MAN AND LIFE

INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN SARAGURO (Ecuador) FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF COMMUNICATION[1]

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The concern with communication in general or with phenomena of communication in particular has a long tradition in anthropology (Tylor 1891 ; Boas 1911, 1938 ; Sapir 1921, 1951).[2] But this tradition had been discontinued in some quarters while others had only been partially aware of it[3]. At the beginning of the 60s it was Dell Hymes who gave new impulses and developed new approaches to this anthropological field of studies which to him appeared "general, central and neglected" (1968 : 101). The rudiments of this "ethnography of speaking" (Hymes 1961 : 37), later "ethnography of communication" (1964: 1) and lastly "anthropology of communication" (1967) developed in time into a branch of socio-linguistics (1971 : 47, 78) whose object of research was tentatively defined as "..., the means of speech in human communities, and their meanings to those who use them" (1972 : 2). In this essay we will not persue our problem along the methodological lines developed by Hymes. On the contrary we hope to show here that socio-linguistics is able, on the one hand, to come to grips with intercultural communication in some way descriptively but is not able, on the other hand, to provide an acceptable theory of conflicts in communication. This is to say that it will not help us any further with our problem.

We think that phenomena of interethnic relations have also to be studied in their communicative aspects with special regard to conflicts in inter-cultural communication. This is so because here some problems of inter-ethnic relations manifest themselves and because a survey of the possible solutions of these conflicts sheds a light on the question of changeability of forms of interethnic relations.

What, then, is so special about the point of view of an anthropology of communication ? Why don't we choose the point of view of a science of communication ? We find that today many scientific disciplines are doing research on phenomena of communication. These disciplines differ not so much in the object of research but in the specific formulation of the problem (see : Ungeheuer 1970 b : 6 ff ; also Hymes 1971 : 81).

For this paper we will adopt the following formulation of the problem of the anthropology of communication : How can communication be understood as an aspect of cultural and social processes which is regulated by culturally specific rules [4].

Outline of a Theory of Communication

The following outline of a theory of communication [5] shall lay the groundwork for the following analysis of intercultural communication between indigenas (indians) and blancos (whites) in Saraguro (Ecuador).

From the point of view of the external observation of interpersonal communication it seems useful to assume formally characterized systems as sender and receiver in whom and between whom signals flow. Each system is constantly receiving signals of several kinds : acoustic signals, visual signals, olfactory signals, etc. But these signals do not carry the meaning or the message [6], but the message is produced by the system dependent on the kind of the signal and a theory of the situation (i.e. structured previous knowledge, dispositions). The production of the message has to be seen in the following way : The system must prove a logical consecutive relationship between the transcoded input received from the surrounding—for example, an impression of colour, or a certain sentence—and its theory of the situation. Messages, then, are formed deductively.

This means that one and the same signal may lead to differing messages in differing situations. Because the system is constantly building theories it follows that it is also always testing hypotheses. The system, then, is constructing theories (i.e. opinions, concepts, etc.) about everything in its environment. Thus, each new situation,

that is to say, with each of the changing theories of the situation, several hypotheses have to be tested. This takes into account the inclination of man to see his preconceived epistemological concepts confirmed.

This may, on the one hand, lead to extremely rigorous concepts (i.e. biases) but, on the other hand, it affords the system to run through possible situations experimentally without endangering it. The system contains in itself a "model of the environment" to which it can adapt its behaviour and which it can experiment with. The results of its experimenting are summed up in hypotheses and are put to the test against the environment (Richter 1974 : 49).

Now, if the system receives a signal which cannot be identified as a consequence of its pre-knowledge then it must try to obtain further evidence by way of new signal inputs. These upsets in the system—and there are always upsets in such systems, always lead to a coupling with other systems, lead to communication. Actually, it is impossible not to communicate (see : Watzlawick et al. 1967 ; Richter 1973 : 163).

Thus, we find in the case of interpersonal communication at least two such systems coupled together. In order to continue successfully the production of messages, each system requires signals from the other.

Finally, we have to introduce another capacity of these systems : they categorize events, situations, objects, processes, etc. according to certain similarities. Categories, constructed in that way, tend to become consolidated and form a standard part of the theory of situation. In communication this affords a reduction of the complexity of the environment and of events which enables acting in diverse circumstances with a quasi-certainty.

Thus, it is possible that two coupled--that is, communicating- systems fail to commuuicate ("latent conflict in communication") because of differing categorizations ("categorial discrepancies", Richter/Weidmann 1969 : 43). "Failing to communicate can either be a consequence of expressing different thoughts in the same way or one thought in different ways. "(Richther/Weidmann 1969 : 43)

A latent conflict in communication can for a long time remain hidden but it becomes overt *in* one system when this system through coupling with the second system produces message which contradicts a message previously produced. All this results in a conflict which in its course tends to solve the contradiction. As a conflict in communication *between* two systems we only consider the case when system 1 is in conflict *relative* to system 2 and system 2 at the same time is in conflict relative to system 1.[7]

Fundamentally, each system (s1) has two possibilities to solve conflicts in communication : a) System (s2) is recognized as the origin of the conflict and is either discarded as a system or the input is disqualified. In the long run, this radical solution endangers system (s1) and its functioning. b) The system (s1) disqualifies its own mechanism which led to the deduction of the contradictory messages. In order to do this it changes on a meta-level the premises of its message production and lays down new rules of process. i. e., pre-knowledge and dispositions are reconstructed in a way to ensure the solution of the conflict (see : Richter 1973 : 185f).

We think there is no need to point out that conflicts in communication may have far-reaching consequences in social life.

For the application of this theoretical outline on processes of intercultural or interethnic communication the following five tenets have to be held in mind. They form a substantial part of an anthropological conception of communication :[8]

1. Processes of communication, either verbal or non-verbal, are taught and learned, they follow culturally specific rules which can be compared with rules of games. In analogy to the terms of game theory processes of communication can be regarded as organized in moves and phases and as localized in a field of process[9]. Additionally, each process is described by the number of persons involved.

2. Each action of communication is move or phase in several processes on different fields.

3. Actual fields of process have to be discerned from distant
    ones.   Actual fields are part of the present observable situation
    of those involved, distant fields are spacially and/or temporally
    removed loci of that about which or with which is
    communicated.

4. The actions of the individual communicator are based on a
    theory of the situation which is characterized by the degree
    of knowledge of the rules and the actual overlapping of the
    processes. In this theory those involved (participants, reality)
    as well as the topic (meanings and theme) of communication
    are cognitively conceived.

5. Verbal as well as non-verbal formulations of one and the same
    case can under differing conditions of process have different
    degrees of explicity. In this connection, Richter/Weidmann
    (1969 : 58) rightfully postulate a law of diminishing explicity
    with increasing frequency and/or duration of the interaction in
    a certain field of process. Garfinkel (1967 : 42ff) has shown
    that there exist regarding the appropriate degree of explicity,
    rigid rules which the study of the author has shown to be
    culturally specific.[10]

The Situation of Interethnic Relations in Saraguro.

The   research   area[11] to which the following   statements pertain
lies in the north of the southernmost   province of the Ecuadorian
Andean highland (Loja) and comprises nearly   all of the Canton
Saraguro as well as the adjacent parish San Lucas, which lies to the
south of Saraguro.   In the middle of a fertile, well watered valley, at
an elevation of slightly over 8000 feet above sea level lies the town of
Saraguro with a population of about 1700. The area of research
coincides with the area inhabitated by the indigenas (indians, also
called "Saraguros"), only excepting the northern fringes.[12]

Only few indigenas live still farther south,[13] but a considerable
number has found a home in the lowlands to the east ("oriente")
which they settled in search of pasture for their cattle. Once there,

some of the indigenas settled permanently ("colonos") on land they had either bought from the Jivaro indians or which they had forced to give up. Others maintain small 'fincas' to which they bring their cattle according to the season, in order to sell it in Saraguro at the time of the great fiestas (between Easter and Corpus Christi Day). The conditions may for the whole research area be described as follows :

Indians as well as whites live in an altitude of 2000 to 2700 meters in small hamlets (barrios) where their houses are to be found in the middle of the cultivated land which is usually owned by them. Large estates don't exist anymore, but there are 6 medium-sized haciendas. Communal centers ("cabecera parroquial") are the denser populated cumulative villages and villages built on either side of the road. The largest of these centers is Saraguro which is county seat ("cabecera cantonal") as well. In this area cut by deep ravines settlement is only possible in the valleys while the slopes also have to be cultivated and used as pasture because of the high population density.

The Panamerican Highway ("Panamericana") cuts through this area from north to south, while only few passable roads extend to east or west.

In the westerly parts more removed from the highway we find that agriculture (main products are : wheat, barley, maize, beans, peas, cabbage, yuca, potatoes and some tropical fruit) form the basis of home consumption as well as marketing, while cattle is of minor importance. On the other hand, along the Panamericana and to the east and south agicultural production is for home consumption only (with a strong bias on maize) while livestock is kept for the production of meat and cheese for marketing.

In our research we were able to identify in this region by means of an extensive basic initial inquiry[14] three ethnic units and their cultural characteristics, and we could define the criteria for their identification.

(a) *Indigenas* ("indio" is an insult), also called "Saraguros" in the literature : They have retained a relatively traditional indian way of life. There are still 10000 of them about, 95% of whom speak an

often rather corrupted Spanish, while 60% are still bilingual, speaking Spanish and Quichua (Saraguro dialect). Only a few indigena-families live in the outskirts of Saraguro and—not counting one instance—they form a minority in the other communal (parish) centers. Until 1945 indigenas held public offices (for example in the town council of Saraguro : "eonsejo municipal") and some of them even were teachers. After 1945 the white population ousted them from these positions by way of transforming the originally religio-political system of offices (cargo-system) into a religious system (see : Belote 1972). Not having succeeded as traders, today the one thing left to the indigenas is a weaving mill they run as a co-operative. —Criteria of identification (as an ethnic unit) for these strongly individualistic indigenas are not language but costume in general as well as hair-styles (men and women wear their hair in a single plait.) :

The group of the indigenas may be viewed as "exposed marginal" (Schermerhorn 1970 : 130f), regarded from the point of view of the dominant white group of the country.[15]

(b) *The whites ("blancos") of the Center of the Canton Saraguro :*
The whites speak a reasonable Spanish, understand little or no Quichua and follow the national urban culture in their clothes and their general way of life. They are the only group that does not pay any church taxes (neither the tithe—"diezmo"—nor a similar levy, the "primicias" ; they hold all the more important offices of the regional center, control the whole cattle-and grain-trade, nearly all the shops and most of the speak-easies where they illegally sell boot-legged alcohol. Agriculture and cattle-raising they only pursue for home consumption, excepting the case of the few owners of haciendas. As artisans they manufacture mainly utensils for the indigenas while they have considerable income from lending money to indigenas at an interest rate of 60% p. a.

This white group inhabitates the actual center of Saraguro, the criteria for their identification are again the kind of clothes they wear as well as the short hair worn by men and women. The 'whites of the center' are the "dominant group" of that region[16].

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(c) *The Whites of the Surrounding Country* ("blancos del compo") : The whites living in the outskirts of, and the country surrounding the cantonal center form a middle group between the two extremes, culturally as well as socially (as far as is concerned the prestige of this ethnic unit and the social status of the members of this ethnic group), but they can clearly be distinguished from both groups.

While in their way of life and economically they are nearer to the indigenas than to the white group of the center, they hold the public offices outside Saraguro, own the few shops, and control the trade, especially of boot-legged liquor. For this group too, style of clothes and hair-do (women wear their hair in two plaits) provide the criteria of indentification. In the scheme of "stages of increased participation" (Schermerhorn 1970 ; 13 of) they can be placed between "activated" and "integrated (centripetal)".[17]

These three ethnic units are not defineable racially but culturally only. This is demonstrated by the fact that indigenas may become socially accepted whites (at least whites of the surrounding country) in the course of a few years, once they adopt white clothing, hair style and way of: life generally. We have also observed instances of whites going indigena in the same way successfully.

For some traits of the theories of the situation[18] of acting and communicating individuals it is important to know, however, that all three ethnic groups define themselves and each other racially, conceiving changeable cultural differences as rigid biological racial ones[19] : The whites of the center regard themselves and are regarded by the others as racially pure from which assumption they deduct the righteousness of their role as dominators and exploitators ; the country-whites see themselves as half breeds, that is to say, some-thing better and therefore more privileged than the 'pure' indians. The indigenas, on their part, see themselves as the descendants of the indios which succumbed to the whites in the conquista, while the whites by this very fact see their power, importance and higher status and privileges justified.

Interethnic Relations as Process of Communication

While, in regard to the kind of rules of verbal and non-verbal communication, three ethnic units differ strongly, they still have sufficient interethnically compatible [20] rules to asure effective interethnic communication of differences of status and social domination and subordination.

In verbal communication the indigena addresses a white of the center as "don" (sir), 'senor" (Mr.), "usted", etc. while the white addresses him as "cholito"[21], "runa" (Quichua for man, human being), "tú", etc. Similarly, in other fields of process like, e.g., giving vs. receiving of orders or demand vs. request it is always the indigena who makes the moves of the underdog. The major part of these rules which pertain to the form and the sequence of the communicating of domination and subordination. Without the justification of a close relationship, a white of the center would, for example, never address a fellow white, though he be of inferior status, as "tú" (you). Again, he would never try to order him about or make demands in an unpolite way.

By the special treatment [22] communication of members of the other ethnic unit respectively, each act of communication provides a self definition and a definition of the other (see : Watzlawick et al. 1967). With this, each act of communication of this kind is a practice, a recognition and confirmation of the established hierarchical order of the ethnic units with all their ideological and economical implications[23].

This shows that inspite of the problems in intercultural communication, routines which have become unconscious, are the point on which the whole social structure turns. This tends to consolidate the existing situation. The respective communicative processes and their fields of application have become a standard part of the theories of the situation of the whites as well as indigenas. Just this is usually meant when it is said that people have iniernalized an image of the social order. It is important, however, to fully recognize that this image of the social order is a product of the dominant ethnic unit which created it first with crucifix and sword

and fortified it with their clearical and secular power until it had been internalized by the oppressed.

Leaving aside the many instances of conflicts in verbal and/or non-verbal intercultural communication which occur in trade as well as in schools, where they impede the progress of non-white pupils[24] we shall concentrate on the analysis of the following case :

Indigenas and whites of the center have different rules for walking with other persons. Whites usually walk abreast, if the terrain allows it. A woman walks on the right-hand side of a man or between two accompanying males. The place on the right or between two persons is the 'place of honour', reserved for persons of respect or esteem. Walking abreast affords the whites the necessary eye-contact during verbal or non-verbal communication.

Such a rule has its origins in the type of terrain : in towns or larger villages, but not in the small indian villages (barrios). There, people always walk in afile, the place at the head of which is the place of honour. Indigenas regard it is desirable that the wife walks in front of the husband but in practice she often walks behind him. A woman who is not the wife of an accompanying man invariably has to walk behind him. If she disregarded this, both had to expect social sanctions (via gossip, especially). An older man always walks in front of younger, while with those of equal age no special preference can be found. Indigenas use to talk while going in a file ; they don't need eye contact to carry on a conversation.[25]

Now, if á white of the center accompanies an indigena he has hired for a day's work to a field, the following thing happens : the indigena, according to his notion of place honour, and of the ethnic status of the white gives him one to two meters head start which the white, in his turn, fails to recognize as a move in the process 'attestation of respect' along the rules laid down for his ethnic unit and along which he in his actual field of process expects the indigena to act. This misappreciation of the behaviour of the indigena on the part of the white may be regarded (from the point of view of an external observer) as a conflict (latent) in communication in the white relative to the indigena.

Now, from the point of view of the indigena, if one of them wants to tell or show something to the other, there is no need to break up the nice file they are forming. For the white, on the other hand, walking in file and talking in style are two mutually exclusive fields of process, because 'talking to someone' is a move in the process of walking abreast. As one of the two wants to say something, the white demands from the indigena to walk beside him. The indigena, for his part, finds this incompatible with his attestation of respect. He will probably close in on the white but he will not walk on his side,— despite all demands. In the indigena this behaviour will cause an open conflict in communication in regard to the white whom he, on the one hand offers the due respect while he himself, on the other hand is abused and called a simpleton, even though he does not see any obstacles for a communication. In the case of an open conflict in communication the only solution can be the disqualification of the white's move 'abuse' ("he's gone off his rocker") or the identification of his move with a distant field of process : "These whites can do whatever they feel like."[26]

Because the indigena will probably not give in to the demands of the white, the conflict in communication in the white relative to the indigena will remain latent and he will accept the behaviour of the indigena as his usual expression of stubbornness. This supposed lack of education in the other will serve to underline his own fine manners.

Just like this example there are many more cases which demonstrate the "protective social function" which not only the latent, but in some cases even the overt conflict in communication has : "This protective social function of the conflict in communication tends not only to preserve social inequalities but to stabilize the conditions of society, though only pseudoharmonically." (Richter/Weidmann 1969 : 75)

Avoiding and Solving Interethnic Conflicts in Communication

The main problem opposing the development of strategies for the avoidance, discovery and solution of conflicts in communication lies in the unawareness of many means of communication, especially the

non-verbal. To lay open interethnic differences in the means and rules of communication is a difficult undertaking, only to be mastered by specially trained teachers. But instead, white teachers know nothing about the culture and the way of life of the indigenas. Even those whites who work and communicate with indigenas daily, are often totally ignorant of the culture of their counterpart[27]. A strong ethnocentrism generally impedes any attempts to learn something about, and, especially, to understand, the culture of the other.

This knowledge and extra communicative understanding of the means and rules of communication, is not enough to rule out interethnic conflicts in communication[28]. As a matter of fact, there is a number of whites who understand the rules governing the walking about with indigenas even in their details but who, when the situation arises, get into the same old conflicts described above.

Moreover, to avoid conflicts in communication it is necessary for A to behave in the way laid down for B's ethnic unit, and to apply this knowledge, if B is unable to behave according to the rules which A has to observe in his ethnic unit. The practice of this communicative behaviour, thus, not only would destroy the dividing-lines between ethnic units but would also break down the hierarchical order with all its implications.

Changes will have to be made. It would sooner be possible, however, to change the socio-economic and political basis of interethnic relations which would bring about integration and mutual familiarity also on the level of communication, than to proceed the other way round.

What remains for the time being are *strategies* for the solution of interethnic conflicts in communication. A greater awareness of potential conflicts and more explicitness are called for. This would comprise the explanation of one's own behaviour on a meta-level. This, again, would call for readiness on the part of the partners in communication to consciously disregard the culturally specific rules of the degree of explicitness in intercultural communication. But here, too, we are in dilemma because on the one hand such, and, for reasons of space omitted, many more contra-conflictory strategies have

to be learnt and used, while, on the other hand, there is no one to do the teaching.

Not only for these reasons the author thinks that here lies a difficult but rewarding task for an applied anthropology that wants to be taken seriously.

NOTES

1. The present paper is one of the results of the author's field study in Saragura (Ecuador) between July 1973 and August 1974. Our part of the project, led by Dr. R. Hartmann (Univ. of Bonn) and made possible by the financial aid of the German Research Society, was about genenal problems of conflicts in intercultural communication. My thanks go to the German Research Society for its financial support as well as to Dr, Peter Masson for his extermely close collaboration and many invaluable contributions to the discussions.

   I am indebted to Mr. Joachim Knuf for the translation of this paper into English. The author, however, takes the whole responsibility for the text.

2. On the development of theories and methods in this anthropological field of research see : H. W. Schmitz 1974.

3. This is especially true for kinesics the origins of which are found in the work of Boas and Efron and which were further development by Birdwhistell.

4. Because we cannot discuss these questions in detail, for the cannonical formulation of the problem and its implications for the philosophy of science see : Ungeheuer 1974.

   From this general formulation of the problem we may derive several more special formulations of the problem as parts of the general one.

   For the concept of culture as it is used here, see : M. Harris 1964 and G. Weiss 1973.

5. This outline basically follows the ideas of : Richter 1973 and Richter/Weidmann 1969, Weidmann 1972 ; these ideas also formed a part of the theoretical basis for the author's field-

work in Ecuador and they were tested in relation to problems of intercultural communication. Unfortunately, for reasons of space we have to forego a discussion of the aspects of this theory concerned with the philosophy of science.

6. This is suggested, however, by all structural linguistic theories. These theories can only see conflicts in communication between speakers of the same language as caused by disturbances in transmission (noise) or as caused by not overlapping inventories of symbols. This weakness is also encountered in socio-linguistic theories.

7. This terminology will also cover induced conflicts in communication in which a commnnicator deliberately generates contradictory messages in his partner while remaining free of conflict himself.

8. The rules mentioned here are different from the rules mentioned in Richter (1973 : 169ff) and Richter/Weidmann (1969 : 61ff). Nonetheless, the author feels indebted to Richter and Weidmann.

8. For the application of game theory on cultural processes see : Buchler/Nutini (1969).

10. This again, exemplifies ('langue') regarded out of context carries on semantic meaning in the sense of an one to one relationship with extralinguistic objects ('reference'), but is only content arrived at absolutely, in different ways. For if the same massage can be produced deductively by either a single word-signal or by way of a sequence of sentences, the linguistic as well as the socio-linguistic approach have to be regarded as inadequate for the research of processes of communication. —More about this and a critic of the "ethnography of communication" can be found in : H. W. Schmitz 1974.

11. The research area of the fieldwork of the author and of his colleague Dr. Peter Masson comprises the parroquias (parishes) of Liushapa, Selva Alegre, Celen, Tenta, Cumbe, El Tablon, Urdaneta, Saraguro, and San Lucas.

12. Belote (1972 : 1f) has called the parish of Saraguro the "traditional highland home" of the Saraguro indians. This,

however, is an ethnohistorically unproved statement which also contradicts our impressions of the whole area where Saraguro indians are living today.

13. In the parish of Jimbilla and in a region called El Valle.

14. This basic inquiry was realized in collaboration with Dr. Peter Masson who studied the Quichua dialect of Saraguro combining this with a culturally adequate sociolinguistic research.

15. In a "communication dimension" "exposed marginal" means to Schermerhorn (1970 : 130) : "Recipients of communication noticeably affected by it". In an "institutional dimension" "exposed marginal" means : "Market exchanges, payment of taxes, some group labor for dominants. Sporadic or inter-mittent schooling for a few children in educational system of dominants." (1970 : 131) Saraguro indians, however, are visiting schools rather regularly but generally with bad success.

16. " ...., dominant group signifies that collectivity within a society which has pre-eminent authority to function both as guardians and sustainers of the controlling value system, and as prime allocators of rewards in the society." (Schermerhorn 1970 : 12f) As far as cattle-trade is concerned the white traders coming from Loja, Cuenca, and Guayaquil to the cattle market of Saraguro have to be counted as members of the dominant group.

17. In the "communication dimension" this group, indeed, tends more to the stage of "integrated (centripetal)" : "Exchange of communication in many spheres of life facilitating shared understandings." (Schermerhorn 1970 : 130) Because of this point the author will especially discuss communication between whites of the center and indigenas what will make much clearer the problems in interethnic communication.

18. By the statements about the outline of a theory of communi-cation it is obvious that by no means, the concept of the 'theory of situation" is identical with K. Popper's concept of the "situational logic".

19. With regard to this point neither important public functionaries of the national administration are exceptions. When the author asked in the Oficina de los Censos Nacionales (Office

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for National Census) in Quito, why they would take no notice of the membership of ethnic units in the census of 1974, the answer was : "We don't make any differences between the races of our country."

20. Additionally to the existence of at least similar means of communication it is necessary for the understanding between two communicators that the theories of situation and, with that, the rules of communication of both partners are compatible (see : Weidmann 1972 : 128).

21. "Cholo" is regarded as an insult while "cholito" (the diminutive of "cholo") is acceptable for the indigenas.

22. These different kinds of special treatment which can be observed in Saraguro resemble the cases studied by Burgos (1970) in the Riobamba region (in the central Andean highland of Ecuador).

23. This comes near to Sapir's view of society : "actually it is being reanimated or creatively reaffirmed from day to day by particular acts of a communicative nature which obtain among individuals participating in it." (Sapir 1951 : 104) In a similar way J. Dewey conceived communication as constituting and preserving society (see : Duncan 1967 : 2S2).

24. This is one result of the author's study of conflicts in intercultural communication in some schools within the area of his research.

25. With this, not nearly all the rules concerning walking together with other persons (whites or indigenas) have been formulated, but these already meet the requirements of the example which shall be analysed here. —There are rules underlying the walking together behaviour of the whites of the surrounding country which also can be found in the corresponding sets of rules of the other ethnic units.

26. These are statements which the author often heard from the indigenas.

27. In a similar way the indigenas are ignorant of the culture of the whites of the center.

28.   In processes of communication within the fieldwork the author could also observe this at himself. For the concept "extra-communicative" see : Ungeheuer 1970 a.

At the end of this paper the author wants to express his gratitude to his excellent indigena-assistant and friend M. A. M. to whom he owes much of the success of the fieldwork in Saraguro.

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