

Marriage Practices in Lowland South America

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An Emic Model of Cashinahua Marriage

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In this paper I present an emic model of Cashinahua marriage, i.e., a model that takes into account what informants said about marriage in casual conversations among themselves, in the more formal discussions that took place when disputes arose about particular marriages, and in the more structured discussions with the ethnographer, and the facts of their marriage practices as gleaned from genealogies, gossip, and personal observations.¹ The model is an attempt to account for (1) the ways in which the Cashinahua classify any particular marriage as "real" or "unreal" and as "good" or "bad," and the criteria they seem to have in mind when they classify marriages; (2) the rules implicit in their behavior and the explicit statements made about choosing a spouse; and (3) the variability within the systems of classification, within the behavior they call "marriage," and between the stated norms and ideals and their actual behavior. Since the analysis focuses on the social phenomena the Cashinahua label *ainwan*, to marry (male speaker), literally "wife-do/make," and *ainyan*, to be married (m.s.), literally "wife-have," *benewa*, to marry (f.s.), literally "husband-do/make," and *beneya*, to be married (f.s.), literally "husband-have,"² the resulting definition applies to the Cashinahua only and is not presented as having any universal cross-cultural applicability. However, it is hoped that this analysis will contribute to the refinement of "our etic concepts" and increase "our potential for systematic comparison" (Goodenough 1970:113).

The meaning of the terms "etic" and "emic" follows in the tradition of the linguist Pike (1954), who coined the terms, and Goodenough, who further refined the definitions as they specifically applied to ethnographic analysis, rather than in the tradition of Harris (1964, 1968, 1971, 1979). Wallace (1980:423-24), in his recent review of Harris's *Cultural Mate-*

rialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture, has succinctly summarized the differences between the two traditions:³

The emic/etic distinction was originally invented and has been generally used by linguists and cultural anthropologists to distinguish between two kinds of models of discriminant behavior that the *observer* may construct for his own use in understanding what he observes. The etic model describes the behavior in categories already familiar and convenient to the observer (and ideally such categories have a "universal" scientific currency, like metric units of measurement or Murdock's "kin-types"). The subject may or may not be using the observer's etic categories but the etic observer is not concerned with whether or not that is so. The emic model, however, sets out deliberately to describe the same discriminant behavior in the categories actually being employed, consciously or unconsciously, by the subject (which again may be the same as the observer's but usually are not).

Cashinahua Marriage as Process

The four linguistic terms—*ainwan* and *benewa*, *ainyan* and *beneya*—focus on the process of establishing and maintaining a marriage, not on the act of marrying or the state of being married.⁴

Ainwan and *benewa* refer to the totality of a series of activities that occur over a period of months and even years, and that vary depending on the sex of ego, on whether or not it is a first monogamous marriage or a subsequent one, and on whether or not it is the first or succeeding marriage in a polygamous union.⁵

Ainwan

Males generally marry for the first time between the ages of 14 and 17 years, although some have first married at 10 or 11. This marriage is arranged by his father or his father's brother. In the absence of these, a mother's brother speaks with the girl's father and obtains his approval. Once permission has been granted by the girl's father, the prospective husband begins to visit her in her hammock after the rest of her family has gone to sleep or at least are all settled in their hammocks for the night. These visits may last all night, but he must not be with her when the family awakens in the morning. He may also meet with her surreptitiously in the forest during the day. During these visits the couple engage in fondling, tickling, pinching, sexual intercourse, or simply sleeping in one another's arms.

About the time the boy's visits begin, he asks his father's sister to weave a new cotton hammock for him, which when completed he leaves under her hammock when he departs before daybreak. The same day he moves his possessions to where his wife hangs her hammock. This move

places him under the authority of his father-in-law rather than that of his father. For the first month he daily leaves the village at daybreak either to hunt or to work in his or his father-in-law's garden, returning after 4 P.M. During this period he is supposed to be embarrassed when his peers tease him, making bawdy comments about his sexual activity. Most informants say that this is the point at which the process of *ainwan* ends. Others argue that it continues for a year, until the onset of his wife's first pregnancy, or until the birth of their first child.

If death or divorce terminates his first marriage, which is highly likely, the process leading to any subsequent marriages is less standardized unless it is the first marriage for a man's new wife. A kinsman of the groom seeks the wife's father's permission only for a man's first marriage; the groom must get the agreement of the woman's father himself if it is her first marriage but not his. If both have been married before, *ainwan* refers to the period during which he is trying to convince his lover to marry him, ending when they take up residence together.⁶ In cases of polygyny *ainwan* refers to the period of courtship and the initial weeks and months of co-residence, differing from primary marriages in that there is no residential shift for the male; the wives who are added to an already established monogamous union usually join their husbands at his place of residence.

Benewa

Women generally marry for the first time between the ages of 9 and 14. During the period of amatory nocturnal visits from the prospective spouse, a woman may be reluctant or even hostile and may reject a man's advances, refusing him admittance to her hammock.⁷ Whether or not the process runs full cycle depends on her satisfaction with the male; she is free to give or withhold sexual favors and all favors granted must be rewarded by gifts, which usually consist of meat sent to her through an intermediary—a younger sibling or parallel cousin of her lover. Gifts of trade goods such as beads, cotton cloth, scented soap, and perfume are signs that the romance is progressing well.

For the first month after her husband takes up residence with her, a woman is expected to stay in her house near her hearth being shy and embarrassed. When not engaged in household chores, she sits in the new hammock given to her by her new husband. She may establish a new cooking hearth near that of her mother or continue to use her mother's hearth. During the next several months she makes her own set of cooking pots, bowls, corn and peanut toaster, and water jars. If her husband has already made a garden, she becomes its owner and harvests the crops when ripe or as needed. In general, marriage brings little change to her daily routine unless there is a change in her place of residence. For

example, if she becomes the new wife added to an already existing monogamous or polygamous union, she would normally be expected to move to her husband's household. Such a residential shift requires her to establish a new network of working cohorts but does not significantly change the nature of her working day. (For a fuller discussion of residence rules, see pp. 233-35.)

Ainyan and Beneya

Ainyan and *beneya* refer to the ongoing processes of maintaining a relationship between a pair of co-residential spouses. These include economic cooperation based on a series of reciprocal exchanges of services and goods, shared responsibilities for child rearing, and a continuing, but not exclusive, sexual relationship. Males are responsible for making two gardens per wife annually (see Kensinger 1975a for discussion of gardening); women harvest the gardens and cook food. Men hunt and provide meat for their wives; women cook the meat. These reciprocal exchanges of goods and services are closely related to and support the ongoing sexual relationship between the spouses. Cashinahua spouses do not gain exclusive access to their partner's sexual services. Both may engage in extra-marital affairs as long as they are discreet and do not create a public scandal that would embarrass their spouse. Neither may repeatedly and over prolonged periods deny their partner's conjugal rights, except during periods of ritually prescribed sexual abstinence, without risking the withdrawal of economic supports and possible divorce. This does not mean that couples never limit their sexual activities to their spouses—many do, but they can neither demand nor expect exclusive sexual services in return.

There is no single unambiguous point at which spouses refer to their relationship as *ainyan/beneya* rather than *ainwan/benewa*, but there are points before and after which it is deemed inappropriate to use the terms *ainyan/beneya* and *ainwan/benewa*, respectively. The former may not be used prior to establishing co-residence and the latter may not be used after the termination of the first pregnancy, either through the birth of a child or through a spontaneous or induced abortion.

Four Taxonomic Devices

The Cashinahua use four binary contrasts or polarities for classifying actual or potential marriage and most but not all other aspects of their life⁸: Polarity 1, *kuin*₁ versus *kuinman*₁; Polarity 2, *kuin*₂ versus *bemakia*₂; Polarity 3, *kayabi*₃ versus *bemakia*₃; and Polarity 4, *pe*₄ versus *chaka*₄.⁹ *Kuin*₁, *kuin*₂, and *kayabi*₃ can all be glossed real, true, known, familiar, actual, primary, proper, etc.; *kuinman*₁, *bemakia*₂, and *bemakia*₃ can be

translated unreal, false, unknown, unfamiliar, hypothetical, secondary, improper, etc. *Pe*₄ and *chaka*₄ can be glossed good and bad, respectively. Because of the significance of these taxonomic devices for understanding not only Cashinahua marriage but the meaning of kin terms as they relate to marriage rules, I discuss them here in abstract terms before discussing their specific application to the classification of marriages.

Polarity 1, *kuin*₁ versus *kuinman*₁, divides a semantic domain into two categories, those things that are "real" and those that are "unreal." The categories are strictly and rigidly defined and form a diametric opposition. Membership in them is closed, fixed, unchangeable. The criteria for deciding if objects, behavior, relationships, etc. are *kuin*₁ or *kuinman*₁ are highly idealistic cultural norms and values. Informants rarely disagree on the classification of items within a domain. Even informants who publicly disagreed, because they were at the time attempting for personal reasons to maneuver public opinion using Polarity 2 (see below), either to justify their errant behavior or to establish their lack of culpability for an infraction of a norm, often indicated in private discussions with me that the classification of a domain as the others had stated it was correct.

Polarity 2, *kuin*₂ versus *bemakia*₂, also divides a semantic domain into two categories, real and unreal. Except for a small residual core of items that must always be *kuin*₂ or *bemakia*₂, things are classified as either *kuin*₂ or *bemakia*₂ by individuals; things are what an individual calls them because that is what the individual says they are. Others may agree, disagree, or be neutral depending on their own motives and goals or simply out of indifference or disinterest. Thus classifications based on the use of Polarity 2 are highly individualistic, idiosyncratic, and existential. They serve as the basis for reality bargaining between individuals.

Polarity 3, *kayabi*₃ versus *bemakia*₃, also divides a semantic domain into two categories, real and unreal.¹⁰ The categories are diametrically opposed and membership is mutually exclusive; they are relatively closed, fixed, and unchangeable. Rather than being idealistic, they are pragmatic, based on the knowledge that the vicissitudes of life often require accepting the less-than-perfect as inevitable without abandoning the ideal represented by Polarity 1. There is a high degree of agreement between informants on what is *kayabi*₃ and what is *bemakia*₃.

Polarity 3 does not resolve the dialectical opposition between the rigid idealistic sociocentric classification produced by Polarity 1 and the existential, almost anarchistic egocentric classification produced by Polarity 2. Polarity 3 serves as a kind of mediating synthesis that makes social action possible.

Polarity 4, *pe*₄ versus *chaka*₄, divides a domain into two categories or subdomains, those things that are good and those that are bad, each of which may be further subdivided. This creates a continuum from very

TABLE 1a. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLARITY 4 AND POLARITIES 1, 2, and 3.

	Polarity 4	Polarity 1		Polarity 2		Polarity 3	
		<i>kuin₁</i>	<i>kuinman₁</i>	<i>kuin₂</i>	<i>bemakia₂</i>	<i>kayabi₃</i>	<i>bemakia₃</i>
<i>pe₄</i>	<i>pehaida</i>	+	—	+	—	+	—
	<i>pe</i>	+	—	±	±	+	—
	<i>pepihta</i>	—	+	±	±	+	—
	<i>chakapishita</i>	—	+	±	±	—	+
<i>chaka₄</i>	<i>chaka</i>	—	+	±	±	—	+
	<i>chakahaida</i>	—	+	—	+	—	+

Read as follows: If an item is classified as *pe₄* and *pe*, it is obligatorily classified as *kuin₁*, obligatorily not classified as *kuinman₁*, optionally classified as *kuin₂* and *bemakia₂*, etc.

good, *pehaida*, to good, *pe*, to a little good, *pepishta*, to a little bad, *chaka-pishta*, to bad, *chaka*, to very bad, *chakahaida*. Polarity 4 establishes the relative moral value within a behavioral domain; in contrast, Polarities 1, 2, and 3 establish the structural order. Table 1a shows the relationship between the categories produced by using Polarity 4 and the categories resulting from Polarities 1, 2, and 3. Table 1b shows the same relationship with the columns rearranged as a Guttman scale.

The four polarities are merely linguistic devices for labeling categories within semantic domains. The criteria by which these discriminations are made have their roots in the implicit and explicit rules that underlie Cashinahua thought and behavior. We turn now to an examination of the rules and their social contexts.

Cashinahua Marriage Rules and Social Organization

Cashinahua informants often classified and evaluated specific marriages, both actual or potential. They also made statements about what they customarily do or generally expect. However, they did not explicitly formulate a set of rules regulating the choice of a spouse, list the criteria by which they evaluate a marriage, or indicate any particular order in which the rules are applied or considered. Therefore, the rules, as presented below, are a distillation of many hours of discussions with a multiplicity of informants. The order of presentation was heavily influenced by a conversation I had with one of my best informants about the selection of a wife for his orphaned sister's son, who several years later married that informant's daughter—a marriage that all informants agreed was *kuin*₁, *kuin*₂, *kayabi*₃, *pe*₄, and *pehaida*. Quotation marks set off my translations of the informants' statements from my restatement of them in anthropological terms.

Rule 1: Cross-cousin marriage

Rule 1a: *Prescriptive actual first cross-cousin marriage*. "He will marry his *ainkuin*."¹¹ Marriage is preferred with an actual double first cross cousin (FZD and MBD) or an actual first cross cousin (FZD or MBD).¹²

This rule reflects the Cashinahua ideal model of the society, where each local group is based on sister exchange between two focal males, replicated by their sons, their son's sons, etc. Each of these males must be a member of the opposite moiety and the appropriate linked marriage section. Actual genealogical connections are a prime consideration. (See Figure 1 and Kensinger 1977).

Rule 1b: *Prescriptive "cross-cousin" marriage*. "He must marry one of his *ainbuaibu*." Marriage is prescribed with a member of the kin class

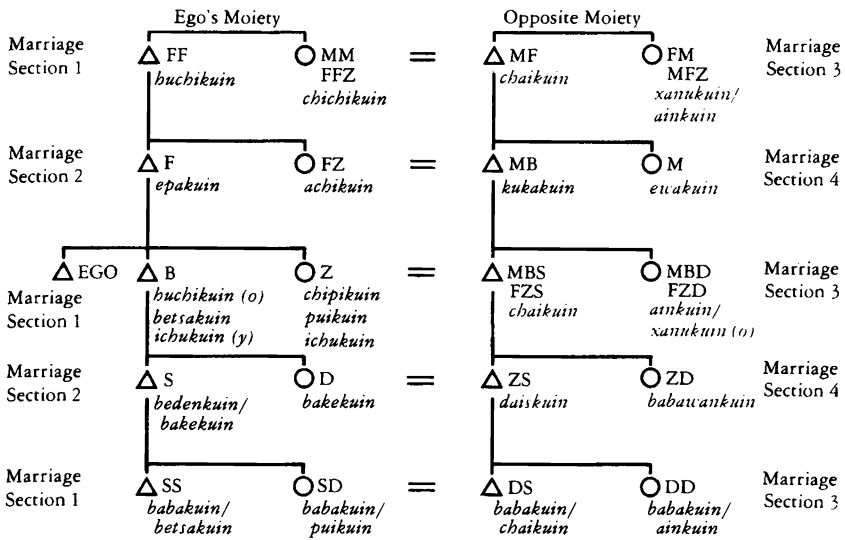


FIGURE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF FOCAL KIN TYPES AND *kuin*₁ KINSMEN FOR MALE EGO—an idealized model of Cashinahua society.

"female cross cousin," i.e. with a person of the opposite sex in the opposite moiety and linked marriage section.¹³

This rule reflects a pragmatic version of the Cashinahua ideal model of the society, with groups of male moiety and section mates exchanging "sisters" with the males of the opposite moiety and linked marriage section; actual genealogical connections are not significant. (See Chart 1 and Rules 2 and 3 below.)

Marriage and/or sexual intercourse with women who are not members of the social category *ainbuaibu* constitutes incest. However, sanctions against incest vary depending on the degree of genealogical closeness. Incestuous relations with a *kuin*₁ kinswoman¹⁴ are strongly prohibited and generally are prevented or terminated by beating and death; they are strongly disapproved and discouraged with *kayabi*₃ kinswomen who are not also *kuin*₁ kinswomen.¹⁵ With all other kinswomen, i.e. any other Cashinahua women not included in the *kuin*₁ or *kayabi*₁ categories, they are neither disapproved nor strongly discouraged—they are the topic of gossip, as are any illicit affairs—but are subject to negative sanctions by spirit beings only.

Rule 2: Moiety exogamy

"He (a *duabake*) will marry an *inanibake*." Marriage must be exogamous with reference to the moieties.

Moiety 1		Moiety 2	
	Male	Female	
Marriage Section 1	01 <i>epabu</i>	<i>acibbu,m</i> <i>yayabu,f</i>	<i>kukabu</i> <i>ewabu</i>
	Yr <i>bedenbu,m</i> <i>daibu,f</i>	<i>babauwanbu,f</i>	<i>daibu,m</i> <i>babauwanbu,m</i>
	<i>bakebu,m</i>		<i>bakebu,f</i>
Marriage Section 2	01 <i>buchibu</i>	<i>chichibu/</i> <i>chipibu</i>	<i>chaidubu,f</i> <i>xanubu,m</i>
	NA ----- <i>betsabu</i> (same sex)		<i>chaidubu,m</i> <i>ainbuaibu,m</i>
	<i>puibu</i> (opposite sex) <i>ichubu/</i> <i>bababu</i>		<i>benebu,f</i> <i>tsabebu,f</i> <i>bababu</i>

CHART 1. REFERENTIAL KINSHIP TERMS DISTRIBUTED BY MOIETY AND MARRIAGE SECTIONS. Ego is a member of moiety 1, marriage section 2.

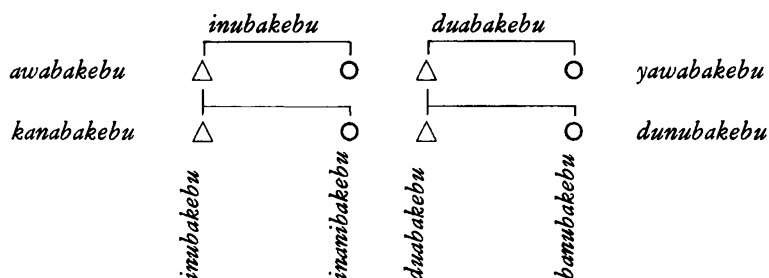


FIGURE 2. CASHINAHUA MOIETIES AND MARRIAGE SECTIONS.

All Cashinahua are members of one of two moieties, *inubakebu* and *duabakebu*, each of which is subdivided by sex. The female counterparts are *inanibakebu* and *banubakebu* respectively (see Figure 2). A male is a member of his father's moiety; a female is a member of her mother's mother's/father's father's sister's moiety. The male term is used to designate the male and female members of a moiety as a group.

The moieties are the social structural entities that unite all the autonomous local villages into a single society. Along with the marriage sections (see Rule 3 below), the moieties provide each Cashinahua with an immediate social identity in every other community, they limit marriage choices, and they operate as social groups for ritual and ceremonial occasions. The members of the moiety within each village are the local representatives of the entire moiety; they do not constitute subgroups such as localized clans, lineages, etc. (cf. Mundurucú phratries, clans, and lineages in Murphy 1960).

Rule 3: Marriage section prescription

"He (a *yawabake*) will marry an *awabake*." Marriage is prescribed with reference to a specific marriage section.

All Cashinahua are members of one of four marriage sections or alternating generation-namesake groups, *xutabuauibu*; they are all either *awabakebu*, *kanabakebu*, *yawabakebu*, or *dunubakebu* (see Figure 2). A male is a member of the marriage section of his FF or FFB from whom he receives his names; a woman is a member of the marriage section of her MM, who ideally is also her FFZ, from whom she receives her names. Each marriage section consists of all the members both male and female of a person's moiety and generation and of those moiety mates two generations senior and junior. This group is further subdivided into two subgroups, those who are older than ego (i.e. those from whom he receives his names) and those younger than ego (i.e. those to whom he gives his names). The other members of ego's moiety are members of another marriage section consisting of persons one generation senior

and junior to ego (i.e. those who sired ego and those whom ego sires respectively). Persons who are *awabakebu* and *kanabakebu* are members of the *inubakebu* moiety, and persons who are *yawabakebu* and *dunubakebu* are members of the *duabakebu* moiety (see Figure 2). Furthermore, *yawabakebu* should only marry *awabakebu* and vice versa; *dunubakebu* should only marry *kanabakebu* and vice versa.

Under normal circumstances the rule of section prescription coincides with that of Rule 1, which prescribes marriage with a real or classificatory cross cousin. However, in cases where there have been violations of Rules 2 and 3, adjustments must be made in the marriage section and/or moiety membership of all female offspring; male offspring are not affected. A woman may not be a member of her father's marriage section as she would be if her father's marriage violated Rule 3. Nor may she be a member of the marriage section from which her father should have selected a spouse or of her mother's moiety, which would be the case if her father had violated both Rules 2 and 3. And finally she may not be a member of the same moiety as her mother, as would be the case if her father violated Rule 2. The adjustments in group membership of a female required by the violations of these two rules are shown in Table 2. Therefore, her social identity based on her moiety and/or marriage section membership places her in kinship categories that do not coincide with her placement through genealogical reckoning, a discrepancy that can be actively manipulated by all but her *kuin*₁ kinsmen.

Rule 4: Village endogamy

"He will marry a woman from his own village." Marriage should be endogamous with reference to the village.

Rule 4 states a clear preference; it reflects the Cashinahua view of what constitutes a well-ordered society. The ideal Cashinahua village, *maekuin*₁, consists of a *social core* composed of two *focal males* who are members of the opposite moieties and of marriage sections of the same generational levels who have exchanged sisters in marriage—an exchange that is replicated by their sons and son's sons in perpetuity, plus the primary cognates of the focal males, i.e. their *nabukuin*₁.¹⁶ This arrangement would coincide, of course, with the ideal of marriage with a double first cross cousin.

No Cashinahua village meets the requirements for being classified *maekuin*₁. However, a village may be classified as proper *maekayabi*₃ if the two males, either actual or classificatory cross cousins, have exchanged sisters or classificatory sisters in marriage, and have established themselves as the political leaders of their village.¹⁷

Only when no spouses are available in his village does a man consider going to another village in search of a wife. In such cases there is fre-

TABLE 2. ADJUSTMENT IN MOIETY AND MARRIAGE SECTION MEMBERSHIP OF DAUGHTER WHOSE PARENTS' MARRIAGE VIOLATES RULES 2 AND/OR 3.

Moiety-Section = Male		Moiety-Section Female		Moiety-Section Daughter		Condition
inu	awa	banu	yawa	inani	kana	Normal
inu	awa	banu	dunu	inani	<i>kana</i>	SV
inu	awa	inani	awa	<i>banu</i>	<i>dunu</i>	MV
inu	awa	inani	kana	<i>banu</i>	<i>dunu</i>	MV&SV
inu	kana	banu	dunu	inu	awa	Normal
inu	kana	banu	yawa	inu	<i>awa</i>	SV
inu	kana	inani	kana	<i>banu</i>	<i>yawa</i>	MV
inu	kana	inani	awa	<i>banu</i>	<i>yawa</i>	MV&SV
dua	yawa	inani	awa	banu	dunu	Normal
dua	yawa	inani	kana	banu	<i>dunu</i>	SV
dua	yawa	banu	yawa	<i>inani</i>	<i>kana</i>	MV
dua	yawa	banu	dunu	<i>inani</i>	<i>kana</i>	MV&SV
dua	dunu	inani	kana	banu	yawa	Normal
dua	dunu	inani	awa	banu	<i>yawa</i>	SV
dua	dunu	banu	dunu	<i>inani</i>	<i>awa</i>	MV
dua	dunu	banu	yawa	<i>inani</i>	<i>awa</i>	MV&SV

Read: if a male who is a member of *inubakebu* moiety and *awabakebu* marriage section marries a female who is a member of *banubakebu* moiety and *yawabakebu* marriage section, their daughter is a member of *inanibakebu* moiety and *kanabakebu* marriage section; the marriage is normal.

SV Violates marriage section rule

MV Violates moiety exogamy rule

Italics indicate the changes required.

quently heavy pressure on him to marry a local woman even if the marriage requires violation of either Rule 3 or Rule 2, or both, in that order of preference, so long as he does not marry a *kuin*₁ kinswoman. Such marriages would be *kuin*₂, *kuinman*₁, and *bemakia*₃ but not *kuin*₁ or *kayabi*₃.

Rule 5: Residence rules

"He will live with his *achi*." Postmarital residence is matrilocal or uxorilocal.

Under normal circumstances a man takes up residence at marriage with his wife in the household of her parents, his *achi* and *kuka*, i.e. with his actual or classificatory father's sister and/or his actual or classificatory mother's brother. However, if the wife's actual father¹⁸ is deceased, other residential options are open to the couple, depending on their individual

circumstances: (1) they may reside with his parents, especially if the wife was residing there at the time of her marriage; (2) they may reside with the husband's older sister and her family, especially if his father is deceased, or with a brother if he has no actual sisters; or (3) they may establish an independent household near any close kinsman of either spouse.¹⁹ The decision almost always results in their living with or near a cross-sex sibling of one of the spouses.²⁰

Postmarital residence practices also vary if either spouse has been married before or if the wife is becoming a secondary wife in a polygynous union. In polygynous unions secondary wives generally become part of the households of their husbands unless they are the last surviving daughters of their fathers, in which case the father may demand that her husband and his other wife or wives join his household. If either spouse has been married before, economic factors involving gardens and hunting territories generally influence the decision. Although marriage is entered into with the assumption of permanence, it is very fragile during the early months, so much so that the Cashinahua speak of the dissolution of a marriage as divorce (*ain puta*, "wife-throw away," or *bene puta*, "husband-throw away") only if the marriage has lasted more than a year.²¹ Because of this, my data on divorce (only 10 of 93 marriages ended in divorce) give poor indication of the residential mobility of some males and females. But such affairs, whether or not the Cashinahua call them marriages terminated by divorce, do influence residential decisions.

Although Rule 5 is not a criterion in the classification of marriages, informants always discussed residential arrangements when we talked about marriage rules and classification. The reasons why residence rules play such a prominent part in these discussions of marriage are clear. First, marriage includes an actual or a potential change of locus of authority. Prior to marriage a male lives with and is subject to the authority of his father. By authority here I mean that he has obligations of respect, loyalty, economic and political support, but not necessarily obedience (Kensinger 1974b). When a man marries, he comes under the authority of his wife's father,²² and change of residence is symbolic of this change in locus of authority. Even if a man does not change his place of residence, he still has obligations to cooperate with and economically support his father-in-law, to show him deference and respect, to support him politically except in disputes involving his primary agnatic kinsmen. Only with the death of father-in-law, or if a man becomes a focal male, is he free from the authority of his wife's father.

Second, there may be a change in his factional alignment. Until he becomes a focal male, each male is normally part of the political faction of his father and father-in-law or that of his brother and/or brother-in-

law (cross cousin). Unless he marries a woman who is part of his faction, he must align himself with the political faction of his father-in-law or brother-in-law, especially if either of them is politically ambitious and active, or he risks putting his marriage in jeopardy. (See Kensinger 1974b for a discussion of the political manipulation of marriages.)

These are the principal rules of the Cashinahua marriage system. However, other considerations bear on the selection of a spouse, including physical attractiveness, industriousness, sexual and personal compatibility, political realities, economic advantage, etc. Although these factors play a not insignificant part in a man's decision to marry a particular woman, they are not factors in the classification of his marriage.

Taxonomies, Rules, and Practice

We turn now to an examination of the marriage taxonomies and rules as they relate to each other and to Cashinahua behavior. Table 3 shows the relationship between the classification of marriages using Polarities 1, 2, and 3 and adherence to the marriage rules; Table 4 shows the relationship between the classification of marriages using Polarity 4 and adherence to the marriage rules.²³ Table 5 shows the frequencies of marriage by classification.

Polarity 1: *kuin*₁ versus *kuinman*₁

*Kuin*₁ marriages are those with an actual double first cross cousin (simultaneously FZD and MBD) or an actual first cross cousin (FZD or MBD),²⁴ who is a member of the opposite moiety, the appropriate marriage section, and ego's village. All other marriages are classified as

TABLE 3. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASSIFICATIONS OF MARRIAGE USING POLARITIES 1, 2, AND 3 AND ADHERENCE TO MARRIAGE RULES.

		Rule 1a	Rule 1b	Rule 2	Rule 3	Rule 4
Polarity 1	<i>kuin</i>	+	+	+	+	+
	<i>kuinman</i>	—	±	±	±	±
Polarity 2	<i>kuin</i>	+	±	±	±	±
	<i>bemakia</i>	—	±	±	±	±
Polarity 3	<i>kayabi</i>	+	+	+	+	±
	<i>bemakia</i>	—	—	—	—	±

+ Obligatory adherence

— Violation

± Optional adherence

TABLE 4. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CLASSIFICATIONS OF MARRIAGE USING POLARITY 4 AND ADHERENCE TO MARRIAGE RULES.

		Rule 1a	Rule 1b	Rule 2	Rule 3	Rule 4
<i>pe</i> ₄	<i>pehaida</i>	+	+	+	+	+
	<i>pe</i>	+	+	+	+	+
	<i>pepishta</i>	—	+	+	+	±
<i>chaka</i> ₄	<i>chakapishta</i>	—	±	+	—	±
	<i>chaka</i>	—	±	—	—	±
	<i>chakahaida</i>	—	—	—	—	±

+ Obligatory adherence

— Violation

± Optional adherence

*kuinman*₁. Five of 77 marriages are classified as *kuin*₁, 72 are *kuinman*₁. Data are not available on adherence to Rule 4 for 16 of 93 marriages.

Polarity 2: *kuin*₂ versus *bemakia*₂

Only marriages that adhere to Rule 1a are obligatorily *kuin*₂ and only marriages with an actual M, MM, FFZ (if his MM), FM, Z, D, ZD, SD, and DD are obligatorily *bemakia*₂. Apart from these restrictions, ego is free to manipulate his classification of particular marriages and attempt to manipulate others' classifications in order to justify his violation of social

TABLE 5. FREQUENCIES OF MARRIAGES BY CLASSIFICATION.

Polarity 1		<i>kuin</i> ₁	5/77 ^a		
		<i>kuinman</i> ₁	72/77 ^a		
Polarity 2	Obligatorily	<i>kuin</i> ₂	5/93		
	Obligatorily	<i>bemakia</i> ₂	0/93		
	Optionally	<i>kuin</i> ₂	88/93		
	Optionally	<i>bemakia</i> ₂	88/93		
Polarity 3		<i>kayabi</i> ₃	76/93 ^b		
		<i>bemakia</i> ₃	15/93 ^b		
Polarity 4	<i>pehaida</i>	2/93			
	<i>pe</i>	3/93			
	<i>pepishta</i>	71/91 ^b		<i>pe</i> ₄	76/93
	<i>chakapishta</i>	4/93			
	<i>chaka</i>	11/93		<i>chaka</i> ₄	15/93
	<i>chakahaida</i>	0/93			

^aNo data on adherence to Rule 4 for 16 of 93 marriages.

^bInsufficient data on two marriages.

norms and/or his failure to carry out his social obligations. Because of the highly manipulable and idiosyncratic character of Polarity 2, only five of 93 marriages (two with actual double first cross cousins, two with actual FZDs, and one with an actual MBD) are indubitably *kuin*₂. None of the 93 marriages is obligatorily *bemakia*₂; such unions would be forcibly terminated by a severe beating, resulting in death, for either of the guilty parties, or excommunication of the couple from the society.

Polarity 3: *kayabi*₃ versus *bemakia*₃

*Kayabi*₃ marriages adhere to Rules 1, 2, and 3, and optionally adhere to Rule 4. Marriages that violate Rules 1a and 1b, 2, and 3 are always *bemakia*₃. Some informants argued that marriages which violate Rules 2 and 3, but not 1a and 1b, could also be classified as *kayabi*₃. Most insisted that since violations of Rule 3 results in confusion vis-à-vis the social status of the offspring of such a marriage, they were *chakapishta* and therefore could not be *kayabi*₃. Seventy-six of 93 marriages are classified as *kayabi*₃; 15 are *bemakia*₃ (I do not have sufficient data on two). The marriages classified as *bemakia*₃ include 12 that violated both Rules 2 and 3 (six males married women from their own moiety and section, six married women from their father's section of their own moiety) and three in violation of only Rule 3.

Polarity 4: *pe*₄ versus *chaka*₄

Use of Polarity 4 results in marriages that are classified as *pe*₄ or *chaka*₄, that is, good or bad. These two categories are each further subdivided into three subcategories so that marriages are *pehaida*, *pe*, *pepishta*, *chakapishta*, *chaka*, or *chakahaida*, i.e. they are very good, good, a little good, a little bad, bad, or very bad.

Marriages classified as *pehaida* are between actual double first cross cousins who are members of opposite moieties, linked marriage sections, and the same village; that is, they abide by the ideal rules. Only two of 93 marriages are classified as *pehaida*. The key to understanding the low frequency of such marriage lies in the strict, narrow requirement that actual double first cross cousins marry. Few persons have potential spouses who meet these qualifications, since it requires a prior *pehaida* marriage, so that FZ = MBW and MB = FZH. An examination of my genealogical data leads me to conclude that few *pehaida* marriages have existed in the recent past, if ever.

Pe marriages are those between spouses who are actual first cross cousins but not double first cross cousins, who are members of opposite moieties, linked marriage sections, and the same village. Three of 93 marriages are *pe*. Even with this relaxation of the strict ideal, most persons reaching marriageable age find no actual first cross cousins available.

One informant told me that he had very much wanted to marry well or very well, *ainwan pehaida* or *ainwan pe*, but all of his first cross cousins, his *ainkuin*₁, were either infants or already married.

Marriages classified as *pepishba* are between classificatory cross cousins who are members of opposite moieties and of the appropriate marriage sections but who reside before marriage in the same village or in different villages.²⁵ The overwhelming majority of Cashinahua marriages, 71 of 91 (I do not have sufficient data on two marriages), fit the category *pepishba*. Although such a marriage falls short of the ideal, it is an acceptable compromise because it often is required by demographic realities. Informants insist that although such marriages are not *pehaida* or *pe*, they are *pe*₁ as opposed to *chaka*₁.²⁶

Marriages classified *chakapishba* are those between persons who are not members of linked marriage sections, who are members of opposite moieties, who may or may not be cross cousins, and who may or may not be village co-residents. Four marriages of 93 were classified as *chakapishba*. Of these marriages, one was between cross cousins who were co-residents, but whose marriage violated the marriage section rule because the wife's father had married badly; two were between persons who were neither cross cousins nor village co-residents; I have insufficient data on the fourth case.

Marriages classified as *chaka* are those between persons who may or may not be cross cousins,²⁷ who are members of the same moiety and therefore are members of inappropriate marriage sections, and who may or may not be village co-residents. Eleven of 93 marriages are classified as *chaka*; none of them was between actual cross cousins, six of them were with members of the same marriage section, five were with persons belonging to father's marriage section, and all of them involved village co-residents. One informant told me "They say I married badly (*ainwan chaka*), but I have a good marriage (*ainyan pe*)."²⁸ He agreed, however, that the classification *ainwan chaka/ainyan chaka* was appropriate from a moral perspective and speculated that his failure to realize his political ambitions was a result of his bad marriages.

Marriages classified as *chakahaida* violate all four marriage rules with the possible exception of village endogamy and are further characterized by being with prohibited *kuin*₁ kinsmen, namely with an actual M, FZ, MM, FFZ (if also MM), FM, Z, D, ZD, SD, or DD.²⁸ Strong sanctions including physical violence are used to terminate such marriages; none of the 93 marriages is classified as *chakahaida*.

Taxonomies, Rules, and Cashinahua behavior

The marriage rules and elaborate taxonomies seem to have little direct impact on daily behavior. Except for those marriages classified as *chaka*-

haida, the Cashinahua do not shun individuals or couples whose marriages are improper, nor do they subject them to negative sanctions. Furthermore, the rules do not seem to be a serious consideration in a couple's decision to marry or not; other than arranged first marriages, most marriages are but formalizations of ongoing sexual liaisons entered into without consideration of any rules and taxonomies, except possibly those against sexual activity with prohibited *kuim*₁ kinsmen. However, a young man contemplating marriage does take the marriage rules into consideration while surveying his prospects; he chooses to marry an *ainbuaibu* if one is available. He does so because of the supernatural sanctions he risks if he marries improperly.

The spirit world of the Cashinahua is concerned with maintaining harmony and balance in the universe including within and between society, nature, and spirits. Bad marriages, by causing social confusion, are disruptive, resulting in suspicions and claims of supernatural intervention such as unexplained illness and accidents to the members of one's close circle of kin, bad luck at hunting, the cracking of one's kinswomen's pottery during firing, strange nighttime noises, apparitions of deceased kinsmen, etc.²⁹ I observed and my informants reported no cases where bad marriages were dissolved to placate the spirits; medicine is used (Kensinger 1974a). Thus bad marriages, except those classified as *chakahaida*, are tolerated and preferred to no marriage at all. Most females are married for the first time by the age of 13, males by 16. Widows and divorcées, even elderly ones, rarely remain unmarried for more than a few days; widowers and divorcés remarry as soon as a spouse is available and rarely have difficulty getting a new wife if they have a reputation as a good hunter, worker, and provider. Unmarried adults, whatever the reasons for their being unmarried, are viewed as potentially more disruptive to the society than is a bad marriage.

An Emic Model of Cashinahua Marriage

An emic model of Cashinahua marriage must account for all of the data presented above. It cannot be merely a translation or restatement of informants' statements nor can it be restricted to such statements. It must be based both on what they say *and* on what they do; it must define marriage as opposed to nonmarriage within Cashinahua society and as compared to marriage in American, Nuer, Trobriand, or Japanese society. These criteria exist not as isolated, discrete traits but as constellations or bundles of traits that define the discrete class or classes of social behavior called marriage. In addition, an emic definition of Cashinahua marriage must indicate the range of acceptable variation, both free or conditioned, present both in actual behavior of the members of Cashinahua society and

in their statements of acceptability. Furthermore, it must also include a statement of the distribution of the emic class or classes in larger structures or groups of which they form a part. Thus, for example, in Cashinahua society the married pair, husband and wife, is a basic structural unit that forms the nucleus of a nuclear family or constitutes part of the nucleus of a polygynous and/or an extended family. They may also be part of an atom of social organization, the social core, or the social periphery of a village.

The taxonomies resulting from the use of Polarities 1, 2, 3, and 4 are not emic. Although I was prepared at first to argue that Polarity 3, *kayabi*₃ versus *bemakia*₃, and/or Polarity 4, *pe*₄ versus *chaka*₄, are isomorphic with an emic model, closer examination showed that they are not and cannot be so. They fail to make explicit certain factors that are crucial to an emic model of Cashinahua marriage and that all informants implicitly assume to be true but never state. It was equally clear that Polarity 1, *kuin*₁ versus *kuinman*₁, cannot be emic because it is too idealistic, restrictive, and inflexible to account adequately for much of Cashinahua behavior; only about 5 percent of the marriages are classified as proper, *kuin*₁. Nor can Polarity 2, *kuin*₂ versus *bemakia*₂, be emic. It is too idiosyncratic, unrestrictive, and flexible to account for most of the constraints on Cashinahua marriage behavior. However, it does reveal both the range of variability possible within the system and the manner in which individuals are able to manipulate the system to their own advantage. Thus, although the four Cashinahua polarities provide us with taxonomic data essential for an emic analysis, individually and collectively they do not constitute an emic model.

My emic model of the Cashinahua marriage system consists of three emic classes—Legitimate-proper, Legitimate-improper, and Illegitimate-improper, hereafter L-p, L-i, and I-i respectively—and a two-phase emic process.

Table 6 summarizes the defining characteristics of each emic class. Table 7 summarizes the essential elements of the emic process; it indicates the obligatory and optional sequence of events that together define the process of Cashinahua marriage.³⁰ Table 6 includes three elements, which were not discussed in connection with the informants' taxonomies and rules because they are not criteria relevant to the Cashinahua classifications, namely cohabitation, a sexual relationship, and economic cooperation. However, they must be made explicit in an emic analysis because they are part of the behavior that defines marriage as opposed to other nonmarriage relationships.

An L-p marriage is defined as the process of establishing and maintaining a socially recognized and approved relationship characterized by

TABLE 6. MATRIX SHOWING DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF EMIC CLASSES OF CASHINAHUA MARRIAGE.

Emic Class	Cohabitation	Sexual Relationship	Economic Cooperation	Cross-Cousin Class Prescription	Moiety Exogamy	Marriage Section Prescription	Village Endogamy
L-p	+	+	+	+	+	+	±
L-i	+	+	+	±	±	—	±
I-i	+	+	+	—	—	—	±

+ Obligatory presence of feature

— Obligatory absence of feature

± Optional presence or absence of feature

cohabitation, a sexual relationship, and economic cooperation between a male and female who are actual or classificatory cross cousins and members of opposite moieties and appropriate, linked marriage sections. The parties to the relationship may or may not be co-residents of the same village prior to their marriage. An L-p marriage may form the nucleus of a nuclear family, and/or be part of the nucleus of a polygynous

TABLE 7. THE PROCESS OF MARRYING AMONG THE CASHINAHUA.

	First Marriage	Subsequent Marriages
Establishment Phase <i>ainwan</i>	± Arrangement by proxy	
	+ Nocturnal visits/daytime trysts	+ Sexual liaison with giving of gifts to woman
	± Requesting hammock	
	± Giving hammock to bride	
	+ Husband changes residence	+ Change of residence by one spouse
	+ Period of being ashamed	
Maintenance Phase <i>ainyan</i>	+ Regular hunting—catch to wife/wife's mother	
	+ Making garden	
	± First pregnancy and birth	
	+ Annual garden making	+ Annual garden making
	+ Regular hunting—catch to wife	+ Regular hunting—catch to wife
	+ Marriage of first daughter and shift from being son-in-law to father-in-law	

and/or extended family, and/or be part of the social core or periphery of a village. Only L-p marriages, however, may form the nucleus of an atom of social organization.³¹ All those marriages the Cashinahua classify as *pe*₄, *kuin*₁, and *kayabi*₃, and some they classify as *kuinman*₁ or *kuin*₂ (namely, those included in *pe*₄ and *kayabi*₃), are L-p marriages.

An L-i marriage is defined as the process of establishing and maintaining a socially recognized and accepted but not approved relationship between a male and female, characterized by cohabitation, a sexual relationship, and economic cooperation, by violation of the rule of marriage section prescription, and by optional adherence to the rules of village endogamy, moiety exogamy, and/or cross-cousin class prescription.³² The variant forms of L-i marriages are products of the particular options followed. An L-i marriage may form the nucleus of a nuclear family, and/or be part of the nucleus of a polygynous and/or extended family, and/or be part of the social core or periphery of a village. An L-i marriage *may not* form the nucleus of an atom of social organization. L-i marriages include all the marriages the Cashinahua classify as *chaka* and *chakapishba* and some they classify as *kuinman*₁, *bemakia*₂, and *bemakia*₃, namely, those included in *chaka* and *chakapishba* but not *chakahaida*.

An I-i marriage is defined as the process of establishing and maintaining an acknowledged but socially unrecognized and unapproved relationship between a male and a female who are *kuin*₁ kin to each other but not cross cousins (and who thus violate all the marriage rules with the possible exception of the rule of village endogamy), characterized by cohabitation, a sexual relationship, and economic cooperation. I-i marriages include all those unions classified *chakahaida*, those obligatorily classified *bemakia*₂, and some of those classified *bemakia*₃ and *kuinman*₁. Although such unions are forcibly terminated or couples are forced to leave both their village and Cashinahua society to live with outsiders, they are defined as marriage rather than nonmarriage. And although I-i marriage can form the nucleus of a nuclear family, it cannot be part of a Cashinahua village.

Thus the Cashinahua marriage system consists of a two-phase process—taking a spouse, *ainwan/benewa*, and having a spouse, *ainyan, beneya*—that is, the process of establishing and continuing a marital relationship, which is the primary relationship in the formation of a family unit, which in turn serves as an integral part of larger social units. The process is loosely regulated by a series of rules or understandings, and the relationships resulting from them are evaluated in terms of their adherence to and/or violation of these rules. An examination of both the taxonomies and Cashinahua behavior reveals an underlying tripartite model that reflects and can be used to generate the system but does not coincide with any Cashinahua taxonomies.

Discussion and Conclusions

The foregoing description has focused on the Cashinahua system of marriage. It is based on, but not limited to, what the Cashinahua said and what they did. These observations were informed and illuminated by concepts that are part and parcel of my anthropological training. Thus, when I write about moiety exogamy, village endogamy, marriage section prescription, etc., I am translating informants' statements and behavior into words and concepts that are part of the ethnographer's etic tool kit. Goodenough (1970:112) has argued that "emic description requires etics, and by trying to do emic descriptions we add to our etic concepts for subsequent descriptions. It is through etic concepts that we do comparison. And by supplementing our etic concepts we contribute to the development of a general science of culture." What, then, are the implications of an emic analysis of the Cashinahua data for the development or refinement of our etic concepts and an etic definition of marriage?³³

(1) An etic definition of marriage must distinguish between marriage and sex. Anthropologists, like the Cashinahua, have assumed that although sex and marriage are not synonymous, a sexual relationship is an integral part of marriage. However, we need to examine how a marriage relationship differs from sexual relationships both within marriage and outside of marriage.

The Cashinahua word for sexual intercourse, whether inside or outside of marriage, is *chuta*; the term refers both to the act of intercourse and/or all the attendant activities. *Beyus* (play) is frequently used—perhaps euphemistically—in place of *chuta* in the sense of sexual play but never refers to the sexual act alone. A sexual relationship outside of marriage, *atiwa/atiya* (to make or have a lover), does not involve co-residence as does marriage, nor does it create the social bond that is integral to the establishment of a social unit, although it may be the prelude to marriage. Furthermore, the meat, trinkets, trade goods, etc. given by the male to his partner in an *atiwa/atiya* relationship in exchange for sex do not constitute the economic cooperation that characterizes the marriage relationship. The reciprocal exchange of goods and services that is one of the defining features of Cashinahua marriage is expected to endure whether or not there is an active, ongoing sexual relationship between the spouses. The termination of sexual relations does not spell the end of a marriage; the termination of economic cooperation does. In contrast, the cessation of sexual activity marks the end of an *atiwa/atiya* relationship. Furthermore, some informants classify *atiwa/atiya* relationships using the same polarities and the same criteria they use to classify marriage, indicating the structural and moral appropriateness of the lover relationships. On the other hand, they only use Polarity 4 to classify *chuta*, a classifi-

cation filled with semantic ambiguity. For example, *chuta chakahaida* can mean either that the sexual activity was highly incestuous or that it was very unpleasant or unsatisfactory. Thus sex as an act is differentiated from sex as part of marriage or lover relationships.

(2) An etic definition of marriage must deal with the question of the extent to which marriage limits sexual access to and/or establishes control over the sexual activities of one or both spouses.

Although the Cashinahua expect a sexual relationship within marriage, they do not expect that it will be an exclusive relationship. The husband and the wife have neither an exclusive right of sexual access nor control over the partner's sexual activities. The expectation holds both that affairs will be carried on with discretion so as not to embarrass their spouses and that the adulterous individual will not withhold sexual services from the spouse in favor of the lover. In theory, every Cashinahua has rights of sexual access to all those persons who are members of the kin class "opposite-sex cross cousins," and every female has the right to accept or reject the sexual advances of any or all males, including her husband. However, the Cashinahua acknowledge that the economic relationship established by marriage places limits on this freedom, giving spouses prior claim but not exclusive control over or sexual access to each other's sexuality.

(3) An etic definition of marriage must reflect the fact that in all marriage systems some elements or features are obligatory and essential while some are optional, thus creating variability within the system. The obligatory features frequently will not be mentioned overtly by informants, who simply assume their listener knows what these elements are and therefore take them for granted, just as my informants assumed that I knew that marriage included a sexual relationship, co-residence, and economic cooperation and so never mentioned them during our discussions.

(4) An etic definition of marriage must distinguish marriage from nonmarriage.³⁴ In most societies the expectation exists that most, if not all, individuals will marry and be married most or all of their adult lives. Unmarried individuals often are considered aberrant and potentially dangerous. The Cashinahua prefer that a person marry in violation of highly valued norms rather than remain single, since they view unmarried individuals, especially males, as potentially disruptive. Understanding why this is so often the case should contribute to a more precise etic definition.

(5) An etic definition of marriage must not imply that marriage is only an act, an institution, a state of being, or a social process; it may be one or more of these. Unfortunately, the vocabulary we use for discussing marriage reflects our society's views. Thus my use of the noun "marriage" when talking about Cashinahua marriage does violence to the Cashinahua conception of marriage as process, expressed with verbs rather than nouns.

Given the nature of natural language, I do not know how to resolve this problem. We clearly need to develop an etic meta-language that will allow us to discuss marriage in any society with as little ambiguity as possible, while conveying whatever ambiguity exists in the system itself.

(6) Although an etic definition of marriage cannot be a legal or moral definition—law and morals are culture-specific and thus must be dealt with in emic terms—it must include provisions for dealing with the legal and moral dimensions of marriage. Like other and perhaps all societies, the Cashinahua distinguish between those marriages that are legitimate/legal and those that are illegitimate, and between proper and improper. However, if the relationship is characterized by cohabitation, a sexual relationship, and economic cooperation, for the Cashinahua it is marriage. This is not the case in American society, where a social relationship characterized by cohabitation, a sexual relationship, and economic cooperation without the appropriate religious and/or legal rituals may or may not be defined as marriage,³⁵ and is frequently considered amoral if not immoral.

(7) Given the complexity of all marriage systems, a valid etic definition must reflect this complexity and therefore cannot focus on one factor to the exclusion of all others even if that factor can be shown to be common to all marriage systems. Thus I suspect that an etics of marriage may in the end look something like the International Phonetic Alphabet; that is, it will be not a unitary definition but a matrix chart wherein various constellations of features can be identified as particular kinds of marriage, just as each symbol in the IPA represents a constellation of phonological features.

If we are to develop a more adequate definition of marriage, we must realize that:

... we have been the victims of our ethnocentrism, taking a functionally significant unit of our society—one that we regard as basic to our society—and treating the nearest functional equivalent elsewhere as if it were, in some fundamental way, the same thing.

... if our purpose is to develop a set of concepts to describe and compare *all* human societies—all distinct cultural communities then the traditional concepts of marriage and family are unsatisfactory, serving only as a negative standard of comparison, one that emphasizes degrees of difference from our own institutions and obscures what is common and basic to human societies generally. (Goodenough 1970:5)

NOTES

1. The Cashinahua are a Panoan-speaking tribe living along the Curanja and Upper Purus rivers of southeastern Peru. In 1968 they numbered about 400 people, distributed among seven villages ranging in size from 22 to 98

persons. Although villages are politically, socially, and economically autonomous, the Cashinahua consider themselves to be one people, *buni kuin* ("real men"). (This unity is somewhat ephemeral; the cordiality and generosity characteristic of intervillage contacts is but a thin veneer over the suspicion, distrust, and dislike felt toward all outsiders.) Being *buni kuin* sets the outer limits of membership in kinship categories, the patrimoiety and the marriage sections. For an introduction to the Cashinahua, see Kensinger (1975a).

This paper is a heavily revised version of the one originally presented in New Orleans under the title "Fact and Fiction in Cashinahua Marriage." I have benefited from comments and suggestions from many of the participants in the symposium, especially Gertrude Dode, Jean Jackson, Patricia Lyon, and Judith Shapiro. Michael Brown, Gillian Feeley-Harnik, Rhoda Halperin, Martha Hardman de Bautista, Harriet Klein, Waud Kracke, Hal Oringer, David Price, the members of the South American Indian Caucus of Columbia University, Charles Wagley's South American Seminar at the University of Florida, and two of my classes at Bennington College also made helpful suggestions. What flaws remain are a result of my failure to follow their advice.

2. The suffixes *-wan* and *-yan* are the phonologically conditioned forms of the morphemes *-wa* and *-ya*, which occur following a nasalized final syllable. The Cashinahua orthography used throughout this paper is a practical modification of the phonemic orthography. Consonants *p*, *t*, and *k* are pronounced like their counterparts in the English words *spy*, *sty*, and *sky*; *b*, *s*, and *sh* as in *buy*, *sigh*, and *shy*; *ch* and *ts* as in *inch* and *cats*; *m*, *n*, *w*, and *y* as in *met*, *net*, *wet*, and *yet*; *d* in word initial position is pronounced as in English, between vowels it is pronounced like the Spanish *r*; *x* is pronounced like the English *sh* with the tip of the tongue turned back. Vowels *i*, *a*, and *u* are pronounced like the vowels in *beet*, *father*, and *boot*; *e* is pronounced like the English *oo* in *boot* but with the lips flat as when one smiles. Nasalization of vowels is indicated by writing *n* after the vowel or sequence of vowels; e.g. *kain* is /*kaĩn*/ and *kanka* is /*kakãn*/. Phonemic pitch is not written. Words have a primary stress on the first syllable; words with more than two syllables receive secondary stress on odd-numbered syllables, counting from the beginning of the word.

3. For additional discussions of the difference between Pike's and Harris's definitions of etic and emic, see Burling (1969), Fisher and Werner (1978), Goodenough (1970:esp. 113-14, n. 15), Kay (1970), Kensinger (1975b), and Merrifield (1968).

4. These terms only roughly correspond to the English glosses "marriage," "to marry," and "to be married," used throughout the paper. The slippage in translation is further compounded by the polysemy of the English terms. For example, "marriage" can refer to the ceremonial act of marrying, as in "their marriage took place at the Church of the Immaculate Conception last Saturday," or to the relationship between the couple, as in "I have had a good marriage for thirty years." The verb forms "to marry" and "to be married," which seem to be less ambiguous referents to the act of marrying and the state of being married respectively, become ambiguous in the statement "He was mar-

ried four times." I discuss the significance of this problem further in the conclusions.

5. Although polygyny is considered desirable by most Cashinahua, both male and female, only 17 of 64 married males are polygynous; one man has four wives, one has three wives, and 15 have two wives. The ideal polygynous marriage consists of a man's marrying two or more women who are actual sisters; nine of the polygynous males married in this way. Availability of wives is the primary limiting factor on polygyny. Almost as significant, however, is the attitude of a man's wife. Many wives object to the addition of a co-wife unless she is a full or half sister. However, I know of two instances where women exerted considerable pressure on their husbands, including refusal of sexual relations, until a new co-wife, not a sister, was brought into the household.

Male informants frequently said that they do not have or want more than one wife because of the added economic responsibilities and the greatly increased workload polygyny entails; they preferred to have extramarital affairs, which are easily arranged and carry with them no long-term responsibilities. Beside, his wife's approval of extramarital partners is not needed, as in the case with co-wives.

6. The Cashinahua draw a clear distinction between *ainwan/benewa* and *atiwa*, that is, between marriage and mere sexual liaisons, either fornication or adultery; the point at which an *atiwa* relationship becomes *ainwan/benewa* is not sharply defined. Although both relationships involve sexual intercourse, *chuta*, only in *ainwan/benewa* is this activity ever referred to as *bakewa* ("baby-make/do"), a period of intensive sexual activity aimed at producing pregnancy. Although both *atiwa* and *ainwan/benewa* (at least in its early stages) are characterized by secrecy, privacy, and discretion, there is the general expectation that the latter will gain public recognition and approval when the couple establish co-residence. *Atiwa* relationships are often public knowledge and the topic of gossip; however, they are not publicly acknowledged, the couple never appear together in public, and the relationship is not discussed in a public forum unless their behavior becomes so scandalous as to result in public dispute and recriminations.

7. All informants, both male and female, told me that women never reject their suitors because of fear of the sexual act, about which even young girls are well aware. From an early age they have accompanied older sisters or parallel cousins to the forest for amorous liaisons. Women may reject suitors for failing to be sufficiently tender and loving or for being too rough or impatient. Women expect their lovers to be aggressive but no more so than they themselves are. Cashinahua men like their women to be sexually aggressive and proudly wear scratches and bite marks as badges of honor.

8. See Kensinger (1975a) for a general discussion of these polarities, Kensinger (1977) as they apply to the classification of local groups (villages), and Kensinger (1981) as they apply to the classification of foods and food taboos.

9. The subscripts indicate the polarities to which the terms belong. They are used throughout this paper to reduce for the reader the ambiguity inherent in the polysemic character of *kuin*, *bemakia*, *pe*, and *chaka*. In natural discourse, of course, the ambiguity may or may not be resolved by the linguistic and/or nonlinguistic context, depending on the speaker's intention; a speaker frequently wants to maintain the ambiguity of statements in order to leave room for manipulation of and/or maneuvering within the social situation.

10. With the added meaning of central versus peripheral, Polarity 3 may also be used to subdivide the categories created by Polarities 1 and 2. However, only the more analytical of my informants use Polarity 3 in this way. They argued that when applied to the categories *kuin* and *kuinman*, Polarity 3 highlights those items that are quintessential and therefore indubitably and always *kuin*₂ or *bemakia*₂. These also correspond to those items that are always *pebaida* and *chakahaida* respectively (see discussion of Polarity 4 below).

11. The term *ainkuin* differs from *ainwankuin* in that it involves the application of Polarity 1 to the kin term *ain* rather than to the marriage term *ainwan*. It designates a class of women who are actual first cross cousins as opposed to women who are merely members of the kin class female cross cousin, *ainbuaibu* (see Rule 1b). (Some informants were reluctant to classify first cross cousins who are MBD but not simultaneously FZD as *ainkuin*₁ but were even more reluctant to classify them as *ainkuinman*₁.)

A note about the nature of Cashinahua kinship terminology seems relevant at this point. All kinship terms are morphologically bound forms; they must bear either a possessive pronominal prefix, the vocative morpheme {V}, or the generic suffix *-bu*. For example, the kin term *epa*, which can be glossed "father or fathers" (Cashinahua nouns are not marked for the singular-plural distinction; this information is carried by the context or is left ambiguous), can occur in the following forms with different implications: *en epa* means my father, or my kinsmen whom I call father, i.e. FB, FFS, and any of the other males my father calls brother; *en epakuin*₁ means my actual father—no distinction is made between pater and genitor unless it is general public knowledge that pater and genitor are not the same, in which case pater may be called *en epakayabi*₃ or *en epakuin*₂; *epabu* means all the males who are members of my father's marriage section and moiety, i.e. my fathers, etc.

Thus the kin term *epa* is the label for a class of kinsmen—a social category defined by membership in the major social groups that define the individual's social persona, the moiety and marriage section. Ego has rights and duties with all members of the category. However, *epa* is not an undifferentiated category, nor are ego's rights and duties the same with regard to all. Polarities 1, 2, and 3 may be used to discriminate between the various members of the category; the criterion used to sort out the differences is for the most part the degree of genealogical closeness or distance. *En epa kuin*₁ can only refer to the actual pater-genitor; *en epa kuin*₂ always includes pater-genitor but may include a step-father toward whom ego has strong affective ties; *en epa kayabi*₃ always includes ego's pater and/or genitor. *Epa kuin*₁ is clearly the focal kin type within the social category *epabu*.

12. For a female ego, read: "She will marry her *benekuin*₁," i.e. her FZS and MBS, FZS or MBS.

13. For a female ego, read: "She must marry one of her *benebu*," i.e. any male of the opposite moiety and linked marriage section.

14. These include his actual M, MM, FZ, FFZ (if also MM), FM, Z, D, ZD, SD, DD. For female ego: her actual F, FB, FF, MMB (if also FF), MF, B, S, BS, SS, DS.

15. These include the *kuin*₁ kinsmen of one's *kuin*₁ kinsmen. For example, father's brother is ego's *kayabi*₃ kinsman because he is a *kuin*₁ kinsman to ego's father. All of ego's *kayabi*₃ kinsmen are part of ego's *nabukuin*₁, which consists of the members of ego's families of orientation and procreation, i.e. his *kuin*₁ kinsmen, and the members of the families of procreation and orientation of ego's lineal kinsmen, i.e., the *kuin*₁ kinsmen of ego's M, F, S, D, FF, FM, MM, MF, SS, SD, DS, DD, etc.

16. Two focal males, their wives, and their offspring constitute the basic structural unit of Cashinahua society, what I have called (Kensinger 1977) an *atom of social organization*. Thus the social core of an ideal village consists of an atom of social organization plus their primary cognates. Persons who are residents in a village but are not part of the social core are part of the social periphery; they generally have actual direct genealogical and/or affinal ties to members of the social core. Persons with only putative ties are defined as visitors until actual ties have been established by means of marriage.

17. Under these circumstances, there is a good likelihood that one or more other pairs of competing focal males might emerge, leading to the development of political factions. Therefore, although the Cashinahua speak simply of village endogamy, I suspect that the more accurate phrasing of the rule should be that one should marry within one's own political faction as well as within one's village (Kensinger 1974b). My data are inconclusive on this point; I did not realize while in the field the potential significance of this distinction and so failed to follow up the clues contained in my notes (see note 25).

18. I.e. either her actual father or a step-father who has raised her. It should be noted that although the wife's father is the pivotal figure in determining residence, Cashinahua males always speak of matrilocal residence as being with *achi*, FZ, a moiety mate, rather than with *kuka*, MB, a member of the opposite moiety.

19. This ordering represents the sequence in which the options are considered.

20. The brother-sister bond is the strongest dyadic relationship in Cashinahua society, especially the bond between an older sister and the male siblings she cared for as a young girl.

21. One young male was "married" to seven different women during a 16-month period. None of these is counted as marriage or divorce in my data.

22. Although a man is under the authority of his father-in-law, his wife's mother, his *achi*, plays a significant role in the success of his marriage in the early years. If she is not satisfied with him as a worker, provider, and member of the household, she will agitate for termination of the marriage. She may

either order him out of the house or make life so miserable for him that he will leave.

23. Since Rule 5 is not used as a criterion in the classification of marriages, it is not included in Tables 3 and 4.

24. I suspect that the addition of actual first cross cousin as opposed to double first cross cousin is a compromise necessitated by demographic realities because all informants agreed that a woman who was a FZD or MBD, but not both, was *ainkayabi*₃ but not *ainkuin*₁; in practice, many of them classified a FZD who was not also MBD, and vice versa, as their *ainkuin*₁.

25. Two informants occasionally classified one of the *pe* marriages as *pe-pishta* because, although the spouses were village co-residents, they were members of different and antagonistic political factions. They argued that marrying a person from another political faction at odds with one's own faction is tantamount to violating the rule of village endogamy (see note 17).

26. Many informants also used *pe* and *chaka* to refer to the quality of the relationship between a couple. Therefore, statements about marriages being *pehaida*, *pe*, etc. are ambiguous, and intentionally so, since it allows the speaker to judge the response of the hearer before indicating whether one is making an impartial moral judgment or merely gossiping.

27. If they are cross cousins, the marriage of the wife's father and mother violated the moiety exogamy rule and/or the rule of marriage section prescription.

28. Many informants argued that marriage with an actual MM, FM, SD, or DD would be *chaka* but not *chakahaida*, since sexual activity with these persons is tolerated. For the perspective of the female ego, read: F, MB, FF, MMB (if also FF), MF, B, S, BS, SS, or DS respectively.

29. Birth defects are not included in this list; the Cashinahua believe that birth defects and multiple births are caused by incubi.

30. In an earlier formulation based on linguistic distinctions made by the Cashinahua, I viewed this process in terms of a 2×2 matrix that differentiated between establishment and maintenance and between first and subsequent marriages. Closer examination forced me to abandon that analysis for several reasons. (1) Although first and subsequent marriages may differ in terms of the inventory of events that occur during the establishment phase, the essential features are identical, namely the establishment of a sexual relationship and the residential shift of one partner, and the establishment of economic cooperation. The differences are a result either of conditioned variation based on the age of the partners, their marital histories, the presence or absence of significant kinsmen such as the spouses' parents, parents' marital histories, etc., or of free variation, depending on which sequence of optional activities is selected. (2) Although the Cashinahua distinguish between the phases of establishing a marriage (*ainwan* and *benewa*) and maintaining a marriage (*ainyan* and *beneya*), they do not sharply define when these phases begin or end. For example, a male may use the term *ainwan* at the onset of marriage negotiations, with the inception of sexual activities, or later in the process. Or he may deny that he is even married, asserting that he is merely having an affair,

atiwa. He may continue to use the term *ainwan* to describe his relationship until the birth of his first child, indicating a certain tentativeness about the relationship. On the other hand, he may begin to use the term *ainyan* as soon as co-residence and economic cooperation have been established. Others, including his parents, spouse, and siblings, tend to use *ainwan* after co-residence has been established and *ainyan* after economic cooperation has been clearly established, indicated by the husband's planting a garden and his wife's caring for and harvesting the crops. His parents-in-law tend to use *ainwan* with the initiation of sexual activity, especially if it is their daughter's first marriage, and *ainyan* only after the birth of the couple's first child.

31. In my original analysis I divided L-p marriages into two emic classes, legitimate-ideal and legitimate-proper. The significant contrasting criteria were actual versus classificatory cross cousin and obligatory versus optional village endogamy. The analysis, however, broke down when I considered distributional criteria—their distributions were identical.

32. L-i marriage between actual cross cousins is the result of improper marriages by their parents; it results in the social identity of one or both parties, based on moiety and marriage section affiliation, being at variance with their personal identity, based on actual genealogical ties. In the classification of marriages, social identity takes precedence over personal identity.

33. Like Goodenough, I am assuming that it is possible and desirable to attempt to develop a cross-culturally applicable definition of marriage; c.f. Leach (1961), Needham (1971a, 1971b), and Rivièrè (1971).

34. I was reminded of this point by Robert F. Murphy, whose sage advice has been stimulating and helpful on other points in this paper as well.

35. Marriage in the United States is defined by legal statute; all states require a license before marriage, and some require a religious ceremony. In addition, 14 states (Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Montana, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Texas) and the District of Columbia recognize common-law marriages, either by statute or on the basis of judicial decision (case law); the remainder do not, although Delaware, Indiana, New Hampshire, and Wisconsin will grant exceptions under certain circumstances. (For legal sources see Clark 1968: 45-46, especially nn. 9 and 11.) Thus in at least 15 jurisdictions there are two kinds of marriage—Legal-proper (regular) and Legal-improper (irregular).

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