



Archivos de Lengua y Cultura

A brief outline of Cashinahua kinship

Kenneth M. Kensinger

©1962, SIL International

Considerando el valor inherente de los datos, incluimos una recopilación de los trabajos inéditos que el SIL pone a disposición del público

Licencia

Este documento forma parte de los Archivos de Lengua y Cultura del SIL International. Se pone a disposición de los interesados tal como es, según una licencia de Creative Commons:

Atribución-NoComercial-Compartirigual 4.0
(<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/deed.es>).



Más información en: www.sil.org/resources/language-culture-archives.

INFORMACION DE CAMPO Nº 80-c

Tipo de información: Brief outline of Cashinahua kinship (Breve esquema de parentesco cashinahua).

Grupo étnico: Cashinahua

Autor(es) o recopilador(es): Kenneth M. Kensinger

Institución: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano

Fecha de recopilación: 1962.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF CASHINAHUA KINSHIP

Kenneth M. Kensinger

Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. Introduction
1. Sketch of Social Organization
2. Referential Kin Terms
3. Definition of Referential Kin Terms
4. Vocative Kin Terms
5. Summary
6. Bibliography

0. Introduction. Although Abreu (1938), Metraux (1948), Rivet and Tastevin (1921) have recorded a fairly substantial body of ethnographic data about the Cashinahua, only scanty information is available on the social organization and kinship system of the tribe. This paper is an attempt to fill that gap, leaving a discussion of the theoretical implications of the system and associated behavioral patterns for a later paper.

1. Sketch of Social Organization. The Cashinahua, classified as Panos (McQuown, 1955), live along the Curanja River of Eastern Peru, and along the Embira, Muru, Tarauaca, Jordao, Jurua, and Breu Rivers of the state of Amazonas and the Territory of Acre in Brazil.¹

They subsist by extensive gardening (sweet manioc, plantains, bananas, maize, peanuts, watermelons, etc.), hunting, fishing, and gathering, and reside in semi-permanent villages of 60 to 150 inhabitants each.

The basic economic and property-holding unit is the nuclear or polygamous family; the basic social, ceremonial and political unit is the village, which until very recently consisted of one long thatch-roofed house, inhabited by two or more matrilineal extended families.

Residence is matrilineal, i.e. a man at marriage moves his hammock and goods from his father's house or part of house to that of his wife's parents, i.e. MoBr and/or FaSi.² Marriage, with symmetrical cross cousins, is exogamous with reference to moieties, but endogamous with reference to the community. Only when a shortage of spouses exists, may a man marry into another village. At the death of the wife's father, a man may resume residence with his father, or if his father is also deceased, he may establish neolocal residence, normally along with a brother or older sister.

Sororal polygyny is preferred. In the group studied approximately one third of the marriages are polygynous. Incest is defined as sexual union with any member of ego's moiety, or with members of the opposite moiety, one generation removed.

Descent is patrilineal, a child belonging to the father's moiety, with the exception of girls whose mothers have married

incestuously, i.e. a girl may not be a member of the same moiety as her mother. The two moieties are unnamed as such, but are often referred to by the term used to designate the male half of each moiety. Male moieties are inu bake 'children of the tiger', and dua bake 'children of radiance'. The female counterparts are inani bake 'children of inani (meaning uncertain)' and banu bake 'children of banu (meaning uncertain)'.

The Cashinahua, who call themselves huni kuin 'the real men', also subdivide their kin as being either en nabu 'my people' or nadiabu 'others'. Informants disagree as to the meaning of these terms, giving two alternatives. First, en nabu are any Cashinahuas with whom a person resides or has resided, all others are nadiabu. The second alternative considers en nabu as any member of ego's paternal or maternal patrilineage, all others are nadiabu.

2. Referential Kin Terms.³ There are 22 basic kin terms. See Charts 1 and 2. The basic kin terms may on occasion be combined to form a compound to clarify a relationship already mentioned, in which case the first term always modifies the second, e.g. en huchin bake 'my older brother's child', who had been referred to earlier as en bake 'my child'. (nasalization of huchi indicates possession).

Each term is followed by a simple English equivalent, then by the major kin types to which it refers, in primitive English notation.

epa	'father': Fa, FaBr, MoHu, MoSiHu
ewa	'mother': Mo, MoSi, FaWi, FaBrWi
kuka	'uncle': MoBr, WiFa, FaSiHu
achie	'aunt': (male ego only) FaSi, WiMo, MoBrWi
yaya	'aunt': (female ego only) FaSi, HuMo, MoBrWi
betsa	'sibling': (male ego) Bro, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, FaFa, SoSo (female ego) Si, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, MoMo, DaDa
pui	'sibling': (male ego) Si, FaBrDa, MoSiDa, MoMo, SoDa (female ego) Br, FaBrSo, MoSiSo, FaFa, DaSo
huchi	'older brother': OlBr, FaBrOlSo, FaFa, MoSiOlSo
chipi	'older sister': OlSi, FaBrOlda, MoSiOlda
ichu	'younger sibling': YrBr, YrSi, FaBrYrCh, MoSiYrCh
ain	'spouse': (male ego only) Wi, BrWi, FaSiDa, MoBrDa, SoSoWi, DaDa
bene	'spouse': (female ego only) Hu, SiHu, FaSiSo, MoBrSo, DaDaHu, SoSo
chai	'cross cousin': (male ego only) FaSiSo, MoBrSo, MoFa, SiHu, SoDaHu, DaSo
chaita	'cross cousin': (female ego only) MoBrOlSo, FaSiOlSo, MoFa, OlSiHu
xanu	'cross cousin': (male ego) MoBrOlda, FaSiOlda OlBrWi, FaMo (female ego) FaMo
tsabe	'cross cousin': (female ego only) BrWi, FaSiDa, MoBrDa, SoDa, DaSoWi

A Brief Outline of Cashinahua Kinship

bake	'offspring': (male ego) So, Da, BrCh, WiSiCh (female ego) So, Da, SiCh, HuBrCh
beden	'son': (male ego only) So, BrSo
dais	'nephew': (male ego) SiSo, DaHu, FaSiSoSo, MoBrSoSo (female ego) BrSo, DaHu, FaSiDaSo, MoBrSoDa
babawan	'niece': (male ego) SoWi, SiDa, FaSiSoDa, MoBrSoDa (female ego) SoWi, BrDa, FaSiDaDa, MoBrDaDa
baba	'grandchild': SoCh, DaCh
chichi	'grandmother': MoMo

3. Definition of Referential Kin Terms. An Attempt was made to describe the Cashinahua kinship system in terms of dual descent, following the Kariera model of Romney and Epling (1958). For lack of evidence, the dual descent hypothesis was rejected, but the resulting charts (See Charts 3 and 4) and componential analysis of the kin terms following the Goodenough model (1956) yielded the more precise definitions which follow.

epa	Any male, first generation ascending, ego's moiety.
ewa	Any female, first generation ascending, opposite moiety.
kuka	Any male, first generation ascending, opposite moiety.
Achi	(male ego only) Any Female, first generation ascending, ego's moiety.
yaya	(female ego only) Any female, first generation ascending, ego's moiety.

A Brief Outline of Cashinahua Kinship

-6-

betsa	Any person, ego's generation or second generation ascending or descending, ego's sex, ego's moiety.
pui	Any person, ego's generation or second generation ascending or descending, opposite sex, ego's moiety.
huchi	Any older male, ego's generation or second generation ascending, ego's moiety.
chipi	Any older female, ego's generation, ego's moiety.
ichu	Any younger person, ego's generation, ego's moiety.
ain	(male ego only) Any female, ego's generation or second generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety.
bene	(female ego only) Any male, ego's generation or second generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety.
chai	(male ego only) Any male, ego's generation or second generation ascending, opposite moiety.
chaita	(female ego only) Any male, ego's generation or second generation ascending, opposite moiety.
xanu	(male ego) Any older female, ego's generation or second generation ascending, opposite moiety. (female ego) Any female, second generation ascending, opposite moiety.
tsabe	(female ego only) Any female, ego's generation or second generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety.
bake	(male ego) Any person, first generation descending, ego's moiety. (female ego) Any person, first generation descending, opposite moiety.
beden	(male ego only) Any male, first generation descending,

dais	(male ego) Any male, first generation descending, opposite moiety. (female ego) Any male, first generation descending, ego's moiety.
babawan	(male ego) Any female, first generation descending, opposite moiety. (female ego) Any female, first generation descending, ego's moiety.
baba	Any person, second generation descending.
chichi	Any female, second generation ascending, ego's moiety.

4. Vocative Kin Terms. Thirteen of the basic referential kin terms are used in their vocative form (formed by nasalizing the final vowel of the term) in the kinship system of address. (See Charts 5 and 6). The terms with their definitions are as follows.

epan	Any male, first generation ascending or descending, ego's moiety.
ewan	Any female, first generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety.
kukan	Any male, first generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety.
achin	(male ego only) Any female, first generation ascending or descending, ego's moiety.
yayan	(female ego only) Any female, first generation ascending or descending, ego's moiety.
huchin	Any older male, ego's generation, or any male, second generation ascending or descending, ego's moiety.

- chipin Same as for referential term.
- ichun Same as for referential term. Male ego uses this term only as long as the younger sibling has not finished the initiation rites (9 to 10 years), after which he uses the moiety term. Women continue to use this term alternately with the moiety term, even after the end of initiation rites.
- chain Same as for referential term.
- chaitan (female ego only) Any older male, ego's generation, or any male, second generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety. This term is used alternately with the moiety term or 'wife name' in the same manner in which ego calls a younger spouse of her generation.
- xanun (male ego) Any older female, ego's generation, or any female, second generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety. This term is used alternately with moiety term or 'husband name' in the same manner in which ego calls a younger spouse of his generation.
- (female ego) Any female, second generation ascending or descending, opposite moiety.
- tsaben (female ego only) Any female, ego's generation, opposite moiety.
- chichin Any female, second generation ascending or descending, ego's moiety.

The first segment of the moiety terms, in their vocative forms (inun, duan, inanin, and banun) are used in the same manner as, or alternating with certain kinship terms as noted above. Each person has a special name which can be used by one's actual or potential spouse or spouses in lieu of a kinship term. aini kena, 'a man's 'wife name' or benen kena, a woman's 'husband name'.

5. Summary. The outstanding characteristics of the Cashinahua kinship system are as follows:

5.1. Referential Terms.

(1) The system is highly classificatory and of the bifurcate merging type. All patrilineal kin of each generation, same sex, are classified by the same term in contrast to all other kin of that generation. No collateral distinctions are made.

(2) A man distinguishes only his maternal grandmother, chichi, from ^{from (?)} older members of his own generation. A woman distinguishes both maternal and paternal grandmothers, chichi or xanu. Grandfathers are classified with the older members of ego's generation: chai, chaita, or huchi.

(3) An age distinction is made between older and younger siblings. Sex distinctions are made between older brother, huchi, and older sister, chipi, but not between younger siblings, ichu. Two general terms, betsa and pui, show no age distinction, but distinguish between siblings of the same or opposite sex.

A Brief Outline of Cashinahua Kinship

-10-

(4) Age distinction is made between older and younger spouse or potential spouse: xanu or chaita indicate older spouse, ain or bene indicate younger spouse or no age distinction.

(5) Women make no sex distinction between son and daughter, bake. Men use the same term, bake, for either son or daughter, but may distinguish the son by a separate term, beden.

(6) No sex or lineal distinctions are made in the generic term for grandchildren, baba. Distinctions are made when they are classified with ego's generation.

(7) Kin of the second generation ascending and descending may be classified with ego's generation, using the general terms, betsa, pui, chai, ain, or bene.

5.2. Vocative Terms.

(1) Kin of two generations removal, same patrilineal moiety, are classified together: grandfather with grandson, huchin, chain, or chaitan, and grandmother with granddaughter, chichin, or xanun.

(2) Kin of one generation removal, same patrilineal moiety, are classified together. Male ego classifies: father with son, epan; mother with daughter-in-law, ewan; father-in-law with son-in-law, kukan; and mother-in-law with daughter, achin. Female ego classifies: father with son-in-law, epan; mother with daughter, ewan; father-in-law with son, kukan; and mother-in-law with daughter-in-law, yayan.

(3) With the exception of persons of the opposite moiety, opposite sex, age distinctions are made between older and younger members of ego's generation. Of these only older sister, chipin, is distinguished from kin of the same patrilineal moiety, two generations removed.

(4) Vocative moiety terms are used alternately with vocative kin terms or replace reference kin terms for persons younger than ego.

6. Bibliography.

Abreu, J. Capistrano de. 1938. Ensaio e Estudos, Ser. 3:275-357. Rio de Janeiro.

Goodenough, Ward H. 1956. "Componential Analysis and the Study of Meaning". Language 32: 195-216.

Kensinger, Kenneth M. n.d.. "The Phonological Hierarchy of Cashinahua (Pano)". To appear in Peru Studies I, Linguistic Series of the Summer Institute of Linguistics of the University of Oklahoma. Norman, Oklahoma.

McQuown, Norman A.. 1956. "Indigenous Languages of Latin America". American Anthropologist 57:

Metraux, A.. 1948. "Tribes of the Jurua-Purus Basins". Handbook of South American Indians, 3:657-686.

Rivet, P. and C. Tastevin. 1921. "Les Tribus Indiennes des Bassins du Purus, du Jurua et des Regions Limitrophes." La Geographie 35:449-492.

Romney, A. Kimball and Philip J. Epling. 1958. "A Simplified Model of Kariera Kinship." American Anthropologist 60:59-74.

FOOTNOTES

¹This analysis is based upon data gathered during field work with the Cashinahuas who live along the Curanja River of eastern Peru between 1955 and 1961. The author wishes to gratefully acknowledge the helpful suggestions from Ward H. Goodenough.

²The following abbreviations are used. Fa- father, Mo- mother, Br- brother, Si- sister, Ch- child, So- son, Da- daughter, Hu- husband, Wi- wife, Ol- older, Yr- younger.

³Terms are written in the practical orthography. The phonemes of Cashinahua are as follows (practical orthography, where different, is indicated in parenthesis): p, t, k, b, d, m, n, s, s (sh), s (x), ʃ (ts), c (ch), w, y, h, i, a, u, i (e). For an analysis of Cashinahua phonemics, see Kensinger (n.d.).

⁴I am indebted to my colleague, Joseph Grimes, for suggesting this possibility.

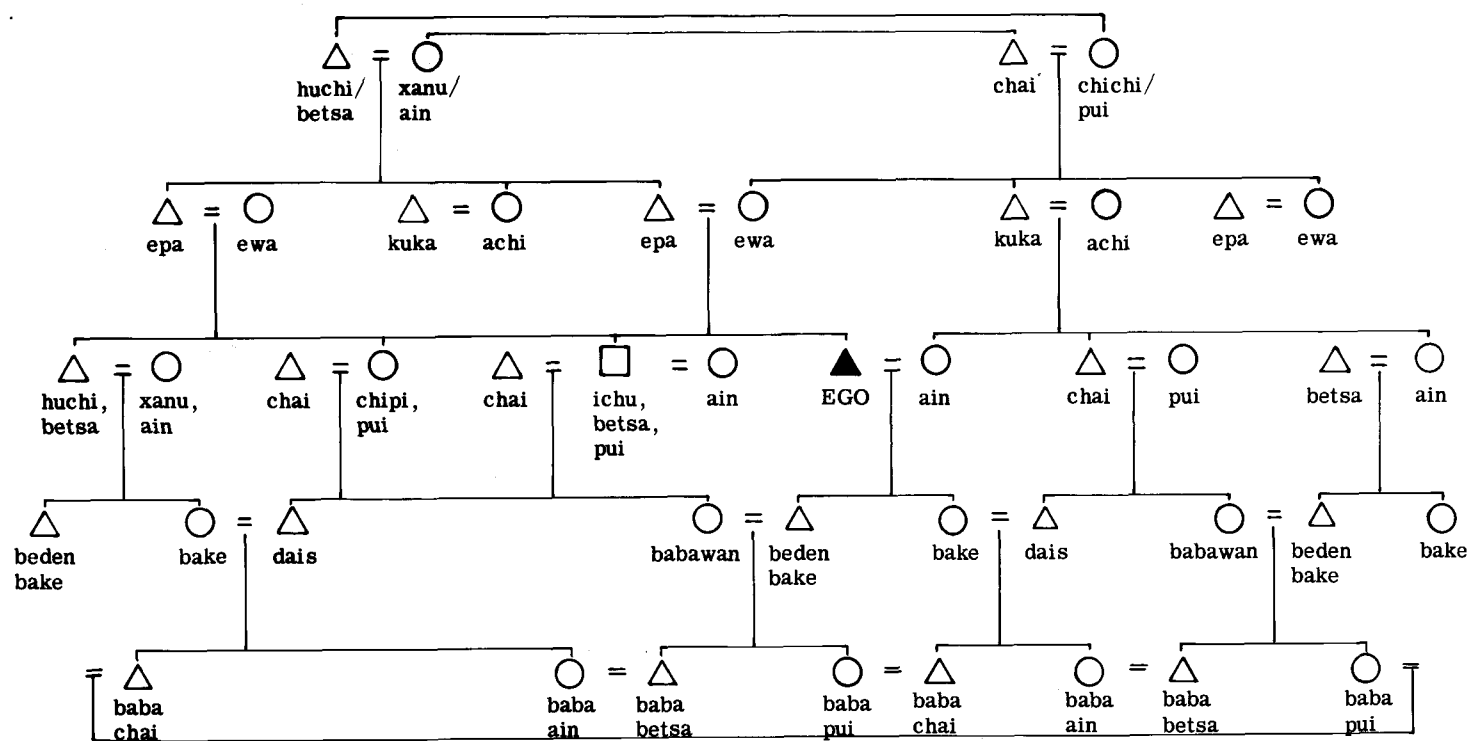


Chart 1: Referential Kin Terms - Male Ego

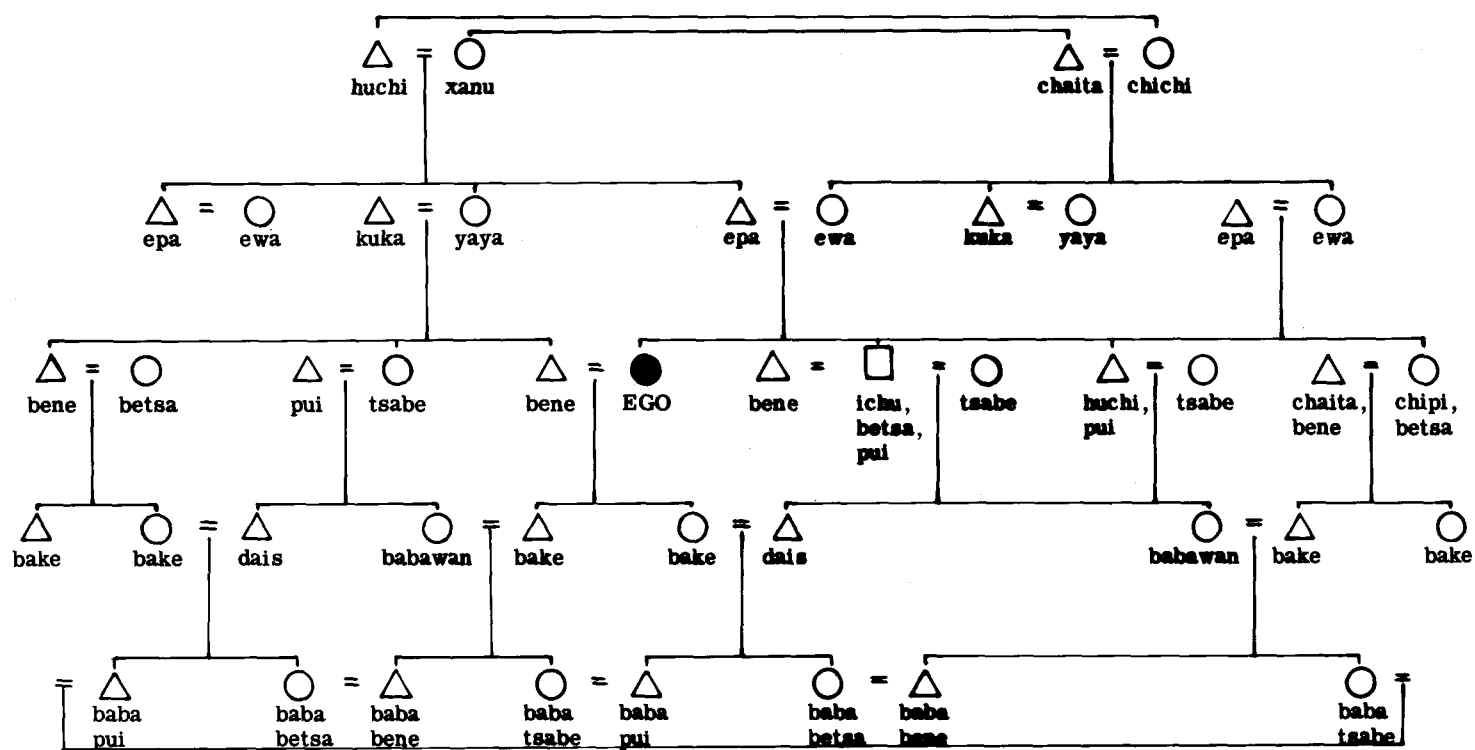


Chart 2: Referential Kin Terms - Female Ego

		EGO'S MOIETY		OPPOSITE MOIETY	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
SECOND ASCENDING		huchi/betsa	chichi/pui	chai	xanu/ain
FIRST ASCENDING		epa	achi	kuka	ewa
EGO'S	OLDER	huchi	chipi		xanu
	NO AGE DISTINCTION	betsa	pui	chai	ain
	YOUNGER	ichu	ichu		ain
FIRST DESCENDING		beden/bake	bake	dais	babawan
SECOND DESCENDING		baba/betsa	baba/pui	baba/chai	baba/ain

Chart 3: Referential Kin Terms - Male Ego, Revised

		EGO'S MOIETY		OPPOSITE MOIETY	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
SECOND ASCENDING		huchi/pui	chichi/betsa	chaita/bene	xanu
FIRST ASCENDING		epa	yaya	kuka	ewa
EGO'S	OLDER	huchi	chipi	chaita	
	NO AGE DISTINCTION	pui	betsa	bene	tsabe
	YOUNGER	ichu	ichu	bene	
FIRST DESCENDING		dais	babawan	bake	bake
SECOND DESCENDING		baba/pui	baba/betsa	baba/bene	baba/tsabe

Chart 4: Referential Kin Terms - Female Ego, Revised

		EGO'S MOIETY		OPPOSITE MOIETY	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
SECOND ASCENDING		huchin	chichin	chain	xanun
FIRST ASCENDING		epan	achin	kukan	ewan
EGO'S	OLDER	huchin	chipin		xanun
	NO AGE DISTINCTION			chain	
	YOUNGER	ichun	ichun		
FIRST DESCENDING		epan	achin	kukan	ewan
SECOND DESCENDING		huchin	chichin	chain	xanun

Chart 1: Vocative Kin Terms - Male Ego

		EGO'S MOIETY		OPPOSITE MOIETY	
		MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
SECOND ASCENDING		huchin	chichin	chaitan	xanun
FIRST ASCENDING		epan	yayan	kukan	ewan
EGO'S	OLDER	huchin	chipin	chaitan	
	NO AGE DISTINCTION				tsaben
	YOUNGER	ichun	ichun		
FIRST DESCENDING		epan	yayan	kukan	ewan
SECOND DESCENDING		huchin	chichin	chaitan	xanun

Chart 6: Vocative Kin Terms: Female Ego