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A limited application of linguistic methods and concepts to ethnography, y datos sobre el parentesco

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Escrito a escrito a máquina y a mano

to ethnography

Three types of fishing situations have been observed among the Cashibo tribe of Indians in South America:

A. Balls of mashed-leaf pulp of a certain toxic plant are inundated in a partially dammed stream. The fish, frenzied by the effects of the plant juices, dart about, often leaping clear of the water. They are prevented from escaping downriver by the dam, and are targets in plain view for the fishermen -- men, women and older children -- as they dash about in the water, wielding machetes or sticks to strike down and throw to shore as many fish as they can before the effects of the juice wear off. Often large numbers of fish are caught, varying in size from 6 to 14 inches.

B. After a rain, when the water is turbid, a man skilled with bow and arrow rides down the stream in a small canoe, standing erect in the prow, with bow and harpoon-arrow poised ready to shoot as soon as a victim is spotted and the canoe can be guided to a good shooting position. His assistant in the bow of the canoe watches every movement of fish and fisherman, guiding the canoe accordingly. Usually one to three fish are caught, which often measure two or more feet in length.

C. The women feel under the rocks with their hands, in shallow rivers where a certain kind of fish customarily hide. The fish caught are usually small, and many in number.

Just as a stretch of speech can be described as to duality of structural matter, being conceived of at the levels of phonology

and grammar^{*}, so each of the fishing situations could be described as to the way it fits into the different levels of structure of non-linguistic behavior: economic, social, ideational.^{**} However, without first considering the part each event plays in each of the three ^{non-linguistic} cultural levels, a tentative beginning in analysis can be made by using concepts parallel to those used in linguistics, ^{investigating the} ~~considering~~ ^{possibility} that each of the three types of fishing activity has its distinctive-contrastive features which distinguish it from the other types. It is known that the three fishing events occur in different types of environments, are carried out by different groups of people, and involve different types of fish; they are obviously not the "same", nor directly substitutable for each other. The identificational-contrastive features involve: (i) ~~distinctive~~ equipment, (ii) ~~distinctive~~ place, (iii) ~~distinctive~~ participants, (iv) ~~distinctive~~ type and quantity of fish, and no doubt other distinctive-contrastive features as well. For A, the distinctive-contrastive features are: (i) poison plant pulp, machetes, sticks, (ii) clear stream partly dammed (iii) men, women and older children, (iv) usually many, medium-sized fish. ^{of the kind known as 'tsatza'.} For B, they are: (i) bow and harpoon-arrow, canoe, (ii) turbid river, (iii) man and assistant (who may be a woman), (iv) few, large fish. ^{of kinds such as 'rut' and 'make'.} For C, the distinctive-contrastive features are: (i) hands only, (ii) clear, shallow stream with rocky bed, (iii) women, usually in a group, (iv) usually many, small fish, ^{of such kinds as 'pipu' and 'ibapa'.}

Each type of activity, A, B, C, will have variant forms, e.g.:
the actual place of fishing will vary; the pulp balls will vary in

*Dr. Pike, however, postulates a third level, so that his categories are: phonological (with the phoneme as minimal unit), lexical (with the morpheme as minimal unit), and grammatical (with the tagmeme, a slot-class correlation unit, as the minimal unit).

size; the river in Unit B will be more swollen and turbid at some times than at others; the participants in Unit A will vary greatly from time to time, and so on. The differences, however, are not sufficient to cause one to question the identity of each event as belonging to type A, B, or C of fishing. The different manifestations of the event parallel allounits in a language system.* Some of the variations will be "free variations" in the sense that alternative choices could have been made, with no conditioning of environment.

On the other hand, just as allophones might occur as deviants conditioned by the environment, or allomorphs as conditioned phonologically or morphologically by their environment, so the deviant manifestations

of the fishing event may be caused by the environment. [E.g. if there is a scarcity of plant leaves, the balls will probably be smaller; if the river has flooded, and then subsided, leaving ponds of water on low-lying islands, in which fish may have been trapped, the type of damming is natural, rather than man-made.] In any case, the whole

pattern of the unit has not been disrupted beyond recognition and identification. *But your general pt. is good - "compl. dist." is a special case of conditional variation.*

The three fishing units we have postulated can now be fitted into the non-linguistic levels mentioned earlier. In the economic structure of the culture, considering these units in a larger matrix, they might be grouped together as a class of units, whose general meaning is "source of fish meat-supply". In the social structure, each unit, A, B, C, would belong to a different class of units. Unit

* Edward Sapir, in Sound Patterns in Language (RIL, page 21), explains this nicely for the phonological level: "In most languages, what is felt by the speakers to be the 'same' sound has perceptibly different forms" according to "the phonetic conditions in which the fundamental sound ('point of the pattern') occurs". "...the objective difference is felt to be slight precisely because it corresponds to nothing significant in the inner structure of the phonetic pattern."

Free variations are not given; the conditioning is a matter of behavioral structure.

A would be linked with family or neighborhood social interaction, Unit B applies to the role of the man in the family, Unit C applies to groups of women. In the ideational structure, it is possible that the three units might be grouped together again, as a subgrouping in a larger class of items which give satisfaction in utilitarian accomplishment. The postulation of the units themselves would now seem to be fully justified, as structural units within the larger structures of the non-linguistic culture.*

To continue the parallel with language, the fishing units themselves (parallel to a grammar unit consisting of more than one morpheme, or a phonological unit such as stress group or syllable, consisting of more than one phoneme) will have units comprising them. Each unit will have an internal structure comprised of smaller units. Within Unit A, one of the units would be the preparation of the pulp. It is prepared by women; the leaves may be ground by a stone on a flat board, or put into a hole in the ground and pounded by a heavy vertical pole, and so on. Travel to the fishing scene and erecting the dam would be further units in Unit A. Each of these smaller units has its distinctive-contrastive features, variant forms, and its external and internal distribution.

* Dr. Pike, in *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*, suggests a treatment of non-linguistic behavior parallel to that of grammar. In chapter 17, Part III, he suggests that human participants and their groupings parallel the phonological hierarchy. In Part I he describes a breakfast scene and a church service as behavioral events in a manner paralleling his treatment of lexical units, and their filling of specific slots. According to his theory, each unit on any level of any hierarchy (here I have used 'level' in a different sense from that in which it is used in the rest of the paper; hierarchies for language, according to Dr. Pike, are phonological, lexical and grammatical) can be described according to its feature mode, its manifestation mode and its distribution mode. I have used these concepts in the paper. In the feature mode, Dr. Pike would include meaning as one of the distinctive-contrastive features. E.g., for Unit A, he possibly would include food-gathering and neighborhood cooperation as meanings.

unani's

After death fiesta.

People & relatives make an image of the dead person. Each person contributes something - a basket, bracelet, hat, shirt, etc. They use a xampa & draw a face, make hair, legs, arms, body ~~everything~~ to cloth it. Then the head man ~~with another~~ puts the image on his shoulders & another helps to balance it & the other men line up behind like at the sachavaca rattle, with the children last. They march & finally the relatives come looking for the image & try to get it but others come between them & the line w/in image. They talk mad & hit, hug, etc. each other. Finally the chief says ok & they each reclaim their part of the image & there is nothing left of it. When this image is there they do the dance like the sachavaca - forward, back, etc.

The fiesta may not be held for many days or months after death.

Before people die they send greetings
with them to their loved ones.

The loved ones kiss again after death.

Sometimes they sing no bama but like
English - something which is not understand-
able to the living. They sometimes try to
take their loved ones too.

The living say to them "You are
~~not~~ living again now. You are ~~my~~ my
husband. You left me. I work, etc."

Sigard's father told them that he had
a house in the sky. It was finished
except for a door which would be finished in
3 days. In 3 days he died. They
didn't have a feast for him, nor did
they put a lot of things in his grave.
He didn't need to fight to get to the
sky. He said God told him he
would feed him.

teroti -

to hang myself ^{to} tēhiquiscaciti
it is in ea
when
to tēhiquiscaciti
to pull on a rope
to pull from a tree
to hang myself

misuti - pull on a knot

imā taurisā - dried blood on a

tiofagān pēti - ^{so} to ^{attract} get a bunch of
bananas from a raccoon
not taking the whole.

xuta chichi
mother's father's mother

xuta chichi
father's father's mother

ucen pa itsi
hirabac xucen
xuta chichi
bani - Chirabaci

papa

tita

aiini - cucu
rarebaci
tito, itsi
xucen
chirabaci
iini
baca bechice

bani (bani)

aiini
Neoxanu

(aiini xanu)

LIZARDO

EDUARDO
BUNSI

piaca

(iini bechice)

(bechice)

(baba)

piaca

chunu
xucen
rarebaci

cucu - aiini

chai xuta - tita itsi

iini bechice
chai aiini

baca bechice
chai

aiini chai

baca bechice
xucen

piaca

baba

iini bechice
chirabaci

piaca

baba

marry his mother's brother's daughter
father's sister's "

titu tua - chinabaci xuciu
(name) (univ)

titu xuciu - tita itai

titu xuciu tua - chinabaci xuciu

titu xita -
titu naribaci - cusu

papu xuciu - papu itai

papu chinabaci - nacti

papu xuciu bachi - chinabaci xuciu
(univ)

papu chinabaci tua - aini chai (chai)

titu naribaci bachi - aini chai (")

chichin tua - tita papa

xuciu bachi - tita papa

xuciu bachi -

xuciu bachi tua -

" bachi -

chinabaci tua -

" tita bachi -

" tua

	Men	children	wife	
- FRIEDERICH	- xucen	- nzecc	- Du met (sini)	his mother's sister's child
- Antonio	- xucen	- nzecc	- Nooxanu	- chira bacc
- Julian	- nzecc	- baba	- Kitebu	- xucen
- Isaac	- sini	- nzecc	- Rosa	- sini
- Chaparin	- xucen	- nzecc	- chumon	- sini
- Natch	- cucu	- chaipa		
- Compi	- chai	- nzecc		
- Agosto	- chai	- chaipa		
- Juan	- en papen	- xucen		
- Ubantila	- chai	- piaca	- Tumenque	- chira bacc
- Alejandro	- chai	- piaca	- chiquixanu	- sini

tsabbe - cunada
 chaii - cunada
 natchi - suegra
 cucu - suero
 pei - hermano o hermano del mismo papá

iscurua - hija

[illegible]

Тригоров - Елѣна въ ханѣ Азия на Татарск
им. Бибен на-рѣти. ми мѣнъ баригу
не дѣти въ Тригоровъ имѣнъ. Фѣнъ прѣдѣ
въ Фѣнъ мѣнъ. ~~Тригоровъ~~ итсамаші сонъ.

[illegible]

x¹⁰⁰⁰ Carele pashinilor ast ca Ezeru Atinici
 p¹⁰⁰⁰ mai k¹⁰⁰⁰ adica pashinilor t¹⁰⁰⁰ isia p¹⁰⁰⁰
 si un tan¹⁰⁰⁰ c¹⁰⁰⁰ p¹⁰⁰⁰ adica m¹⁰⁰⁰ t¹⁰⁰⁰ m¹⁰⁰⁰
 m¹⁰⁰⁰ g¹⁰⁰⁰ m¹⁰⁰⁰ c¹⁰⁰⁰ m¹⁰⁰⁰ c¹⁰⁰⁰ p¹⁰⁰⁰ p¹⁰⁰⁰ p¹⁰⁰⁰
 isia

June, 1961

Mitaa & Kiriipani
none

Agata & Maria

Pine - 17-6

Julia - 19-6

Raimondi & Maruani

Agata & Jorasa

Samuel - 7-6

(both dead)
Gloria & Mica

Jacobs - 14-6

Mokani
Hilda - 16-6

Luis -

Pallo & Pancha

Jito Gonzalez - 18-6

(maru) (Bueno)
Mateo & Maria

Agata

Mateo (Ariana's husband)

Chunpanu (husband dead)

(dead)
Luciana & Mica

Ubantila

Wilson & Purica

Charanti y Pacharu
Metsa

Usupkani - ^{chief} Parakha is her ^{sister and} nephew
Campini is her father's brother ??

Luciano	Josel	} Same father
Naima	Victoria	
	Naima	
	Parina	
Umaro	Xopini	} Victoria's mother Teresa; the rest Naima
Naima	Ismael	
	Isabel	

Martin y Victoria

Salda - g

Luis y Isabel

Xanque - 2 1/2 - g

Inbina - 4 1/2 - b

dead
(Chapa)
Cipira y

Isabel's wife
Chunucama

Osario - - b

Imsonis - - b

Picuma - - g

also at Lengrepan

dead

Raimondo y

Isabel

Julia (Pedro's wife)

Mates y

none

José y Kainan

none

(Sungargacu José's son)

Pedro y Julia

Luibini - 13 - b

Pempissini - 4 - b

Bahy - 7 months - b

José's father

Survives

Itimoy y Nandana

Albuquerque (Legado's mother)

Albuquerque (Albuquerque's wife)

Juan

Rosa (Albuquerque's wife)

Xaputa y
Alejandro
Rojas

Uncure y Rimit
Pedro

Chum y
Julia

(both dead)
Chapa y Noxan
Setinos

Umpaño y Antepaño
Cinague Asiendano (Mitsa's wife)
Julio says not this

Umpaño y Noxan
Marino

notados
no están

<u>Juan y Chimon</u>	<u>Serafina y Naina</u>
^{19th names} Cecilia - 16 - 6	Compinet 7 - 6
Benito - 10 - 6	Isolina 5 - 6
Ximara Kamirau - 3 - 6	Isolina 4 mos

<u>Isaac y Naina</u>	<u>Isaac y Rosa</u>
Isabel - 19 - 9	Victoria 17 - 9
Norma - 12 - 6	
Conita - 9 - 6	

<u>Felipe y Amelia</u>	<u>Juan y Isabel</u>
Angel 9 - 6	none
Arturo 7 - 6	
Guil 4 mos	

<u>Pacencia y Otonpa</u>	<u>Simon y Cito</u>
	none
	<u>Simon y</u>

Washington's father was Landon. The
step father - sick papa - was Bolivar.

June, 1961

Ubatuba

Chaparral y Lasas

Ubatuba y Peningue

Vitoria 17 - b

Castro 25 - b

Piracema 15 - g

Castro 17 - g

Piracema 9 - b

Blanca 13 - g

Piracema 7 - b

Isis 9 - b

Piracema 6 - b

Trabina 6 - b

Craçima 3 - b

Mixim 2 1/2 - b

Compiro 12 - b

Pasarela 6 mos - b

Arche 4 - g

Na Mit

Antonio y Maria

Lizardo y Mica

Isabel 16 - g

Shirley 6 - g

Salip 14 - g

x Mica

Cia 11 - g

Enrique

Vitoria 9 - b

Antistina 7 - b

Chunara 5 - b

Chunara y Chiquitana

Chica 3 - g

Julian - b

Baby 5 mos. - b

Lizardo - b

Branco - g

Chunara - b

DEPARTAMENT

JOSEPH ^{bené itoi} (en xucen bené)
 Teresa ^{xucen}
 Victoria ^{en xucen xucé} (en tuc)
 CENQUE ^{en baba}
 MARTIN ^{en papa xuta} rare bacé ^{unchi}
 Naina ^{tsabé} sister in law
 Fernando ^{rarébaa} (en titán xucen)
 den kich ^{en papa xuta}
 CHASER ^{en tuc}
 xangua ^{baba}
 ikubina
 ERICERO ^{en enen} bächicé (en buchi)
 CASITA ^{en xucen}
 AROPIA ^{unchi} en papa bächicé
 ANTONIO ^{en benta xuta}
 Nu mót ^{en tuc}
 Isabel ^{baba}
 Felipe ^{baba}
 al kich ^{baba}
 Noien ^{en enen}

Pina y Julio

LAZARO ^{en tuc}
 RAMON ^{en tuc} (en bacé)
 UBANTIRA ^{en papa} (en papa xucen)
 NUMENQUE ^{en tuchi}
 DIN TUA ^{en papa xuta} ^(unchi)
 ALEJANDRO ^{en papa xuta}
 NABENE ^{en tuc} en papa xuta ^(unchi)
 CHAPARIN ^{en buchi}
 O CHAPA ^{en enen} xucen en papa bächicé
 ZIN TUA ^{en bacé} en tuc
 MANU - INI
 JUAN ^{en unchi}
 AGOSTO ^{en bené itoi}
 SAMUEL ^{en bacé}
 NOOKANU ⁱⁿⁱ
 SIMON ^{en enen}
 CEDA ^{en baba}
 FELIPE ^{en papa xuta} (rarébaa)
 EDWARD ^{" " "} (en unchi)
 PAPA ^{en tuc}
 LUIS ^{en tuc}
 JACOBO ^{en tuc}
 TITO ^{en tuc}

chumoh	en chuch	
Caesar	en bace	
bro.	"	
Pedro	en papa xucen bichicé	en rarebaci en xucen
Julia	en tsabé	
Turibin	en papa xita	
"	"	
Jose	en cucu	
Naira	en tué	
Norua	en papa xita	
"		
Isen	en tita	
xetebn	en cucu	
Mia	en tita	
Lizardo	en papa	(en papa xucen)
SHITU	?uchi	
Enrique	en rarebaci	(?uchi)
Chumon	chuch	
Julian	ini	
Lizardo	ini	
Compiri	en cucu	
metza	bene itoi	
cónaque	chuch - (en xucen)	
Ramón	en cucu	
Yamen xan	en xucen	

Amalia	en tsabé	
MATEO	en bene itoi	(NOT sure)
Yamen xan	en tita	
ISRAEL	en ?uchi	
Chum xan		(Doesn't know because Don't know her)
en tué	en xita	

Lizardo L's
Lizardo (ain tuáia)
Mêa
Shitu 16

Rio Corochupa

Cumpiri = Riu Lizardo
Cena
Metsa Panchayasi
Roman Marupa
Nónem
Ituá (xona)
Lazaro

Xetëbo
isew

Rio Corochupa

Caupo

món

món 15?

añu 12?
(bibu)

Antonio

Nobúba

Numë

Felipe 18

Antishiu 12? ✓
(bibu)

Bitu (bibu) 13? ✓

Inubëu (bibu) 11? ✓

Chira (xamu) 10? ✓

Isacanië 10

Teresa

Nórua 15

Carino 17

Tito Marques

Isabel (Ant. an bëchicé)

Ituá

Luis
Isabel
Benjo
Xanu
Xanu

Felipe
Angel 14 años
Antonio 13 años
Xanu 12 años

pedro

Nueva Vista

Alfonso
Agustín
Rino
Julio
Daniel 12 años

Felipe

María
Foribio
Pepico
año

Eduardo
Romeri

1/2 hr.

Israel
Chunu Xanuso
Pechu 14 años
ho Xanuso
año
Comerio

Ligado
En Tita
Chunu 13 años

El canal de Juan

Chaparrin
Rosa
Victoria

Fábrica
Muniz

Taxabu 14 años Barahona

Enchirca 12 años Nobena 12

Arceñia 11 años

Cempire 8 años

14
13



