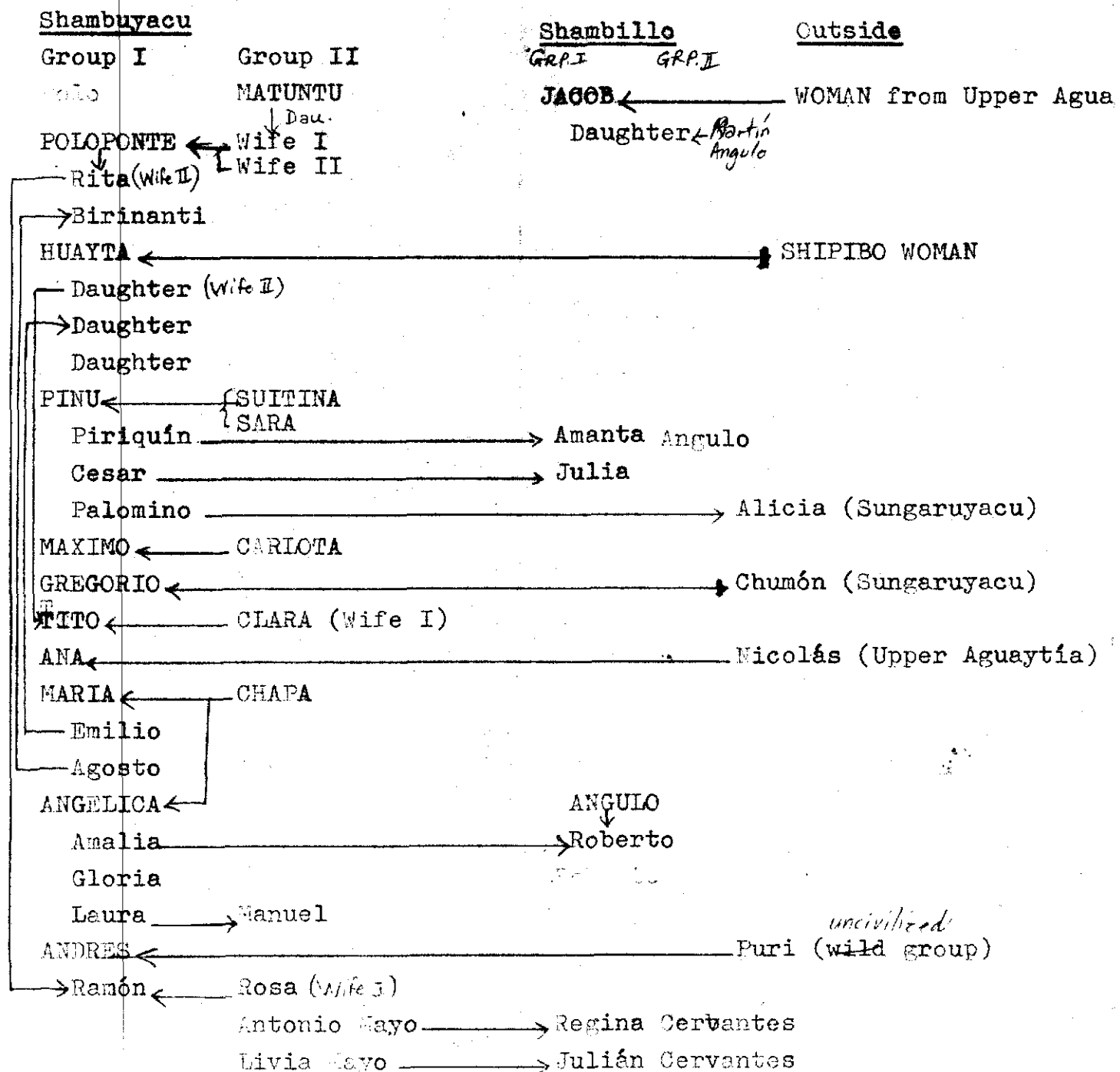
A. Basic:

- (1) Widowed mother of Washington
- (2) Son Juan (spends much time working in Lima)

B. Extension:

- (3) Son Washington Bolivar
- (4) Son's wife Irene - mestiza (since separated and took children to Pucallpa)
- (5), (6), (7), (8), (9) children  
(Have more children, total of 9, being educated or raised by mestizos.)

Wives or spouses in this Lower Aguaytía area fall into three classes: cross cousin marriage or sister exchange within the Shambuyacu area, cross cousin marriage between Shambuyacu and Shambillo areas or wives from outside areas, either Cashibo or Shipibo. Roughly charted it appears thus:



In the chart on p. 38, all capitalized named of Group I are brothers and sisters except the last one in the column, who belongs actually in Group II as brother to Matuntu, Chapa and Clara's old father Pinu Cha, as well as the father of Carlota and Rosa of Group II. Arrows point the direction of residence between spouses. Within Group I of Shambuyacu, residence is preferred over group II. Members of the Shambillo groups are more mestizo-acdulturated, consequently have more wealth and power. Shambillo residence is preferred over Shambuyacu residence. Vertical arrows indicate lineal relationship.

# Upper San Alejandro

Area of village:  
About one-half mile,  
including gardens.

Criminal

N

2

1

4

9

3

6

5

8

7

Upper San Alejandro River

## UPPER SAN ALEJANDRO: CRIMINAL

Households

## #1. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

## A. Basic:

- (1) Hoó Chapa 62 yr.
- (2) Wife: Hooxa Xanu 55 yr.
- (3) Daughter: Xēmēn - married FSs, moved to #2.
- (4) Daughter: Numē Hēo - married FSs, moved to #2.
- (5) Daughter: Hoó Xēqui Xanu (Migelina) - married FSs, moved to #3.
- (6) Daughter: Chicha Cuee
- (7) Son: Ansinamē Hēo - married and moved to #7

## B. Extension:

- (8) Son: Noórua (Agosto) - married FSd
- (9) Son's wife: Dolores - married MBs
- (10), (11) two children

## #2. Nuclear family - Polygynous

- (1) Simón Bolívar Odicio - 45 yr. Chief of area. Married MBd
- (2) Wife I. Xēmēn - married FSs. Came from #1.
- (3) Wife II: Numē Hēo - married FSs. Came from #1.
- (4) Son: (I) Tētēcama Hēo
- (5) Son: (I) Cristobal
- (6) Daughter (I)
- (7), (8) Two young sons (I)
- (9) Daughter (II)

## #3. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Daniel Bolívar Odicio - 35 yr. Married MBd.
- (2) Wife: Hoó Xēqui Xanu (Migelina) - married FSs. Came from #1.
- (3) Son: Rolando
- (4) Daughter: Rosa Mercedes
- (5) Son: Lauriano
- (6) Daughter

## #4. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Xoonēn (Gaspar) - 50 yr. Married MBd.
- (2) Wife: Paruque Xanu - 45 yr. Married FSs.
- (3) Adopted son: Simón Bolívar Odicio - married, moved to #2.
- (4) Adopted son: Daniel " " " " " #3.
- (5) Daughter: Chunu Xanu
- (6) Son: Hoó Chapa
- (7) Daughter: Hamēn Xanu

**Upper San Alejandro: Criminal**

**#5. Nuclear family - Monogamous**

- (1) Artidero - 30 yr. Married MBd( F8d)
- (2) Wife: Xoonën Xanu - Married MBs (FSs)
- (3) Son: Cuacëma
- (4) Daughter: Clara (Xanún Curúna)
- (5) Baby

**#6. Nuclear family - Monogamous**

- (1) David - 25 yr. (Hinú Hëo)
- (2) Wife: Catalina (Maxaxë Xanu)
- (3) Son: Vicente
- (4) Son
- (5) Adopted boy: David (MBs)

**#7. Nuclear family - Monogamous**

- (1) Venido (Ansinamë Hëo) - 38 yr. From #1.
- (2) Wife: Chunú Xanu -
- (3) Son: Binánti
- (4) Sister's child: boy
- (5) Sister's child: girl

**#8. Extended family - Monogamous (both)**

**A. Basic:**

- (1) Cesar (Canó)
- (2) Wife: Pastora
- (3) Son: Chunú
- (4) Daughter: Nena

**B. Extension:**

- (5) Victor: (Xoon Pinu)
- (6) Young girl wife
- (7) Hinú Mancha (Mariano)

**#9. Extended family - Monogamous (both)**

**A. Basic:**

- (1) Lucas (Xoonën)
- (2) Wife: Hamën Xanu
- (3) Son: Tito

**B. Extension:**

- (4) Son: Ernesto
- (5) Son's wife: Chuna Xanu

**C. Extension:**

- (6) Daughter: Inti Xanu
- (7) Daughter's husband: Benjamin
- (8), (9) 2 children, boy and girl, (Daughter's children)

LOWER SAN ALEJANDRO

Area of village:  
About one mile square  
(including gardens)



Sinchi Roca

Airstrip

- |   |   |   |   |   |        |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|--------|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | School | 6 |
|---|---|---|---|---|--------|---|

- |   |   |   |    |
|---|---|---|----|
| 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
|---|---|---|----|

Lower San Alejandro River

## LOWER SAN ALEJANDRO: SINCHI ROCA

## #1. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Pancho (Naia) - 25 yr.
- (2) Wife: Berta - mestiza

## #2. Extended family - all monogamous

## A. Basic:

- (1) Santo - 60 yr.
- (2) Wife: Olivia (Chunu Xanu) - 18 yr.
- (3) Daughter: Hoó Xanu
- (4) Son by previous wife: Noórua

## B. Extension:

- (5) Son: Guillermo - 20 yr. (by previous wife) Married FSd.
- (6) Son's wife: Rosaria - 27 Married MBs
- (7) Son's child: baby boy

## #3. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Felipe - 50 yr. (Roo Tapu)
- (2) Wife: María (Xoonñen Xanu) 45 yr.
- (3) Daughter: Luisa (Noonñen)
- (4) Son: Jorge (Hucá Bëru)

## #4. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

## A. Basic:

- (1) Punciano - 48 yr.
- (2) Wife: Josefina (Hamñen Xanu) 45 yr.
- (3) Daughter: Olivia 15 yr.
- (4) Daughter's child born out of wedlock
- (5) Son: Nicolás.
- (6) Son: Pancho
- (7) Son: Roo Tapu
- (8) Daughter

## B. Extension:

- (9) Daughter: Victoria
- (10) Daughter's husband: Elias

## #5. Extended family - All Monogamous

## A. Basic:

- (1) Abel (Chunu, Hoo Chapa) 45 yr.
- (2) Wife: Isaura (Inti Xanu) 40 yr
- (3) Daughter: Civila
- (4) Son: Fidel
- (5) Son: Hinuco
- (6) Daughter: baby



Lower San Alejandro: Sinchi Roca

#5. B. Extension:

- (7) Widow Rosa: 50 yr. Previously married to Felic.#8.
- (8) Son: Juan 17 yr.
- (9) Son: Andrés 19 yr.
- (10) Son: Carlos

C. Extension:

- (11) Son: Nicanor
- (12) Son's wife: Olga

D. Extension:

- (13) Daughter: Teresa (Xēmēn) 11 yr.
- (14) Daughter's husband: Pablo 45 yr.

#6. ~~Extended~~ family - Monogamous

- (1) Alfonso - 35 yr.
- (2) Wife: Juana
- (3) Daughter: Berta
- (4) Son: Roger
- (5) Son: Hector

Extension:

- (6) Sister: Sofia

#7. Nuclear family - Monogamous

- (1) Gavino - 43 yr.
- (2) Wife: María 28 yr.
- (3) Daughter: Luisa
- (4) Daughter: Teresa
- (5) Son
- (6) Daughter (baby)
- (7) Wife's son: Daniel 14 yr.

#8. Extended family - All monogamous

A. Basic:

- (1) Feliciano - 55 yr.
- (2) Wife: Elena 35 yr.
- (3) Daughter: Hoo Xanu
- (4) Son: [unclear]
- (5) Son by previous wife: Ramirez 16 yr.
- (6) Son by previous wife: Manuel 15 yr.

B. Extension: (~~another basic family~~)

- (1) ~~Pascual 45 yr.~~ Daughter: Mangora - married FSS
- (2) ~~Wife: Mangora (Meresa)~~ Daughter's hus: Pascual - Married MBd
- (3) Daughter: Chuna Xanu
- (4) Daughter: Numëo Xanu
- (5) Daughter: Xaputan Xanu (baby)

C. Extension: (another basic family)

- (1) Crispin
- (2) Wife: Cashi
- (3), (4) two children

Lower San Alejandro: Sinchi Roca

#9. Extended family - all monogamous

A. Basic:

- (1) Roberto - 45 yr. Married MBsd, or SHd (piaca)
- (2) Wife: Elena Married FFSS.
- (3) Son: Manuel
- (4) Daughter

B. Extension:

- (5) Daughter: Catalina
- (6) Daughter's husband:
- (7) Mother: Maria (now deceased)
- (8) Nephew: Gonzalo
- (9) Nephew: Hermando

C. Extension:

- (10) Brother: Miguel 38 yr. Married MBsd
- (11) Brother's wife: Camucha Married FFSS.
- (12) Brother's son: Namēcēñu
- (13) Brother's son: Baroni
- (14) Brother's daughter:

D. Extension:

- (15) Wife's brother: Clemente Married Ssd
- (16) Granddaughter: (WiBrWi): Bellida Married FMB.
- (17) Niece: Amalia 9 yr.
- (18), (19), (20), (21) other nieces

#10. Extended family - Monogamous (both)

A. Basic:

- (1) Aniseta 48 yr. Married MBd.
- (2) Wife: Ana Married FSs.
- (3) Daughter: Nuri
- (4) Daughter: Anibaë Xanu

B. Extension:

- (5) Wife's brother: Román
- (6) WiBrWi: Rosa (Hóó Xanu)
- (7) Daughter: Rita
- (8) Son: Xunën Papa

Analysis. Isacama Hëo "Greatest Bird" here tells the background of his relationship with his sister's son, who is also his son-in-law. His nephew, my informant, is named Martín Cárdenas Ramírez to the civilized world, but in the story is known by his tribal name of Hoó Chapa "Large Chapa". The text abounds in kin terms which are underlined. It shows social relationships between relatives and also reveals the cultural shock and anomie experienced through forced civilization and tribal decimation. Terms in the text have been charted for convenience with a few names of living relatives added which were not mentioned in the text.

The story-teller (ego) begins with his plus-two generation, mentioning kin terms and names of his maternal grandfather and grandmother. These terms are in opposition:

hëën xuta	hëën ñusi
my maternal grandfather	my maternal grandmother

The maternal grandfather had only one daughter by ego's mother's mother. This daughter, ego's mother (tita) had no sisters (Xucëññuma "without sisters") but had brothers, stated as ego's mother's brothers (cucu-cëñu). The idiomatic term for a few brothers is a term referring to badness maru coupled with the term for half-sibling (sëšcë.) The usual set of sex oppositions for having sons and daughters is used to summarize the grandfather's children (bacë bëchi-a, ini bëchi-acëxa.) Then ego adds his mother's relationship to her mother as tuá and that she lived with her father (ego's xuta "grandfather")

and her brothers (ego's cucu.)

Ego then regresses to show the relationship of his MF to his MFF chaiti as firstborn (ain chiquiracša) and having the same name as his great grandfather.

Ego's father (hěēn papa "my father") is mentioned without reference to his paternal grandfather. The couple lived with the young wife's parents. Ego's father became angry and wanted to kill his wife's father, possibly because she did not produce children very soon. The son-in-law prepared bows and arrows but soon the young wife began to menstruate, her husband's anger abated and the bows and arrows were put away by her father. Then ego was conceived and born, followed by birth of ego's sisters (hěēn xabu-cama "my sisters-all"). Then ego's mother went through the menopause and ego's sisters began to bear children, living with their husbands in the communal residence of their mother and maternal grandfather with the latter in charge of the household. Ego's sisters' children were called baba "grandchild" by his mother and xuta "grandchild", a reciprocal term, by his grandfather "xuta".

Ego's nephew (chirabacēn tuá "sister's child") named Hoó Chapa is then linked with his previously un-named paternal grandfather xuta by having the same given name as well as many descriptive names showing the grandfather's bravery in war. The nephew's other full brother having the same mother (ain xucēn itsi) was poisoned by other tribesmen (hěēn caibu "my tribesmen.") Ego stresses the importance of his nephew's relationship to him through his true sister conceived and borne of the same mother (hěēbē chiqui chirabacē) rather than a sister

by another mother (hěēn bētsi chirabacē ...-ma "my other sister not")

At the time of forced civilization the mestizos and Shipibos killed ego's father and his sisters. Ego shows his disdain for those who killed or captured his many relatives by calling them ñuseena "all kinds of taboo, inedible animals." His mother was overcome with grief but stopped wailing when her daughter, ego's sister, gave birth to this son Hoó Chapa. Her pride and joy is reflected in her words about him, typical words of counsel and prediction for a woman's chant, that her grandchild, when grown, would not fight with his brothers-in-law (aín bētsi chai "his other b-i-l) over his wife (aín xabioncē his wife; aín nuicunibia "his only loved one"). She uses the direct term hěēn baba "my grandchild" followed by the descriptive term hěēn inín tuá "my daughter's child" in apposition. She sang and stroked the heads of her daughter and grandson showing a close relationship.

After Bolivar's group attacked, ego's mother and sisters became ill and died, supposedly from witchcraft of the intruders. The sister also died while in the Lower Aguaytía area. Her young son Hoó Chapa grew up among the Cashibos and mestizos of that area while up-river ego's niece married her maternal uncle (ego's brother xucēn) named Noórúa "Handsome Enemy." This marriage in normal times would be considered incestuous but was permitted in that time of social disruption. Ego and his brother lived together with their families. Later ego took his nephew from among the mestizos to be a husband for

his daughter although she was only about six years old.

Ego uses the terms hëën aintsi and hëën chaiti in opposition with another term ain aintsi referring to the relatives of ego's ancestors (great-grandfathers.) Previously ego referred to the killing of his brothers, his father and his sister (his aintsi) . Here he specifies that he cannot live with his relatives(aintsi) and his sister (chirabacë) since they have been killed. The terms brother and father seem to be equated with that for relatives aintsi, which here seems to mean patrilineal male relatives. On pages 6-7 he mentions that many of his female relatives' children (hëën aintsín tuá) are living on the Sungaruyacu River, but adds that there are not really too many of them. He uses the terms hëën aintsi "my relatives" and hëën cucu hitsa "my many mother's brothers" in opposition showing contrast between his general paternal and specific maternal relatives.

Free Translation. Text A. My grandfather Papagayo Feather Man married my grandmother Bamacuna Woman. She was also called Tapir Brave Woman. After marrying her, my grandfather, also called Parrot Feather Man, there in a noisy land that smelled of achiote bore a child, a daughter who was my mother and also her brothers, though she did not have any sisters. He begat her few older brothers and my mother, his one daughter. My mother was daughter of Tapir Brave Woman and lived with my grandfather and her brothers (my uncles.)

My grandfather Papagayo Feather Man was the first-born son of my great-grandfather, his oldest son. (p.2) My grandfather, the oldest son, was called Papagayo Feather Man and Parrot Feather

Man. He lived in a land noisy with birds' twittering where enemies were fought, all by himself there. He was not like any other men's ancestors. After my grandfather had my mother and all her brothers (my uncles) my mother's brothers lived where they fought enemies. When my mother was pregnant with me, my father was named Other Tribe Cacatai. He wanted to kill my grandfather and was preparing his bows and arrows, but then my mother menstruated. When she menstruated (p.3) my grandfather put away my father's bows and arrows. After putting them away, then my father had me. And after me my mother had all my sisters and then she stopped menstruating. After she stopped, all my sisters had children, sons which were called "baba" and "xuta" and my grandfather took care of my mother who lived there with him.

My sister's child was named after Their Dove's Brave One, the one who fought the enemies and made them cry out, the one called "xuta" (grandfather) who walked around with his bow and arrow held crossed over his head, called Their Doves' Brave One and Tapir Man, held my sister's child on his shoulders. (p.4) He who was held, my sister's child, called Tapir Man is this one here. This is his name (referring to my informant Martín standing nearby.) He is Their Doves' Brave One. His other brother was poisoned by one of my other tribesmen with jungle leaves so that he is the only one left living. He isn't the son of some other sisters by some other mothers but of my very own sister with the same mother. For that reason when my daughter was very, very young, in order to call him "piaca" (son-in-law) I gave him my daughter. He is living with me and helping care for me, my very favorite nephew. Those animals (mestizos) carried away my father and all my sisters, and my mother cried and cried. (p.5) She helped her daughter give birth to his sister and to him (Hóó Chapa) and then my mother finally stopped crying. She wiped her tears away and my mother said, "This is my grandchild. My daughter's child here, my grandchild, is not going to fuss and fight with his brothers-in-law over his wife, and he is not going to hit them with the lower end of his bow." This is what she said as she lovingly stroked the heads of my sister and her little child, after cooking their food.

Then she died and left my mother an orphan. She didn't just get sick. When Bolivar civilized me he brought sickness because of our enemies' bewitching, and my mother and all her brothers got it and died from it, orphaning me. (p.6) When she died my sister didn't see me because she was downriver on the Lower Aguaytia. My tribespeople killed my sister with poison. After they killed her, she died leaving this one (Hoó Chapa) orphaned. Since they were orphaned I took ~~him and~~ his sister and my brother Handsome Enemy and we all lived together. I took my sister's child away from the animals (mestizos) where he grew up, to be away from them forever, to give my daughter to live with forever. My relatives and ancestors (great-grandfathers) did not fight with their relatives. My tribespeople killed her and just all my relatives. Since they were killed I didn't live with my relatives and my sister. Those animals finished off my relatives so that is how I have had to live. They killed but I didn't revenge. Other relatives of mine live scattered far away and don't live here with me. (p.7) I have a lot of relatives' children far away, but while they stay there I am here. Bolivar civilized and killed off my mother's brothers who were many and also my relatives. They built large houses lined up, but the enemies made them cry. My relatives' large houses were lined up and lived there on the large river which muddied up. They (enemies) were large people with fat arms. They killed off my relatives, just swept them away. When I got civilized, it was with Bolivar and his relatives. After I got civilized I didn't revenge, but I didn't live with my relatives. My relatives that live over in Sungaruyacu are the only ones left, but they don't come here, though I could live with them if they would. (p.8) They are angry with us so the people of Sungaruyacu, though they are my relatives, don't come. Since they do not come, I live by myself.

Sequal to this story. In spite of the close relationship between ego and his son-in-law (nephew), ego's wife and daughter, both having husbands much older than they, lived as harlots with younger men. Ego's daughter finally eloped with one <sup>a year</sup> younger than she at the age of seventeen, with the consent of her mother. Ego's nephew took the young daughter and went to live with his sister down-river at Shambillo.



## A.CASHIBO TEXT: FAMILY HISTORY BY ISACAMA HEO

Hēēn xuta Xoon Rani Uni aán caísa hēēn űusí  
 My grandfather Papagayo Feather Man he he my grandmother  
 (name)

Bamacuna Xanu biacēxa. Bamacuna Xanu, Hoón Tucuricu Xanu  
 Bamacuna woman took (married) Bamacuna Woman, Tapir Strong Woman  
 (name) (Brave)

bitáncēxun caísa hēēn tita hēēn xuta, Xoón Rani Uni  
 after marrying he my mother my grandfather Papagayo Feather Man

Cana Rani Uni aisa banamicē, aa mee banamicē a ~~manē~~ sanuia  
 Parrot Feather Man he noisy that land noisy that achiote smelling

xēcē hēēn xuta Xoón Rani Unin caísa hēēn tita  
 smelling my grandfather Papagayo Feather Man he my mother

bēchiacēxa, ini bēchiacēxa, hēēn cucucēñu, xucēññuma  
 begot daughter begot, my MoBr-with without sisters

aacēñu, aín marumi sēēcē aacēñu hēēn tita bacē bēchia  
 him-with her-older-brothers-few them-with my mother sons begettin

hēēn tita ini bēchiacēxa . Ini bēchi hixun ca hēēn űusí  
 my mother daughter begat. FaDaughter being she my grandmother

Hoo Tucuricu Xanún tuá ca hēēn tita biacēxa, Hēēn xuta  
 Tapir Brave Woman's child she my mother was , my grandfather

hēēn cucubē biacēxa.  
 my MoBr-with lived .

Atian ca hēēn xuta Xoón Rani Uni aín chaiti  
 Then he my grandfather Papagayo Feather Man his ancestors

aín chiquiracēa aín bacē bēchicē hēēn chaiti Xoón Rani Uni  
 his first, oldest their son my ancestors Papagayo FeatherMan

aán bacē bēchia hēēn chaiti caísa aín chiquiracēa biacēxa.  
 he sons begetting my ancestors ~~they~~ he their first-Born was  
 (oldest)

Aín chiquiracëan bacë bëchicë hëën xuta Xoón Rani Uni  
 Their first-born son my grandfather Papagayo Feather Man

Cana Rani Uni, aáx hiacëxa. Aa mee banamicë, aa isá banamicë  
 Parrot Feather Man, he was. That land noisy that bird noise

aa mee shaicaxuntancë hëën xuta tsoocëxa, unín chaitima  
 that land against enemies my grandfather lived men's ancestor-not

hëën xutashira tsoocëxa, uusa tsoocëxa. Tsooxuan  
 my grandfather-just-alone lived like-that lived. Living

hëën xuta ini bëchia hixun ca hëën tita camabëtan  
 my grandfather daughter begot being he my mothers all-with

aín xucën camabëtan aa mee shaiquiantancë hëën cucu tsoocëxa.  
 her brothers all-with that land against enemies my MoBr lived.

Tsoo hixúan hëën titán tuá tuá hixúan tuá hëëcëñu  
 Living my mother's child child being child me-with

hëën papáx ca Noo Cacatai ca hëën papa hiacëxa.  
 my father he Other Tribe Cacatai he my father was.

Hixúan hëën xuta, Xoón Rani Unimi aín banin cabitancëxua  
 Being my grandfather Papagayo Fea. Man his arrow stretching

hëën tita caísa hëën xuta Xoón Rani Unimi  
 my mother he my grandfather Papagayo Fea. Man-toward

aín banin cabitancëxua. Cabitancëxun caísa aami hi cuainxun  
 his arrows stretched. After stretching he to him going against

aami aín banin nixun mēancëcëbëbi caísa hëën tita  
 to him his arrow throwing fighting to finish she my mother

aín pëi machacëxa Machacëbë caísa hëën xuta  
 her leaves mashed (menstruated) When she menstruated my grandfather



aán hiárua ca hěən chirabacən tuá ca Hoó Chapa  
 he who was held he my sister's child he Tapir Man

ca ěəněx hicən. ěəněx ca aín aně hicən. Aín Cumanən  
 he this one is. This it his name is. His Dove's

Tucuricu ca ěəněx hicən. Hain ca aín xucən itsi  
 Brave One he this one is. Being he his other brother

hěən caibu aín xucən itsi nii pěi aa hain  
 my tribesman his other brother poison that doing  
 (jungle leaves)

ca aashira ěəněx tsootax. Tsoocě cana hěən bětsi  
 he just little he this one lives. (He) Living I my other

chirabacən tuáma hěěbě chiqui chirabacən tuáma hěěbě  
 sister's child-not with-me born-sister's child-not with me

chiqui chirabacən tuábi hicě cana hěən hini běchicě xuiru xu  
 born sister's child-just being I my daughter very young

anún piacánuxun hěən ini běchicěra hinán hixun  
 in order to call nephew my little daughter having given  
 (piaca)

hěən nami tsooruquini hěən mēntěxěti piacocěma  
 my body to help take care of my very favorite nephew  
 (live with me)

tsooruquini hěən papa hěən xabucama ñuseena  
 living with me my father my sisters-all those animals (mestizoa)

ca hěən xabucama tarocěbě anun aín běún tērěcatancěxun  
 they my sisters-all carried away, they their tears wiping

hëën tita hëën xabu bacëomitancëxun <sup>hëën</sup> ~~ca~~ chirabacëra  
 my mother my sister after giving birth ~~my~~ sister-little

uucëñu bacëomitancëxun ca ëñëmi hëën titán ain bëün  
 him with after giving birth she to this my mother her tears  
 one

cëñuacëxa. Ain bëün tërëcacabaiti ca hëën tita -- hëën baba ocë  
 stopped. Her tears having wiped she my mother my grandchild

ëñëx hicën. Hëën ain xabioncëbia ain bëtsi chaibia ain  
 this one is. I his wives his other bro-in-law his

xabioncë rabanan aa titicatimaria hëën baba ëñëx  
 wife because of them don't fight with my grandchild this one

hicë, hëën inín tuá ëñëx hicën. Ain nuicunibia ain canti xo  
 is my daughter's child this is. Her husband his bow

tsipunan titicatima.-- quitancëxun ca hëën chirabacëra  
 end-with don't hit. after saying she my little sister

uucëñu hëën tita hëën xabun tuára ain maxu ninquin  
 him with my mother my sister's little child their heads stroking

ain nami harutancëxun hëën tita hibuñumocëxa. Aabi hinsin-  
 her meat after cooking my mother orphaned. Just-she sick

xunmabi. Bolivarnënsa hëëira raëxun hinsín bëcëbë  
 not getting. When Bolivar me civilized sickness brought

noón cushuncëx hëën tita ain xucënbaëbë aanún  
 enemies' bewitching my mother her many brothers with with that

hiquin ca aanún cëñuquin ca hëën tita hibuñumocëxa.  
 being she by that dying she my mother orphaned.

Hibuñumo hain ca hëën xabu hëë isnúnma queoca tsipunu hain  
Orphaned being she my sister I not seeing Aguaytia mouth-at being

hëën xabu hëën caibu nii pëi hacëxa. Hacëxun  
my sister my tribespeople poison did (killed) After killing

ca hibuñumo oquin ca ëënë xuu hibuñumocëxa. Hibuñumo hicë  
she making an orphan she this one young orphaned. Orphaned being

cana ain chirabacëbëtan hëën xucën Noorua ain  
I his sister with my brother Handsome Enemy his

hunántiocë aabëtan nitsinaxun cana hëën xabún tuá  
known one with him going with I my sister's child  
(staying with)

nëtëquibëtsini ñuseenanuaxa aa caniaxa  
without end (forever) from among the animals him ~~xx~~ raised  
(mestizos)

nicuatsinia hëën hini bëchicë hinánxun aa nëtëquibëtsini.  
go around with my daughter having given that without end

Hëën aintsia, hëën chaitia ain aintsi mëa hainmabi  
My relatives, my ancestors their relatives fighting not existing

ca hëën aintsishi hëënanribi ëënënrìbi hëën caibu aa  
they my relatives-just mine-also this one also my tribespeople her

hacëxa. Aa hain cana hëën aintsi hëën chirabacë  
killed. Her having killed I my relatives my sister

tsooquincëma Nuseenacanbi ca hëën aintsi hëë mëancëacëxa.  
didn't live with. Just mestizos they my relatives me finished off.

Mëancë hain cana aa tsootan. Aa tsooxun cana hëën aintsi  
Being finished off I that lived. Living I my relatives

aa mërunbu aa hura tsoomainun aa hëëbëma  
they living scattered they far apart living them not with me

tsoomainun    cana    hëën aintsin tuá    aa mëruncë    aa  
 living    I    my relatives' child    they are many    they

tsoomainun    cana    aa hitsairama    aa tsoomainun cana  
 while living    I    they not too many they    while living I

hëën aintsi    hëën cucu    hitsa    hëën aintsi    ca  
 my relatives    my mother's brothers-many    my relatives    he

Bolivar    raëcëbë    ca hëën aintsi    cëñuacëxa.    Aín hoó xubu  
 Bolivar when civilized he my relatives killed. Their large houses

aán tsi ticanoncë    aa noo bëun ténacë    hëën aintsi  
 they ~~built houses~~    them, enemies crying    my relatives

aín mapúnqui    tsiticanoncë    aán queoca, aán chubëocë  
 their houses    ~~built houses~~    their large river got muddy

chubëoia,    aa tsoocë    noón ténëncënanbutiibu  
 getting muddy    there living    enemy people ~~makingxxxxxx~~ large

aín pëñan utu-tuabu    hëën aintsi    ca    cëñuacëxa  
 their arms large(fat)    my relatives    they    finished off

hëën aintsi    ca maëacëxa.    Maëa hain cana raëa haix  
 my relatives they swept away.    Being swept away I civilized being

Bolivar, aín caibubëtan    raëocëxa.    Raëotancëxun  
 Bolivar, his relatives with got civilized.    After getting civilized

cana noo    raëo haix cana aa tsootan.    Tsooxun cana hëën  
 I enemies    civilized being I that lived.    Living    I    my

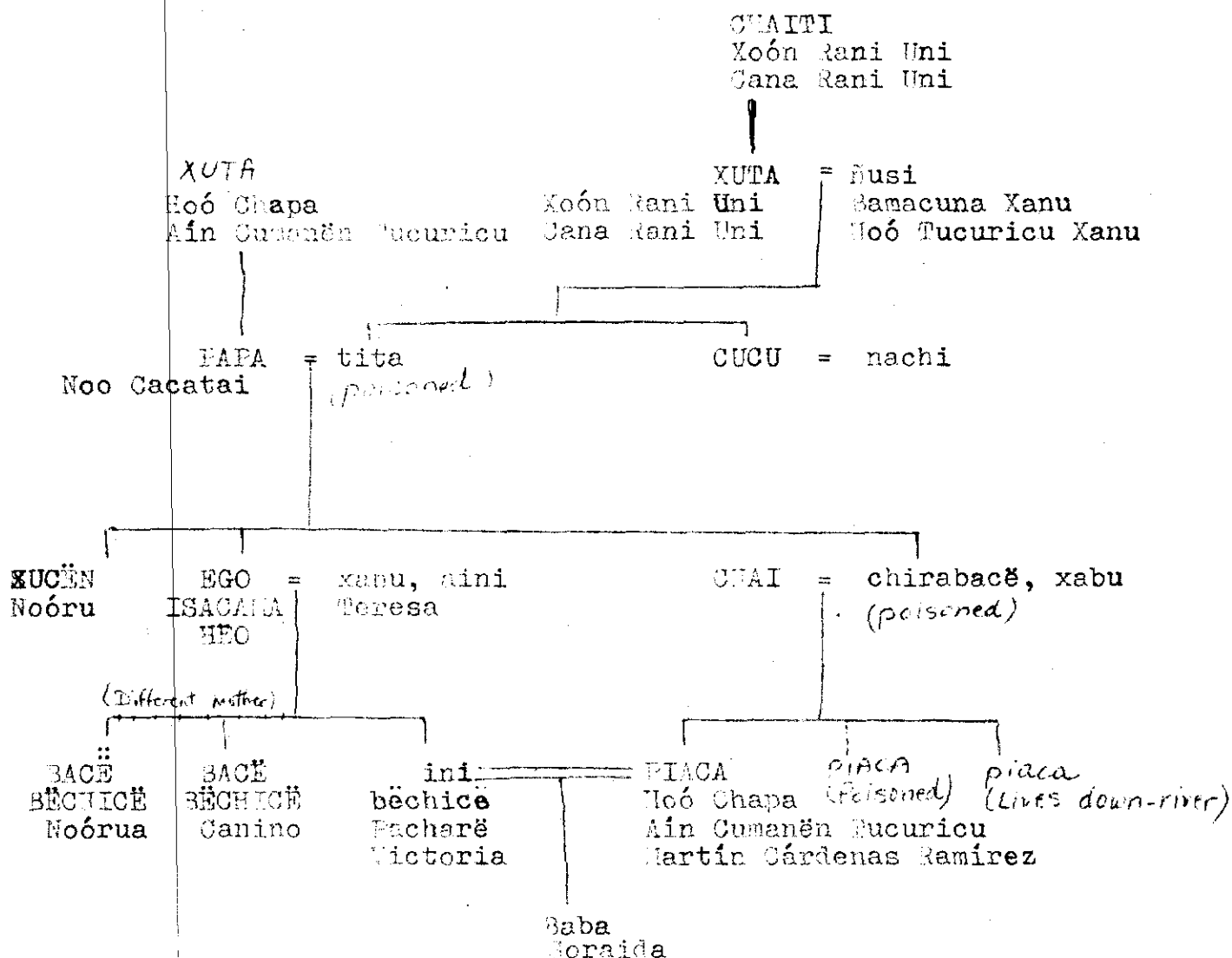
aintsibë tsoocëma.    Tsoocëma cana aa tsootan.  
 relatives-with do-not-live. Without them I that lived.

Hëën aintsinën ca    hucë hicë uni    uu aaishi  
 My relatives    they    people of Sungaruyacu    there just those

ca hëë aabë tsoonun    ëënu aima    aaribi  
 they me with them could live    here don't come they also

nishanani hëën aintsi hucë hicë uúx uuribi aima  
 fighting my relatives Sungaru. people they they also don't come  
 (angry)

ucëbëma cana hëë tsootan.  
 Since they haven't come I I live (myself)





Analysis. Hoó Xanu "Tapir Woman (Large Woman)" of the Upper Agusytia River area is ego in this text. She tells of her paternal relatives with almost no mention of her mother or maternal relatives. Male ego in Text B emphasized his maternal grandparents and ancestors with only slight mention of his father's relatives. Ego's father (hëën papán) is the main character, along with her father's father (hëën ñusi.) The term ñusi in this text does not stand in sex opposition with grandfather (xuta, male ego) as in Text A, but here stands in apposition with and alternating with the term grandfather bëntán (FF, female ego.)

The term noo in this text is used with the meaning of other tribes ("Indian") mentioned by Tessmann when all the names of other tribes are mentioned (p. , ) with the term Inca added to distinguish white people or mestizos in the last paragraph of the text. This is not necessary in present-day usage because Cashibos have no contact with uncivilized tribes regularly, therefore have shifted the meaning of noo to mean chiefly mestizos or whites. Uncivilized people are referred to as camáno "inland enemies" or people living back up off the main rivers, a term used by the people of the San Alejandro area. Other areas call them the cacataibu or simply raëcëma noo "uncivilized enemies."

Raëti originally meant to formally greet a group of people to show that you are on good terms with them. It derives from the word raë which is repeated to each person in the process of telling him who you are and calling him by a kinship term while also patting him on the shoulder (as Tessmann mentions) or mutual head-stroking called mapatsananti. Today this practice has almost disappeared but the word has retained the meaning of getting civilized.

Ego's father's father, her father and his sister (ain chira-bacë xanu) were all civilized. The phrase ain hëë unio "he who begat me" is used to distinguish genetic father from a purely social relationship.

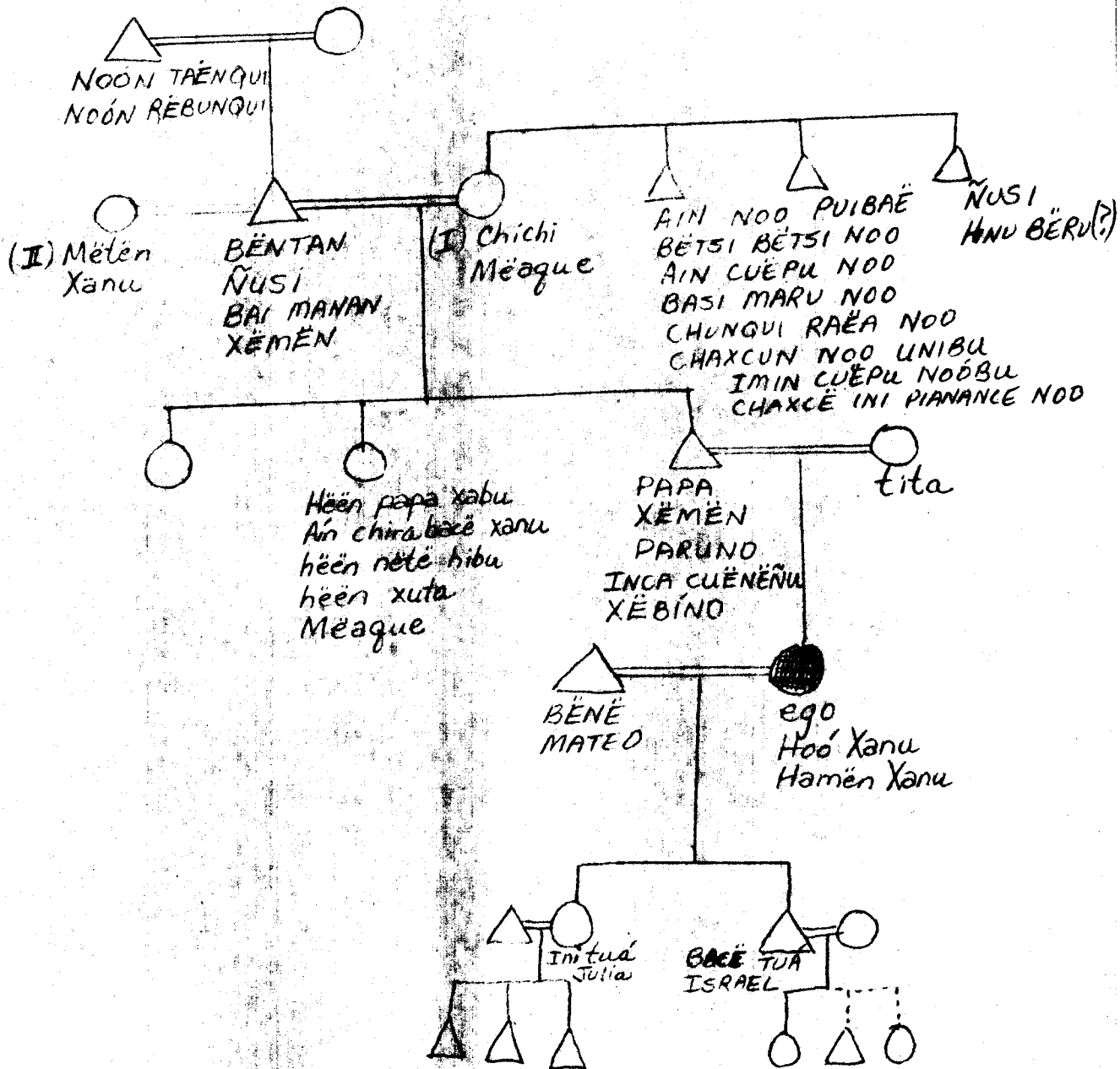
The names of many tribes are small groups of uncivilized peoples related to ego's grandmother (chichi) as brothers. Ego's paternal grandmother had left home, leaving a son and husband behind because they had been fighting with and killing her fathers and brothers of the enemy tribes. She took her daughter, ego's xuta (father's sister) with her. This term xuta is a reciprocal term used mutually between aunt and niece. Ego says that her paternal aunt was her owner of her environment or her day, called her nētā. This shows the extreme importance of this relationship. The mother and daughter who left (FM and FS to ego) had the same name Mēaque or Mēa. The women did not agree with having the men fight their relatives. Ego's grandfather took another wife Short Woman. Instead of going fishing one day, ego's father decided that he and his father should take his sister to be raised by the white people. They then took her and made peace with the white people, or became recognized as civilized.

This is only the first portion of a much longer text which could not all be included here.

Text B: Free Translation. My father and also my paternal grandfather first made peace with the enemies. After my grandfather Xēmēn made peace with them, my father and his sister also made peace. (I am speaking of my generic or biological father.) My father Xēmēn was also named Paruno "Big River Enemy." His father made peace with them also. My father and grandfather's relatives were enemy people (of another tribe.) My grandfather's relatives were of another tribe and my grandfather's relatives' ancestors were people of another tribe. After my grandfather High Path fought and died, my grandmother buried his bones. My many brothers were of various tribes: Lip People tribe, Bald-grass tribe, Ant Civilized tribe, Paujil tribe, Red-lipped tribe, Tall Daughter Cannibalistic tribe. My father and his father Tiger Eye fought with all their many brothers to open up that area. Then my grandmother buried my grandfather's bones and went away leaving my father. He was still just a young man

when his mother left. My grandmother Mëaque left with my father's sister who was owner of my environment, my aunt. They went away. "You fought my father. I am going to tell all my many brothers and relatives to scatter," My father's sister Mëaque said to my father and my grandfather High Path as she went away. After they had gone, their sister and their daughter were killed and disgraced and my grandmother was also killed. My grandfather Tiger Eye and High Path fought the enemies' old men. After they fought downriver on the Aguaytia my father's sister came along the bank of the river up toward where we are now. She hadn't had a son (male child). She buried my grandfather's bones and left my father. My grandfather was of the enemy people. He was an ancestor of people of another tribe. My grandmother and father's sister said to my grandfather, "I am going to scatter the Red-lipped tribe, the Ant Civilized tribe and my many brothers of the enemy tribes. You fought (killed) my father," and my grandmother and father's sister went away. My grandfather High Path was quite a fighter decorated with the ear adornments and painted black with genipa. He went along fighting. But my father's sister, my very owner of my days (environment) went away. My outstanding grandfather went along fighting. He was an ancestor of other tribes, but he bore my father. He took my grandmother Short Woman when suffering and naked. "No, I should have taken another," he said. My grandfather High Path was a great leader and an ancestor of enemy tribespeople. The enemies made peace with my relatives (with my father and my father's father.) First with my grandfather and then with my father, who bore me, my father named Big River Enemy. My father was also called Painted Inca, Shebón palm tribesman, my generic or biological father. Their many canoes were going along. He said to my grandfather Xēmēn, "I saw a lot of large fish. Let's go fishing with poison leaves." But he answered, "No, Let's work another<sup>day</sup> but first let's go to take my sister to give her away." So my father went with my grandfather Xēmēn. They took her to give her away to the white people to be civilized and made peace.

# STORY OF HOÓ XANU -



## CASHIBO TEXT 8: STORY OF HOO XANU (Tapir Woman)

Hëen papán ca noo raëocëxa, hëen nusinpain  
 My father he other subdued my -first  
 tribe (civilized)

ca noo raëocëxa. Noo raëocëbi ca  
 he other tribe civilized. Other tribe having civilized he

hëen nusi Xëmën hëen papa ain chirabacë xanubëtan  
 my Xëmën (name) my father his sister woman-with

ca hëen papa raëacëxa, hëen papa aan hëe unio.  
 he my father civilized my father, he(who) me begat.

Hëen papa Xëmënan hëen papa Paruno ca ain papa  
 my father Xëmën my father Paruno he his father

raëacëx hëen papa ain noo hëen papa aintsi  
 civilized my father his other tribe my father's relatives  
 (enemies)

caisa noo hicën. Hëen bëntán aintsi  
 they other tribe are My grandfather's relatives

caisa noo hicën, hëen nusín aintsi rëbúnqui  
 they other tribe were, my relatives ancestors

caisa noo hicën. Hëen nusi isa hëen papa  
 they other tribe were. my he my father

hëen bëntán Bai Manan ampán tuuquia  
 my grandfather High Path (name) he first breaking

aan mëëcëbë caisa hëen ain chichi hëen bëntán xoo  
 he when he fought (hit) he his grandmother my grandfa's bones  
 my

maëax caisa hëen pui baë bëtsi bëtsi no  
 burying she my brothers many other other tribespeople  
 ain

ain cuëpu noo basi maru no chungui raëa noo  
 their lip people grass bald enemies ant civilized people

chaxcún noo unibu imin cuëpu noóbu chaxcë ini  
 paújil tribes-people blood-lipped tribespeople tall daughter

pianancë noo ain pui baë tóontucánsu  
 cannibalistic tribespeople their brothers-many with-palm breaking

ëënë báácarui caísa hëën papa hëën ñusin Hinubëru  
 this opening up they my father my grandfather Tiger Eye (name)

caísa mëécëbë (hëën papa) hëën bënta xoo  
 they when fought my father my grandfather's bones

hëën ñusin xoo maëanx hëën chichi cuancëxa  
 my grandfather's bones after burying my grandmother went

hëën papa ëbiani. Hëën papa bénán ënbiani caísa  
 my father leaving. My father young man leaving she

hëën tita cuancëxa hëën bënta ënbiani caísa hëën chichi  
 my mother went my grandfather leaving she my grandmother

Mëaque hëën papa xabu hëën nëtë hibu hëën xuta  
 Mëaque (name) my father's sister my day owner my FaSi

cuancëxa. --Hëën papa camina mëëi. Cuantámainun ca  
 went. --My father you are fighting. While I go you

hëën pui baë hëën aintsi hëën noo pui baë  
 my brothers many my relatives my other-tribe brothers

tsuácarutamainun ca -- ëësaquin hëën papa  
 while I go tell them to scatter (you stay)--like this my father

hëën bënta Bai Nanan cabiani caísa hëën xuta  
 my grandfather High Path saying-going he my FaSi

cuancëxa, hëën papa xabu Mëaque cuancëxa. Cuan hain  
 went my father's sister Mëaque went. Having gone

ca ain chirabacē ain ini bēchicē chapa-chaparuacēxunbi  
 he his sister his daughter being killed and disgraced

caisa hēēn chichi ain nami hacēxunbi  
 he my grandmother her body although having ~~like~~ done

caisa hēēn ñusín Hinu Bēru hēēn xuta Bai Manan  
 he my grandfather Tiger Eye my grandfather High Path

mēēacēxa, noón papa ocēbētan. Mēēi otāncēx  
 killed older men having killed. After fighting and killing  
 (of other tribe)

caisa Queoca tsiou ēēnumi caisa ain tsipún ēēñēbi  
 he Aguaytia mouth toward here he its mouth just here

cuēibiani caisa hēēn xuta cuancēxa.  
 going along the bank he my grandfather went

Hēēn papa ēbiani hēēn bēnta xoo maēax caisa  
 my father leaving my grandfather's bones burying he

nucē bēñē tuacēmabi noón rēbúnqui hēēn bēnta  
 boy child not having borne other-tribe ancestors my grandfather

hic, hēēn ñusi. Noón taēnqui caisa hēēn bēnta hic.  
 is my grandfather. Other-tribe ancestors he my grandfa. is

--ñin cuēpu no chunquirāē noo hēēn noo puibaē  
~~you~~ lip tribe ant-civilized tribe my other-tribe brothers-many  
 blood

tsuácarutamainun ca Camina hēēn papa mēēan.--  
 while I go and scatter (you stay) ~~you~~ You my father fought

hēēn bēnta ēēsaquin cabiani caisa hēēn chichi  
 my grandfather like this said-going she my grandmother

hēēn xuta cuancēxa hēēn xuta Mēaque. Hēēn bēnta  
 my grandfather went my grandmother Mēaque. My grandfather  
 father's sister father's sister

hëen ñusi Bai Manan uisa carasa ain pobaëbëtan  
my grandfather High Path oh how he his ear decoration-with

ain nanëbaëbëtan mēëobiani caisa hëen xuta  
his genipa paint-with went along fighting he my ~~grandfather~~  
father's sister

cuancëxa, hëen nētë hibu hëen xuta cuancëxa, hëen  
went my day owner my ~~grandmother~~ went my

ñusira mēëiobiani noón rëbúnquibisa  
grandfather-great went along fighting other tribe though was of  
(inten.suffix) other tribe

noón taënguibisa hëen papa aán bëchiari caisa  
other tribe ancestors my father he who begat he

ñënébaquinri caisa ain nami hunëma hëen chichi  
suffering he his body not hidden my grandmother

Mëtën Xanu biacëxa . Amari, bëtsiri hatibi  
Mëtën Xanu (name) took (~~married~~). Not her another to do  
(Short Woman)

caisa hëen bënta Bai Mananbi ampán tuúquia hëen bënta  
he my grandfather High Path-just he first broke my grandfather

noón rëbúnqui noón aintsin bënta hic.  
other tribe ancestors, other tribe relatives grandfather is.

Hëen ñusix caisa nóó rëbúnqui hëen ñusi  
my grandfather he other tribe ancestors my grandfather

caisa hëen bënta caisa noón rëbúnqui noón taëngu  
he my grandfather he other tribe ances, other tribe ancestors

ca hëen aintsi ca hëen papa hëen bënta noó raëocëxa  
he my relatives he my father my grandfather other tribe civilized,

hëen bëntán pain hëen papán pain hëë bëchia, hëen papa Paruno  
my grandfather first, my father first me begat my father Big Enemy  
River



aa pain. Hëën papa Inca Cuënëñu caísa hëën papa hic.  
 he first. My father Painted Inca he my father was  
 (name)

Xëbino caísa hëën papa hic, hëën papa  
 Shebón-tribe-person he my father was, my father  
 (palm) (name)

hë unio. Hëë pain caísa ain nunti itsi ain nunti itsi  
 me begat. Me first he his canoe other his canoe other

cuatsinia caísa: --Chachoón cana isëxan. Haxani  
 going by he(said) --Large fish I saw Leaf-poison-fishing

cuanun ca-- hëën ñusi Xëmën cabiani caísa  
 let's go-- my grandfather Xëmën-to saying-going he

--Nëteonu ñuu mëënun ca -- hëën chirabacë xanu haracaxun  
 --Tomorrow let's work my sister-woman to take possession of

hai cuanun ca -- quicuiani caísa hëën papa cuancë  
 to do let's go!-- saying going he my father gone

hëën papa cuanquinbi caísa hëën bënta Xëmën hëën ñusi  
 my father although went he my grandfather Xëmën my grandfather

Xëmën ain chirabacë xanu hinán haix caísa hëën papa cuan  
 Xëmën his sister (woman) having given he my father going

hëën ñusi Xëmënbë ain chirabacë xanu anúinsa raëoti  
 my grandfather Xëmën-with his sister (woman) just there to civilize

Mëa ain chirabacë xanu buani anúinsa Inca raëoti  
 Mëa (name) his sister (woman) taking just there Incas to civilize  
 (mestizos, whites)

noo raëoti buani caísa hëën papa cuan.  
 other tribes to civilize taking he my father went.  
 (mestizos, whites)

### Summary and Conclusion

We have here an ethnographic study showing the correlation of linguistic study of kin terms and social relationships in the manner stressed by Hymes in his reader in linguistics and anthropology. Etymology of Cashibo kinship terminology seems to indicate an earlier matrilineality if one looks at the terms for "relatives." Chaiti relates ancestors or great-grandfathers to a man's brother-in-law chai. His aintsi were females or matrilineally related kin. This is contradicted by present-day usage of the terms and social relationships. Chaiti refers also to Ego's paternal great-grandfather. It may refer to FS, MB and cross cousins or all who are not considered Ego's aintsi. His father, brothers and sisters are most often referred to as aintsi in texts. Aintsi seems to refer to consanguineal relatives patrilineally related. A man refers to the aintsi of his grandfather and of his great-grandfather as if they were ~~his~~ living relatives of each of those generations. Extensive use of the term xuta, on the other hand, points to patrilineality. This term is used reciprocally between grandfather and grandson, between ~~a woman~~ and her brother's daughter. A woman links her younger cross cousin and her son-in-law to her father's sister or to their grandfather.

One cannot distinguish between consanguineal and affinal terminology in linguistic forms. A man may recognize his father, mother, brothers and sisters as his relatives(aintsi) as opposed to his maternal uncle, paternal aunt and cross cousins, but the latter group are not affinal relationships or recognized as such by the linguistic forms. On the other hand, distinctions in use have arisen. For instance, a man more often uses the term chirabacën tuá, a descriptive term meaning "sister's child", for his nephew (piaca) and reserve the latter term to designate an affinal relationship with a particular person, as illustrated in text A. A man uses the term aini "cross cousin" before marriage to a woman and calls her hëën xanu "my wife" afterward, though she is still his aini.

The core of each village or caserío unit is a group of males and females, usually brothers and sisters, linked by ties of kinship traced through males. Bilateral reckoning of kinship may have taken place earlier though evidence for patrilineal reckoning is stronger for the present. Kensinger's work on Cashinahua kinship and a comparison<sup>of</sup> Pano kinship systems, to be published in the near future, may throw more light on these studies. In spite of assertions that Shipibo and Cashinahua residence is matrilineal, Cashibo residence is decidedly bilocal as shown by statistics of the four villages. Further study of the facts presented here may reveal more bilateral characteristics of kin reckoning.

## FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup>Field work was done by the author in this tribe in 1958-60, 1962-64 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. For reading kin terms and texts, Cashibo phoneme inventory is: a, e, i, ẽ=i, o=ɔ, u=o, p, t, k, b=b, m, n, ñ, s, sh=ʃ, x=ç, ch=ç, ts, r, h=ʔ.

<sup>2</sup>Murdock, George Peter. "South American Culture Areas," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter, 1951, p. .

<sup>3</sup>Steward, J. H. (ed.) Handbook of South American Indians. Washington, 1946-1950. Vol. 3, pp. 563-564, 583-586.

<sup>4</sup>See Bibliography, articles by Shell and Gray.

<sup>5</sup>Levi-Strauss, Claude. "Structural Analysis in Linguistics and in Anthropology," Language in Culture and Society edited by Dell Hymes, New York: Harper and Row, 1964, pp.40-51.

<sup>6</sup>Gray, Gloria. "Bolivar Odicio, el Cashibo civilizador," Peru Indigena, Vol. IV, IX (1953), pp. 146-54.

<sup>7</sup>From a text by Antonio Mayo of the Lower Aguaytía River, January, 1959. The text, titled "Some Cashibo History and Description of the Old People," repeats the terms nucën chaiti, nucën rara frequently, plus other kin terms mentioned here.

<sup>8</sup>Elkin, A. P. The Australian Aborigines. New York, Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1964. p. 65.

<sup>9</sup>Girard, Rafael. Indios selváticos de la Amazonía peruana. Mexico:

<sup>10</sup>Text given by Isacama Hëo of the Upper Aguaytía area, May 31, 1960.

<sup>11</sup>Text given by Hoó Xanu (also called Hamën Xanu) of the Upper Aguaytía area as given in August, 1959.

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