# THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTER OF THE WORLD

A Study in Culture, History, and Orality

in the Colombian Amazon

by

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In the September/95 issue of *Anthropology Newsletter* I read that "the modal 1994-95 [anthropology] PhD recipient (based on arithmetic means, medians and modes) is 'Christine,' a white, 40 year-old female who . . . took 8.4 years to complete her doctorate" (p. 11). Except for the fact that she is female and white (I am a "Hispanic" male), my numbers coincide remarkably with the modes, medians and means of anthropology PhDs. As I write this I am 39.58 years old and I have spent 8.17 years towards my doctorate. If things go well, it seems that I will be graduating with statistics quite similar to "Christine's."

I never thought it would take so much time and that there would be so many people to whom I owe real gratitude; because I could not have carried out the work involved in this dissertation by myself. As I concluded the main task of writing, my heart started to remember all those who offered me their help, advice, ideas, support, friendship and love. Here are my thanks.

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Map 1 (Colombia) was downloaded through Internet from the map collection of the University of Texas. Map 2 is a modified version of one made by the Microprojects Coordination of the COAMA program of Fundación Gaia (Colombia).

Earlier versions of portions of this dissertation have been published or have been submitted for publication. The appendix 2 is a summary of an article published in the French journal *Amerindia* (Echeverri, 1992). Section II of chapter 6 is a modified version of a paper presented at the 11th International Symposium on Latin American Indian Literatures (McKeesport, PA, June 1994) and was published in the volume *Beyond Indigenous Voices* (Echeverri, 1996). Spanish versions of texts 1, 2, 4, 5 and 8 through 16 appeared in the book *Tabaco frío, coca dulce* (Echeverri and Candre, 1993). The English version of those texts as presented here has been thoroughly revised and edited. An English edition of that book was published in England, with the title *Cool Tobacco, Sweet Coca* (Candre, 1996).

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* * *

*Note on italicization of foreign words*

I have italicized only on their first occurrence several Spanish and Uitoto words, which occur frequently in the text. These words are: *maloca*, Indian communal house; to *mambe* (and its derived forms *mambes*, *mambed*, *mambeing*), to ingest coca through the digestive and mouth tissues; *mambe* (noun), coca powder; *rafue*, "Word" (see discussion of its meaning in the introduction to part III); *yetárafue*, Word on proper behavior; *m*ɨ*n*ɨ*ka* and *n*ɨ*pode*, names of dialects of Uitoto.

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# Chapter 1

# INTRODUCTION

It is usually believed that Amerindian groups have tended either toward assimilation or toward the formation of ethnic enclaves. I pose my question in different terms: Is the "culture" of those Amerindian groups, which appears as distinctive and separate, a dialogical reflection of the history of contact?

This dissertation contributes to the understanding of the culture and history of some Amazonian Indian groups in the aftermath of their violent insertion into an extractive economy. My aim is to research how an Amazonian Indian philosophy ("philosophy of the axe," "Word of tobacco and coca")—which appears today as their "traditional culture"—speaks to the historical process of contact and to the construction of new forms of collective identity—as expressed in the idiom "People of the Center." I explore this through the analysis of indigenous narratives collected both in Spanish and in Uitoto (an indigenous language) in the Caquetá-Putumayo region in the Colombian Amazon.

This analysis has required me to examine three questions: (1) How are we to understand "culture" in groups "articulated" into a global system of political and economic domination? (2) What are the uses of "traditional" discourse in political organization, social relations, and collec-

tive identities? And (3) How do memory and language work in these discourses? These three questions define the theoretical issues I discuss in the first three sections of this introduction. Section I ("Culture and History") discusses the concept of hegemony, the relationship between cultural reproduction and economic subordination, and the notion of Tropical Forest Level of Culture. Section II ("The People of the Center") introduces a hypothesis about how new forms of collective identity (expressed in the idiom "People of the Center") are linked to the ritual discourses of "the philosophy of the axe" and the "Word of tobacco and coca." And section III ("Memory and Orality") presents some relevant issues about the uses of oral materials in historical and anthropological research.

The ethnographic materials I rely on are indigenous oral narratives collected through ethnographic fieldwork. This fact defines the two main methodological questions I have to deal with: the turning of oral performances into written texts, and fieldwork as a method. Sections IV and V deal with these questions. In section IV ("The Poetic Form of Indian Oral Performance") I discuss the issue of rendering oral performances into texts, and in section V ("School and Fieldwork") I state the conditions under which the research for this dissertation was carried out.

Finally, in section VI ("Structure and Outline of the Dissertation") I explain the organization of this dissertation and outline the main arguments and materials discussed and presented in each of its parts and chapters.

## *I. Culture and History*

Since Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History* (1982) two assumptions seem to be widely held among anthropologists: that no society is completely autonomous or self-contained and that this global interconnectedness has been brought about by the expansion of mer-

cantile capital, from the fifteenth century on. The units (ethnic groups, etc.) on which a previous anthropology relied have been shattered and opened up to new modes of scrutiny. This global view, however, risks rendering those other peoples truly "without history" by making them mere examples of the effects of the overwhelming, globalizing power of Capital (Asad, 1987.)

Wolf's project is much more sensitive to cultural differences than are such globalizing projects as world-system theory (Wallerstein, 1974), which attempt to interpret social processes occurring in different parts of the globe in terms of processes occurring at the core of world economy. Historians like Steve J. Stern (1988) argue that local histories determine as well as are determined by such a world system. Anthropologists want to preserve the autonomous agency of natives while adhering to a political economic reading of world process.

The shift from seeing the Other as "different and *separate*," to seeing it as "different but *connected*," as William Roseberry puts it (1989, p. 13, his emphasis), leaves intact the assumptions of autonomous or semiautonomous "life-worlds" (ethnic groups, kin groups, villages, neighborhoods, and so forth) that are subsequently "articulated" to a global system—often called "the West."

What remains intact in this shift are the phenomenological assumptions about the Self and the Other embedded in interpretive anthropology—carried into the expression "life-world." I follow Hermann Rebel's (1989a, 1989b) critique of current hermeneuticists like Clifford Geertz and Renato Rosaldo (and also postmodern hermeneuticists), when he claims that phenomenology does not perceive the structural in the historical present because it can only perceive the structural in the cultural present" (1989a, p. 126). What is lacking here, Rebel goes on, is an account of the social Self that not only "uses" but also reproduces cultural materials in social and historical contingencies. And these contingencies do indeed bring about disruptions between the available cul-

tural materials and the demands of specific social and historical conjunctures—such as the articulation of a local social system into market economy.

By maintaining the view of autonomous or semi-autonomous worlds that are articulated as a whole into market relations, the internal splittings of such worlds, as they enter into new relations, are lost for historical and anthropological analysis. In fact, "culture in the making" (Fox, 1985) is lost for analysis. Instead, the view of an "authentic" culture is maintained, a culture which is either dominated or is able to react to domination.

The issue, I believe, is to conceive of culture as fully immersed in a field of power relations, which develop over time and alter the substance itself of the experiences of groups and individuals.

A number of anthropologists, historians and political economists, who have pursued empirical research on what is today conceived as the meeting ground between anthropology and history (cf. Roseberry, 1989), have dealt with this issue (for instance, Comaroff, 1985; Mintz, 1985; Price, 1983; Rosaldo, 1980; Sider, 1986; Smith, 1989). This field—which is variously called "ethnographic history" (Price, 1990), "historical ethnography" (Marcus and Fischer, 1986), "anthrohistory" or "ethnological historical approach" (Rebel, 1989a)—is far from being an established one. Different anthropological and historical theoretical approaches and methodologies have been combined and experimented with in various ways allowing a wide scope of projects. Two trends have influenced my dissertation research in some measure: one, a political economic approach concerned mainly with the articulation of peasant and tribal societies into global systems; the other, an interpretive approach concerned with cultural processes and historical consciousness. These trends are not at all separate. Their intersection has brought to the fore the need to understand culture as a material process of creation that cannot be separated from the production and reproduction of social life.

*Communities and merchant capital*

For Sider there exists a "logic of merchant capital." Sider attempts a generalization of the "features and tensions" between merchant capitalists and communities engaged in commodity production.

The basic features of merchant capital, following Sider (ibid., pp. 34-38), are: (i) purchase of commodities from communities, which produce them through forms of work organization they themselves control and supervise; (ii) domination at the level of exchange, not at the level of production; (iii) community control over the reproduction of the local preconditions for production; and (iv) incorporation of producing communities into larger social systems, while simultaneously emphasizing the social, cultural, and economic divergence of those communities from the centers of power and domination.

The tensions between producing communities and merchant capital are (ibid.): (i) tension between the communities' autonomy of work and the imposed constraints to produce; (ii) between intensification of commodity production and the massive variations in output or remuneration (prices); and (iii) between the tightening and intensification of the bonds of alliance (perhaps hierarchy) in the context of producing commodities, and the simultaneous "hollowing out—mocking, eviscerating" (ibid., p. 35) of the same bonds in the context of the increasing powerlessness and impoverishment of the producing communities.

What in the listing of features appear as separate elements, namely, "producing communities" and "merchant capital," are revealed to be, in the elucidation of tensions, mutually reinforcing processes. Sider's scheme could be expressed as a single, fundamental contradiction inherent to the workings of merchant capital, namely, the contradiction between "autonomy" (of production,

social organization of labor, internal hierarchy) and “constraint” (demand tailored for specific products—codfish cured in a specific manner, for example—and prices—which can fluctuate wildly).

The result of this dialectic between autonomy and constraint seems to be an accelerated production of dependent (folk) culture, which, the more incorporated into mercantile relations the more divergent it appears to be from the dominant centers. Throughout his book, Sider makes the point that folk-cultures, as we know them now, have been profoundly reshaped by mercantile relations. Newfoundland fishermen's folk culture was a direct result of the productive relations of the codfish trade under the specific constraints and demands of the British Empire system.

These communities were incorporated into a larger system through “commerce” (which in fact appears to have been more a form of tribute exaction from the fishermen). At the same time, they appear as divergent from the “dominant culture” (that of the merchants) by the tightening and intensification of bonds of alliance and forms of leadership necessary to meet the demands of that commerce-tribute. Sider reveals this contradiction clearly when he explains that as forms of hierarchy and leadership within the community of fishers are made prominent in the organization of production of trade commodities, the same process “mocks, eviscerates” (Sider's words) that same “traditional” leadership by turning it into a tool of the merchants: “creating a situation where the apparently traditional social forms are largely 'about' production for merchant capital, and the subsistence needs are met by integration with larger social forms and forces” (ibid., p. 38).

Folk culture thus becomes central to the organization of local production and reproduction and at the same time becomes increasingly abstract, increasingly cut-off from the satisfaction of emerging needs and social-relational demands:

> Folk culture can thus take on, for its own participants, a special and illusory quality—becoming seemingly part of a special, glorified past, rather than part of ordinary, daily life—a quality heightened by widespread illusions about its

> traditionalism: the belief that certain practices are archaic or timeless, when they are in fact no older than the first flush of integration with merchant capital" (ibid.).

The central problem from this perspective is thus the historical appearance of irreconcilable and yet necessarily linked institutions—and with them behaviors, values, experiences. These contradictions of producing communities engaged in mercantile relations are not external but internal and constitutive of culture, where "culture" can also be understood as "domination and subordination" (cf. Williams, 1977, p. 111). And these contradictions can permeate not only communities, but also families and, indeed, individual selves.

How have these contradictions been dealt with in anthropological studies of Amazonian cultures? Most of these studies have taken historical factors, prominently the conquest of Amazonia, as just background information. Environmental determination remained for decades the central issue. I discuss next the evolution of the notion of "Tropical Forest Level of Culture," which eventually led to the questioning of the basic tenets, assumptions and methodology of cultural ecology.

*The tropical forest level of culture*

The construction of an anthropological notion of Amazonian cultures derived chiefly from the ethnographic reports which have been produced since the end of the nineteenth century, and increasingly since the 1920s and 1930s. The picture that emerged from these studies was that of a standard type of culture characterized by a number of features: root crop cultivation, effective river crafts, villages arranged in circular form, scattered patterns of settlement, manufacture of pottery, social organization by exogamic lineages, simple and egalitarian economy based on exchange and reciprocity, and lack of true forms of political authority.

The construction of this Tropical Forest Culture-model was an abstraction based on the ethnographies of the hinterland peoples. It largely ignored early reports of travelers and missionar-

ies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who described settlements of tens of thousands of people along the floodplains of the major Amazonian rivers. Anthropologists began to think of the lifestyle of these hinterland peoples as the characteristically Amazonian way of life, an ancient adaptation to the tropical rainforest, which had remained unchanged for millennia (cf. Myers, 1973).

The most influential and massive work for the consolidation of the notion of a standard tropical forest level of culture was volume 3 of the *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward, 1946-59), which systematically set apart the tropical forest stage from cultures of the adjacent regions—namely, the Circum-Caribbean peoples, the cultures of the Central Andes, and the so-called Marginal cultures.

The construction of this notion stemmed from a double historical amnesia, so to speak. On the one hand, ethnohistorical sources were dismissed as exaggerated or distorted, and, in the lack of a colonial record, the only authoritative sources were judged to be the more recent, more "scientific" ethnographic reports which described apparently unchanged cultures. On the other hand, this proliferation of ethnographic reports was the direct outcome of the successive booms of extractive industries in Amazonia, which opened up indigenous labor to the capitalist market. A view of these cultures as backward and stagnant—not to mention attributions of savagery and cannibalism—fitted marvelously the civilizing goals of extractive Capital.

The question of cultural evolution in the Amazon basin was thus posed by anthropologists in terms of an assumed standard level of culture, and the problem became the explanation of the overall simplicity of the lowland societies in comparison to the more complex, stratified societies in the Andean highlands or the Caribbean.

Betty Meggers and Clifford Evans (1954a, 1954b) adopted Julian Steward's early diffusionist hypotheses of dispersion from the Andes. Meggers and Evans' whole argument rests on the

assessment of the agricultural potential of the tropical rainforests, supported with the evidence available at that time.

Research in Amazon ecology has made important advances since the 1960s. It has confirmed Meggers and Evans' view of the low agricultural potential of (most) Amazonian soils.[1] Detailed mapping and research of soils in Amazonia suggest that there is a great heterogeneity and rich soils abound. There are also black soils, which are most probably anthropogenic (Sponsel, 1986). Based on these findings, Donald W. Lathrap (1970) argued that the most important distinction in Amazonia, from the point of view of human ecology, was that of the floodplains of the rivers of Andean origin or *varzea*, and the slightly elevated inter-riverine regions covered by forests or *terra firme*. In the following chapters I will show how the Uitoto and neighboring tribes (the "People of the Center") migrated from their ancestral homeland in the *terra firme* ("the Center") to the *varzeas* of the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers, as a consequence of their contact with non-Indians.

Steward's and Meggers' early focus on seeking an explanation to the cultural differences between the highlands and the lowlands thus shifted to the problem of explaining the effects of ecologically contrasted sub-regions on the dynamics of cultural development in Amazonia.

Robert Carneiro (1970) objected to Meggers' arguments on the grounds that the dynamics of tropical forest cultural development was due rather to topographical factors. Daniel Gross (1975) thoroughly reexamined the ecological basis for cultural development in Amazonia, and defined the lack of animal protein as the major hindrance to high population density and social complexity.

These hypotheses generated an intense debate during the second half of the 1970s, which eventually led to the questioning of the basic tenets, assumptions and methodology of cultural ecology during the next decade.

Stephen Beckerman (1979) distrusted the assessments of the "carrying capacity" of Amazonia on the basis of agricultural potential, territorial considerations, or protein resources alone. He noted that population density in Amazonia today would be more accurately explained historically than ecologically, and that most likely booming populations inhabited the Amazon in "prehistoric" times. Ethnohistory and prehistory, which had been expressly set apart in Steward's paradigm of cultural evolution, were thus brought back to the center of the stage.

Stephen Nugent (1981) criticized the whole project of an ecologically oriented anthropology in Amazonia. Cultural ecology, stated Nugent, reduced the object of anthropologically oriented studies in Amazonia nearly exclusively to Indian societies—that is, "tropical forest cultures." Amazonian peasant societies, which represent the majority of the region's population today, do not fit a model of ecological determination. They should be studied in the light of the process of incorporation of the region into market economy. And for that matter, Indian societies do not fit either, because they have been incorporated into market relations after four centuries of European intervention in Amazonia.

The origins of American anthropology in the nineteenth century are linked with a thrust to reject racial and environmental determinism prevalent in anthropogeography of the late nineteenth century. Early anthropologists stressed the uniqueness of human groups, and environment was seen as a passive force that did not play an active role in the shaping of cultural traits. For Boas, historical forces and diffusion explained the forms artifacts and institutions took. This position was sympathetic with the culture area approach (Wissler, 1917) in which "culture areas" were defined according to the sharing of cultural traits between geographically contiguous groups. This position acquired prominence in the 1930s through the work of A. L. Kroeber (cf. Kroeber, 1931).

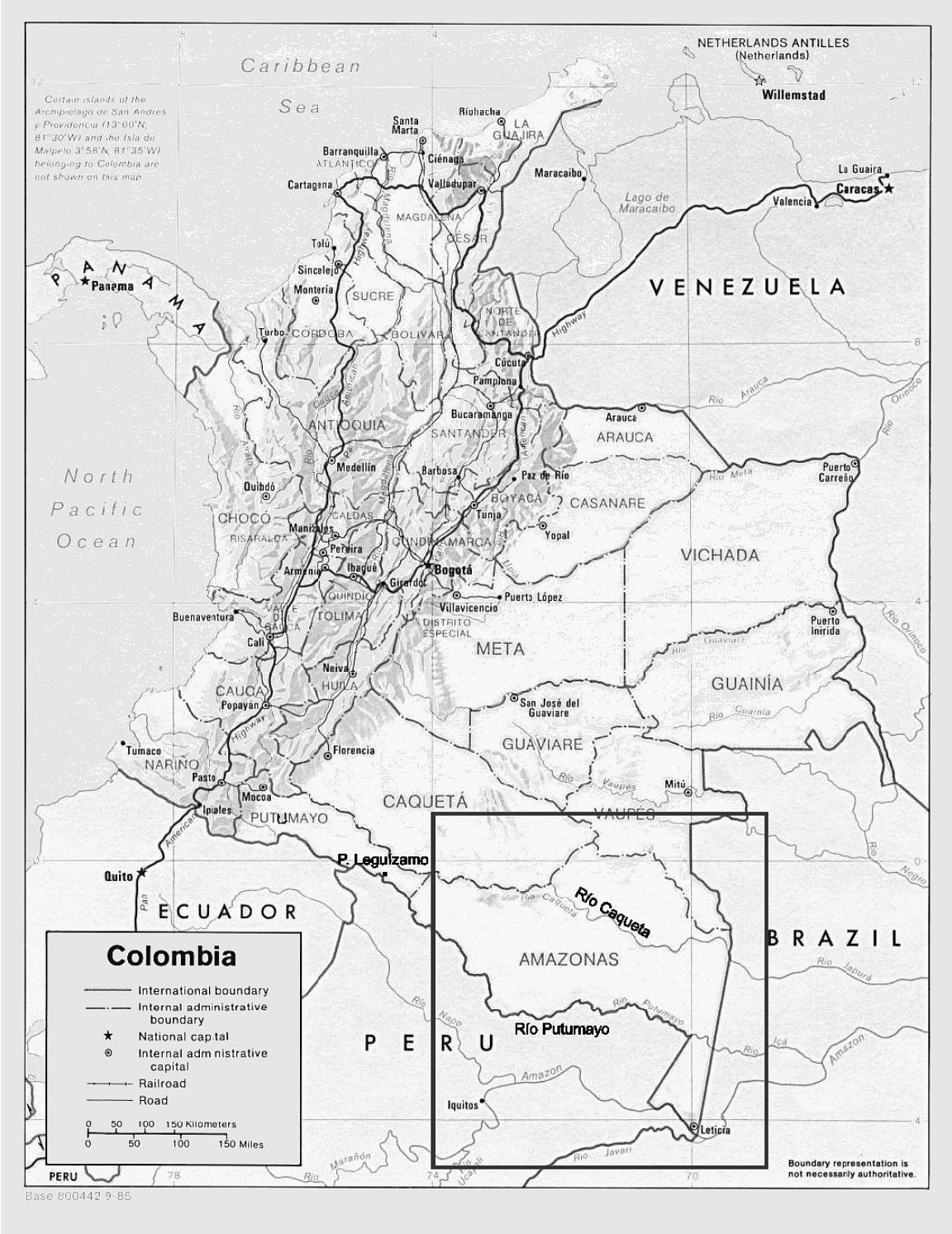
Steward, the editor of the *Handbook of South American Indians*, was trained in this tradition but he departed from it in several ways. His focus was not on culture or environment, but on

resource utilization in its fullest sense. The problem was to see whether the adjustment of human societies to their environments required specific types of behavior or whether human responses to an environment could vary widely (Steward, 1955).

The notion of Tropical Forest Level of Culture was informed by this hypothesis. It led to the developments I reviewed above, which increasingly subordinated culture to environment.[2] Ecological models of cultural "evolution," as applied to Amazonian societies tended to completely set apart the weight of socio-historical factors—prominently the *conquest* of Amazonia—in the shaping of Amazonian societies.

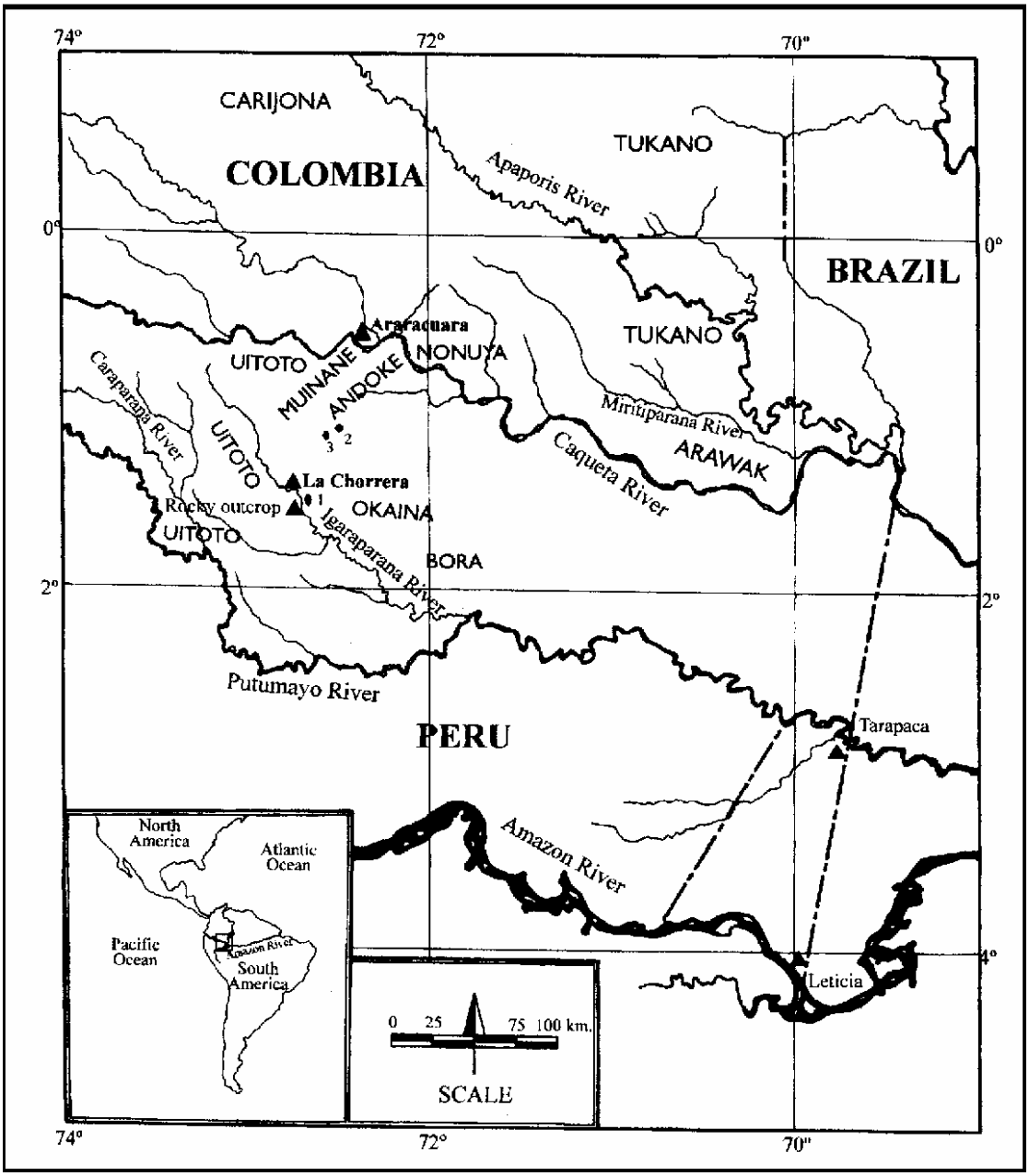
This awareness implies the need to "historicize" anthropological models in the context of the process of the conquest of Amazonia. Amazonian groups may appear as "traditional" Amerindian societies, which, although having gone through a dramatic history of political and economic domination, would *still* possess an autochthonous culture and way of life. Those autochthonous ways may as well be the product of the history of domination—as it appears is the case with the Newfoundland fishermen's folk culture, as we reviewed it above.

I explore these questions in the next section, where I introduce the Indian groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo region.




Map 1: Colombia

See detail of area within rectangle on map 2.




1 – "The Hole of Awakening"

2 – Savannah of Cahuinarí

3 – Origin of the Nonuya

Map 2: The Caquetá-Putumayo Region and Neighboring Areas

## *II. The People of the Center*

This dissertation deals with the Indian groups who live in the region demarcated by the courses of the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers, in the Colombian Amazon (see map 1).[3] It encompasses seven ethnolinguistic groups, which belong to the Witoto linguistic family (Uitoto,[4] Ocaina and Nonuya), the Bora linguistic family (Bora, Miraña and Muinane), plus a language isolate (Andoque).[5] These groups, although speaking several unrelated languages, constitute a single culture area, which Julian Steward (1948) designated as "the Witotoan tribes" in the *Handbook of South American Indians*.

One of the first travel accounts that mentions the Uitoto is Crevaux's (1883), who travelled the Caquetá river accompanied by Carib-speaking Carijona guides, northern neighbors of the Uitoto. The name "Uitoto" (or Witoto, Huitoto, Ouitoto, Güitoto) is of Carib origin.[6]

During the period of the rubber boom in the beginning of this century, reports mentioning the Uitoto and neighboring tribes were mainly concerned with denouncing the "atrocities" committed by rubber-gatherers upon the Indians (Casement, 1912; Hardenburg, 1912). An exception to this was Thomas Whiffen's (1915) *The Northwest Amazons*. Whiffen, a fine ethnographer, spent one year (between 1908 and 1909) travelling in the region and focused on the Indian groups living "out of the rubber belt." His work, in contrast to others produced at the same time, does not contain any mention of the activities of rubber-gatherers.

A number of works, mostly by German ethnologists, appeared during the three first decades of this century (Farabee, 1922; Koch-Grünberg, 1909-10, 1910; Preuss, 1921, 1923; Tessmann, 1930). These works were mostly concerned with issues of cultural and linguistic classification. The most outstanding is Preuss' work on Uitoto religion and mythology. Koch-Grünberg

made important contributions to Uitoto linguistics (see the appendix 2 for a discussion of the issues of linguistic classification of the groups of this region).[7]

By the time Steward wrote his chapter "The Witotoan Tribes" (1948) in the *Handbook of South American Indians*, published sources on the Uitoto and neighboring tribes were these travellers' and ethnographers' accounts. Steward relied mostly on Whiffen and dismissed the works of Preuss and Tessmann on the grounds of their theoretical bias.

With the name "Witotoan tribes" Steward encompassed a number of "Tupian-speaking" groups, including the Uitoto, Bora, Ocaina, Muinane, Nonuya, Resigaro, and Andoque. The Tupian classification of these tribes is highly arguable—and even their belonging to a single linguistic family. I discuss this in detail in the appendix 2.

The ethnonyms of these groups, as they are known today, are those Whiffen introduced in his book and are the same that were being employed by rubber gatherers at that time. Later on these names were adopted by missionaries, used in official and scientific writings, and adopted by the Indians themselves. Most of these ethnonyms are of Uitoto origin, as Whiffen acknowledged: "It must be remembered that I came to all these people from the Witoto country" (1915, p. 56).[8]

Since the late 1960s, new ethnographies began to be produced by European anthropologists: Jürg Gasché (1969, 1971, 1972, 1975, 1977) has written on the Uitoto of the Igaraparaná river, and later on the Uitoto now living in Peru (1982, 1983, 1984, 1985); Mireille Guyot (1969, 1972, 1975, 1979, 1983, 1984) has published on the Bora Indians; and Jon Landaburu (1970, 1976, 1979, 1993) on the Andoque.

Although these peoples are linguistically differentiated among themselves, they share a number of cultural traits that make them distinct from other neighboring tribes, mainly the Arawak-speaking Yukuna and Matapí and the Tukano-speaking Tanimuka and Letuama to the northeast; the Carib-speaking Carijona to the north; and the Western Tukano-speaking Siona and

Coreguaje to the west. Relationships between the languages spoken in the Caquetá-Putumayo area and the Carib, Arawak and Tukano linguistic families have not been established (see appendix 2).

One key trait that distinguishes the Caquetá-Putumayo peoples from their neighbors is the consumption of licked tobacco, which is exclusive of these groups in the whole Northwest Amazon.[9] The tobacco paste, which is licked by these groups, is an extract obtained from cooking the leaves of tobacco. Tobacco paste is used together with coca powder in ritual occasions and in everyday life. These groups, nowadays, designate themselves by the Spanish name of "*gente de ambil*" ("People of Tobacco Paste"). Also they use the designation "People of the Center."

I do not know whether the self-designation "People of the Center" existed from precontact times. My initial hypothesis is that this expression is the reflection of a process of ideological construction of a new kind of "moral community" (to borrow an expression from Basso, 1995).[10] This construction is in part a result of the disruption provoked by the contact with the non-Indians, notably during the period of slavery, forced resettlements and epidemics brought about by the rubber-gathering industry in the region in the beginning of this century. This caused massive demographic loss, the extinction of entire tribes, clans and lineages, and the formation of new mixed communities increasingly dependent on market goods.

The rubber boom is a foundational event for these native groups. This dissertation is not concerned however with recounting the events of that period or discussing the literature on it (there is an abundant literature on this; see: Casement, 1912; Domínguez and Gómez, 1990, 1994; Gómez et al., 1995; Great Britain, 1913; Hardenburg, 1912; Olarte Camacho, 1932; Rey de Castro, 1913; Taussig, 1987; Valcárcel, 1915). I am more concerned here with the ways Indians have managed to deal with it, either through oblivion, secrecy or the incorporation of those events into their conceptualization. Current native conceptualization does not directly address these episodes

but rather seeks to make sense of present day socio-cultural reality on symbolic and mythological grounds.

One remarkable aspect of this conceptualization is the mythological appropriation of the technology of the metal tools—expressed metonymically in the figure of the iron axe. The iron axe was introduced to the region in the seventeenth century by Luso-Brazilian traders. The axe is a fundamental technology for the social reproduction of these groups, which depend on gathering, fishing, hunting, and, mainly, slash-and-burn agriculture for their survival. The acquisition of the metal axes continued up to the twentieth century through the trade of Indian slaves for metal tools. Some Indian groups gained influence and power through this trade.

Nowadays the axe is a powerful symbol for the People of the Center. The Andoque, for instance, call themselves "the People of the Axe." For the Muinane and Uitoto, the metal axe was originally theirs but was stolen by the guardian spirit of "the white people."[11]

The axe is the basis of the philosophy of multiplication, accumulation of food, and increase in the numbers of people—"the philosophy of the axe" or "Word of tobacco and coca." This is called *rafue* (the meaning of the term rafue will be discussed in the introduction to part III). Rafue is an abstract, ethical discourse that goes beyond the "ethnic" discourses, which are generally expressed in a mythology, a linkage to a territory, an ethnocentric view of the world.

Rafue elaborates on the major themes of identity: the boundaries of culture ("proper"/"unproper" people), the relationship between culture and nature, the explanation of illnesses, the interpretation of dreams, the rules of proper behavior. This will be discussed in detail in the chapters that follow.

The construction of an ethical discourse such as rafue faces the contradiction between the conceptual guarding of ethnic differences and the ideology of a unified moral community (People of the Center). Ethnic difference brings about the memory of conflicts from the past (rivalry among

clans and tribes, sorcery, cannibalism) and implies dealing with differences in the mythological conceptions (territory, status of the "Center," hierarchy among tribes and clans). This contradiction is dealt with in practice and discourse, mainly through the ritual and marriage exchanges, on the one hand, and the ethical and political discourse, on the other hand, as I explain next.

"Indian culture" has been losing ground in several fields, as many elders and other people usually say. The youngsters increasingly speak Spanish, people tend to use more white medicines, tools, and so forth; but the rituals, which demand impressive amounts of work, are well and alive. The dance rituals (or festivals) are held in a *maloca* or communal house. Each maloca is the center of a residential unit and is the seat of a "ceremonial career." A ceremonial career consists of a series of dance rituals that have to be performed by the "master" of a maloca during his lifetime.[12] A dance ritual implies the exchange of cultivated food produced by a residential unit (the one which holds the ritual) for wild game and songs brought by other invited residential units (malocas). Usually each maloca has a main "contending" maloca, whose members lead the other invited groups in singing and in ritual exchanges. Due to the population loss of several of the groups, contending malocas often belong to ethnically different groups. In this manner, rituals play an important role in the redefinition of a pan-ethnic sense of community.

Marriage alliances are also increasingly interethnic in groups which were, according to ethnological literature and people's own version, endogamic. Exchange of women in a means of paying "debts" (murders, etc.). Interethnic marriages are also mandatory for the smaller groups in order to avoid incest.[13]

On the other hand, there is an increasingly explicit separation between "secret" versus "public" ritual discourse. Ritual discourse, in contrast to everyday conversation, takes place in a special setting in the maloca known as "the ritual place for *mambeing*[14] coca" (*jíibib~~ɨrɨ~~* in Uitoto). Only men mambe coca. Their meetings in the mambeing place always take place at night. The

ritual discourses (including rafue)[15] are performed by one person, usually the master of the maloca or a distinguished guest, and are addressed to another one who acts as a "what-sayer" or conversation partner. The other participants just listen.

Secret discourses are usually about mythology, sorcery, or certain historical episodes dealing with interethnic conflicts. Public discourses are mostly rafue—"the Word of tobacco and coca"—of which the texts presented in part III are a fine example.

"The Center" used to be, and still is, located geographically in a territory; but now it is becoming a "secret," restricted knowledge, because each ethnic group claims to be "the center of the Center." Then the Center becomes, in public discourse, deterritorialized, supraethnic. Separating what is secret from what is public has become a task in which the elders invest a remarkable amount of time and effort. They call it "recuperation" but it is in fact the construction of a meaningful public discourse.

The regional political discourse of the Indian organization is in the intersection of this ethical discourse and the nationalistic discourse on Indians—made more explicit in the new Constitution of Colombia (1991). Here, the negotiation between public and secret is more difficult. Each tribe, each clan, each family holds fast to its claims to exclusive rights to territory, knowledge, autonomy, but they have to cede in all that refers to relations with whites. It demands considerable skill from the leaders to manage a continuous translation between the two worlds (or what appears to be two worlds).

This continued attempt to "make sense" and redefine identity is also continually "mocked, eviscerated" (Sider) by the constraints of dependence.

## *III. Memory and Orality*

This dissertation is concerned not only with the public discourse of the mambeing place but also with the workings of memory and orality in the construction of individual identity and the narrative strategies of self-representation. I analyze this through the reading of a corpus of biographical narratives of K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~, a Uitoto elder from the Igaraparaná river.

Historians have tended to focus on the problem of criticizing oral sources using the usual set of rules of historical evidence (cross-checking, internal coherence, etc.): "These rules of evidence form a body, a logical train of thought. . . . They are a single whole. They are the method of history" (Vansina, 1985, p. xiii). It is to treat memory as a source of *information*. For anthropologists, however, life stories are not merely representations of life events but also interpretations and reactions to the memory of events. Memory conveys *meaning* and not only information.

The information/meaning dichotomy became the object of a debate which appeared in the *International Journal of Oral History* (1985). This debate is interesting not only in what it attempted to define, but in the kind of reactions it provoked. In the lead article, Louise Tilly draws a stark contrast between two approaches to oral sources in historical research: "social science history" and "people's history." Social science history, Tilly says, focuses on relationships between and among individuals in the context of social groups (classes, genders, etc.) rather than on individuals' senses of what happened in the past. Social science history's central method is collective biography—study of variations in individuals' experience and behavior in groups.

The main thrust of people's history, on the other hand, is the recovery of the essence of individual subjective experience. Tilly refers here to the work of the History Workshop in Oxford and to Raphael Samuel's *People's History and Socialist Theory*. Some forms of women's history, Tilly argues, could also be called people's history "given the common concern for the subjective, the dictum that the personal is political, and the method that emphasizes personal documents and micro-description" (1985, p. 8).

This rough division of methods allows us to see that what is at the core of the information/meaning dichotomy is the problem of objectivity and subjectivity. Tilly argues in favor of "objective" social science concerned with groups and social relations rather than with "subjective" experience. The latter would be left to literary or hermeneutical interpretation.

A number of historians who have dealt with memory as historical source strongly disagree, in different ways, with such a formulation. This is evident in the replies by Paul Thompson, Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, Luisa Passerini, and Alessandro Portelli to Tilly's argument, published in the same issue. Their reactions offer a not so clear-cut picture of the problems facing oral history.[16]

Oral history and popular memory are not, first of all, solely social scientists' concern. There is an important role for oral history work with no academic focus. There is a strong oral history movement which is only partly supported in universities. It is concerned with popular memory not only as an object of study but as a dimension of political practice, particularly socialist and feminist practice. More than the problem of objectivity and subjectivity, their central question is the relationship between political and social commitment and historical work (see Popular Memory Group, 1982). Academic social history is just one agenda amongst many others, and historians, like everybody else, are also endowed with "subjectivity." As Paul Thompson (1985, p. 20) wonders, "[Are] the political assumptions of social science historians so buried that their influence goes unrecognized?"

Furthermore, such subjectivity is not a realm that can be easily disentangled from "objective social relations." Luisa Passerini argues that social relations are in fact manifestations of subjectivity, "materialism is confined to materiality, and whatever pertains to the sphere of subjectivity is treated as impalpable, ineffable, and unknowable" (1985, p. 23). Passerini stresses the realm of the inter-subjective, which is at the basis of all cultural production: " . . . there might be some pat-

tern, some sense, some history of mental and emotional attitudes, of life strategies and forms of social aggregation." Paul Thompson points in the same direction when he remarks that the role of psychological understanding—"a fundamental dimension of human *cultural* experience" (1985, p. 21, his emphasis)—has been neglected in social history. Tilly's neglect of "subjectivity" in favor of objectivity seems to partake of a widespread view in the social sciences.

On reviewing some of the available literature on oral history, I find two main sets of questions. One deals with the issues of power implicit in the production and circulation of written oral narratives and with the political uses of memory. The other has to do with cognitive and subjective issues inherent in the passage from the oral to the written and the constitution of individuality in non-Western societies. Walter J. Ong (1982), for instance, has strongly argued that oral societies possess forms of thought and expression which are utterly different from those allowed by the development of the technology of writing.

On the first issue, there is a growing field which has explored the links between (academic) history-writing and a popular-socialist or feminist politics (see, for instance, Personal Narratives Group, 1989). Others have examined the context of elicitation of life stories and the nature of the life story as a literary and political enterprise.

There has been a growing interest in the recovery of the "voices" of the oppressed or marginal classes, the members of which are usually illiterate. Philippe Lejeune has argued that

> The act that fixes and preserves the memory of an "oral" society, at the same time alienates it, recovers it, and reifies it. We question the model so that he surrenders his memory as it is, and not so that he himself makes something of it (Lejeune, 1989, p. 209).

The memories of a people become the field of study, or the product of consumption, for someone else, the person who has the power to read and to write, Lejeune argues. The oral text circulates into networks of communication which are not those of the people who are its sources:

> [T]he collecting of life stories . . . serves less to reactivate the mechanisms of transmissions of a tradition within the same milieu, than to divert it and annex it in favor of listening in another milieu. It is part of a vast collective transference of memory (ibid., p. 211).

This is what Lejeune calls "the ethnological gap." The memory, oral narratives and life stories of indigenous peoples are collected in order to circulate them in academic circles and, on occasion, they may reach the general public. The influence of mass media on those same indigenous or marginal groups makes them less likely to consume their own memory as reflected in the writings of ethnologists.

The passage from oral to written brings about the other set of issues mentioned above, namely, the alleged cognitive and subjective differences of non-Western, oral societies.

Walter Ong's argument on the "psychodynamics" of orality poses stronger questions on the difference of the forms of thought of non-literate societies. I find his remarks extremely suggestive when compared to the oral narratives collected in this dissertation. One basic characteristic of oral expression is its formulaic character. In addition to this, Ong remarks nine general features, which I here summarize (1982, pp. 36-57): "In a primary oral culture, thought and expression tend to be of the following sorts": (i) additive rather than subordinative; (ii) aggregative rather than analytic (prefers clusters of integers "such as parallel terms or phrases or clauses, antithetic terms or phrases or clauses, epithets"); (iii) redundant or "copious"; (iv) conservative or traditionalist ("saying it over and over again"); (v) close to the human lifeworld ("assimilating the alien, objective world to the more immediate, familiar interaction of human beings"); (vi) agonistically toned ("engage others in verbal and intellectual combat"); (vii) empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced ("so that on occasion the narrator slips into the first person when describing the actions of the hero"); (viii) homeostatic ("a present which keeps itself in equilibrium or homeo-

stasis by sloughing off memories which no longer have present relevance"); and (ix) situational rather than abstract.

This leads us directly into the first methodological concern of this dissertation: the question of turning oral narratives into written texts, basic for the cultural and historical analysis I attempt to carry out. In the next section I discuss the methodology employed to render the Uitoto oral performances into written texts. I draw from scholarship on Native American literature, particularly from the school of ethnopoetics. The Uitoto texts and their translation will be introduced in section VI

### *IV. The Poetic Form of Indian Oral Performance*

> By translation with a poetic criterion I do not mean one that is freer or more distant from the original, but one that is more faithful to the poetry of the original (Ernesto Cardenal, 1979, p. 16, my translation).

Indigenous narratives are usually translated in the form of prose. Much of the expressive force of the oral art of K̶inera̶i̶ is weakened in a prose translation. Such a form of translation obliges one to eliminate or tone down precisely that which is most expressive and remarkable in his oral art: pauses, rhetoric particles, exchanges with his conversation partner, reiterations, extended listing of things.

To transmit this expressive force I present the Uitoto texts, as well as their translations, in a poetic form. The quotation from Cardenal expresses what I have tried to achieve, that is, not adapt the translation to a predetermined model of "poetry" in the European or Western sense of the word but rather, to work towards a discovery of the forms of expression inherent in the original texts. The narrative strategies deployed in the oral performances become apparent not only in the

contents of the narratives but also in the form, rhythm and tempo of the performance. The poetic presentation of the texts renders more closely the interplay of form and contents in the narratives.

For the methodology of transcription, translation and presentation of the texts, I draw from current scholarship on Native American literature (prominently, Hymes, 1981; Sherzer, 1990; Swann, 1992; Tedlock, 1983).

Boas, Sapir, Lowie and others were well known for collecting of Indian texts in native languages. Before them, travellers, missionaries and others who lived among Indian tribes also made important collections. Dell Hymes (1965), in an article in *American Anthropologist*, did a reassessment of "the largely neglected heritage of [American Indian] poetry." He pointed out the neglect for the formal aspects of "Indian poems":

> In some quarters, appreciation of American Indian poetry has at present a strange, almost schizophrenic, quality. It insists on authenticity, but not on the original texts. It sees and values poetry as expression of Indian cultures, but in material that often is itself poor poetry or not poems at all (Hymes, 1965, p. 333).

The insights presented in that programatic article were made fully explicit years later in his "Discovering Oral Performance and Measured Verse in American Indian Narrative":

> I should like to discuss a discovery which may have widespread relevance. The narratives of the Chinookan peoples of Oregon and Washington can be shown to be organized in terms of lines, verses, stanzas, scenes, and what one may call acts (Hymes, 1977, p. 431).

Hymes relied mostly on rhetoric elements, or particles, as a criterion to find meaningful units (lines, verses, etc.) in the oral narratives. Dennis Tedlock (1983), on the other hand, supported on his field research on the Zuni (and later in Yucatán), strongly argued in favor of a methodology based on the respiratory flow of the oral performance. His key criteria were the pauses in the oral performance. These methodological differences may derive from the fact that Tedlock worked mostly with live recorded materials, while Hymes reinterpreted transcriptions of oral per-

formances for which no live recordings were available. The "pause versus particle" debate was at the center of Native American literature scholarship for decades. Hymes thus summarizes his position in that debate:

> It may be a fair summary to say that Dennis [Tedlock] is concerned most of all with the moment of performance, and I am much concerned with the competence that informs it. Dennis trusts most of all the speaking voice, I evidence the recurrent pattern. That means I run the risk of finding pattern that isn't there. . . . Dennis runs the risk of missing pattern that is.
> . . . . . .
> What is particularly not so is the equation, Tedlock : Hymes = pause : particle. Dennis has sometimes attended to particles as relevant, and I have never attended to particles alone. The point of method is not to look for any single feature, but to look for what counts in the text and tradition (Hymes, 1992, p. 84).

I have defined some formal elements for the transcription of the Uitoto narratives I have collected, based on the identification of respiratory metric elements (pauses and intonation) and of rhetoric patterns. These formal elements are: lines, verses and stanzas (following Hymes' [1977] terminology). Appendix 3 contains a detailed explanation of these formal elements, of which I offer here a summary definition.

The lines of the text are largely defined by the pauses in the flow of conversation. It is a respiratory metric criterion. These pauses are taken advantage of by the conversation partner or what-sayer, an essential actor of Indian oral performance, who acknowledges by responding *jm* or *jii*, which means "yes."

A verse is made up of one or more lines. A line of text seldom corresponds to a complete sentence, but all of the verses are sentences. The verses are characterized by the way they are intoned, usually with a falling pitch at the end. The first line of a verse is printed at the left-hand margin of the page; the following line or lines are indented two spaces. Different ways of indenting the lines in the verses reflect peculiarities of its intonation.

The stanzas are made up of a limited number of verses, usually not more than five. The stanzas group together verses which are similar for formal reasons or because of their content.

In addition to the three elements—lines, verses and stanzas—which represent formal characteristics inherent in the texts, I have, in some cases, marked out bigger units of division, which I call sections and parts. A section of a text is made up of a number of stanzas which deal with a particular theme. A part groups together sections, or divides the body of the text in terms of contents, intention or style.

I move on now to methodological issues of a more general character. In the next section I make explicit my position as a scholar in the politics of fieldwork and academic formation.

### *V. School and Fieldwork*

I was formed as an anthropologist in Latin America and did my early work there. Later on I studied in graduate school in the U.S. After those years of study, and after a number of years of work in the Colombian Amazon, I have come to understand that I am a Latin American anthropologist but different from what I was before I started my graduate course of studies.

In Colombia, anthropology as a discipline was an offspring of French ethnology (see, for example, Uribe, 1980). Nevertheless, in the 1970s there was a definite Latin American-wide turn in the social sciences, particularly in anthropology, which reshaped a whole generation, including myself.

The Declaration of Barbados of 1971 is paradigmatic in this sense. I quote from it:

> The anthropology now required in Latin America is not that which relates to Indians as objects of study, but rather that which perceives the colonial situation and commits itself to the struggle for liberation (Dostal, 1972, p. 506, my translation).

And those declarants pointed out the "false awareness" of anthropologists that had led them to adopt equivocal positions: "scientism, hypocrisy and opportunism."

This kind of thinking pervaded my formation as an anthropologist and as a scholar. Investigation had to be directly applicable and be geared into the "popular struggles"; the worst sin of a researcher was to be purely a scientist, and so on and so forth. Right now, "basic research" of any sort is hardly funded, the priority is *action*. "Investigation-action" became the right approach.

What have been the results of this academic move towards action, political involvement and commitment to "liberation"? After more than two decades of so many well-intentioned investigative actions I find those results distressing and misled. We see a generation of poorly trained anthropologists divided between being political activists and scientists—and not doing well in either of the roles; and we see that many of those "actions," to which indeed many of us committed, failed and ended by hindering rather than helping popular struggles.

I have to recognize, nevertheless, that we have gained something in the process. We became more weary of detached theoretical stances, more sensitive to people's concerns, and much more willing to commit ourselves and our work to help rather than to use the people we work with. But I also recognize our inability to look into our own role in society and into the power relations that determine not only the lives of the peoples we study but ourselves and our relations with them.

One of the reasons that brought me to the U.S. to study was my desire to see things from a distance, in order to appreciate them better. I also wished to seek answers to my questions in American scholarship. I got no answers. I sensed American scholarship on Latin America as actually detached from Latin America and embedded only in its own concerns. I felt that American scholarship helped the people in Latin America very little, and found that the American scholars' concern for Latin America was abstract and even misleading.

But I also found positive things: a serious commitment to research and a lively and broad intellectual critique, so absent from the scientific environment I came from. That kept me from becoming wholly asphyxiated and from entirely losing my way.

I have learned that I am not an American scholar but I also learned to take a distance and a critical stance in relation to my own background. In fact, my thinking has developed thanks to that double reaction: against my own Latin American background and against American Academia.

My original dissertation proposal was to research the post-rubber boom history of the Indian groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo region. My aim was to find out how these groups recreated collective identities in the aftermath of their violent insertion into market economy and in ongoing contexts of inequality and marginalization.

I adopted two methodological strategies: to review all the available documents on this history, and to research how Indians viewed and experienced this history. The first required an historical approach, the second an ethnographic approach.

I did most of the documentary research while at the School. A review of the published materials on the Caquetá-Putumayo region reveals that most of it deals with the 1900-1930 period and is mostly focused on the conflicts of the non-Indians amongst themselves: between the Colombian rubber gatherers and the Peruvian Companies, between Colombia and Peru on border disputes, and among missionaries, white settlers and civil authorities.

This written documentation shed little light on the ways Indians experienced and viewed the changes that followed the rubber boom. To get an understanding of it, I had to engage in ethnographic work.

My field research for this dissertation can be divided into four phases. During the four phases I was affiliated with Colombian NGOs. Due to the action-oriented paradigm in Latin American anthropology and the increasing politization of the Indians, it is practically unfeasible to

work in Amazonia, or any Indian region in Colombia, as an independent anthropologist. The four phases are these:

(1) A survey phase during the Summer of 1989. I carried out a two-month socio-economic survey of Resguardo Predio Putumayo, Colombia's largest Indian *resguardo*, created by the Colombian government in 1988 (see map 1).[17] This survey gave me the chance to visit many different settlements and groups, to get closely acquainted with the situation of the region and the problems affecting the Indians, and to make a few friends.

(2) In 1991, I began to work with a Colombian NGO, Fundación Puerto Rastrojo, in a program called COAMA ("Consolidation of Amazonia") sponsored by the European Community. The aim of the program was to develop a strategy for the conservation of Amazonia based on the knowledge of the Indian tribes that live there. To carry this out anthropologists were to live with the different groups so that through a process of dialogue and exchange—and "in the Indians' own rhythm and cultural ways"—ideas would result that promoted Indians' cultural development without causing damage to the Amazon. This was called the "Field Officer Program." So, I became a Field Officer for the Igaraparaná river (see map 2) and I intended to carry out my dissertation research while working for the COAMA program.

The program, originally formulated by the Gaia Foundation in England, was reformulated by Fundación Puerto Rastrojo as a work of investigation-action which would be based on teams of one anthropologist and one biologist. Our work was to gather anthropological and biological information and to carry out meetings with the Indians in order to develop culturally rooted strategies for the conservation of the Amazon. We were to be in the region on a permanent basis, available for continued exchange with the Indians. In this manner we were to improve our understanding of the local problems and thus become "better interlocutors" in our exchanges with the people.[18]

I started to work with a biologist in the Igaraparaná river but soon the local Indian organization "vetoed" our work. The reasons for that veto had little to do with our actual activities in the region. The point was that the Indian organization had learnt that this project was financed by the European Community and they did not want intermediaries or NGOs to stand in the way of "those millions coming from Europe for the Indians."

One of the communities we had been living with supported us in defiance to the organization's veto and proposed that we work with them in a project of their own design. They wanted to set up their own community school and wanted to collect the knowledge of the surviving elder, K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*, in a book which would serve as the basis for the curriculum of the new school.

We gladly accepted their proposal and got resources for the project from the Coama program. We worked in that project for the whole of 1992. That became the third phase of my fieldwork.

(3) That was a most challenging work and meant a shift in my original research plans. It was not they who would be helping me with *my* project—the classical ethnographic situation; it would be I helping them with *their* project. We lived with the community during seven months in 1992. I collected ethnographic material even more interesting than my original proposal aimed at, and significantly improved my knowledge of the language, the *mɨnɨka* dialect of Uitoto. By the end of 1992 we had obtained a total of 210 typed pages in Uitoto, divided into 62 titles. Eleven of those texts are presented here in full, plus excerpts from another four, and one text that was recorded one year later.

From that collected material I prepared a manuscript and submitted it to a Colombian government contest on Indian literature. The manuscript eventually won the fist prize. That brought K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* to Bogotá for the first time in his life, and he received the award from the Presi-

dent of Colombia. In chapter 6 I include excerpts from Kɨneraɨ's comments in Uitoto upon receiving the award, plus my own reflections on the matter.

(4) By the end of 1993 I began to work with Fundación Gaia, another NGO also part of the COAMA program, in the Araracuara region, on the Caquetá river (see map 2). This region is in the same culture area I had worked previously. That gave me the chance to get to know other people. I was in charge of four community-based projects: the recuperation of the Nonuya language, native research on the Muinane territory, native research on the Andoque territory, and a Permanent Seminar of Muinane elders on ethnoeducation. I have been working in this until now. This allowed me to work closely with the councils of elders of these groups and with the Indian organization—which has a much more friendly attitude toward outsiders than the Igaraparaná organization. The material I present in chapter 3 ("The People of the Center") is a direct result from this work.

James Clifford (1990) categorized three moments of ethnographic field writing: inscription, transcription and description. The field writing practice that has predominated in anthropology, Clifford notes, is descriptive, with all the consequences of the constitution of a single and authoritative voice in the ethnographic monograph—that of the anthropologist-author.[19] Clifford (1990, pp. 57-58) writes:

> Greater prominence given to transcribed materials can produce a more polyphonic final ethnography. This effect already existed in the early works of Boas, Lowie, and others who, seeing their task as importantly philological, translated and commented on indigenous texws. . . . The image of transcription (of writing over) interrupts the smooth passage from writing down to writing up, from inscription to interpretive description. The authority of the researcher who brings passing, usually oral, experience into permanent writing is decentered.

The main impetus of my fieldwork writing was the old-fashioned transcription. I paid a lot of attention to the collection of native texts in their native language and by native authors. My main task was the transcription, translation and exegesis of texts.

### *VI. Structure and Outline of the Dissertation*

This dissertation is divided into three parts. My analysis goes from a regional perspective (part I) to the self-representation of an elder (part II) and, finally, to the detailed presentation of philosophical aspects of indigenous ideology (part III).

In part I ("The Caquetá-Putumayo Region") I provide a historical and ethnological background for the Caquetá-Putumayo region (chapter 2), emphasizing those aspects that are relevant for the main argument of the dissertation. Chapters 3 and 4 rely on the background information given in chapter 2 and undertake the analysis of the ethnographic materials. I discuss how the "philosophy of the axe" and "the Word of tobacco and coca" speak to the construction of new forms of collective identity and moral community, as expressed in the idiom "People of the Center."

Part II ("Kɨneraɨ's Biographical Narratives") presents a corpus of narratives of Kɨneraɨ, a Uitoto elder from the Igaraparaná river. These narratives were recorded in Uitoto and transcribed and translated following the methodology explained in section IV. My attempt is to show the narrative strategies he uses to make sense of his life, mainly of those events that meant significant changes for him. I rely mostly on narratives spontaneously produced by Kɨneraɨ, not elicited by me. As he is a healer and a knowledgeable man in his culture, the main focus of his narratives is on key issues of his apprenticeship as a healer.

Part III ("K+nera+'s Rafue") contains another set of texts translated from Uitoto. They represent an extended exposition of "the Word of tobacco and coca" or rafue. This part contains the richest and most difficult material. The texts presented are a philosophical elaboration of abstract themes, such as "Breath," "Coolness," "Mother," "Father," "Basket," "Thread." In part III, I elaborate on the relationship between K+nera+'s rafue concepts and the themes elaborated in part I.

*The texts and their translation*

I present a total of 16 texts translated from Uitoto. The transcriptions of 11 of these texts are presented whole, without eliminating a single word (words which were barely audible are transcribed between parentheses). All of the texts are, as well, complete narratives which have a beginning and an end; they are not fragments of longer narrations or conversations. The transcription is phonemic—that is, it represents phonemes, not sounds—and it uses the Uitoto spelling that was adopted in the indigenous teacher-training courses in La Chorrera (Amazonas, Colombia), which is explained in the appendix 1.[20]

The Uitoto texts were recorded along a year (1992) of work with K+nera+ and his "community" (extended family). All the narratives, excepting the one contained in text 7, were recorded at night in K+nera+'s mambeing place. Text 7 was recorded in Bogotá one year later when K+nera+ went to Bogotá for the fist time. Appendix 3 contains a detailed explanation of the formal methodology I employed for the transcription and presentation of the texts.

K+nera+ addressed all the narratives, excepting again the one contained in text 7, to a single person, who acted as conversation partner and what-sayer. In the original Uitoto texts, contained in the appendix 4, the answers of the what-sayer are shown underlined. These answers, which in most cases are just *j+i+* or *jmm* ("yes"), do not appear in the translation. The conversation

partner in all the narratives was K̶ɨneraɨ̶'s son Blas, with the exception of three narratives (texts 2, 3 and 5) in which I acted as conversation partner and what-sayer.

During the recordings other people were usually present: other sons, relatives, neighbors, and visitors who stayed overnight. These other people remained silent and listened. K̶ɨneraɨ̶ decided the moment and the subject matter of the recordings, which was frequently related to some current event.

The translation has the same number of lines as the original and reproduces the form of the verses and stanzas of the original. The translation is a free one but closely follows the Uitoto original. In the cases where I have added words to give more coherence to the translation, these are placed between square brackets.

As well as my field notes, I made use of the Uitoto teaching grammar (Minor et al., 1982) and the Uitoto-Spanish dictionary (Minor and Minor, 1987) published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, as well as the Uitoto-German dictionary in Konrad T. Preuss' outstanding work on Uitoto religion and mythology (Preuss, 1921, 1923).[21]

Numerous plant and animal species are mentioned in the texts; for this reason I have also include the appendix 5, which contains the biological identification of all the species.

*End Notes*

[1.] This kind of considerations led Betty Meggers (1971) to call Amazonia "a counterfeit paradise," and the issue of soil fertility has remained central to the discussions of development in Amazonia.

[2.] This tendency was stressed by the incorporation of the notion of "ecosystem" by anthropologists. This notion was developed in biology since the 1930s, and made its way into anthropology in the late 1950s. Ecosystem-oriented studies by anthropologists boomed during the 1970s, focusing mainly in the empirical research of "flow of energy" in human groups (Moran, 1984).

[3.] The Caquetá and Putumayo rivers are also called Japurá and Içá, respectively, in Brazil.

[4.] Some researchers (cf. Urbina, 1992) have proposed utilizing the term "Murui-Muinane" to describe the language and ethnic group which is known in anthropological literature as "Witoto" or "Huitoto." The term *witoto*, of Carib origin, is a pejorative one which the Carib-speaking Carijona employed to designate their tribal enemies, and it was adopted by rubber-traders and missionaries to designate these tribes. Subsequently the term came to be widely employed in scientific and official documents. I agree with those researchers that the term should be rejected, but the "Witoto" themselves have decided to keep the title, modifying its spelling to "Uitoto," which is consistent with the alphabet which has been adopted to write that language (this was decided in a meeting of bilingual school teachers in Araracuara in 1990). For this reason I use the term in this dissertation with its new spelling, keeping "Witoto" to designate the linguistic family.

[5.] For the names of the other ethnolinguistic groups I follow the spelling contained in the list of "current indigenous languages of Colombia" of the Instituto Caro y Cuervo (*Atlas Etnolingüístico de Colombia*, in preparation), as it appears reproduced in Huber and Reed (1992, pp. 369-371). I write the names of ethnic groups in singular form, even when they are used in plural (e.g., "for the Uitoto who live . . . " and not, "for the Uitotos who live . . . ").

[6.] Crevaux remarks: "The word 'ouitoto' means 'enemy,' in the language of the Carijonas and the Roucouyennes. . . . The Galibis call 'enemy' 'toto, itoto, eitoto,' as do the Roucouyennes and Trios. The Trios call their neighbors and enemies, the black Yuka: 'i-toto' 'mijn vijand.' The Bakairí call the jaguar 'utoto'" (Crevaux, 1883, p. 368, cited in Koch-Grünberg, 1906, p. 158, my translation).

[7.] After the rubber boom, some ethnological and linguistic information on the Caquetá-Putumayo region was produced by Capuchin missionaries (Pinell, 1928, and articles by missionar-

ies published in the issues of *Amazonia Colombiana Americanista*).

[8.] Bora (*borárede*) means "to be yellow" in Uitoto; Ocaina means "agouti" in the n̨ipode dialect of Uitoto, and "hunt animal" in the m̨in̨ika dialect of Uitoto; Muenane (*muinan̨*) means "people from downriver"; Nonuya (*nónuią*) means "people of the annato tree"; Resigero means either "people of pineapple" (*rozígaro*) or "people who eat flesh" (*r̨izígaro*); Andoque (*ádok̨*) means "mountain."

[9.] Johannes Wilbert, in his comprehensive *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America*, remarks: "The custom of tobacco licking is of restricted distribution in South America. It occurs in the northernmost extension of the Colombian and Venezuelan Andes [Kogi, Ica, Sanka, Timote-Cuica], in the Putumayo-Caquetá region of the Northwest Amazon [Uitoto and neighboring tribes], and in a few isolated places of the Montaña [Jivaro (?), Campa, Piro]" (1987, p. 40).

[10.] Basso's (1995) recent book shows, through the reading of oral histories and "collective biographies," how remnants of different ethnolinguistic groups (mostly Carib-speaking) have managed to construct a new "moral community" in the Alto Xingu region in the Brazilian Amazon.

[11.] "White people" refers to non-Indians generally. It includes racially white people, and also *mestizos* and blacks. For a discussion of the indigenous terms to refer to "the whites" see section III of chapter 3.

[12.] "Ceremonial career" and "dance ritual" are also called rafue in Uitoto.

[13.] In a sample of marriages taken from five ethnic groups of the Caquetá and Igaraparaná rivers I found the following percentages of exogamic marriages (percent of men married to women from other ethnic groups): 30% for Uitoto, 48% for Bora, 68% for Andoque, 91% for Muinane, and 100% for Nonuya (see table 3 in chapter 2).

[14.] To *mambe* means to ingest coca by putting "*mambe*" inside the cheeks, where it is slowly absorbed through the mouth and digestive tissues. *Mambe* (noun) is a powder obtained by toasting, pounding and straining coca leaves, with the addition of ashes of leaves from the cecropia tree (*Cecropia sciadophylla*). As this action does not correspond to "to eat coca" or "to chew coca," this new verb, borrowed from Spanish, is introduced: *mambe*, *mambed*, *mambeing*.

[15.] There are several genres of ritual discourse. Besides rafue, there are also *bakak̨* (mythology), *ruak̨* (songs), *yorą* (sung narrations of the origin of lineages), and others.

[16.] In a recent review article Gelya Frank leaned in favor of a more hermeneutic approach to life "stories," in contrast to research on life "histories," more concerned with using them as sources of information:

> Life histories focused mostly on diachronic change within anthropology's traditional paradigm of naturalism or realism; research on life stories, on the other hand, focuses on the cultural scripts and narrative devices individuals use to make sense of experience, . . . it focuses on the strategies speakers use to fashion coherence from the disparate and potentially contradictory experiences of their lives. Such research tends to be more phenomenological in method than life his-

> tories, presenting discrete speech acts situated in context as against narratives edited to resemble written autobiographies (Frank, 1995, p. 145).

[17.] The Colombian government has recognized 18,724,540 hectares (that is, 46,380,685 acres, over half of the Colombian Amazon) as legally belonging to the Indians, under a legal figure called *resguardos* ("preserves") (Roldán Ortega, 1993). Such preserves are different from "reservations" in the U.S. sense in that they grant legal ownership of the land to the natives, whereas on reservations the government grants the use of the land to inhabitants but retains property rights.

[18.] The statement of the objectives, actions and results of the COAMA program and its associated NGOs can be found in the issues of the *Coama Bulletin* (bilingual): 000, June 1994 (Introductory); 001, December 1994 (Legislation); 002, March-May 1995 (Education); 003, March 1995 (Health); and 004, December 1996 (Microprojects).

[19.] Anthropologists have become increasingly aware of this since the appearance of Clifford and Marcus' (1986) *Writing Culture*.

[20.] The Uitoto alphabet is the same one that was proposed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Minor and Minor, 1987) with slight modifications: use of *k* instead of *c*/*qu*; use of *ng* instead of *ng*; use of *g* instead of *gu* before *e* and *i*.

For the transcription of words in other languages I use, for Muinane, the alphabet proposed by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Instituto Lingüístico de Verano, 1973); for Andoque, the alphabet designed by Jon Landaburu and the community of Aduche for bilingual education; for Ocaina, the alphabet of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (Leach, 1969); and for Nonuya, the alphabet proposed by Jon Landaburu and myself.

[21.] In 1994 there appeared an excellent translation of Preuss' work into Spanish by Eudocio Becerra (Bigidima) and Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (Preuss, 1994). Becerra, a Uitoto Indian who speaks the same dialect of Preuss' informants, and Petersen de Piñeros, a German linguist who lives in Colombia, not only translated Preuss' German text into Spanish but undertook a full review of the Uitoto text and of Preuss' German translation from Uitoto. Becerra and Petersen de Piñeros, nevertheless, did not translate Preuss' dictionary, from which most of my references are taken.

> The original dictionary (Uitoto-German) was not consulted for the present work due to some deficiencies in it (lack of vocables, confusion among similar but not identical terms, inclusion of terms which do not appear in the texts) (Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros, 1994, p. 791, my translation). On the other hand, they elaborated a new dictionary from an alphabetical list of all the terms contained in the texts, revised and transcribed by them, which I cite as an independent work.

# PART I

# THE CAQUETA-PUTUMAYO REGION

## *Introduction to Part I*

The Caquetá-Putumayo region is the territory of the Uitoto, Ocaina, Nonuya, Bora, Miraña, Muinane and Andoque Indians. These groups were hinterland peoples who lived away from the main rivers. Luso-Brazilian slave traders and Spanish missionaries navigated the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers since the seventeenth century, on the borders of their territory. Historical records allow to establish that Indians from these groups were captured and traded to Brazil, mostly through other Indian groups, since the seventeenth century. The definite "conquest" of these Indians took place at the end of the nineteenth century with the establishment of rubber exploitations by Colombian and Peruvian rubber-gatherers. Rubber extraction increased at the beginning of the present century when the region became the main area of operations of the Rubber Amazon Company, or Casa Arana, a joint British-Peruvian firm which involved all these tribes (and others which disappeared) in the rubber extracting industry.

In colonial times, the Caquetá-Putumayo area was known as the Province of Sucumbíos, the northernmost province of the Gobernación of Mainas in the Viceroyalty of Peru. This territory was in dispute among Ecuador, Peru and Colombia since their independence from Spain. In 1922, the Salomon-Lozano Treaty between Colombia and Peru recognized Colombian sovereignty over the territories north of the Putumayo river. In 1988, the Colombian government recognized indigenous ownership of the land when it declared the whole Caquetá-Putumayo area as an Indian *resguardo* (preserve).

The Caquetá-Putumayo is part of the Colombian Amazon territories, although it is linked culturally and geographically to northern territories of the Peruvian and Ecuadorian Amazon. In a broader context, the region lies within the Northwest Amazon, one of the Amazon regions with the greatest biological and cultural diversity.

The Caquetá-Putumayo region is located between 0.5° N and 2.5° S of latitude, and between 71° and 74° W of longitude. Geologically, it is situated in the Amazon valley, formed by sedimentation of alluvium of Tertiary origin. In the northern part of the region, between the Caquetá and middle Igaraparaná rivers, there surface numerous rocky outcrops of Paleozoic origin. The average altitude of the ground is 120 meters over the sea level; the elevated terraces of Paleozoic origin however can reach up to 350 meters over the sea level. The whole region is densely covered with high tropical rainforests, with the exception of the elevated terraces, which have a lower vegetation, and several small savannahs with no forest cover. These rocky outcrops and savannahs have great mythological significance for the Indian groups, as will be shown in chapter 3.

This part of the dissertation contains three chapters.

Chapter 2 ("Historical and Ethnological Background") recounts the main events that have affected the region, and the characteristics of the human groups that inhabit it, as they have been documented by historians and anthropologists.

Chapter 3 ("The People of the Center"), in contrast, ventures into the Indian conceptualization of that history and ethnology. This ethno-"history" and ethno-"ethnology" prove to be chiefly concerned with the creation of a cultural topology, in which meaningful relations to Self and others are reestablished.

Chapter 4 ("The Word of Tobacco and Coca") further elaborates on the philosophical aspects of indigenous discourse, and serves as an introduction to the materials presented in parts II and III of this dissertation.

# Chapter 2

# HISTORICAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

The contact between Europeans and indigenous cultures in the region of Caquetá-Putumayo began since the seventeenth century with the trade of metal axes and tools in exchange for prisoners to be used as slaves in the Portuguese foundations of the Rio Negro. All this happened well before the time of the rubber boom, when the only visitors to this remote region in the northwest reaches of the Amazon river basin were slave raiders and missionaries.

In section I ("Two Frontiers: From Axes to Rubber"), I present the main events of this history as they can be inferred from available written sources. I recount the trade of Indian slaves and the establishment of mission villages during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the jurisdictional disputes over the region in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the boom of rubber extraction at the beginning of the present century. These events caused a profound impact on the Indian groups of the region. I discuss the conformation of new patterns of settlement derived from the changes generated by the rubber boom, the border conflict between Colombia and Peru, and the definite establishment of Mission schools since the 1930s.

Section II ("The Colombo-Peruvian Border Conflict of 1932-1933") is an essay on an event that has powerfully impressed the regional imagination. I juxtapose contrasting images of the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict, drawn from written sources and testimonies, that reflect the contradictory and concurring perceptions of nature and society in the construction of the Amazonian space.

In section III ("Population Figures") I present available data on population for these groups in the beginning of this century (46,000) and in the 1990s (4,370), and infer population figures for the early 1930s, after the rubber boom and the border conflict.

Section IV ("Social Organization") deals with the main aspects of Indian social organization, based mainly on information on the Uitoto. I focus on three aspects: residence and hierarchy, lineage and territory, and kinship and alliance.

In section V ("The Indians and the State") I discuss the conformation of indigenous political organizations in the Colombian Amazon since the 1980s, the circumstances created by the recognition of Indian property over the territory, and the new evolving context of "ethnic politics" in Colombia.

## *I. Two Frontiers: From Axes to Rubber*

This section recounts the main historical events that have affected the indigenous population of the Caquetá-Putumayo region. This historiography is necessary for an understanding of the following chapters, which analyze how that history has been interpreted in native conceptualization and how it has shaped their sense of identity.

*Trade of slaves*

The region between the middle courses of the Caquetá and Putumayo rivers was a frontier between the Portuguese and Spanish dominions in South America.

Hector Llanos and Roberto Pineda-Camacho (1982), using colonial archives, demonstrated that Franciscan missionaries and Portuguese slave raiders were active in the Caquetá-Putumayo region since the seventeenth century. They stress that the Hispanic and Lusitanian intervention in this part of Amazonia was more extensive than is usually admitted:

> Most ethnographic works on the Colombian Amazon minimize the Iberian historic impact on indigenous populations . . . They suppose . . . that the contact of the ethnic groups with the colonizing process begins in the last decades of the last century as a consequence of the rubber-extracting activity (Llanos and Pineda-Camacho 1982, p. 13, my translation).

This work was reinforced by other works by Pineda-Camacho, which, in addition to archival sources, researched into oral narratives to prove that trade in both slaves and iron tools, prominently axes, predated the actual contact of non-Indians with the inter-riverain Indians by a large margin (Pineda-Camacho, 1975, 1985).

The Spaniards approached the lowlands from the region of the upper Magdalena, in the Cordillera of the Andes. Towards the end of the seventeenth century Franciscans missionaries had established villages, called *reducciones* ("reductions"), in the Caguán (a tributary of the Caquetá river) and upper Putumayo rivers. The life-span of these settlements was very short—the Indians deserted the villages and several settlements in the lower Putumayo were overcome by Portuguese traders. By the end of the eighteenth century most of the villages had disappeared, after the definite retreat of the Franciscan Fathers.

Juan Friede's work during the 1940s and 1950s is one of the major influences on a new generation of anthropologists concerned with lowland history. He was one of the first historians to point out the value of the records contained in the *cabildo* or *gobernación* archives, scattered in

small towns, in contrast to traditional colonial history, which mostly relied on the "official" sources—chronicles and reports that reached out of the colonial periphery into the Spanish metropolis (Friede, 1947, 1953).

Friede began with research on the upper Magdalena valley. He found that there had been an active slave trade between the lowlands and the inter-Andean valleys, such as the upper Magdalena. The early Spanish settlements in the Andean foothills were short-lived. The high mobility of the Indians and the constant attacks to the settlements forced the Spaniards to relocate the indigenous population into the Andes, where they were incorporated into *encomiendas* (right to collect tribute from a number of Indians who lived in a given locality). The practice of moving people from the lowlands to the Andes continued during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Friede shows that this trade of slaves, which was called *rescates* ("rescues"), was carried out with the help of other Indian groups, such as the Carijona, Andakí, and Tama, reaching the northern boundaries of the Caquetá-Putumayo region (Friede, 1947, 1953).

The Portuguese had expanded their frontier to the area of the Rio Negro by the middle of the eighteenth century, after de Pombal's decrees of freedom to the Indians and the break up of Jesuit hegemony over the native populations in the Portuguese colonies. In 1750 the Treaty of Madrid was signed, delimiting the Amazonian frontiers between Spain and Portugal. Having won half of South America on paper, the Portuguese were now to assert their right in practice. Mendoça Furtado, governor of the Province of Rio Negro, decided to establish the capital of the new captaincy at a mission town called Mariua on the Rio Negro (Hemming, 1987, part 1).

The lower Caquetá river increasingly became a source of slaves for the settlements of the Rio Negro and Solimoes, which was the name given by the Portuguese to the Amazonas river upstream of the Rio Negro. The first known mention of slave traders in the middle Caquetá is from 1775. F. Ribeiro de Samparo in his *Diario de Viagem* wrote: "This river is mostly known for the

multiple navigations that are made to raid for slaves" (cited in Llanos and Pineda-Camacho, 1982, p. 59, my translation).

The eighteenth century was a time of full expansion for the warrior Mura Indians of the Madeira river, southern tributary of the Amazonas, who were an important obstacle for the Portuguese foundations in the Rio Negro, and whose influence reached the lower Caquetá (Hemming, 1987).

The middle Caquetá remained isolated from missionary influence throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Several border commissions visited the middle Caquetá and Putumayo rivers in the second half of the eighteenth century, bringing engineers and scientists to this part of the Amazon for the first time. By the end of the eighteenth century the Captaincy of Rio Negro was in crisis, and there was a reduction of activities along the two frontiers during the first half of the nineteenth century (Hemming, 1987; Llanos and Pineda-Camacho, 1982).

*Jurisdictional history*

The Caquetá-Putumayo region was located between the jurisdictions of the Viceroyalties of Peru and Nueva Granada during colonial times. It was part of the Corregimiento of Mocoa and the Province of Sucumbíos, and depended in the last instance on the Audiencia of Quito, a civil and jurisdictional division of the Viceroyalty of Peru.[1] When the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada was set up in 1740 by the Spanish Crown, the Provinces of Mainas, Quijos, and Sucumbíos (the three Amazonian provinces of the Jesuits) were included in the jurisdiction of Nueva Granada (as part of the Audiencia of Quito). Later, these provinces and others were formed into the Gobernación of Mainas (still part of the Audiencia of Quito). In 1802, the Spanish administration decided to segregate all the Mainas territories (Sucumbíos included) from Nueva Granada and annex them to the Viceroyalty of Peru (Porras, 1987; Santamaría, 1910).

This entangled jurisdictional history was the basis for a number of territorial disputes between the nations that grew out of the Spanish colonial dominions in the nineteenth century. Ecuador claimed all Mainas because it had been part of the former Audiencia of Quito; Peru asserted its rights on the basis that Mainas had been annexed to the Viceroyalty of Peru in 1802; Colombia argued that Quito had been part of the former Republic of Gran Colombia (which dissolved in 1830); and Brazil claimed *de facto* possession of vast portions of Mainas. These interconnected disputes were informed by the double-faced principle of *uti possidetis*: right of possession by law (*uti possidetis de jure*) and right of possession by occupation (*uti possidetis de facto*). Being a largely "unoccupied" region (that is, by Europeans and their descendants), it encouraged geopolitically aimed occupation enterprises, which kept shifting the national boundaries and renewing the disputes (Flores, 1921; Santamaría, 1910; Tambs, 1974).

In this scenario, the former Province of Sucumbíos (which largely coincides with the Caquetá-Putumayo region) was the most isolated of the provinces that formed the Gobernación of Mainas. This Gobernación was a legacy of the missionary activity of the Jesuits, although they never reached Sucumbíos (cf. Golob, 1982).[2]

The Sucumbíos or Caquetá-Putumayo region has been generally associated with the Mainas region (located to the south in today Peruvian and Ecuadorian territories). But Sucumbíos was in the fringes of Mainas, and the historical contact with other regions to the north (the upper Magdalena valley) and to the west (the Mocoa region, in the upper Putumayo) are important to understand the processes that preceded the rubber boom. These connections have been documented by Friede (1947, 1953), Llanos and Pineda-Camacho (1982), and Pineda-Camacho (1985).

*The rubber boom*

During the first half of the nineteenth century there was a considerable reduction in the activities of both Luso-Brazilians and Spanish Creoles. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century a new wave of colonization appeared with quinine gatherers from Brazil and traders from the southern highlands of Colombia. This was the beginning of a new and aggressive cycle of intervention which would incorporate the indigenous peoples of this region into the market economy through debt-peonage, imposed by terror and violence. Official reports of the middle of the nineteenth century allude to the increasing exploitation of quinine in the Putumayo and Caquetá rivers by Colombians, Ecuadorians and Brazilians. By the 1870s the authorities in Mocoa (upper Putumayo) increasingly report the arrival of numerous gatherers and homesteaders from the Andes, and the conflicts between the companies dedicated to the extraction of natural resources (Llanos and Pineda-Camacho, 1982).

Macintosh's and Goodyear's discoveries of the procedures to harden rubber in 1839 and Dunlop's invention of the rubber tire for bicycles in 1888 increased the international demand for this material (Hemming, 1987). Colombian rubber-gatherers were installed in the Igaraparaná and Caraparaná rivers at the beginning of the 1880s.[3] It was easier for the Colombians to get their supplies and equipment in Peruvian and Brazilian territories. Since 1886 the Peruvian Hermanos Arana began to do business with Colombian rubber-gathering companies in the Putumayo District. These relationships became more important and by the end of the century the Arana brothers had taken over almost all the Colombian exploitations. The Aranas constituted the firm Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company which raised capital of one million pounds in the London stock market in 1907. The systematic mistreatment of the Uitoto and the other groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo under the regime of Casa Arana was one of the most violent episodes in the history of the rubber

boom in all of Amazonia, causing the extermination of whole tribes (Domínguez and Gómez, 1990, 1994).

The increasing expansion of Peruvian interests in Amazonia eventually led to a reaction from Colombia, represented in military and diplomatic actions during 1932-33. It concluded in the definition of a *statu quo*, with intervention of the now defunct League of Nations, by virtue of which Colombia kept Sucumbíos, and Peru the rest of Mainas (League of Nations, 1933). The rubber boom and the border conflict between Colombia and Peru are the founding events of the new nations' intervention in the region (see section III below).

Strong accusations of mass murders and genocide were leveled against the Peruvian Amazon Company personnel in the Putumayo during the 1910s. They led to a formal investigation by the British Parliament and attracted the attention of journalists and writers in Colombia and Peru, and the intervention of the Anti-Slavery Society in London. (There is an abundant literature on this. See: Casement 1912; Domínguez and Gómez, 1990, 1994; Gómez et al., 1995; Great Britain, 1913; Hardenburg, 1912; Olarte Camacho, 1932; Rey de Castro, 1913; Taussig, 1987; Valcárcel, 1915.)

The scandals of the Putumayo rubber boom in the first decade of this century coincided with the establishment of the first successful British experimental rubber plantations in Malaya and Ceylon (Brockway, 1979). It may explain the diligence of the British government and its willingness to hear denunciations and to detonate the scandal, which eventually led to the dissolution of the Peruvian Amazon Company and its withdrawal from the region in the 1920s. By this time the rubber boom was declining in Amazonia, and Britain's plantations in Asia were supplying most of the world's demand of rubber (Villegas and Botero, 1979).

Peruvian Amazon Company's methods were not isolated and unique. They conformed to a pattern of conquest common to Amazonia and other parts of the world (such as Africa and Cen-

tral America by the same time). The violence and murders of the rubber boom—with all the epidemics, depopulation, and systematic resettlement of groups it caused—concluded with the border conflict between Colombia and Peru in 1932-33, which will be treated in more detail in the next section.

*Migrations and christianization*

After the rubber boom and the border conflict many Indians migrated to other regions: Leticia in the Amazon river (Colombia), the Ampiyacu river in Peru, and the Orteguaza river in the Department of Caquetá (Colombia). After the border conflict, a new set of civilizing agents appeared: missionaries, who established themselves in La Chorrera (Igaraparaná river); the Colombian Navy, which was instrumental in the military resolution of the conflict and stayed in the region; and Colombian civil authorities, who established posts along the Putumayo and Caquetá rivers. New Indian settlements formed around the mission schools and the posts of civilian and military authorities. The ancient hinterland territories of the Uitoto and neighboring groups were deserted and Indians resettled in mixed communities along the major rivers: Putumayo, Caquetá, Igaraparaná, and Caraparaná.

Catalan-Spanish Capuchin Fathers have arrived to Colombia since the 1890s. The Colombian government put them in charge of the christianization of the "savage" Indians, according to a Concordat the Colombian Government signed with the Holy See in 1887. The Capuchins established their base of operations in the Sibundoy valley, upper Putumayo. In the 1930s they extended their area of operations toward the Caquetá-Putumayo and have stayed there ever since.[4]

Capuchin Father Estanislao de Les Corts founded the "Orphanage" (later boarding school) of La Chorrera in 1933, soon after the end of the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict. Fa-

ther Estanislao, with the help of the Colombian Navy, brought back to the Igaraparaná river the Indians that had been resettled in the Putumayo river by the Peruvians.

The late Uitoto chief Fa~~ɨ~~rito~~ɨ~~ (Rafael Faerito) gives us a view of how things were in La Chorrera by the time of the foundation of the Orphanatory, when they were brought back from the Putumayo river:

> When we arrived here in La Chorrera, then all those died of smallpox. Then we stayed like orphans because my father, my mother and my brothers died. I remained alone as an orphan. Later, it was the missionary Father Estanislao de Les Corts who took us, all the boys, the orphan children. He first took us. . . . We were living in the blacksmith's shop, next to Casa Arana. In that time there was nothing, all the fields were full of weeds. In that time there was nothing. We would eat *fariña* [flour of bitter manioc] and *panela* [bricks of brown sugar] and coffee and crackers. We didn't have dishes, nor spoons, only tin cans. And we had no clothes, we were dressed like women, like this, with a dress like a woman's. In that time we were very poor. In that time the Government helped us. . . . It sent us *fariña*, cured fish, brown sugar, coffee, crackers and everything, no? Yes, and rice and fat and everything they sent. Then, after that we were poor, very poor, we were there. . . . Then it was the Father who first gave us a course of study. The very Father Estanislao gave us classes, he himself (Pujol, 1983, pp. 44-47, my translation).

Two other boarding schools were established in San Rafael (Caraparaná river) in the 1960s, and in Araracuara (Caquetá river) in the 1970s. Most of the Indians have received basic education in these boarding schools.

In the aftermath of the rubber boom the Indians gradually became "Colombians" and "Christians." I explore next how new senses of regional and national identity took shape since that period. I examine some heterogeneous testimonies about an event that has powerfully impressed the imagination of both Creoles and Indians: the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict of 1932-33.

## *II. The Colombo-PeruvianBorder Conflict of 1932-1933*

Pedrito lives in Puerto Leguízamo, a small town on the Colombian side of the Putumayo river (see map 1). He is an 80-year old Uitoto Indian, a heavy drinker who lives with his 17-year old wife and two babies. Most of all, Pedrito is known in Leguízamo as a veteran of the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict of 1932-33. There remain at least four veterans of that war alive in the whole Putumayo river; Pedrito is the only one who lives in Leguízamo and is the only one who is an Indian. The Navy has even built him a house and given him a fixed pension as part of his veteran benefits. But some Indians say that during the war Pedrito simply was a carrier for the troops, a *tulero*, and that he was only 12 years old and not 30, as Pedrito has come to maintain. The truth little matters for public celebrity. For Leguizameños, Pedrito is a 100-year old veteran of the war with Peru and a maestro in the art of trading stories of the war for drinks of aguardiente; and, on top of that, he's a Uitoto Indian—*un huitoto*.

There is a certain prestige associated with having had something to do with that border conflict. The war marked the incorporation of the Putumayo basin into the rest of Andean Colombia. The town of Puerto Leguízamo is in fact a product of the war. The Colombian Navy, which has a base there, is today the main source of jobs. It permits Leguízamo to be the last "civilized" town down the Putumayo—the last place where you can buy beer and soda before Brazil, 1,000 kms. downriver. Since the aftermath of the war Leguízamo has been a boom-and-bust town, serving as a port of transit for commodities extracted downriver and transported to ports connected to roads upriver. The war reversed the downriver flow of extracted commodities that had prevailed for centuries: traffic of Indian slaves towards Brazil in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, then quinine and rubber toward Iquitos in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Leguízamo is a sort of symbol of the Andean Creole culture in this part of the Amazon. From the air, the tiny

town of 5,000 people appears surrounded by immense clearings where cows complete the cycle of soil destruction already initiated by people. Cattle and number of hectares cleared: that's how colonos gauge the wealth of a fellow colono. But in the end these Boyacences, Santandereanos, Tolimenses, Antioqueños, who were expelled from *el interior* of the country by the political violence in the rural areas since the 1940s, will be expelled again by the increasing concentration of land to become employees, wood-cutters down the Putumayo, or perhaps growers of coca—the latest booming commodity. The biggest landowner is the Colombian Navy.

Downriver from Leguízamo is Indian country, *La Huitocia*, the land of the Uitoto. Since 1988 all that territory became an Indian *resguardo*, the so-called Predio Putumayo, which grants Indians the ownership of the whole middle Caquetá-Putumayo basin, including the urban area of Puerto Leguízamo. The whole Predio Putumayo was the rubber concession of a Peruvian company, Casa Arana, up to the 1920s, right before the border conflict. The conflict expelled Casa Arana from the north of the Putumayo. What for fifty years had been "The Devil's Paradise"—in the words of Hardenburg, a *gringo inocente* who had the mishap of getting captured by those Indian-torturers, Spanish American devils of Casa Arana—came to be incorporated into the map of Colombia. After the hostilities, the Colombian Navy undertook the task of resettling back the Indians that had been settled in the Peruvian band of the river by the fleeing rubber patrons. Capuchin missionaries were then brought in to care for "the orphans" and give them Christian education.

For most settlements one finds today along the Putumayo river and its main affluents, the Colombo-Peruvian conflict is a founding event. The old patrilocal clans were scattered and reshuffled in all that settling and resettling, and the Uitoto became riverine people, living around the Capuchin schools, the new Colombian civil authorities, or in pluri-clanic communities they managed to rally and maintain fairly independent from the civilizing agents. In all three cases, however, their incorporation into commodity extraction and consumption already had been initiated by

rubber barons through the system of debt-peonage. These same relations—clientelism and debt-peonage—were later reproduced during the fur boom, in the 1950s, and the coca boom, in the 1970s.

But, as with Pedrito in Puerto Leguízamo, hard facts seem to be less important than imagination to understand what a war can mean for the construction of national and regional identities. So, I go up and down the Putumayo river, from the ministry of war to the front, from the ground to cruise altitude, from hallucination to military history, not so much to sort out the "truth" about the war but rather to bring about new meanings by contrasting and superimposing heterogeneous fragments.

General Uribe-Gaviria, the Colombian Minister of War during the conflict, provides us an aerial view of the "theater of operations" to start with, in his book *La verdad sobre la guerra* (The Truth About the War). Looking through the window of his military hydroplane, while flying high over the Putumayo jungle, the General contemplates

> the desolation of those regions, the impenetrability of a thick and aggressive jungle where the sight never reaches beyond the deceiving surface formed by millions of trees, with their upper branches always the same, in a monotony only interrupted once in a while by the turbid rivers running slowly, making continuous and forced bends, like those traced by a slithering snake . . . the black palm groves or the small ponds of waters in permanent decomposition, because in them animals and plants get rotten so that other creatures may live (Uribe-Gaviria, 1935, vol. I, p. 92, my translation).

The living mess General Uribe contemplates from his airplane seat is the same environment in which the everyday experience of the soldiers at the front takes place. For Sergeant Jorge Tobón-Restrepo, more than decomposing animals and plants the jungle also decomposes and blurs national boundaries. Thirty years after the facts he remembers the moment when he saw the Putumayo river—the dividing line with "the enemy"—for the first time:

> On the other shore the jungle, green and identical to the one we had seen everywhere. But that was Peru! "One of the Troop" [the author] watched fixedly

> as if he'd been alerted, "Enemy on sight!"; and he wanted to see something different from the Colombian soil on which he stood, but he saw nothing. Everything was the same. And he wondered whether the soldiers on the other side were the same too, as the land of all was the same.
>
> —What's a citizen of the world, Captain Restrepo?
>
> But Restrepo was galloping fast and wouldn't hear him (Tobón-Restrepo, 1965, pp. 33-34, my translation).

The whole point of Tobón-Restrepo's book is to show the miseries of the soldiers serving in a far frontier, sick, poorly supplied and prey to a corrupt officialdom. He quarrels with the Bogotanos who, he says, discriminate against Antioqueños (like Tobón-Restrepo) and costeños. Although Tobón-Restrepo has qualifications to be an officer, he is only granted sub-officer grade because "his last name sounded too Antioqueño":

> [The thing] is that at that time Bogotá, the absorbing city, . . . that wants to centralize even patriotism, . . . wanted its acolytes to be the ones commanding the men from the provinces, and because of that made these corporals and sergeants while those of its own [Bogotanos] only wanted to be "*Señores Oficiales*" (ibid., p. 19, my translation).

Although Tobón-Restrepo postures as an illustrated man from the provinces criticizing an unjust system from the bottom up, his impressions from the ground agree remarkably with General Uribe-Gaviria's putrid visions from the sky. What the General thinks about natural processes, Sergeant Tobón-Restrepo sees in society, and he passes it on to us in rapid and succinct sentences:

> The Indians of those places, sick and lazy, never work (ibid., p. 132, my translation).

And after dwelling on describing the "filthy stuff" they eat and telling us how Indians basically spend their time sleeping and fornicating in their hammocks—in a fashion that recalls the decomposing lakes and slithering snakes of General Uribe—the Sergeant concludes:

> The human material of the Putumayo is so degenerate that it'd be better if nature annihilated it (ibid., my translation).

In contrast to the soldier's vision of the Indian as degenerate, the Indian's vision of the soldier is redeeming. This image is clear in the culminating passage of a story that Florencio, an

old Ingano Indian from Putumayo, told to Michael Taussig when asked about "his most memorable *yagé* vision":[5]

> Then, finally, emerges a battalion of the army. How wonderful! How it enchants me to see that! I'm not sure how the rich dress, no? But the soldiers of the battalion are *much* superior in their dress to anybody! They wear pants, and boots to the knee of pure gold, all in gold, everything. They are armed, and they form up. And I try to raise myself . . . so that I too can sing with them, and dance with them, me too. Then, the shaman . . . with the painting, he already knows that I am trying to get up to go there, to sing and to dance with them just as we are seeing. And then, he who gives the *yagé* [i.e. the shaman], he already knows, and he is quiet, knowing, no? Thus, those who know how to heal are given account. Seeing *this*, they are able to cure, no? And they pass this painting to the sick person. And he gets better! And I said to the shaman who was curing me, I said to him, "Seeing this, you know how to heal?" "Yes," he told me, "thus seeing, one can cure, no?" (Taussig, 1987, p. 323, his emphasis).

The marching soldiers will lead Florencio to a house in a city "of immense beauty with no garbage—no garbage at all, nothing, nothing," (ibid.) a house full of books—"nothing but books, that were spewing forth gold, no?" (ibid., p. 324)—covered with crosses, where he is going to be given blessing and a staff by three men sitting at a table. In Florencio's vision, the marching troops become the crucial step toward fully acquiring the power to heal (blessing, staff), and the knowledge to do so (books, crosses).

It is hard to imagine Colombian soldiers dressing in the fashion of Florencio's vision. This is how Sergeant Tobón-Restrepo remembers a group of soldiers just arrived to the front:

> They got off the trucks and formed up in thorough order.
> Everybody came to see them. They didn't look like soldiers except for their discipline. In a different group they'd have been taken for beggars, with clothes dirty and torn which spoke of the miseries of the trip (Tobón-Restrepo, 1965, p. 77, my translation).

And he also remembers:

> And the reserve officers arrived. Handsome and elegant, clean and wearing gloves.
> They contrasted ridiculously with the rainy environment and the muddy trails of Caucayá [today Puerto Leguízamo]. They walked in the tip of

> their toes not to soil their boots, and talked honeyedly to the Colonel so he'd send them by plane to their respective destinations in the frontier (ibid., p. 81, my translation).

The soldiers he mentions are costeños (blacks from the Caribbean coast), and the nicely dressed officers are Bogotanos.

The Peruvian soldiers wore a yellow gala uniform that would fit better within Florencio's vision, although Sergeant Tobón is far from being as enchanted with them as Florencio was with the vision's soldiers:

> Next day in the morning the Peruvian soldiers arrived.
> . . . . . .
> They wore yellow breeches and shirt, ribbon tubes, black shoes, and a hat, also yellow.
> . . . . . .
> Some were tall but slim. All pale and perfect examples of the degenerate specimen that comes out of the interbreeding of Indians and mestizos.
> . . . . . .
> When passing in front of the Colombian Sergeant [the Peruvian commander] told him:
> —The peace was signed.
> The Sergeant was sitting. Disparagingly he put his hand on his hat and didn't answer.
> —*Cholo*[6] son-of-a-bitch, there will be peace between us when Peru no longer exist, he meditated (ibid., p. 166, my translation).

Let's go back to Puerto Leguízamo, where Pedrito has also managed to find a sort of redeeming value for the war. (Some say that Pedrito has become a buffoon of the Navy, holding Indian dances in a rundown maloca that Navy officers asked him to build near town so that their wives, children and other visitors can have a handy place to witness authentic "Indian customs.") Puerto Leguízamo took its name from Soldier Cándido Leguízamo, the Colombian hero and martyr of this conflict. I will juxtapose three version of Cándido Leguízamo's death, ranging from dithyramb to irony—somehow reflecting the contradictory images and memories associated with the identities of Creole Andeans in the Amazon, and Indians living on the fringes of civilization.

In the first version of that story, General Uribe-Gaviria does not spare words to enthrone Leguízamo and transubstantiate his corpse into a sacrificial offering on the Fatherland's altar:

> Cándido Leguízamo, who admirably personifies the Colombian people, showed all the virile fiber, the boldness, the abnegation and, in sum, all the virtues a soldier of the best could and should have. His bronze—which should not take long to be erected—will be the best homage that the people of Colombia will perpetually pay to his memory and to that of all his comrades in arms, hardships and sacrifices, unselfishly lavished on the altar of the Fatherland, of our beloved Colombian fatherland (Uribe-Gaviria, 1935, vol. II, p. 25, my translation).

The second version is by Colombian journalist Antolín Diaz,[7] who reports on Leguízamo's death in his book *Lo que nadie sabe de la guerra* (What Nobody Knows About the War):

> "Surprise of Pubenza"—Leguízamo, Hero and Martyr. Our brothers in love and freedom willed, by noble oblation of sacrifice, to bequeath by their sufferings a magnificent jewel of honor to those of us who, after the hecatomb, survived without our palms and soles having been sunk into martyrdom, without our temples having been crowned with thorns. In the uproar of machine guns, Cándido Leguízamo was one of the first to fall in glorious defeat. He belonged to Lt. Carlos Ayerbe Arboleda when "El Encanto" had only 18 men (Diaz, in Pereira-Vela, 1959, pp. 24-25, my translation).

The final version comes from Sergeant Tobón-Restrepo's account, in which Leguízamo is killed by Colombian fire. It was not exactly the Fatherland but a bunch of plantains he got killed for.

> This scarcity of provisions was the origin of the wounds that caused the death of Leguízamo in "Pubenza" . . .
>
> In front of "Pubenza" there exists a *chacra* or garden, abandoned by a Peruvian because of the conflict.
>
> Within the fallow that inundated it, a plantain tree emerged in the distance, loaded with a sickly and discolored raceme.
>
> Leguízamo and two comrades went to get those plantains, but instead he found the Peruvians and faced them. At the sound of gunshots the Colombian soldiers of the "Pubenza" garrison started machine-gun fire from the other shore, making the Peruvians flee but unfortunately shooting several projectiles into the body of the martyr Leguízamo (Tobón-Restrepo, 1965, p. 115, my translation).

My version of the Colombo-Peruvian war is a rather heterodox one when compared with the more official versions contained in the documents of the League of Nations (1933), in General Uribe-Gaviria's (1935) book, in Peruvian Tte. Crl. Zárate-Lezcano's (1965) book *Historia militar del conflicto con Colombia 1932*, or in Luis Cano's (1936) editorials in the Colombian newspaper *El Espectador*, just to mention a selection of the available sources. I have put all these sources aside not because they are not interesting documents but just simply because they would take us out of the Putumayo region into new sorts of problems.

Of these official sources, it is General Uribe-Gaviria's book which gets closer to the ground, which he gets to contemplate from his hydroplane window. General Uribe-Gaviria and Sergeant Tobón-Restrepo, although in opposed positions within the military pyramid, provide us with concurring images of the jungle and the Indians as disorderly, deceiving, degenerate, chaotic. These same images, I believe, are deeply seated in the imagination of the Creole culture that settles in places like Puerto Leguízamo, bordering the savages' country.

For Creoles, the corpse of Leguízamo—"who admirably personifies the Colombian people"—is the only redeeming image of that war, either as a magnificent offering on the Fatherland's altar or, better yet, as an unfortunate accident when gathering stuff for dinner. If not in bronze, as General Uribe would have liked, Leguízamo got immortalized in the name of that tiny town where Pedrito holds a de fact claim to Leguízamo's glory.

Florencio's vision of the marching army in golden uniforms leads to his acquisition of the power to heal: "thus seeing one can cure, no?" The orderly procession of symbols of civilization—uniforms, streets, books, crosses, gold, staff, table—lays in the foundation of Florencio's identity as Indian healer. In turn, the Amazonian Creoles ("*los racionales*") imagine themselves as opposed to the chaos of the jungle and the savagery of the Indian.

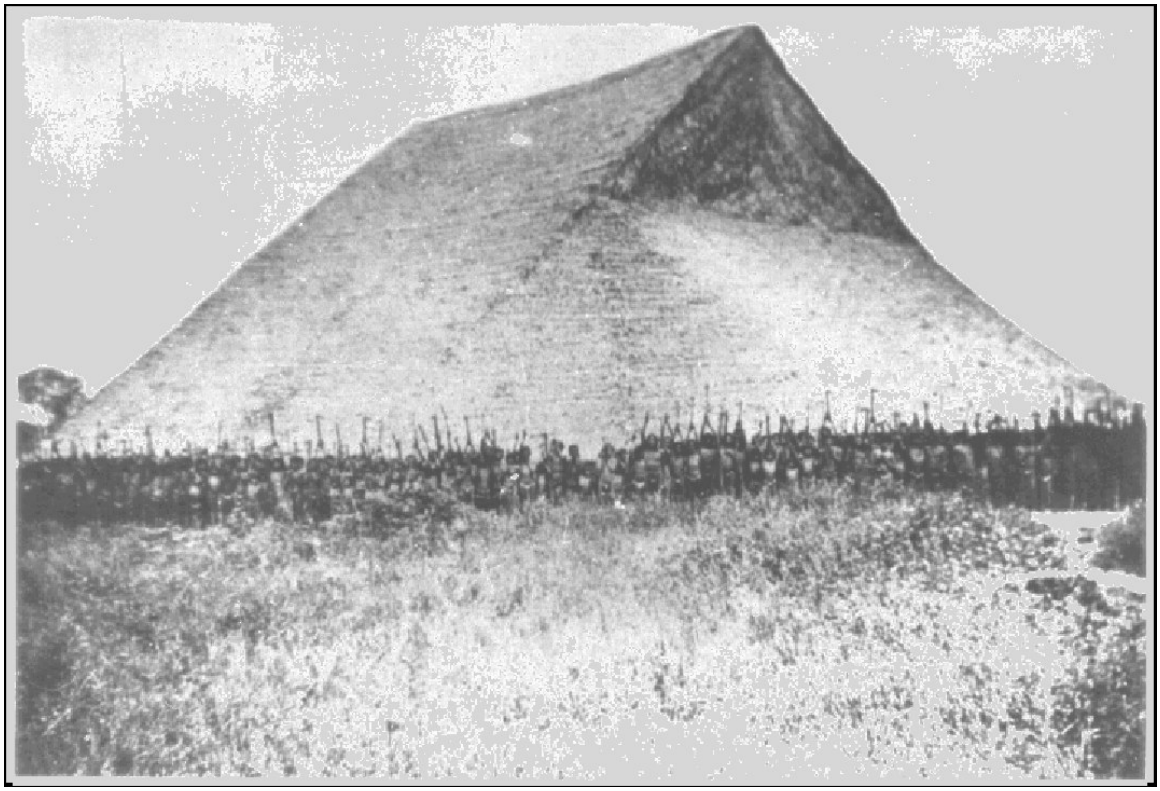
From imagination, let us turn back to hard facts. After the rubber boom and the border conflict the Indian groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo region were scattered and had lost most of its population. In the next section I review the few data available on population at the beginning of the century and today, and make an estimate of the population in the 1930s, when the border conflict ended.

### *III. Population Figures*

Whiffen provides the first population figures available for the region "based roughly on the number of houses and the extent of country" (1915, p. 59), as presented in table 1.

Whiffen's population data gives a total 46,000 people, a considerably high figure when compared to current population. Whiffen himself cautioned: "These figures must be taken as very approximate, and are probably overestimated in some cases" (ibid.). Whiffen's photograph of a Uitoto maloca in 1908 shows the large size of the houses at that time (note the number of people in front of the maloca). Whiffen captioned that picture "Witoto War Gathering" (see photograph 1).

Current population figures are shown in table 2. The total population in the 1990s is approximately 4,370. Echeverri et al. (1990) record information I collected for the Uitoto, Ocaina and Bora, and Nicolás Bermúdez collected for the rest of the groups. New information on the Muinane and Nonuya is estimated based on the number of families currently living in the Araracuara region.



Photograph 1

Uitoto Maloca in 1908
(From Whiffen, 1915, facing p. 120)

**Table 1**

*Population of the Indian Groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo Region in 1908*

| *Groups* | *Population* |
|---|---|
| Witoto group of tribes | 15,000 |
| Boro | 15,000 |
| Dukaiya or Okaina group | 2,000 |
| Muenane group | 2,000 |
| Nonuya group | 1,000 |
| Resigero group | 1,000 |
| Andoke group | 10,000 |

*Source*: Whiffen, 1915, p. 59.

**Table 2**

*Population of the Indian Groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo Region in the 1990s*

| *Groups* | *Pineda* (1987) | *Echeverri et al.* (1990) | *New data* (1994) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Uitoto | 5,000 | 3,250 | |
| Miraña | 300 | 150 | |
| Bora | 1,640 (?) | 400 | |
| Andoque | 250 | 220 | |
| Ocaina | 380 | 150 | |
| Muinane | 500 (?) | | 140 |
| Nonuya | 380 (?) | max. 250 | 60 |

*Note*: Question marks are Pineda's.

If we assume that Whiffen's figures are accurate, it would mean that the current numbers of people (4,370) are less than 10% of the population 90 years ago (46,000). Even if we allow for a wide margin of distortion in his figures, they would still indicate that a demographic catastrophe occurred during this period.

There are very little population data available for the 1930s. People's versions suggest that population has grown importantly from 1930 to the present. According to Andoque elders, there were only 9 surviving Andoque in 1935; Jon Landaburu (1970) reports 65 Andoque in 1969; and the Andoque population in the 1990s is 220. Also, there were only 2 Nonuya survivors in the early 1930s, according to a grandson of one of them, and there are about 60 Nonuya in the 1990s. Similar situations occurred for the other groups, although I do not have quantitative data for them.

These data show that the demographic catastrophe was even worse than what the simple comparison of current figures and 1908 figures indicated. They indicate that in the early 1930s these groups were almost extinct. The population of these groups seems to have stabilized and

recovered only after the end of the Casa Arana regime, which coincided with the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict (1933-34).

The figures in table 2 do not include population living outside of the Caquetá-Putumayo region. There are important concentrations of Uitoto living in Perú (in the Ampiyacu river) and in other parts of Colombia (in Leticia, on the Amazonas river, and in the Department of Caquetá) (see map 1); and concentrations of Bora and Ocaina in Perú (in the Ampiyacu and Putumayo rivers). There seems to be a greater population of the last two ethnic groups in Peru than in Colombia. The Ocaina population in Perú may be 400, Bora 1,700, and Uitoto 1,200. (Alberto Chirif, personal communication) I do not have figures for the Uitoto population living around Leticia and Florencia, capitals of the Departments of Amazonas and Caquetá, Colombia.[8]

The current population is distributed in three main regions: the middle Caquetá river, the Igaraparaná river, and the Caraparaná and Putumayo rivers (see map 2). The middle Caquetá comprises 18 settlements, the Igaraparaná 34 settlements, and the Caraparaná and Putumayo 25 settlements. These settlements are organized in the form of *cabildos* (local councils). Only five settlements have a population of more than 200 (Echeverri et al., 1990, 1991).

Exogamic marriages have become mandatory for the smaller groups, in order to avoid incest. Table 3 shows current marriage alliances in samples of five ethnic groups of the region. The figures in the table show the percentage of alliances of men belonging to the ethnic groups of the far left column to women from ethnic groups in the other columns, in relation to the total number of marriages in the ethnic group of the left column. The total sample is: 13 Andoque marriages (almost all), 12 Nonuya marriages (all of them), 21 Muinane marriages (it does not include the Coconut clan), 30 Uitoto marriages (the Uitoto nɨpode from one large community of the Caquetá river), and 25 Bora marriages (those living in the Igararaparaná river).

Table 3

*Marriage Alliances in Five Ethnic Groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo Region*

| *Women from:* | *Married to men of:* | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Andoque* | *Muinane* | *Uitoto* | *Bora* | *Nonuya* |
| Andoque | *30.8* | | | | 8.3 |
| Muinane | 30.8 | *9.5* | 20.0 | 4.0 | 16.8 |
| Uitoto | 7.7 | 85.7 | *70.0* | 32.0 | 58.3 |
| Bora | 7.7 | | | *52.0* | 8.3 |
| Other Indians | 7.7 | 4.8 | | 8.0 | 8.3 |
| Non-Indians | 15.3 | | 10.0 | 4.0 | |

*Note*: Figures in italics show the percentage of endogamic marriages.

The Indian groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo region managed to reorganize themselves in "communities" or "settlements" along the main rivers. In the next section I review three aspects of their social organization: (i) the definition of residential units (which can be coterminous or not with a "community"), the hierarchical organization of these units, and their function as ceremonial units; (ii) the definition of lineage groups and their territoriality; and (iii) the rules of kinship and alliance.

## *IV. Social Organization*

The Uitoto, Ocaina, Nonuya, Bora, Miraña, Muinane, and Andoque (all of them People of the Center) are grouped in named patrilinear and virilocal lineages or "clans." There used to be more than one hundred such subdivisions, according to reports from the beginnings of this century. Pinell (1928, pp. 228-229) reported, for 1909, 136 Uitoto subdivisions, 17 Ocaina subdivisions, and 41 Bora subdivisions. According to information I have collected, there are currently 76 Uitoto clans, 6 Ocaina clans, 22 Bora clans, 5 Andoque clans, 5 Muinane clans, and 3 Nonuya clans.[9]

I will sketch some of the characteristics of this form of organization, following Jürg Gasché's (1977) essay on Uitoto social organization. Although I have not conducted a systematic research on this subject with all the tribes of the region, the following remarks are valid for the whole ensemble of groups. I focus on three aspects: residence and hierarchy, lineage and territory, and kinship and alliance.

The residential unit is formed by two hierarchical groups of people: (a) the "masters of the house" (*jofo naanɨ*),[10] and (b) the "orphans" (*jaɨénikɨ*). Ideally, a residential group lived under the same roof, a maloca, or communal house. Today, although malocas do exist, the members of a single residential unit might live in several clustered individual houses. A "settlement" may be formed by one or more residential units as defined here.

The "masters of the house" are the members of a local patrilineage. The composition of such groups is established by a simple rule of residence: men reside with their parents, women reside with their husbands, that is, a rule of patrilocality for men and virilocality for women. The group of "masters" is thus composed of men related by paternal line (agnates) and their allied women (coming from other residential units), a well as their unmarried children.

The "orphans" are people who, without being in a relation of alliance with the group of masters, have come to live with it. They come from other residential units they had to leave due to the loss of their ceremonial chief or to the disintegration of the group caused by epidemics or war. They are servants and occupy a position of hierarchical inferiority in relation to the masters of the house. This group may also include eventual prisoners of war who, in former times, were ceremonially consumed.

Among the group of masters there is also a relation of hierarchy based on birth order. The father or elder son is the master of the group (*jofo naama* or *iyaɨma*) and the master of a "ceremonial career" (rafue). A ceremonial career consists of a series of ritual dances that are

celebrated by a ritual master during his lifetime. The transmission of the knowledge and right to celebrate such a career goes to the elder son. The growth of the number of members of a residential unit eventually leads to the scission of the group into new residential units or malocas. In this case the ceremonial knowledge is transmitted to two or several agnate relatives.

There is thus an identity between a residential unit and a ceremonial unit. Each residential unit is the seat of one and only one ceremonial career, and each individual is linked to the ceremonial unit with which he/she resides. Gasché remarks:

> The co-residence of men is determined at the same time by the rule of patrilocality—that produces, through generations, a localized patrilineage, but amputated from married women—and by the ceremonial order that produces "orphans" and prisoners who are lodged under a foreign roof where they are "assimilated" inasmuch as they are food (as prisoners) or they are "workers," "servants" (Gasché, 1977, p. 146, my translation).

Every individual distinguishes a group of individuals, whom he/she recognizes as "our people" (*kaɨ naɨraɨ*), from others whom he/she considers "other people" (*jɨaɨ naɨraɨ*). Each of these groups comprises all kin according to the principle of patrilineal unifiliation, but the category of "relatives" includes more than the people of one's lineage, as we will see below.

Every patrilineage or clan carries a name which differentiates it from all others. What distinguishes one patrilineage from another constitutes a whole semantic field, which includes the name of the clan, the name of ancestors, a set of personal names, an emblem, and other elements which are referred to in songs, proverbs and riddles.

There are named lineages which are represented by just one maloca or residential unit, and there are others which extend over several malocas. These lineages have a coherent territoriality. The residential units belonging to the same lineage are politically autonomous and there is no chief lineage that presides over the ensemble of units (although it is disputed today by some clans that claim rights to a superior status—see chapter 3).

There are also cases where the same lineage name appears in two or more non-contiguous territories. These groups might consider themselves as the same people with a same origin, when the remembrance of past divisions is kept, or might assume that the other units have a different origin.

The number of units that belong to the same lineage seems to be restricted to a few. When the number of units grows by successive divisions, other lineages begin to differentiate them by attaching a second name to the main lineage name. Nevertheless this attributed name is usually not accepted by the very units that belong to the lineage. They may accept the name given to other units of the same lineage but they continue to consider themselves the "true" ancient lineage.

Belonging to a named lineage is determined by patrilineal filiation. Kinship, on the other hand, is bilateral; it is transmitted through the paternal and maternal sides. Thus, when a man and an unrelated woman marry, all the relatives of each will be relatives of their descendants. This is a system that continually produces relatives: unrelated kin groups are continually made kin by alliance through the generations.

The rules of alliance can be summarized thus: (i) one should marry "far" and with "other people," and (ii) the alliances should be diversified, that is, two brothers should not marry women from the same lineage but from different lineages. The second principle produces the effect of increasing the number of affines and the ceremonial capacity of the residential unit, as affines acquire ceremonial obligations toward the allied maloca.

Let us turn now to the more recent period, when the grandchildren of those orphans Father Estanislao gathered in La Chorrera's Orphanatory have already grown up and become literate. They are now "Colombian Indians" in a state that grants them special rights because of their distinctiveness.

## *V. The Indians and the State*

The Indian movement in Colombia originated in the Andean region. It reached a high point during the early 1970s with the mass political mobilization led by CRIC (Regional Indian Council of Cauca). Since then, the "integrationist" tendency within the movement (as opposed to a "traditionalist" tendency focused on the recuperation of lands) gained control of the movement. It was supported by the Church and, in no lesser degree, by foreign human rights organizations. It led to increasing bureaucratization and the creation of organisms such as the National Organization of Colombian Indians (ONIC). The Indian movement shifted its focus from recuperation of lands to "market economy" projects (such as cooperatives, communal farms, and so forth).[11]

Organizations formed in the Amazon have followed this integrationist and bureaucratic tendency. CRIVA (Indian Regional Council of the Vaupés) is the oldest organization, founded in 1973; it was followed by CRIMA (Indian Regional Council of the Middle Amazon), formed in 1985, ORWCAPU (Uitoto Regional Organization of Caquetá, Putumayo and Amazonas), formed in 1987, and COIDAM (Indian Confederation of the Upper Amazon), formed in 1988.

CRIMA and COIDAM agglutinate the ethnic groups of the middle Caquetá-Putumayo region; ORWCAPU, on the other hand, agglutinate the groups of the upper Caquetá and Putumayo rivers (Uitoto, Ingano, Siona). COIDAM, based in La Chorrera, was formed by the Uitoto and Bora of the Igaraparaná river; CRIMA, based in Araracuara, was formed by the Uitoto, Muinane, Andoque, Nonuya and Miraña of the Caquetá river.

CRIMA and COIDAM originated around the demands for the constitution of the whole Caquetá-Putumayo region into an Indian *resguardo*. The Caquetá-Putumayo territory was the property of a Colombian official institution, Caja Agraria, until 1988. Caja Agraria acquired these rights from the heirs of the notorious Arana family. Between 1986 and 1988 an intense debate

involving Indian organizations, Indian advocates and international groups led to the constitution of the largest *resguardo* in Colombia: "Predio Putumayo," with an area of 5,869,447 hectares. (See the appendix 6 for a brief history of the Resguardo Predio Putumayo.)

Indians adopted a "*cabildo*" form of organization in the new *resguardo*. *Cabildos* (councils) already existed as the form of organization of the Andean *resguardos* in Colombia. They had been implanted by the Spanish Crown in the American colonies since the seventreenth century (Pachón, 1980). The Igaraparaná river was divided into 12 *cabildos*. Each *cabildo* is governed by a *junta de cabildo* composed of a governor, a secretary, a fiscal, and so forth. These "authorities" are young people who get elected because they know how to read and write and are fluent in Spanish. In addition to that, some communities nominate a "cacique," or "traditional" authority, usually a master of dance rituals, or the eldest person in the *cabildo* jurisdiction.

The region and groups covered by each of these Indian organizations fairly coincides with the area of influence of each one of the boarding schools established by the Capuchin missionaries since the 1930s. CRIMA covers the same area and groups that attend the Araracuara boarding school, and COIMAM covers the area of the La Chorrera boarding school. The same could be said of other Amazon organizations: AIPEA (Indigenous Authorities of La Pedrera, Amazonas) clusters the Arawak and Tukano-speaking groups around the boarding school of La Pedrera,[12] in the lower Caquetá river; OLCIMA (Local Organization of Indian Captains of Mirití, Amazonas) aggregates the Arawak and Tukano-speaking groups of the Miritiparaná river, which attended the Mirití boarding school. Similarly, CRIVA of Vaupés agglutinates the Tukano-speaking groups in the orbit of the Catholic mission schools based in Mitú (capital of Vaupés).

Mission education has played a key role in the conformation of regional political cultures. The clergy and the Catholic Church have been instrumental in the conformation of some of these organizations, such as COIDAM and CRIVA (cf. Jackson, 1995).

The location of air strips has also had an incidence in the conformation of regional "centers." These air strips (in a region where there are no land roads and the rivers flow towards Brazil) are the passageways of the "pilgrimages" (*sensu* Benedict Anderson 1983) towards Leticia, capital of the Department of Amazonas, and Bogotá, capital of Colombia. Anderson pointed out how the pyramidal school system in the colonial empires was instrumental in the creation of new forms of national consciousness. He refers to the case of Indonesia and the Dutch empire:

> Thus the twentieth-century colonial school-system brought into being pilgrimages which paralleled longer-established functionary journeys. The Rome of these pilgrimages was Batavia: not Singapore, not Manila, not Rangoon. . . . From all over the vast colony, but from nowhere outside it, the tender pilgrims made their inward, upward way, meeting fellow-pilgrims from different, perhaps once hostile, villages in primary school; from different ethnolinguistic groups in middle-school; and from every part of the realm in the tertiary institutions of the capital. . . . To put it another way, their common experience, and the amiably competitive comradeship of the classroom, gave the maps of the colony which they studied (always coloured differently from British Malasya or the American Philippines) a territorially-specific imagined reality (Anderson, 1983, p. 111).

The state-owned airline that serves the Amazon air strips flies the routes that go from the bottom to the top of the national pyramid: from Araracuara to Leticia to Bogotá; from La Chorrera to Leticia to Bogotá; from La Pedrera to Leticia to Bogotá; from Mitú (capital of Vaupés) to Bogotá. As students conclude their elementary education in the local boarding schools, they more often seek to continue education in secondary schools, either in Leticia or in Bogotá. Furthermore, with the recent constitution of Indian *resguardos* (in the Caquetá-Putumayo, in the lower Caquetá, in the Miritiparaná, in Vaupés), leaders' pilgrimages to the regional or national capitals have intensified.

In Colombia, "ethnic" equals Indian. This definition of ethnicity not only ignores the situation of black minorities, but also the interethnic tensions between colonos, blacks, mestizos and Indians in most of the country. The official figure of the Indian population of Colombia is

420,006 (Colombia, Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 1992). "Indians" represent one percent of the national population; one-tenth of these are Amazon Indians. Thus, ethnic difference is seen as a marginal and special issue, to be handled by anthropologists and regulated by special laws.

In 1991 a new Colombian Constitution was approved, which "recognizes and protects the cultural and ethnic diversity of the nation" (Article 7) and declares that "the languages and dialects of the ethnic groups are official in their territories" (Article 10). The Constitution also allows for the creation of autonomous "Indigenous Territorial Entities" (ETIs) governed by "Indian Councils" (Articles 329 and 330). The organic law of territorial ordering, which will set the procedures for the constitution of ETIs, is still (in 1995) in discussion in the Congress.

Latin American states, in different degrees, acknowledge ethnic pluralism through the creation of legislative and institutional mechanisms to deal with the Indian issues (Indian Law, Indian Bureaus, etc.). These are not meant as an acceptance by the state of the legitimacy of pluralism, but rather are conceived as means to serve Indian groups' transition towards "integration." The failure of this integration has perpetuated these special laws, procedures and statuses for decades and centuries. This has constituted a legal space for the affirmation of ethnic difference and served as the basis for demands—either political and economic (for land and territory), or cultural (for pluralism).

Jean Jackson (1995) has pointed out the contradictions that face Indian groups when reasserting their cultural distinctiveness as a political advantage within a national state. She refers to the Tukano Indians of the Vaupés region in Colombia (see maps 1 and 2):

> Distinct ethnic groups within a state should be entitled to survive as culturally distinct peoples, but demands for autonomy and self-determination may be self-defeating if they ignore the contradictions inherent in calling for equal opportunity—as well as special privileges—before the law. We must recognize that when a state provides equal opportunity to their minorities without depriving

> them of their distinctiveness, the state generally handles these contradictions by trying to control what kinds of distinct cultural forms will be allowed to survive. When successful, this process transforms relatively independent groups . . . into enclaved ethnic groups that continue to retain distinct cultures, but ones that, to a large extent, owe their distinctiveness to the dialogic relationship they maintain with the national culture (Jackson, 1995, p. 19).

These Indian groups, which sixty years ago were almost extinct, have managed to regroup and regrow. New patters of settlement were established along the main rivers and around the new civilizing agents: the Church and the State. The boarding schools and the "pilgrimages" towards the power centers have shaped a new "imagined" sense of community, which is reflected in the conformation of local political organizations. Indian leaders are those who are literate and have had access to higher levels of education. The organizations are geared to secure and channel state benefits.

In the following chapter we will examine how the conformation of regional identities, geared to the power "centers," is contradicted and reinforced by the dialogic discourse of "the Center." But, to do this, we will need to retrace our steps and return to the time when axes where traded for orphans. We will revisit the same history and ethnology we have just reviewed but this time as constructed by the People of the Center.

*End Notes*

[1.] Viceroyalties (*Virreinatos*) were the largest administrative units of Spanish government in America. *Audiencias* were advisory and judicial boards composed of Crown lawyers, which also had administrative functions; each viceroyalty was divided in several *Audiencia* jurisdictions. *Gobernaciones* were political units within an *Audiencia*, and *Corregimientos* were political units within a *Gobernación*. Provinces (*Provincias*), on the other hand, were religious jurisdictions which could be coterminous or not with political jurisdictions (Golob, 1982).

[2.] Ann Golob's (1982) research on the missionary activity of the Jesuits in the region of Mainas (between the seventeenth century and the time of their expulsion from the Spanish territories in the eighteenth century) shows how it generated a situation of war which reshaped relations between human groups, altered the demography of the region, and had repercussions on regions outside Mainas itself. She also remarks that lack of historical information has made anthropologists believe that cultures found in that region in the twentieth century are "pristine savages," or "traditional societies." As an example of this, she cites Michael Harner's monograph on the Jivaro.

[3.] The "rubber" extracted from the Caquetá-Putumayo was the one known as *siringa fraca* or *jebe débil*: "rubber of *Hevea* that tends to lose more weight than the true *siringa* and, for that reason, has less value in the market. Furthermore, its extraction is more difficult" (Domínguez and Gómez, 1990, p. 93). The true *siringa*, which drew the best prices in the market, is extracted from *Hevea brasiliensis* and its variety *acreana*. *Jebe débil* is extracted from *Hevea guianensis*, its variety *lutea*, and from *Hevea benthamiana*, which grow in the Caquetá-Putumayo region. These *siringas* are different from *caucho* (black rubber), the lowest priced rubber, which is extracted from several species of *Castilloa* and require felling the trees to extract the latex (see Domínguez and Gómez, 1990, for a complete discussion of the kinds of "rubber" extracted from Amazonia, their distribution, and the different methods of their extraction.)

[4.] Victor Daniel Bonilla's (1971) controversial research on Amazonian missions provides an account of the activities of the Capuchin missionaries in the Sibundoy valley (Putumayo, Colombia) between 1900 and 1940. He documents the Capuchin Fathers' systematic appropriation of Indian lands and their "genocidal" methods. This book had a significant political effect in Colombia and elsewhere—French and English translations came out within one year of its publication—and inaugurated a formal opposition between anthropologists and missionaries in Colombia.

[5.] *Yagé* is a hallucinogenic vine (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) used by several Indian groups in the upper Amazon.

[6.] *Cholo*: person of mixed blood. In Colombia, this term designates generally the people from Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia.

[7.] Antolín Diaz was a leftist journalist, critical writer, and member of the Communist party in the 1930s.

[8.] A recent census of Leticia showed that 92.8% of the people declared themselves as "Non-Indians," although there are important concentrations of Uitoto, Tikuna and Yagua in that town.

[9.] Many of the Uitoto and Bora clans are only represented by one or a few individuals (often women). I do not have information for the Miraña.

[10.] All native terms are given in the Uitoto language.

[11.] Repression also had an important role in this: nearly 100 CRIC leaders were killed by the Colombian army in 1979.

[12.] The boarding schools of La Chorrera and La Pedrera are the two oldest of the Department of Amazonas (founded in 1933 and 1934, respectively).

# Chapter 3

# THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTER

In chapter 2 I introduced the ethnology and history of the Caquetá-Putumayo region as constructed by anthropologists and historians. In the present chapter I present that "ethnology" and "history" as viewed by the Indians themselves. Such ethno-"history" is not concerned with the "truth" of the past, and such ethno-"ethnology" is not concerned with human groups as entities that can be described, compared and classified.

In the last chapter I described a number of ethnolinguistic groups with particular forms of social and political organization, which have gone through a number of, sometimes dramatic, historic contingencies during the last few centuries. Even though direct contact with non-Indians only took place since the end of the nineteenth century, other forms of intervention affected them since before, such as the trade of slaves (sometimes mediated by other Indian groups) and the spread of disease. The "conquest" of these groups during the period of the rubber boom caused drastic demographic losses, desarticulation of previous forms of social organization, new patterns of settlement, christianization, increasing dependence on market goods.

I will pay attention to two moments of this history: (i) the appearance of the whites and their technology (mainly the technology of iron tools), that preceded the rubber period, and (ii) the

coming together of different groups that had to depend on one another after the demographic catastrophe occurred during the period of rubber exploitation. In the following sections I present different instances of how Indian discourse deals with and views these two historical moments. I rely mostly on public narratives collected in Spanish and some instances of mythological discourse.

Section I ("The Philosophy of the Axe") deals with the acquisition of metal tools by these groups. I elaborate on the impact these tools had on their system of production and social relations. Then, I present a set of chosen narratives, that reveal the mythological appropriation of the technology of the axe and give clues to the meaning of the axe in the construction of the notion of "People of the Center." Finally, I discuss how the "philosophy of the axe" enters in contradiction with sustained attempts to maintain ethnic difference, illustrated with the issue of the legitimacy of chiefs.

In section II ("The Hole of Awakening") I elaborate further on the issue of negotiation of ethnic difference through the reading of narratives of the origin of different groups.

Section III ("Burning People, Trading People") deals with the "humanness" of white people in relation to the People of the Center, through an analysis of the terms used in several languages to designate the whites.

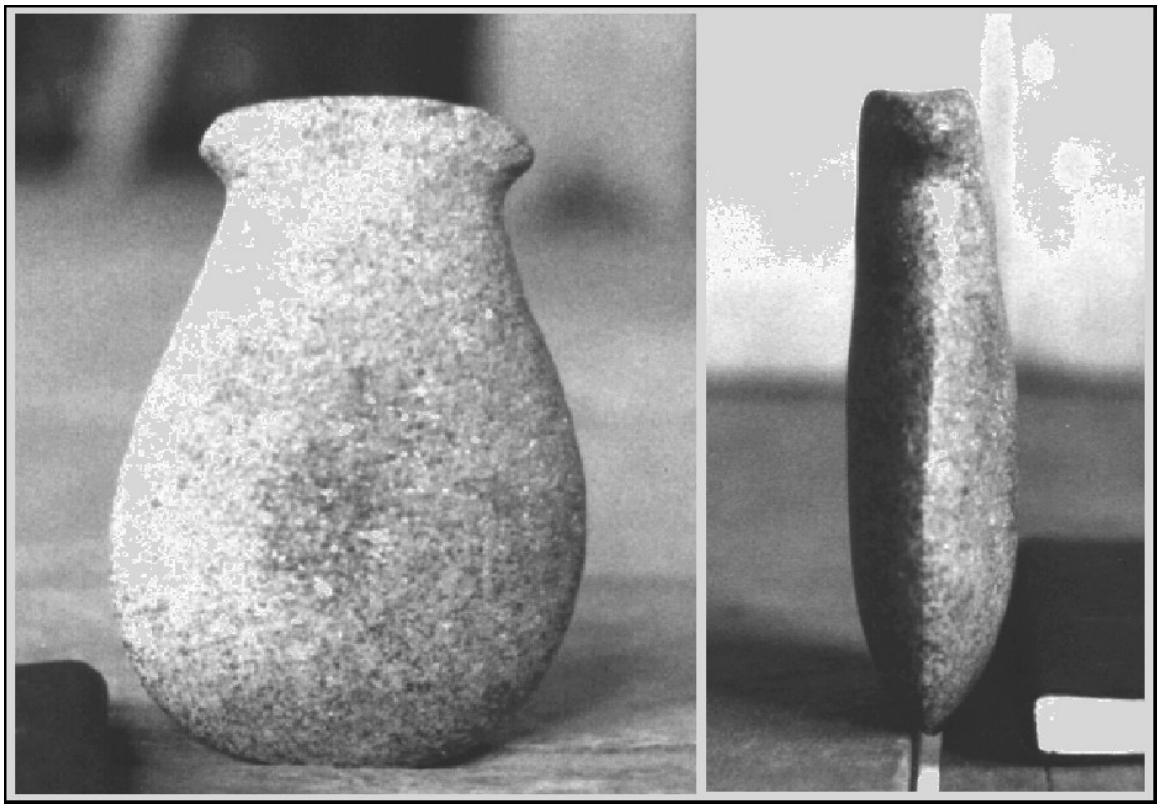
Section IV ("The Heron of the Center") further illustrates the process of selection and manipulation of mythology, as shown in the symbolic permutations carried out by an Andoque chief in order to reinstaurate the Andoque maloca and rituals.

Finally, in section V ("Permutations at the Center"), I gather together the information presented in the other sections and attempt to draw a model to understand how these different cases studied reveal a double "endogamic" and "exogamic" process through which meaningful relations to Self and others are reestablished.

## *I. The Philosophy of the Axe*

*The technology of the axe*

The Andoque—the "People of the Axe"—formerly supplied the stone axes necessary to clear the forest plots for agriculture (see photograph 2). Those stone axes were found, *ready-made*, in certain places and their distribution and trade was controlled by certain groups. According to an Andoque elder, his ancestors exploited those deposits of axes, which were located underground (one of those deposits is located south of the Caquetá river in a place called the Hill of the Axes). The extraction of the stone axes from the deposits was a highly ritualized activity. They were excavated by celibate youngsters especially prepared by the shamans. The origin of those axes found underground is unknown. In the Andoque mythology, the Caquetá river was peopled in ancient times by a culture with extraordinary powers, called "the Giants" (*yx'nɨkɨ*, in Andoque). They are recognized as the originators of the place names along the Caquetá river. They were also the ones who inscribed the numerous petroglyphs that are still visible on the rocky outcrops all along the Caquetá river.[1] They were, presumably, the original makers of those stone axes that the Andoque formerly dug out from certain places (cf. Landaburu and Pineda-Camacho, 1984).



Photograph 2

Stone Axe

Axe found in Puerto Alegría (Putumayo River). Stone is absent from the Putumayo river; this axe probably came originally from the Caquetá river. The axe is 15 cms. high and 9.5 cms. wide (6" x 3.75")

The stone is practically absent from most of the Caquetá-Putumayo region. The region of Araracuara is exceptional for the presence of rocky outcrops of Paleozoic origin. Whiffen, who explored the region at the beginning of this century, wrote that the stone "is so strange that it is looked upon as sacred, and the tools made with it are not manufactured by the tribes, but those in use are transmitted from generation to generation." The stone axes, continues Whiffen, "are built in a truly 'prehistoric' manner. . . . The Indians do not know where they came from, they do not have any remembrance of their makers; they are seen in fact as true gifts from the gods" (Whiffen, 1915, p. 94).

The introduction of metal tools had several important repercussions in the native societies. An immediate consequence was the increase in the size of the slashed plots for agriculture, which enabled larger crops and the investment of less time in tree-chopping labor. In the past the felling of one big tree with a stone axe could take one year (cf. Guyot, 1979, p. 113; Pineda-Camacho, 1975, p. 457); this same labor could be carried out in a few days with a metal axe. This release of free time mostly profited men, who were and are the ones in charge of clearing the forest. For women, on the other hand, this technological improvement meant an increase in the time and labor required to plant, weed, and harvest the larger food-plots made possible by the new tools. Furthermore, the introduction of the metal tools might have had an impact on the nature and extent of the cooperation in labor. Clearing the forest with stone axes required the cooperation of a large number of relatives and allies. With the metal axe this cooperation could be restricted to the extended or even the nuclear family. Another, and perhaps most important, consequence of the introduction of metal tools was that larger accumulation of agricultural products enabled those with access to metal tools to accumulate power. This increased social differences already inherent in the system of social organization, with its hierarchy of "masters of the house" and "orphans" (see chapter 2, section IV). Moreover, the metal tools were usually traded by "orphans."

The technological introduction of the metal tools triggered significant historical events: accumulation of power by certain lineages, exacerbation of conflicts among groups, trade of people for tools, epidemics. These events are acknowledged by the people as "the illness of the axe."[2]

Demographic catastrophes, according to some Indian versions, were recurrent. The groups who live near Araracuara remember at least one big epidemics before the time of the rubber boom. A Muinane elder of the Pineapple clan relates about this:

> . . . a tremendous epidemics arrived, which defeated the whole territory. It was not because of humans.
> . . . . . .

> After that, the "autonomy"[3] remained empty for a while. That was when many people from the four derivations of the Pineapple clan died. That epidemics went all the way upriver; it swept everybody. Three lineages [of the Pineapple clan] finished, only one remained.

The Uitoto nɨpode also mention epidemics, but in their version there were humans who "created" it (through sorcery) to revenge the death of a relative. This is the narration of one of their elders:

> Then, the son of Eírumui—Eíremui was was the brother of Cháire—went to a dance ritual. Then, most surely, those people were against them [the two brothers], and then he [Eíremui's son] died, he came back and he died. Then, those two sorcerers prepared themselves and planted an epidemic—the same one you [Muinane] tell about. They created it and planted it in the root of the world. That was the one that swept all the tribes.
>
> Then, other elders went, met her, and dominated that woman [that is, the epidemic]; our grandparents sat her, and sent her away. She then went and killed those two [sorcerers]; then she returned and said: I won't come back again. And, truly, up to this day she has never returned.

This epidemic is not explicitly related to the axe, although the episodes correspond to the period of its acquisition. The "illness of the axe" (increase of social differences, sorcery, epidemics) is turned into a secret discourse. In part III we will examine how such an illness is "healed" in rafue. The public discourse, on the other hand, stresses the productive capacity of the metal tools.

The metal axe, symbolic of the economy of dependence on market goods, became instrumental in the articulation of a double discursive process: (i) the mythological appropriation of the whites' technology, and (ii) the construction of an ideology of growing, multiplication, production, and peace—the "philosophy of the axe." I explore these two processes in the following two subsections.

*Axe of abundance, axe of fear*

In the historical narratives I have recorded from elders of several Indian groups of the Caquetá-Putumayo region, the "arrival of the white people" is placed at the onset of the rubber

boom. The trade of axes, which happened at least a century before, is not narrated as a historical event, but rather serves as foundation for what I have termed the "philosophy of the axe."

I present a set of narratives by elders of the Andoque, Uitoto and Muinane groups, which exemplify the meaning of the metal axe and the appropriation of this technology in their mythology.

The following is a remarkable story narrated by the Andoque Indians, called "the Mother of the Axe." I summarize from a version collected by Jon Landaburu and Roberto Pineda-Camacho from the late Andoque chief Yiñeko:

> The daughter of the captain Heron-of-the-Center had no husband and had never touched a man. At the maloca of her father, in the place called Site-of-Tears, she procreated the dog, the chain to leash the dog, the iron axe, the machete, the iron pot, the iron dish, the woven hammock, the woven blanket, the paper, and a piece of red fabric. Heron-of-the-Mouth-the-River learns about this and comes to find the woman and her goods. He carries them away in five mules. The daughter of Heron-of-the-Center begins to write down everything she has procreated. Nothing is left at the Center of the World, where we live. The son of Heron-of-the-Center, Jaguar-Axe, decides to go recuperate some of what his sister gave birth to. He meets with the reluctance of Heron-of-the-Mouth-of-the-River. His sister however had everything written down and Heron-of-the-Mouth has to give him axes, needles, thread to sew, and hammocks. He exchanges them for coca, tobacco and game. From now on, it will be only from Heron-of-the-Center that the Indians will be able to obtain these merchandises. That is why we, the People of the Center, are called People of the Axe (Landaburu and Pineda-Camacho, 1984, pp. 62-66).

Heron-of-the-Mouth-of-the-River is a white man. Luso-Brazilians approached the region from the east, that is, from downriver; Colombians, on the other hand, approached the region from the west, that is, from upriver. Heron-of-the-Mouth-of-the-River thus represents the first white people who brought the iron tools and other trade goods. The story locates the origin of those tools and goods in "the Center," from where they were taken by Heron-of-the-Mouth-of-the-River. Later on, the People of the Center recuperate part of them and in this way other Indians can have them.

The Uitoto also have a myth that tells how the iron axe was stolen by the master of the white people and later recuperated by the People of the Center. In that myth, collected by Preuss in

1913, a chief called Nofɨeni discovered the "true" axe after many attempts and after having rejected all the other "false" axes. With the true axe he felled "the tree of abundance," a mythic tree which produced all kinds of fruits. When he had just succeeded in such a task, Meni (the protective spirit of the white people) stole the axe and took it under the earth, dancing with it unceasingly:

> Finally, he made to grow the fruits on the surface of the earth. Since he took the axe that he had stolen, you, whites, have plantains, manioc, yam, everything, because he took the axe after having stolen it. And because he raised his head once and again, the mountains formed there (Preuss 1994, vol. II, p. 83, my translation).

In dreams, the myth continues, Nofɨeni discovers who has the axe. Meni makes a fence of stone to make the waters flood the world, but Nofɨeni sends a fish and it brings back the axe. Before the waters fully flooded the earth the fish returns the axe to Nofɨeni.

In another narrative told by a Uitoto nɨpode elder of the middle Caquetá, the technology of the white people is the source of a philosophy of multiplication:

> Well then, in old times, he begot his descendance. His name is Tɨguínuri. Tɨguínuri means "axe-handle," because he sat on an axe handle as a chief. Then he sat and said: Now, this is going to be my arm and my arm will extend and will have no end. Then he started to give away manioc, everything, and to send people away. Then, we did not have a root yet. But because of the tobacco he gave away, because of the coca he gave away, he said: This is it, if you make it speak, you will be a captain, this is the one who speaks.

The Muinane, on the other hand, equate "axe" with "tobacco of life." They maintain that there is an opposition between the "axe of destruction," which was materialized as the stone axe and other axes that existed formerly, and the "axe of multiplication": the "axe of life," the "sweet axe," the "axe of work." The latter is represented, in material form, in the iron axe, particularly the axe with an oval hole. This axe existed spiritually since the beginning of the world, but came to be seen in material form until recently when it was brought by the whites.

A Muinane elder of the Coconut clan narrates about the axe:

There are four kinds of what they call "axes," or roads of commercialization.

> Tuugall~~ɨ~~ made to function the axe of fire, *k~~ɨɨ~~jigai j~~ɨɨ~~gáje*. He was the one who made it work—they chopped a big tree and when that tree fell to earth, that was the plot. Then, there was no progress, no development, no production, because a single brushwood does not make for much. He was the one who used that axe, already as a human. He came to use that axe, which as a myth brought a lot of destruction at the beginning.
>
> Paty~~ɨ~~k~~ɨ~~ho, the son of Tuugall~~ɨ~~, made to function the stone axe, *p~~ɨ~~h~~ɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~gáje*. It is also called *seedita j~~ɨɨ~~gáje*, because it was found inside a cave.
>
> After him, there comes Gasúkuba. He made to function the other axe, the one with a round hole. With that axe he made to function a little better, he made a little bigger work.
>
> Then there comes the fourth, who was called Jáátaho. He, in material form, made to function the road of trade, of commercialization. He is the one who came to express the word *kááváj~~ɨ~~* [Word of appreciation], *fagój~~ɨ~~* [Word on proper behavior], *s~~ɨɨ~~kuhiij~~ɨ~~* [cool Word]—what had been born from the beginning but could not still function. The fourth axe is what is called *miyaj~~ɨɨ~~gáje* [the true axe], *s~~ɨɨ~~kuj~~ɨɨ~~gáje* [the cool axe], *naamoj~~ɨɨ~~gáje* [the sweet axe]; that is the axe with an oval hole. This is what is called *túúvaboj~~ɨɨ~~gáje* [axe of abundance]. When he received this axe, when he brought it to his tribe, he said: I did not bring this axe to destroy you or to be the cause of enmity, of gossip, of problems; I bring it to progress, to feed, to multiply, to live in harmony, in happiness, in peace. That is the Word that came to express what we call *fagój~~ɨ~~* [Word on proper behavior].

The axe of fire and the stone axe are precontact axes; the other two are metal axes that were made available by whites. The distinction between the axe with a round hole and the one with an oval hole seems to refer to the different sources of these two types of axes. The axe with oval hole is said to be the axe of the Colombians, which is the one preferred today, whereas the other is the axe of the Peruvians.

Other tribes also narrate about different axes in a similar manner as the Muinane chief does in the excerpt above. There are variations among the tribes—even among the Muinane clans—in the genealogy of the axes, but the succession from unsuitable axes (associated with animal spirits, violence, fire, and lack of productive capacity) to the true axe (the metal axe, the axe of production and life) remains constant. The "true people" result from the arrival of the metal axe.

In contrast with these narratives that place the metal axe at the root of the "true" people, other testimonies refer to the axe as a source of fear. Jürg Gasché, for instance, reports the testimony of Augusto Kuiru, a Uitoto chief from the Igaraparaná river:

> The iron axe is a tool that brings the remembrance of fear, because in the times of my father it was obtained from the whites through the Bora and Ocaina people by means of the trade of slaves. An axe was traded for a man (or men) (Gasché, 1984, p. 17, my translation).

Likewise, Mireille Guyot collected several Bora chants that refer to the fear associated to the time of the trade of axes. One of those chants says:

> By the roads of the trade of the Heron
> The axe from the east will take away, very far,
> The last of my orphan children.
> You... Don't speak! If you speak about this,
> Where are we going to trade?
> (Guyot, 1984, p. 20, my translation)

This is a chant still sung today in dance rituals. Rituals are one of the occasions where open criticism, disagreement, and mockery are allowed—although veiled in metaphors, the use of archaic lexicon, and the adaptation of the text to the music.

The "illness" of the axe, and the stories associated with it, are said to be "very secret and dangerous." The appropriation of the whites' technology served as a means to empower certain captains while others, "orphans," were turned into commodities.

*The legitimacy of chiefs*

The philosophy of the axe is based on the principle of multiplication and growth. Its fundamental metaphor is the growth of tobacco, coca, and all the cultivated tubers and fruits. This discourse has the characteristic of being supraethnic,[4] in that it does not address a specific mythological corpus. As a supraethnic discourse, there is a constant tension between it and the ethnic

discourses. This tension is manifest in the zeal with which the boundaries between "secret" and "public" narrations are maintained. This tension is clearly unresolved in the issue of the legitimacy of chiefs.

The ethnic ideal is that captains and chiefs received their authority "from the beginning," and that their legitimacy springs from "the Creator." The philosophy of the axe, on the other hand, with its emphasis on productivity, states that the legitimacy of a captain is directly related to his capacity to produce and accumulate food.

The excerpt that follows by a Uitoto nɨpode elder is the continuation of one quoted above, in which he was telling about the "true" captain, called Tɨguínuri "Axe-Handle":

> Because of the tobacco he gave away, because of the coca he gave away, he said: This is it, if you make it speak, you will be a captain; this is the one who speaks, and he who does not have tobacco he will never be a captain, because I brought it for you. Then, it is the point where they said: The only way for an orphan, for any person [to become a chief] is by cultivating tobacco. On our part, he who has tobacco, he is the captain; he who has a lot of coca, he is the captain; because he cannot make people starve, he cannot speak to the elders with an empty mouth [that is, without coca in it]. Then, on our part, there were myths indeed, but it was just the first step; but here it is no longer a myth but the real people who are living up to this day.

This is the narration of an elder who is not himself a chief but who has ambitions to power. He legitimates power by referring to one's capacity to work and produce food to distribute to the people.

Compare his version with that of an elder of the Worm clan of the Muinane, who is the chief of three confederated Muinane clans. (The excerpt that follows was the translation into Spanish by his son of the narration given in Muinane by his father. The son, in his rendering, gave too much stress to their rights to rulership, causing noticeable discomfort in the heads of the other clans). This is what the son of the Muinane captain translated:

> Ajebafagɨ [an ancient Muinane captain whose name means "Food-Plot-Without-Food"] was not elected by the people. He cultivated coca and tobacco

> and they grew well, while to the other people they did not [grow well]. They asked him: Why? If it is the same thing we are planting. He, alone, meditated in the mambeing place and asked the Creator. In dreams, the Creator answered: They grow well because the spirit of tobacco and coca wants you, he is in love with you. In the same way that your plantations are growing, in the same way the numbers of people will multiply.

Then, the spirit decided to give him a name, Aajashuje "Small-Leaf-of-Tobacco" (Ajebafag~~ɨ~~ was his nickname, given by his own people). Then,

> He assembled all the people in his maloca and published that name before them: This is my name, it is not so because I want to, but because the Creator so commanded me. Then the people said: Well, if it is so, you are going to be our father and everything you say we are going to carry out. Since then, he remained as the *kehééi*, the overall chief of the clans of Worm, Wooden Drum, and Pineapple.

The philosophy of production is also at the root of Ajebafag~~ɨ~~'s ruling rights—which are further ratified by the Creator. However, the nickname given to him by his people (Ajebafag~~ɨ~~ "Food-Plot-Without-Food") contradicts the philosophy of food-producing capacity. His nickname discloses one of the facts that surfaced in commentaries to me by the Uitoto, who remember him as one of the main allies of the white slave traders, who accumulated great power through this alliance. The source of Ajebafag~~ɨ~~'s ruling rights rests on his having mastered what the Muinane call "the road of commercialization"—that is, the trade of slaves.

The philosophy of the axe reinterprets conflicts among groups, trade of people, cannibalism, sorcery and revenges. There is a pervading contradiction between an ideology of the "orphans" and the ideology of those lineages who claim legitimacy as given "by the Creator." The first is evident in the narration of the Uitoto n~~ɨ~~pode elder: "On our part, he who has tobacco, he is the captain; he who has a lot of coca, he is the captain"; while it appears that the second became rulers through their involvement in the trade of people.

This contradiction may be the expression of a more general tension between the desire to maintain a "closed" system of cultural reproduction—one which is based on secret knowledge and

ethnic difference—and an "open" system which allows for the incorporation of new elements from other groups and the construction of a supraethnic discourse. Such a closed system is based on an endogamic ideal of maintenance of identity. An open system, on the other hand, is based on an exogamic ideal of exchange and reciprocity.[5]

The severe historical trauma suffered by the Caquetá-Putumayo groups brought together the remains of social units which were once autonomous "wholes," but which now depended on one another for survival. The philosophy of the axe provides an ideology for such supraethnic moral community; but at the same time there is a sustained attempt to revalidate ethnic difference. This surfaces in the constant differentiation between secret versus public discourse.

The philosophy of the axe responds to a double break in the endogamic ideal: the appearance of the whites and their technology, and the coming together of different ethnic groups that came to depend on one another. This tension between endogamic ideal and exogamic homogenization can be further illustrated with current mythologies of origin of the different groups.

## *II. The Hole of Awakening*

The stories that follow (excepting the first one) were narrated in a public meeting where elders from several groups were assembled. It was the first time that some of the elders declared publicly their origin in a stage which was not ritual. The narratives reveal the strategies of concealment and revelation that each one decided to pose in front of the other groups.

The setting was a meeting convoked by the three confederated Muinane clans of Chukiki[6] to present the results of the research on their ancestral territories. All the narrations were tape-recorded in Spanish.

For the Uitoto who live in the region of the Igaraparaná river, mankind originated from an opening in the earth, located downstream from La Chorrera in the middle Igaraparaná river (see map 2). This place is known as *komɨ́mafo* "Hole of Humanity," or *kazíyafo* "Hole of Awakening." The following is the version of the Uitoto mɨnɨka, who live near that mysterious place. The narration of the origin of humanity begins in this manner (as it appears already printed in a book):

> There was no one. In that moment our Father of Coolness turned toward the principle of our birth. When he turned toward it, it appeared what we know today, by name, as the Hole of Humanity. From that moment on, the origin of the people began (Konɨraga et al., 1988, pp. 1-2, my translation from Uitoto).

During the night, the narration continues, all the peoples came out of the Hole of Humanity: all the Uitoto, the Ocaina, the Muinane, the Resigaro, the Bora. They would come out of the earth with a tail, and the Father cut their tails as they came out; in this manner they became people. When the day dawned not all the people had come out of the Hole. Those who came out after dawn remained with tails and became today's monkeys.

The groups who live today in the Caquetá basin, north of the Igaraparaná river, are the Andoque, the Muinane, the Nonuya, and the speakers of the nɨpode dialect of Uitoto. They also relate to the Hole of Awakening but as they now live far away from that mythic place they have introduced some interesting variations in the story. The following is the narration of a Muinane elder of the Pineapple clan (recorded in December of 1994, like the other excerpts below):

> For our birth, there was a sole entrance, a sole exit . . . but the door was shut, and in that moment we split. The door was shut out. That was so at the beginning. That is the reason why we say we all came out from the same place. It was so at the beginning, but there was an obstacle, after which we did not come out from the same place. At the beginning there was a single exit, but later there was an obstacle ahead, then they had to come out from another place. They burst, they burst, they burst.
> . . . . . .
> Then, when there was a hindrance we were born. They say so. Each one of our clans has its birthplace. That point can not be touched, it is forbidden. You cannot say to another: "You were born here." That is a little negative.

> Every clan has its own place where it was born; it is very private, very private. Because a single place for the birth of all does not fit.

This version is shared with the Uitoto nɨpode, as we will see below. The relation to a single origin is maintained, but a twist is introduced: a hindrance that forced some peoples to seek a new exit into the world. The same elder compares it to the sugarcane plant which has rhizomes that, although coming from the same root, sprout in different places. In the version of the Uitoto from Igaraparaná, the place of origin is common to all the People of the Center. In the Muinane version, a new element is added: the particular places of awakening become secret, "very private."

Let us compare this version with a Uitoto nɨpode version, as narrated by one of their elders:

> The world, for all the human descendants of these zones, was going to be downstream from Chorrera. We all know that there is found the Hole of Awakening. We all were going to come out from there, but before dawn a part of it was blocked—that is, the birthhole of Mother Earth.
> . . . . . .
> Then, as we could not get out, they say that at dawn we forced our way out. Then—more or less by here, where is called Jipikue [Sapote river]—there is another father of ours; in Jipikue there is another Hole of Awakening.

This Uitoto elder goes on and demarcates a difference with the other Uitoto who live in Igaraparaná, whom he calls "the descendants of Monaiya Jurama"; that is, the descendants of the people from the beginnings (Monaiya Jurama is a mythic person who existed before the introduction of agriculture):

> Before [my forefathers existed], [other people] came from Chorrera, they came from Monaiya Jurama. Monaiya Jurama cut that line for us. . . . That is why all the people from Chorrera speak a lot about Monaiya Jurama; that is why they tell a lot about the Tree of Abundance. We, in contrast, as we came out from here, we speak of pure tobacco, of all the things that are cultivated fruits. All those other stories are abolished in us.

The excerpts from the Muinane and the Uitoto nɨpode elders reveal an attempt to establish a cut, both geographic and mythic, with older times and other peoples. The stories of the be-

ginnings are declared "private" or "abolished." The new stories are those of tobacco, coca, and cultivated fruits.[7]

The Nonuya, another of the tribes living in the Araracuara region, do not seem to relate to that original Hole of Awakening. Here is the narration of a Nonuya elder:

> This is the Center, this is what is called *noobajo*. This is the birthplace of the Nonuya. It is called Chɨrɨbɨkaaja. See the difference with the other *compañeros* [he refers to the Muinane]. See this [the Muinane territory which has hills, rocks, savannahs] and compare it with this [the Nonuya territory].[8] See that here one cannot say that we are going to unite our customs, our traditions and form a single one.
> . . . . . .
> The creation for us did not remain outside [that is, inscribed in natural signs]. The part of the Nonuya remained all inside, under the earth. Here, the Nonuya man came out. In the center, this is us; these other two are the Ocaina and the Uitoto. In the same Chɨrɨbɨkaaja there are three cradles. What belongs to us remained all buried, it did not surface, like to say, in this hill, in this savannah. It did not remain visible. For us, everything remained there inside. . . . Look how we are different in our formation.

The Nonuya version of their origin is a political assertion of difference, particularly in relation to the Muinane. The Nonuya were an almost non-existing tribe until 1990 when they declared themselves "Nonuya." There were only two surviving men of this tribe in the 1930s, who lived and married among other tribes (Andoque and Muinane). Their descendants became speakers of Muinane and formed a single community together with one of the Muinane clans. After they split (because of increasing internal problems), the Nonuya launched a project on cultural and linguistic recuperation, which not only was meant to recover their language and customs but also to reinvent and reassert themselves in the context of the other groups (see Landaburu and Echeverri, 1995, for a discussion of this process). In contrast to the Muinane and the nɨpode speakers of Uitoto, the Nonuya do not relate themselves to the original Hole of Awakening, but have their own origin, "in the Center." (See map 2 for the approximate location of the different sites of origin mentioned above.)

The stories of origin of the groups of this region attest ways of negotiating the political and social realities of today. There is a constant tension between ethnic assertion (which not only is tribal but also clanic) and acknowledgment of a pluri-ethnic moral community.

The construction of such moral community is complicated by the presence of whites and their technology. It appears on at least two different levels: the mythological appropriation of the white people's technology, as we saw above (see section I), and the question of the "humanness" of white people in relation to the People of the Center. I turn to this in the next section.

### *III. Burning People, Trading People*

Whites are called several names by the different groups of the region (see table 4).

Table 4

*Designations for White People in Several Indian Languages of the Caquetá-Putumayo Region*

| *Meaning* | *Andoque* | *Muinane* | *Nonuya* | *Uitoto* (nɨpode) | *Uitoto* (mɨnɨka) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burning people | duɨɵhɵ | añɨmɨnaha | matikome | rákuiya | — |
| Trading people | do'ha'a | najéémɨnaha | kɨ'ɨdai | mákama | — |
| Cannibals | — | — | — | — | rɨaɨ |

These expressions differ from the terms used to refer to "the true people," that is, the Indians or, more precisely, the People of the Center. The Andoque call themselves *pɵɵsiɵhɵ* "People of the Axe"; the Muinane refer to themselves as *miyámɨnaha* "True People"; the Nonuya call themselves, in their own language, *nononota* "People of the Annatto Tree";[9] and the Uitoto, both mɨnɨka and nɨpode, use the expression *komɨnɨ*, which means "People."

The Andoque, Muinane, Nonuya and Uitoto nɨpode coincide in having a pair of names for whites, which I have glossed as "burning people" and "trading people." These glosses corre-

spond to the literal meaning of the terms in the Andoque and Muinane languages. In ritual talk, Andoque and Muinane forbid the use of the expression "burning people" to refer to whites, although in everyday life people constantly refer to whites with that name.

The Uitoto and Nonuya terms do not have the same literal meaning they have in Andoque and Muinane. However, they correspond to a double sense of "enmity" versus "peaceful relationship," as I explain next.

The meaning of the Uitoto word *rákuiya* is not clear. I have been able to elicit at least two possible translations: (i) it may be formed by the words *raa* "things" and *kuiya* "to steal", or (ii) it could derive from the noun *raiko* "epidemic." *Mákama*, on the other hand, means "wanderer," which corresponds to the sense of "trader." The Uitoto n*ɨ*pode use *mákama* in ritual talk and *rákuiya* in everyday life.

The Nonuya language, which no longer is spoken (although in a process of recuperation), has also two names for whites: *matikome* and *kɨ'ɨdai*. I am not completely sure of the meaning of either. *Kɨ'ɨdai* would seem to mean "city dwellers." *Matikome* is related to the expression used in the Ocaina language (belonging to the same linguistic family) to refer to white people: *matúhyoñima*, which derives from *matuuhyo* "leper" (Leach, 1969, p. 120).

The Nonuya have been working in their project of cultural and linguistic recuperation since 1991. As they had lost their original language they started a search for surviving Nonuya speakers. So far, they have found three speakers—lost relatives of them who live in the Putumayo and Amazon rivers. They have made recordings of the Nonuya language with one of them and, since the end of 1993, another one came to live with them in the Caquetá river. One of the first Nonuya words they learnt was *matikome* "white (non-Indian) person." I have worked with them in their project and they always address me with that word. In the mambeing place, nevertheless, the chief one night said that they could not adopt that word without fully understanding its meaning—

that is, whether its sense was that of "burning people" or that of "trading people." After long hours of researching and questioning the Nonuya speaker now living with them, the chief concluded that the term could not be used in the mambeing place. They then found the term *k~~ɨ~~'~~ɨ~~dai*, which, according to their Nonuya relative, would refer to "a city."[10]

The Uitoto m~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ka of the Igaraparaná river only have the expression *r~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~* to refer to whites. That is the same word that is used to designate the Carijona, enemies of the Uitoto. It means "flesh eaters."

Not only is the expression *r~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~* associated to the Carijona (a Carib-speaking group) but also, in the mythology, to the people from heaven, the servants of Juziñamui. Juziñamui is the antagonist of the Creator Buinaima. His name means "the insatiable fighter." As a fighter, Juziñamui is also a cannibal. In a ritual called *uuik~~ɨ~~* the following is said of Juziñamui: "When our forefathers arrived from the cave to the surface of the earth, Juziñamui left us to go to the heights, taking with him the narrations and the fire" (Preuss, 1994, vol. II, p. 50, my translation). The Creator Buinaima dwells under the earth and his name is associated with water. As the only Uitoto god who lives in the heights, the missionaries adopted the name Juziñamui to designate the Christian God.[11] The Uitoto n~~ɨ~~pode avoid referring to whites by the word *r~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~* and forbid the use of *juziña úai* "the Word of insatiable fight"—that is, the Word of Juziñamui.[12]

The Uitoto expression for "money" is *úkube*, which literally means "leaf of the stars." It is used by both the m~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ka and n~~ɨ~~pode Uitoto. Similarly, the Nonuya expression for money is *mwiñabok~~ɨ~~*, which means "piece of the sun." These expressions associate money with the heavens, and the heavens are associated with cannibalism.

The four Caquetá groups have a double set of names to refer to whites in contrast to the Uitoto m~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ka from the Igaraparaná who only have one "aggressive" term. The four ethnic groups of the Caquetá have succeeded in setting the basis for a regional organization, called CRIMA (Re-

gional Indian Council of the Middle Amazon). They have, nevertheless, met with obstacles when trying to incorporate other groups, such as the Miraña downriver and the Uitoto m*ɨ*n*ɨ*ka upriver.

Let us finally examine another instance of this process of cultural reinstauration as shown in the history of the revival of the Andoque group after the rubber boom.

### *IV. The Heron of the Center*

Like the other groups, the Andoque people were nearly exterminated during the time of rubber exploitation. In the 1930s the chief Doñekoi, and later his son Yiñeko, reassembled the few remaining Andoque. These two chiefs belonged to the clan of the Eagle, and the other remaining Andoque belonged to a few other clans. Yiñeko became famous because he succeeded in rebuilding the Andoque maloca and and the ritual ceremonial careers. This reinstauration implied a number of symbolic transformations.

According to Jon Landaburu, the self-designation "People of the Axe" (*pɵɵsiɵ́hɵ*) is not found in other narrations by older Andoque. The creation of this idiom is part of Yiñeko's larger political project of ethnic reconstruction. I rely here on an article by Landaburu (1993) where he analyzes the symbolic transformations effected by Yiñeko in order to deal with the destruction of a world ordered by interclan feuding and cannibalistic violence, in circumstances where the mythology of his clan (Eagle) was no longer viable to assemble together the remains of different clans:

> That there has been a project of ethnic reconstruction as much as, and more than, a survival, is what the progressive reconstruction of the universe of the maloca and the religious festivals demonstrated. This reconstruction was not a simple reconstitution. It operated a selection and a manipulation of the myths and rites in order to establish new relations to the Self and the Other, after the collapse of the traditional world, provoked by the whites (Landaburu, 1993, pp. 150-151, my translation).

The first step in this reconstruction was the adoption of a new supraclanic identity vis-à-vis the outer world: the ethnonym People of the Axe.

Landaburu focuses on the change of name of one of the older gods, Ñé'ñéfi—the god of war (which corresponds to the Uitoto character Juziñamui)—into "Heron of the Center":

> It allowed [the Andoque] to rely on a cosmic foundation (the Center) and no longer on the reference to the Eagle, disturbing for the new community because of its intra-clanic, and thus partial, character, but also perhaps because of its cannibalistic connotations, which associated it with practices that they no longer wanted to resume (ibid., p. 151).

The three gods Thunder-Jaguar, Eagle-Snake-of-White-Feathers (Ñé'ñéfi), and Big-Striped-Cayman became the three "Herons": Heron-of-the-Mouth-of-the-River, Heron-of-the-Center, and Heron-of-the-Source-of-the-River. Source, Center and Mouth are the main positions of a strongly uni-dimensional cosmic topology. The groups of upriver (Uitoto or, on another level, Colombians), the center (Andoque or, on another level, Indians), and downriver (Miraña or, on another level, Brazilians) are manifestations of these gods. They were now seen from the standpoint of what united them—"the heron, symbol of the human condition, predator and prey at the same time" (ibid., p. 152)—instead of from the standpoint of what separated them as different ethnic groups. This principle of difference, expresed in the older gods, was now rejected to heaven:

> One could perhaps state that the new condition of the Andoque, after the genocide, carried along the brutal entrance of the whites and the clanic and ethnic fusion, the homogenization and "horizontalization" of a world down here, but also, correlatively, the consolidation of a world in the heights (ibid.).

The character of Ñé'ñéfi, now rejected to heaven, is kept when speaking about cannibalism—and, by extension, about music. In one of the myths presented by Landaburu, the flute, symbol of cannibalism (these flutes were made out of the bones of those sacrificed), is stolen by "the Stars of Heaven" (the ocelots, Ñé'ñéfi's servants). The people from here attempt to recuperate it but in exchange they are given the wooden drum, the inauguration of a new kind of ritual and the symbol

of a new form of living. This myth, Landaburu argues, introduces a new vertical polarity Center-Heights and "could be interpreted as the power-narration of the abandonment of the internal cannibalistic violence in benefit of the festival" (ibid.).

These series of permutations—older gods for the Herons, the flute for the wooden drum—are completed by the figure of the "orphan," as Yiñeko himself was, who is able to give birth to this new maloca of the Center. I further explore these permutations in the concluding section.

*V. Permutations at the Center*

When I asked a Muinane elder about the meaning of "the axe," he answered right away and with utter conviction: "The axe is tobacco." "And, what is tobacco?" I still dared to ask. "Tobacco is us," he replied with an expression in his face as if he were disclosing a secret. I wrote that down without fully realizing the signification of those synthetic equations.

My aim in this chapter has been to show the provisional results of my attempt to deconstruct the meaning of those answers. I rely on history and ethnography and, perhaps even more, on the perception I have been able to develop through the continued contact and sharing of the everyday life of these tobacco lickers, People of the Center of the World.

Right now, I lick my tobacco paste (my *yera*, *rogue*, *y~~ttt~~b~~tt~~*, *man~~i~~'i*, *duta*, *d'okoa*, *utyiira*, to say it in all their languages)[13] and wonder: Why the axe is tobacco? Why the tobacco is us (or them)?

Landaburu's discussion on the Heron of the Center provides an organizational principle with which I will try to summarize the many themes and ideas I have touched in the sections that precede. I take the axe as the organizational principle of a series of permutations that reveal an ongoing process of cultural reconstitution over a dramatic past of almost overall destruction. This

is what I try to mean with the expression "culture in the making." It is a sustained attempt to redefine the relations to others (other Indians and non-Indians) over the collapse of a past world.

One of the two main processes I perceive, which I will try to chart below, is the "horizontalization" (to borrow Landaburu's expression) of a world down here—that is, the acceptance of otherness, and a meaningful understanding of it—whose most achieved realization is condensed in the idiom "People of the Center." I do not think of it as an "ethnic" process. I believe that the formation of ethnic consciousness also takes place, but at another level—at the point where "culture in the making" meets with the national discourse and the economy of dependence.

The other main process I perceive, contradictory and correlative to the horizontalization of a world down here, is the systematic separation and constitution of a world "in the heights." It sets apart and sets off the stories of origin, the older gods, the cannibalism, the trade of "orphans," and the history of the axe itself. It tears apart the identity itself of tribes, clans, families and individual selves. The axe of fear is always very close to the axe of abundance. That is why, perhaps, it is always said that the stories of the axe "are very dangerous": the axe is tobacco, tobacco is us.

This double process is contradictory and unresolved. That is perhaps the meaning of the expression in the face of that Muinane elder trying to make me understand that if I do not know this I understand nothing about the life of these little communities ridden by constant internal conflicts, fights, secrecies, scissions and reconciliations. "With this Word you take care of the people; this is the Word of tobacco and coca, the Word of our life," they say, and I doubt I still fully understand. In part III of this dissertation the Uitoto elder K+nera+ will elaborate *in extenso* on that "Word" to care for life. For the moment, let us gather what we have learnt and let us chart this double process I mentioned above as we have studied it.

These are the "permutations at the Center" of two contradictory and related "processes"—which I will provisionally call "endogamic process" and "exogamic process"—as we perceived them in different instances of the history of the People of the Center.

Table 5
*Permutations at the Center: Instances of a Double Process of Culture in the Making*

| *Instances* | *Exogamic Process* | *Endogamic Process* |
|---|---|---|
| Genealogy of the axes | Metal axe | Stone axe |
| | "Proper" axe | "False" axes |
| | Axe of abundance | Axe of fear |
| Culture in the making | People of the Center | Tribal and clanic mythologies |
| | Moral community | Ethnic differences |
| | Public discourse | Secret, abolished discourses |
| Social system | Orphans | Chiefs |
| | Open system (exogamic) | Closed system (endogamic) |
| Relation with non-Indians | "Trading people" | "Burning people" |
| Mythology (Uitoto) | Buinaima | Juziñamui |
| Mythology (Andoque) | Heron of the Center | Ñé'ñéfi |
| Ritual | Wooden drums | Flute |
| | Music | Cannibalism |
| Synthesis | Horizontal | Vertical |
| | Earth | Heaven |
| | Relation to others | Relation to Self |

I will jump ahead and attempt to chart under the same headings some of the concepts that will be elaborated by K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* in part III, and which will be introduced in the next chapter on the Word of tobacco and coca.

| *Instance* | *Exogamic Process* | *Endogamic Process* |
|---|---|---|
| Rafue | Tobacco, coca and cultivated plants | Animals |
| | Hearth and food-plot | Forest |
| | Health | Illness |
| | *Ibiga*ɨ basket | *Jebogaɨ* basket |
| | Proper woman | Unproper woman |
| | Coolness | Hotness |
| | Right here | Out there |

*End Notes*

[1.] Recent archaeological research has proved the considerable time depth of archaic settlements along the Caquetá river, which reproduced in smaller scale the conditions that supported large populations in the Amazon mainstream (Andrade, 1986; Eden et al., 1984; Mora et al., 1991).

[2.] The introduction of the axe is directly related to the spread of new diseases and epidemics. This situation is graphically described by the Jesuit Father Cueva (cited in Golob, 1982, p. 199) for the Mainas region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when he wrote that the missionaries needed to have "an ax in one hand [presumably for trading] and a hoe to dig graves in the other."

[3.] He uses the Spanish word *autonomía* ("autonomy") to mean "power."

[4.] By "ethnic" I refer here to the different language groups of the region (Uitoto, Muinane, Andoque, Nonuya, etc.). In the previous chapter I have used "ethnic" to mean the Indians generally as opposed to non-Indians.

[5.] That kind of exogamic, open system has been described for indigenous groups in Brazil. The endogamic, closed system seems to be characteristic of northwest Amazonian groups. An example at hand of an exogamic, open system is described by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro for the Brazilian coastal Tupinamba in the sixteenth century:

> The Tupinamba religion, rooted in the warrior exo-cannibalist complex, designs a form in which the *socius* is constituted by the relation to the other, where the incorporation to the other depends on a "leaving out of oneself" [*sortir de soi*]—the exterior is in a constant process of internalization, and the interior is nothing but a movement towards the outside. In this topology there is no totality, there is no monad or identity bubble which is watching constantly over the boundaries and making the exterior a diacritical mirror of its coincidence to itself; here the *socius* is, literally, "the inferior limit of predation" (Levi-Strauss), the undigestible rest; what moves it is the relation to the Outside. Here the other is not a mirror but a goal (Viveiros de Castro, 1993, p. 386, my translation).

[6.] "Chukikɨ" is an acronym formed by the initial syllables of the names of the three confederated clans: *Chu*umójo (Worm), *Ki*lléllɨmɨjo (Pineapple), and *Kɨ*ɨmɨjo (Drum).

[7] In the Uitoto Murui area, in the Caraparaná river (see map 2), I heard also of this division, which was compared to the division between the Old and the New Testament.

[8] He means that in the Muinane territory there are numerous natural signs of "the Creation," whereas in the Nonuya territory these are absent. (See introduction to part I for a brief explanation of the geological history of the Caquetá-Putumayo region.)

[9] The Nonuya also use the Muinane expression *noobajo* to refer to themselves, which also means "People of the Annatto Tree." (Remember that the Nonuya mostly speak Muinane.)

[10] In the extensive vocabulary we have recorded, I found that the word to say "womb" is *k~~ɨ~~'~~ɨ~~hoda* (*-hoda* seems to refer to a membrane).

[11] Cf. the New Testament published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, which was titled: *Juziñamui Ñuera Uai* "The Good News from Juziñamui" (Minor and Minor, trans., 1985).

[12] Sol Montoya Bonilla has argued, based on the reading of the mythological corpus collected by Preuss (1921, 1923), that the appearance of the mythic character of Juziñamui is the way the Uitoto dealt with the encounter with "the Other":

> The indigenous person gives the generic name of Husiniamui [Juziñamui] to the strange element.
> . . . . . .
> It is necessary to stress that the Uitoto person demarcates limits with the universe of Husiniamui without directly confronting him with their mythological heroes, but with themselves as a social group. Husiniamui has servants, the Rigai [*r~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~*], to whom the Indians attribute everything that is for him threatening and irreconcilable with his universe. It is them whom he fights in his mythology.
> At the level of Husiniamui it is still possible to speak of an encounter (it is said that he was born at the same time than one of their own mythic heroes). It is with the appearance of the Rigai that one recognizes the disencounter in the relation with the other, and the war as their favorite form of approach (Montoya-Bonilla, 1994, pp. 28-29, my translation).

[13] Tobacco paste: *yera*, in Uitoto m~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ka; *rogue*, in Uitoto n~~ɨ~~pode; *y~~ɨɨ~~b~~ɨ~~*, in Andoque; *man~~ɨ~~'i*, in Bora and Miraña; *duta*, in Muinane; *d'okoa*, in Nonuya; *utyiira*, in Ocaina.

Chapter 4

# THE WORD OF TOBACCO AND COCA

In previous chapters I have alleged that the indigenous discourse of production and multiplication is a "philosophy." In chapter 3 I attempted to show how that discourse is linked to historical memory and is reflected in the construction of new forms of collective identity. In this chapter I will show why it is indeed a "philosophy," not only in terms of its contents but also in terms of its use of language.

The ethnographic materials presented in the previous chapter were recorded in Spanish in the Caquetá river area. In this chapter I present the first of a number of texts translated from Uitoto I recorded from K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*, an elder who lives in the Igaraparaná river. This text about *yetárafue* ("behavior") outlines what "the Word of tobacco and coca" is about and its relation to social organization, gender roles, work activities, and learning.

I present the text ("The Word on Discipline") followed by a discussion, which I have divided into three sections. Section I ("Siblings, Grandparents, and Uterine Uncle") discusses the importance of the relations of filiation and alliance in the discourse on behavior. Section II ("Boys' and Girls' Behavior and Work"), the central section of the chapter, shows how the philosophy of

tobacco and coca elaborates abstract concepts starting from gender-specific roles in agricultural work, hunting, procreation, caring for new life, and relation with other people. In section II I introduce excerpts from a second text to illustrate some of these points. Section III ("The Word of Tobacco, Coca, Sweet Manioc, and Peanut") shows the models of "proper" male and female persons derived from this elaboration of concepts. The significance of those concepts will be further elaborated in part II of this dissertation, which deals with Kɨnerai's self-representation, and part III, which fully presents the Word of tobacco and coca, or rafue.

Text 1

*The Word on Discipline*

[I]

These are the words of the Father's Leaf;
the Mother's we already told.
What belongs to the Father—
then, in that point,
the talk of the Father's heart 5
are good teachings
for this boy to grow up with,
for this girl to grow up with.
Boy, this is your sister,[1]
girl, this is your brother,[2] 10
one says.
So that they start
learning how to behave.

This is your aunt (one says),
the daughter 15
of the aunt is the boy's sister (one says),
the daughter of the aunt is the girl's sister (one says).
You must know how to behave,
you mustn't say naughty things.
So one says. 20

The son of the paternal uncle
is the boy's brother (one says),
the daughter of the paternal uncle is the boy's sister.

In this manner
one keeps teaching them. 25
And that child knows how to behave,
the girl
and the boy
know how to behave with one another.

Furthermore, this is your grandmother (one says), 30
you won't call her by her name.
Furthermore, your grandfather (one says);
gently, you will call him "grandfather."
Furthermore, your maternal uncle (one says);
you will call him "uncle," 35
you won't call him by his name.

So as not to upset the elders,
one keeps teaching them.
You won't say naughty things (one says),
a girl who is growing up shouldn't speak improperly, 40
a boy who is growing up shouldn't speak improperly.
They are taught
to take care of themselves.

[II][i]

From then on,
it is like this (one says). 45
The boy who grows up
must behave himself.
The girl who grows up, one says,
must behave herself.

The boy who grows up 50
opens a food-plot in an abandoned jungle clearing.
Furthermore, you will weave a small basket (one says),
you will weave a basket (one says),
you will weave a manioc sieve (one says),
you will weave a manioc strainer (one says). 55

On the girl's part
you will fetch water,
you will dig up a piece of land
to sow chili,
to sow peanut, 60
to plant sweet manioc.
You won't speak improperly,
you will plant cocoyam.
That's what our stomach's for!—
they are taught 65

not to touch what belongs to another.
You won't be negligent.
And the girl, truly, knows how to grate manioc,
she knows how to work.

[ii]

Besides, one teaches the boy the same— 70
because you are already grown up (one says).
The boy who is growing up weaves an *ɨrɨgɨ* fish trap,[3]
weaves a *zeda* fish trap,[4]
weaves a trap for tinamous,
weaves a trap for mice, 75
weaves a trap for big animals.
He is not negligent,
he obeys.

You will fetch firewood.
Furthermore, truly, you will mambe coca. 80
You will weave a small basket to gather coca leaves,
you will fetch firewood,
you will fetch cecropia leaves,
you will toast coca leaves,
you will prepare vegetable salt.[5] 85
In order to respect,
and be truthful,
and fulfill your duties.

[iii]

On the other hand, the small basket is for the girl,
for her to tie it with bark strips so that it can be carried; 90
the girl has to fetch leaves to line it—
that is the girl's
work.[6]
Once the boy has woven an open-weave basket, he must throw it away
so that his sister may use it to store manioc dough. 95

The Father's talk,
the voice of his heart.
You mustn't sleep too much,
You mustn't be lazy.
Later, there won't be anyone to teach you 100
how to behave.
Later, when I will no longer be here and you have taken a wife,
you will have children,
you will start to look after your children.
One teaches this way. 105

The same for the girl,
for your breasts to be full of milk

you will fetch water,
you will grate sweet manioc,
you will boil down the juice of bitter manioc. 110
Don't be lazy,
because you will disgrace us;
you won't say naughty things.
One teaches.

[iv]

It is this way (one says). 115
And so, the young man is seated (one says),
he pays attention to his father's talk.
The girl sits down as well;
furthermore, she is boiling the juice of bitter manioc.
Next to her mother, she twists and twists *cumare* fibers, 120
she knits arm bands,
she pays attention to the teachings,
she doesn't sleep.
And the girl
on waking up, bathes. 125
She obeys her mother,
she obeys her father—
she is a child who is cared for,
she is a child who is watched over.
Pay close attention! 130
To those teachings the child listens,
a disciplined boy,
a disciplined girl.
Later, in the same way, when they have children,
these teachings will be passed on 135
to those children.
They listen to this.

[v]

In the same way,
one continues teaching.
Don't touch that which belongs to another, 140
because another person's belongings
will bring problems.
Don't speak improperly,
because this will anger others.
Whose child is this? 145
He has no mother,
he has no father—
so they will speak of me
because of your faults.
It is taught. 150

In this way (one says),

the true word
we have
neglected.
Formerly, thus the ancients taught us, 155
one says.
Now, that teaching
is gently
imparted.

That is the same word to teach our children; 160
with that they behave.
Don't touch what belongs to another,
don't touch another's plantain,
don't touch another's sapote,
don't harvest another's forest grapes— 165
ask first, then you can touch it,
thus it is right.
A disciplined child speaks properly
he doesn't say naughty things.

[III]

And so, the young man is seated, 170
he mambes coca,
he knows how to toast the coca,
he knows how to strain the coca,
he knows how to pound the coca,
he knows how to speak. 175
He grows up like his father,
he searches,
and what he searches he finds.
Such was the good word in former times,
the word of coca and the word of tobacco. 180
With that
he seeks.
With that heart
he goes to sleep.

The same for the young woman. 185
With the thought of peanuts
she goes to sleep.
With the thought of sweet manioc
she goes to sleep,
and sleeps well. 190

That true word
has been neglected.
For this reason, we are just about beginning to seek it,
for the sake of what is good.

Looking at the children that grow up— 195
we do not employ it in vain.
So it is.

Then,
Where did we get it from?
This same good talk comes from former times 200
both for the young woman and the young man.
The same good Word is the word of tobacco and coca,
the word of sweet manioc and peanut.
In this manner
the good Word concludes. 205

The word yetárafue, Uitoto title of this text, contains the same root *ye-* ("behavior") that forms the word *yera*, "tobacco paste."[7] The tobacco paste is a symbol of a man's word and his discipline. This paste dissolved in water, for instance, is given, as a drink, to unruly persons as a punishment and a remedy. Breaking down the word yetárafue into its morphemes, we obtain: *ye-*, "behavior"; *-ta-*, "to cause to"; and *-ra-fue*, "Word/Thing" (see introduction to part III for a discussion of the term rafue). Yetárafue can thus be interpreted as "Word on causing to behave, or on discipline." Some Indians of the Caquetá region translate it as "Word of counsel," but I prefer the stronger connotation of "discipline," which is confirmed by Preuss who glosses the root *yeta* as "to frighten, to scare away, to scold, to startle" (Preuss, 1923, p. 692, my translation).[8]

This text deals with "the words of the Father's Leaf" (line 1) to startle the young people into behaving well. The "Leaf" refers to the tobacco leaf, the root of discipline; it is also the Father's tongue that utters the Word on discipline.

Yetárafue is the set of norms necessary to be a true man; likewise, it is the base of rafue. "Without yetárafue a young man cannot use that Word [of dance rituals or of healing], without yetárafue that Word damages the person," Kɨnerai says.

Every activity has its own rules of yetárafue. There is yetárafue for a man to mambe coca, for the pregnant woman, for the father of a newly born child, and so forth. Every food a person eats and every activity he/she carries out has a potential effect on life. For this reason, all the activities and behavior of young people are carefully controlled. These rules have the effect of instilling the need for proper behavior in young people by scaring them with the potential negative effects that, it is assured, certain acts of conduct will bring forth.

This form of social control has slowly eroded during the last 80 years as a result of the violence associated with rubber exploitation, forced resettlements, christianization, and a growing dependence on the market economy. This is deeply felt by the older Indians, who see how the younger generations do not follow the basic rules of yetárafue. Likewise Kɨnerai̇ says:

In this way (one says),
  the true word
  we have
  neglected.
Formerly, thus the ancients taught us,
  one says.
Now, that teaching
  is gently
  imparted.
(Lines 151-159)

And for this reason, this instruction is sought again:

That true word
  has been neglected.
For this reason, we are just about beginning to seek it,
  for the sake of what is good.
Looking at the children that grow up—
  we do not employ it in vain.
So it is.
(Lines-191-197)

Yetárafue is one of the most complex subjects of Indian thought. In this text Kɨnerai̇ enunciates the major headings of tobacco yetárafue, namely, kinship, young people's work and

behavior, and the word of tobacco and coca. These subjects correspond to the three parts that can be recognized in the text, which I have marked with upper-case Roman numerals on the right margin of the page. I have furthermore divided part II into five sections, identified with lower-case Roman numerals.

### *I. Siblings, Grandparents, and Uterine Uncle*

Part I of the text provides a brief outline of consanguineous relatives, which is in fact a statement of rules of marriage. Marriage is exogamic,[9] that is what he means in the second stanza (lines 9-13):

Boy, this is your sister,
  girl, this is your brother,
  one says.
So that they start
  learning how to behave.

Uitoto terms of kinship for siblings vary according to personal gender. Thus, there are two terms to say "my sister"; one if the speaker is a man, another if the speaker is a woman. In this case, when K̶inera̶i̶ says "your sister" he is referring to a man's sister, and when he says "your brother" he is referring to a woman's brother. The first rule of behavior is to be able to recognize the non-marriageable relatives: for a man, his sister; for a woman, her brother.

He then proceeds to explain who a man's "sisters" and a woman's "brothers" are. He first establishes the difference between agnatic and uterine relatives, and places the emphasis on agnatic "cousins." Sisters and brothers include all agnatic cousins: these are non-marriageable relatives (see lines 14-29).

In the relations with agnatic relatives the main concern is the discrimination of non-marriageable relatives. In the relations with parents and grandparents and with uterine relatives the

concern is with recognition and respect. The marked differentiation between agnatic and uterine sides derives from the virilocal form of residence and the patrilineal mode of filiation among the Uitoto and other neighboring tribes (see chapter 2, section IV, for a discussion of Uitoto social organization and kinship). A virilocal form of residence means that the woman goes to live next to her husband's family; and a patrilineal mode of filiation means that the children belong to their father's group or "clan" (*ízie* or *inaɨraɨ*), not their mother's. For this reason a child grows up next to his/her agnatic relatives and belongs to their same clan, whereas his/her uterine relatives live away from him/her and belong to a different filiation group—the mother's group, which is not the child's.

Thus, a marked attitude of respect toward the uterine uncle is a social means of expressing and reinforcing the relation of alliance with the filiation group to which the child's mother belongs. Similarly, respect and recognition towards grandparents express and reinforce the bonds of filiation within the child's group. This double recognition of the bonds of alliance and filiation is what the fourth and fifth stanzas express (see lines 30-43).

Kɨneraɨ makes reference to the grandmother, the grandfather, and the uterine uncle. In all three cases it is said that the child should not address any of them by their names—i.e., their personal names.[10] This is a rule of politeness, valid also for all relatives and non-relatives: one should never address anybody by his/her personal name but by a term of kinship or some form of indirect address.[11] Even more so, it would be highly unpolite to address grandparents or a maternal uncle with a term different from that of kinship.

Young people should also be gentle (see line 33) when addressing their elders. The reason is given in lines 37-38: "So as not to upset the elders, / one keeps teaching them." The expression "to upset" only partially conveys the meaning of the Uitoto verb *abɨ fáɨgakaide* which literally means "to get startled." Kɨneraɨ explains: "The body and the heart of older men, who use a lot of

tobacco and coca, are hot; you have to address them gently and properly, because if you 'startle their heart' that heat of theirs will be projected onto your body and will take the form of an illness." This explains the last verse of the fifth stanza (lines 42-43): "They are taught / to take care of themselves."

### *II. Boys' and Girls' Behavior and Work*

The subject of part II is clearly indicated by its opening stanza (lines 44-49):

From then on,
  it is like this (one says).
The boy who grows up
  must behave himself.
The girl who grows up, one says,
  must behave herself.

When boy and girl reach the age of reason and have learned to recognize their relatives, the instruction on proper work and behavior begins.

The thirteen stanzas that compose this part alternate between advice for males and females, with stanzas functioning as refrains placed between them. Through this alternation of stanzas, five main themes, marked as sections with lower-case Roman numerals, are developed, each one with its particular subject matter and rhythm.

Section i, after the opening refrain, presents the most meaningful labors of both sexes in agricultural work. The young man has to know how to clear the jungle in order to till a food-plot, and to weave the basketry utensils necessary to harvest and process the plot's products. The young woman, on the other hand, has to know how to plant and tend the plot.

Usually, a tract of mature forest is cleared for a new food-plot. This is a difficult task which often requires the participation of men from other families. In order to gauge his strength against the forest, a boy should start alone and only attempt to clear a small plot of fallow land,

that is, an old, abandoned food-plot. In this plot he will plant tobacco and coca, whose seeds he receives from his father, and sweet manioc, whose seeds he receives from his mother. From then on, he will prepare his own tobacco paste, will elaborate his own mambe of coca, and will have the seeds of sweet manioc for his future wife.

But to get a wife he needs to know how to weave. Basketry and weaving stand as a metaphor of exogamy and marriage.[12] The "wedding ring" that a young man has to offer to a young woman for marriage is precisely what K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* tells about in lines 52-55:

Furthermore, you will weave a small basket (one says),
you will weave a basket (one says),
you will weave a manioc sieve (one says),
you will weave a manioc strainer (one says).

There are two main types of carrying baskets among the People of the Center, which stand for two kinds of women: (i) an open-weave basket with a three-strand lattice base and walls intertwined with a thread; this is called *jebogaɨ* and it stands for a lazy and deceitful woman; and (ii) a narrow-weave basket made of paired standards[13] intertwined by a twisting thread, which is called *ibigaɨ*; a variation of this type of basket, called *ñenɨgaɨ*,[14] is made by two sets of four standards woven in spiral and also intertwined by a twisting thread—this is made by the Ocaina and Bora people, not by the Uitoto; these baskets stand for a hard-working woman.

The first type of basket is said to be the "portrait" of the giant armadillo, the second the portrait of the small armadillo. The type of basket a young man should weave is the second, "the one of the hard-working woman," as K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says.

The distinction between types of baskets, and their corresponding types of women, seems to mark the extent to which exogamous marriage is allowed; beyond that limit, only "deceitful" women will be found. It is possible that the two weaving techniques serve to demarcate a cultural frontier between the tribes living south of the Caquetá river (The People of the Center: Uitoto,

Ocaina, Bora, Muinane, Miraña, Nonuya and Andoque) and those living north (groups of the Arawak and Eastern Tukano linguistic families). The *ibigaɨ* basket—the hard-working woman's one—is made by the People of the Center; it does not appear north of the Caquetá. On the other hand, a basket woven with a similar technique to the Uitoto's *jegobaɨ*—the deceitful woman's basket—is elaborated by Arawak and Tukano groups.

Now, in the woman's role, the emphasis is on her agricultural skills. After the men have cleared and burnt a tract of jungle, it is the women's responsibility to plant the new food-plot, keep it clean, and harvest its products.

These gender roles are further specified in the story of the giant armadillo, of which I include an excerpt. In that story, a man married a woman who said she was a hard worker.

Now he wove a basket, a big basket,
  and gave it to his wife.
That done, truly now,
  as though saying "I have a wife,"
  he had the people clear the jungle.
Thinking it was true, the people cleared the jungle.
They were chopping and chopping
  and then, truly,
  when it got dry they burned it.
Then, "It's ready," he said,
  "the field is burnt," he said.
Now that he had woven and given her a basket,
  "Now, woman, you have to work," he said.

(Text 2, "The Giant Armadillo is a Deceitful Woman," lines 32-44)

The woman of that story, an "unproper" woman, failed in planting and taking care of the garden, and abandoned the basket that her husband had woven and given to her. That basket turned into a giant armadillo. Because of that, her husband repudiated her and turned her into a termites' nest. This is the kind of woman a young man should not take as a wife, the story concludes.

The key to the distinction between a "proper" and an "unproper" woman has to do with agricultural skills. All Indian groups of the Putumayo, Caquetá, and Vaupés basins—with the

exception of the Maku Indians—are agricultural peoples and all them grow more or less the same set of basic cultivated crops. There are, nevertheless, certain crops that are only grown by, or are the specialization of, certain groups. These plants serve to mark the differences among ethnic groups. A proper woman is not only the one who has agricultural skills but she also has the specific skills for growing those plants that mark a distinction with other groups.[15] In this case, Kɨnera̱ɨ emphasizes the skills related to the cultivation of sweet manioc, chili pepper, and, especially, peanuts. He says (lines 58-61), "On the girl's part,"

you will dig up a piece of land
to sow chili,
to sow peanut,
to plant sweet manioc.

And still more emphatically in the story of the giant armadillo:

"Be watchful when choosing a woman," one says,
"a hard-working woman can be recognized," one says.
"She sows chili pepper, she digs up the ground,
for peanuts she digs a plot,
she plants sweet manioc, she plants pineapple;
that's a proper woman," one says.
(Text 2, lines 115-120)

Bitter manioc and other tubers are planted in the food-plot without digging the ground or clearing the fallen trees. The cultivation of peanuts, in contrast, demands a well-tilled plot, free of trunks and stones, and arranged in rows with drainage ditches. In addition, one has to add ashes to this soil. Peanut cultivation demands a lot of work and is thus highly valued. It is to this kind of work that he refers when he says: "she digs up the ground." Arawak and Tukano-speaking groups do not grow peanuts; it only occurs among the groups living south of the Caquetá river.

Yetárafue in relation to male and female work in agriculture contains an implicit statement of ethnic identity, demarcating the limits of "propriety" for behavior and marriage alliances.

This is marked, for men, in basketry, and for women, in the skills related to growing certain cultivated crops.

Section ii contains three stanzas. One refers to hunting traps, the second to the preparation of coca and vegetable salt, and the third is a refrain.

Hunting has a meaning that goes beyond the acquisition of food. "Tobacco hunting" consists of making dawn[16] in the body of animals that which first manifests itself as illness, rage, negligence, quarreling, and so forth. Food is only a by-product of this sort of hunting. As such, the preparation of tobacco and coca are as closely related to hunting as are the setting up of traps. Tobacco and coca are actual hunting weapons.

The significance of tobacco hunting will be discussed in detail in part II of this dissertation, where K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* recounts his experiences with this kind of hunting.

Section iii also contains three stanzas. The first refers to a girl's preparation for maternity in a very metaphorical way. Her "small basket" may refer to her womb, to which she must tie bark strips and which she must line with leaves so as to make it a useful sheath to hold food (children). Men weave baskets for women to work with; but men only weave the structure. Women have to finish them—"that is the girl's work" (lines 92-93).

In the second verse of the first stanza he warns the young man: "Once the boy has woven an open-weave basket, he must throw it away so that his sister may use it to keep manioc dough" (lines 94-95). He refers here to the *jebogaɨ* basket, which symbolizes a woman the young man should not marry—an "unproper" woman. That woman would only be useful "for his sister to store manioc dough." That is, if a man chooses such a kind of woman, it should be only as a servant of his female relatives, not as a proper wife.

After this "adolescent" phase (in which the woman makes herself ready for procreation and the man casts aside unproper women) the other two stanzas deal with the guidelines for the

caring of new life. Men have to watch over (second stanza) as women have to provide milk (third stanza). Both roles convey complex yetárafue rules which here are only sketched. A typical formulation is given to women (lines 106-110):

The same for the girl,
  for your breasts to be full of milk
  you will fetch water,
  you will grate sweet manioc,
  you will boil down the juice of bitter manioc.

All are activities that demand the manipulation of abundant liquids.

Section iv is one long stanza that contains a succession of advice for both sexes, and illustrates the way they will have to talk to their own children. Musically, this stanza develops as a string of short verses intoned in a similar way. This recitative alludes, with a great economy, to the everyday repetition of advice. In contrast to other "Words," yetárafue is not recited once or on special occasions. This is a Word that enters by repetition in the course of everyday life.

The verbs K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* uses to say "is seated" and "pays attention" are the same I will discuss in chapter 5, which deals with K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s establishment of a new home apart from his relatives. This section iv thus alludes to the mode of behavior proper to adulthood, which enables a man and a woman to take care of a family and establish themselves independently in a new setting.

Section v, finally, refers to relationships with other people. The first stanza deals with male behavior, although it is not explicit. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* explains that when he says "Don't touch that which belongs to another" (line 140), he is actually meaning another person's *wife*. The seriousness of the matter is stressed next (lines 145-149):

Whose child is this?
  He has no mother,
  he has no father—
  so they will speak of me
    because of your faults.

The second stanza validates these teachings by alluding to their antiquity: "Formerly, thus the ancients taught us" (line 155).

The third, again refers to other people's belongings. In this case, it is addressed to women in relation to not stealing food from another's plot.

### *III. The Word of Tobacco, Coca, Sweet Manioc, and Peanut*

Part II of the text, which we just reviewed, contains the norms of behavior that will allow young men and women to become responsible adults able to work, bring up a family, and respect other people. The opening stanzas of part III portray those models of man and woman. The young man "is seated," (lines 170-184)

he mambes coca,
he knows how to toast the coca,
he knows how to strain the coca,
he knows how to pound the coca,
he knows how to speak.
He grows up like his father,
he searches,
and what he searches he finds.
. . . . . .
With that
he seeks.
With that heart
he goes to sleep.

And the young woman (lines 186-190):

With the thought of peanut
she goes to sleep.
With the thought of sweet manioc
she goes to sleep,
and sleeps well.

This Word on Discipline has its roots in the four main cultivated crops: for the man, tobacco and coca; for the woman, sweet manioc and peanut. Kɨnerai̱ gathers up the Word of the

Father's Leaf and returns it back to its origin—the Mother, the agricultural work—to conclude (lines 199-203):

Where did we get it from?
  This same good talk, comes from former times
  both for the young woman and the young man.
The same good Word is the word of tobacco and coca,
  the word of sweet manioc and peanut.

The Word of tobacco and coca speaks to gender-specific models of personal behavior. Basketry and agricultural skills mark ethnic boundaries and the limits of "propriety" in exogamy. They serve as regulators of the tension between endogamic ideal and generalized exogamy. Kɨneraɨ's statement of exogamy defines a cultural identity which is larger than that of an "ethno-linguistic group" but which is also culturally limited. He defines the People of the Center as the makers of the *ibigaɨ* basket and the planters of sweet manioc and peanut.

In part II of this dissertation I approach the discourse of tobacco and coca as a form of subjectivity. I explore the meaning of mambeing coca, "tobacco hunting," learning—and other issues which were briefly introduced in this chapter—in Kɨneraɨ's representation of himself. In part III the Word of tobacco and coca is presented in fuller detail. We will approach again the meaning of basketry and relations of alliance from the point of view of "the Mother's womb"—in contrast to "the Father's Leaf" as in this chapter.

*End Notes*

[1]The Nonuya, for instance, have sought funding from NGOs, government agencies, etc. (from the whites) for their project of "cultural recuperation."

[2]In the myth "The Creation," collected by Preuss in 1913 from Uitoto Murui Indians (speakers of the *mɨika* dialect), it is said: "There was nothing, there were no trees. In the void, with the thread of a dream he gave form to it, with his breath he gave form to it" (Preuss, 1994, vol. II, p. 19). This is my retranslation from Uitoto *mɨika* of Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros' retranslation of Preuss' translation from Uitoto (Preuss published all his collected texts in bilingual form). The following is Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros' retranslation of the same excerpt: "What things would there be? There were no trees. Surrounded by the void, the Father controlled it with the help of a dreamed thread and his breath" (Preuss, 1994, vol. II, p. 19, my translation). Preuss' German version of the same excerpt is as follows: "Kein Stab war vorhanden, um es zu halten: an einem Traumfaden hielt er den Trug mit den Hauche" ("There was no staff available to hold it. With the breath, he held the delusion in the thread of a dream") (Preuss, 1921, p. 166, my translation). I translate the Uitoto verb *mozíñote* as "to give form"; Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros translate it as "to control"; and Preuss translate it as "to hold."

[3]In the myth of the origin of the tribes, when the first beings came out of the hole of awakening, they had tails, which the hero Buinaima cut off; those tails turned into stems of sugar cane.

[4]Cf. in chapter 5 the tobacco vision in which Kɨnerai saw many plants of tobacco and one plant of sweet manioc.

# PART II

# KɨNERAɨ'S BIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVES

## *Introduction to Part II*

In part I, I focused on the construction of cultural identity, relying mostly on narratives by chiefs and elders. In this part I deal with an individual who, although recognized as the "cacique" of a little community, is an individual rather isolated from public affairs.

In chapter 3 I took as a central theme "the philosophy of the axe," a dialogic discourse which conveys a selection and transformation of mythology and history. Here I focus on the self-representation of an elder and its connection with the history of contact. Kɨneraɨ's representation of himself shows both an allegiance and an acceptance of the dependence on whites, while at the same time installs and defines an ideology closely linked to the philosophy of the axe.

David Brumble (1987), from whom I borrow the term "biographical narratives," defines these through negative criteria derived from Western writing: the absence of full life accounts, the lack of connection between notions of an individual self and the narrative, the lack of chronological ordering, the absence of early childhood experiences, and the absence of "turning points" or "climatic moments" with no connection made between events.

I have collected two sets of biographical narratives from Kɨneraɨ. One is a long narration in Spanish, which was elicited by me. This narrative follows the model of what a "biography" should be. It contradicts outright Brumble's criteria. It is a full life account, chronologically ordered; it begins with memories from his early childhood, the narrated events are causally connected, and there is a particular attention to the turning points in his life, when he took decisions that shaped his subsequent life.

On the other hand, when speaking in Uitoto, Kɨneraɨ would spontaneously produce short personal narratives with quite different characteristics: they are personal stories about meaningful events; the emphasis is not on the factual reality of the events but on their moral relevance; the chronology of the event is usually vague and indeterminate; and the form of the narrative follows a formulaic style, with similar features to those posed by Ong (1982) as characterizing primary oral societies (see chapter 1, section III).

In his long narration in Spanish (five recorded hours) there are two main turning points in his life. One is the Colombo-Peruvian border conflict, the other is the acquisition of the spirit of tobacco and his power to heal. The first took place when he was a little child. The second is related to the death of his first wife and his engagement in sorcery battles, which led him to his most important dream-vision and the acquisition of his healing power.

In chapter 5 ("Kɨneraɨ's Self-Representation as a Healer") I focus on Kɨneraɨ's rhetorical representation of his life and knowledge as a healer. This chapter contains excerpts from Kɨneraɨ's recording in Spanish and three biographical narratives translated from Uitoto. They show the Word of tobacco and coca as a form of subjectivity. Kɨneraɨ develops further some of the themes already sketched in chapter 4, but taking events of his life as examples.

Chapter 6 ("The Game of the Spirit of Tobacco") is not about personal narratives of Kɨneraɨ, but about his personal view of the Indians' relationship with white people.

# Chapter 5

## KɨNERAɨ'S SELF-REPRESENTATION AS A HEALER

This chapter focuses on key moments of Kɨneraɨ's consolidation of his identity as a healer and on his rhetorical presentation of knowledge. We learn how encompassing the discourse ("Word") of tobacco and coca is as a form of subjectivity. "To be a healer" and "healing" itself transcend the mere "technical" knowledge of curing physical illnesses. They constitute a form of historical awareness expressed in a cultural topology (cultivated/wild, cool/hot, right here/out there) which define the ethical dimensions of behavior and personhood.

Section I ("Such is My Life") deals with Kɨneraɨ's acquisition of his power to heal. It presents the moral and ethical dimensions of his self-representation: mambeing coca and licking tobacco paste as forms of discipline and learning, the responsibility of family and caring for children as paradigms of his healing practice.

Section II ("This is What I Know") discusses the role of rhetorical devices in Kɨneraɨ's representation of himself. We can appreciate the subtler and more complex use of narrative strategies in Uitoto (Kɨneraɨ's native language) than in Spanish. His succinct presentation of his healing abilities alludes to fundamental dimensions of the cultural topology I mentioned above.

Section III ("Clean Up Where Your Children Will Sleep") further explores the uses of narrative strategies in the construction of memory and space. I interpret K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s narration of five hunting episodes as a statement of the psychological (and spiritual) dimensions of becoming an adult man.

Section IV ("I Conjured My Eyes"), finally, shows the rhetorical use of these biographical narratives as pedagogical tools. While representing himself as a sorcerer who has been able to acquire specialized skills (such as "seeing invisible things") he warns his audience about the dangers associated with handling carelessly this kind of "power" things.

K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* addressed the texts presented in sections II and IV to me, who acted as a conversation partner and what-sayer, in contrast to most of the other texts presented in this dissertation, which K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* addressed to one of his sons. The narration in Spanish, of which excerpts are presented in section I, was explicitly elicited by me, but K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* decided to address it to his son Argemiro. The narrative in section III was addressed to his son Blas.

### *I. "Such is My Life"*

Through his paternal lineage K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* belongs to the Ocaina people, but both his mother and the two wives he has had are speakers of Uitoto, and he has lived most of his life among that ethnic group. That is why, although an Ocaina, he speaks the Uitoto language, mainly the m*ɨ*n*ɨ*ka dialect spoken in the Igarapaná river.

The name K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* means "dry miriti palm." This is the name of an elder. It signifies that the miriti palm which has dried out—so that only the trunk remains—is where the parrot nests and lays a single egg; for this reason although it seems that the palm has died it can still produce new life. This name belongs to the filiation group of K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s father: the *K*ɨ*nere* ("miriti palm grove")

group of the Ocaina tribe. Due to the fact that his grandparents lived together with the members of the Tiger (*Jɨko*) group, Kɨneraɨ calls his lineage by its complete name: *Jɨkofo Kɨnérenɨ* "the tiger of the moriche palm grove."

Kɨneraɨ was born near Tarapacá, Putumayo river, on the Colombo-Brazilian frontier (see map 2), a few years before the border conflict between Colombia and Peru of 1932-33. His birth in such a far-off land was part of the great indigenous exodus which resulted from the violence and forced migrations promoted by the rubber companies at the beginning of this century, especially by the notorious Casa Arana. After the conflict between Colombia and Peru, the Igaraparaná river, the ancient homeland of the Uitoto and Ocaina groups, was deserted. The establishment of a Capuchin mission in La Chorrera in the 1930s, in the mid-Igaraparaná, stimulated the repopulation of the river. In the 1940s, Kɨneraɨ's father also decided to return, with his family, to his native land. They first lived in La Chorrera, where Kɨneraɨ received a basic education and got married towards the end of the 1940s. It was then that he began to mambe coca. In his own words:

> It was then that my father said, you are already married, now you have to mambe, you are now going to begin your work; and now, well, [because] you know, for this reason you now have a wife, now you must mambe. Well then, he was already mambeing, so he now toasted some coca and got some vegetable salt. Then in that *uiyobe* [heliconia] leaf—he brought a fresh leaf from the forest—there he put about two spoonfuls [of coca powder], and in another leaf he put tobacco paste, like this, well prepared, well mixed with vegetable salt from that *jarɨna* [a palm species] and he conjured a tobacco leaf. Afterwards he was conjuring the coca with tobacco paste. Then he said to me: Now it's ready, mambe! So, that was the first time, then, that I began to mambe.
>
> He had already begun to talk to me, since I already had a wife, to take care of her by myself: Here you have to work; when a man marries he has to have a food-plot, he has to have everything and know how to weave a basket, a sieve; you already know this, I can't be telling you what to do; good, now prepare coca on your own, pound it, sieve it; when there isn't any then you have to bring it from the food-plot—he would say. Good, I would say. And so on and so forth. You mustn't sleep, he would say, one sleeps and gets up and licks tobacco and mambes a bit, and then you lie down so that you get used to all this, because later on you're going to have a child. Only he didn't say all this at once, but he was always seated there in the mambeing place, talking, and I was beside him.

> That is how we lived and then the first child, my eldest son, was born. Now's the time, he told me, now you have to look after things, now you're going to learn a lot of things; before, when you were on your own, you only ate and slept, but now you're no longer going to sleep like that, I am only going to watch you. So I now only thought about all this that I am telling you. I no longer thought about anything else, I was now really worried about all this. So then, I continued and never stopped mambeing to this very day.

Kɨnerai̇ had four children by his first marriage, three of whom are still alive. His wife died accidentally towards the end of the 1950s and Kɨnerai̇ stayed a widower for ten years, during which he looked after his family on his own. During this period he was working for the missionaries in La Chorrera. He also travelled during that time. He visited other indigenous groups and learned many things—about healing and about black magic.

Then, towards the end of the 1960s, he got married for the second time, to a niece of his first wife. Kɨnerai̇ relates:

> Yes, after that, well, I was already living here, so, I no longer left this place to travel far away, but once more the only thing I thought about now was how to sustain my children, how to look after them, so that I would be able to know about the things our grandfather taught us. Whether it was true or false, I would say to myself. So I got down to work and sowed my coca and tobacco, and now that was for looking, for searching well. Because one cannot know just like that, but one must work in order to see, one must prepare tobacco and coca. Because they used to say that this is how one learns, this is how one searches.
>
> But I was no longer with my father; first I lived with my father and later, when I came to live here, I was already on my own. Good, my father would say, he who knows how to work well and prepare well [tobacco and coca] can learn this. So I fulfilled all that. So, now I sat down with that tobacco and coca. I no longer thought about anything else, only about what that Word was like, the Word of coca and of tobacco and of sweet manioc and of peanut and of edible manioc and of bitter manioc—all of them. So, from then on, I began to see things really well, I now had to get drunk with that [tobacco and coca] in order to look: is it possible or not? Because they say that there, in tobacco, is the spirit, and that spirit is in coca. So when one looks by himself, then one can say that it *is* there. But what another relates one believes, but you almost cannot believe it. In all this I, well, I had to find out for myself. I was already making vegetable salt, everything, all well prepared.
>
> I would get drunk and I would only see, so to speak, the Word of coca, of tobacco. Everything was there, that is, all about peanut, about edible

> manioc, everything. I only heard the word, but I wanted to see the spirit of tobacco, of coca. I worried a lot about this. And he [the spirit] would say that I still wasn't ready. So once again I had to get drunk, get drunk by means of the drunkenness of tobacco, so that I could be shown a thing like that, like that. . . . Then, as I already had everything ready in myself, then I would be able to see a thing like that—it looked blue—but then it would get lost again. So I thought, is it that I can't see it like that, or it's not possible? Then, since it is the pure spirit of tobacco, now finally, the tobacco [spirit]—since as they say, you cannot get hold of it that easily and in all this I took a long time—then the spirit still told me that: The Word of tobacco has not formed in your heart, recite these invocations. But I still hadn't recited this invocation of the spirit of tobacco, then I had to conjure it in tobacco paste and in a leaf of tobacco. Then I thought that it took no more than that to see with this, that I could say that yes, I do have the spirit of tobacco—but it wasn't so.
>
> Then I had to conjure the tobacco paste. I now licked it and smoked it, so that it now left my heart, it came out of me like that, it came out sort of green, so that now it was ready, I now have it. Then the spirit said: Well, you can now heal your baby, your wife, your children, that invocation is only to care for one's home; now you *can* recite invocations, he told me. And from there on I recited invocations.

Kɨnerai̶ settled down in the place where he lives to this day, at the foot of a rocky outcrop near the Igaraparaná river (see map 2).[1] He continued studying the spirit of tobacco until the second son of his first marriage died in an accident, a young man in his twenties who was his right arm and companion. In that trance the spirit of tobacco revealed him an important vision:

> After that I was sad once again. So I felt this sadness, this pain, right here. And as they say, well, I was crying, and, well then, thinking. And from thinking so much, in this state the very same spirit that I had then told me [in the drunkenness of tobacco]: Why are you crying? He didn't die and you are going to go beyond all that, you must have five sons, he told me—just like that, as though he were a person. Look, he said, you already see tobacco plants here. But, how big those plants were! With a lot of seeds. And in their midst, there was a plant of sweet manioc, only one. There it is, he said, but you aren't going to see it just yet, this takes time. So I thought, when I am going to see it? After that I heard another word saying: You have to look after this now, because you were sort of praying and loved your son a lot and want to have more sons, so you have to look after it; you shouldn't think about problems or be envious; you have to be disciplined about this, there I will see whether you obeyed my word; if you take up the word of anger, of fighting, again, or do anything other than my command, then you're no longer going to live in this world—the spirit told me.

From his second marriage five sons and a daughter were actually born. The tobacco plants that he saw in that vision signified the sons and the plant of sweet manioc—only one—signified his daughter. The tobacco plants he saw were big and full of seeds, which meant that these children would produce many descendants. These children and descendants are what the spirit ordered him to look after.

That same Word for looking after his children is the Word K̶inera̶i̶ speaks in the texts I have gathered. These new children have already grown up and are already producing those new descendants. The first grandson from his second marriage was born in 1992 and the children of his first marriage have already produced six grandchildren.

K̶inera̶i̶ further relates:

> So it has been from that time to the present day. And I continue studying how to heal the sicknesses that happen. Ah! but not just like that, but with tobacco and coca and the leaf of tobacco. If I had left it like that, without study, I wouldn't have known anything. Like that I went on getting drunk and went as far as I could, because one can't say that I arrived where no one can go, I don't say that, no. I keep up with it and although I'm old, I continue. That is how I learned to do my first healing with tobacco and after that the tobacco cure for hemorrhages, for madness, for tumors, for a person who is skinny or for a woman who has not been able to have a child; all that I learned as well. And to fortify a woman who has always had small babies, and another invocation, and another. So I learned that as well, the invocation for coughing, for fever, all that I have. And to find out what's happening to a child or relation who lives far away, to see into that. And I conjured my eyes [with magic powers]. All that, then, I learned, yes. And since then, up to this day, in this I live, thinking about how you can learn another invocation. It may be that there is or isn't one, but it always takes time to know about another invocation. And I do this in the midst of many envies, many problems, but I don't let them affect me. Such is my life.

### *II. "This Is What I Know"*

Compare the last excerpt of the previous section, recorded in Spanish, with the text that follows, which was recorded in Uitoto. Both are about the same subject, his healing knowledge,

but in the latter the expression accomplishes more power and the focus is much clearer, as we will see. This text displays some of the rhetoric devices that are common is Uitoto oral performance: parallelism (repetition of clauses with the same structure but different contents), use of adverbs to assert the factual reality of what is spoken (such as "truly"), a recurrent intonational pattern (which is represented by the division in lines and verses). This text is not properly a narration. It is a list of some of the many illnesses and problems he is able to cure, following a repetitive pattern.

Here follows the text, which I translate complete (the original Uitoto text can be found in the appendix 4):

Text 3

*This is What I Know*

Then truly,
the first, truly,
disease
I, truly,
heard about 5
was the pollution of a small baby.
Then, I know about that.
After that,
the child develops fungi in his mouth;
that 10
develops in a small child.
I know about that.
Then,
that small child gets pain in his back.
I know the spell for that. 15
After that,
he gets diarrhea,
he gets polluted.
Then, I know the spell for that.

After that, 20
the child cannot get walking.
I know about that.

After that,
  the child gets fever.
  I know about that.
After that,
  the child is vomiting.
  I know about that.

After that,
  now truly,
  the child grows up and gets ill,
  he eats soil once in a while.
  Then, I know the spell for that.
Then,
  the child grows into a young boy;
  now, evil things happen to him.
  Now truly,
  he gets wounded,
  he pricks himself with spines.
  I know the spell for that.
That child develops inflamed boils.
  That spell I know.
That child gets a cold.
  That spell I know.

In that child's body growths appear.
  That I know.
That child has cough.
  That spell I know.
That child has strong fever.
  That spell I know.
That child gets disease in his eyes.
  That spell I know.

That child, truly,
  goes crazy.
  That spell I know.
That girl also goes crazy.
  That spell I know.
That child's belly gets filled with air.
  That spell I know.
That child gets measles.
  That spell I know.

That child's body aches,
  or a girl's body aches.
  That spell I know.
In that one,

now truly,
rage grows.
Also I know.
That child gets hot because he smokes tobacco.
That spell I know. 70
That
woman gets contaminated with the river dolphin's magic.
That spell I know.

That young boy gets anemic.
That spell I know. 75
The creature in that woman's womb is turned upside down.
That spell I know.
By somebody's witchcraft an illness grows.
That spell I also know.
What is like that 80
one has to study carefully.

He molests the neighbor's daughter with mad words.
I also know.
That one has sleepiness.
Also I know. 85
That one's heart gets dispirited,
he is like sick.
Also I know.
A person's heart fades.
Also I know. 90
The word of the dreams I also know;
truly, I know about dreams.
Bad dreams, ominous dreams
I also know [about that].

That one grows thin. 95
That spell I also know.
That one gets sick for using power substances.
Also I know.
That one becomes weak.
That spell I also know. 100
A neighbor's heart builds up bad feelings.
The spell to restore good feelings I know.
A neighbor's heart is hot.
The spell I also know [to cool him down].

So it is. 105
What I slowly sought, I found.
And so, that one is constipated inside.
That spell I also know.

That one has pain in his spleen.
  That spell I also know. 110
In this way,
  the Word I slowly sought with tobacco and coca
  is like this,
  well known to keep working.
In this way 115
  this Word arose.

This is a tight summary of knowledge. It is, as K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says, "just titles." One can recognize in these titles several categories of illnesses and problems. The first part of the text (lines 1-28) deals with the illnesses of small babies and children. They belong to the category of *jenuiza*ɨ, "pollution." These are health problems that one would expect to happen in a baby. When the newborn gets into the world it gets contaminated with its pollution. The source of that pollution are the animals; they are the "masters" of these diseases. These animals are summoned in the healing spells to treat small babies. In those spells the animals' pollution—which for them is their "emblem" (the feathers of birds, the shell of turtles, the smell of fish, and so forth)—is returned to them, thus healing the sick child.

From lines 29 through 61, he deals with the illnesses and problems of young men and women. These belong to the category of *z*ɨ*era*. This word refers to problems a person gets into because of his/her behavior. The appearance of any of these problems (pricking with spines, getting inflamed boils, going crazy, rage, and so forth) is the indication of some inadequate behavior on the part of the boy or girl. The healing spells to cure this kind of problems refer to the mythology, where all those evil consequences, and their related misbehavior, already happened to the mythic characters.

The third category also refers to *z*ɨ*era*, but, in this case, derived from the contact with power substances—either tobacco or the river dolphin (lines 62 through 81).

The illnesses referred to in lines 82 through the end fall within the category of *zegóruiya*, "to debilitate." It means that the person has not observed the proper restrictions when using tobacco, coca or other power substance. Thus, instead of becoming stronger, he or she debilitates (the heart fades, the person gets dispirited, grows thin, becomes weak).

In this narrative K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* asserts his knowledge of mythology and nature. This assertion, however, is not explicit, it is achieved rhetorically by his reiteration of his ability to cure all those diseases. The text thus does not stand by itself, it needs to be put in a cultural context which the narrator assumes in the listener. Such a context is the same "cultural topology" I attempted to outline in part I of this dissertation and that will be made fully explicit in part III. We see the role of the performative functions of language in linking historical memory, cultural construction and representation of subjectivity.

The three categories I mentioned above, convey a conception of "illness" that goes beyond physical well-being. He alludes to the opposition between "right here" and "out there"—or, in other words, culture and nature. The source of illness—either physical, emotional or spiritual—comes from "out there" (*jino jazík*ɨ*mona*). The illness of a baby comes from the pollution of the animals; the illness of a young man or woman comes from his/her unproper behavior, which is associated to the mythological beings that were "rejected" out of the Center.

The most dangerous illness, however, is the illness of the axe, derived from using *juziña úai* ("word of fighting"). It is to this kind of (social) illness that he refers in section I when he narrates that the spirit of tobacco said to him: "You shouldn't think about problems or be envious; you have to be disciplined about this, there I will see whether you obeyed my word; if you take up the word of anger, of fighting, again, or do anything othar than my command, then you're no longer going to live in this world," the spirit told him.

*III. "Clean Up Where Your Children Will Sleep"*

The text that follows resembles in its structure the one presented in the previous section. Both texts are very effective in constructing memory and space through a patterned narration of events.

The following text contains the narration of five hunting events. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ recapitulates an important moment in his life: his definitive separation from his father and his establishment in a new place by himself after he got married for the second time. This story is a clear statement by K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ of the way he managed the psychic and social relations he had to sort out in order to establish himself as an independent man. Up to the present day, K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ stands out as a very independent man, proud of his knowledge, to whom others either fear, admire or despise.

This is the story (the original Uitoto version can be found in the appendix 4). It goes back to the end of the 1960s when he established with his second wife at the foot of the rocky outcrop near the Igaraparaná river (see map 2).

Text 4

*On How the Elders Clean the Place Where They Will Live*

[i]

Then, so it was here
when I first came
to found this place.
So, truly,
it appeared that there had been others here 5
who were like the inhabitants of this place.
For this reason, here
one had to clean
the filth that was here.
There was filth indeed but 10
still one couldn't perceive it.

That is why, truly,
the ancient people had the saying:
"Clean up where your children will sleep,"
the ancients used to say. 15
But this does not mean
that you must clean inside the house.
That filth is out there, in the forest;
out there, there is fire,[2] there is fatigue, there is illness.
Well then, truly, 20
I examined this place.
The ancients were afraid of this place,
I truly examined it;
then I set up traps.
I set up traps 25
and put an end to it.

[ii]

Later on,
during the night
something came in the form of my father.
My father said, 30
"Why did you block my path?" he said,
"You don't recognize me as your father!" he said
"You hate me!" he said.
He was furious, holding a little machete in his hand.
It looked just like him! 35
Having said that, he turned around and left.

On waking up I told my wife,
"I dreamed of my father,
my father was furious with me because I'd blocked his path."
"Is that so?" she said. 40
We finished eating and went to check the trap.
We went, and there it was sitting
an ocelot,
a male,
caught by a foot. 45

I was about to hit it with the axe handle, but from there,
haa! it jumped
towards me,
but it couldn't reach me.
"A tough guy?" I said to myself. 50
I cut a stick and on its head,
I hit it!
Right there it fell down.
It fell breaking all the trap's
sticks and ropes into pieces; 55

then we took it away from there.
"Truly, this is the one that took my father's form,"
I said.

Then we came back,
we skinned it,
and after peeling its skin off we threw the carcass into the river.
And again I sat down.

[iii]

I sat down
and when I was
weeding near the trap
I injured the sole of my foot.
"Why did I hurt myself?
What does it mean?" I said.
When I went to sleep that night,
when I was already falling asleep,
then, an old woman came.
Well then,
"Son," she said,
"I have been walking in this forest for a long time," she said,
"I am the mistress of this place," she said,
"And look at what's happening to me," she said.
She was holding some ants in a wrapper of leaves
and she walked away crying.

Next morning, I told my wife,
"I dreamed of an old woman."
Well then, "Is it so?" she said.
We finished eating
and again we went to check the trap.
On going to check it
there she was—
now the old woman
had dawned.

"Ah!" I said.
"A giant anteater was trapped," I said.
It looked as if two of them had been trapped,
but that was because of its large tail.[3]
We pulled it out
and brought it home.
"This is the one that talked that way,
but now we have got it," I said.

[iv]

After that, again, I was paying attention.
I was paying attention and

something told me that,
"A big basket
will dawn, 100
in the trap."
But,
of course, that meant a giant armadillo.
When we went to look
a giant armadillo had fallen into the trap. 105
We brought it back
and threw it into the river.

[v]

Again,
I was paying attention.
I was again paying attention and 110
something spoke in a dream.
We were both lying in the hammock
when a Bora Indian woman came by.[4]
She came by,
all smiling she came. 115
She came smiling and shamelessly she laid down beside us.
Well then, "Get out!
I'm with my wife,"
I said.
She didn't mind 120
and it seemed she wanted to tickle me.
Well then, "Get out! Get out!" I said
and pushed her out.
She stood up and went away—
with her mouth well painted 125
with red,
well dressed—
she went away.
She would turn round, again and again, to look at me.

I told my wife, "I had this dream, 130
what might have fallen into our trap?"
We went to look,
we went.
When we arrived,
a small female 135
ocelot
had been caught by its shoulder.
"This one spoke last night," I said,
"but it has already been trapped," I said.

In this manner, 140
those

which came here
to speak in that way
were the animals
I made dawn. 145
[vi]

Finally,
when we were walking back here
I cut my hand with a thorny bush.
Again, in order to go upriver to La Chorrera,
I went to cut a *yaripa* palm[5] 150
for the canoe's cross-pieces.
The palm split in half
and the broken half remained upright.
As I cut it, it hit me in the eye
and it stayed upright. 155
My eye was bleeding.
"Perhaps it has burst," I said.

That
night
I sat down. 160
Then it came as my *compadre*[6]
Mánaɨdɨkɨ.
"*Compa*," he said,
"I've been lost for a long time in this forest but now I found you," he said.
It looked just like him! 165

"*Compa*, here is my tobacco paste," he said.
I received it, and
looking into it I saw it was full of glowworms.
Well then,
I put it down. 170
He was ashamed, he took his tobacco and went away;
he didn't say a word,
he just left.
He truly went
to fall into the trap, 175
as a jaguar.
That was the one that took Mánaɨdɨkɨ's form.

When it fell into the trap, we'd already left for Chorrera.
There,
truly, 180
it dawned.
For this reason,
those things
are so,

but when one doesn't know this, it seems as though *people* are speaking against one. 185
Truly, I already
experienced it, and
so today
so I relate it.

Kɨneraɨ tells how he cleaned the place where he lives when he first settled there. He had to hunt the animals who were the masters of the place because they would bring him and his family problems and illnesses if he left them unhunted.

This kind of "cleaning up" has two components: one is to perceive and become aware of the "filth," which manifests itself in dreams or small accidents; the other is to set up traps in the forest in which actual animals will be caught.

He says in lines 10-11: "There was filth indeed but still one couldn't perceive it." That filth is not easily detected. A man has to prepare himself with coca and tobacco, sit down to meditate, and pay attention to his heart. The heart of the seated one becomes "a trap for bad feelings," that is, he stills his heart so that any perturbing feeling can be clearly perceived. To perceive those feelings amounts to hunting them. When perturbing feelings are hunted in the heart, an animal will fall into the trap which has been set out in the forest.

This kind of hunting, "tobacco hunting," is central to the Word of tobacco and coca. Whenever a person sets out on a good endeavor, Kɨneraɨ says, problems are sure to appear, either externally—as "jealous" animals or people's sorcery—or internally, as feelings of rage, discouragement, sadness, quarrels, and so forth. The prototypical good endeavor of tobacco and coca is the raising of a family, and its correlate in the ritual world is the establishment of a maloca and the commitment to perform a set of dance rituals—a ceremonial career. When a person sets himself or herself to carry out such an endeavor, it is said that he or she has to sit down as a *buinaima*, "an ancestor."[7] Kɨneraɨ says that the animals will make every attempt to disrupt the work of a *bui-*

*naima*. In consequence, whoever sets out on the path of the *buinaima* has to become a hunter so as to open up a place for "his children to sleep."[8]

What happens "right here" (*beno*)—bad feelings, accidents, problems—is reflected "out there" (*jino*) as animals. Just to set traps out there is not enough. Those feelings (animals) first have to be defeated right here. The actual hunting takes place in dreams, then an animal will go to fall into the trap outside. This way of turning feelings and dreams into animal bodies is called *monáitate*, "to make dawn." The ability to make that happen is called *dɨona máɨrie*, "tobacco power." This power is acquired through tobacco discipline, or yetárafue.

This text makes reference to tobacco yetárafue by means of three verbs: *méiñote* "to examine," *raɨide* "to sit down," and *kakáreide* "to pay attention."

"To examine" goes together with the setting up of traps. When settling down in a new place, or a new endeavor, a man has to examine things and become aware of the place. If he notices that there is danger (filth) he has to set up traps. Kɨneraɨ says (lines 20-24):

Well then, truly,
  I examined this place.
The ancients were afraid of this place,
  I truly examined it;
  then I set up traps.

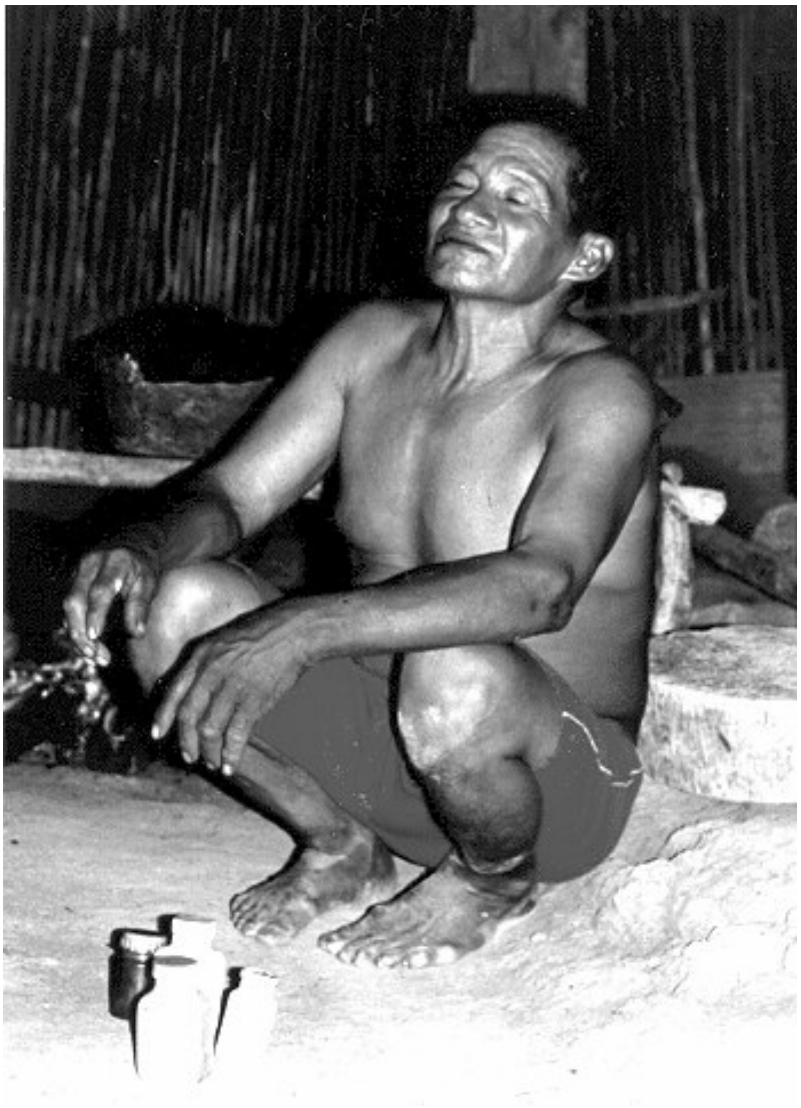
In order to "truly examine" he has to mix tobacco paste with vegetable salt. This amounts to setting up traps "right here." Then, traps are set "out there," in the forest. This alerts the game—both animals and feelings. It is like declaring war; so he says in lines 25-26: "I set up traps and put an end to it."

Then he "sits down" and "pays attention," because those animals (feelings) will come "to speak." For the Indians, "to be seated" does not mean merely to rest the body on a stool; a man sits to lick tobacco, mambe coca, concentrate, meditate, and be watchful. (The body attitude of

this “being seated” was beautifully captured by Olga L. Montenegro in photograph 3.) If he is seated and paying attention, the animals will not fool him. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ says:

> Before it falls into the trap, the animal appears in the dreams of the one who set up the trap and mixed tobacco. But it comes in the form of a person in order to try to fool him. If the one who set up the trap does not allow himself to be fooled, the animal goes to fall into the trap.

The main body of the text is devoted to the narration of five episodes of such kind of hunting. These episodes symbolize feelings that might arise when establishing a new family in a new place. In this text, K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ illustrates how he was able to defeat those feelings and turn them into forest game. Table 6 summarizes the five events.



Photograph 3

K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* seated in the mambeing place
(Photo by Olga L. Montenegro)

Table 6

*K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s Dreams When He Cleaned the Place Where He Lives*

| *Dream* | *Attitude* | *Trick* | *Game* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Father | furious,<br>holds a machete | says he blocked his path | male ocelot,<br>caught by a foot |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Old woman | sad, holds a bundle of ants | says she is the mistress of the place | giant anteater, it looks like two anteaters |
| Basket | impersonal | something speaks | giant armadillo |
| Bora woman | seductive, well dressed and painted | gets into the hammock, tickles him | female ocelot, caught by its shoulder |
| *Compadre* | friendly, has a tobacco pot | offers his tobacco paste | jaguar, caught when they were away |

The table can be read in two ways. For Kɨneraɨ, different social relations (left column) are understood as dreamlike manifestations of animal spirits, which would be the real source of the feelings associated with those relations: with his father, with different women, with his *compadre*.

One could also read the table the other way around. It is conceivable that the hunted animals are metaphors for the feelings associated with very real and troubling social relations. Kɨneraɨ had to resolve these feelings in order to be able to establish himself as an independent man in a new place.

Kɨneraɨ settled himself in this place after he got married for the second time, towards the end of 1960s. Before, he had lived in his father's maloca, next to other relatives. He had also worked as an employee of La Chorrera's boarding school for ten years, after he became a widower. Indians were afraid, for different reasons, of the place where he decided to establish his new home. As nobody had lived in that place for many years, game was likely to be abundant.

The first troubling relation he had to face was with his father, who was a powerful shaman and a proud and angry man. Kɨneraɨ hunts his father's rage in the form of that male ocelot—"It looked just like him!" (line 35). It is meaningful that the trap does not kill the ocelot at once but only catches it by a foot. Kɨneraɨ, with determination, delivers the finishing stroke—"A tough guy?" he says before knocking it on the head with a stick (lines 50-53). He expresses his feelings

toward his father—the secret competition between the two, the problems of his wife living next to her in-laws—by transposing them to the sphere of hunting.

The second type of relation he has to solve is with the grandmother, who is a source of sadness. She might represent the past, the unconscious—and a glance at the history of the last hundred years of this region shows us how sad indeed this past was. She is "the mistress of this place." That sadness is so big and its tail is so large that when it falls into the trap it seems that there are two animals.

The third episode is with a big basket. This metaphor is easy to interpret after knowing the story of the giant armadillo (text 2). So it was for Kɨneraɨ: "But, of course, that meant a giant armadillo" (lines 102-103), he concludes right away. The giant armadillo is also a feminine power, it represents the lazy and deceitful woman—the "unproper" woman whom one should not marry. Her power is so dangerous that Kɨneraɨ refers to it in the most succinct manner. When we recorded the story of the giant armadillo, Kɨneraɨ advised me to lick a lot of tobacco before we started—"for your body to be very hot"—because by mentioning her name we would attract "that woman"—together with her powers of deceit. He simply kills her and throws her into the river.

Another female, the seductive one, also appears. She is seductive and shameless. She is not violent, like his father, she is not sad, like his grandmother, she is not deceitful and lazy, like the unproper woman—she is just easy to seduce, and she keeps turning back as she walks away, in case he changes his mind. She is represented by a Bora woman—a marriageable woman, a proper basket. But she does not have yetárafue (proper behavior) she does not respect another woman's marriage. She is also killed by the trap.

Finally, the relation of godfathership—an institution derived from Catholic missionaries—is friendly and obliging, but also has hidden dangers. In the dream, it is his *compadre* Mánaɨdɨkɨ who appears. He was a renowned shaman and sorcerer. Those ties of friendship and

godfathership can be as dangerous as the jaguar. His *compadre* offers him his tobacco, which is a sign of friendship among men—and an act of hostility when refused. However, K+nera+ is able to notice that his tobacco is not proper tobacco, it is not real friendship—it is just an illusion, like the glowworms that glitter in his tobacco. He used to tell me that the jaguar's tobacco is its claws, as is the *compadre*'s friendship. K+nera+ is on his way to La Chorrera when that jaguar falls into the trap.

That jaguar (false friendship)—or, in another sense, the ties and obligations of godfathership—also manifest themselves as small and annoying accidents—cutting the hand, injuring an eye. K+nera+ gets rid of them.

In the analysis that precedes I have reversed K+nera+'s thought, and perhaps he would find my reasoning—that the real source of those feelings are problematical social relations, not vengeful animals—wholly unacceptable. He concludes the text by reasserting the exact opposite:

For this reason,
those things
are so,
but when one doesn't know this, it seems as though *people* are speaking against one.
(Lines 182-185)

### *IV. "I Conjured My Eyes"*

The text discussed in the preceding section represents K+nera+'s becoming an adult man, cleaning up the place where he will raise a family. This hunting takes place in the spiritual sphere (cleaning the invisible filth of the animal masters of the place), the psychic sphere (ordering and clearing up the relations with his father, women, and peers), and in the physical world (opening up a natural space for himself and his family).

The following story is about one event K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ always loves to brag about: the power he acquired to be able "to see the things one cannot see with these material eyes," by conjuring his eyes with magical powers. This is a power that helps him in his healing practice. It is a specialized skill of a sorcerer.

The story was addressed to me and a few other Indian boys who were very curious about learning more about such a power. The narrative exemplifies a pedagogic technique of K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~—common to the People of the Center—of teaching about something by showing the evil consequences of not behaving properly. All the mistakes, errors and faults you have incurred in can be turned into stories to teach the new generations, he says.

Conjuring the eyes symbolizes a man's capacity to see and discover the causes of illnesses; it is a power to watch over his family. It is the correlate of a woman's capacity to procreate and bring about life.

This is the story (the Uitoto original text can be found in the appendix 4).

Text 5

*A Story About Conjuring the Eyes* and *Problems Resultingf From That*

This happened
  a long time ago
  when I
  was still
  a young boy. 5
But, I did not have any knowledge,
  I only heard
  what the elders told.
Because
  knowledge is not acquired so easily 10
  that I could have known that quickly.
Well then,
  as a boy, I conjured my eyes.

Well then, the name of that remedy is
*jifíkona*;[9] 15
with that remedy, I conjured my eyes.[10]
After conjuring my eyes
I disciplined myself;
truly I was well disciplined,
for a month I curbed myself. 20
Because one feels pain in vain
if one does not discipline oneself.[11]
Well then,
one does not eat grubs,
one does not taste sapote 25
one does not taste forest grape,
one does not taste pineapple,
one does not eat animals that bite,
one does not eat fierce animals,
one does look at women's faces, 30
but one takes care of the eyes.

Afterwards,
truly,
one tests the eyes.
But only when 35
one's child is ill,
when one's wife is ill,
when one's sister is ill,
when one's brother is ill.
Then one sits down 40
to see the illnesses that there are,
to see the filth that there is,
to see the anger that there is.
For those reasons one is seated.

Well then, 45
when I had conjured my eyes,
one man of the *enókaizaɨ* clan,[12]
whom I call son-in-law,
arrived.
He came from the big river,[13] 50
his name is Aníbal.
Well then, "Conjure my eyes too,
father-in-law," he said.
Then,
I said, "Well, son-in-law, this 55
is good for one who has not tried another remedy,
but is bad for one who has tried another remedy,"

I told him.
Well then,
"I haven't tried anything!" he said,
"truly, I haven't tried anything," he said.

Well then,
"Ah!" I said,
"Come here, I'll conjure you."
Well then, I conjured
his eyes.
Well then,
"You have to discipline yourself for a month," I said.
Well then, "Yes," he said.
After I conjured him,
he left and went to La Chorrera.

Upon his return from La Chorrera,
he arrived at our house.
His eyes,
now truly,
were upside down,
he was suffering a lot.
Well then,
"What's happened to you?" I asked him.
"My eyes are ruined," he said.
"Is that so?" I said.

And because
our elder was still alive,
how could I not tell him?
Well then, I said, "Papa,
my son-in-law's eyes are hurting him."
Well then, my father said to me,
"Does that gentleman, by chance, toast our coca?
Why should we worry about him?
He does not toast our coca."
Then, I said,
"Ah!" I said.

We were preparing our coca,
and we had already finished.
I was watchful, with the coca;
he was crying out in pain.
Well then, I called him,
"Son-in-law, come here," I said.
Well then, he came.

"How are you?" I said. 100
"My eyes
are now ruined," he said.
"What remedy did you use?"
"I did not use any remedy . . . " "You *did* use one!"
I told him. 105
After that, I began
to have doubts,
and I decided to withdraw the power of
the *jifíkona* I had placed on his eyes.[14]

Once that was done, 110
I said, "Now, go to sleep;
in a while,
if I see anything
I'll tell you later," I said.
Well then, he went to sleep, 115
and he became silent,
he slept calmly.
After that, I was watchful,
truly, I was watchful.
And so, when my body cooled down 120
my heart started to fall asleep.

I was falling asleep
when something came . . .
Something came flying over the top of the house, it came after me,
it tried to catch me. 125
I turned to look, "There it is!"
And I
scared it away with my hand.
After scaring it away,
now this thing—like this, like this, like this— 130
now it was flying like that,
and went over there to dawn.
Well then,
"Ah!" I said,
"so, there is something!" I said, 135
and then I woke up.
I woke up, "This is
what I dreamt,"
I said,
"What does it mean?" 140

I was remembering the dream
when the day broke.
Now, the day broke,

and I went to the lake
to fish. 145
There, I was fishing and fishing.
I was fishing
until noon.
I don't know where that hawk came from.
Now, that hawk came flying. It came, I was looking at it; 150
I was looking and looking at that hawk,
when it came straight down
from the sky
to the middle of the lake,
as they usually do to catch fish, 155
and it caught one!

Well then, when I was just about to leave,
the hawk that flew down when I was about to go
broke its wing
upon hitting the water. 160
It came just to where I was,
it came swimming.
It came swimming, swimming, and reached me;
and I, with my fishing pole,
caught it and threw it into the canoe. 165
Well then, I went back to the house
and brought it with me.

Well then,
I called my son-in-law,
"This is what damaged your eyes," 170
I told him.
"You, then, used the remedy of this hawk,"
I told him.
Well then, "Yes," he said,
"the people from the big river," he said, 175
"the boys,
in order to catch fish,
conjure their eyes with hawk's magic," he said.
"Well then, I, living in their midst,
I told them to give it to me as well; 180
well then, they conjured me."
"Ah!" I said,
"Why did you lie to me?
For that reason you almost ruined your eyes,"
I said. 185
"From now on,
that power will be useless to you,"
in this way I told him.

In this story K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* is the hero. He succeeds in conjuring his eyes and following all the prescribed restrictions; he correctly advises his son-in-law but this one runs into problems because he lies to K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*; and he is able to discover and defeat the cause of his son-in-law's problem.

This is another episode of "tobacco hunting," resembling those narrated in text 4 (section III), in which the actual hunting takes place in dreams. This narrative illustrates, to K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s young audience, the importance of using "power" plants properly, that is, to discipline oneself, follow the restrictions, and not mix them with other powers—animal powers in this case. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s own eyes, which had already been conjured, allowed him to discover, in a dream vision, the source of his son-in-law Aníbal's problem. In that vision, he strikes an animal spirit, and the next day a hawk breaks its wing when diving for a fish in the lake—a very rare thing for a hawk. This happened, K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* explains, because the spirit of the animal had been already struck in the dream; then it went to dawn in the lake.

The restrictions associated with the conjuring of the eyes prescribe two kinds of things: to avoid contact with sweet things, including women, and with animals that bite or are fierce. The two prohibitions allude to a delicate balance. Sweetness distracts the eye, so that one concentrates upon non-essential things—therefore, making visions unreliable. While fierceness can damage the eye, as was the case with Aníbal, who had previously conjured his eyes with the power of the hawk, a fierce animal, and almost ruined his eyes.

### *V. Concluding Remarks*

"And since then," K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says, "up to this day, in this I live, thinking about how you can learn another invocation." K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s identity as a healer and as a man is rooted in the acquisition

of "the spirit of tobacco." In his dream-vision he sees a lot of mature plants of tobacco, full of seeds, and, in their midst, a single plant of sweet manioc. These plants are—as in the assertion of the Muinane elder ("Tobacco is us")—the people who are to come, the future generations the spirit commanded him to care for. This was a crucial moment for K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~. It constitutes the ethical foundation of his Word of tobacco and coca. Tobacco, coca, and the cultivated species, which are grown and consumed by all these groups, serve as a rallying point around which a new supraethnic ideology can be constructed—in contrast to the mythological characters and references, which are ethnically specific and allude to a past of violence and feuding. It fulfills a function similar to the heron, as we saw in chapter 3.

This discourse defines subjectivity in terms of a cultural space. In his recount of knowledge (section II), K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ relies on the fundamental axes of that space (cultivated/wild, tobacco-coca/mythological characters) to make a rhetorical presentation of his knowledge, with a great economy of language.

In the tobacco-hunting episodes (section III), he lays out that space more explicitely. He shows how by establishing a new home he is also dealing with the sociological and psychological dimensions of becoming an adult. These dream-hunting episodes are statements of his relationship to historical memory and social relations. He deals with his father's rage (perhaps reminiscent of the cannibalistic violence and inter-group feuding), his grandmother's sadness (symbolic of the catastrophic collapse of a past world), the seductive and the deceitful women (images of unproper forms of alliance), and with his *compadre* (a token of new forms of peer relation brought about by christianization). They all appear in dreams as animals that want to fool him. He rejects them, hunts them, and discards them. In this manner he "cleans up a place for his children to sleep." He is in fact constituting himself as a new kind of man.

The conjuration of his eyes, finally, is the expression, in terms of sorcery skills, of the clear-sightedness of this new form of identity. It allows him to detect and kill his son-in-law's mixing of an animal power with the word of tobacco and coca.

The development of such an ability of perception could also be expanded to the formation of a national consciousness. I was struck by Kɨnerai's comments about the national seals of Colombia and Peru. Both seals have animal figures on them: the Colombian seal has a condor, the Peruvian seal has a llama. Kɨnerai read the condor as a "harpy eagle" and the llama as a "red deer." The harpy eagle's feathers in the Colombian seal, he remarked, "are leafs of tobacco"; so, the Colombian seal is a symbol of *yaroka dɨona* "thunder tobacco"—that is why the Colombians are strong people. The red deer in the Peruvian seal, on the other hand, "is the spirit of rage and deceitfulness," he remarked; it is a spirit inimical of the spirit of tobacco—that is why the Peruvians are deceitful and are the enemies of Colombians.

The next chapter is about Kɨnerai's perception of the "white people," as it is constructed from the standpoint of his self-representation and the ethical dimensions of the Word of tobacco and coca. It deals with the acquisition of "game" (tools, cash, things) from the white people. The subject matter of the chapter (the road of the white people, and my relationship with him) can be read as a new form of the "tobacco hunting" we learned in this chapter.

*End Notes*

[1.] That place is called Cordillera in Spanish, and Adofikɨ in Uitoto.

[2.] Fire, that is, rage.

[3.] The giant anteater's tail is almost as large as its body and has a thick coat of fur.

[4.] The Bora Indians live in the lower Igaraparaná river and are neighbors of the Ocaina and Uitoto (see map 2).

[5.] *Yaripa*: Spanish name of *Dictyocaryum ptariense*, one of several palm species employed in the construction of houses.

[6.] *Compadre* (Spanish): godfather or father (in relation to one another); abbreviated as "*compa*." Kɨnerai used the Spanish word in the Uitoto original text (*compadre* has not translation into Uitoto).

[7.] *Buinaima* is a title given to a person of honor or wisdom. The masters of dance rituals usually add the title Buinaima to their ritual names. Kɨnerai uses the expression Moo Buinaima "Father Buinaima" to refer to "the Creator." The term *buinaima* is associated with water, and so it is said that the *buinaima*'s heart is as cool as water. The fresh-water dolphin is also called *buinaima*.

[8.] reuss notes the following in relation to this term: "An aquatic serpent; one of the mythical primates that lived in the water; persons who possess specific magical powers; beings that pierce holes; surname of the ancestors and beings of the netherworld; . . . sage, knower of something" (1923, pp. 687-688, my translation).

[9.] In the dancing rituals, the master refers to the people as *kue urukɨ*, which means "my children."

[10.] *Jifíkona* is a small cultivated tree, about one and a half meters high. A sample, collected by biologist Olga L. Montenegro, was classified as the Apocynaceae *Bonafousia tetrastachya*. Its Uitoto name is almost identical to that of the sapote tree: *jífikona* (only the accent changes).

[11.] onstanza La Rotta, in her study of Miraña ethnobotany, writes about this species: "The sap is applied to the eyes to clear the sight and to succeed in hunting." (La Rotta, n.d., p. 84) The name of this species in the Miraña language (*mudsese*) is also, as in Uitoto, identical to the name of the sapote tree. It is remarkable that another species with similar uses, the Rubiaceae *Psychotria*

*brachybotrys* described by La Rotta in her study of Andoque ethnobotany, also has a name in Andoque (*tasu*) identical to the name of the sapote tree. La Rotta writes about this *Psychotria*: "The crushed leaves are mixed with water and applied, in drops, to the eyes so that the person may have 'clear sight' and the ability to see hunted animals and also to 'see with knowledge'" (La Rotta, 1983, p. 72).

[12.] To conjure the eyes, fresh leaves of *jifíkona* are wrapped in a leaf of heliconia with some water, put next to the fire to cook for awhile, and then two drops of the liquid are sprinkled over each eye. That is why K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ uses the verb *daite*, which I translate as "to conjure," which literally means "to sprinkle, to spray."

[13.] K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ says that when the drops are applied, the affected person feels a strong pain in the eyes. If he does not discipline himself he will have suffered the pain in vain because the drug will have no effect or can seriously damage the eyes—as is the case in this story.

[14.] *Enókaiza~~ɨ~~* is a Uitoto clan from the Putumayo river.

[15.] The Putumayo river.

[16.] That is, he withdrew the *jifíkona* power by means of a spell.

Chapter 6

# THE GAME OF THE SPIRIT OF TOBACCO

In the last chapter K̶ineraɨ represented himself as a knowledgeable healer who searched and attained "the spirit of tobacco," who was able to defeat the animal spirits that tried to fool him, and who achieved clear-sightedness to protect himself and his family. The same cultural space that defines his subjectivity is what articulates his perception of the relation to others, particularly the white people. I argue that the metaphor of ritual hunting is central in this construction.

This chapter is divided into two sections. In section I, I present one text which contains K̶ineraɨ's statement of the historical relation of the Indians with the white people. This cultural and historical awareness is further developed in section II, where I present excerpts of K̶ineraɨ's statement to the press upon receiving a national award on Indian literature. I discuss our ethnographic relationship, and the issues of the passage from the oral to the written.

## *I. The Road of The White People*

The text I discuss in this section is not a personal narrative as the previous ones, but K̶ineraɨ's personal view of the Indians' relationship with the white people. The tone and the style

dramatically change as we get into "the road of the axe." This is something fearsome and dangerous. We return here to the themes of chapter 3: the appropriation of the white people's technology, the philosophy of production and multiplication, the dangers associated with the acquisition of these tools, and the establishment of a peaceful relationship with the whites. Here K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* refers to "white people" with the Uitoto word *r*ɨ*ama* "cannibal," which is common in the Igaraparaná river, although it is forbidden by the Uitoto who live in the Caquetá river.[1]

A speech of his son Blas, titled "Our seeking of the things of the white people," prompted K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* to record the one I present in this chapter. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* wanted to make some precisions about that speech, particularly about the fact that Indians' current need of white people's things has its roots in the road of the axe. This road was already "studied" (*méiñoga*)[2] by the Indian elders since long ago ("since the beginning").

I translated the Uitoto title of the text, given by K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*, as "Study on the Way of the White People." The full literal translation is: "The study we made since the beginning, with the Word of tobacco and coca, on the way of the white people" (the Uitoto original text can be found in the appendix 4).

Text 6

*Study on the Way of the White People*

[i]

Before,
  it seemed hard,
  it was hidden.
This,
  because it was hidden, 5
  had to be uncovered.
Now it is revealed,
  now truly,
  the door of coca is open,

the door of tobacco is open; 10
from here,
the way of white people is open.
Before, it was here but not open,
before, it was here but hidden.
In that time, it was unknown— 15
although it existed
it seemed not to be.

Well then,
now, by this road, now the iron axe comes,
now comes the machete; 20
these are the proper tools,
these are things we need,
these are things we seek.
"It is true," say the ancients.
In times before, we sought this, 25
this we asked for,
in the same way now, again we are seeking.
Well then, who then would close this,
who then would say no?
Now it is open, 30
now it speaks.

The one who inspires is
the one who watches over,
the one seated, meditating—
because truly 35
it is needed.
And for what?
Well, so that here
we mambe coca,
we lick tobacco paste, 40
so that here we eat cassava,
we taste pineapple,
we eat plantains,
we taste sapote,
we taste the forest grape, 45
so that here
we drink the juice of sweet manioc.
It is through these things that we are truly healed;
the orphans are healed,
a woman is healed, 50
an elder is healed,
a girl is healed,
a boy is healed.
Back then, before, there was sickness,

back then there was frivolity,
back then there was turmoil,
back then there was impatience.
Now there isn't,
look, this is so.

[ii]

Now then, "be ready," says the seated one.
"Be self-possessed," he says,
"because the way is now open.
It is true," he says.
"There is [strength]," he says.
"On this side there is the same [strength]," say the white people.
Well then,
now it is not as before when my word had no force,
when it had no weight,
when I did not listen.
Now I listen,
now I see,
I have received.
By myself I found what couldn't be found,
I opened what couldn't be opened,
I knew what couldn't be known.
Yes, here,
without leaving here.

Well then,
in this manner it speaks,
the heart
of the ancients.
The grandparents
now sit at the center.
"Be careful, because it is fearsome," they say.
"You do not have to be frightened," they say,
"because we are here."
It is always this way—
what is not frightening?
Everything is frightening,
cannot be touched,
cannot be handled by children—
there is something looking back at us.
Although all is for the children,
first the elders test
it all,
because it is this way.

"Look, this is my word," says the seated one,
"with this," he says,

"with this I harvest from what is frightening.
My seeking word is like this, 100
so to speak."
Well then, this is the way
these things are.
"Before," he says,
"before, my word was worthless, 105
but now I am an elder, seeking.
What is found can not be denied
and it is properly ours."
"It is only with this word that we succeed,
with this heart we succeed." 110
[iii]
The spirit of tobacco himself acknowledges the white people's word—
what are we going to do?
Now we are seated to meditate,
"we have to be prepared,"
we say; it was hidden, 115
now it is being revealed.
In this way, we will speak,
in this way, we will seek—
what was before in oblivion
now can not be forgotten, 120
now it is not illusory—
in this way the word is now received.
Then,
how could it be closed again?
It can't be closed, 125
now it cannot be closed again.
If *we* had opened it, it could be closed,
but it was a sage who opened it.

Although later on the proper word is bountiful, today it is as it is.
Later on, there will be no illusions, 130
today there are illusions.
Well then, the impatience in our heart
then will be forgotten,
the sorrow in our heart
then will be forgotten, 135
the pensiveness in our heart
then will be forgotten.
It is only that we have not yet arrived.
When we arrive, our heart will be released,
will be soothed 140
—in such a way!—
inside
the house of the Father,

the house of the Mother.
Well then, at that point truly it cools, 145
truly now it sweetens.
"Because of that which is hot within us," he says,
"this odor arises," he says,
"however, out in the forest," he says,
"out there in the forest is where this becomes embodied, 150
out there is where all this becomes embodied and piles up, so to speak."
We ourselves,
to avoid soiling ourselves in this,
we are watchful,
we guard our words, 155
so that although trouble speaks
our strength is equal to it.

Now, the white people acknowledge that this is true,
so then, who will say it is not true?
The Father acknowledges that this is true, 160
so who will still say it is not true?
Who is not in need?
All of us are in need,
all, truly.
This discourse is as it is, though it might be misunderstood. 165
It seemed that they did not need us,
however, they need us,
however, they appreciate us.
Would one speak beautifully like this only to lose your attention?
Well then, this is not simply words, 170
this is truly grasped with the right hand,
this is truly sought with the right hand,
this is brought with the right hand
—how could it be forgotten?
It is so. 175

In the previous chapter I discussed the role of the Word of tobacco and coca in the construction of subjectivity and social relations. In this chapter Kɨneraɨ applies his perception to the interpretation of the historical relations with whites.

For Kɨneraɨ, like the Caquetá chiefs, the "road of the white people" (whose metonymical figure is the axe) is the foundation of the philosophy of production and people's health. Kɨneraɨ

does not resort to a mythological appropriation of the axe, as the Caquetá chiefs do. Consequent with his mastery of clear-sightedness he "discovers" that road:

This,
  because it was hidden,
  had to be uncovered.
Now it is revealed.
(Lines 4-7)

The road of the white people passes through the "door" of tobacco and coca (see lines 9-14). Its guardian is "the one seated, meditating"—a methonym of proper behavior, and of the discipline of tobacco and coca. Those "proper tools," guarded by the seated one, are the ones that lead to "multiplication." "Multiplication" is represented, in Kɨneraɨ's rhetoric by the paradigmatic set of cultivated plants; the seated one called those things "so that here we mambe coca, we lick tobacco paste, . . . we eat cassava, we taste pineapple, we eat plantains, we taste sapote, we taste the forest grape, . . . we drink the juice of sweet manioc" (lines 38-47).

Although phrased more rhetorically, Kɨneraɨ states something remarkably similar to what the Muinane elder I mentioned at the end of chapter 3 did: "The axe is tobacco" (the road of the white people passes through the door of tobacco and coca), and "Tobacco is us" (with tobacco, coca and cultivaded plants we live, get healed, and multiply).

The paradox of this definition of cultural identity lays in that its historical roots are not acknowledged. The axe, or the road of the white people, becomes, simultaneously, the source and the crux of identity, because the white people are "other" people. The Caquetá groups resolve this paradox by displacing the mythological origin of the axe "to the Center": the white people are other people who stole the axe originally "ours." Kɨneraɨ does not solve the paradox. The road of the white people becomes something "frightening." His solution is to intensify this awareness and tighten up the behavioral prescriptions associated with it:

Now then, "be ready," says the seated one.

"Be self-possessed," he says,
"because the way is now open.
It is true," he says.
"There is [strength]," he says.
"On this side there is the same [strength]," say the white people.
(Lines 60-65)

The grandparents are seated "at the Center" watching: "Be careful because it is fearsome," they say (line 84). Kɨnerai̇ turns those "things" (tools) into something mysterious and fearsome, and then declares himself—who holds the spirit of tobacco, who has defeated the deceitful spirits of the forest, who has conjured his eyes with magical powers—as the only one able to handle those things.

And, as he is a healer, he proceeds to heal them, to "cool them down." In his deepest heart an "orphan," he does not find a solution in mythological reinstauration; he turns toward abstract, universal constructs: "the Father, the Mother":

When we arrive, our heart will be released,
will be soothed
—in such a way!—
inside
the house of the Father,
the house of the Mother.
(Lines 139-143)

He alludes to the "hotness" (that is, illness) the contact with the things of whites produces in Indian people: greediness, envy, ambition, quarrels, and so forth. Then, as in the healing spells, he gathers "the odor that arises" from that hotness and makes it dawn in the forest in the body of animals. This is a standard healing technique: to return evils and illnesses to their masters, the animals—"out there is where all this becomes embodied and piles up, so to speak" (line 151).

These three "movements" correspond to the three sections into which I have divided the text (each section in turn is formed by three stanzas): (i) the identification of the road of the white people with the Word of tobacco and coca (section i); (ii) the fearsome quality of that road and its

handling by elders (section ii); and (iii) the healing of that road and the embodiment of "hotness" into forest animals (section iii).

In the next section we will explore another manner of handling the relations with outsiders, this time mediated by the metaphor of ritual relations with allies. In this case the whites, and their goods, play the role of "wild game" that is hunted by the spirit of tobacco.

## *II. "I Got Healed, Here, Today"*

In this section I present some excerpts of K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s statement to the press upon receiving the National Award on Indian Oral Literature in Colombia, in 1993.

I focus my analysis on our relationship during the process of gathering and producing the texts. The essay that follows after the excerpts is my attempt to sort out the feelings, accumulated through long months of living with him, that were evoked in me by his words when he said: "I got healed, here, today."

I conclude with a discussion about the passage from the oral to the written—more concerned with the relations of power implicit in that passage than with cognitive issues, as in Ong (1982).

These are four excerpts from his statement (the Uitoto original version can be found in the appendix 4).

### Text 7

*In This Way Elder K*ɨ*nera*ɨ *Spoke in the Place Where Many People Live* (excerpts)

This Word about work
  did not spring
  from my heart alone.

This Word about work
is the Word of tobacco and coca 5
that our grandparents brought since before.
With it I have been seeking.
With the Word of tobacco and coca I have sought
to make my children grow,
to get food for my children. 10
I have kept seeking
because this Word of tobacco
is the Word of life, the Word of our life.

. . . . . .

With this breath, when my neighbor's child is ill,
they say to me: "Blow my child with the breath you have."
Well then, I blow him with that breath,
I blow him and he heals. 115

. . . . . .

And then, my grandfather had that breath before,
and then my father had it,
and then today I have it. 120
Now, it reached here [into the city],
my Word of making tobacco and coca reached here,
to the elders of this place.
And they listened and they looked and they said it was good;
that is why they ask, because it is truly good, 125
if it were bad they would not ask.
A truly good Word, a beautiful Word is pleasant to listen to
because it is the Father's Word of tobacco and Word of coca,
and the Mother speaks with the Word of sweet manioc.

. . . . . .

That's why the elders here do like it, want to listen to it,
they want to know about it. 160
Perhaps they want their children to learn about it also;
they say it is a good Word.
In truth, because of that I got healed, here, today;
because they said it is so, I got healed.

This statement was given by Kɨnerai in Uitoto, in the hotel room where he stayed with his wife in Bogotá. It was the first time Kɨnerai visited Colombia's capital Bogotá—in fact, any city

at all. It was also the first time the Colombian government granted an award on Indian "oral" literature.

I put quotation marks around "oral" because it makes a difference with the simpler "Indian literature." "Oral literature"—a paradoxical expression in itself—implies the collaboration of a second party that turns the oral performance into a written text, and further translates that text into a language amenable to readers and consumers—usually non-Indians. That second party was played by me, as the person who gathered, transcribed, translated, and commented on the texts.

However, a third party is necessary to create the space for such a literature to be possible. It is the one that has the power to produce the books and make them circulate. In our case it was the Colombian government who fulfilled the role of sponsor of Indian literature by opening a national contest and an award. Colombia is a country that has traditionally neglected its Indian roots and decreed, for more than a century, the assimilation of the remaining Indians. In 1991 Colombia promulgated a new Constitution which particularly redefined the national identity as multi-ethnic and pluri-cultural.[3]

The National Award on Indian Oral Literature opened a space—a "literary" space—for the manifestation of other cultural values. My concern here is with how that space is filled and interpreted in the particular case of K+nera+ and the implications of this for the construction of an Indian literature.

Let us now turn back to K+nera+ sitting in his hotel room, and listen again to what he is saying—in Uitoto, after it has been transcribed and translated, for us to interpret.

The first thing that strikes in his speech is that he does not mention books or any piece of writing. It is striking since he is being interviewed because "his book" won a literary contest. The main subject of his speech is "his Word" (with a capital *W*). This Word, first of all, is not a creation of his, as he states right at the beginning of his speech (lines 1-6):

This Word about work
  did not spring
  from my heart alone.
This Word about work
  is the Word of tobacco and coca
  that our grandparents brought since before.

That Word is the manifestation of a life-creating, life-increasing activity—the work on the cultivated plants, and the work of raising a family. This is life; that is why that Word is called "Word of life." Far from being a "creation," the Word of life is the ultimate manifestation of an accomplished work. A mature man's heart—who has raised a family, whose wife keeps producing food and increasing life—is full, and then his heart speaks heartily and truly.

Tobacco and coca are two cultivated plants with which Amazonian Indian men increase their awareness to stay awake and watch over the development of life. With them, they advise, they heal, and they speak. That is why the Word of life is also called Word of tobacco and coca. These two plants are the paradigms of horticultural work and raising a family. Then, a mature man's words are breath of tobacco and coca, that is, the expression of the work of his life. That Word-breath is then used to increase life. With that Word he advises the children, and furthermore, with that breath he heals.

With this breath, when my neighbor's child is ill,
  they say to me: "Blow my child with the breath you have."
  Well then, I blow him with that breath,
  I blow him and he heals.
(Lines 112-115)

That Word-breath has power—tobacco power. With the power of that Word he secures the works of reproducing and maintaining life—securing the success of the harvests, getting game from the forest, and healing and advising the children. It is upon these three spheres—the hearth, the garden, and the forest—that the Word of tobacco acts.

That breath of tobacco has now reached into the city, has reached to the city elders. And K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~, in exchange, gets healed (lines 163-164):

In truth, because of that I got healed, here, today;
because they said it is so, I got healed.

What he receives, more than the publication of a book, more than a cash award, is acknowledgment. This has a healing effect on his Word. To understand this, we need to put it into ethnographic context. This will lead us to a hypothesis on how the relationship with the non-Indian world is made to fit into the traditional spheres of activity—the hearth, the garden, and the forest.

The Word of a family man, like K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~'s, has its correlate, in a larger social context, in the performance of the dance rituals. These rituals bring together a kinship unit—a lineage, or a segment of a lineage—around the production of cultivated food for the ritual (see chapter 2, section V). As food grows and expands, the Word of the master of the ritual likewise grows. That Word is the breath of the work activities of the "insider" group (a residential unit, a maloca). When there is enough food, the master blows that breath into a paste of tobacco, called *yera* in Uitoto, and sends it away to the neighboring clans who are to bring wild food—forest game for the ritual.

The Word-breath emanating from the hearth and the garden has hunting power. The relationship with the forest is mediated by the neighboring groups who receive this hunting power to get game and bring it to the ritual. In exchange they will get paid with the cultivated food produced by the insider group.

The game the hunters of the neighboring groups get is not *their* game. The actual hunter is the Word of tobacco; the human hunters—the "outsiders"—are only vehicles of that power. If they fail to find game, the blame is on the master's tobacco; likewise, if they do catch game the credit goes to tobacco. The game which neighboring groups catch and bring to the dance ritual is thus named "tobacco spirit's game"—*d~~ɨ~~ona jiie*. An abundant catch is a demonstration of the

power of the master's Word. Through this, his Word gets healed and strengthened. It is said: "At the beginning my Word was only breath [only talk], now it is seen, now it is real." If he fails, his Word gets weakened, he was unable to defeat the outside forces, the spirits of the forest animals. These forces will sicken and eventually kill him.

The way Kɨneraɨ established a relationship with me, and through me with the non-Indian world, followed a similar pattern.

The non-Indian world is like a forest dominated by outside forces and masters. Formerly, Indians got all the game they needed from the surrounding forests. Now they need "game" from that other world—tools, clothing, and so forth. To get this game, Kɨneraɨ has recourse to the same power he uses to get game from the natural forest—tobacco power that has its source in horticultural work and the family. This relation with the city forest is also, as in the rituals, mediated by an outsider group. He passes his hunting power to this group, and what they catch is tobacco's game. As in the rituals, credit does not go to the hunter's skills but to the master's tobacco.

In this case, getting a National Award means success in the hunt. His tobacco power was aimed at the non-Indian world, and now there is proof that this power reached out there and caught game. He gets healed because his Word has got what it intended. Otherwise he would be weakened.

The ritual hunting metaphor allows for the establishment of a relationship of negotiation with potentially dangerous outside groups and forces. Moving from the traditional spheres of activity into the city—that is, the sphere of the hegemonic powers—is a risky operation. That is why the acknowledgment he receives is so important for Kɨneraɨ. The relationship he succeeds in establishing does not become alienating for him because the whole procedure remains within the boundaries of his power.

In this hunting metaphor the cash award is assimilated to wild food—game obtained from the forest masters through the mediation of an outsider group. In exchange, as in the rituals, the outsider group is rewarded (is "cooled down," as it is said) with cultivated food—traditionally, cassava bread, manioc starch, peanuts, pineapples, yam, taro, and so forth. In the new kind of negotiation we are analyzing, it is the written words—the text—what becomes the correlate of cultivated food. Let us elaborate on this.

The spoken words that become text, all derive from the domestic sphere. They are "the breath" of tobacco, coca, bitter manioc—the breath of all cultivated plants. The task of turning them into text, by means of transcription, resembles horticulture. Kɨnerai said that the recorded tapes were my food-plot. He put the seeds—in the form of breath—into the tapes. Then I would harvest them word by word in painful hours of transcription work and store them in perfect order into my basket—notebook. This basket eventually became full of food—words.

The basket is a powerful metaphor in Uitoto culture. It represents the woman in its carrying and life-creating capacity. Women carry out all horticultural work and they are the actual source of tobacco power. I was in an ambiguous position because I was playing an insider role but I could not be treated as such. From Kɨnerai's point of view I appeared as stealing food and giving nothing in exchange. For me, at that time, the situation became very tense and confused. He would point in very metaphorical ways to what I am explaining here but I was still quite unable to understand. What I decided to do, as a means to clear up the situation, was return "the whole basket," so to speak, to him: "This is yours, I take nothing for me," I said to him. It was a principle of order. Now he would be able, it appeared, to treat me, more appropriately, as a male outsider. He would said, "The basket is for the eldest son of my second marriage to have." This son is now becoming the community teacher and the written words are to become like his wife—his basket.

He thus redefined his relationship with me in new terms: “In this tobacco paste I give you my tobacco breath for you to get game for my family,” he said to me. He was now treating me as an ally with whom he negotiated in ritual terms.

Here we are dealing with a tricky issue of creation of symbolic commodities. The written text, although remaining the same “objective” thing from our point of view, suffered symbolic transformations in the whole process of negotiations. These transformations were ruled by the metaphor of heat and coolness. When I initially gathered the texts, they became hot in my hands because I was usurping a role that did not belong to me—I was usurping a female I did not have the right to. Upon returning “her” to the head of the lineage, the texts cooled down. Then he, as master, turned those texts into tobacco. It was now a female power mediated by males and sent away to allied clans, as the tobacco of invitation to the rituals. It was again hot but in a different way. Formerly, it was a female heat—which is used for procreation and agriculture—now it is male heat—which is used for hunting. The written texts, although remaining the same, were now tobacco power and not food. With those tobacco texts I went “hunting” and eventually succeeded. In reward I and my group receive again those written texts as cultivated food handed by the females of the insider group to the females of the outsider group. The “females of the outsider group” in this case means “the public readership.” The texts, as food in the rituals, are handed down publicly, and are made available for the whole outsider group to eat—they are published. They now again became cool.

The symbolic evolution of the texts then went from “basket” (insider female), to “tobacco paste” (alliance between males), into “ritual payment” (alliance between groups). Incidentally, the Uitoto word to express “ritual payment” is rafue which means “Word that becomes Thing” (see a discussion of the term rafue in the introduction to part III).

In his statement to the press K̶ɨnera̶ɨ is manifesting this (lines 161-162):

Perhaps they want their children to learn about it also;
they say it is a good Word.

That means that what is left for us to eat is safe, even children can eat from it. That is why I decided to title the published book *Tabaco frío, coca dulce* (Echeverri and Candre, 1993), that is, "Cool Tobacco, Sweet Coca"—strong food made safe, cool and sweet.

Once this food is cool in our hands, it can enter into our networks of communication—into the familiar grounds of "literature." It is now for "the children of the outsider group" to eat. The questions of transcription, presentation on the printed page, translation, edition, and so forth are like the seasoning and arrangement of this food (cf. chapter 1, section IV). We can appreciate the poetic values of Indian texts, interpret them, and circulate them in different ways.

Indian literature in this sense is placed outside of the Indians' networks of communication. There is no surprise in that. It is simply an effect of the relationship of domination that grounds the whole procedure. As Philippe Lejeune notes:

> If we use the speech of the model, it is less to *give* it to him than to *take* it from him. There is the ambiguity of any ethnological attempt: the act that fixes and preserves the memory of any "oral" society, at the same time alienates it, recovers it, and reifies it (Lejeune, 1989, p. 209, his emphasis).

How can this "ethnological gap," as Lejeune calls it, be abolished? Let us examine some of the ways it has been attempted. On the Indians' part the strategies have been at least three: (i) secrecy, (ii) dealing with the text as symbolic commodity, and (iii) taking the work in their own hands. Let us examine them briefly.

As K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ clearly shows, his Word is his defense, his life. Negotiating with it is a risky operation. Indians often accuse each other of "selling the culture" when they work with anthropologists or other text-gatherers. In two cases I know, blame has been put on anthropologists for the illness and even death of elders who worked with them. One way of dealing with that ethnological gap then is by refusing to fill it by retreating into secrecy. As these Amazonian cultures are

being torn open by evangelization, market economy and migration of youngsters, they resort to the control of their symbolic resources as a way of maintaining their dignity and difference.

A second way of dealing is exemplified by K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~. He maintains his difference and strives to establish a fair negotiation in his terms. The text remains in the hands of the non-Indians in exchange for wild food—cash and commodities. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~'s attitude upon receiving the award was quite meaningful. While ready to give interviews to the press in the city, he made every effort to keep the award in secret in his own milieu. As an award-winner he was given fifty copies of the published book. As far as I know he has kept those copies hidden in his house. The text, while cool for us, cannot be reintroduced in his world without becoming hot. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ is not in a position to deal with it because, first of all, there is no Indian readership and, second, the circulation of texts is controlled by certain groups: leaders who write legal paperwork and projects, or teachers who work with written teaching materials (his son included).

It leads us to the third strategy to deal with the ethnological gap—to take the work in their own hands. It requires the existence of a literate group, which is now, in these Amazonian groups, represented by those leaders and teachers. For many researchers and militants this is the obvious solution, but it also leads to paradoxical situations. By taking themselves as the models of observation, they reproduce the system of observation and the values that go with it. Often times those native researchers turn back to the non-Indians for assistance and training to be able to carry out the work. So the gap is filled but the Indians lose control of the production of the texts.

* * *

Supporting himself on the sole of his feet, flat on the room's carpet, in a crouching position, his back erect, with his eyes closed, K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ is not addressing the journalist in front of him.[4]

He is calling back his spirit, impeccably crossing that ethnological gap. He concludes (text 7, lines 167-172):

And then, in this point I close this Word.
  The breath of tobacco and breath of coca I have
  to make the neighbor's child heal,
  to make the neighbor's woman heal 170
  is received in the heart as a healing spell.
In this way I conclude the Word I bring.

In part III I undertake the analysis of that "breath of tobacco and breath of coca" Kɨneraɨ has, and with which he heals. I show that the "breath" of agricultural work has its roots in the philosophy of the axe we analyzed in part I, and that his healing conveys an awareness of history and society.

*End Notes*

[1.] See chapter 3, section III, where I discuss the designations for the white people in several languages of the Caquetá-Putumayo region. *Rɨama* "a white man" is the singular masculine form of *rɨaɨ* "the whites" (the feminine form is *rɨango* "a white woman").

[2.] See the discussion of the verb *méiñote* in chapter 5 (*méiñoga* is the passive form of that verb).

[3.] As for example: "The State recognizes and protects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the Colombian Nation" (Article 7); "The languages and dialects of the ethnic groups are official in their territories" (Article 10); "The State recognizes the equality and dignity of all the cultures that live in the country. The State will promote the research, science, development, and promotion of the cultural values of the Nation" (Article 70) (Colombia, 1991, my translation).

[4.] Kɨneraɨ is seated in a body attitude similar to that portrayed in photograph 3.

# PART III

# KƗNERAƗ'S RAFUE

## *Introduction to Part III*

Rafue is the Uitoto term I translate as "Word" (with a capital *W*) in these texts.[1] In some parts, I also translate it as "Thing" (with a capital *T*).[2] However, rafue refers neither to words nor to things, rafue is the process through which words are turned into things, the movement from the named to the real through time. The two roots that compose the term rafue (*raa*, "a thing," and *ɨfue*, "something spoken") synthesize this movement. When the process of rafue just begins, it manifests itself as Words—the naming of what is sought; towards the end of the activity, it manifests itself as Things—the things that are sought (food, game, offspring).

When one asks a Uitoto Indian about the meaning of the term rafue, the most frequent answer is "dance ritual." Dance rituals are rafue because, during a few weeks, people can witness how what at the beginning was just talk, at the end is received as food, game, tobacco, coca.[3] Rafue is not just the words of the ritual; if those words do not generate things they are just *bakakɨ*, "stories." The dance rituals instruct people about the creative power of that Word. That is why it is also admissible to translate rafue as "teaching."[4]

Kɨnerai frequently refers to his speeches as rafue. He explains: "This is not the Word of dance rituals, but it is rafue; people believe that rafue is only a dance ritual, but this is because they don't understand."

The aim of this part of the dissertation, to say it in Rebel's words (already quoted in the introduction), is "to perceive the structural in the historical present" and not only "the structural in the cultural present" (Rebel, 1989a, p. 126). The rafue I present here is not a collection of texts that are to be analyzed in order to find out some underlying "structure." Kɨnerai is not transmitting a "mythology" that speaks of a "culture." I learn from Kɨnerai as he speaks to his people, as he speaks of himself, as he complains, as he heals, as he wishes. In so doing not only do I learn about a "culture," I learn about "culture in the making."

It is not *the* rafue, it is rafue in action; and, moreover, it is Kɨnerai's rafue. I will show that the philosophy of the axe, as we learned it from the Caquetá chiefs, and Kɨnerai's rafue are dialogically related. They are not the same, however; they converge, diverge, elaborate on different solutions—they respond to different cultural projects. I will also show that both speak to the history of contact—the instauration of a "space of death" (cf. Taussig, 1987)—which, I argue, is also the "Mother" of Kɨnerai's rafue. Rafue and the philosophy of the axe are the reinstaurations of a new sense of person and people—a construction of a collective identity and of an ideology of culture and history.

The meaning of Kɨnerai's rafue will be made clear in the chapters that follow. Chapter 7 ("The Axe and the Mother") lays out the foundations of Kɨnerai's rafue. I elaborate on the correspondences between Kɨnerai's rafue and the philosophy of the axe (cf. chapter 3). Chapter 8 ("The Law of the Axe: The Tobacco Word") builds on the previous chapter to show how rafue's ethics of behavior is applied by Kɨnerai to the resolution of actual conflicts. Chapter 9 ("Healing Society and History: Cooling Down the Mother's Vessel") provides an overview of Kɨnerai's healing prac-

tice, and discusses the meaning of his specialized healing by "cooling down." Chapter 10 ("The Philosophy of Multiplication: The Harvesting Mother and Father") discusses the ideal models of female and male behavior and their relation to the food-plot and the mambeing place. Chapter 11 ("The Axe and the Basket: Concluding Remarks") gathers up some of the arguments of the dissertation around the figures of "the axe" and "the basket."

*End Notes*

[1.] The common term for "word" is *úai*, which I translate as "word" without capitals.

[2.] The common term for "thing, object" is *raa*, which I translate as "thing" without capitals.

[3.] This refers to the practice, in the dance rituals, of exchanging cultivated food, produced by the ritual master and his relatives, for wild game and songs brought by the invited groups.

[4.] Rafue has a whole range of meanings In everyday life rafue commonly means "news, business, matter, affair." It also has the sense of "problem" or "ill-fate," as in the expression *abɨmo rafue ote* "to get in trouble." It also means "matter" in a material sense; for instance, when something (e.g., mambe) spills on the floor, one can say *rafue judaɨde* "the matter spilled." Rafue can also be understood as "litter"; for instance, in the expression *beno imakɨ rafue fɨébite* "here is their litter."

A master of a maloca (and of a ceremonial career) is called *rafue naama* "master of rafue." The "payments" (tobacco paste, coca, food) the invited people receive in a dance ritual (in exchange for the songs or game they bring) are also rafue. Rafue, as used by Kɨneraɨ, means "the project" one is engaged in. I could say, for example, that this dissertation is my rafue. Oscar Román, a Uitoto elder from Araracuara, who is not a master of rituals but a very knowledgeable man, fashioned for himself the title of *rafue jirode* "rafue drinking"—to allude to his ability to deal with ("drink") every problem, business, issue, matter, or whatever ("rafue") that may come.

# Chapter 7

# THE AXE AND THE MOTHER

This chapter lays out the fundamental dimensions of Kɨneraɨ's rafue. I present one text ("Seeking Out the Productive Work"), translated from Uitoto, about agricultural work and the appearance of cultivated plants and basketry. In the discussion, I carry out a systematic comparison between the philosophy of the axe, as expressed by the chiefs of the Caquetá river (cf. chapter 3), and the Word of tobacco and coca, or Kɨneraɨ's rafue (cf. chapter 4). These two related ideologies respond to different cultural projects: a project of ethnic reassertion, in the case of the Caquetá chiefs, and the elaboration of a "spiritual" world, in the case of Kɨneraɨ.

In section I ("Breath is Axe") I discuss the correspondences between "axe"—a rhetorical figure that connotes the historical acquisition of a technology—and "breath," a fundamental concept of Kɨneraɨ's rafue.

In section II ("The Mother's Womb is the Space of Death") I discuss the correspondence between "Center" and "Mother," and "space of death" and "Mother's womb." It leads me to postulate a hypothesis about the mediation of terror in the relations between culture and history.

In section III ("Topology of the Mother's Womb") I venture into the space of the Mother's womb, as it can be elucidated through indigenous interpretation of dreams. This leads me to the finding of a temporal and hierarchical structure of correspondences between cultivated plants and wild game.

In section IV ("Basket is Identity") I discuss the meaning of "basket." I argue that this concept refers to the constitution of discrete entities (persons, groups), in contrast to the concept of rafue as productive process.

The following is the text (the original Uitoto version can be found in the appendix 4) that will be analyzed in this chapter.

Text 8

*Seeking Out the Productive Work*

[I]

Now then,
the Mother
is Working Mother.
In the womb
of the Working Mother 5
there is
breath.
There is only breath,
breath of sweet manioc,
breath of bitter manioc, 10
breath of pineapple,
breath of peanut,
breath of sapote,
breath of forest grape,
breath of inga, 15
breath of cacao,
breath of peach palm,
breath of *daledale*,
breath of yam,
breath of cocoyam, 20
breath of cacao,

breath of chili,
breath of green *umari*,
breath of black *umari*,
breath of yellow *umari*
—everything is only breath.

Later on, further ahead,
—truly—
after having
resolved to work,
one already has
a slashed jungle clearing.
There later,
the breath that was
in the Working Mother's womb
will be harvested.
Thus, the breath that was—in truth—
is now harvested as yam,
is harvested as cocoyam,
is harvested as chili,
is harvested as peanut,
is harvested as pineapple,
is harvested as cacao,
is harvested as peach palm,
is harvested as forest grape,
the breath
of sapote
is harvested.

Now, further ahead,
—truly—
now then in truth there is yam,
there is *daledale*,
there is yam bean,
there is taro,
there is canna lily,
there is arrowroot,
now there is peach palm,
there is pineapple.
Now, furthermore
sweet manioc is harvested,
Now, everything is harvested.

Following that,
the Mother gets well.
That breath she had inside was a flatulence.
That is the very origin of our life.

With that, in the beginning, the Mother,
  the Working Mother,
    was pregnant.
So it is.

[II]

With regard to that, 70
  the basket appeared;
  now the little basket appeared,
  now the open-weave basket appeared,
Now the little basket to collect coca leaves,
  now the big basket to harvest manioc tubers 75
  now appeared.
In that manner
  that word
  arose.

But out of nothing 80
  there is nothing to tell.
Considering that there is now [food]
  thus [those things] now appeared.
Now the manioc sieve appeared,
  the manioc strainer appeared, 85
  now the open-weave basket appeared.
That same good word
  now truly dawned.
So it is.

From now on 90
  only this conversation,
  since it was already proved as a good Word
  —only the word.
Up to this point
  it dawned. 95
  Now it was seen.

*I. Breath is Axe*

In chapter 3 we saw how the groups of the Caquetá river mythologically appropriated the metal axe—the technology that allows the clearing of slashed plots for agriculture. In this text about productive work, in contrast, the productive output of that technology—the cultivated products—have their source in the "breath in the Mother's womb."

The material work process of agricultural production gets minimized—almost disappears—in Kɨneraɨ's rafue. This work process consists basically of the following steps: (i) clearing of the lowest tier of a track of mature forest, (ii) slashing the forest trees with axes, (iii) letting dry the slashed plot, and (iv) when it is dry, burning of the whole plot. The plot is sown with a variety of cultivated crops, mainly manioc (see text above, and appendix 5), and it is usually abandoned after two or three years, when the main crops have already been harvested. In the fallow plot, however, several fruit trees will still be harvested during many years, until the forest regrowth fully invades the plot and it returns to mature forest again (the regeneration of a slashed plot can take over 100 years). This is what is called slash-and-burn agriculture.

Kɨneraɨ dispatches it in six lines (lines 27-32).:

Later on, further ahead,
—truly—
after having
resolved to work,
one already has
a slashed jungle clearing.

The "axe" is my metonymic rhetoric device to connote a set of means of production that (i) have become necessary for the economic reproduction of these groups: iron tools, shotguns, fish hooks, batteries, flashlights, certain pieces of clothing, outboard motors, and others; and (ii) have to be acquired "outside" through market relations (from traders, missionaries, anthropologists, government officials, etc.). These means of production were traded, "in the beginnings," for orphans (people); later on, for rubber; and more recently for timber, game, animal furs, labor, etc. "Axe" is a metonym of the productive forces resulting from the history of contact; and, also, it is the perfect metaphor of the relations of *dependence* that resulted from that history.

The Caquetá chiefs magnify the axe in their mythologies; they pretend it is "ours"—while in fact it is not. This ideological move forces them to throw in the mist the historical and

social relations that allowed for the acquisition of this technology. In K̶ineraɨ̶'s rafue, on the other hand, the axe disappears; its productive capacity recedes into an abstract, spiritual sphere. The actual sources of productive capacity become "breath," "Mother," "spirit of tobacco," and so forth.

In both cases, the mythological axe of abundance and the spirit of tobacco become references either of an illusory past or of an impossible cultural present. The philosophy of the axe and the Word of tobacco and coca are complementary ideologies springing from the same historical and cultural roots, but they respond to different cultural projects.

The ideology of the Caquetá chiefs is more prone to the articulation of cultural "reinstauration" (or reinvention) type of projects—like the cases of the Andoque (the People of the Axe) or the Nonuya I mentioned in chapter 3. The paradox of these projects is that the more they reassert their (illusory) distinctiveness the more bound they become to economic ties of dependence. The more they reassert "the axe" as ethnic marker of difference, the more that imagined "axe" of difference secures the bindings of the real "axe" of dependence.[1]

On the other hand, K̶ineraɨ̶'s ideology is more prone to the consolidation of an abstract, quasi-religious form of thinking. He does not seek a legitimization "of our ethnic group" (true possessors of the axe) at the expense of other groups, which are de-legitimized ("the whites stole our axe"). The productive capacity of the axe is de-historicized and de-materialized; and, by the same token, it is made ethnically un-specific—it becomes, truly, "spirit": rafue.

In dance rituals, the cultivated food the insider group produces and the game the invited groups catch in the forest are not attributed to the skills or technical capabilities of the producers and hunters, but to "the spirit" of the master of the ritual. He (and it is always a *he*) remains seated during the whole period of preparation and performance of the ritual (which can take several weeks). The only thing he does is to speak—he "speaks rafue." His spoken rafue Words, it is

said, will "magically" turn into "true rafue": food, game, etc. What is this "magic" about? It is the appropriation of people's labor by the master—or by the master's "spirit."

It is said that in centuries past, when the first chiefs acquired the first iron axe, they would sit on it—as if it were a stool—and that the axe was never sharpened. The productive capacity of the axe was not predicated on its actual technological potential (to chop the trees more speedily), but on its magical empowering of the master's rafue. This is perhaps the root of the mythologies about the axe. The axe is not only rhetorically linked to dependence, it is also metonymically linked to the accumulation of power through appropriation of people's labor (and blood and flesh—the trade of orphans). This metonym is graphically clear in the chief seated on a blunt axe—and it is important that the axe be blunt, because this reasserts its spiritual, rather than material, power.

K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s "axe" is so blunt that it almost equals a non-axe. This is the first step of K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s rafue: instead of reinterpreting history ("the axe is ours") he abolishes it, and with it he abolishes the axe itself. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s axe is "breath" (*jag*ɨ*y*ɨ*). *Jag*ɨ*y*ɨ is the primordial force of the universe. In the story of the Creation, as recorded by Preuss, the "Father" (the Creator), in the beginnings, was only "breath."[2] K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* does not discuss the Creation; he places that (male) breath into the Mother's womb—a soothing copulating image.

That breath will "magically" transform itself into cultivated plants—after men and women have worked in an actual slashed food-plot. He recites, in the whole text, the names of 20 plants, corresponding to 17 botanical species and some varieties of these species (see the appendix 5 for the botanical identification of all the mentioned plants). These are the main cultivated crops "on the woman's part." Tobacco and coca, two prominent plants, are not mentioned—these are crops "on the man's part." They will be mentioned when rafue turns to "behavior"—the Law.

If we continue reading the text, the apparently soothing copula of the Father's breath and the Mother's womb does not happen to be so. That breath actually becomes an illness, a "flatulence," inside the Mother. It resembles the "illness of the axe" referred to by the Caquetá chiefs (cf. chapter 3). In Kɨneraɨ's rafue that illness, however, acquires a more "cosmic," more essential character:

> That breath she had inside was a flatulence.
> That is the very origin of our life.
> (Lines 64-65)

The only possible redemption from that illness is work. The "axe" turned "breath" thus constitutes a human ontology ("the very origin of our life"), in which the only possible redemption is work. This work is the source of the rules of proper behavior (cf. chapter 4), and the source of healing.

Kɨneraɨ accomplishes two things in a single stroke: (i) he defines an essential ontology of mankind (I have attempted to demonstrate its ideological roots above); and (ii) he "exorcises" the "original sin," so to speak, of that human ontology by setting an ethics of work, which is the fundamental principle of behavior and healing. "The original sin" is my way of rendering the history of the acquisition of the axe. Kɨneraɨ has already turned that "axe" into "breath"—and that breath, as spiritual as it can be, still smells like a flatulence in the Mother's womb.

### *II. The Mother's Womb Is the Space of Death*

Kɨneraɨ has overcome a problem the Caquetá chiefs have run into: the problem of locating the Center in geographical space—a source of endless disputes. Kɨneraɨ's "Center" is "the Mother." "Center," as a concept, possesses two contradictory properties: (i) it provides an irreductible principle of ethnic identity ("We are the People of the Center, and only us"), and (ii) it is a universal principle (the Center is everywhere). The problems of the Caquetá chiefs derive from

these contradictory principles: there is a constant, unresolved tension between ethnic difference and supraethnic moral community, as we have seen elsewhere.

K̶ɨnera̶ɨ solves the contradiction with the figure of the Mother: it is an irreductible principle for *each one*, and for *everyone*. K̶ɨnera̶ɨ's "Mother" is, in other words, a principle of common humanity. Thus, K̶ɨnera̶ɨ's rafue, starting from this foundation, will be consistently "un-ethnic"—that is, an universal discourse predicated on "humanity."

We learned in our historical and ethnological background (chapter 2) that traders and missionaries always came together. Technology of the axe and trade are metonymical of the Gospel, preached either by Franciscans, Jesuits, Capuchins, SIL missionaries, or simple laymen. I will use the term "Gospel" rhetorically to mean not a religious dogma but the most achieved expression of a universal ontological landscape which allowed "the passage from the notion of persona—a man invested with a status [*homme revêtue d'un état*]—to the notion of man without more, the human person" (Mauss, 1950, p. 357).

My question then is: Are the rafue of tobacco and coca and the "Gospel" dialogically related by the technological dependence on the "axe"? Or, in other words: How could the "axe" become so internalized in indigenous thought that it seems to reproduce, under close scrutiny, dialogically related principles to those of the "Gospel"?

My answer in this dissertation is that "axe" is instrumental in the dialogical connection between "Gospel" and rafue; but I make two cautions. One, I insist that it is a *dialogical* reflection, not a copy—it is an active elaboration. This is what I will try to show in what follows. The second caution is actually an unresolved question: How could that be possible? It is at this point that my Indian friends always stop and assert that "the stories of the axe are very dangerous" and so forth.

In the historical chapter (chapter 2) I avoided entering into any detail about the violence of the rubber boom, a period about which there is a rather extensive literature rich in terrifying details and empty in explanation. It is as if terror swallowed explanation and made it its accomplice, as says Michael Taussig—one of the few writers that goes beyond the inventory of horrors and attempts to escape from the hallucinatory qualities of "the space of death." Taussig explains:

> All societies live by fictions taken as real. What distinguishes cultures of terror is that the epistemological, ontological, and otherwise philosophical problem of representation—reality and illusion, certainty and doubt—becomes infinitely more than a "merely" philosophical problem of epistemology, hermeneutics, and deconstruction. It becomes a high-powered medium of domination, and during the Putumayo rubber boom this medium of epistemic and ontological murk was most keenly figured and thrust into consciousness as the space of death (Taussig, 1987, p. 121).

"The space of death" is no other thing than "the Mother's womb." Terror accomplished the great "philosophical" feat of instaurating a space of "humanness" in these Amerindian cultures—of sowing the "Gospel" in their hearts.

The Mother becomes a redemptive figure for the "orphans of the axe." I argue that "culture" and "history" are effectively linked by terror; and it is terror that disappears, or becomes transmuted into "spirit," in the "traditional" narratives anthropologists collect today. But to prove that we still have to walk the road of rafue. We still have to elaborate more on this Mother/death, the foundation of rafue.

### *III. Topology of the Mother's Womb*

"Working Mother" is my rendering of the Uitoto word *jieño* (contraction of the expression *jiérede eiño*). *Eiño* means "mother"; *jiérede* means "to be a hard worker/hunter"—it derives from the root *jie-* which means "hunting" in a broad sense. One can thus translate the word *jieño*

either as "Working Mother" or as "Hunting Mother." The Mother's game is cultivated plants. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* explains:

> The tobacco spirit is breath, it does not have the spirit of animals . . . The hunting of tobacco is the hunting of all animals and is the work of the cultivated plants. When one prepares tobacco paste and names an animal, that animal falls there. That is tobacco hunting. When one wants to go hunting one mixes tobacco paste [with vegetable salt], names the animal, and it falls.

When he says "to name an animal" it has to be understood that, when preparing and mixing tobacco paste, animals are not named by their proper names but in an indirect fashion, "because the animals listen and get scared away." This is also so in the preparation of a dancing ritual, when tobacco paste is mixed and distributed to the people so that they catch game. Animals are named as the "breath" of trees and plants, in much the same way as K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* does in text 8. So, for instance, "breath of green *umari*" means tapir, "breath of black *umari*" means collared peccary, "breath of *cumare* palm" means white-lipped peccary, "breath of *juansoco*" means woolly monkey, and so forth.

The wild animals and the plants of the garden are thus all identical in the Mother's womb. Both game and cultivated plants are called with a single name: *monifue*, which I translate as "abundance." The animals of the forest, in some narrations, are called *nanoide monifue* "abundance of the beginnings"; cultivated plants are called *ua monifue*, "true abundance."

Cultivated plants and wild animals are related to one another through a very elaborate system of correspondences. This system of correspondences becomes clear in the interpretation of dreams. Dreams, K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says, show things in a distorted or displaced manner. There are hosts of bad dreams, ominous dreams, etc., but among all those the most crucial for our subject are "the dreams of abundance" (*monifue n*ɨ*ka*ɨ*). The interpretation of this kind of dreams allows to get a sense of the topology of the Mother's womb. It is said that when a person dreams of eating a fruit,

it means that he or she will hunt its *corresponding* animal. These correspondences are well established (see table 7).

Table 7

*Dreams of Abundance*

| *A dream of* | *The day dawns with* |
|---|---|
| sucking pineapple | great tinamou |
| eating avocado | coati |
| eating fruits of cacao | paca |
| sucking fruits of inga | kinkajou |
| sucking forest grapes | titi monkey |
| gnawing miriti palm fruits | paca |
| eating breadfruits | jaguar |
| digging up manioc tubers | many fish |
| eating peanuts | armadillo |
| sucking sugar cane | woolly monkey[3] |
| eating peach palm fruits | speckled cayman |
| eating cocoyam tubers | tapir's hoofs |
| eating *cumare* palm fruits | white-lipped peccary |
| *anon* | kinkajou |
| plants of sweet manioc | women and girls |
| plants of tobacco and coca | men[4] |

The Mother's womb seems to be formed by two correlated "worlds." They are not layered worlds. It is a system such that, when seen in one manner (e.g., in dreams) it looks like cultivated plants, and when seen in another manner (e.g., awake) it looks like game. These two "views" of the Mother's womb also have a temporal quality. Animals are "abundance of the beginnings"; for example, the speckled cayman was "the peach palm" of the beginnings—perhaps its prototypical form or its antecedent. By the same token, man and woman are the antecedent, or prototype, of tobacco and coca, and of sweet manioc, respectively.

The Mother's womb is not thus a simple universal container of humanity, as it appeared before. It is complex inside, is a space of dreamlike correspondences. Do these correspondences keep the memory of the transition from a hunting economy to a horticultural economy that was accelerated by the introduction of the technology of the metal axe? Or, rather, Is it another fold of the philosophy of the axe that creates a hierarchical relation between cultivated and wild, culture and nature?

I lean in favor of the second hypothesis. The tobacco breath (axe) is a hunter and a dominator of nature. The cultivated plants represent ruling principles over the wild animals. Even the "natural" man and woman are subordinated to the rule of tobacco, coca and sweet manioc—tobacco yetárafue. The space of death turned Mother's womb set the bases for the subordination of nature to culture and for the consitution of "human" beings under the rule of tobacco (the Law).

### *IV. Basket is Identity*

In this short text Kɨneraɨ accomplishes still one more thing. The breath (axe) entered into the Mother's womb (space of death); that womb gets healed through people's productive work and thus the breath is turned into productive output: tobacco, coca, manioc, pineapple, and so forth. Then, "With regard to that, the basket appeared" (lines 70-71).

The set of objects spoken about by Kɨneraɨ are the snares to trap the stuff that just came out of the Mother's womb. For both agricultural work and trap-hunting woven tools are used. Food, both vegetable and animal, is snared in this basketry.

A human being, Kɨneraɨ says, is a basket. A ceremonial career is also a basket, and the master of a career is called "a basket holder." (Remember that a ceremonial career is also called "rafue.") When a person completes a training (as healer or master of rituals), it is said that he/she

"closed his/her basket." The places where ancient people lived are also referred to as baskets, and if a person wants to live in those places he/she has "to know those baskets."

Baskets are made with threads of vines. The thread (*igaɨ*) stands for "thought." The thread is what holds us to the Mother, the umbilical cord, the thread of life. When a sorcerer or a powerful person travels with his/her thought it is said that he/she is travelling "in the thread of dream." A material basket is made of woven threads. A person thus is conceived of as woven threads of dreams.

The basket is what holds the productive output of the breath-axe. The basket establishes a link between that output (cultivated food) and "human" persons—baskets that hold that food. The basket also signifies the establishment of relations of alliance and exogamy—something I discussed in detail in chapter 4. Intertwined threads are like intermarried groups. "Basket," Kɨneraɨ repeatedly pointed to me, "is power." The figure of the basket—encircling and containing, with a principle and an end, and clear boundaries—becomes the most rounded figure of "identity." For this reason a "person" is a basket (structured by the bones and encircled by his/her ribs), a ceremonial career is a basket (with a beginning, an end, and a "structure"), and so forth. Kɨneraɨ would easily understand that a book is a basket—and, I could add, this dissertation is also a basket.

Rafue and basket are in fact the same "thing": when it is considered as a productive process, it is rafue; when it is considered as a discrete entity, it is basket. Thus, Kɨneraɨ's rafue is Kɨneraɨ's basket.

*End Notes*

[1]The Nonuya, for instance, have sought funding from NGOs, government agencies, etc. (from the whites) for their project of "cultural recuperation."

[2]In the myth "The Creation," collected by Preuss in 1913 from Uitoto Murui Indians (speakers of the *mɨka* dialect), it is said: "There was nothing, there were no trees. In the void, with the thread of a dream he gave form to it, with his breath he gave form to it" (Preuss, 1994, vol. II, p. 19). This is my retranslation from Uitoto *mɨka* of Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros' retranslation of Preuss' translation from Uitoto (Preuss published all his collected texts in bilingual form). The following is Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros' retranslation of the same excerpt: "What things would there be? There were no trees. Surrounded by the void, the Father controlled it with the help of a dreamed thread and his breath" (Preuss, 1994, vol. II, p. 19, my translation). Preuss' German version of the same excerpt is as follows: "Kein Stab war vorhanden, um es zu halten: an einem Traumfaden hielt er den Trug mit den Hauche" ("There was no staff available to hold it. With the breath, he held the delusion in the thread of a dream") (Preuss, 1921, p. 166, my translation). I translate the Uitoto verb *mozíñote* as "to give form"; Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros translate it as "to control"; and Preuss translate it as "to hold."

[3]In the myth of the origin of the tribes, when the first beings came out of the hole of awakening, they had tails, which the hero Buinaima cut off; those tails turned into stems of sugar cane.

[4]Cf. in chapter 5 the tobacco vision in which Kɨneraɨ saw many plants of tobacco and one plant of sweet manioc.

# Chapter 8

# THE LAW OF THE AXE: THE TOBACCO WORD

In the previous chapter I studied the fundaments of rafue and showed its roots in productive activity. I was concerned with the "structure" of rafue and with its dialogic relation to the history of contact. In the present chapter I will be concerned with how that "structure" speaks to social relations in historical present.

In section I ("The Law of the Axe") I discuss the discourse on behavior (tobacco word, yetárafue) in the social, natural and productive spheres. The discussion in this section builds on the arguments presented in the previous chapter.

In sections II ("The Tobacco Word") and III ("Strength") I present two texts (9 and 10), which Kɨneraɨ delivered one after the other when dealing with internal conflicts of his community. They show his rafue in action in actual social relations. I discuss the role of affinity in the tobacco Word, the contradictions between cultural "system" and social and economic reproduction, and some important performative characteristics of Kɨneraɨ's rafue.

*I. The Law of the Axe*

The foundation of "healing" is work. Work—productive activity—is what heals the constitutive space of the "human person" (the Mother's womb) as we came to define it in the previous chapter. Rafue is an ethics of work. Rafue is a process that produces Things. Rafue is the transformation of the Father's breath into cultivated food through work. Working, in Kɨneraɨ's rafue, is the only manner to escape the sickening effect of not fully fulfilling the process of rafue. The "breath" in the Mother's womb is the imminence of the constitution of the world; it is a dangerous condition. Rafue's accomplishment is to make that breath dawn. When it dawns it becomes, on the one hand, cultivated plants, and, on the other hand, wild animals. The topology of the Mother's womb, we learned in the previous chapter, has a temporal hierarchy which makes animals (*nanoide monifue* "abundance of the beginnings")—including man and woman—prototypes of cultivated crops (*ua monifue* "true abundance"). This temporal hierarchy turns into a spatial hierarchy when the breath in the Mother's womb dawns into this "world." Cultivated crops will constitute the "true" space, "right here"—the Center. Animals will constitute the space "out there"—a space mimetic and inimical of the space "right here"—the forest.

Health has its source in the Center—in cultivated food. Illness comes from the animals. This is more clearly expressed in the mythology of the Creation, which is the foundation of the topology of the Mother's womb. The Creator, in the beginnings, suffered all possible illnesses. He spat out each illness and "out there" they took the form of trees, animals, rocks, and so forth. In this manner the natural world took its present shape. When the Creator got healed he sat at the Center.

Thus healing by agricultural work is also healing by hunting. I already discussed this healing technique in part II of this dissertation.

In order to be true People, the man has to become "tobacco" and "coca," and the woman has to become "sweet manioc," "pineapple," "peanut," and all the cultivated tubers and fruits. This "becoming" is no other thing than the metaphorical expression of the Law of the Axe—the philosophy of multiplication. It implies a process of repression and fulfillment of gender-specific cultural roles. They are expressed in the Word on discipline or yetárafue, which I discussed in chapter 4. Illnesses, rage, misbehavior, polution, etc. are explained away as contamination of the Center by the world "out there" (the forest). This is the origin of the healing spells, which send back those illnesses to their "masters" (the animals). K̶ɨnera̶ɨ is an expert in this healing technique, as he explained to us in text 3 (chapter 5).

What I call the Law of the Axe is what K̶ɨnera̶ɨ calls the tobacco Word. In the previous chapter I attempted to demonstrate that "axe" amounts to "breath" in K̶ɨnera̶ɨ's rafue. Breath is the source of cultivated food, and tobacco is a metonym of the whole set of cultivated plants. On the other hand, tobacco is the symbol of the masculine gender. The Father's Leaf—tobacco leaf—is the tongue of the Father who utters the Word on discipline.

The tobacco Word deals with three main subjects: agricultural work skills, "hunting" (understood as healing in a large sense), and social relations (filiation and alliance). I already explained the relationship between the two first subjects. I now explain their relation to the third.

The principle of social relations, in rafue, is contained in the figure of the basket. The basket, I argued at the end of the previous chapter, constitutes discrete entities out of the productive activity of "breath." That productive output is finally snared in basketry (people, groups). We saw that the dawning of breath defines hierarchical natural spaces (right here, out there; culture, nature), which are also hierarchical moral spaces. This is the principle of social space and organization.

The tobacco Word carefully regulates the exchanges between these constituted social spaces and entities. The basic rule is the avoidance of incest and exogamy. Basket constitutes a principle of group identity and regulation of exchange. A limit is set to the exogamic rule. Boundaries are introduced in the concept of "generic humanity" inherent in the Mother (cf. previous chapter). In chapter 4 I showed how the types of basket serve as ethnic markers that delimit the extent of "proper" alliances. The rule is thus that of a restricted exogamy. Basket—which, as Kɨneraɨ says, is power—is at the center of the tension between endogamy and exogamy.

Basket, we saw elsewhere, is person, residential unit, dance ritual, ceremonial career. The rituals (baskets/rafue) express most synthetically the complex of exchanges between the social, natural and productive spheres. In a dance ritual, one residential unit (maloca) produces cultivated food and exchanges it for wild game caught by other residential units (cf. chapter 6). These other residential units mediate the relation of the residential unit which convokes the ritual and the natural sphere. Those who receive tobacco paste from the master of the ritual to catch game are non-affines of the master's group. Male affines from other groups, on the other hand, acquire ceremonial obligations and have to work in the production of cultivated food (including tobacco and coca) with the group of the master of the ritual (female affines already live with the group, given the virilocal rule of residence).[1]

Relations of filiation guarantee the transmission of work skills. Relations of affinity enforce the acquisition of social roles. This is particularly true in the behavior required of women in relation to their in-laws. It is expressed, in the tobacco Word, in the image of the juice of sweet manioc, a highly ritualized substance, as I will show below.

I present two texts that exemplify the Law of the Axe in Kɨneraɨ's rafue. Text 9 ("Uttering the Tobacco Word") shows how Kɨneraɨ uses the tobacco Word to dictate a ruling and a concept about a situation brought about by internal conflicts in his community. Text 10 ("On the

Source of Strength”), on the other hand, applies the tobacco Word to the recovery from that situation and the reestablishment of social health.

## *II. The Tobacco Word*

### Text 9

### *Uttering the Tobacco Word*

[I][i]

This word is about work.
With this, the young people
  who are growing up
  once more seek in the same way.
Then, when they have grown up
  the task of the elders is done.
From then on, when those who grow up get married
  they will go forward with this teaching.

And so, when work
  has been taught to them
  as it was taught in ancient times
  now the old man
  only has to pay attention
  to the conversation of the new generation.
Formerly,
  so my father spoke, one says
  so my mother spoke.
They kept fulfilling their obligations
  they kept working,
  the same work
  in the same way.
And so, the woman grows up to be like her mother,
  the man grows up to be like his father.

And those others seem now to be aged, their names are now
  old ones:
  the old man,
  the old woman.
Only breath is the old man’s work,
  the old woman’s work is only breath.
Then, who will give advice

to the young man?
Who will give advice to the daughter-in-law?
They will ask
the two elders,
"Papa, how is this done?" 35
"Mama, how is this done?"

Although the word has been given to them, they still don't fully understand it,
they still do not know how to work by themselves.
Now then, the father is like
the master of work, 40
the mother as well.
They have been working all their lives,
they understand it well.
But the children,
still, 45
cannot do it.
[ii]
For that reason the old man keeps teaching,
the old woman keeps teaching,
"this is the way an earthenware pot is made," she says,
"this is the way a basket is begun," he says. 50
And so, when the girl has learned to make pottery,
from then on the chili pot appears.

Now
the old woman
makes a pot 55
for her son
to toast the leaves of coca.
For her daughter-in-law,
she makes
a jar to fetch water. 60
For her daughter-in-law,
she makes a pot to cook the juice of bitter manioc.
For her daughter-in-law,
she makes a pot to cook the juice of sweet manioc.

From then on 65
the father-in-law
weaves a basket
for his daughter-in-law.
For his daughter-in-law,
he weaves a basket to harvest manioc. 70
For his daughter-in-law,
he weaves a strainer
to strain the manioc starch.

For his daughter-in-law,
he weaves a sieve 75
to sift the manioc flour.

In this manner
it is gradually taught.
In that way, now the young man begins,
and in the same way 80
he learns his father's work.
In that way, now the young girl learns about life,
learns how to live with a man;
now she makes a griddle
to prepare cassava bread, 85
to prepare cassava cakes,
to prepare cassava tamales.[2]
In a similar manner
the young man learns the same,
he receives that Word from his father's heart. 90
For the girl, what she gets from her mother's heart,
she likes,
she likes it,
she becomes accustomed to it.

[iii]

"She is like her mother, he is like his father," 95
it is said.
She knows how to prepare the manioc starch drink,
she knows how to cook the juice of sweet manioc,
she knows how to knit a hammock,
for her father-in-law to rest in, 100
for her mother-in-law to rest in.
She fetches firewood to keep her father-in-law warm,
she fetches water for her father-in-law to drink.
She grows up working,
so does the man. 105
With that, the old man gets healed
the old woman gets healed,
the orphans get healed.
Such
a fulfillment, 110
when it is true,
is something not to be forgotten
and is a reason to make us glad.

Likewise,
the man's work dawns as true things. 115
The same for the woman,
her work dawns as true things.

She does not become angry,
she does not become a gossip.
The "anger" of such a woman is like this: 120
she gives her father-in-law a drink of the juice of sweet manioc
—the young woman—
she gives her mother-in-law a drink of it;
she prepares cassava bread and hands it to her mother-in-law,
with that they eat heartily, 125
the mother-in-law eats, the father-in-law eats.

[II]

Thus it was formerly taught,
but today we do not live with such a word.
If it existed one would see it,
if it existed one would hear it. 130
Having forgotten such a good word,
we live today with a different word,
we listen to a different word—
that is shameful for us.

Formerly, there was no reason to be ashamed, 135
in truth we could say:
"This is an educated child,
a disciplined boy,
later on, he will have teachings for his children,
he will have teachings for his wife, 140
he knows how to behave."
Such is a child who is watched over with the word of tobacco and coca,
a woman who is cared for.

Formerly,
in this manner our grandparents taught; 145
today, because we mambe coca,
so we teach the same points.
This word is not another's, it is only ours,
it is the word of life of coca,
the word of life of tobacco. 150
We do not have to get it from other people.
Although we have forgotten this proper word [we are seeking it];
it is by virtue of this word that we became a People,
that we became a People.
How are we going to forget our own word? 155
How are we going to invent lies?

Well then, although good things
will come later on, they always come slowly.
Although with this word we mambe our coca,
we still do not feel anything, 160

nothing dawns in the world, nothing is seen.
However, slowly it will become true
because it springs from our heart,
it does not come from another's heart,
it is what we 165
really want.
So that, really,
we cannot say, "How long must we wait?" because this is our very life.
I do not forget the coca and tobacco that our grandparents used,
I do not forget their word. 170

Well then,
so it is,
these things depend on the good Word
these things do not depend on anger,
we cannot say that we are going to live otherwise, 175
because we are the People of the word of tobacco, coca, bitter manioc, sweet manioc, peanut;
we are the substance of that.
How can we forget?
We cannot forget.

Things being as they are, 180
this work
seems to be only a conversation; but,
where is it in us?
If it were only a matter of talk one would not see Things.
Because we feel gratified we speak, 185
because the children have been born,
because the mother's companion [the daughter] has been born.
With that word that is the word for mambeing coca
then we mambe coca,
lovingly, 190
with no troubles,
no harmful words.
Our heart has reached that point.

Well then,
in truth, if I did not know 195
I would be speaking nonsense,
but I know about life.
That is why I say that [knowledge] is not in the depths
nor up in the heavens, but right here on this earth.
And that is why I say that out there there are only lies, 200
out there there is nothing.
We only care about the things with which we grew up.
Not everything is good; they will say, "there are good things elsewhere," or "out there is the true knowledge";

but there is nothing out there,
elsewhere there is nothing. 205
And then, despising what we have
we look for other things,
thinking we will find another path;
but there isn't another path.

If we only aspire to true things, we will get those
things. 210
Then, if we leave those things aside
we will never learn the true word.
And so, later on, what are we going to teach our children?
With what are we going to educate them?
Thus, it is something necessary 215
and truly beautiful.
In this manner
is our good word.

And so, we are not fooling ourselves;
nor are these illusions. 220
Another elder will teach the same,
another person will teach the same,
because it is the same,
the same word of tobacco and coca.
With this word one keeps working, with this word 225
one keeps making things grow—
as the coca plant grows, so our children grow.
How are we going to get discouraged?
Nothing can discourage us.

With that word, 230
our children will grow up and will grow old.
Then, they will say that this word is good
because with this word the grandparents have
persevered and struggled.
Rejoicing with the children that grow up 235
the old man speaks this way;
rejoicing with the children that grow up well
the grandmother speaks with this word.
She puts the children to sleep and he prepares good coca
and begins to speak 240
and to utter this conversation.
This same Word, truly,
is a healing spell.
So it is.

The Uitoto word *zúuiya*, which I translate as "uttering," literally means "to relieve." The verb root *zuui-* denotes the transition from a compressed condition to one of expansion, from confusion to clarity, from restraint to liberation.[3] The use of this verb in the title of this text is meaningful in the context in which this speech was given.

This narrative was recorded immediately after a meeting that put an end to several weeks of discussion and disagreement within the community of which Kɨneraɨ is the cacique. The situation had come to weigh down people's hearts as though it were an illness—a social illness. Once it reached its critical point it was released as "sweat" in the form of a healing spell—the sayings of the tobacco Word.

Kɨneraɨ does not mention specific situations nor does he show anger or animosity. However, indirect references to that situation may be found in some passages. In lines 171-174, after stating that his Word is the same Word of the grandparents, he comments:

Well then,
  so it is,
  these things depend on the good Word
  these things do not depend on anger.

And in lines 188-192:

With that word that is the word for mambeing coca
  then we mambe coca,
  lovingly,
  with no troubles,
  no harmful words.

I have divided the text into two parts, which I have marked as I and II on the right margin of the page.

Part I is about the tobacco Word or yetárafue. In order to thwart the words of rage and discussion that were in people's hearts, he returns to the basics and goes over the foundations of

behavior. These foundations start with the basic social relations: the relations of filiation (of parents and children) and the relations of alliance (of parents-in-law and daughter-in-law, in this case).

Section i of part I deals with the relations of parents and children and the succession of generations. Here, the most important point is the transmission of work skills. This is said at the very beginning of the text: "This word is about work." This succession is marked by reciprocity. Children must obey and respect their parents and grandparents, and the latter must teach and counsel the youngsters. Even when the elders "seem to be aged" (line 24), work remains in them as "breath"; that is, they display the cultural models of behavior expected from males and females. If grandparents are just breath, parents are "masters" of work, they are the ones who actually possess the skills to carry out and teach the skills that are proper to men and to women.

In the Word on discipline (text 1 in chapter 4) the establishing of relations of alliance was symbolized by the basket that the man weaves and gives to the woman. Here, the metaphor of establishing a new home is the chili pot (see lines 51-52). The soup of meat and chilies, which is prepared in the chili pot, is the basic foodstuff that should never be missing in a home; it thus symbolizes the woman's perseverance as a provider and nourisher.

When "the chili pot appears" the relations of alliance appear. I have said that the Uitoto have a virilocal form of residence. The instruction given here refers to the behavior of a young wife in relation to her in-laws, a relation that is potentially conflictive. The young daughter-in-law's yetárafue orders obedience and reciprocal exchange of favors with her parents-in-law. It is her mother-in-law who elaborates the earthenware pots that she is going to need for her house, and it is her father-in-law who weaves the baskets and other basketry tools that she needs to harvest and process food.[4]

Now, as for the daughter-in-law, she has to work for her parents-in-law (lines 97-103): She knows how to prepare the manioc starch drink,

she knows how to cook the juice of sweet manioc,
she knows how to knit a hammock,
for her father-in-law to rest in,
for her mother-in-law to rest in.
She fetches firewood to keep her father-in-law warm,
she fetches water for her father-in-law to drink.

Finally, the alchemical formula for the behavior of a young girl is given in the last stanza of section iii: she has to transmute her "anger" into work, and the symbol of such transmutation is the juice of sweet manioc, a highly ritualized plant, the quintessence of Indian femininity. It says (lines 118-123):

She does not become angry,
she does not become a gossip.
The "anger" of such a woman is like this:
she gives her father-in-law a drink of the juice of sweet manioc
—the young woman—
she gives her mother-in-law a drink of it.

Relations of alliance are agreed between males and sealed with gifts of tobacco and coca, but this alliance will not be true until it is sealed with the girl's own fluid transmuted into the juice of sweet manioc. Now then, as K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says, "With that, the old man gets healed, the old woman gets healed, the orphans get healed" (lines 106-108).

The expression "the orphans" (*ja*ɨ*ɨénik*ɨ) refers to people who live with a group but who do not belong to it; they are motherless and fatherless people—not so much in a literal sense as in a social sense (cf. chapter 2, section V). This expression is a remnant of older times when young men and women who were captured at war were allowed to live with the captor group, not as prisoners but as "orphans." They could get married within the group but they did not acquire full rights as the "proper" people. Nowadays, many elders use to say, "We are all orphans," because after the period of rubber exploitation many clans lost their shamans and chiefs and went to live with other groups, or next to the white people, as orphans. The reference to orphans in this text is meaningful in the social context I referred to above. Many of the differences in the community of

which K₭nera₭ is cacique stem from the fact that there is one clan that is the master, next to which live remnants of other clans who stand as orphans.[5]

If one examines the Uitoto version of this text (see the appendix 4), one will see that as the conversation advances the lines become longer, particularly in part II (the translation does not reflect it with precision). The length of the lines is an indication of the tempo of the conversation. In part I, where he goes over the foundations of yetárafue, his conversation is slow and measured; in part II, in contrast, the pauses are less frequent and the speed is noticeably higher. This change of tempo goes together with a change of focus: in part I he explains how things should be, whereas in part II he enters into the consideration of present day realities.

Part II seems to fulfill the function of validating his teachings by reference to the ancients (see lines 127-128) and confirming his authority to speak.

K₭nera₭ begins by complaining that, although yetárafue is the Law, people no longer obey it: "We live today with a different word, we listen to a different word—that is shameful for us" (lines 132-134). He points out one of the main paradoxes of rafue. It springs from a technology of production acquired through historical relations which are denied, mystified, or reinterpreted. I have argued that this "reinterpretation" is not merely an intellectual operation, it is mediated by the agency of generalized terror and death. Rafue fetishizes that technology by turning it into "breath," and projects itself into a "tradition" that comes from "the ancients." It is shown in expressions such as "in this manner our grandparents taught" (line 145) and many other similar ones K₭nera₭ frequently employs.

This cultural "system" seems to lag behind the current social realities of dependence. "Culture" then appears as the reduct of an ancient "tradition" that has to resist to domination or succumb to it. What I have been arguing in this dissertation is that "tradition" is a dialogic product of that history of domination.

Anthropologist Carlos D. Londoño-Sulkin researched the Word on discipline among the Muinane of the middle Caquetá river (also People of the Center). The Muinane have been carrying out a project of cultural recuperation as part of their research on "ethnoeducation." They allege that the Word on discipline (*fagójɨ* in Muinane) has to be the basis of children's education in the new Indian community schools. Londoño-Sulkin, who has worked with them in that project, concludes:

> Other [of the] rules of behavior [contained in the Word on discipline *fagójɨ*] would require the adoption of customs and ways of thinking radically different from the current ones. Paradoxically, it would constitute a forced, and even traumatic, acculturation [!] of the children and, probably, of the adults themselves. The culture that seems to be reflected in *Fagójɨ* is, in a good measure, alien to the culture that is reflected in the behavior and speech of everyone. . . . And the question is whether there would be a real disposition in the collective to persevere in their attempts of "recuperation" when they stand in the way of the political, social and economic development in its current form (Londoño-Sulkin, 1995, p. 147).

This seems to agree with Kɨneraɨ's complaints about people's *real* behavior. Sticking to a "tradition," which is imagined as the unchanged legacy of "the ancients," leads to paradoxical situations as those Londoño-Sulkin pictures—and lastly to the folklorization of culture.

Kɨneraɨ's rafue is "culture in the making." My assertion that rafue is a dialogic construct over the "Gospel" does not devaluate it, rather it attests to its impressive cultural vitality and creativity. Kɨneraɨ's rafue is an ethics of work, but the conditions of economic production and reproduction are rapidly changing. Kɨneraɨ is not a "traditionalist" per se, he is the survivor of a catastrophe who has gained his wisdom through work, suffering and perseverance. He clearly expresses his sense of cultural identity (not "ethnic" identity), when he says (lines 153-154),

> it is by virtue of this word that we became a People,
> that we became a People.

And further below (lines 175-179),

> we cannot say that we are going to live otherwise,

because we are the People of the word of tobacco, coca, bitter manioc, sweet manioc, peanut;
we are the substance of that.
How can we forget?
We cannot forget.

He is also a down-to-earth man who will be able, perhaps, to survive new catastrophes.

He defends the clear-mindedness of his rafue (lines 194-202):

Well then,
in truth, if I did not know
I would be speaking nonsense,
but I know about life.
That is why I say that [knowledge] is not in the depths
nor up in the heavens, but right here on this earth.
And that is why I say that out there there are only lies,
out there there is nothing.
We only care about the things with which we grew up.

And, moreover, he is a sweet-spoken healer, who heals with the historic magic of his Word turned spirit (lines 235-243):

Rejoicing with the children that grow up
the old man speaks this way;
rejoicing with the children that grow up well
the grandmother speaks with this word.
She puts the children to sleep and he prepares good coca
and begins to speak
and to utter this conversation.
This same Word, truly,
is a healing spell.

The vitality of Kɨneraɨ's rafue is shown in the following text, which was recorded right after the preceding one. After having dealt with troubles and disappointments his spirit seeks to regain strength.

## *III. Strength*

### Text 10

*On the Source of Strength*

[i]

He is seeking
the source of strength.
Well then,
as though saying,
"What is the true source of strength?" 5
he is seeking.
Well then, he
who works always
preserves his strength.
That source of strength 10
is in the tobacco paste,
the source of strength
is in the vegetable salt,
is in the coca powder.

The source of strength, for the woman, 15
is in the cassava bread,
is in the chili pot,
is in the juice of sweet manioc,
is in the pineapple,
is in the forest grape. 20
That is the true strength.
With that, they resolve to work,
they clear the bushes,
they chop down the trees.
That is the source of strength. 25
The strength of the woman
we have just explained.
The strength of the man
we have just explained.

Well then, 30
nothing is achieved
through mere words.
What is only pursued in words
has no weight,
is fruitless. 35
Well then, the ancients sought
a strength
that had substance.
After having mambed coca
and having eaten well 40
they went to work.

They carried heavy logs,
  courageously they chopped down trees,
  energetically they cleared the bushes—
  that is strength,
    tobacco strength,
    bitter manioc strength,
    coca strength,
    sweet manioc strength.
The word of work
  is not just in words—
    because it is heavy,
    because it is difficult.
Well then, because
  it is like that
  they formerly sought out that word.
He who works is
  the strong one,
  the knower,
  he who knows how to do things
  he who knows how to work;
    the woman,
    the man
  —it is the same—

[ii]

Well then, with that the children also become strong;
  they are healthy,
  they are courageous,
  because they eat.
That is the true strength of the father,
  the strength of the mother.
The girl bathes,
  the boy bathes—
  in this way
  they obtain strength,
  they become hard workers
    they are not lazy,
    with the good Word
    they are speaking.
The girl's heart is good,
  is full of love,
  that is her strength.

That is the woman's true strength,
  the work of bitter manioc.
  With that
  she works hard,
    she is not lazy,

she is not impatient
And the man becomes healthy,
becomes content,
because he eats, 90
he drinks,
he mambes coca,
he licks tobacco paste;
with that
he fetches, 95
brings home,
finishes his labors.

[iii]

So it is.
If for some reason
true strength is lacking, 100
the father seeks it out,
the mother seeks it out,
they find it.
As though to say,
"With this I will heal the children, 105
with this I will relieve the children's hearts."
As though to say,
"Nothing is working out,
not now or later,
because that word 110
isn't working."
As though to say,
"If that is missing,
the body gets discouraged,
the heart does not speak, 115
it speaks lies."
So it is.

That is why he goes and brings
firewood,
he brings vines, 120
brings *guarumo* fiber,[6]
brings *bacaba* fiber,[7]
he works,
eats,
he strengthens himself, 125
he is seated,
he does not sleep,
he keeps speaking,
he searches,
he makes things dawn. 130
With that he eats,

he is watchful.
How can it
not work out?
One should not say this, 135
it *will* work out.
It is "the master" who strives,
with strength,
he does not speak in vain,
he does not speak with laziness, 140
he does not speak with sadness,
he does not speak with impatience.
How
are we going to say
it won't work out? 145
We cannot say that.

With this heart of tobacco,
with this strength,
he searches,
he finds, 150
he brings home;
the day dawns
with abundance.
With that the children become healthy,
the woman becomes healthy, 155
the friend becomes healthy.
So it is.

[iv]

It is not a child who speaks,
it is an elder who speaks.
The conversation 160
from the elder's heart
reaches to the forest,
it searches everywhere
and finds things.
Because he already knows, 165
because there is a reason
he speaks.
How is it not going to work out?
So it is,
the right-handed word, 170
at the moment
he utters it,
it is reaching
to the Bottom of the World.
There, the word 175
resonates—

this very same word.
He says,
heart of the Father,
heart of the Mother— 180
he makes it dawn,
it becomes visible.

This,
which seems impossible, I can do;
that which cannot be obtained 185
the heart alone with a loving word achieves.
And so here, there is no word of sadness,
there is not a lot of idle thought,
one looks
straight, 190
one gets drunk,
one searches.
When this heart
—heart of the Father, heart of the Mother—
when this heart 195
turns and looks around
the children receive
beautiful presents.
Later on
there is 200
the Word of Health,
the Word of Happiness,
the Word of Food.

Well then,
what couldn't be achieved, 205
in this manner
now remains
as a teaching,
now there are
teachings. 210
How
are we going to say
that there isn't such a word?
That nobody can do it?
The elder can do it. 215
Then, one tells the children,
"Remain silent."
So it is;
the word
in this manner 220
relieves

everything.

This speech is not merely *about* strength; it is in itself *an act* that generates strength. In "Uttering the Tobacco Word" (text 9) K̶ineraɨ̶ was healing the tobacco Word; here he invokes the power to stand up and work, to seek, to make things dawn. In the former text he was complaining about people's current behavior. Here he abandons elaborate reflections and utters a conversation that goes straight after things—not an explanation, but an invocation to generate strength.

The text proceeds in short lines intoned monotonously and marked by continuous answers from the conversation partner, approximating the rhythm of a litany (cf. Uitoto version in the appendix 4). This succession of short lines generates a peculiar strength which is in itself an expression of the contents. We can appreciate the usefulness of the verse style chosen for these texts; a presentation in prose would fail to express the rhythm and the power which the text invokes.

Due to the shortness of the lines and the style of the text, the sentence syntax is sometimes difficult to interpret. I have overcome this difficulty by avoiding being literal in the translation—or rather, by translating form and contents, not only contents.

K̶ineraɨ̶ starts by stating the origin and source of strength—it is a matter of substance, not of words. For the man, the strength is in coca, tobacco paste, and vegetable salt; for the woman, the strength is in the cultivated plants, the juice of sweet manioc, and the chili pot—"That is the true strength." What is that strength for? To work, chiefly agricultural work, the metaphor of all work: to clear the bushes, to chop down the trees, to burn the cleared plot, to plant, to watch over what is sown, to harvest and to process food stuff. From this labor food results; with that food the children grow; then there is more strength, one can grow more food, and so forth.

The strength K̶ineraɨ̶ is talking about is substantial, it is not "air"—i.e., words. This is a key distinction in the tobacco thought. He states it clearly in the third stanza (lines 30-38):

Well then,
  nothing is achieved
  through mere words.
What is only pursued in words
  has no weight,
  is fruitless.
Well then, the ancients sought
  a strength
  that had substance.

Further ahead, he reiterates this idea (lines 50-51):

The word of work
  is not just in words—
    because it is heavy,
    because it is difficult.

K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ then refers to children and family (section ii). The source of strength is in food; from there children will come. Children become well and healthy "because they eat."

The first stanza of section ii mentions another of the sources of strength: water and bathing—an important activity, which means much more than merely cleaning the body.[8] Bathing is closely related to the Word on discipline. On the one hand, bathing is an everyday activity, as is the Word on discipline; on the other hand, water is cool and invigorating, it is an antidote to laziness; besides, the *buinaima* ("the sage") is an aquatic being (see chapter 5). Thus, the water is a metaphor and a metonym for the cool Word, the *buinaima*'s Word of life.

The source of all strength is the woman, mistress of bitter manioc; this is the root of the man's strength. With that strength the man becomes courageous, licks and mambes, searches, achieves, and brings home things. With the woman's strength, the man is able to search "out there" (in the forest); from the forest he brings home wood, vines, wild fruits, and game.

Up to this point the text is expositive; it is an explanation of the sources of strength. From this point on, the tone and intention of the text change.

Section iii poses a situation in which strength is lacking, where the word does not work out and the heart gets discouraged. The first stanza poses this situation using a common rhetorical device: stating something and following it with the expression *daɨnano* "having said so." Kɨneraɨ applies this device to three complete verses, creating in this way a whole hypothetical situation with a great economy of resources. To translate the stanza with the same economy, I have used quotation marks for the hypothetical statements, preceded by the expression "as though to say."

In the second stanza he poses the question of what should be done in a situation like that—of lack of strength, of discouragement. The first verse is a list of activities. This list is not simply a succession of counsels, the very form of exposition is invigorating, it attracts the strength that is missing and that is now being recuperated. He says (lines 118-132):

That is why he goes and brings
  firewood,
  he brings vines,
  brings *guarumo* fiber,
  brings *bacaba* fiber,
  he works,
  eats,
  he strengthens himself,
  he is seated,
  he does not sleep,
  he keeps speaking,
  he searches,
  he makes things dawn.
  With that he eats,
  he is watchful.

This list of activities is a tightly-packed synthesis of the tobacco and coca yetárafue for the man. It starts with the relations of alliance (lines 119-122). The man brings home firewood to feed his woman's fireplace, he brings home vines to weave baskets for his woman to harvest and process food with, he brings home *guarumo* and *bacaba* fiber to make the strainers with which his woman strains the manioc starch. Here Kɨneraɨ refers to woman, marriage, and offspring by means of a double play of metaphors and metonyms:

- To say *woman*, he says "firewood" (line 119), metonym of fire; and fire is a metaphor of woman—women are called *reɨkɨ naɨngo*, "mistresses of fire";
- to say *marriage*, he says "vines" (line 120), metonym of baskets; and the basket, we have seen, is the metaphor of the alliance among groups;
- to say *offspring*, he says "*guarumo* and *bacaba*" (lines 121-122), metonym of manioc strainer and manioc starch; and manioc starch is a metaphor of mankind.

The last metaphor can be explained with the topology of the Mother's womb. The mass of manioc is strained with the help of water. Water washes the starch, which passes through the strainer and is collected in a bowl. On the other hand, the gross fibers of manioc and other impurities, which do not pass through the strainer, get separated from the pure starch. It is a symbol of the Creation, when the Creator separated the "true abundance" from the "abundance from the beginnings"—cultivated food from wild game, culture from nature, right here from out there, health from illness, humans from animals.[9]

When the woman has tools to work with, then there is food. That is why the man "works, eats, strengthens himself" (lines-123-125). With that strength, he "is seated" (line 126).[10] That is why the man "does not sleep" (line 127)—he is not lazy or sleepy, he is attentive. He "keeps speaking" (line 128), uttering the tobacco Word, as does Kɨneraɨ in text 9—reciting yetára-fue and healing the heart of the orphans. While speaking he "searches" (line 129), as does Kɨneraɨ in text 8—gathering the Father's breath in the Mother's womb and harvesting it in the form of plants and food. Upon searching he finds, and makes those Things (game, food) dawn (line 130)—they become visible, real. As a result of these activities he is able to eat and keep watchful (lines 131-132).

A common feature in Indian oral performance is the use of rhetorical questions. In the second stanza of section iii he uses it twice:

How can it
not work out?
One should not say this,
it *will* work out.
(Lines 133-136)

How
are we going to say
it won't work out?
We cannot say that.
(Lines 143-146)

These questions have the function of strengthening and securing, of asserting that there is no doubt that following yetárafue he will get what he is seeking. Likewise, when he says in the third verse: "It is 'the master' who strives" (line 137), he is referring to the spirit of tobacco, "the master," because when a person lives with tobacco yetárafue, what he seeks is already the tobacco spirit's game.

In section iv he no longer refers to a hypothetical situation but to the actual situation. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ invokes the strength for himself. He names himself and names the power of his heart (lines 158-168):

It is not a child who speaks,
it is an elder who speaks.
The conversation
from the elder's heart
reaches to the forest,
it searches everywhere
and finds things.
Because he already knows,
because there is a reason
he speaks.
How is it not going to work out?

Here, he uses strong words. With that word he reaches to the forest, he searches everywhere. This word is directed against the animal spirits, the bad feelings in people's hearts which isolate them

from proper yetárafue. These are the same spirits (feelings) he hunted long before when he cleaned the place where he went to live (cf. text 4) and the same feelings he refers to in part II of text 9. He casts those feelings into the forest, and there they get embodied as game; that is why he says, "and finds things" (line 164).

The following verses are the most difficult to translate in this text. He pronounces "heavy" names: *nabedɨ úai* (line 170, "right-handed word") and *jaka nɨnomo jiyákɨmo ite* (lines 173-174). The latter expression refers to the origin of all things in the Bottom of the World (the east), where the spirit travels during tobacco intoxication. From there comes the primordial breath that forms all plants, animals, and things.

The Bottom of the World is a mysterious place, located in the east, where Yojema—Kɨneraɨ's word for "God"—is seated. Let us remember that the S.I.L. missionaries decided to translate "God" into Uitoto as Juzíñamui, the "insatiable fighter," a cannibal who lives in the heights. Yojema, "God" for Kɨneraɨ, means "Metal-Man," and is also used to mean "axe" in ritual secret speech. Kɨneraɨ never used the word Yojema in public speeches, as the ones collected here; he rather uses the expression Mooma Buinaima ("Father Buinaima") to mean the Creator. This confirms my hypothesis of the links between the "breath" of cultivated plants, that comes from the east, and the "axe."

In the following stanza he reiterates his power: "This, which seems impossible, I can do" (lines 183-184). This word of strength travels to the sources of drunkenness and, at the same time, the children receive "beautiful presents" (line 198). These presents are named as "the Word of Health, the Word of Happiness, the Word of Food" (lines 201-203).

As the word he used is strong and hot, he tells the children: "Remain silent" (line 217). A word like this is like causing thunder; when it thunders Indians tell the children to be silent because "electricity enters through their mouths and makes them sick."[11] And because it is hot—it is

from the heart of the old man drunk with tobacco—upon concluding, he cools it down (lines 219-222):

The word
in this manner
relieves
everything.

These two texts show us the tobacco Word in action in current social realities—and not as the petrified survival of a "tradition." K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ goes over the principles of behavior: work, "hunting," social relations. He complains and scolds people, but he does not give up. He instructs and heals. He stands up and utters a Word to regain strength. This strength comes from the cultivated plants. He rejects evil out to the jungle and invokes the mysterious source of his rafue, the "breath" that comes from the Bottom of the World, where the Axe-Man ("God") seats. This is hot, this is dangerous, thus he has to cool it down.

*End Notes*

[1.] In a dance ritual organized by the Pineapple clan of the Muinane, the main contending maloca was that of the Muinane-Coconut clan. The chief of the Muinane-Coconut happened to be the brother-in-law of the master of the ritual; the Coconut chief thus could not receive the tobacco of invitation but had to help in the preparation of the ritual as an "insider." During the ritual his brothers came as contending invited people (bringing game and songs) while he sat with his affines as hosts of the ritual.

[2.] Cassava bread is made out of cassava meal and baked on the griddle. Cassava cakes are also made with cassava meal plus water and baked on the griddle; they are softer and fluffier. Cassava tamales are manioc dough wrapped in leaves and cooked in water. See note 4 to appendix 5A for an explanation of my usage of the terms "cassava" and "manioc."

[3.] The stem *zuui-* plus the affix *-ta-* ("to cause to") produces the verb *zuitade* which has three related meanings: (i) in a material sense it means "to unfasten (a knot), to untangle"; (ii) in a physiological sense, it means that an illness has reached a critical point and is "released" in fever and sweat (a spell to treat high fever, for instance, is called *zuitárako jɨɨra*); and (iii) in a psychic sense, it means "to relieve, to open up," as when it is said that a good coca *komekɨ zuitade*, "relieves the heart, opens up the mind." By adding the affix *-ri-* ("duration, repetition") to *zuitade* we obtain the verb *zuirítate*, "to soften."

[4.] In the Word on discipline (text 1) the relations of alliance were established by the man, who weaves the baskets for his wife; here, it seems that it is the father-in-law—the husband's father—who weaves the baskets. However, this contradiction is only apparent because alliance is here referred to in metaphorical terms. As the man and his father belong to the same filiation group, the metaphorical sense of the basket offered to the woman does not change.

[5.] The master clan is the clan of the Miriti Palm Grove, or *Kɨnérenɨ*, to which Kɨneraɨ and his family belong.

[6.] *Guarumo*: fiber of *Ischnosiphon aruma* employed for weaving basketry, mainly strainers.

[7.] *Bacaba*: fiber of the palm *Oenocarpus bacaba* (= *Jessenia bacaba*) employed to weave basketry, usually in conjunction with *guarumo*.

[8.] The anthropologist Maria Cecilia López writes about the meaning of bathing among the Uitoto:

> There are many prescriptions and recommendations about bathing. Children are taught not to be lazy; the mother submerges herself in the water with the small child while whispering advice into his ear, telling him that the Indian's life is not easy, that it requires a lot of strength and courage. The early-morning bath prevents one from aging and becoming gray-haired and "arthritic"; for this reason they must submerge themselves in the water before the yellow butterfly does and partake of the water's energy to keep healthy (López, 1993, p. 27, my translation).

[9] Oscar Román, a Uitoto elder from the Caquetá river, says in this respect:

> Evil, the negative, pain, illness—this feeling is transformed by Him, the Creator, into what is good and positive in nature, like the plants, the animals, the minerals and mankind. The latter is the purest form, the most "crystalline"—prefigured as starch, *what is strained*—which appears in the form of various tribes (ibid., pp. 43-44, my translation, emphasis added).

[10] Cf. the use of the verb "to be seated" (*ráɨide*) in chapter 5.

[11] In the myth "Story of the Creation" by the Uitoto Indian Octavio García (recorded by Fernando Urbina), Buinaima, who is trying to free the people who are under the earth, tells his wife: "When people come yelling, *don't say a word*, because if you scream they will get scared and will return" (Urbina, 1982, p. 10, my translation, emphasis added). Urbina, in a note, adds: "It is a custom among the Murui-Muinane [Uitoto] that when a person is seriously ill one should not raise one's voice in his presence because the person's spirit is travelling far away and can get scared and never return" (ibid., my translation).

Chapter 9

# HEALING SOCIETY AND HISTORY: COOLING DOWN THE MOTHER'S VESSEL

K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* is known to outsiders as a "traditional healer." He heals other Indians, mestizos and even white people. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s healing techniques, however, are quite different from what it is commonly believed Indian medicine is like. Indian healers are attributed great knowledge of plants and its properties and so forth.

K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s medicine is very immaterial. It is not based on the knowledge of plants or its properties. He does know about plants, but for him it is something comparable to white medicines—it is secondary, it is only physical. He leaves it to his wife to collect, prepare and apply this "material" medicine. His healing practice is "spiritual," in the sense I have defined that term in chapter 7—it is, if I am allowed to say so, a healing of history and society, a healing of the axe/Mother/space of death.

The basic technique of K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s healing practice are the healing spells or invocations (*jɨɨra* in Uitoto). The spells are sung and blown over a tobacco leaf, water, or some other preparations, which are later ingested or smoked by the patient, or applied to him or her. These substances

are the material carriers of the invisible power contained in the words of the spell. I will call them the "links" between the healer and the patient's body.

These links are sometimes cultivated medicinal plants. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s healing does not rely on the chemical properties of plants but on their symbolic properties. The plants he uses most are tobacco, nettle and chili, on the one hand, and a set of six very rare mild medicinal plants—"herbs of the Mother"—on the other hand. The first three are strong plants, the other six are plants that carry female powers—"sweet and cool" plants. These are: *na*ɨ*mek*ɨ, *d*ɨ*r*ɨ*mao*, *jaibik*ɨ, *nozekue*, *katubai* and *yinakai*. Of these, I have only actually seen *d*ɨ*r*ɨ*mao* and *jaibik*ɨ (basil) being cultivated.[1]

A determinate plant "link" will be chosen according to the function of the spell. Tobacco—either the leaf, the juice, or the paste—is K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s favorite substance for defense and attack. It is used as a link to transmit a power to a person, to defend a person's body against attacks from stingy animals or people's evil intentions, to "communicate" with distant relations, to influence atmospheric conditions, and many other uses. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* is a tobacco man.

Hot chili is most preferred to scare away the spirits that induce drowsiness, sleepiness, deceitfulness, and "craziness" in people. The animals that master these ills are mainly the mammals that belong to the group of edentata (anteaters, armadillos, sloths, and porcupines) and the fresh water dolphin. The latter is the source of "love craze" in men and women. The substances of the dolphin (fat, bones, etc.) are used by young men to induce love in women, or vice versa. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* strongly condemns this practice. These "crazes" are one of the most frequent problems he has to heal in young women and men. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* calls the source of these problems *r*ɨ*ngon*ɨ*a*ɨ "women." There are several kinds of these "women": *zadaiya r*ɨ*ngo* "smiling woman," *j*ɨ*rui r*ɨ*ngo* "mischievous woman," *r*ɨ*ama r*ɨ*ngo* "white woman," and many others. They induce craze for money, alcohol, white people; they make a man not wanting to mambe coca or lick tobacco, and a

woman not wanting to work in the food plot. Chili (a special very strong variety called *jaiɨ* "snake chili") is the preferred "link" to treat these "women" kind of problems.

Stinging nettle (there are two kinds) is preferred to alleviate body pains in adults, and to treat certain problems related to the growing of children (walking problems, body development, eating soil, and many others).

The plants I am most concerned here, however, are the set of the "plants of the Mother." This mysterious set of plants (all of them seem to be little herbs) are paramount in Uitoto cosmology. They are central to the healing by "cooling down." They are not only used as links but also summoned in the spells. Together with them, Kɨneraɨ uses the cultivated plants "on the woman's part": sweet manioc, pineapple and all the fruits and tubers.

Note that the plants Kɨneraɨ prefers as links in his healing practice are all cultivated plants. He does not use jungle weeds for his specialized healing.

I said in previous chapters that the foundation of rafue healing is working, eating, and hunting. A man and a woman will keep healthy if they work, eat, and "hunt" (clean up their minds and bodies). In addition to these—and closely related to them—the crown of Kɨneraɨ's magic is the healing by cooling down. This is a healing of the Mother's womb.

Cooling down is a healing based on the metaphors of the technology of producing and processing cultivated food. The technology of slash-and-burn agriculture requires the use of fire—burning of the slashed plot; likewise, the processing of cultivated food also requires fire. This is most clearly expressed in the processing of three plants central to Kɨneraɨ's rhetoric: tobacco, coca, and sweet manioc—metonyms of the whole set of cultivated plants, and metaphors of the true man and woman. All three plants are processed by means of fire in order to produce tobacco paste, coca mambe, and juice of sweet manioc—three most important ritual substances.

In addition to these substances, another important substance in K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~'s healing is the vegetable salt, which is not obtained from the cultivated sphere. Vegetable salt is mixed with the paste of tobacco; the mixture is what people actually lick. The mixing of tobacco paste with vegetable salt marks the initiation of rituals and precedes almost all important works and dialogues. It is a ritual that distinguishes the People of the Center from other neighboring groups. The vegetable salt is extracted from several wild plant species (see appendix 5b). It is said that the vegetable salt captures the spirit of the animals. It is the hunting weapon of the tobacco hunter. In the story of the Creation, the Creator "spat out" all the illnesses, and in this way he formed the natural world "out there" (animals, plants, rocks, etc.). This substance of the Creator (sometimes referred to as his "semen" or his "milk") is what the extract of vegetable salt captures. The vegetable salt is also prepared by means of fire.

"The first spell of tobacco," K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ says, "is the spell for cooling down." This spell summons the procedures to prepare tobacco paste, vegetable salt, and coca mambe. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ says that *work* heals the Mother's womb; now we will learn how K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ employs the technology of work and the images of burning and cooling down to accomplish that healing.

Let us look at some excerpts of K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~'s introduction to the spell for cooling down—the first spell of tobacco.

Text 11

*Word for Preparing Tobacco* (excerpts)

The Word
  for preparing tobacco is taught
  when a man is working on it.
But well worked,
  well cooked. 5
So now,
  he cools it down.

. . . . . .

After that,
  he brings home
  vegetable salt.
Once it is brought, he burns it;
  once it is burnt, he lets it cool down.
Once that is done, he filters water through the ashes.
At the same time,
  he cooks the water
  in the salt pot.
He cooks it until
  it dries out.
Now it is dry—truly—
  but still, at that moment, it is hot.
Well then, he lets it cool down.

. . . . . .

He brings coca leaves, and is toasting and toasting them;
  they get hot.
Once hot, they dry out,
  they are well toasted;
  now truly, they are all
  delicious and toasted.
Then,
  he pounds them.
Once they are pounded,
  he goes and burns
  dry cecropia leaves.
He burns them all, and
  it looks as if the leaves won't stop burning,
  it looks frightful.
But they stop burning and cool down;
  then, he blends the ashes with the coca.

. . . . . .

Meanwhile he mixes
  the tobacco . . .
  with the dry vegetable salt.
Once it is mixed, he licks it.
After licking it
  he puts a little coca powder in his mouth.
In his mouth, the coca feels sweet and delicious,
  his heart bursts forth

and gets healed.
At this point
—now truly—
his breath is 60
cool and sweet.

. . . . . .

The breath of cooling down tobacco and cooling down coca
is received in the heart
as a healing spell
—breath of tobacco, breath of coca.
With that breath, if a child 70
has fever,
with this spell it is cured,
by conjuring the water of the *d̶ir̶ímao* herb.

I will briefly explain the three procedures mentioned in the text.

The Uitoto and neighboring tribes prepare the tobacco paste (*yera*) in this way: (i) they harvest mature tobacco leaves; (ii) after rinsing the leaves, they boil them in water for several hours; (iii) once the leaves are well cooked, they strain the whole mixture to obtain pure tobacco juice; (iv) they cook this juice again, and when it is getting thick they add a plant to make it thicker and smoother (see "Source of tobacco mixture" in the appendix 5b); (v) they keep cooking it, stirring it constantly, until it obtains the right thickness of texture.

They prepare the vegetable salt (*i̶aiza i̶*) in the following way: (i) they collect the bark, flowers, buds, and other plant material, from the various species from which salt is obtained (see "Source of vegetable salt" in the appendix 5b); (ii) they burn this material until it is reduced to ashes; (iii) they put the ashes in a piece of bark or heliconia leaf, with fern leaves or moss at the bottom; (iv) they filter water slowly through the ashes to precipitate the salts it contains; (v) they boil down the resulting water in order to dry the salts.

They prepare the coca powder or mambe (*jiibie*) in this way: (i) they harvest mature leaves of coca and put them to toast in a big clay pot or griddle; (ii) they pound the toasted leaves in a wooden mortar so as to reduce them to powder; (iii) they burn dry cecropia leaves to obtain ash; (iv) they blend the pounded coca powder with the cecropia ashes and strain the blend using a fine piece of bark or cloth. They repeat the procedures of pounding, blending, and straining until only the veins and husk remain in the strainer.

The healer, with the spell for cooling down, summons these three procedures—the alternation of hotness and coolness that goes in them—and casts that power upon a water of the *dɨrɨ́mao* herb (one of the plants of the Mother) to cure a small child's fever.

The largest portion of Kɨneraɨ's healing knowledge has to do with the conception, pregnancy, birth and development of a child. The healing of these life processes is based on the images of the technology of slash-and-burn agriculture and the "topology" of the Mother's womb (a hierarchical system of dreamlike culture-nature correspondences—see chapter 7). Kɨneraɨ's "cooling down" is a "social, historical, and technological" alchemy that turns "space of death" into "Mother's womb"—it is a reinstauration of life.

I will further analyze this form of healing in a text which reproduces a speech delivered by Kɨneraɨ right after the text 10 ("On the Source of Strength"), presented in the previous chapter. In the previous chapter Kɨneraɨ was dealing with troubles in his community. He went over the foundations of the ethics of behavior (text 9), then he sought to regain strength (text 10) and touched delicate points: the Bottom of the World, where the Axe-Man ("God") seats. Now he proceeds to heal—to cool down.

Text 12

*Tobacco Word on Cooling Down*

Well then, now,
the Mother's word on cooling down,
the Father's word on cooling down.
At the moment when, truly,
the juice of sweet manioc becomes cool, 5
the paste of tobacco becomes cool,
the powder of coca becomes cool,
then the child becomes cool.
At the moment when the firmament becomes cool,[2]
when this earth becomes cool, 10
at that moment,
now, all
the people become cool,
the orphans become cool.

Well then, 15
they were hot;
when they were hot
they spoke restlessly,
and that word
was heard from afar. 20
At that moment,
how many
upsetting words there were!
There were words of fire,
there were words of animal anger. 25
They still are in confusion,
they still are not calm.
For this reason they must be corrected.

In a little while
—so one says— 30
I will form it,
I will blow it
so that the child may drink.
The child drinks
to sleep well. 35
A calm breath
is released—
how
it bursts forth!

The firmament becomes cool,
this earth becomes cool.
At the same time,
lovingly,
the breath unravels,
the breath relieves.
At the same time,
how
lovingly
it relieves!
The breath of life,
the breath which cools down,
the breath which sweetens.
How
thoroughly
it relieves!

At that moment
the people are healed.
At the moment
the Father becomes cool,
the people become cool.
Everything:
the heart of tobacco
becomes cool,
the heart of coca
becomes cool,
the heart of sweet manioc
becomes sweet,
the heart of bitter manioc
becomes cool,
the heart of peanut
becomes cool.
A genuine
healing spell
is released
by the Father and the Mother.
Right away
everything becomes cool.
The heart of pineapple
becomes sweet,
in that manner
the heart of the forest grape
becomes sweet,
the heart of the sapote
becomes sweet—
like water.

Right away,
how
it heals!
What was not cool before
now is cool; 90
the gourd becomes cool,
the earthenware pot becomes cool,
the clay griddle becomes cool.
Everything
becomes 95
thoroughly cool.

At that moment this earth is like moist clay,
thus, it becomes cool.
How lovingly people become calm!
How drowsy they become! 100
The heart is relieved,
the heart of the Father
is relieved,
the heart of the Mother
is relieved. 105
In this way
it becomes cool;
everything
becomes cool.
From the man's heart 110
a fresh
breath
bursts forth,
a dewy
breath 115
bursts forth,
the true
breath of
the people's
birth 120
bursts forth.
Right away,
how cool
it becomes!
Fully 125
it dawns,
fully
the good Word
is uttered,
fully, the good Word 130
becomes sweet.

We are the true People;
that is why, in order to heal ourselves,
there is a word of healing.
What is
well blown
becomes cool;
the Father's
countenance
becomes cool,
the Mother's
countenance
becomes cool,
a cool breath
bursts forth.
At that moment,
how
the forest
is relieved!
The breath
at the Bottom of the World
is thoroughly
relieved.
Breath of the Father,
breath of the Mother,
seat of the Mother,
seat of the Father,
*Buinaima* of life,
one says,
name of the Father,
name of the Mother,
Mother of the people.
The breath
of the Mother of the people
bursts forth.

At that moment,
how
the true "house"
is conjured!
At that moment
—so to speak—
how,
inside the vessel,
this "house" will be conjured![3]
Resolutely
it settles down,

resolutely
it will be healed.

In this manner,
soon the people will be born— 180
now the Father already pronounced,
the Mother already pronounced.
In this manner
the breath
becomes visible. 185
In this manner
the good Word
becomes visible.
Well then, resolutely,
the Father's purpose 190
releases
the breath
of life.
So it is.

All through the text K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* repeatedly uses expressions that refer to cooling down, such as: "unravels," "bursts forth," "releases," "becomes cool." The rhythm of the recitation conjures the increasing power of this releasing. This power is stressed throughout the text by the recurring use of the adverb *nɨnomo*, which I translate as "How . . . !"

All things become cool and sweet: cultivated plants and domestic tools. When he says tobacco and coca, he refers to men; when he says sweet manioc, bitter manioc, and peanut, he refers to women; when he says pineapple, forest grape, and sapote, he refer to youngsters. When he mentions tools, he only refers to earthenware vessels, he does not name basketry. Those are the tools that the mother-in-law makes for the daughter-in-law. Here he alludes, in a metaphorical manner, to the relations of alliance from the woman's point of view—that is, the relations of a woman with her in-laws (cf. previous chapter).

In the fifth stanza this earth is named as "moist clay" (*jírueni*). *Jírue* is an expression that is not used in everyday speech, it only appears in ritual language—it means "aquatic beings."[4]

It seems to refer to a primeval condition of the earth, when it was inhabited by aquatic beings. This condition is confirmed by the lines that follow which allude to quieting down and falling asleep. From this moistened earth, a "fresh breath," a "dewy breath," a "true breath of the people's birth" arises (lines 110-120).[5]

Kɨneraɨ weaves a succession of powerful names and references: the Father's and Mother's countenances; their breath, their seat, and their names; the Bottom of the World (the east); and the Mother of the People. Finally, "this 'house'" is healed. It refers to the woman's body, the maloca, and the firmament. To understand this expression I will need to still discuss another text.

Kɨneraɨ began by referring to the "upsetting words" that were in the people's hearts: "words of fire, words of animal anger" (lines 24-25). He compares the restlessness of people to a child's restless sleep, and he proceeds to cure it in the same way.

A master of dance rituals, or the cacique of a community, Kɨneraɨ says, watches over his people in the same way that a father watches over a little child. He has to "discipline himself"—that is, he has to adopt a special regime of life.[6] The father sits down and watches over the child with the strength of his tobacco and coca. Then, Kɨneraɨ goes on, there comes a moment when the child does not seem to sleep well, he moans and is restless. The father then tries out a spell for the child's restlessness in a little bit of water of the *dɨrɨ́mao* plant. Kɨneraɨ refers to this spell in text 12 when he says: "I will form it, I will blow it so that the child may drink" (lines 31-33). I include here an excerpt from the introduction to that spell, and the opening lines of the curing song itself.

Text 13

*Invocation for the Child Who Sleeps Restlesstly* (excerpt)

Then, while he is watched over,
the sleeping child becomes restless. 20
He sleeps that way; well then, "What
does this mean?" [the father] says.
Upon saying that, now truly,
he says, "Bring some water,
water of *dɨrɨ́mao*," he says. 25
They bring it,
and then, in that water
he tries out this invocation.

Well then,
he tries it out. 30
"This is the
vessel of our birth,
truly, its amnion."
"Therein, the leaf of the Mother of *dɨrɨ́mao*,
the leaf of *dɨrɨ́mao*, 35
releases its breath."

[Beginning of the curing song]

In the Mother's vessel of life
Once the Mother's amniotic fluid is formed
Now, the leaf of the Mother of *dɨrɨ́mao*
Takes form and floats in the water 40
The breath of the Mother of *jaibikɨ*
I am summoning it
. . . . . .

The water with *dɨrɨ́mao* leaves which the healer holds in his hands is compared to the mother's womb where the child's formation takes place. The healer continues summoning the "names of the mother": Mother of *jaibikɨ* (basil), Mother of the sprinkling dew, Mother of *nozekue*, Mother of the moist clay, Mother of relief, Mother of intoxication, Mother of sweet manioc, Mother of peanut, Mother of *naɨmekɨ*.

The same word he uses to refer to the mother's womb (*ikuri* "vessel") in the curing song appears in text 12 when he says: "At that moment—so to speak—how, inside the vessel, this 'house' will be conjured!" (lines 170-174). The "house" (*biko*) that will be conjured can be "the

body," or "the maloca" (communal house), or "the firmament" (the world's maloca). These are conjured "inside the vessel": the Mother's womb—society, history, and productive technology.

This is Kɨneraɨ's rafue healing technique. His awareness of and attention to the processes of life is also an awareness of the processes of social reproduction. The history of contact—the "axe"—is so profoundly modified in Kɨneraɨ's rafue that it may easily go unrecognized to a superficial reading. Kɨneraɨ's rafue is neither "history" nor "mythology"; it is "healing breath"—a mythological reinterpretation of history acting upon real life.

Kɨneraɨ frequently said to me, *bie rafue jaka fuiñede* "this rafue never ends." In the next chapter, I include the translation of two speeches delivered by Kɨneraɨ after text 12, "Tobacco Word on Cooling Down." They bring Kɨneraɨ's rafue, if not to a conclusion, indeed to a poetic epitome with his depiction of the figures of the Harvesting Mother and the Harvesting Father.

*End Notes*

[1.] References to these plants are found in Preuss and other authors. For instance: "*naimere*, also *naime*, a sweet herb, used as a magical remedy" (Preuss, 1923, p. 734, my translation). Cristina Garzón also mentions a "sweet herb" with the name *naɨmekɨa*, but does not provide the botanical identification (Garzón and Makuritofe, 1992, p. 260).

On *nozekue*, Preuss writes: "plant to scare away illnesses, also used for sorcery" (1923, p. 738, my translation), and "plant to invoke health, supposedly identical to the *hanako* tree" (Preuss, 1921, p. 357, my translation). "*Nozeko*" also appears in the myth of the Sun and Moon; with this plant, Kaniyuyu cured Manaidejitoma's eyes (ibid., p. 311, my translation). In a story entitled "The origin of plants," the Uitoto Indian elder Rafael Enokayɨ relates: "Then, in a while, you go to your father, and I am going to give you some things of your father [Mongobuinaima's mother told her son] . . . [Mongobuinaima] went and his father gave him that *notekue* [*nozekue*], a little herb to take illnesses out with your hands" (Garzón and Makuritofe, 1992, p. 70, my translation). Clara I. Henao writes: "*Nozekue*, cultivated around the dwelling places to give health to people. The leaves are cooked in the juice of sweet manioc and then this liquid is drunk" (Henao, 1990, my translation). Henao, however, does not report its botanical identification.

On *yinakai* Preuss writes: "a cultivated plant from whose leaves an extract that serves as a remedy is prepared to keep people healthy" (1923, p. 666, my translation). *Yinakai* also appears in the first song of the *manguaré* (wooden drums) ritual—the song of the axe (ibid., my translation). Rafael Enokayɨ, in the same story cited above, mentions "Father Yinakɨkaiño" as "one of the four pillars of our descent" (Garzón and Makuritofe, 1992, p. 80, my translation).

On *katubai*, I have not found references in the literature. Of this plant Kɨneraɨ says: "a little plant that smells nice," and his son Blas, "a plant with round leaves."

[2.] "The firmament": *biko*, literally "this shell." It means either "this body," "this maloca," or "the firmament."

[3.] "House": *biko* (see note 2). It refers to the woman's body and simultaneously refers to the community (residential unit) and the world.

[4.] According to Kɨneraɨ, *jírueni* means "soil moistened by water," hence my translation. In Preuss, we find "*Hirue Buineisai* [*Jírue Buinaizaɨ*], people of *Hirue*, a kind of fish" (1923, p. 711, my translation). Becerra and Petersen-de-Piñeros gloss "Jirue Buineima" as "male mythical character, the 'Alga-*buineima*'" (1994, p. 844, my translation).

[5.] What I translate as "fresh" is *jírue*; and what I translate as "dewy" is *rɨérue*. The latter is also a ritual word. According to Kɨneraɨ, *rɨérue* means "dew, as when, at midnight, the plant of

sweet manioc, the plant of tobacco, the plant of coca become cool and the leaves exude a cold and fresh dew." Also, the verb *rɨéronaite* means "to be covered by dew."

[6.] "To discipline oneself" (*fɨmaide*) refers to the fasting and restrictions a person must follow when undertaking certain activities (e.g. ingesting power substances, performing rituals) or undergoing special circumstances (e.g., being pregnant, having a child, and so forth). This "disciplining" includes restriction from certain foods, from anger, from sexual intercourse, from sleeping, from doing certain activities.

Chapter 10

# THE PHILOSOPHY OF MULTIPLICATION: THE HARVESTING MOTHER AND FATHER

In the best of his poetic style, K₭nera₭ accomplishes the presentation of the cultural ideals of rafue in the images of the Harvesting Mother and the Harvesting Father. The two texts I present below are the summary of rafue's cultural project: the philosophy of multiplication. This is a philosophy of agricultural productivity and increase, most clearly expressed in the hallucinating images of the Harvesting Mother, contained in text 14. It is also a project of delimitation of the boundaries and contents of identity, as expressed in the image of the basket of the Harvesting Mother. It is a project of the Center, concerned with "humanity"—the productive output of the axe-breath, the cultivated plants, the "starch" that has been strained of its impurities—defining a space in opposition to the natural world. This is, moreover, an "un-ethnic" project, purged of mythology and of territoriality, speaking from the Center of the World.

K₭nera₭'s rafue is an engendered cultural project also. It defines the gender spaces of the Center. The woman's space is the food-plot, where she plants and harvests foodstuffs in her basket. The slashed food-plot is a creation of rafue; it is the result of the technology of the axe which

allows to chop the forest trees that later will be burnt to ashes. Rafue reinstaurates it through the ethics of work, and heals it by cooling it down. When the Mother's womb gets healed, it becomes the Mother's basket—a new kind of woman.

The man's space is the mambeing place. He mambes coca and licks tobacco paste. He talks, he searches and he finds. He is a hunter, he is an antagonist of nature, a defender of the boundaries of the Center. Man's position in rafue is perhaps more equivocal than woman's. He instaurates the female space but he is also lost in the dreamlike space of the Mother's womb. If the Mother's image is the basket, the Father's image is his eyes—tobacco seeds.

The texts that I have presented complete (not the excerpts) is this part III were recorded by K~~i~~nera~~i~~ in the course of a week. Text 8 ("Seeking Out the Productive Work") was recorded first; three days later he recorded text 9 ("Uttering the Tobacco Word"); and two days later he recorded text 10 ("On the Source of Strength"), text 12 ("Tobacco Word on Cooling Down"), and the two texts that follow about the Harvesting Mother and the Harvesting Father.

## Text 14

*Word on the Harvesting Mother*

[I]

At this point
 the Mother is a harvester,
 her name is The-Harvester.
She accumulates,
 heaps up, 5
 gathers,
 in her basket.
The basket of the Mother-of-Abundance
 is a harvesting basket;
 she harvests many things, 10
 she harvests *daledale*,
 she harvests yam,
 she harvests taro,

she harvests sapote,
she harvests inga, 15
she harvests forest grape—
The-Heaper-of-Things,
The-Gatherer.
Many things she harvests,
she harvests white taro, 20
she harvests arrowroot,
she harvests *daledale*,
she harvests sweet potato,[1]
she harvests bitter manioc.[2]

The-Harvester's 25
basket
has many
seeds
to sow,
to grow. 30
She harvests many bitter manioc tubers,
she harvests sweet manioc tubers,
she harvests pineapples,
many pineapples
to plant— 35
once more
she heaps them up,
she plants.
She harvests chili pepper seeds in a little basket.
At the bottom 40
of her basket
there are many things.
The Mother's basket
is a harvesting basket;
Mother-of-Harvests, 45
she is called.
She harvests cacao seeds,
even the smallest seeds.
Everything
once more 50
she is planting.

When
the Mother sows,
she is The-Sower.
She sows peanuts, 55
it germinates,
the chili germinates.
Once more she is planting.

She is called
The-Heaper-of-Things,
The-Seeker,
The-Procreator.
In this way,
so that
later on
children will be born,
children will grow.
Thinking of the children,
she goes
planting;
everything
may be needed later on.
That is why
the Mother is called
The-Planter,
The-Heaper-of-Things.
In this way,
everything
has a name.

At this point,
the Mother
now
grows
yam;
now, she grows
taro;
now, beautifully
they grow—
The-Great-Heaper-of-Things,
The-Tuber-Digger,
The-Fire-Kindler,
The-One-That-Gives-Warmth—
these are the Mother's names.
That is why
things
keep
growing
correctly.
The-Great-Harvester-of-Manioc,
The-Bringer-of-Things—
she harvests manioc dough.
Later, once more,
thinking of the children,
she searches.

This is the root of the origin
of the basket of seeds.
She harvests
  abundant avocados;
many things
are harvested
in the Mother's basket;
she harvests
sweet potato.
Everything
that is necessary for life,
she gathers
  once more
to plant—
The-Planter,
The-Hard-Worker.

[II]

A word
such
as this word
has been forgotten,
that is why we seek it out;
everything
from the same beginning.
Thus, the Mother
now gets healed.
In this way,
so that later on
we can use
this word
to grow,
to heal,
to cool down.

And,
as a true thing,
so that we can carry
the Mother's
basket
tied up
—now truly—
with a bark strip.
The first
child
is born,
this is the root
of carrying

a child. 150
In this way
the proper Leaf
comes
to a conclusion.

In the preceding chapter, the Word on cooling down conjured the Mother's womb. In the present text, the Mother's work begins. She fills her basket, and at the same time she fills herself with new life.

Throughout the text the Mother is harvesting, sowing, filling her basket. Many plants are named, and the Mother is given beautiful names:

| | |
|---|---|
| *ofíraɨño* | The-Harvester |
| *eiño moniño* | Mother-of-Abundance |
| *ofítaraɨngo* | The-Heaper-of-Things |
| *ɨráɨraɨngo* | The-Gatherer |
| *ofíyaiño* | Mother-of-Harvests |
| *riyaɨngo* | The-Sower |
| *jenóraɨngo* | The-Seeker |
| *komúitaraɨngo* | The-Procreator |
| *riraɨngo* | The-Planter |
| *aidóriraɨngo* | The-Tuber-Digger |
| *bonóriraɨngo* | The-Fire-Kindler |
| *uzíriraɨngo* | The-One-That-Gives-Warmth |
| *júfaɨriraɨngo* | The-Great-Harvester-of-Manioc |
| *atɨraɨngo* | The-Bringer-of-Things |
| *jieño* | The-Hard-Worker |

The woman, Kɨneraɨ says, is "mistress of fire." That is why she receives here the titles of The-Fire-Kindler and The-One-That-Gives-Warmth. This is an allusion to the Indian women's custom of kindling fires in their food-plots to "warm up" the plants so that they grow well. In former times, women would take live coals from their kitchen stove to light fires in their food-plots; nowadays they carry matches or a gas lighter. Women should be always kindling and maintaining the fire, Kɨneraɨ says, so that their children will grow well. When a man prepares a new tobacco paste, he stores it in vessels and places them on top of his wife's stove; this heat stops mold from

forming on the tobacco paste. Likewise, if he extracts vegetable salt, he places it on top of the stove so it won't get damp. When he is going to prepare coca, he takes live coals from his wife's fire to kindle the fire to toast the coca leaves.

I have divided the text into two parts. Part I, with four stanzas of four verses each, is the main body of the text where the work of the Mother is related. These are verses that extend over several lines reciting the names of plants, and the names of the Mother and her labors—repeating them over and over again. Each stanza, however, has its own subject. In the first stanza, the Mother is gathering and heaping up—she is called The-Harvester. Several of the named plants appear with the specific suffix for "seed," others with the generic name of the plant.[3] What she harvests, in this first stanza, are the seeds, cuttings, and germinated plants which will be sown.

In the second stanza, The-Harvester's basket "has many seeds to sow, to grow" (lines 27-30). She is heaping up and planting: "everything, once more she is planting" (lines 49-51).

In the third stanza she is planting. She is now called The-Sower: "she sows peanuts, it germinates, the chili germinates" (lines 55-57). She is The-Procreator. Sowing is the metaphor of her fertility: "Thinking of the children, she goes planting" (lines 68-70).

In the fourth stanza everything is growing. She is then The-Fire-Kindler, The-One-That-Gives-Warmth. With that warmth "things keep growing correctly" (lines 95-98). Now, there is the harvest, there are tubers to dig up. She is The-Tuber-Digger, The-Bringer-of-Things. She is harvesting again, she is again gathering seeds to sow. She is The-Hard-Worker.

These four stanzas—through recitations, names, and labor images—describe the annual cycle of agricultural work: harvesting (first stanza), gathering seeds (second stanza), sowing (third stanza), and taking care of the growing seedlings (fourth stanza) to return again to the harvest. Its intention, however, is not descriptive. This text, like texts 10 and 12, is a spell.

Part II contains two stanzas of three verses each. The first stanza suspends the spell-binding rhythm of part I and refers back to rafue: "A word such as this word has been forgotten, that is why we seek it out" (lines 121-125). This word with which the Mother gets healed (line 129) remains in order to be used, that is, to cure: "to grow, to heal, to cool down" (lines 134-136).

The last stanza establishes the analogy between the Mother's basket and her womb, which—since the basket is tied up with bark strips to make it useful—has the capacity to carry new life: "this is the root of carrying a child" (lines 148-150).

Now, the works of the Harvesting Father.

Text 15

*Word on the Harvesting Father*

[I]

This is
  the part of the Father.
The Father
  is called Harvester,
  The-Harvester. 5
Seeds of tobacco,
    he harvests,
  plants of coca,
    he harvests,
  leaves of coca, 10
    he harvests,
  leaf by leaf,
    many he harvests.
The Father searches,
  once more 15
    he collects;
  he cuts
    stems
      of coca;
  these cuttings, 20
  he plants.
The Father, once more,
  is He-Who-Germinates,

he teaches
the word
of tobacco
germination—
The-One-Who-Splits,
The-One-Who-Broadcasts,
The-One-Who-Strains.[4]

In this
way,
once more,
he heaps up
little plants of manioc,
little plants of coca,
he heaps up plants.
At this point
the Father's
name is
The-Heaper-of-Things
The-Harvester,
The-Maker.
The Father, carefully,
once more,
prepares vegetable salt,
again and again he heaps up;
upon heaping up
he burns.
From then on
the Father's name
is The-Harvester.
At this point
the Father's name is
He-Who-Filters;
He-Who-Filters,
that is his name.
Now, he concludes.
The Father,
once more, is
He-Who-Burns,
once more, he heaps up—
He-Who-Burns.
Once cold,
it becomes sweet.

He prepares
a remedy for the eyes.[5]
The Father

conjures his eyes,
so that his eyes can see. 70
Again he collects,
he searches,
again, he finds.
He dreams during the day,
he dreams at night, 75
the Father dreams.
That man,
The-Harvester,
when
he searches 80
he finds.
Many seeds
are born,
many eyes
he prepares, 85
the root
for many people
to be born,
he seeks,
he gets drunk. 90

When he broadcasts the tobacco seeds,
he looks,
he watches over,
he disciplines himself.
The Harvesting Father 95
disciplines himself.
At that moment
the Father,
how,
in the Bottom of the World, 100
he relieves his eye!
His ear listens,
his heart seeks.
Heart-of-the-Father,
True-Heart, 105
Heart-of-the-Ancients,
Heart-of-the-Beginning-of-the-World,
Heart-of-Healing,
Free-Heart.

He works 110
resolutely;
he turns his attention
to the root

of the origin of cultivated plants.
In this way, 115
later on,
the people will multiply,
the children will multiply,
this heart will grow,
so to speak. 120
Once more
the Father
prepares
the word of
The-Harvester's 125
conversation.

[II]

In this way,
How can we not multiply?
How can we say
that our things 130
have been forgotten?
We can not say that;
they have not been forgotten.
The Harvesting Mother again is heaping up,
The Harvesting Father again is heaping up, 135
the root of the origin of the people
is beginning.
How are we
going to say
that it 140
was discarded?
It was not discarded.

Hence,
the Father
knows 145
all
the names;
the Mother,
The-Harvester,
knows; 150
she knows
how to work,
how to make things multiply.
In this way,
the word 155
to make
our children grow
still

remains.
It dawns 160
fully
and well.
At this point,
this Leaf
concludes. 165

The work of the Harvesting Mother is about manioc, tubers and fruits. The work of the Harvesting Father, by contrast, begins with tobacco and coca.

The coca is propagated from stem cuttings, while the tobacco is sown from seeds. The tobacco seeds grow in small seed-capsules which one has to split open; then, one strains them in order to separate the seed-pod from the seeds, and finally these small seeds—about 1/50" in diameter—are broadcast over the garden. For this reason, the Father receives the titles of The-One-Who-Splits (the seed-pods), The-One-Who-Strains (the seeds out of the pods), and The-One-Who-Broadcasts (the little seeds in the garden).

In the second stanza the Father is planting. Here, he is called The-Heaper-of-Things, The-Harvester, The-Maker. The three last verses of the second stanza (lines 44-65) refer to the preparation of vegetable salt. In the first verse (lines 44-52), the Father is heaping up vegetable material and burning it. The next verse (lines 53-58) alludes to the filtering of water through the ashes to precipitate the salts—the Father is called He-Who-Filters. In the third verse (lines 59-65) the Father is called He-Who-Burns; here, reference is made to the boiling of the liquid that results from the filtering. Once it is boiled, he lets it cool down and "Once cold it becomes sweet" (lines 64-65). Compare this description to the one contained in text 11 (chapter 9).

The vegetable salt is mixed with the tobacco paste. This is one of the weapons of the tobacco hunter. With the vegetable salt, K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says, a person kills game. That is why, in the next stanza, the Father conjures his eyes. To conjure the eyes means to acquire the power to uncover

what is hidden: illnesses, "filth" (animal anger), problems (human anger). This power is obtained through tobacco and coca yetárafue (discipline): to work, to sit down, to be watchful. This power, however, can also be increased by the use of certain plants, so long as they are properly administered—that is, following the appropriate restrictions.

If the agricultural work and the growth of plants is the image of the Mother's fecundity, for the Father the germinating seeds are likened to eyes that search and find. The seed that germinates is the image of the eye that discovers. That is why the restrictions on tobacco seed planting are comparable to the restrictions on conjuring the eyes (see lines 91-96, cf. chapter 5). When a man sows tobacco seeds he has to follow certain restrictions: he should not eat fat or sweets and refrain from rage and sexual intercourse, among others.

With his conjured eyes the Father is watchful, searches, pays attention, and becomes intoxicated. The Father gets drunk and searches for the root from which the people are born—the Bottom of the World where all cultivated plants and wild game come from. There, "How, in the Bottom of the World, he relieves his eye! His ear listens, his heart seeks" (lines 99-103).

The heart of the intoxicated Father then receives beautiful names:

| | |
|---|---|
| *moo komek~~ɨ~~* | Heart-of-the-Father |
| *uak~~ɨ~~* | True-Heart |
| *yonérak~~ɨ~~* | Heart-of-the-Ancients[6] |
| *jafíraik~~ɨ~~* | Heart-of-the-Beginning-of-the-World[7] |
| *zegóraik~~ɨ~~* | Heart-of-Healing |
| *zuitáraik~~ɨ~~* | Free-Heart |

In the fifth stanza, he explains what the Father is seeking and why he speaks this way: to multiply the people, to multiply the children (see lines 115-126).

These five stanzas form what I have marked as part I. Part II is a reflection and a conclusion. K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~ conjures the Father and Mother's heart and states (lines 134-142):

The Harvesting Mother again is heaping up,
the Harvesting Father again is heaping up,

the root of the origin of the people
is beginning.
How are we
going to say
that it
was discarded?
It was not discarded.

This is a statement of Kɨneraɨ's confidence in his cultural project of rafue. This confidence, however, is challenged everyday by the demands of a form of social and economic reproduction that exceeds the boundaries of the food-plot and the mambeing place.

The harvesting Father and Mother depict the sexual roles of the fundamental social unit of rafue: the married couple. This social unit is primarily a productive unit aimed at the care of new life: the children. The object of the productive activity of the Mother is the acquisition of cultivated food to feed the new life. The Father's work, on the other hand, is aimed at the protection and defense this new life from illness, which defines himself as a hunter. His healing is the capacity to embody illness in game. His engagement in agricultural production has to do with the cultivation of tobacco and coca, which are the weapons of his hunting/healing.

These roles define the gender spaces and the circulation of exchanges between those spaces. The woman plants, harvests and produces cultivated food. The man strengthens himself with that food and protects and heals woman and children. His healing is also productive in the measure that it catches game—wild food. The technology of the axe is what enables the whole cycle of exchanges. The axe allows to open up the plots for agriculture. The axe and fire transform a natural space—a tract of mature forest—into a cultural space for female productive activity. This is the very topology of the Mother's womb as I have defined it above.

The exchanges of cultivated for wild food define the married couple, and it is with this food that children are fed. All rafue is concerned with this process. This exchange system is replicated in the rituals, with the exchange of cultivated stuff produced by the insider group for wild

game caught by the invited groups. We saw that the relation between the two main participating groups in a ritual (the maloca holding the ritual and its contending maloca) is not conceived of as a relation between affines. Likewise, husband and wife do not conceive of each other as affines; they do not use affinal terms, or kin terms of any sort, to address each other. The groups to which each one belongs do become affines after marriage, and their children are kin of each of those groups.

K̶ɨnera̶ɨ's depicts the Father and the Mother, if I am allowed to say so, as a "pre-social" unit. His stress is on the couple as a productive unit. It is the arrival of the children which creates the social relations of filiation, bilateral consanguinity, and affinity. The Father and the Mother do not belong to some pre-existing "groups"; they, and their productivity, is what generates social relations and then meaningful social units. Social relations are subordinated to economic production. That is why in text 8 (chapter 7) "the basket appeared" because there is already food: "But out of nothing there is nothing to tell" (text 8, lines 80-81). In text 14 the Mother's harvesting basket, full of food, is "the root of carrying a child" (lines 148-149).

Rafue begins with the axe of abundance coming from the Father's breath. It comes to a perfection in the image of the Mother's basket. It is now a cultural and a social project. These two images of the axe and the basket are the ones which will allow us to summarize our arguments in the following, concluding chapter.

*End Notes*

[1.] *J~~ɨ~~dokuiñoir~~ɨ~~*, "bat plant"; this means "sweet potato," according to K~~ɨ~~nera~~ɨ~~. The common name for sweet potato is *refio*.

[2.] *Uaj~~ɨ~~*, "the true tuber," a way of calling the bitter manioc *juj~~ɨ~~*.

[3.] Appendix 5-I lists the Uitoto names of cultivated species with their different suffixes for "plant," "stem," "leaf," "seed," "fruit," and so forth.

[4.] The three activities of splitting, straining, and broadcasting refer to the preparation and sowing of the tobacco seeds.

[5.] He refers here to the plant *jifíkona*, the leaves of which are used to prepare an extract to conjure the eye with magic powers in order to see what is hidden (see note 10 to chapter 5).

[6.] Or also "Heart-That-Tells-the-Things-of-the-Ancients." Preuss interprets *yonera* as "narration, name of the ancients," and *yoneri* as "narrator, guardian spirit" (Preuss, 1923, pp. 694-695, my translation).

[7.] *Jafíraik~~ɨ~~*, literally "Heart-of-Tranquillity." I translate it as "Heart-of-the-Beginning-of-the-World" because it refers to the tranquillity of the world when it was still covered by water.

## Chapter 11

# THE AXE AND THE BASKET: CONCLUDING REMARKS

### Text 16

*How We Were Formed By the Word of Tobacco and Coca* (excerpt)

Out of the impossible,
  truly now, I obtained this Word,
  and today I am relating it this way. 105
And he who does not know says it is not true;
  he might say so, but this Word has power, has substance,
  has breath—
  these are Things of power.
And it might seem 110
  that one is a sorcerer,
  that one has supernatural abilities;
  but this is not sorcery,
  these are not supernatural abilities,
  it is just the word of the discipline of coca, 115
  the word of the discipline of tobacco.

*I. Nature and Culture*

K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* represents himself as a healer whose healing power springs from spiritual sources. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s notion of health goes well beyond mere physical well-being; it is a social, historical and technological healing, as I have argued in chapter 9. It is based on the opposition between the spheres of the cultivated plants and the forest, which, in another level, is expressed as the opposition between "right here" (*beno*)—the Center—and "out there" (*jino*)—the forest. Right here, in the Center, is the food-plot and the mambeing place, the constituting spaces of the married couple. The forest, on the other hand, is the source of illness: "That filth is out there, in the forest; out there, there is fire, there is fatigue, there is illness" (text 4, lines 18-19).

Illness derives from the contamination of right here with what is out there. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s basic healing technique does not depend on plants or forest medicines, it is based on the power to make dawn that contamination in animal bodies out there—animals that he has to kill. This kind of healing by hunting—"tobacco hunting"—is exemplified in texts 4 and 5. Illness is defeated when the healer is able to exhibit the body of the death animal: "This is what damaged your eyes" (text 5, line 170), says K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* to his son-in-law when showing him the dead hawk K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* made dawn. The main tools of this healing technique are "tobacco drunkenness and dreams," K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says.

Tobacco is a hunter. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* says that tobacco "is the one whose eye sees, the one whose ear listens." In other words, tobacco is an alert hunter. The eyes of a man are seeds of tobacco, his tongue is a leaf of tobacco, his Adam's apple is a recipient to store the tobacco paste. In the dancing rituals the ritual master gives out tobacco paste to the men of other residential units so that they kill game—this game is tobacco spirit's game.

Instead of the "harmony with nature" certain environmental groups have imagined in the Indians, we find that K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s rafue and the philosophy of the axe maintain a constant animosity

against nature. For a maloca to be established the master *must* kill at least four jaguars (one for each of the main supporting poles), must kill a giant anteater, owner of the palm fronds necessary to thatch the roof, must kill armadillos, tapirs, and so forth. Otherwise, his maloca will be overcome by the power of those animals; those animals will "speak" through the people in the form of rage, illness, quarrels; will affect the master's family and himself with fatigue, discouragement, drowsiness, impatience. A maloca has to be established like the one Kɨneraɨ established in the place where he lives today: by cleaning up the filth of the place—detecting that "filth" (animals) and getting rid of them (see chapter 5).

The opposition between right here and out there is governed by the opposition between coolness and hotness. Right here is cool—the Mother is cool, the Father is cool, tobacco is cool, coca is cool—while out there, "out there there is fire" (text 4, line 20). To heal is "to cool down." In chapter 6 I analyzed how these very same texts we are talking about went through a symbolic alternation of hotness and coolness as they were negotiated in our ethnographic relationship. To produce written texts out of Kɨneraɨ's "breath of tobacco" threatened to become an illness for him—ruining our relationship. This situation was managed successfully and was "healed" by means of tobacco hunting by "killing an animal" in the body of a national award. That is why Kɨneraɨ says "I got healed, here, today" (text 7, line 163).

## *II. Culture and History*

This construction of nature, society, and healing, I argue, can only be explained with history. I do not understand history as the mere "background" of culture and society. I attempt to prove that the history of contact is what constructs nature and culture, social groups, healing, and behavior. The philosophy of the axe and, most crucially, Kɨneraɨ's rafue of tobacco and coca

elaborate these themes in different ways. I call them "philosophies" not only because of their abstract contents but also because of their use of language. I argue that this philosophical elaboration is not just as an intellectual procedure. Culture, history, and society are united by terror.

When I started the research for this dissertation in 1989, I was eager to learn about people's memories about the rubber boom, a period I judged as most important in recent history. I met with what seemed like a total ignorance or a lack of interest. I have learned in these years that oral history can not be treated using the set of rules of historical evidence. We are not dealing with pieces of information, we are dealing with the construction of meaning. The rubber boom is not to be found in oral history as an account of "events"; it is present, I argue, as the constitution itself of rafue, in the figure of the Mother's womb.

To arrive at this finding we had to retrace our steps further back and get to the fundaments of the philosophy of multiplication; we needed to get to the time when axes were traded by people in centuries before. The history of contact and the trade of axes do not appear in oral history as historiographic facts. They appear today in a mythology that holds the most jealously kept "secrets" of these groups. We approached that mythological history in the narrations of the Caquetá chiefs (chapter 3), and we delved more deeply into it through the reading of the texts that collect Kɨneraɨ's rafue (chapter 4 and part III).

History is unrecognizable is Kɨneraɨ's rafue because it has become "spirit." My job has been to deconstruct that spirit. I attempt to show, first, that "the axe of abundance" about which the Caquetá chiefs mythologize is the same "breath of tobacco" of Kɨneraɨ's rafue. Second, and crucially, I argue that the death-space of terror—"to just stop short of taking life while inspiring the acute mental fear and inflicting much of the physical agony of death" (Casement's report to the British Parliament, in Taussig, 1987, p. 39)—is what accomplishes the philosophical feat of constituting the very womb of the Mother of humanity. It is at this point where my "study" becomes

obtuse, and where Indians suspend judgment and recollection. It is that space of death that amalgamates so effectively history, culture and society and constitutes "human persons." In part III, I have discussed how starting from the Mother's womb rafue constitutes a natural and a moral topology, which defines behavior (the Law of the Axe), healing, and social groups.

With the findings of parts II and III I now return to the hypotheses of part I.

### *III. The Orphans of the Axe*

"Tobacco is us," a Muinane elder said to me. If it is so, why then "is the axe tobacco"? The axe, first of all, is what enables the production of cultivated plants in a system of slash-and-burn agriculture. But also, "the axe is very dangerous," the People of the Center used to say. The axe has come to symbolize the great historical paradox of these Indians' identity. The axe, contradicting the core of the philosophy of the Center, was acquired "out there," from outsiders. The axe is hot.

If the axe is tobacco, and tobacco is us, then, in good propositional logic, the axe is us. The axe is at the source of identity. It is no wonder that the Andoque people call themselves the People of the Axe; the Muinane say they are the masters of the axe; the Uitoto nɨpode chief who reorganized the tribes is called Axe-Handle, and so forth—I could not stress too much the centrality of the axe for these peoples. The axe—the metal axe, the "true" axe—was not only acquired from outsiders, its acquisition implied the enslavement of Indians, bringing about conflicts among groups, epidemics; it was the beginning of the demise of an older world and their gods. While bringing the axe to the Center, the older gods were rejected to the heights. Of that older world little can be known from oral tradition, because that world was either "abolished" or declared "very secret, very private."

The People of the Center have not only mythologically appropriated the axe; the axe is also the foundation of a new sense of identity: the acute sense of being "orphans." The axe of multiplication, of abundance, is pictured against a gloomy past, out of which the axe is redemptive:

It is through these things [tools] that we are truly healed;
  the orphans are healed,
  a woman is healed,
  an elder is healed,
  a girl is healed,
  a boy is healed.
Back then, before, there was sickness,
  back then there was frivolity,
  back then there was turmoil,
  back then there was impatience.
  Now there isn't,
  look, this is so.
. . . . . .
Well then,
  now it is not as before when my word had no force,
  when it had no weight,
  when I did not listen.
  Now I listen,
  now I see,
  I have received.
(Text 6, lines 48-59, 66-72)

This redemptive value of the axe may explain the Christian overtones one hears throughout the philosophy of the axe and Kɨneraɨ's rafue.[1] The People of the Center are the orphans of the axe. We find, in Kɨneraɨ's rafue, a recurrent reference to the orphans. Perhaps for this reason the figures of the Father and the Mother are so important in his discourse. Kɨneraɨ brings up the image of the orphans in three crucial points of his rafue. In text 9, if a young girl fulfills her obligations towards her in-laws,

. . . the old man gets healed,
  the old woman gets healed,
  the orphans get healed.
  (Text 9, lines 106-108)

In text 12, the earth and the firmament "get cold,"

at that moment
now, all
the people become cool,
the orphans become cool.
(Text 12, lines 11-14)

And in text 6, by eating, sucking, tasting, licking and mambeing—all the good things that the road of the axe has opened—

. . . through these things . . . we are truly healed,
the orphans are healed,
a woman is healed,
a girl is healed,
a boy is healed.
(Text 6, lines 48-52)

The references to the orphans are always associated with healing, with a social and historical healing, which is what Kɨneraɨ means by "cooling down." This cooling down is achieved through agricultural work and yetárafue ("proper behavior")—the two main paradigms of all his rafue.

### *IV. The Holders of the Basket*

Yetárafue is concerned with work, hunting and social relations (filiation and alliance). In the relations of filiation the emphasis in on the transmission of the work skills, the agricultural work of the Father and the Mother. It is in the development of the theme of alliance however that the basket appears as a powerful symbol, playing a contrasting role to the axe.

At the end of chapter 3, I charted the philosophy of the Center according to two contradictory and complementary "processes" I called exogamic and endogamic. The interplay of these processes is what I understand as the key to the construction of new forms of cultural identity in these groups.

The axe has made everybody orphan; the basket, symbol of exogamic alliance (intertwined threads), marks a limit to that homogenization of the axe. Likewise, the discourse on

proper behavior (yetárafue) sets the bases of a generalized ethics of work; there are, however, certain cultivated crops (peanut, sweet manioc) which serve as ethnic markers and define the cultural boundaries of the People of the Center. In other words, if the axe and yetárafue make everybody equal (equally orphan, human, Colombian), the basket and certain crops set a limit to that equalness. This is played by K*ɨ*nera*ɨ* in the distinction between the *ibiga*ɨ and *jebogaɨ* baskets (the narrow-weave basket and the open-weave basket—the hard working woman's basket and the deceitful woman's basket). We saw in chapter 4 how these baskets were actually a demarcation of culture areas between the People of the Center and the Tukano and Arawak-speaking groups to the north—the "People of the Animals," as the People of the Center sometimes call them.[2] Certain specialized crops also play the same demarcating function. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*'s rafue does not contain explicit "ethnic" references: to mythology, territory, names of lineages or groups. His rafue is abstract, ethical, and supraethnic. He knows very well that any reference to that brings about problems, as do the Caquetá elders. These still have to repress themselves by demarcating the public and the secret discourses. K*ɨ*nera*ɨ*, knowing that well, elaborates in full the philosophy of the Center, the rafue of the axe and the basket.

If the axe is the symbol of their homogenization, the basket is the symbol of the power they still hold.

In this dissertation I have not attempted to enter into the next crucial step that this analysis requires. I have dwelled in the internal discursive process of culture in the making as revealed in some oral traditions. We have detected how hegemony—not understood as political power or economic coercion—operates internally, permeating the notion itself of identity. My next question is: what happens when this rafue, philosophy of the Center, meets the nationalist discourse on Indians, as expressed, for instance, in the Political Constitution of Colombia, in government policies, in Indians organizations' manifestos? Does such philosophy of the Center compete with the national-

ist discourse on the Indians? Or rather, does rafue complement and reinforce that discourse? How does it compete with the discourse of leaders, anthropologists, government officials, over their effectiveness? Rafue is truth when it makes things dawn, K~ɨnera~ɨ says. How does it compare with programs, projects, etc., that also "make things dawn" in the form of cash, tools, land demarcations, and so forth?

The answer to these questions lays beyond the scope of this dissertation. So far, these are my results.

### *V. Concluding Invocation*

That was my rafue. Now, I let K~ɨnera~ɨ say the last word.(text 16, excerpts).

He keeps and keeps and keeps on,
  and there comes a time when the genuine plant of coca is born,
  the genuine plant of sweet manioc is born,
  the genuine plant of peanut is born.
And then, with that Word, 55
  he will care for them.
At the side of the first plant of coca that grows, now,
    he tries out the spells,
  at the side of the first plant of tobacco that grows, now,
    he tries out the spells, 60
  at the side of the first plant of sweet manioc that grows,
    he also tries out the spells,
  at the side of the plant of peanut,
    he tries out the spells.
To discover their diseases; 65
  to discover the diseases in tobacco,
  to discover the diseases in coca,
  to discover the diseases in sweet manioc,
  to discover the diseases in peanut,
  to see that. 70
Well then,
  he keeps on searching;
  he watches over the coca plant, watches over the tobacco plant,
  watches over the plant of sweet manioc,
  watches over the plant of peanut. 75

He wants to learn
about that.
That is why
now truly, he learns about that,
now truly, he hears the spells of tobacco, 80
he hears the spells of coca,
he hears the spells of sweet manioc,
he hears the spells of peanut.

. . . . . .

And so, from then on, when one makes a spell, 175
one says "Father,"
and also says "Mother,
you have been helping us to grow,
you have been increasing our breath of life."
So it is 180
the true Leaf of the Father, the true Leaf of the Mother.

*End Notes*

[1.] Norman Whitten, commenting on a collection of essays about myth and history in South America (Hill, 1988), finds a common pattern of what he calls "dialogic discourses":

> The dialogic discourse seems to create synthetic symbolic units—erroneously portrayed by most social scientists as ethnic identity versus national identity—which, in their rhetorical conjunctions, bring forth a predicative link that carries the double act of assertion and denial. . . . Such symbolic units, in conjunction with one another through dialogic and other forms of patterned discourse, may develop rapidly into contrasting paradigms that shape a people's perceptions of "self" and "other" on both sides (or many sides) of the cultural opposition (Whitten, 1988, p. 304).

[2.] The "People of the Animals" do not lick tobacco, they use tobacco snuff. In their mythology of origin they originated from an anaconda that travelled under the rivers, while the People of the Center originated from an opening in the earth. The People of the Center allege that the Tukano and Arawak-speaking groups "worship" the animals (hence the name) because they offer tobacco and coca to the Master of the Animals, while the People of the Center are against the animals. Perhaps the People of the animals would fit better in the environmentalist notion of the "ecological good savage."

For ethnographies of the Tukano-speaking groups, see: Århem (1981), for the Makuna of the Apaporis river; S. Hugh Jones (1979) and C. Hugh-Jones (1979), for the Barasana of the Piraparaná river; Jackson (1983) and Koch-Grünberg (1995), for a regional perspective on the Tukano-speaking groups of the Vaupés area; and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1986), for the Desana of Vaupés. For ethnographies of the Arawak-speaking Yukuna, see: Jacopin (1981) and van der Hammen (1992).

# APPENDICES

Appendix 1 ("Uitoto Spelling") explains the phonetic values of the letters used in the transcription of Uitoto words.

Appendix 2 ("Languages of the Caquetá-Putumayo Region") discusses the history of the linguistic classification of the Uitoto, Ocaina, Nonuya, Bora, Muinana, Miraña, Andoque, and Resigaro languages, spoken by the groups of the People of the Center.

Appendix 3 ("The Formal Presentation of the Uitoto Texts and Their Translation") explains the formal elements (lines, verses, stanzas) employed in the transcription of the texts.

Appendix 4 ("Uitoto Texts") contains the Uitoto original version of all the translations presented in this dissertation.

Appendix 5 ("Plant and Animal Species") contains the biological identification of all the plants and animals mentioned in this dissertation.

Appendix 6 ("A Short History of Resguardo Predio Putumayo") narrates the main events of the legal history of Resguardo Predio Putumayo.

Appendix 1

# UITOTO SPELLING

## *I. Phonemes of the M~~i~~n~~i~~ka Dialect of Uitoto*

*Vocoids* (6)

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---|---|---|---|
| High | • • • • • • • • • • • • • • | • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

## *II. Spelling*

*Vowels*

| | |
|---|---|
| • • • | i |
| •ö• | ɨ |
| • • • | u |
| • • • | e |
| • • • | o |
| • • • | a |

Long vowels are represented by a duplication of the symbol: aa ee ii ɨɨ oo uu

Most common diphthongs and triphthongs: ai ei oi ue ui uai uei
aɨ eɨ oɨ ua ɨi uaɨ ueɨ

*Consonants*

| | |
|---|---|
| • • • | p |
| • • • | b |
| • • • | t |
| • • • | d |
| • • • | k |
| • • • | g |
| • • • | h |
| • ¸ • | f |
| • • • | v |
| • • • | j |
| • • • | z |
| • • • | m |
| • • • | n |
| •∅• | ñ |
| • • • | ng |
| • • • | r |

All of the syllables are open. The accent is indicated by placing the accent mark (‘) over the initial vowel of the syllable that carries the accent. The accent is not placed on grave words except to break up a diphthong, for example: *ñúe*, *úai*.

*III. Guide to Pronunciation*

The vowels and the consonants are sounded approximately as they are in English with the following additions, exceptions and observations:

| | |
|---|---|
| ɨ | is a high central vowel. It is pronounced by placing the tongue in the position of *u* and the lips in the position of *i*; |
| p, t, k | must be pronounced without aspiration; |
| ch | sounds like in English "church"; |
| y | sounds like in English "judge." |
| h | indicates a glottal pause; |
| f | sounds like a *p* pronounced without completely closing the lips; |
| v | sounds like a *b* pronounced without completely closing the lips; |
| z | sounds like *th* in "thin"; |
| j | sounds like *j* in Spanish "juez" (stronger than *h* in "hat"); |
| ñ | sounds like *ñ* in Spanish, or like *gn* in French; |
| ng | is a nasal velar consonant. It sounds like *ng* in "long"; |
| r | sounds like in Spanish "arena," not like in English "rare." |

Appendix 2

# LANGUAGES OF THE CAQUETA-PUTUMAYO REGION

> There are many languages in this area. A problem sown by the devil to make the conversion of the Indians more difficult (Report from Father Nieto Polo to the King of Spain about the Mainas missions, cited in Golob, 1982, p. 155).

By 1950, when Mason's "The Languages of South America" was published in the *Handbook of South American Indians*, the existing data about the languages of the Caquetá-Putumayo region consisted chiefly of vocabularies collected by missionaries and travelers since the end of the nineteenth century. Attending to the cultural and territorial contiguity of the peoples of this area Mason gathered these languages in a linguistic family that he called "Witotoan"—following Koch-Grünberg who had proposed "to attach the different dialects spoken in this region to a new linguistic group for which I suggest the name of *Ouitoto*" (1906, p. 160, my translation).

Mason tentatively included this family in the Macro Tupí-Guaraní grouping, although cautioning: "The relationship of Witoto to Tupí-Guaraní is accepted herein, though not as incontrovertibly proved" (1950, p. 244). Steward, editor of the *Handbook*, in his 1948 article on the Witotoan tribes, had already taken for granted this relationship (cf. chapter 2). Mason further

attempted a subdivision of this Witotoan family into languages and dialects, but not without adding in a footnote: "This classification is exceedingly and unusually controversial and uncertain" (1950, p. 245).

The Tupí-Guaraní relationship had been suggested by Rivet (1911) who had presented evidence for the inclusion of Miraña (one of the regional languages) within the Tupí-Guaraní family, but as a much modified and differentiated dialect.

Also Harrington (1944) had the conviction that the Uitoto language belonged to Tupí-Guaraní. In contrast, Jijón y Caamaño (1941-43) had chosen to define a Witoto-Bora-Zaparo phylum, separated from Tupí-Guarani. And, in the same vein, Curt Nimuendajú (1931-32, 1932) kept Witoto and Tupí-Guaraní independent. Igualada and Castellví (1940) preferred to treat Bora as an independent family, separated both from the Tupí-Guaraní phylum, and from the other Witotoan languages. And Ortiz (1942), on which Mason relies heavily, did not accept the relationship of Bora-Miranya and Tupí-Guaraní.

What explains such degree of disagreement is the quality of the data available at that time, which were vocabularies, most of them collected by travelers and missionaries without linguistic training, and usually through the help of interpreters. Of the above mentioned authors, only Nimuendajú and Castellví had first-hand knowledge of some of the languages of the region; and both coincided in keeping separate both Bora and Witoto from the Tupí-Guaraní.

All these languages belong to a fairly circumscribed area of the Colombo-Peruvian Amazonia. Geographical proximity lent support to a genetic hypothesis and thus to linguistic affinity. This, allied with the paucity of the data, gave place to failed attempts to organize them into coherent "families."

Sol Tax (1960), using the classification proposed by J. Greenberg (Greenberg, 1960; Steward and Faron, 1959), leaves Witotoan as an unclassified "subfamily" of the Macro-Carib

"stock." This stock was grouped into the Ge-Pano-Carib "phylum," one of the three phyla into which Greenberg's classification subdivided lowland South American languages.

Mason's and Greenberg's classifications of South American languages stand as the most influential in linguistics and anthropology. They represent the comparative method approach (Mason's) and the phylum approach (Greenberg's). In recent decades, several other classifications have appeared, which are reworkings of the major groupings defined by them, though refined and improved with new data.[1]

Studies of the indigenous groups of this region and their languages, published since the 1970s, have led to a thorough reconsideration of the classification of these languages.

Jürg Gasché wrote: "It has not been possible to classify in a convincing manner the Uitoto language into any of the main linguistic families of America. But several lexical relations have been successfully established with Ocaina" (1969, p. 267, my translation). Eugene and Dorothy Minor (1976, 1982, 1987), missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.), proposed a division of the Uitoto language into four major dialects: *m~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ka*, *m~~ɨ~~ka*, *n~~ɨ~~pode* and *búe*. This dialectal division is acknowledge by Gasché.[2]

Walton and Walton (1967), another S.I.L. team, consider Bora a language family made up of three major "dialects": Bora, Miraña, and Muinane, of which the two first are mutually intelligible.[3] Mireille Guyot acknowledges the subdivision proposed by the Waltons and adds: "Bora is completely different from the other regional languages: Uitoto, Nonuya, Ocaina" (1969, p. 277, my translation).

Jon Landaburu (1970, 1976, 1979) has conducted an extensive research on the Andoque language. He does not recognize any linguistic relationships between Andoque and Uitoto or Bora: "Although several authors group [Andoque] within the Witoto family, it does not seem that this

classification has any solid linguistic foundation. We prefer to keep considering Andoque provisionally as an isolated language." (Landaburu, 1976, p. 83, my translation)

Landaburu and Echeverri (1995), based on a review of the literature and new linguistic and anthropological information, discriminate several groups which have been confused in the literature as "Nonuya." We conclude that Nonuya is a differentiated language "which is neither Uitoto, nor Bora, nor Ocaina, nor Muinane, nor Andoque" (Landaburu and Echeverri, 1995, p. 44, my translation), and that it should be distinguished from dialectal variations of Uitoto and Bora spoken by clans also called "Nonuya."[4] Nonuya is a language of the Witoto linguistic family but it is not mutually intelligible with Uitoto or Ocaina.

Studies of the now (nearly) extinct Resigaro (Allin, 1975; Payne, 1985) argue that this language belongs to the Northern Maipuran branch of the Arawak family, rather than being related to Uitoto, or the other regional languages.

"Orejón," a name mentioned in the literature and listed in Mason's classification, has been applied to different ethnolinguistic groups. Gasché (1983) has shown that Western Tukano groups (such as the Coto) and southwestern extensions of the Uitoto were called indiscriminately by this name (cf. Bellier, 1991, vol. I, pp. 27-30).

Recent classifications (Varese, 1983; Patiño, 1987) have abandoned the idea of a close relationship between the Witoto and Bora families. These linguists agree in recognizing two independent linguistic families (Witoto and Bora), and one language isolate (Andoque). Nevertheless, Aschmann (1993) has recently argued that these languages could be genetically related and attempted a reconstruction of "Proto Witotoan" based on data of six languages.[5]

Of these languages, only Uitoto and Bora have an important number of speakers left. There are approximately 5,000 Uitoto speakers and 2,100 Bora speakers, including population in regions other than the Caquetá-Putumayo. Ocaina has much fewer (approximately 550) mainly in

Perú. Nonuya and Resigaro have only a few speakers left, and are practically extinct (although cf. Landaburu and Echeverri, 1995, for the special case of Nonuya).[6]

*End Notes*

[1.] Key (1979), following Greenberg's classification, places the Witoto family within the Macro-Carib stock. Pottier (1983), based on Voegelin and Voegelin (1965), assigns Witoto to a "Macro-Carib" subdivision, agreeing with Greenberg, but without attempting further aggregations into "stocks" or "phyla".

[2.] Other works on the Uitoto language are: Horacio Calle (1974), on the *búe* dialect; and Gabriele Petersen de Piñeros (1994), on the *mlka* dialect.

[3.] Consuelo Vengoechea (1995) has written on the phonology and aspects of the morphology of Muinane.

[4.] "Nonuya" [*nonúial*] is a Uitoto word which means "people of the annatto tree [*Bixa orellana*]." Several ethnolinguistic groups of the region have clans designated as "of the annatto tree."

[5.] Surveys of the languages of this region, either comprehensive or restricted, have been carried out by Koch-Grünberg (1906), Rivet (1911), Tessmann (1930), Ortiz (1942), Mason (1950), Castellví (1952), Rivet and Wavrin (1951, 1952, 1953), and Loukotka (1968). See also my review of this literature in Echeverri, 1992.

[6.] We know of the existence of three Nonuya speakers in the 1990s. Allin in the early 1970s carried out a salvage study of Resigaro, with two remaining speakers.

Appendix 3

# THE FORMAL PRESENTATION OF THE UITOTO TEXTS AND THEIR TRANSLATION

This appendix explains the formal elements used in the transcription of the Uitoto texts presented in this dissertation. The identification of these elements is based on a combination of respiratory (pauses and intonation) and rhetoric (particles) metric criteria. The theoretical approach that supports this analysis was discussed in chapter 1, section IV.

The poetic presentation of the texts is based on three formal elements: lines, verses and stanzas, following Hymes' (1977) terminology.

## *I. Lines*

The lines of the text are largely defined by the pauses in the flow of conversation. It is a respiratory metric criterion. These pauses are taken advantage of by the conversation partner or what-sayer, an essential actor of Indian oral performance, who acknowledges by responding *jm* or *jɨɨ*, which means "yes." The lines are also marked, in some cases, by parallelism, that is to say,

sequences of lines with a similar structure in which one element changes (see the example given below).[1] Each line of the text is printed separately; when a formal line occupies more than one printed line it continues, indented 24 spaces, on the line below. Each line is given a number which is printed on the right-hand margin of the page at intervals of five lines.

An example of parallelism, which also serves to illustrate what a typical line is made up of, can be found in text 8 (lines 8-26). I reproduce, here, the Uitoto text followed by its English translation. In the translation the replies of the conversation partner are omitted:

Fia ua jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~na ite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
farékatofe jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
juzítofe jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* 10
rozídoro jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
mazákar~~ɨ~~ jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
jífikue jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~kue jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
jizaiño jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* 15
m~~ɨ~~zena jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
jimedo jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
tubur~~ɨ~~ jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
jakaij~~ɨ~~ jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
dunaj~~ɨ~~ jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* 20
m~~ɨ~~zena jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* jm
jifirai jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* jm
nekana jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
goido jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
nemona jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* jm 25
nana fia jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~na ite. *jm* jm

The translation is as follows:

There is only breath,
breath of sweet manioc,
breath of bitter manioc, 10
breath of pineapple,
breath of peanut,
breath of sapote,
breath of forest grape,
breath of inga, 15
breath of cacao,
breath of peach palm,
breath of *daledale*,

breath of yam,
breath of cocoyam, 20
breath of cacao,
breath of chili,
breath of green *umari*,
breath of black *umari*,
breath of yellow *umari* 25
—everything is only breath.

When reading the translation one should allow for a pause after each line. In the Uitoto version, the *jm*'s of the conversation partner appear underlined.

The length of the lines provides an indication of the tempo of the narration. A succession of short lines, as in the excerpt given above, indicates a slow tempo—there are many pauses and replies from the conversation partner. Long lines indicate a more accelerated rhythm—there are fewer pauses. This is true for the Uitoto version, but this is not so for the translation, since the length of the translated lines does not always correspond to the length of the lines in the Uitoto original version.

### *II. Verses*

A verse is made up of one or more lines. A line of text seldom corresponds to a complete sentence, but all of the verses are sentences. The verses are characterized by the way they are intoned, usually with a falling pitch at the end. The first line of a verse is printed at the left-hand margin of the page; the following line or lines are indented two spaces. The excerpt given above, for example, is a verse. It is a particularly long one. Nevertheless, the way of intoning this verse of 23 lines is similar to that of a verse of 2 lines—K̶i̶nera̶i̶ maintains the same tone of voice in the 21 lines that list the breath of the different plants and only descends in the last one.

The different ways of indenting the lines in the verses reflect peculiarities of its intonation. The most common form of verse is that which shows the first line on the left-hand margin,

followed by one or more similarly indented lines; such is the case of the example cited above. But there are other verse forms, for example, that found in text 9 (lines 53-57):

Ja
  eir~~ɨ~~ngo
    ie jito
      jíibie bée~~ɨ~~yena nogo
              nite.  *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

Now
  the old woman
    makes a pot
      for her son
        to toast the leaves of coca.

This "ladder"-type presentation seeks to reproduce what might be a single line of text were it not for the fact that it is broken up by short pauses. It is worth noting that the conversation partner only replies after the last line.

Punctuation in Uitoto is different from punctuation in English. As a general rule, I omit the use of quotation, question and exclamation marks in the Uitoto version, but include them in the translation. One orthographic sign which I have widely used in the translation are dashes (—); these are used within a verse to indicate breaks in the syntax but only when the intonation does not indicate a change of verses. These dashes are not used in the Uitoto version.

### *III. Stanzas*

The stanzas are made up of a limited number of verses, usually not more than five. The stanzas group together verses which are similar for formal reasons or because of their content. At times the beginning of a stanza is marked by certain recurring expressions, such as: *Ie jira mei*, "Well then"; *Meita*, "And thus"; amongst many others. It is also common to find that, in the division of stanzas, the pauses are longer or there is a greater exchange of *jm*'s with the conversation

partner. In several texts the stanzas tend to group together a similar number of verses: four or five of them, usually interwoven with stanzas of two or three verses.[2] Some stanzas are long, for example the stanza which runs from line 115 to 137 in text 9, which contains ten verses. The division between stanzas is shown, on the page, by a blank line.

### *IV. Sections and Parts*

In addition to the three elements—lines, verses and stanzas—which represent formal characteristics inherent in the texts, I have, in some cases, marked out bigger units of division, which I call sections and parts.[3] A section of a text is made up of a number of stanzas which deal with a particular theme. A part groups together sections, or divides the body of the text in terms of contents, intention or style. The identification of these sections and parts is a tool which I use to help understand the overall organization of the material, but other divisions—or none at all—might be equally valid. For this reason I have chosen a discreet way of indicating them, on the right-hand margin of the page: the sections with lower-case Roman numerals and the parts with upper-case Roman numerals.

*End Notes*

[1.] Joel Sherzer found important instances of parallelism among the Kuna Indians of the San Blas islands in Panama. The features noted by Sherzer are also found in the Uitoto texts presented in this dissertation. Sherzer explains,

> Parallelism is the patterned repetition, with variation, of sounds, forms, and meanings. It involves the interplay of invariants and variants, of recurrences and differences. . . .
> Parallelism is closely related to the line organization and structure in that it sets up correspondences based on and cutting across lines and units composed of lines, such as verses. Sometimes adjacent lines are identical, with the exception of the deletion of a single word. Sometimes adjacent lines differ only in non-referential morphemes, such as stem formatives. Sometimes a series of lines differ only in that a single word is replaced by others with slightly different meaning within a same semantic field. . . .
> Sometimes the pattern underlying the parallel structure is not a single line, but rather an entire set of lines, a verse, or a stanza, a frame which is repeated over and over with changes in one or more words (Sherzer, 1990, p. 19).

[2.] Hymes has argued that there are implicit cultural patterns in the architecture of oral narratives:

> [N]arrative patterning appeared to have a strict correlation with cultural patterning. It has long been known that cultures are to have preferred "sacred," "ceremonial," pattern numbers. It has long been known that in a story with a series of siblings, say, or repeated actions, the number of siblings and actions will accord with such a number. The ethnopoetic discovery showed such accord to exist within the formal organization of narrative itself. . . . But narrative proved subtler than a single pattern. In narrative the pattern number was found to have a correlate. Five would have three, and four would have two.
> This double correlation has indeed been sustained. . . . The double correlation points to more than a reflection of cultural pattern generally. It appears to point to something in the nature of human narrative ability (Hymes, 1992, p. 93).

In my discussion of the texts, I point to the recurrence of patterns (number of verses in a stanza, number of stanzas in a section) but I make no further argument about this.

[3.] I depart from Hymes' (1977) terminology, who defines larger units as "scenes" and "acts."

Appendix 4

# UITOTO TEXTS

This appendix contains the original Uitoto version of all the texts by K̶ɨnera̶ɨ presented in this dissertation. They have the same text numbers and titles with which they were introduced in the main body of the dissertation. The lines of the texts are numbered at intervals of five lines.

The Uitoto titles of the texts were given by K̶ɨnera̶ɨ.

Text 1

"The Word on Discipline"

*Yetárafue*

[I]

Mei ua moo nɨbena uaina ite, *jm* jm
ua jae mei eiño ie kaɨ yoga. *jm* jm
Moo íena itɨno ua
mei ja dɨnomo ja moo
komekɨ úriyafue *jm* jm 5
ñuéfuena itɨno *jm* jm *jm* jm
bie úrue komúiyena, *jm* jm
bie rɨngoza komúiyena. *jm* jm

O mirɨngo, *jm*
o ɨ́io *jm* 10
daɨnano. *jm* jm *jm*
Ja nɨɨ abɨna
onóikana jáaiyena. *jm* jm

Bie o ɨɨ (daɨde), *jm* jm
ɨɨ *jm* 15
jiza o mirɨngo (daɨde), *jm* jm
ɨɨ jiza rɨngózaniadɨ o ebuño (daɨde). *jm* jm
Abɨna ónoitɨoza, *jm* jm
ebena úriñeitɨoza. *jm* jm
Ja mei raiyano. *jm* jm jm *jm* 20

Izo jito *jm*
o aama (daɨde), *jm* jm
izo jiza o mirɨngo. *jm* jm
Akie izóikana ja
ua yokana uiga. *jm* jm 25
Ie úrue abɨna mei onode, *jm*
rɨngoza, *jm*
ɨ́iza (daɨde) *jm*
abɨna onode. *jm* jm *jm*

Oni bie o uzungo (daɨde), *jm* jm 30
mamékɨñeitɨoza. *jm* jm
Oni o uzuma (daɨde), *jm* jm
féekuizo uzu ráitɨoza. *jm* jm
Oni o biyama (daɨde), *jm* jm
biyama ráitɨoza, *jm* jm 35
mamékɨñeitɨoza. *jm*

Eikome abɨ fáɨgataiza *jm*
yokano atɨka. *jm* jm
Ebena ñáɨñeitɨoza (daɨde), *jm* jm *jm* jm
zairide jitaɨngo ebena ñáɨñeitɨo, *jm* 40
zairide jitókome ebena ñáɨñeitɨo. *jm* jm
Abɨ úiñoyena *jm*
yoga. *jm* jm jm *jm*
[II][i]
Ie jira dɨnómona *jm*
bie izoide (daɨde). *jm* jm 45
Zairide jitókome (daɨde) *jm* jm
abɨna onoiri. *jm* [cough] *jm* jm
Zairide jitaɨngo daɨde *jm*
abɨna onoiri. *jm* jm jm *jm*

Zairide jitókome ja 50
gakue ote. *jm*
Oni, kɨrɨtikoɨ nítɨoza (daɨde), *jm* jm
kɨrɨgaɨ nítɨoza (daɨde), *jm* jm
ranita nítɨoza (daɨde), *jm*
yokofe nítɨoza (daɨde). *jm* 55

Rɨngoza dɨbene
jaɨnoibi óitɨoza, *jm* jm
taɨkadu táɨtɨoza *jm*
jifirai riyena, *jm* jm
mazákarɨ riyena, *jm* jm 60
farékatofe jɨyena. *jm* jm jm jm *jm*
Ebena ñáɨñeitɨoza, *jm* jm
dunayɨ rítɨoza. *jm* jm
Nɨne kaɨ jebegoɨ túuiñede, *jm* jm
jɨaɨma ie jétai daɨnaza *jm* jm 65
yoga. *jm* jm jm *jm*
Jamáiruiñeitɨoza. *jm* jm
Ie rɨngoza, ja ua, tɨɨriyana onode, *jm* jɨɨ
raa jetájana onode. *jm* jm jm *jm* jɨɨ *jm*
[ii]
Oni jitókome ja dano yote, *jm* jm *jm* jm 70

ja zairídɨoza (daɨde). *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jɨɨ
Jitókome zairide ɨrɨgɨ nite (daɨde), *jm* jm
zeda nite (daɨde), *jm* jm
yɨ́gɨe ruite (daɨde), *jm* jm
onókozɨ ruite (daɨde), *jm* jm 75
irebai ruite (daɨde). *jm* jm jm *jm*
Jamáiruiñede, *jm* jm
ɨ́note. *jm* jm jm *jm* jm

Réɨrungo óitɨoza. *jm* jm
Oni, ja ua, jíibie dútɨoza. *jm* jm 80
Jíibitikoɨ, kɨrɨ́tikoɨ nítɨoza, *jm* jɨɨ
réɨrungo óitɨoza, *jm*
ɨmúiforo óitɨoza, *jm* jm
jíibie béeɨitɨoza, *jm* jm
ɨáikongo óitɨoza. *jm* jm *jm* jm 85

Abɨna onóiyena, *jm* jm
uafue raiyena, *jm*
ɨ́noyena. *jm* jm *jm*
[iii]
Oni rɨngoza ie *jm* jm
kɨrɨ́tikoɨ, ua jɨrɨfe kuináyena, *jm* jɨɨ 90
rɨngoza ie rabe oyena, *jm* jm
rɨngoza táɨjɨe- *jm*
-na ite. *jm* jm
Jebókoro nita dotari, *jm* jm
o mirɨngo júiyɨe métayena. *jm* jm *jm* jm jm *jm* jm 95

Moo úriya *jm* jm
komekɨ ífue. *jm* jm
Ɨnɨaɨ yóñeitɨoza, *jm* jɨɨ
ráiraɨfue yóñeitɨoza. *jm* jm
Fui o yoite buu iñede (daɨde) *jm* jm 100
abɨna onóiyena. *jm* jm jm *jm*
Fui o kue iñeiye mei o úrue ja rɨngo oyɨ́nomo (daɨde) *jm*
urue komúiteza *jm* jm
urue o káadoye táɨneitɨoza. *jm* jm
Akɨ́ dɨno yote. *yote* jm *jm* jm 105

Daaje izoi rɨngoza, *jm* jm
o monoɨ ɨáiyeza, *jm* jm
jaɨnoibi óitɨoza, *jm* jm
farékajɨ tɨ́ɨitɨoza, *jm* jm
jukui kuáɨitɨoza. *jm* jm jm jm *jm* 110
Ráiraɨfue yóñeiri *jm* jm jm *jm*
kaɨ meáidaiteza, *jm* jɨɨ

ebena úriñeitɨoza. *jm* jm
Yote *yote* jm *jm* jm

[iv]

Ie izoi ite (daɨde). *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jm 115
Meita jitókome ráɨide (daɨde), *jm* jm
moo úriyado kakáreide. *jm* jm
Daaje izoi jitaɨngo ráɨide, *jm* jm
oni ba jukui kuaɨde. *jm* jm
Ei abɨ ñekɨro móoi-mooide, *jm* jɨɨ 120
amégɨni nite, *jm* jm
rafue kakáreide, *jm* jɨɨ
ɨníñede. *jm* jm *jm* jm
Ie rɨngoza *jm*
ua kazíyano nóoiri. *jm* jm jm *jm* 125
Ei úai ɨ́ɨnote, *jm*
moo úai ɨ́ɨnote, *jm* jm
káadoga úrue *jm* jm
ɨ́nɨdoñega úrue. *jm* jm
Fɨgo kakáreiri. *jm* jm *jm* jm 130
Ieka úrue kakade, *jm* jm
yetaka úrue, *jm* jm
yetaka rɨngoza, *jm* jm *jm* jm
Fui daaje izoi úruerenia *jm* jm
urue yoyɨ́fuena *jm* 135
fɨébite. *jm* jm
Dɨnomo kakade. *jm* jm jm *jm*

[v]

Ie izoi eróikano ja
ua yokana uite. *jm* jm *jm* jm
Jɨaɨma raa jetai daɨnano, *jm* jm *jm* 140
jɨaɨma ie ua
mei báɨferede. *jm* jɨɨ *jm*
Ebena úriñede *jm* jm *jm* jm
jɨaɨma abɨ fáɨganoiza. *jm* jɨɨ
Buu úrue, *jm* 145
éinide, *jm*
móonide, *jm*
kuena
omoɨ dáɨitaiza. *jm* jm jɨɨ *jm*
Yoga. *jm* jm *jm* jm 150

Akie izoide (daɨde) *jm* jɨɨ
idɨ úai *jm*
káɨmona
féeide. *jm* jm jm *jm*
Jae akɨ́ daɨi éinamakɨ yote, *jm* 155
daɨde. *jm*

Ja úriya *jm* j~~ii~~
    féekuizo *jm*
    yoga. *jm* j~~ii~~

N~~ii~~ ka~~i~~ úrue yófuia úai, *jm* jm
    iedo ab~~i~~na onode. *jm* j~~ii~~
J~~i~~a~~i~~ma ie jetáñeno iri, *jm* jm
    j~~i~~a~~i~~ma óogodo jetáñeno iri, *jm*
    j~~i~~a~~i~~ma jífikoy~~i~~ jetáñeno iri, *jm*
    j~~i~~a~~i~~ma j~~i~~r~~i~~kue oñeiri, *jm* j~~ii~~ jm *jm*
    j~~i~~kánota oga, *jm* j~~ii~~
    ie f~~i~~gora. *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* jm
Yetaka úrue ka~~i~~máfuedo úrite, *jm* j~~ii~~
    ebena úriñede. *jm* jm *jm* jm

[III]

Meita jitókome jaka rá~~i~~ide, *jm* jm *jm* jm
    jíibie dute, *jm*
    jíibie bée~~i~~ana onode, *jm*
    jíibie izíyana onode, *jm*
    jíibie guájana onode, *jm* jm
    úriyana onode. *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* jm
Moo izoi komuide, *jm* jm
    jenode, *jm* j~~ii~~
    jenoka baiga. *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* jm
Ie izóikana jae ñuera úai, *jm* jm
    jíibina úai d~~i~~ona úai. *jm* jm
Ie d~~i~~ga *jm*
    jenode. *jm* jm *jm* jm
Afek~~i~~ komék~~i~~do *jm* jm
    ~~i~~n~~i~~de. *jm*

R~~i~~ngoza daaje izoi. *jm* jm *jm*
Mazákar~~i~~ mamék~~i~~do *jm*
    ~~i~~n~~i~~de. *jm*
Farékatofe mamék~~i~~do *jm*
    ~~i~~n~~i~~de, *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm*
    ñúe. *jm* jm *jm* jm

Id~~i~~ úai
    mei jae féeide. *jm*
Ie jira komo ka~~i~~ jénua, *jm*
    ñúe. *jm* j~~ii~~
Urúia~~i~~ komuiya eróikana *jm* jm *jm* jm
    tá~~i~~nomo ka~~i~~ óñega, *jm* jm jm *jm*
    akie izoide *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* jm

Ie mei,

neemei, *jm* jm
jae akɨ́ daɨi eróikana ñúe arɨ úriyafue bite, *jm* jm 200
rɨngoza dɨbene, ɨ́iza dɨbene. *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jm
Nɨɨ ñuéfuena itɨno dɨona jíibina úai, *jm*
farékatofe mazákarɨ úai. *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jm *jm*
Akie izóikano *jm* jm *jm*
arɨ ñúefuena fuite. *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* *jm* jm 205

Text 2

"The Giant Armadillo is a Deceitful Woman"
(excerpts)

*Bainaango rɨngo jɨ́fueriraɨngo*

Ja ua kɨrɨgaɨ ua áiyue kɨrɨgaɨ niyánona
    ja ie aɨ ite.  *jm* jm
Daɨi ñetá ja ua
    ja áɨredɨkue daɨnánona,  35
    ja náɨraɨna amena tɨétate.  *jm*
Uafue daɨnano naɨraɨ ja ua amena tɨede.  *jɨɨ* jm
Tɨédɨmakɨ, ua tɨédɨmakɨ,
    ja ua
    zafénaiya yezika ja jobaiya daɨde.  *jɨɨ* jm  40
Ie jira, mai, daɨde,  *jm* jm
    ja ua jakafaɨ boode, daɨde.  *jɨɨ* jm
Ja mei kɨrɨgaɨ niyánona iga,  *jm* jm
    o táɨjɨiri rɨngo, daɨde.  *jm* jm

. . . . . .

Rɨngo eróikano oga, daɨde,  *jm* jm  115
    jiérede rɨngo onóirede, daɨde.  *jɨɨ* jm
Jifirai rite, taɨkadu taɨte ua,
    mazákarɨ taɨkadu ite,
    ua farékatofe jɨte, ua rozídoro rite,
    nɨɨ mei úa rɨngo, daɨde.  *jm* jm  120

Text 3

"This is What I Know"

*N~~ɨɨ~~ ua onóigafuena it~~ɨ~~no*

N~~ɨɨ~~ mei ua
ua fueñe ua
kue ua
ua kakana ua *j~~ɨɨ~~*
ua jenuiza~~ɨ~~ 5
úrue duéramo komuide,
ie mei kue onoiga. *j~~ɨɨ~~*
Ie emódomo
ba t~~ɨ~~t~~ɨ~~riefuena ite, *j~~ɨɨ~~*
afe~~ɨ~~e 10
duera úruemo komuide,
mei afe~~ɨ~~e onoiga. *j~~ɨɨ~~*
Ie mei
ba úrue duera emódotaide, *j~~ɨɨ~~* j~~ɨɨ~~
afe~~ɨ~~e mei úai onoiga. *j~~ɨɨ~~* 15
Ie emódomo
ba yúuide ofide,
jenúitaite,
ie mei afe úai mei onoiga. *j~~ɨɨ~~*

Ie emódomo 20
úrue t~~ɨ~~zítaiya,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨɨ~~* jm
Afe emódomo
ja úrue agaide, *j~~ɨɨ~~*
ie úai onoiga. *j~~ɨɨ~~* jm 25
Ie emódomo
ua ba úrue k~~ɨ~~kuede, *k~~ɨ~~kuede* jm
afe úai onoiga.

Ie emódomo
ja ua 30
úrue zairide ~~ɨ~~rákotaide, *~~ɨ~~rákotaide* jm

ba j~~ɨ~~á~~ɨ~~ruido é~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~e guite, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
ie mei afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* jm
Ie mei
ba úrue ja zairide jitókome 35
ja z~~ɨ~~é~~ɨ~~kotaide, *z~~ɨ~~é~~ɨ~~kotaide* jm
ja ua
ja ua ba boáfena komuide, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
ja raz~~ɨ~~na komuide, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
afe úai mei onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* jm 40
Ba úrue ñozánaitade,
afe úai onoiga.
Ba úrue boruño oga, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*

Ba úrue ñóig~~ɨ~~na úrue ab~~ɨ~~mo komuide, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* 45
afe onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
Ba úrue ua téeiya ba ofide, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* jm
Ba úrue zuitárako oga, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* jm 50
Ba úrue úiya~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~ úa,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*

Ba úrue ua
uá~~ɨ~~ritaide, *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* jm 55
Ba r~~ɨ~~ngo j~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~ uá~~ɨ~~ritaide,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
Ba úrue eromo zegore komuide,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
Ba úrue tutude, 60
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*

Ba úrue ab~~ɨ~~ izírede
ó r~~ɨ~~ngo ab~~ɨ~~ izírede,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* jm
Ua ba 65
ja ua
ik~~ɨ~~rafuemona komuide,
j~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~ onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*
Ba úrue ua d~~ɨ~~obe jate uzínaiya,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~* 70
Ua ba
amánamo ofide r~~ɨ~~ngo,
afe úai onoiga. *j~~ɨ~~~~ɨ~~*

Ba jitókome uináiraite,

afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ* 75
Ba rɨngo eromo úrue ite ɨbákotaide,
afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ* jm
Ba jɨaɨma chúunoga dɨbénedo komúiadɨ,
jɨaɨ afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ* jɨɨ
Mei akie izoi ite 80
afeno fɨɨa méiñoga. *jɨɨ* jm

Ba jɨaɨma jiza uáɨriko uaido yaguédua, *jɨɨ*
jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ*
Ba ɨnɨ́aɨkɨna itɨno,
jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ* 85
Ba komekɨ jáfueride,
ba ɨráfuena ite,
jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ* jm
Kome ua komekɨ dúui-duuibide,
jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ* jm 90
Ua ba nɨkaɨna ite úai jɨaɨ onoiga, *jɨɨ*
ua nɨkaɨ onoiga, *jɨɨ*
fɨénide nɨkaɨ rofókɨe nɨkaɨ
jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ*

Ba jaɨrónaite, 95
jɨaɨ afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ*
Ua ba mánue uaimo ie ofide,
jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ* jm
Ba zegóruitɨmɨe,
jɨaɨ afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ* 100
Ba jɨaɨma komekɨ ua fɨeni fɨ́nua,
abɨdo ñúe fɨ́nua úai onoiga. *jɨɨ* jm
Ba jɨaɨma komekɨ uzírede,
jɨaɨ afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ* jm

Akie izóikana ite 105
jenoka fɨɨa mei baiga. *jɨɨ* jm
Meita ba eromo ziraide úrue,
jɨaɨ afe úai onoiga. *jɨɨ*
Ba rugu eromo ite,
ie úai jɨaɨ onoiga. *jɨɨ* 110
Akie izoi
mei fɨɨa dɨona jíibinado fɨɨa jenókano atɨka úai,
akie izóikano itɨno,
ñúe fɨnókano uiyena onoiga. *jɨɨ*
Akie izoi mei 115
arɨ bite akie úai. *jɨɨ*

Text 4

"On How the Elders Clean the Place Where They Will Live"

*Jae éinamak~~ɨ~~ imak~~ɨ~~ iy~~ɨ~~no f~~ɨ~~nua úai yoina*

[i]

Mei fueñe beno,
ua beno ua kue
túuiza~~ɨ~~biya yezika, *jm* jm
N~~ɨɨ~~ mei ua
ua ba beno ua jae ua ite 5
ua ná~~ɨ~~ra~~ɨ~~na mameide. *jm* jm
Ie jira beno
ua f~~ɨ~~nua izoi
ua ~~ɨ~~á~~ɨ~~ena it~~ɨ~~no. *jm* jm
Ie ~~ɨ~~á~~ɨ~~ena ite íad~~ɨ~~ mei 10
na~~ɨ~~ onóinide. *jm* jm

Iémona ja ua
jae mei éinamak~~ɨ~~ ua ba yúa *jm*
ua úrue ua ~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~no ua rafónori, *jm*
jae éinamak~~ɨ~~ da~~ɨ~~de. *jm* jm 15
Ie ab~~ɨ~~na mei jofo ero
ua ráfua yoñede, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
jino bie ~~ɨ~~á~~ɨ~~ena iya, *jm* jm
ba ré~~ɨ~~k~~ɨ~~na ite, ba okóziena ite, ~~ɨ~~ráfuena it~~ɨ~~no. *jm* jm
Ie jira ua 20
ja beno méiñot~~ɨ~~kue. *jm*
Ua jae mei éinamak~~ɨ~~ ua járuigano beno, *jm* jm
méiñote ua
ja ua írea ruit~~ɨ~~kue. *jm* jm
Ruit~~ɨ~~kue ua 25
ja ua fuitád~~ɨ~~kue. *jm* jm

[ii]

Ie ba~~ɨ~~fe *jm*
ja na~~ɨ~~o d~~ɨ~~bénemo
ja móomana ab~~ɨ~~ fakade. *jm* jm
Mooma da~~ɨ~~de, *jm* 30
n~~ɨ~~bái kue io ~~ɨ~~báid~~ɨ~~o, da~~ɨ~~de, *jm* jm

ɨko kuena moo dáɨñedɨo, daɨde, *jm* jm
kuena ɨáɨruitɨo, daɨde. *jm*
Ie yojérungo oróikana ikɨ́rite, *jm* jm
ua jaka nɨ́ɨmɨe. *jm* jm 35
Daɨi daɨnano dobáikaide meine jáaide, daɨde. *jm* jm

Ie kue kazíyano yotɨkue, *jm* jm
móomana nɨkáɨritɨkue,
mooma kue ikɨde ie io kue ɨbaiya jira. *jm* jm
Mei úa, daɨde. *jm* jm 40
Mei guita fuita ja jáaikaidɨkoko. *jm*
Jáaidɨkokomo ráɨide *jm*
jirako *jm*
ɨ́ima, *jm*
éɨbado jíide. *jm* 45

Ie ua jatágɨdo kue putájiya abɨna batɨ́nena
aaa, kuemo
ua kuemo ua zokuade, *jm*
ia kuena baitáñede. *jm*
Abɨ ɨ́note, daɨnano 50
ragɨ ua ota ua afedo ie ɨfo
puta, *jm*
dɨno ja ua ana báɨide. *jm*
Ua dɨno nana ua takofo ua
ígɨaɨ ua fia ua bote, *jm* jm 55
ie ja ótɨkoko. *jm* jm
Ua bie móomana abɨ fakaja,
daɨdɨkue. *jm*

Ja ua bítɨkoko
ua aféɨe 60
donida ua ja ie igoɨ uánona oni koko dotaka iyemo. *jm* jm
Ie kue dano ráɨidɨkue. *jm* jm
[iii]
Ráɨidɨkue
dano afe onífene
ua káigɨa abɨna 65
kue eɨba ero airágɨtaide. *jm* jm
Ieri izídɨkue, *jm*
nɨno ua bedáɨitana. *jm* jm
Ɨnɨaidɨkuemo
ja ua ɨnɨ́bikaidɨkuemo 70
ja daa eirɨngo bite. *jm* jm
Ie jira,
moo, daɨde, *jm*
jae bizíkɨdo jáaikaidɨkue, daɨde, *jm* jm

beno náɨngodɨkue, daɨde, *jm* 75
ikue bie izóikano zefuiya, daɨde. *jm* jm
Ie dɨrɨaɨ ikoro oróoide, *jm*
éekano jáaide. *jm*

Jitɨramo yotɨkue, *jm*
éirɨngona nɨkáɨritɨkue. *jm* jm 80
Ie jira, úa, daɨde. *jm*
Guita fuita
dano káizaidɨkoko. *jm*
Káizaidɨ-
-kokomo dɨno 85
ja eirɨngo
ja monaide. *jm* jm

Aɨ, daɨde, *jm*
ereño jíiya, daɨde. *jm*
Mena jíidena eroide *jm* 90
ie abɨna ie oda. *jm* jm
Ie jino zonoda
ua koko átɨa. *jm*
Bie daɨi úriya, *jm* jm
ie mei ja oga, daɨde. *jm* jm 95
[iv]
Iémona kakáreidɨkue dano. *jm*
Kakáreidɨkue ua
áiyue kɨrɨgaɨ
afénomo
monaite, 100
daɨde mɨnɨka kuena. *jm*
Ie abɨna,
ɨko, bainaango yote. *jm*
Ie eróizaidɨkokomo *jm*
bainaango jíiya. *jm* jm 105
Ie atɨdɨkoko, *jm* jm
ie iyemo koko dotaka. *jm*
[v]
Ie dano
kakáreidɨkue. *jm* jm
Kakáreidɨkue dano, 110
ja nɨkaɨna úrite. *jm* jm
Kɨnaimo ua joodɨkokomo
ja boraɨngo bite. *jm*
Bite ua
ua jaka zadáikano bite. *jm* jm 115
Zadáikano bite ua jaka meáiruiñeno koko abɨ zojode. *jm*
Ie jira oni ii,

kue aɨ dɨga itɨkue,
daɨdɨkue. *jm*
Ba ɨ́noñeno ua
ba ua kuchúakade izoide. *jm*
Ie jira, oni ii, oni ii, daɨde,
ja arɨ kue ñuitaka. *jm*
Ie naidakaida ja ua jáaide, *jm*
ua fúe ua jideka ñúe
ua ekuri *jm*
ua fɨnobite,
ie jáaide. *jm*
Meine abɨdo gɨré-gɨre eróikaide. *jm*

Ie yotɨkue, ua akɨ daɨi nɨkáɨritɨkue, *jm*
mɨnɨka nɨbaɨ koko irebaimo jíiya. *jm*
Eróizaidɨkoko,
jáaidɨkoko.
Jáaidɨkokomo ua
duera rɨngo
jirako, *jm*
ie fekábedo jíide. *jm*
Bie ua ja naɨo úriya, daɨde, *jm*
íadɨ mei ja ofide, daɨde. *jm*

Akɨ daɨi eróikano
jae ua
beno
dáɨitadɨno
ua monáitakano
kue uiga. *jm* jm
[vi]
Iraɨe ua
jino bene jáaikaidɨkaɨ *jm*
ua zɨokaɨ ua kue onoɨ ero dete. *jm*
Ie afai jáaiyena dano
jɨáɨe ero jobéyena
jɨkɨ́fena úaidɨkue. *jm*
Ie kueri kuadade *jm*
jubene ua kaifo fɨébite. *jm*
Ie kue kota abɨna ua kue ui putáikaide, *jm*
ua dɨno fia ana raɨnade. *jm*
Ie kue ui dɨaide, *jm*
nɨbaɨ fiide, daɨdɨkue. *jm*

Ie
naɨo
ráɨidɨkue. *jm*

Iemo *compadre* Mánaɨdɨkɨ- *jm*
-na bite. *jm* jɨɨ
*Compa*, daɨde, *jm* jm
jae bie jazíkɨdo féeireitɨkue omo dúkɨna, daɨde. *jm* jm
Ua jaka nɨ́ɨmɨe. *jm* 165

*Compa*, be kue yerakɨ, daɨde. *jm*
Ie yɨ́ɨnota
eróidɨkuemo dɨga ebígɨroɨ iya. *jm* jm
Ie jira
ana kue raɨnaka. *jm* 170
Iena meáiruiyano yɨ́ɨnota jáaide, *jm* jm
ua jaka yoñede *jm*
ua jáaide.
Ua jáaide jaka
irébaimo jiide *jm* 175
janáyari. *jm* jm
Bie Mánaɨdɨkɨna abɨ fakade. *jm* jm

Ja mei jiide abɨna Nofɨ́komo jáaidɨkoko. *jm* jm
Dɨnomo
ja ua 180
monaide. *jm* jɨɨ
Meita
afe izoi itɨno
akɨ dáɨita,
ua ba onóiñenia naɨraɨ úriya daɨnana eroide. *jm* jm 185
Ja mei ua
kue fakaka
akɨ daɨi ja birui
akɨ daɨi kue yoga. *jm* jm

Text 5

"A Story About Conjuring the Eyes and Problems Resulting from That"

*Jifíkona ui daiya iémona komuide z~~ɨ~~era ikak~~ɨ~~*

Jae fueñe
kue ua
jitókomena
zairiya
fakaize. 5
Mei ráfuena onóiñed~~ɨ~~kue, *j~~ɨɨ~~*
fia ua imak~~ɨ~~ yua~~ɨ~~na *j~~ɨɨ~~*
fia kakád~~ɨ~~kue.
Iemo
mei ua fia ua onoiga ráfueita, 10
ra~~ɨ~~re kue onori. *j~~ɨɨ~~*
Ie jira mei
jitókome ui daite. *j~~ɨɨ~~*

Ie jira afé~~ɨ~~e mánue mamek~~ɨ~~ mei
jifíkona, *j~~ɨɨ~~* 15
íena ja kue ui dait~~ɨ~~kue. *j~~ɨɨ~~*
Daiyánona
ja f~~ɨ~~máid~~ɨ~~kue,
ua ñúe f~~ɨ~~maika, *j~~ɨɨ~~*
ua daa f~~ɨ~~vui ua f~~ɨɨ~~de. *j~~ɨɨ~~* 20
Mei tá~~ɨ~~nomo kome ua izi kakade
ie jira f~~ɨ~~maika. *j~~ɨɨ~~*
Ie jira
ziaik~~ɨ~~ r~~ɨ~~ñega,
jífikoy~~ɨ~~ yiñega, 25
j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~kue yiñega,
roziy~~ɨ~~ yiñega,
a~~ɨ~~nírite r~~ɨ~~ñega,
ma~~ɨ~~ride r~~ɨ~~ñega,
r~~ɨ~~ngo uieko mei eróiñede, 30
mei ui rairuide. *j~~ɨɨ~~*

Ie baɨmo
ja ua
ui fakátate, *jɨɨ*
dama kome úrue
ɨrátaiya yezika, *jɨɨ* jm
kome aɨ ɨrátaiya yezika, *jɨɨ*
kome mirɨngo ɨrátaiya yezika, *jɨɨ*
kome aama ɨrátaiya yezika. *jɨɨ*
Afe abɨ ráɨide, *jɨɨ*
ɨráfuena itɨ́nona kɨóiyena, *jɨɨ* jm
jenúizaɨna itɨno kɨóiyena,
ikɨ́rafuena itɨno kɨóiyena,
ie jira ráɨide. *jɨɨ* jm

Ie jira ja
kue ui daiya yezika
daa enókaizaɨ ie, *jɨɨ*
akɨ kue ñekore, *jɨɨ*
dúkɨide, *jɨɨ*
imani ja abɨ́mona bite, *jɨɨ*
ie mamekɨ Aniva. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira kue, jɨfai, kue jɨaɨ kue ui
dai, daɨde. *jɨɨ* jm
Ie jira
kue daɨdɨkue, mei ñeko bie
jɨaɨe mánue jetáñedɨmɨemona fɨgora, *jɨɨ*
ie mei jɨaɨe mánue jetádɨmɨemo fɨénide, *jɨɨ*
daɨdɨkue.
Ie jira
jetáñedɨkue, daɨde,
ua mɨnɨ́kana jetáñedɨkue, daɨde.

Ie jira
aa, daɨdɨkue,
atɨ mei koko daiyɨ.
Ie jira afémɨe ui ja
kue daitaka. *jɨɨ* jm
Ie jira
daa fɨvui o fɨmairi, daɨdɨkue. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira jii daɨde.
Ie daiyánona
ja bene Nofɨ́komo jáaide. *jɨɨ*

Nofɨ́komona meine jáaide, *jɨɨ*
kaɨ iyánomo dúkɨide,
afémɨe ui

ja ua
ua tekáikaide, *jɨɨ* jm
ua duere zefuide. jm
Ie jira
nɨeze ítɨo, daɨdɨkue.
Ja kue ui fíakade, daɨde.
Uafue, daɨdɨkue.

Ie kaɨ
éikome ite íadɨ, *jɨɨ*
ja ua nɨeze dáɨiñede. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira kue daɨdɨkue, moo,
ñekore ui izírede. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira mooma kuena daɨde,
jadie kaɨ jíibie béeɨdeita
kaɨ eroiri, daɨde,
jíibiena béeɨñede.
Ie jira kue daɨdɨkue,
aa, daɨdɨkue.

Ie jíibie fɨnódɨkaɨ ja ua,
fuitɨkaɨ. *jɨɨ*
Iemo kakáreidɨkue
ua zuaire éede. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira afémɨe uáidotɨkue, *jɨɨ*
ñeko, bi, daɨdɨkue. *jɨɨ* jm
Ie jira bite.

Nɨeze ítɨo, daɨdɨkue. *jɨɨ*
Ja kue ui
ua ja fíakade, daɨde.
Mɨnɨka jetádɨo,
kue jetáñedɨkue . . . jetádɨo,
kue dɨnena daɨdɨkue.
Ie ñetá meine
janókaidɨkue, *jɨɨ*
ja meine kue oga *jɨɨ*
jifíkona iyɨno. *jɨɨ* jɨɨ

Ie ñetá
mai o ínɨai, daɨdɨkue,
ɨna fui
mɨnɨ́kana kue kɨóia *jɨɨ*
fui o yóitɨkue, daɨdɨkue. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira afémɨe ínɨaide,
ua tɨɨ ñéfikaide, *jɨɨ*
manánaite ua ɨnɨde. *jɨɨ* jɨɨ

Ie meino kue ua kakáreidɨkue, *jɨɨ*
ua kakáreidɨkue.
Ua daɨi kue abɨ manánaiyamona
ja kue komekɨ ua ɨníbikaide. *jɨɨ*

Ɨníbikaidɨkue,
ua ja bite *jɨɨ*
ua biko erodo ua féekano ua bite ua kue nɨkídote,
ua kue zaitákaide.
Erókaidɨkue be,
ua kue
ua onoɨdo ua janáoɨtɨkue, *jɨɨ*
kue janáoɨa ua
ja ie daɨi daɨi daɨi,
baie izoi jáaide daɨi,
ua báɨide monáizaide. *jɨɨ* jm
Ie jira
aa, daɨdɨkue,
ɨko ite, daɨdɨkue; *jɨɨ* jm
ie kue ja kaziya. *jɨɨ*
Kazídɨkue, ɨko
nɨkáɨritɨkue, *jɨɨ*
daɨdɨkue,
ua nɨeze ua dáɨitade. *jɨɨ*

Komekɨ ua uibidɨkue, *jɨɨ*
íemo ja ua monáidɨkaɨ.
Ja ua monáidɨkaɨ
ja kue fákuaɨbidɨkue *jɨɨ*
joraimo. *jɨɨ*
Dɨno fáko-fákodɨkue, *jɨɨ*
ua fákodɨkue,
ua jáɨkɨri ia. *jɨɨ*
Nɨnena afe nuikɨ ja ua mei monari
ja afe nuikɨ ua féekano bite, ua bite, eróidɨkue;
afe núikɨdo eróidɨkue, ua eróidɨkue,
ua daɨi ana bite ua
kaifona ua
ua jorai dáfenemo
ua ba chamu ie zaitáfɨrena izoi ua
zaitade. *jɨɨ*

Ie jira jáaidɨkuemo
ua kaifo féekano kue jáaiye daɨna abɨna
ja fia dɨno iaiko bute ie
jáɨnoibi. *jɨɨ*
Fia oni ja bite kue dɨne,

ɨ́ɨkano bite,
ua ɨ́ɨkano bite, bite, bita,
ja kue ja ua fákuadado
raiñode kaifo kánoa ero kue bɨtaka. *jɨɨ* 165
Ie jira meine bitɨkue jofomo,
kue atɨka afe jofomo. *jɨɨ*

Ie jira
afémɨe uáidotɨkue, *jɨɨ*
be o uimo daɨi komuide, *jɨɨ* jɨɨ 170
afémɨena daɨdɨkue.
O ɨko bie nuikɨ mánuena o jetádɨo, *jɨɨ*
afémɨena daɨdɨkue. *jɨɨ*
Ie jira, jɨɨ, daɨde,
imani abɨ namakɨ, daɨde, *jɨɨ* 175
jitókomɨnɨ
chamu dúkɨiyena
nuikɨ ui daitɨ́makɨ, daɨde,
ie jira kue afɨ́ɨe kɨ́gɨdo
kue jɨaɨ dáaitɨkue, daɨdɨkue, 180
ie jira kue ui afémakɨ daite. *jɨɨ*
Aa, daɨdɨkue,
nɨbái mei o jáanoga, *jɨɨ*
ie jira ja nia o ui fiide, *jɨɨ*
daɨdɨkue. 185
Ja mei benómona o mei ua
fia ja ite o raana o ñéitɨo, *jɨɨ*
akɨ daɨi afémɨena daɨdɨkue. *jɨɨ*

Text 6

"Study on the Way of the White People"

*Nano fueñe dɨona uaido jíibina uaido afe rɨama io kaɨ méiñua úai*[1]

[i]

Jae mei
ja**ɨá**ɨdena eroide,
bainide. *jm*
N**ɨɨ** mei
bainina jira 5
ua túuiga. *jm* jm
Ja mei bairede, *jm* jm
ja ua
jíibina naze túuide, *jm*
dɨona naze túuide, *jm* jm 10
benena *jm* jm
rɨama io túuide, *jm* jm
jae ite ia túuiñede, *jm*
jae ite ia bainide. *jm* jm
Ie yezika onóiñega, *jm* 15
ite ia *jm* jm
iñédena eroide. *jm*

Ie jira
ja af**éɨe** íodo ja jata bite, *jm*
ja yoefaɨ bite, *jm* j**ɨɨ** 20
n**ɨɨ** raana itɨno, *jm* jm
n**ɨɨ** kaɨ jitaiya, *jm* jm
n**ɨɨ** kaɨ jenoka, *jm* jm
uafue, éinamakɨ daɨde. *jm* jm
Jae kaɨ bie mei jenódɨkaɨ, *jm* jm 25
bie jɨkádɨkaɨ, *jm*
ie izoi ja kaɨ dano jenódɨkaɨ. *jm* jm

[1]Literal translation: "The study we made since the beginning, with the Word of tobacco and coca, on the way of the white people."

Ie jira buu mei ɨbaite, *jm*
buu mei ua dama ite dáɨite, *jm* jm
ja tuijide, *jm*
ja úrite. *jm* jm

Nɨɨ jeire otɨno, *jm*
nɨɨ ua káadote, *jm* jm
nɨɨ ráɨide, *jm* jm
uáfuena *jm*
jitáiyano. *jm*
Nɨbái, *jm*
mei bifori
ja jíibie duyena, *jm*
yera meyena, *jm* jm
bifori taɨngo guiyena, *jm*
roziyɨ rɨéyena, *jm*
óogodo rɨéyena, *jm* jɨɨ
jífikoyɨ rɨéyena, *jm*
jɨrɨkue rɨéyena, *jm* jm
bifori *jm*
júiñoi jiróyena. *jm* jm
Ja ua dɨnomo ja ua jiyode, *jm* jɨɨ
jaɨénikɨ jiyode, *jm*
rɨngoza jiyode, *jm*
éikome jiyode, *jm*
jitaɨngo jiyode, *jm*
jitókome jiyode. *jm*
Jae batɨnori ɨráfuena ite, *jm*
batɨnori ebena ite, *jm*
batɨnori aruire ite, *jm* jm
batɨnori yikɨfuena ite, *jm*
ja iñede, *jm* jɨɨ
be nɨɨa. *jm*
[ii]
Ie jira fɨgo iri, daɨde, *jm*
abɨ onoiri, *jm* jm
ja mei túuideza, *jm*
uafue, daɨde, *jm*
ite, daɨde, *jm* jm
benena daaje izoi ite, daɨde. *jm*
Ie jira *jm*
ja nɨɨ mei jae ite ia ua kue úai maɨríñede, *jm*
meita kue úai féekode, *jm* jɨɨ
meita kue kakáñedɨkue, *jm*
ja kakádɨkue, *jm*
ja kɨódɨkue, *jm* jɨɨ
kue ina. *jm* jm

Daama ua bainide kue baiya, *jm* j~~ii~~
túuinide kue túuiya, *jm* jm
onóinid~~ii~~no onód~~ii~~kue, *jm* jm 75
ja mei ua
ua be bifori. *jm* jm j~~ii~~

Ie jirari
akie izóikana úrite, *jm* jm jm
éinamak~~ii~~ 80
komek~~ii~~, *jm*
uzút~~ii~~a~~ii~~ *jm*
ja ba~~ii~~ ra~~ii~~nade, *jm*
f~~ii~~go iri jaruiza, daide, *jm*
jarúiñeno iri, da~~ii~~de, *jm* 85
ka~~ii~~ it~~ii~~ka~~ii~~za. *jm* jm j~~ii~~
Jaka bie izoide,
n~~ii~~e raa mei ua jánina, *jm* j~~ii~~
naaga raa jaka jarede, *jm*
jetánide, *jm* 90
úruemo dúuiñede, *jm*
mei eroide, da~~ii~~de. *jm* jm
Urúia~~ii~~ ie íad~~ii~~, *jm* jm
ie jira nano fueñe éinamak~~ii~~ fakaka, *jm* jm
afeno 95
dá~~ii~~itana jira. *jm*

Be n~~ii~~a kue úai, da~~ii~~de, *jm*
bíedo, da~~ii~~de; *jm* j~~ii~~
íedo ua kue da~~ii~~i ua ba dá~~ii~~itad~~ii~~nona ot~~ii~~kue, *jm* j~~ii~~
ie izóikana it~~ii~~no kue jénua úai *jm* 100
da~~ii~~nano. *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~
Ie jirari afeno
bie izoide. *jm* jm
Jáeita, da~~ii~~de, *jm*
jáeita kue úai baiñede, *jm* 105
ja mei birui kue ua éikomed~~ii~~kue jenoka, *jm* j~~ii~~
buu íena ua iñede dá~~ii~~inide, *jm* jm
nana mei ka~~ii~~e íad~~ii~~, *jm* j~~ii~~
Fia akie uaido mei afénomo dúuide, *jm* j~~ii~~
ak~~ii~~k~~ii~~ komék~~ii~~do dúuide. *jm* 110
[iii]
Ja n~~ii~~m~~ii~~e r~~ii~~ama úai fa~~ii~~ríoga, *jm* jm
n~~ii~~eze koko ñeiri, *jm*
ana ra~~ii~~nábit~~ii~~koko, *jm*
f~~ii~~go iri *jm*
da~~ii~~nano jae bainide, *jm* 115
ja ar~~ii~~ baifide. *jm*

Ie izóikano fui mei úriyena, *jm*
ie izóikano fui jenóyena, *jm* jm
jae féeiredɨnona itɨno *jm*
ja féeinide *jm* 120
ja janáɨñede, *jm* jɨɨ
akie izóikano afe úai ja yɨɨnote. *jm* jm
Ie mei
nɨeze mei abɨdo ua ɨbaite, *jm*
ɨbáinide, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ 125
ja abɨdo ɨbáinide
kaɨ túuigaita ñeiri, *jm* jɨɨ
koni éikome túuiga. *jm*

Idɨ úai baɨna mei ebírede íadɨ birui dáɨitade, *jm* jɨɨ
baɨna ua ja ua janáɨnide, *jm* jɨɨ 130
birui janaɨde. *jm*
Ie jira kaɨ komékɨmo yikɨre itɨno *jm* jɨɨ
ja féeite, *jm*
jira komekɨ zuure itɨno *jm*
ja féeite, *jm* 135
kaɨ komékɨmo uibídɨno *jm*
féeite. *jm* jm
Fia nia afénomo dúkɨiñedɨkaɨ, *jm* jm
dúkɨna yezika kaɨ komekɨ zúuite, *jm* jm
zúuijikaide *jm* 140
nɨnomo, *jm*
moo iko,
eiño iko
eromo. *jm* jm
Ie jirari akɨ dɨnomo ja ua manánaite, *jm* jɨɨ 145
ja ua naɨménaite, *jm* jɨɨ
nɨɨ kaɨmo uzire iya jira, daɨde, *jm* jm
bie iyino dúkɨna, daɨde, *jm* jm
ie abɨna jino, daɨde, *jm* jɨɨ
jino batɨnomo ja ua monáitɨno, *jm* jm 150
jino batɨnomo ja ua dáɨizaina izoi ua iyaɨna monáitɨno. *jm* jm jm
Káɨkoni
nɨɨ afeno kaɨ jenui daɨnano *jm*
ja ua rairuide, *jm*
rairuide daɨi úrite, *jm* jɨɨ 155
úriya abɨna mei
benena mei daaje izoide. *jm* jm jm

Ie mei ja rɨama uafue daɨna, *jm* jm
iémona buu mei uafue dáɨiñena,
ja moo uafue daɨna, 160
ie mei buu nia uafue dáɨiñena. *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ

Buu mei jitáiñede, *jm*
nana jitáidɨkaɨ, *jm*
ua nana. *jm* jm jm
Ie mei úriyafue bie akɨ dáɨitana ua nɨno daɨnano eroide, *jm* jɨɨ 165
kaɨmo ua kaɨna ua jitáiñede daɨnano eroide, *jm*
ie abɨna jitaide, *jm* jm jm
ie abɨna ebíruite. *jm* jm jm
Dúe dama ua fare úriteita buu oni jɨ́iri; *jm* jm jm
ie jirari akie izoide ua fia mei uaita ñeiri, *jm* jɨɨ 170
nabézido ua yɨ́ɨika, *jm* jm
nabézido ua jenoka, *jm* jɨɨ
nabézido atɨka, *jm* jm jm
nɨeze mei féeite. *jm* jm
Akie izoide. *jm* 175

Text 7

"In This Way Elder Kɨneraɨ Spoke in the Place Where Many People Live"[2] (excerpts)

*Akɨ daɨi éikome Kɨneraɨ aiyo naɨraɨ iyánomo úrite*

Bie mei táɨjɨe úai
    daama kue komékɨmona
    ua komúiñede.
Bie táɨjɨe úai
    jae uzútɨaɨ baɨ batɨnomona atɨka 5
    dɨona jíibina úai
    kue afedo jenókano atɨ́dɨkue.
Dɨona úai jíibina úaido kue jenoka
    íedo kue úrue komúitayena
    íedo kue úrue kue ekáyena 10
Jenókano kue atɨka
    mei bie dɨona úai
    komuiya úai, kaɨ komuiya úai.
. . . . . .

Ie jagɨyɨ arɨ kue jɨaɨma úrue ɨrárede
    jɨáɨmɨe kuena daɨde: nɨka omo ite jagɨyɨ bie kue úrue fúunori
    ie jira afe jagɨ́yɨdo kue fúunoga
    ie kue fúunoga mei jiyode. 115
. . . . . .

Meita ie bie mei jae uzúmamo ite,
    ie mei kue moomo ite,
    ie mei kuemo birui ite. 120
Ja benomo ja dúkɨide,
    kue fɨnoka jíibina dɨona úai benomo ja dúkɨide,
    beno éinamakɨmo.
Ie afémakɨ kakáreide eroide ñuera daɨdɨ́makɨ,
    ie jira jɨkánoga, uafue mei ñuera, 125

[2]This is the only title that was not given by Kɨneraɨ.

fɨénide úaidenia afémakɨ jɨkánoñede.
Ua ñuera úai, ebírede úai, kaɨmare kakaide,
mei moo jíibina úai, moo dɨona úai,
eiño farékatofe úaido eiño úrite.
. . . . . .

Ie jira beno éinamakɨ ebíruite, kakáakade,
onóakade. 160
Nɨbaɨ afémakɨ urúiaɨ oni daaje izoi onóiyena,
ñuera bie úai daɨdɨ́makɨ.
Uafue aferi kue jiyódɨkue birui benori,
daɨi afémakɨ daɨnari kue jiyódɨkue.
. . . . . .

Meita kue akɨ dɨno íraɨnomo kue jóoneyuaɨ,
kuemo mei ite dɨona jagɨyɨ jíibina jagɨyɨ
jɨaɨma úrue kue jiyótayena
jɨáɨmakɨ rɨngoza kue jiyótayena 170
jɨ́ɨrafuena komékɨmo yɨ́ɨnoga.
Akɨ daɨi arɨ kue fuitaka atɨka úai.

Text 8

"Seeking Out the Productive Work"

*Táɨjɨe jénua úai*

[I]

Ie jira mei,
eiño
ua jieño. *jm* jm
Eiño jieño
eromo ua 5
ite *jm*
jagɨyɨ. *jm* jm
Fia ua jagɨ́yɨna ite, *jm* jɨɨ
farékatofe jagɨyɨ, *jm*
juzítofe jagɨyɨ, *jm* 10
rozídoro jagɨyɨ, *jm*
mazákarɨ jagɨyɨ, *jm*
jífikue jagɨyɨ, *jm*
jɨrɨ́kue jagɨyɨ, *jm*
jizaiño jagɨyɨ, *jm* 15
mɨzena jagɨyɨ, *jm*
jimedo jagɨyɨ, *jm*
tuburɨ jagɨyɨ, *jm*
jakaijɨ jagɨyɨ, *jm*
dunajɨ jagɨyɨ, *jm* 20
mɨzena jagɨyɨ, *jm* jm
jifirai jagɨyɨ, *jm* jm
nekana jagɨyɨ, *jm*
goido jagɨyɨ, *jm*
nemona jagɨyɨ, *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* jm 25
nana fia jagɨ́yɨna ite. *jm* jm

Ie fui baɨ batɨ́nomo *jm*
ja ua
táɨjɨena mei
maménuanona *jm* 30
ja ua razíyaɨna ua

ja ua ite. *jm*
D~~ɨ~~nomo fui,
eiño jieño *jm*
eromo ite jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ ja jino 35
ja ie oye. *jm*
D~~ɨ~~nomo ja ua jag~~í~~y~~ɨ~~na jae ite ua, *jm*
ja jakáizairai jino ie oga, *jm*
dunaj~~ɨ~~ jino ie oga, *jm*
jifirai jino ie oga, *jm* 40
mazákar~~ɨ~~ jino ie oga, *jm*
rozídoro jino ie oga, *jm*
m~~ɨ~~zedo jino ie oga, *jm*
jimedo jino ie oga, *jm*
j~~ɨ~~r~~í~~kue jino ie oga, *jm* 45
jífikue *jm*
jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ *jm*
jino ie oga. *jm* jm *jm*

Ja ie ba~~ɨ~~ bat~~í~~nomo,
ja ua 50
ja mei ua ja ua jakáizairaina ite, *jm*
tubúr~~ɨ~~na ite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
goizédona ite, *jm* jm *jm*
enoka iy~~ɨ~~na ite, *jm* jm
bed~~í~~ngona ite, *jm* jm 55
ch~~ɨ~~k~~ɨ~~pírana ite, *jm* jm
ja jiménana ite, *jm* jm
rozídorona ite. *jm* jm
Ja ua, jino *jm*
oni farékatofena ja ie oga, *jm* jm 60
Ja nana jino ie oga. *jm*

Ie méinori,
eiño ja jiyode. *jm* jm
Jae baie ua jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ eromo ua zegore ite. *jm* jm
N~~ɨɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~ komuiya jiyak~~ɨ~~. *jm* jm 65
Báiena nano urúnaite *jm*
eiño *jm*
jieño. *jm* jm *jm*
Akie izóikana ite. *jm*
[II]
Afe eróikana ja, 70
k~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~ga~~ɨ~~ komuide, *jm*
ja k~~ɨ~~r~~í~~tiko~~ɨ~~ komuide, *jm* jm
ja jeboga~~ɨ~~ komuide, *jm* jm
Ja ua jíibitiko~~ɨ~~ jíibie oyena, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ja aidóriyaga~~ɨ~~ *jm* jm 75

ja komuide. *jm* jm
Akie izoi *jm*
ar~~ɨ~~ ja
ua afe úai bite. *jm* jm

Mei tá~~ɨ~~nomona ua
yónide. *jm* jm
Afe iya eróikana ja mei
ja komuide. *jm*
Ja ua ranita komuide, *jm*
yokofe komuide, *jm* jm
ja jebog~~ɨ~~ komuide. *jm* jm
N~~ɨɨ~~ ñuera úai
ja ua monaide. *jm*
Akie izoide. *jm*

Ak~~ɨ~~ d~~ɨ~~nona mei ba~~ɨ~~
fia afe úai
mei ja baie ua ñuéfuena fakade, *jm* jm
fia uaina ja. *jm*
Ak~~ɨ~~ d~~ɨ~~nori ar~~ɨ~~
ua ja mei monaide, *jm*
ja k~~ɨ~~ona. *jm* jm

Text 9

"Uttering the Tobacco Word"

*D~ona úai zúuiya*

[I][i]

Bie úai tái~j~e uaina ite.
N~i~ fui jitókome dane ab~i~do
daaje izoi mei komúikana jáaide
jenóyena. *jm* jm
Ie mei kái~ed~no mei 5
ja ar~i~ ua ba zairítajanomo fuite. *jm* jm
D~i~nómona dane báim~i~e komo ua zairíd~i~m~i~e dane r~i~ngo uamo dano
afénodo ar~i~ ba jáaide. *jm* jm *jm* jm

Meita raa f~i~nua
oni afémak~i~mo yogano, *jm* jm 10
jae biya izoi, *jm* jm
ja mei éikome
fia afedo kakáreide *jm* jm
ua komóg~i~ma úriya. *jm* jm
Jae ak~i~ da~i~i ua 15
mooma úrite, da~i~de, *jm*
ak~i~ da~i~i eiño úrite. *jm*
~I~nokana at~i~de, *jm*
f~i~nókana at~i~de, *jm* j~i~
daaje izoi, *jm* jm 20
daaje tái~j~e. *jm* jm
Meita ei izoi komuide, *jm*
~i~ima d~i~bene moo izoi komuide. *jm* jm

Mei baie ja mei fuiye izoide, baie mamek~i~ ja mei ua
ja jeede, *jm* 25
éikome, *jm*
eir~i~ngo. *jm* j~i~
Fia ja jag~i~y~i~do tái~j~e ite, *jm* j~i~
eir~i~ngomo ja jag~i~y~i~na ite. *jm* jm
Mei jitókome n~i~eze ia 30

yoyena, *jm* jm
ie mio nɨeze ia yoyena. *jm* jɨɨ
Aféiyɨnoɨmo ja afe dano dɨno
ja jɨkánote, *jm* jɨɨ
moo, bie nɨɨe izóidɨno, *jm* jm 35
ei, bie nɨɨe izóidɨno. *jm* jm

Mei iga íadɨ naɨ fɨgo iñega, *jm*
naɨ fɨgo ua daama fɨnuana onóiñede. *jm* jm
Ie jira moo ja fɨnóraɨma- *jm*
-na mameide, *jm* 40
ei fɨnóraɨño. *jm* jm
Mei aféiyɨnoɨ nano fueñe fɨnókana atɨka, *jm* jɨɨ
aféiyɨnoɨmo ite. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie naɨ mei afedo
ua naɨ 45
jáaiñede. *jm* jm
[ii]
Iedo yokana éikome uite, *jm*
íedo eirɨngo yokana uite, *jm* jɨɨ
be daɨi nogo niga, daɨde, *jm*
be daɨi kɨrɨ́tikoɨ moi taɨneka, daɨde. *jm* 50
Meita rɨngoza nogo niyana ja yófuega, *jm* jm
ja dɨnori ja iyɨko komuide. *jm* jm

Ja
eirɨngo
ie jito 55
jíibie béeɨyena nogo
nite. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie mio
íena
ɨkɨru nite. *jm* jɨɨ 60
Ie mio
jukuiko nite. *jm* jm
Ie mio
juiñoiko nite. *jm* jm

Ja dɨnori ie 65
jɨfai
ie mio
kɨrɨgaɨ nite. *jm* jm
Ie mio
aidóriyɨgaɨ nite. *jm* jm 70
Ie mio
yókɨriyena
yokofe nite. *jm* jm

Ie mio
izíriyena
ranita nite. *jm* j~~ii~~

Akie izóikano
f~~ii~~a yokana uite. *jm* jm
Iedo ja jitókome ta~~i~~nede, *jm* j~~ii~~
ua daaje izoi *jm*
ar~~i~~ moo tá~~i~~j~~i~~e y~~ii~~note. *jm* jm
Iedo ja r~~i~~ngoza ab~~i~~na onode, *jm*
~~i~~ima ab~~i~~na onode, *jm* jm
ja zibe nite *jm* jm
ta~~i~~ngo f~~i~~noye, *jm*
yomej~~i~~ f~~i~~noye, *jm* jm
juar~~i~~ f~~i~~noye. *jm* jm
Ie izoi eróikano ja
ja jitókome daaje izoi, *jm* jm
ja n~~ii~~ rafue oni moo komék~~i~~mona ie y~~ii~~noga. *jm*
R~~i~~ngoza d~~i~~bene ei komék~~i~~mona ie ogafue *jm* jm
ebíruite, *jm* jm
ebíruite, *jm* jm
f~~i~~bide. *jm* jm

[iii]

Moo izoide ei izoide *jm*
da~~i~~nafue. *jm* jm
Ja~~i~~gab~~i~~ f~~i~~nuana onode, *jm* j~~ii~~
juiñoi uétajana onode, *jm* jm
k~~i~~nai niyana onode, *jm* jm
ie j~~i~~fai jóoiyena, *jm*
ie j~~i~~faiño jóoiyena. *jm* jm
J~~i~~fai agaiye re~~i~~e ote, *jm* jm
ie j~~i~~fai jiroye ja~~i~~noi ote. *jm* jm *jm* jm
Jiere komuide, *jm* jm
daaje izoi ~~i~~ima. *jm* jm

Ieri éikome jiyode, *jm*
eir~~i~~ngo jiyode, *jm* jm
ja~~i~~énik~~i~~ jiyode. *jm* j~~ii~~
N~~ii~~ ~~i~~nogafue- *jm*
-na it~~i~~no, *jm* j~~ii~~
uafue da~~i~~nano, *jm* jm
fééiñeite rafue *jm* jm
~~i~~fueriyena. *jm* jm

Ie izóikana oni
ñúe ua monáitakana uiga. *jm* j~~ii~~
Daaje izoi r~~i~~ngoza d~~i~~bene, *jm* j~~ii~~

oni ñúe tá~~ɨ~~j~~ɨ~~ena monaide. *jm* jm
Ik~~ɨ~~riyafuena onóiñede, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
gugúfuena onóiñede. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
N~~ɨɨ~~ ie ik~~ɨ~~riya dá~~ɨ~~itana, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 120
ie j~~ɨ~~fai juiñoina jirótate, *jm*
r~~ɨ~~ngoza *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
j~~ɨ~~faiño jirótate, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
j~~ɨ~~faiño ana ta~~ɨ~~ngo zota jóonete, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
íeri ka~~ɨ~~mare guite, *jm* jm 125
j~~ɨ~~faiño guite, j~~ɨ~~fai guite. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

[II]

Ie izóikano jae yoga, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ka~~ɨ~~mo birui afeno mei iñede. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Iténiad~~ɨ~~ ñúe k~~ɨ~~oide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
iténiad~~ɨ~~ kakana. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 130
Ak~~ɨ~~ ñuera úai féeiya meino *jm*
iéñede uaido birui jáaid~~ɨ~~ka~~ɨ~~, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
iéñede uaina kakád~~ɨ~~ka~~ɨ~~, *jm* jm
íeri meáidait~~ɨ~~ka~~ɨ~~. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

Ie mei jae ak~~ɨ~~ d~~ɨ~~nori meáidaiyafue iñede, *jm* jm 135
uafue ka~~ɨ~~ da~~ɨ~~nano, *jm* jm
be yoga úrue, *jm* jm
yetaka jitókome, *jm* jm
fui ie úrue yoy~~ɨ~~fuena ite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
r~~ɨ~~ngoza yoy~~ɨ~~fuena ite, *jm* jm 140
ab~~ɨ~~na onode. *jm* jm
N~~ɨɨ~~ jíibina úai d~~ɨ~~ona uaido káadoga jizákuru, *jm*
káadoga r~~ɨ~~ngoza. *jm* jm
Jae *jm*
akie izóikana uzút~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~ yote, *jm* 145
birui daaje uaido jíibie ka~~ɨ~~ dúa jira
ak~~ɨ~~ d~~ɨ~~no akie izoi ka~~ɨ~~ yoga. *jm*
Buu iéñede dan~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~e
jae komuiya jíibina úriya,
d~~ɨ~~ona úriya. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 150
J~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~e buu ie ka~~ɨ~~ oñena,
id~~ɨ~~ úai mei féeiya jira
bie izóikano mei ka~~ɨ~~ komédɨka~~ɨ~~, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ka~~ɨ~~ komédɨka~~ɨ~~. *jm*
N~~ɨ~~eze dan~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~ úai féeitait~~ɨ~~ka~~ɨ~~, *jm* 155
n~~ɨ~~eze dan~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~ ta~~ɨ~~no ka~~ɨ~~ uibiri. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

Ie jira jaka mei ua ñuera raa
ua fui ba~~ɨ~~na ñúe ite íad~~ɨ~~ ak~~ɨ~~ da~~ɨ~~i bite. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Id~~ɨ~~ uaido mei bie ka~~ɨ~~ jíibie ka~~ɨ~~ duga íad~~ɨ~~ mei
ua kakáñena, *jm* 160

oni monáiñede kɨóñena. *jm*
Iadɨ mei ja fɨɨa uáfuena jáaite *jm*
kaɨ komékɨmona,
buu komékɨñede,
kaɨ mei nɨɨ kaɨ ua 165
afénona jitáidɨkaɨ. *jm*
Ie jira jaka mei
fui nɨnomo, dáɨinide, nɨ́nodo mei jaka itɨkaɨ, *jm* jɨɨ
féeiñede kaɨ jae uzútɨaɨ duga jíibie dɨona, *jm*
féeiñede afe úai. *jm* jɨɨ 170

Ie jira mei
akie izóikana ite
mei ñuéfuemo dúuide, *jm* jm
ikɨ́rafuemo dúuiñede, *jm* jɨɨ
ua nɨnomo jɨaɨ baɨ batɨ́nomo itɨkaɨ, dáɨinide *jm* jɨɨ 175
jaka ua kaɨ komédɨkaɨ úriya jíibina, dɨona, juzítofe, farékatofe, mazákarɨ ua,
ie naɨédɨkaɨ. *jm*
Nɨeze mei féeite, *jm*
féeiñede. *jm* jɨɨ

Akie izóikano 180
itɨno bie
mei fia uaina ite, daɨna abɨna mei
nɨno kaɨmo iya. *jm*
Uaina iñédeniadɨ, fia uáidenia kɨóñena. *jm* jɨɨ
Ieri ióbitɨkaɨita mei úritɨkaɨ, *jm* jɨɨ 185
úrue komuiya jira,
ei nabai komuiya jira. *jm*
Akɨ uaido jíibie kaɨ duyena
mei dutɨkaɨ *jm* jm
kaɨmare, *jm* jm 190
iñede nɨfuena,
fɨénide uaina iñede. *jm* jm
Akɨ dɨnomo ñúe kaɨ komekɨ arɨ dúkɨizaɨbide. *jm* jm

Ie jira mei
ua, mei ua, féeireitɨkue úriyaita 195
kue onóiñeiri, *jm* jɨɨ
oni ua abɨna onódɨkue. *jm*
Iémona mei nɨno ana batɨ́ íteita,
kaifo bene íteita nɨɨe mei bie énɨemo iya. *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
Ua iémona oni batɨno mei taɨno uaina ite, *jm* jɨɨ 200
oni batɨ́nomo iñede. *jm* jɨɨ
Kaɨ nano kaɨ komédɨkaɨ iyado mei afeɨe ua kaɨ uikaga. *jm* jɨɨ
Nana ua íeita, oni batɨ́nomo ite, ó baɨ batɨno ua rafue ite, daɨde;
iñede, *jm* jɨɨ

baɨna taɨno. *jm* jɨɨ
Meita bie uáitajano danɨ
ua jenódɨkaɨnia mei
jɨáɨena íteita mei kaɨ bairi, *jm* jɨɨ
iñede. *jm* jm

Iadɨ danɨ ua raana kaɨ maménoiadɨ, mei raana ite. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie mei ua kaɨ jamáiruiadɨ mei
jaka jɨaɨ afe uaina onóñedɨkaɨ. *jm* jm
Meita fui baɨ batɨno mɨnɨka mei urúiaɨmo yóitɨkaɨ, *jm* jɨɨ
mɨnɨ́kado urúiaɨ yétaitɨkaɨ. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie jira jitáirede,
ua ebírede. *jm* jm
Akie izóikano
mei ñúe kaɨ úai ite. *jm* jm

Meita janáɨñede, *jm* jm
ua janáɨdɨnona iñede. *jm* jm
Oni batɨ́ jɨáɨmɨe daaje yote, *jm*
jɨáɨmɨe daaje yote, *jm*
mei daaje ie, *jm* jɨɨ
daaje jíibina úai dɨona úai. *jm* jɨɨ
Iedo mei taɨjɨ́kana jáaide, íedo mei ua
komúikana jáaide, *jm* jɨɨ
jíibina komuide, úrue jɨaɨ komuide. *jm* jɨɨ
Nɨno mei ua jafue kaɨ fɨnoite, *jm* jɨɨ
iñede. *jm* jm

Afénona oni
mei ja ua zairíkana jáaide ua jiónaikana jáaide. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie jira ñuera ɨko bie úai daɨnano mei jae ua
afeno imakɨ ua
ua nɨkɨ́dokana atɨka. *jm* jm
Ua jino ie úrue komuiya ióbiyano
éikome daɨi úrite, *jm* jɨɨ
úrue ñúe komúiyari eirɨngo ióbita,
akie uaido úrite. *jm* jm
Urúiaɨ ɨnɨ́tajano kaɨmare jíibie fɨnode,
úhuride,
zuitárakɨ. *jm*
Nɨɨ mei ua
jɨ́ɨrafuena itɨno. *jm* jɨɨ
Akie izoide. *jm* jm

Text 10

"On the Source of Strength"

*Máɨriena itɨno úai*

[i]

Máɨriena itɨno
jenode. *jm* jm
Ie jira
ua nɨɨe mei máɨrie uaina iya
daɨnano *jm*
jenoka. *jm* jm
Ie jira raa
jetádɨmɨe jaka ua
máɨrie jóonega. *jm* jɨɨ
Nɨɨ máɨriena itɨno
yeráberona iya, *jm*
máɨriena itɨno
ɨáikongona iya, *jm* jɨɨ
jíibizomana iya. *jm* jm

Rɨngo dɨbene máɨriena itɨno
táɨngona iya, *jm*
iyɨko iya, *jm*
júiñoibi iya, *jm* jm
roziyɨ iya, *jm*
jɨrɨ́kojɨ iya, *jm* jm *jm* jm
nɨɨ ua máɨrie. *jm* jm
Iedo ja maménote, *jm* jɨɨ
airɨ́rokɨ uáfuena ite, *jm* jm *jm*
amena tɨ́iafuena ite, *jm* jm
máɨriena itɨno. *jm* jm *jm* jm
Nɨɨ rɨngoza ie máɨrie dɨbene *jm*
aiyɨ yoina. *jm* jm
Ie mei ɨ́ima dɨbene máɨrie
aiyɨ yoina. *jm* jm

Ie jira naaga raa

jaka fia uaido
maménoñega. *jm* jm
Fia uaido maménoga *jm*
féekode, *jm* j~~ii~~
baiñede. *jm* jm 35
Ie jira jae jenoka, *jm*
iya eróikana *jm* j~~ii~~
má~~i~~riena ite. *jm* jm
Ie nimánota
guiyánona ja 40
ja ua tá~~i~~j~~i~~yena. *jm* j~~ii~~

Méerede rokánote, *jm* j~~ii~~
jiérede amena t~~i~~ede, *jm* jm
r~~í~~irede air~~í~~rok~~i~~ ote, *jm* jm
baie mei má~~i~~rie, *jm* jm 45
d~~i~~ona má~~i~~rie, *jm*
juzítofe má~~i~~rie, *jm*
jíibina má~~i~~rie, *jm*
farékatofe má~~i~~rie. *jm* j~~ii~~
Raa jetaja úai, *jm* jm 50
fíañede, *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* jm
méerena jira, *jm* jm
jetanina jira. *jm* jm jm *jm*
Ie jirari
ak~~i~~ dá~~i~~itana jira *jm* jm 55
jae jenoka. *jm* jm
N~~ii~~ raa jetád~~i~~m~~i~~e, *jm*
n~~ii~~ ma~~i~~rídi~~i~~m~~i~~e, *jm*
n~~ii~~ onód~~i~~m~~i~~e, *jm* j~~ii~~
raa f~~í~~nuana *jm* j~~ii~~ 60
tá~~i~~j~~i~~ana onode, *jm* j~~ii~~ jm *jm*
r~~i~~ngoza *jm*
~~í~~ima *jm*
daaje izoi. *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* jm
[ii]
Ie jira afedo urúia~~i~~ j~~i~~a~~i~~ ma~~i~~ride, *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* j~~ii~~ 65
jiyode, *jm*
guiteza *jm*
jiéruite. *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* j~~ii~~
N~~ii~~ ua moo má~~i~~rie, *jm* j~~ii~~
eiño má~~i~~rie. *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* j~~ii~~ 70
Nóoide r~~i~~ngoza, *jm*
nóoide jitókome, *jm* j~~ii~~
afe emodo *jm* jm
má~~i~~rie ote, *jm* j~~ii~~
jiere komúiyena, *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~ *jm* j~~ii~~ 75

ráiraɨe iñede, *jm* jm
ñuefue *jm*
uáirede. *jm* jm
Rɨngoza komekɨ ñuera, *jm* jɨɨ
kaɨmárede, *jm* jm 80
ba ie máɨrie. *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jm

Nɨɨ ua máɨrie, *jm* jm jm *jm* jm
jujɨ raa jetade, *jm* jɨɨ
aféɨedo *jm*
jiérede, *jm* jm 85
ráiraɨfuena onóñede, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ *jm*
yikɨfuena onóñede. *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm*
Mei jiyode, *jm*
ióbite, *jm* jm
guiteza, *jm* jm 90
jirode, *jm*
jíibie dute, *jm*
yera mete, *jm* jɨɨ
íedo *jm*
raiñode, *jm* jɨɨ 95
atɨde, *jm* jm *jm* jm
uáfuena jáaide. *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jm *jm*
[iii]
Akie izoide, *jm* jɨɨ *jm*
abɨdo taɨno, *jm* jm
nɨɨ ua máɨrie, *jm* jm 100
moo jenoka, *jm*
eiño jenoka, *jm* jɨɨ
baiga. *jm* jm
Akíedo ja urukɨ jiyótaite, *jm*
akíedo ja urúiaɨ komekɨ zúuitaite, *jm* 105
daɨnano. *jm* jm jm *jm* jm *jm*
Nana ráiñede, *jm*
akɨ dɨnómona *jm*
afe uaido *jm* jɨɨ
ráiñede, *jm* 110
daɨnano. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie iñéniadɨ *jm*
abɨ jafueide, *jm*
komekɨ úriñede, *jm*
táɨnona úrite, *jm* 115
daɨnano. *jm* jɨɨ
Akie izoide. *jm* jm

Iedo jofo bite *jm* jm *jm*
reɨrúngona itɨno, *jm*

rao bite, *jm* jm 120
ñotáofe bite, *jm* j~~ii~~
gur~~ɨ~~ofe bite, *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm*
raa jetade, *jm*
guite, *jm*
ma~~ɨ~~ride, *jm* 125
rá~~ɨ~~ide, *jm* j~~ii~~
~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ñede, *jm*
úhuride, *jm*
jenode, *jm* jm
monáitakana uite, *jm* jm *jm* 130
iedo jaka guite, *jm* jm jm *jm* jm
káadoga. *jm* jm jm *jm*
Neemei *jm* jm
uáfuena jáaiñeite, *jm*
dá~~ɨ~~inide, *jm* j~~ii~~ 135
uáfuena jáaite. *jm* jm
Naama ua jetaka *jm*
má~~ɨ~~riedo, *jm* j~~ii~~
fia uáiñede, *jm* j~~ii~~
ráira~~ɨ~~e uáiñede, *jm* 140
zuufue uáiñede, *jm*
yik~~ɨ~~fue uáiñede. *jm* j~~ii~~
Neemei *jm*
íena jáaiñeite, *jm*
koko dá~~ɨ~~iri, *jm* 145
dá~~ɨ~~inide. *jm* j~~ii~~

Bik~~ɨ~~ komék~~ɨ~~do, *jm* j~~ii~~
má~~ɨ~~riedo, *jm*
jenoka, *jm*
baiga, *jm* 150
at~~ɨ~~ka, *jm*
monaide, *jm*
nana. *jm* j~~ii~~
Ieri urúia~~ɨ~~ jiyode, *jm*
r~~ɨ~~ngoza jiyode, *jm* j~~ii~~ 155
nabai jiyode, *jm* j~~ii~~
akie izoide. *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~
[iv]
Urue úriyaita, *jm* j~~ii~~
koni éikome úriya, *jm*
éikome komek~~ɨ~~ *jm* 160
úriya *jm*
jino bá~~ɨ~~ide, *jm* j~~ii~~
oni jenoka, *jm*
raa baiga. *jm* j~~ii~~

Onóiyano, *jm* 165
iya jira *jm*
yoga, *jm* j~~ii~~
n~~i~~eze uáfuena jáaiñeite. *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~
Akie izoide *jm* j~~ii~~
nabed~~i~~ úai *jm* 170
zuitaja *jm*
yezika, *jm*
jaka n~~i~~nomo, *jm* j~~ii~~
jiyák~~i~~mo ite. *jm*
Iemo erókaide *jm* 175
úai *jm*
ak~~i~~ n~~ii~~a *jm*
da~~i~~de, *jm*
moo komek~~i~~, *jm*
eiño komek~~i~~, *jm* j~~ii~~ 180
monáitate, *jm*
k~~i~~ona. *jm* j~~ii~~

Bie, *jm* j~~ii~~
onide da~~i~~nano kue oga, *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~
ar~~i~~ at~~i~~nide, *jm* j~~ii~~ 185
daama komek~~i~~ ua ka~~i~~máfuemo dúuide. *jm* j~~ii~~
Meita ak~~i~~ d~~i~~nomo zúufuena iñede, *jm* j~~ii~~
uibíra~~i~~a~~i~~na iñede, *jm* j~~ii~~
já~~i~~k~~i~~na *jm*
eroide, *jm* j~~ii~~ 190
koni j~~i~~faide, *jm* j~~ii~~
koni jenode. *jm* j~~ii~~
Ak~~i~~k~~i~~ komék~~i~~do, *jm* j~~ii~~
moo komek~~i~~ *jm* eiño komek~~i~~, *jm*
yezika 195
erókaide, *jm* jm
urúia~~i~~ri j~~i~~rídote, *jm*
ebire *jm*
bá~~i~~fene
jíyuafue, *jm* 200
~~i~~fueriya, *jm*
guiyáfue- *jm* j~~ii~~
-na it~~i~~no. *jm* j~~ii~~

Ie jira *jm*
onide *jm* 205
bie izoide, *jm*
ja yoy~~i~~fuena
f~~i~~ébite, *jm*
yoy~~i~~fuena

ite. *jm* j~~ii~~ 210
Neemei *jm*
iñede, *jm*
koko dá~~ii~~ri. *jm* j~~ii~~
Buumo dúuiñede, *jm*
éikomemo dúuide, *jm* 215
n~~ii~~ úai ra~~ii~~, *jm*
urúia~~i~~na da~~i~~na. *jm* j~~ii~~
Akie izoide *jm*
úai *jm*
bie izóikana *jm* 220
ar~~i~~
zúuide. *jm*

Text 11

"Word for Preparing Tobacco" (excerpts)

*D~~ɨ~~ona f~~ɨ~~nua úai*

Mei d~~ɨ~~ona
    ua f~~ɨ~~nua úai
    ua afe yezika mei afeno yoga.  *j~~ɨɨ~~* jm
Ua ñúe f~~ɨ~~noka,  *jm* jm
    ñúe uétaga.  *jm* jm
Ie ja ua
    manánaitaga.  *jm* jm
. . . . . .

Ja d~~ɨ~~nori ua
    ja ~~ɨ~~aina
    ja ua jofo at~~ɨ~~ka.  *jm* jm
At~~ɨ~~anona ja jobaika,  *jm* jm
    jobáiyanona ja manánaite.  *jm* jm
Da~~ɨ~~i ñetá ja ua daiga.  *jm* jm
Ie yezika ja ua
    kokuide  *jm* jm
    ~~ɨ~~áikomo.  *jm* jm
Kokuide ja ua
    náaide.  *jm* jm
Ja náaide ja ua
    na~~ɨ~~ afe yezika uzírede.  *jm*
Ie jira ja manánaitaga.  *jm* jm
. . . . . .

Ja jíibie at~~ɨ~~da ua bée~~ɨ~~de ua bée~~ɨ~~de,  *jm*
    uzírede.  *jm* jm
Uzírede ja ua bée~~ɨ~~ka
    ja ua kaigaide,
    ja ua n~~ɨ~~nomo ñúe  *jm*
    ka~~ɨ~~mare ua kaigaide.  *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Ie ua

ja ua guaga. *jm* jm
Guájanona ja
nane meine dano
ɨmuizaɨ jobaide. *jm* jm
Jobaida nɨnomo ja ua
ua dúuiñeitena eroide, *jm* jm
ua jare kɨoide. *jm* jm
Ie dúuide manánaite
afena ja ɨmúiñoga. *jm* jm
. . . . . .

Yezika ja ua baie ua
yerako ero *jm*
ja ɨéredɨno ja birɨnote. *jm* jm
Birɨnuano ja ñoráɨnote. *jm*
Ñoráɨnuanona ja
jíibizoma fuemo jutade. *jm*
Jutádemo ua naɨmérede ua kaɨmárede *jm* jɨɨ
ua komekɨ zuitade, *jm*
jiyode. *jm* jm
Akɨ dɨnomo
ja ua
ie jagɨyɨ ua
manaɨde, naɨmérede. *jm* jɨɨ
. . . . . .

Dɨona manánaitaja ua jíibina manánaitaja jagɨyɨ *jm* jm
ja jɨɨrafuena ja ua yɨɨnoga *jm*
komékɨmo,
dɨona jagɨyɨ, jíibina jagɨyɨ. *jm* jm
Iedo jizákuru
ja ua uzínaia *jm*
afe jɨɨrado ja jɨɨka, *jm*
dɨrɨmabido fuuka. *jm* jm

Text 12

"Tobacco Word on Cooling Down"

*D~~ɨ~~ona manánaiye úai yoiye*

Ie jira ja
eiño manánaiya úai, *jm*
moo manánaiya úai. *jm* jm *jm*
Ie yezika ja ua
ja júiñoibina manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~ 5
yeráberona manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
jíibizomana manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~ jm *jm* jm *jm* jm
ja ua úrue manánaite. *jm* j~~ii~~
Ie yezika ja biko manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
ja ua bín~~ɨ~~e manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~ 10
yezika *jm* j~~ii~~
ja nana *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm*
uruk~~ɨ~~ manánaite, *jm* jm *jm*
ja~~ɨ~~énik~~ɨ~~ manánaite. *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm* jm

Ie jira *jm* 15
ja uzírede, *jm* j~~ii~~
uzírena yezika *jm*
aruire úrite *jm*
úai, *jm*
dénua. *jm* j~~ii~~ 20
Ie yezika *jm*
arúirede úai *jm* j~~ii~~
jaka n~~ɨ~~nomo, *jm* j~~ii~~
re~~ɨ~~k~~ɨ~~ uaina ite, *jm* j~~ii~~ *jm*
raa yaroka uaina ite. *jm* j~~ii~~ 25
Yezika janá~~ɨ~~deza, *jm* j~~ii~~
na~~ɨ~~ mananai yezika *jm*
rairúirede. *jm* j~~ii~~

~~Ɨ~~na jabe *jm* j~~ii~~
da~~ɨ~~nano, *jm* 30

mozíñokana at~~ɨ~~de, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
fúukana at~~ɨ~~de, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
úrue jirótaye. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Ie jirode, *jm*
úrue ~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~yena, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 35
mana~~ɨ~~de jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
zuitade, *jm*
n~~ɨ~~nomo *jm*
zúuijikaide, *jm*
biko manánaite, *jm* 40
bín~~ɨ~~e manánaite. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Yezika *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ka~~ɨ~~mare *jm*
aiñode, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
zúuide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 45
Yezika
n~~ɨ~~nomo *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
jaka ka~~ɨ~~mare, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
zúuide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
iya jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 50
manánaiya jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~, *jm*
na~~ɨ~~ménaiya jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Iena
n~~ɨ~~nomo
zúuide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 55

Ie yezika
uruk~~ɨ~~ jiyode, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
moo manánaiya *jm*
yezika
uruk~~ɨ~~ manánaite. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 60
Nana *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
d~~ɨ~~ona komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
manánaite, *jm*
jíibina komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
manánaite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 65
farékaj~~ɨ~~ komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
na~~ɨ~~ménaite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
juzítofe komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
manánaite,
mazákar~~ɨ~~ komek~~ɨ~~ *jm* 70
manánaite. j~~ɨɨ~~
Nabed~~ɨ~~ *jm*
j~~ɨɨ~~ra
zuitade, *jm*
moo, eiño. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~ *jm* 75
Iékoni

nana manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
roziy~~ɨ~~ komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
na~~ɨ~~ménaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
akie izoide *jm* j~~ii~~ 80
j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~koy~~ɨ~~ komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
na~~ɨ~~ménaite, *jm*
jífikue komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
na~~ɨ~~ménaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
ibina. *jm* jm jm *jm* jm *jm* jm 85
Iékoni *jm*
jiyode, *jm* j~~ii~~
n~~ɨ~~nomo *jm* j~~ii~~
jae manánaiñede, *jm* j~~ii~~
ie mei manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~ 90
juyékori manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
nogora~~ɨ~~ manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
zibe manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
nana *jm*
manánaite, 95
ñúe. *jm* j~~ii~~

Ie yezika bín~~ɨe~~ jírueni, *jm* j~~ii~~
íemo manánaite, *jm*
uruk~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~mare n~~ɨ~~nomo jafírioide, *jm* j~~ii~~
n~~ɨ~~nomo ~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~rioide, *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~ 100
komek~~ɨ~~ zúuide, *jm* j~~ii~~
moo komek~~ɨ~~ *jm*
zúuide, *jm*
eiño komek~~ɨ~~
zúuide. *jm* j~~ii~~ 105
Ie izóikana *jm*
manánaite, *jm* j~~ii~~
nana *jm*
manánaite, *jm*
dáam~~ɨe~~ komék~~ɨ~~mona *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~ 110
jírue
jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ *jm*
zuitade,
r~~ɨ~~érue
jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ 115
zuitade, *jm* j~~ii~~
uafue
kom~~ɨ~~n~~ɨ~~ *jm*
komuiya *jm*
jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ 120
zuitade. *jm* j~~ii~~
Iékoni *jm*

nɨnomo *jm*
manánaite, *jm* jɨɨ
arɨ 125
monaide, *jm* jɨɨ
arɨ
ñuéfuena
zúuide, *jm*
arɨ ñuéfuena 130
naɨménaite. *jm* jɨɨ

Idɨ urúkɨdɨkaɨ, *jm*
íeri kaɨ mai nɨeze kaɨ jiyóitɨkaɨ, *jm* jɨɨ
jíyua rafue ite. *jm* jɨɨ
Arɨ 135
uu fuuka
manánaite, *jm* jɨɨ
moo
uieko
manánaite, *jm* 140
eiño
uieko
manánaite, *jm* jɨɨ
manánaiya jagɨyɨ *jm*
zuitade. *jm* jɨɨ 145
Ie yezika
nɨnomo *jm*
bire *jm*
zúuide *jm*
jagɨyɨ 150
jiyákɨmo *jm*
arɨ
zúuide, *jm* jɨɨ
moo jagɨyɨ, *jm*
eiño jagɨyɨ, *jm* jɨɨ 155
eiño ráɨiya, *jm*
moo ráɨiya, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
komuiya buinaima, *jm*
daɨna, *jm*
moo mamekɨ, *jm* 160
eiño mamekɨ, *jm*
komɨ́nɨiño, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
komɨ́nɨiño
jagɨyɨ *jm*
zuitade. *jm* jɨɨ 165

Ie yezika *jm*
nɨnomo *jm*

uákona
j~~ɨɨ~~ide. *jm*
Ie yezika 170
n~~ɨ~~nomo
dá~~ɨɨ~~zaina
izoi
jofomo ikúrina biko j~~ɨɨ~~ide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Nabéfuena *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 175
mózikaide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
nabéfuena
j~~ɨɨ~~jikaide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

Akie izoi *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
jabe uruk~~ɨ~~ komuite, *jm* 180
ja moo da~~ɨ~~de, *jm*
eiño da~~ɨ~~de. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
Akie izoi
jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~na
k~~ɨ~~okaide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 185
Akie izoi
ñuéfuena
k~~ɨ~~okaide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~
Ie jira nabéfuena
moo maménua *jm* 190
zuitade
komuiya
jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~. *jm*
Akie izoide.

Text 13

"Invocation for the Child Who Sleeps Restlessly" (excerpt)

*Urue arúizifuenaiya jɨɨra*

Iemo eróidemo ja ua
úrue ua dano aruire ɨnɨde. *jm* jɨɨ 20
Ɨnɨde, ie jira, bie ua
nɨno bedáɨitana, daɨde. *jm* jm
Daɨnánona ja ua
jáɨnoibi atɨri, daɨde, *jm* jɨɨ
dɨrɨ́mabi, daɨde. *jm* jm 25
Atɨda ja ua
ja dɨnori ja mei dano
jɨɨra fakade. *jm* jm *jm* jm *jm* jm

Ie jira mei ua
ja fakade. *jm* jm 30
Kaɨ mei ua
komuiya ua ikuri, *jm* jm
ie ua rɨbei. *jm* jm
Afeno eiño dɨrɨ́maiño ibe, *jm*
dɨrɨ́mabe, *jɨɨ* jɨɨ 35
ie jagɨyɨ ja zuitade. *jm* jm

[jɨɨra]

Eiño komuiya ikurimo
Eiño rɨbei moziñokaiyanona
Iekoni eiño dɨrɨmai i-ibena
Faɨribina ibina mozikaide 40
Eiño jaibikɨiño jagɨyɨna
Kue mameridoɨga
. . . . . .

Text 14

"Word on the Harvesting Mother"

*Eiño ofiya úai yoiye*

[I]

D~~ɨ~~nomo
eiño mei ofíra~~ɨ~~ño, *jm* jm
ofíra~~ɨ~~ño da~~ɨ~~na mamek~~ɨ~~. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~
Dánomo at~~ɨ~~de, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ofítate, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 5
~~ɨ~~ra~~ɨ~~de, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
iga~~ɨ~~mo. *jm* jm jm
Eiño moniño iga~~ɨ~~, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ofiraga~~ɨ~~, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
d~~ɨ~~ga raa *jm* 10
tubúr~~ɨ~~na ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
jakáizairaina ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
dunágo~~ɨ~~na ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~
jífikodona ofide, *jm*
jizáidona ofide, *jm* 15
j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~́kodona ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
ofítara~~ɨ~~ngo, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
~~ɨ~~rá~~ɨ~~ra~~ɨ~~ngo. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~
D~~ɨ~~ga raa, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
urágo~~ɨ~~na ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ 20
ch~~ɨ~~k~~ɨ~~pírana ofide, *jm*
tubúj~~ɨ~~na ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
j~~ɨ~~́dokuiñoir~~ɨ~~na ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~
uáj~~ɨ~~na ofide. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

Ofíra~~ɨ~~ño *jm* 25
k~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~ga~~ɨ~~ *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
d~~ɨ~~ga *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
riga ri *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
riyena, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
komúitayena. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~ 30
D~~ɨ~~ga jaka júj~~ɨ~~na ofide, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

farékajɨna ofide, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
rozíyɨna ofide, *jm*
dɨga rozídoro *jm* jɨɨ
riyena, *jm* jɨɨ 35
dánomo *jm*
ofítate, *jm*
gaɨte. *jm* jm jm jm
Jífirungona jifítikoɨmo ofide, *jm*
ie kɨrɨgaɨ 40
moimo, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
dɨga raa, *jm* jm
eiño igaɨ, *jm*
ofíragaɨ, *jm*
ofíyaiño *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ 45
ie mameka. *jm* jɨɨ
Mɨzédona ofide, *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
mɨzérungona ite, *jm* jɨɨ
nana *jm*
dánomo *jm* 50
gaɨte. *jm*

Ie yezika *jm*
eiño ríjiya *jm* jɨɨ
riyaɨngo, *jm* jɨɨ
mazákarɨna ríjite, *jm* jɨɨ 55
komuide, *jm* jɨɨ
jifíjɨna komuide, *jm* jɨɨ
dánomo ie gaɨga. *jm* jɨɨ
Akɨ ifue *jm* jɨɨ
ofítaraɨngo *jm* 60
jenóraɨngo *jm* jɨɨ
komúitaraɨngo. *jm* jm
Ie izoi *jm*
fui *jm*
baɨ batɨno *jm* jɨɨ 65
úrue komuiyena, *jm* jɨɨ
úrue zairíyena, *jm* jɨɨ
úrue eróikana, *jm* jɨɨ
rikano *jm*
uite, *jm* jɨɨ 70
nana *jm* jɨɨ
baɨna jitai daɨnano, *jm* jɨɨ
iedo *jm*
eiño mamekɨ *jm* jɨɨ
riraɨngo *jm* jɨɨ 75
ofítaraɨngo. *jm* jm jm
Akie izoi *jm* jm

nana *jm*
mamékɨrede. *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ

Dɨnomo 80
eiño
ja
jakáizairaina *jm*
ja komúitate, *jm*
ja dunájɨna 85
komúitate, *jm* jɨɨ
ja ebire *jm*
komuide, *jm*
dano ofítaraɨngo, *jm* jɨɨ
aidóriraɨngo, *jm* jɨɨ 90
bonóriraɨngo, *jm* jɨɨ
uzíriraɨngo, *jm* jm
mei eiño mameka, *jm*
iedo
jaka ua 95
jɨáikɨna
komúikana
jáaide. *jm* jɨɨ
Jufáɨriraɨngo, *jm* jɨɨ
atɨraɨngo, *jm* jm jm 100
magajɨ ofide. *jm* jɨɨ
Dánomo jɨɨ *jm*
úrue eróikana *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
jenode, *jm* jɨɨ
riragaɨ *jm* 105
komuiya jiyakɨ, *jm* jm jm
ebire *jm*
nomédona ofide, *jm* jɨɨ
dɨga raa *jm* jɨɨ
eiño kɨrɨgaɨmo *jm* jɨɨ 110
ofide, *jm* jɨɨ
refíona *jm* jɨɨ
ofide. *jm* jɨɨ
Nana
o iya dɨeze *jm* jɨɨ 115
dánomo
gaɨte, *jm* jɨɨ
riyena, *jm* jɨɨ
riraɨngo *jm*
jieño. 120
[II]
Akie izoi *jm*
ite *jm*

úai
féeide, *jm*
ie jira jenoka, *jm* jm jm 125
nana *jm*
daaje fuedo. *jm* j~~ii~~
Iékoni eiño ja
ja jiyode. *jm* j~~ii~~
Ie izoi *jm* 130
fui
uaina *jm*
ja ua fakáyena, *jm* j~~ii~~
komúiyena, *jm*
jiyóiyena, *jm* 135
manánaiyena. *jm* j~~ii~~

Ja ar~~ɨ~~ *jm*
uáfuena, *jm*
ja eiño
k~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~ga~~ɨ~~ *jm* 140
ifena *jm*
ja ua
kuinaka, *jm* j~~ii~~ j~~ii~~
ab~~ɨ~~yena, *jm* jm jm
Nanoide 145
úrue *jm*
jizákuru *jm*
ab~~ɨ~~yena *jm*
jiyak~~ɨ~~ *jm*
komuide. *jm* j~~ii~~ 150
Akie izoi *jm* j~~ii~~
fuite *jm*
ar~~ɨ~~ *jm*
uábena. *jm*

Text 15

"Word on the Harvesting Father"

*Moo ófiraɨma ofiya úai*

[I]

Ua moo
dɨbénena itɨno. *jm* jm *jm*
Moo mei ófiraɨma *jm*
mameka, *jm*
ófiraɨma. *jm* jm jm *jm* jm *jm* 5
Dɨójɨna *jm*
ofide, *jm* jɨɨ *jm*
jíibina *jm*
ofide, *jm* jɨɨ *jm* jm
jíibibe *jm* 10
ofide, *jm*
dabérie, *jm* jɨɨ
aiyo ofide. *jm* jm *jm* jm
Moo jenode, *jm* jɨɨ
dánomo *jm* 15
atɨde, *jm* jm
jíibi-
-dozina
dɨtófede, *jm* jm
itófiaɨna *jm* jɨɨ 20
riga.
Moo dánomo *jm* jm
zeríyaima, *jm* jɨɨ
dɨona *jm*
zeriya *jm* 25
úai *jm*
yote, *jm* jm
yáiyairaɨma, *jm* jm jm
jútaraɨma, *jm*
fáiaraɨma. *jm* jm 30

Akie *jm*

izoi *jm* jm
dánomo *jm*
gaɨte, *jm* jɨɨ
juzíkuruna, *jm* 35
jíibikuruna *jm* jɨɨ
gaɨte. *jm* jɨɨ
Dɨnomo *jm*
moo
mamekɨ *jm* 40
gaɨraɨma, *jm*
ófiraɨma, *jm* jm
ie fɨ́noraɨma. *jm* jm jm jm *jm* jm
Moo eróikana, *jm* jɨɨ
dano *jm* 45
ɨaiño fɨnode, *jm* jɨɨ
dánomo dánomo gaɨte, *jm* jɨɨ
dánomo gaɨta, *jm*
jobaide, *jm* jɨɨ
dɨnori *jm* 50
moo mamekɨ
ófiraɨma. *jm* jɨɨ
Dɨnomo
moo mamekɨ
dairaɨma, *jm* jɨɨ 55
dairaɨma *jm* jɨɨ
ba ie mamekɨ, *jm* jɨɨ
ja baite. *jm* jɨɨ
Moo
dánomo *jm* 60
jobáiraɨma, *jm* jɨɨ
dánomo gaɨte, *jm* jɨɨ
jobáiraɨma *jm*
manánaita, *jm*
naɨmérede. *jm* 65

Daibira *jm*
fɨnode, *jm*
moo jɨɨ
ui daite, *jm* jɨɨ
ui kɨóiyena, *jm* jɨɨ 70
dánomo atɨde, *jm*
jenode, *jm* jɨɨ
dano baiyena, *jm* jɨɨ
mona nɨkaɨ, *jm* jɨɨ
naɨo nɨkaɨ *jm* jɨɨ 75
moo fɨnode. *jm* jɨɨ
Dáamɨe

ófiraɨma *jm*
jénua
yezika moo 80
baite. *jm* jɨɨ
Dɨga ijɨ *jm*
komuide,
dɨga uijɨ
fɨnode, *jm* jɨɨ 85
dɨga naɨraɨ
komúiyena *jm* jɨɨ jɨɨ
jiyakɨ *jm*
jenode,
jɨfaide. *jm* jm 90

Ja dɨona jutaja yezika *jm* jɨɨ
eroide, *jm*
káadote, *jm*
fɨmáirite, *jm*
moo ófiraɨma *jm* 95
fɨmáirite. *jm*
Ie yezika
moo
jaka nɨnomo
biko jiyákɨmo 100
ui zúuide, *jm*
jefo kakaide, *jm* jɨɨ
dáakɨdo jenode. *jm* jɨɨ
Moo komekɨ *jm*
uakɨ, *jm* jɨɨ 105
yonérakɨ, *jm*
jafíraikɨ, *jm*
zegóraikɨ, *jm* jɨɨ
zuitáraikɨ. *jm* jm jm

Fɨnode *jm* 110
nabéfuena,
riárokɨ komuiya *jm*
jiyakɨ *jm*
erókaide. *jm*
Ie izoi *jm* 115
fui
urukɨ komuite, *jm*
jizákuru komuite, *jm*
ikɨ komuite *jm*
daɨnano. *jm* 120
Dánomo *jm*
moo

fɨnode *jm*
ófiraɨma *jm*
úriya 125
úai. *jm* jm
[II]
Akie izoi *jm* jm
neemei kaɨ komúiñeite, *jm* jɨɨ
neemei kaɨ
raana itɨno *jm* 130
féeide, *jm*
koko dáɨiri, *jm*
féeiñede. *jm* jɨɨ
Eiño ofíraɨño dánomo gaɨte, *jm*
moo ófiraɨma dánomo gaɨte, *jm* jɨɨ 135
urukɨ komuiya jiyakɨ *jm*
taɨnede. *jm* jɨɨ
Neemei
afeno *jm*
fɨébite, *jm* 140
kaɨ dáɨiri, *jm*
fɨébiñede. *jm* jɨɨ

Iedo
moo
nana 145
mamékɨna
onode, *jm*
eiño
ofíraɨño *jm*
onode, *jm* jɨɨ 150
fɨnuana, *jm* jɨɨ
komúitajana *jm*
onode. *jm* jɨɨ
Ie izoi *jm*
arɨ 155
jizákuru kaɨ komúitate *jm*
uaina
ja
fɨébite, *jm*
ñúe 160
arɨ *jm*
monaide.
Akɨ dɨnori
fuite *jm*
ibena. *jm* 165

Text 16

"How We Were Formed by the Word of Tobacco and Coca" (excerpts)

*D~~ɨ~~ona uaido jíibina uaido ar~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~ mózia~~ɨ~~biya úai yoina*

Ua bite, bite, bite, ua
afénori ja ua nabed~~ɨ~~ jíibina komuide, *jm*
nabed~~ɨ~~ farékatofe komuide, *jm*
nabed~~ɨ~~ mazákar~~ɨ~~ komuide. *jm*
Ie mei ja afedo
ie úiñoye, *jm* jm
fueñe komuide jíibina ab~~ɨ~~ri ja
j~~ɨɨ~~ra fakade, *jm*
fueñe komuide d~~ɨ~~ona ab~~ɨ~~ri ja
j~~ɨɨ~~ra fakade, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
fueñe komuide farékatofe ab~~ɨ~~ri j~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~
j~~ɨɨ~~ra fakade, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
mazákar~~ɨ~~ ab~~ɨ~~ri
j~~ɨɨ~~ra fakade. *jm* jm jm
Ie jenuiza~~ɨ~~ baiyena, *jm* jm
d~~ɨ~~ona jenuiza~~ɨ~~ baiyena, *jm*
jíibina jenuiza~~ɨ~~ baiyena, *jm* jm
farékatofe jenuiza~~ɨ~~ baiyena, *jm* jm
mazákar~~ɨ~~ jenuiza~~ɨ~~ baiyena, *jm* jm
afena k~~ɨ~~óiyena. *jm* jm jm
Ie jira
ua jenókano uite, *jm*
ja jíibina káadote, d~~ɨ~~ona káadote, ja
farékatofe káadote, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
mazákar~~ɨ~~ káadote, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~
onóakade *jm* jm
afénona. *jm* jm
Iedo
ja ua afénona onode, *jm* jm
ja ua d~~ɨ~~ona j~~ɨ́ɨ~~rana kakade, *jm*
jíibina j~~ɨ́ɨ~~rana kakade, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~
farékatofe j~~ɨ́ɨ~~rana kakade, *jm*

mazákar~~ɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~rana kakade. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

. . . . . .

Ñénid~~ɨ~~nomona ar~~ɨ~~

ua ja kakana úai

fia be da~~ɨ~~i yoga. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~ 105

Iena mei onóñed~~ɨ~~m~~ɨ~~e ta~~ɨ~~no da~~ɨ~~de, *jm* jm

da~~ɨ~~na ab~~ɨ~~na úa raana ite mei uaina ite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~na ite, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~

ua raana it~~ɨ~~no. *jm* jm jm

Iena ím~~ɨ~~e baitade, 110

ím~~ɨ~~e ziiño *jm*

da~~ɨ~~nana eroide, *jm*

zíiñoñede, *jm*

baitáñede; *jm* jm

fia jíibina ie f~~ɨ~~maiya úai, *jm* 115

d~~ɨ~~ona ie f~~ɨ~~maiya úai. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~ j~~ɨɨ~~

. . . . . .

Meita d~~ɨ~~nori j~~ɨɨ~~ra fakáiad~~ɨ~~, 175

moo, da~~ɨ~~de, *jm*

oni eiño, da~~ɨ~~de, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

ar~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~ komúitakano at~~ɨ~~de, *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

ar~~ɨ~~ ka~~ɨ~~ jag~~ɨ~~y~~ɨ~~ móonaitakano at~~ɨ~~de. *jm* j~~ɨɨ~~

Ie izóikano ite 180

moo ibe uabe, eiño ibe uabe. *jm*

# Appendix 5

## PLANT AND ANIMAL SPECIES

This appendix contains the biological identification of all the plants and animals mentioned in this dissertation. For each species its scientific name, common English name (or common Spanish name if no English name was found) and Uitoto names are given. Field collection numbers of specimens, when available, and other information are given in notes.

The appendix is divided into three sections: cultivated plant species, other plant species, and animal species.

## *I. Cultivated Plant Species*

*Abbreviations*: aff.: affinity to - sp.: species - spp.: species (pl.) - var.: variety - indet.: indeterminate.

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Names* |
|---|---|---|
| MAIN PLANTS | | |
| Tobacco | Solanaceae<br>*Nicotiana tabacum*[2] | *d~~ɨ~~ue* (generic)<br>*d~~ɨ~~ona* (plant)<br>*d~~ɨ~~obe* (leaf)<br>*d~~ɨ~~oj~~ɨ~~* (seed)<br>*d~~ɨ~~óyek~~ɨ~~* (flower)<br>*d~~ɨ~~ore* (plantation) |
| Coca | Erythroxylaceae<br>*Erythroxylum coca* var. *ipadu*[3] | *jíibie* (generic)<br>*jíibina* (plant)<br>*jíibibe* (leave)<br>*jíibidozi* (stem)<br>*jíibikongo* (heap of leaves)<br>*jíibire* (plantation) |
| Sweet Manioc[4] | Euphorbiaceae<br>*Manihot esculenta*[5] | *fareka* (generic)<br>*farékatofe* (stem)<br>*farékaj~~ɨ~~* (tuber)<br>*farékare* (plantation) |
| Bitter Manioc[4] | idem.[6] | *júe* (generic)<br>*juzítofe* (stem)<br>*juj~~ɨ~~* (tuber)<br>*júzie* (plantation) |
| Edible Manioc[4] | idem.[7] | *maika* (generic)<br>*máikatofe* (stem)<br>*máikaj~~ɨ~~* (tuber) |
| Pineapple | Bromeliaceae<br>*Ananas comosus* | *rozídoro* (plant)<br>*roziy~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*rozire* (plantation) |
| Peanut | Leguminoseae<br>*Arachis hypogeae*[8] | *mazaka* (generic)<br>*mazákar~~ɨ~~* (plant)<br>*mazákaj~~ɨ~~* (seed) |

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Names* |
|---|---|---|
| | | *mazákare* (plantation) |
| Chili pepper | Solanaceae<br>*Capsicum chinense*,<br>*Capsicum frutescens*[9] | *jifirai* (plant)<br>*jifij~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*jífirungo* (seed) |
| OTHER TUBERS | | |
| Arrowroot | Marantaceae<br>*Maranta ruiziiana*[10] | *ch~~ɨ~~k~~ɨ~~pira* (plant) |
| Canna lily | Cannaceae<br>*Canna* aff. *edulis*[11] | *bed~~ɨ~~ngo* (corm)<br>*bed~~ɨ~~j~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*bed~~ɨ~~cher~~ɨ~~* (seedling) |
| Cocoyam | Araceae<br>*Xanthosoma* sp. | *duna* (generic)<br>*dunago~~ɨ~~* (plant)<br>*dunaj~~ɨ~~* (tuber) |
| *Daledale* | Marantaceae<br>*Callathea* sp.[12] | *tubur~~ɨ~~* (plant)<br>*tubuj~~ɨ~~* (corm) |
| Sweet potato | Convolvulaceae<br>*Ipomoea batatas*[13] | *refij~~ɨ~~* (tuber)<br>*refio* (stem) |
| Taro | Araceae<br>*Colocasia* aff. *esculenta* | *enoka iy~~ɨ~~* (plant)<br>*enókabe* (leaf)<br>*enókaj~~ɨ~~* (tuber) |
| Taro, white people's | Araceae<br>*Colocasia* sp.1 | *duna r~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~ ie* (generic) |
| White taro | Araceae<br>*Colocasia* sp.2 | *urago~~ɨ~~* (plant)<br>*uraj~~ɨ~~* (tuber) |
| Yam | Dioscoreaceae<br>*Dioscorea trifida*[14] | *jakáizairai* (plant)<br>*jakáio* (stem)<br>*jakáij~~ɨ~~* (tuber)<br>*jakáie* (plantation) |
| Yam bean | Leguminoseae<br>*Pachyrhizus tuberosus* | *goizeño* (fruit)<br>*goizedo* (seed) |
| FRUIT TREES | | |
| *Anon* | Annonaceae | *toguena* (tree) |

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Names* |
|---|---|---|
| | *Rollinia mucosa*[15] | *toguedo* (seed)<br>*toguey~~ɨ~~* (fruit) |
| Avocado | Lauraceae<br>*Persea americana* | *nomena* (tree)<br>*nomedo* (fruit) |
| Breadfruit tree | Moraceae<br>*Batocarpus amazonicus* | *uibirai* (tree)<br>*uibij~~ɨ~~* (seed)<br>*uibiy~~ɨ~~* (fruit) |
| Cacao | Sterculiaceae<br>*Theobroma bicolor* | *m~~ɨ~~zena* (tree)<br>*m~~ɨ~~zey~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*m~~ɨ~~zedo* (seed) |
| Forest grape | Cecropiaceae<br>*Pourouma cecropiifolia*[16] | *j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~kue* (generic)<br>*j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~kona* (tree)<br>*j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~koj~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~kodo* (seed)<br>*j~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~kore* (plantation) |
| Inga | Leguminosae Mimosoideae<br>*Inga edulis*[17]<br>*Inga macrocarpa*[18] | *jizáiñue* (generic)<br>*jizairai* (tree)<br>*jizaiño* (fruit)<br>*jizaido* (seed) |
| Peach palm | Palmae<br>*Bactris gasipaes* | *jimena* (palm)<br>*jimek~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*jimedo* (seed) |
| Sapote | Sapotaceae<br>*Pouteria caimito* | *jífikue* (generic)<br>*jífikona* (tree)<br>*jífikoy~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*jífikodo* (seed) |
| *Umari*, green | Icacinaceae<br>*Poraqueiba sericea*[19] | *nekana* (tree)<br>*nekaz~~ɨ~~* (fruit)<br>*nekárok~~ɨ~~* (seedling) |
| *Umari*, black | idem.[20] | *goirai* (tree)<br>*goido* (fruit) |
| *Umari*, black | idem.[21] | *oberai* (tree)<br>*obedo* (fruit) |
| *Umari*, yellow | idem.[22] | *nemona* (tree)<br>*nemoz~~ɨ~~* (fruit) |

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Names* |
|---|---|---|
| GRASSES | | |
| Maize | Gramineae<br>*Zea mays* | *beya* (generic)<br>*beyado* (cob)<br>*beyaj~~ɨ~~* (kernel) |
| Sugar cane | Gramineae<br>*Saccharum* sp. | *konónue* (generic) |
| MEDICINAL PLANTS | | |
| Annatto | Bixaceae<br>*Bixa orellana* | *nonorai* (plant)<br>*nonok~~ɨ~~* (fruit) |
| Basil | Labiatae *Ocimum* sp.[23] | *jaibik~~ɨ~~* (plant) |
| Nettle (stinging flower) | Urticaceae *Urtica* sp.[24] | *jak~~ɨ~~ngo* (generic)<br>*jak~~ɨ~~rai* (plant) |
| Nettle (stinging leaf) | Urticaceae *Urera baccifera*[25] | *yoreg~~ɨ~~* (plant)<br>*yorebai* (branch) |
| [plant of the Mother] | Compositae[26] | *d~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~mao* (stems)<br>*d~~ɨ~~r~~ɨ~~mabe* (leaf) |
| [plant of the Mother] | (indet.) | *na~~ɨ~~mek~~ɨ~~* |
| [plant of the Mother] | (indet.) | *nozekue* |
| [plant of the Mother] | (indet.) | *katubai* |
| [plant of the Mother] | (indet.) | *yinakai* |
| [plant to conjure the eyes] | Apocynaceae<br>*Bonafousia tetrastachya*[27] | *jifíkona* (plant) |
| Yagé | Malpighiaceae *Banisteriopsis caapi* | *unazi* (generic)<br>*unao* (plant) |

*Notes to Appendix 5-I*

Collection numbers are prefixed by the initials "OMD(v)," which stand for "Olga Montenegro-Diaz (vegetation)." These specimens are deposited in Fundación Puerto Rastrojo (Bogotá, Colombia). Replicas of most of them are also located at Fundación Erigaie (Bogotá) and Herbario Nacional of the Instituto de Ciencias Naturales (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá).

[1]English names of species are mostly from Joe Salick's review of the literature on crops grown by various Amazonian groups (Salick, 1989, appendix). Names underlined are from Spanish.

[2]Collection number: OMD(v)-068.

[3]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-067 (*Sambico* coca) and OMD(v)-103.

[4]"Manioc" stands for the plant of *Manihot*, and "cassava" for the bread obtained from its tubers (following the usage of C. Hugh-Jones, 1979). Manioc and Cassava often appear as synonyms in the literature. "Sweet" manioc is a variety of the "bitter" (poisonous) manioc, which is very rich in juice; it is only used for the preparation of a ritual drink called *juiñoi*. It should not be confused with the edible variety, which is widely grown in the tropics (in Spanish, the edible variety is commonly called *yuca dulce*, which is different from the "sweet manioc" or *yuca de manicuera*).

[5]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-052, 087 (*juku farékatofe*), 118 (*núiog~~ɨ~~tofe farékatofe*).

[6]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-041, 042, 044, 046, 048, 051 (all these grown by the Bora); and 089 (*borátofe* "yellow manioc"), 094 (*ekáirua~~ɨ~~*), 095 (*uiyóniño juzítofe*), 096 (*ereño juzítofe* "manioc of giant anteater"), 097 (*t~~ɨ~~ratofe* "manioc for grinding").

[7]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-043, 045, 047, 053, 054 (all these grown by the Bora); and 088, 090 (*néetofe máikatofe*), 091, 092 (*zeema maika*), 098, 104.

[8]Collection number: OMD(v)-107.

[9]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-112 (*jaij~~ɨ~~* "snake chili"), 113, 114 (*fizido jifij~~ɨ~~* "humming bird chili"), 115 (*nooño uij~~ɨ~~*), 116 (*jimoj~~ɨ~~*), 117 (*kuudu uij~~ɨ~~* "sardine's eye"), 137.

[10]Collection number: OMD(v)-109.

[11]Collection number: OMD(v)-102.

[12]Collection number: OMD(v)-101.

[13]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-049, 100.

[14]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-055, 108.

[15]Collection number: OMD(v)-134.

[16]Collection number: OMD(v)-106.

[17]Collection number: OMD(v)-132 ("male" inga).

[18]Collection number: OMD(v)-145 (“female” inga).

[19]Collection number: OMD(v)-142.

[20]Collection number: OMD(v)-133.

[21]Collection number: OMD(v)-141.

[22]Collection number: OMD(v)-140.

[23]Collection number: OMD(v)-060.

[24]Collection number: OMD(v)-19 (cf. Schultes and Raffauf, 1990, p. 460; La Rotta, 1983).

[25]Collection number: OMD(v)-120 (cf. La Rotta n.d.: 246-247).

[26]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-003, 023, 144.

[27]Collection number: OMD(v)-127.

## *II. Other Plant Species*

*Abbreviations*: sp.: species - spp.: species (pl.).

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Names* |
|---|---|---|
| *Bacaba* | Palmae<br>*Oenocarpus bacaba* | *gur*ɨ*ka*ɨ (palm)<br>*gur*ɨ*ofe* (fiber) |
| Brazil nut | Lecythidaceae<br>*Bertholettia excelsa*[2] | *ifák*ɨ*e* (generic)<br>*ifák*ɨ*na* (tree)<br>*ifák*ɨ*do* (nut) |
| Cecropia tree | Cecropiaceae<br>*Cecropia sciadophylla* | *k*ɨ*ra*ɨ*ka*ɨ (generic)<br>*uák*ɨ*ra*ɨ*ka*ɨ (proper)<br>ɨ*muiza*ɨ (ashes) |
| *Cumare* palm | Palmae<br>*Astrocaryum chambira* | *ñek*ɨ*na* (palm)<br>*ñek*ɨ*k*ɨ (fruit)<br>*ñek*ɨ*do* (thorn)<br>*ñek*ɨ*ro* (fiber) |
| *Guarumo* | Marantaceae<br>*Ischnosiphon aruma*[3] | *ñotaka*ɨ (stem)<br>*ñotáofe* (fiber) |
| *Juansoco* | Apocynaceae<br>*Couma macrocarpa*[4] | *ik*ɨ*ka*ɨ (tree)<br>*ik*ɨ*k*ɨ (fruit) |
| Miriti palm | Palmae<br>*Mauritia flexuosa* | *k*ɨ*nena* (palm)<br>*k*ɨ*nek*ɨ (fruit) |
| [Source of tobacco mixture] | Malpigiaceae[5] | *marák*ɨ*o* (vine) |
| [Source of tobacco mixture] | Rapataceae<br>*Rapatea* sp.[6] | *eragua*ɨ |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Araceae<br>*Spathiphyllum cannaefolium* | *zúuie* |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Lecythidaceae<br>*Couratari guianensis* | *jafena* (tree) |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Lecythidaceae<br>cf. *Lecythis pisonis* | *jerog*ɨ (tree) |
| [Source of | Palmae | *ruir*ɨ*g*ɨ (palm) |

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Names* |
|---|---|---|
| vegetable salt] | *Astrocaryum gynacanthum* | *ruirɨyɨ* (palm heart) |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Palmae<br>*Bactris simplicifrons* | *joda jimena* (palm) |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Palmae<br>*Bactris riparia* | *jimáikɨe* |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Cyclanthaceae<br>*Asplundia sarmentosa*[7] | *turao* |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Palmae<br>*Maximiliana maripa*[8] | *jarɨna* (palm)<br>*jarɨyɨ* (palm heart)<br>*jarɨgoraɨ* (bark) |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | Lecythidaceae<br>*Gustavia hexapetala* | *míñɨekona* (tree) |
| [Source of vegetable salt] | (indet.) | *chapena* (tree) |
| *Yaripa* palm | Palmae<br>*Dictyocaryum ptariense* | *jɨkɨfena* (palm) |

*Notes to Appendix 5-II*

Collection numbers are prefixed by the initials "OMD(v)," which stand for "Olga Montenegro-Diaz (vegetation)." These specimens are deposited in Fundación Puerto Rastrojo (Bogotá, Colombia). Replicas of most of them are also located at Fundación Erigaie (Bogotá) and Herbario Nacional of the Instituto de Ciencias Naturales (Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá).

[1]Names underlined are from Spanish.

[2]Collection number: OMD(v)-143.

[3]Collection number: OMD(v)-063.

[4]Collection number: OMD(v)-138.

[5]Collection number: OMD(v)-013.

[6] Collection numbers: OMD(v)-062, 121, 125.

[7]Collection number: OMD(v)-083.

[8]Collection numbers: OMD(v)-031, 036, 066.

## *III. Animal Species*

*Abbreviation*: spp.: species (pl.)

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Name* |
|---|---|---|
| INVERTEBRATES | | |
| Grubs | Order Coleoptera<br>*Rhina palmarum*<br>*Calandra palmarum* | *ziaik~~ɨ~~* |
| Termites | Order Isoptera | *karák~~ɨ~~ngo* (one)<br>*kara~~ɨ~~a~~ɨ~~* (many) |
| REPTILES | | |
| Speckled cayman | Alligatoridae<br>*Caiman sclerops*<br>(= *C. crocodylus*) | *zeema* |
| BIRDS | | |
| Great tinamou | Tinamidae<br>*Tinamus major* | *ofoma* (generic)<br>*uáfoma* (proper) |
| Hawk | Accipitridae<br>*Accipiter bicolor* | *nuik~~ɨ~~* |
| MAMMALS | | |
| Black jaguar | Felidae<br>*Felis yagouaroundi* | *j~~ɨ~~ko* (generic)<br>*zurúyari* |
| Coati,<br>Coatimundis | Procyonidae<br>*Nasua nasua* | *n~~ɨ~~maido* |
| Collared peccary | Tayassuidae<br>*Tayassu tajacu* | *mero* |
| [Edible mouse] | Echimiydae<br>*Proechimys* spp. | *míñ~~ɨ~~e* |

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Name* |
|---|---|---|
| Fresh water dolphin | Platanistidae<br>*Inia geoffrensis* | *amana*,<br>*buinaima* |
| Giant anteater | Myrmecophagidae<br>*Myrmecophaga tridactyla* | *ereño* |
| Giant armadillo | Dasypodidae<br>*Priodontes maximus* | *bainaango* |
| Jaguar | Felidae<br>*Panthera onca* | *j~~ɨ~~ko* (generic)<br>*janáyari* |
| Kinkajou | Procyonidae<br>*Potos flavus*<br>*Bassaricyon gabbii* | *kuita* |
| Ocelot,[2]<br>Margay[3] | Felidae<br>*Felis wiedii*<br>*Felis pardalis*<br>*Felis tigrina* | *j~~ɨ~~ko* (generic)<br>*jirako* (proper)<br>*nonódoko*<br>*ekúirodozi* |
| Paca | Agoutidae<br>*Agouti paca* | *~~ɨ~~me* |
| Prehensile-tailed porcupine | Erethizontidae<br>*Coendu prehensilis* | *juku* |
| Small agouti | Dasyproctidae<br>*Myoprocta acouchy* | *m~~ɨ~~gui* |
| Small armadillo<br>Spurred armadillo[4] | Dasypodidae<br>*Dasypus novemcinctus*<br>*Dasypus kappleri* | *uán~~ɨ~~ngo*<br>*ñen~~ɨ~~ngo*<br>*nákon~~ɨ~~ngo*<br>*kovero* |
| Tamandua | Myrmecophagidae<br>*Tamandua tetradactyla* | *doboyi* |
| Tapir | Tapiridae<br>*Tapirus terrestris* | *zuruma* |
| Three-toed sloth | Bradypodidae<br>*Bradypus variegatus* | *yaiño* |
| Titi monkey | Cebidae<br>*Callicebus torquatus* | *aik~~ɨ~~* |
| White-lipped | Tayassuidae | *eimo~~ɨ~~* |

| *English Name*[1] | *Scientific Name* | *Uitoto Name* |
|---|---|---|
| peccary | *Tayassu pecari* | |
| Woolly monkey | Cebidae<br>*Lagothrix lagothricha* | *jemi* |

*Notes to Appendix 5-III*

[1]English names of species are mostly from John C. Kricher (1989), *A Neotropical Companion*.

[2]Ocelot: *F. pardalis*.

[3]Margay: *F. wiedii*.

[4]Spurred armadillo: *D. kappleri*.

## Appendix 6

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF RESGUARDO PREDIO PUTUMAYO

In 1922, Colombia and Peru signed the Salomón-Lozano Treaty, which defined their Amazon borders. In this Treaty Peru ceded to Colombia all the territories north of the Putumayo river, the main area of operations of the Peruvian Amazon Company (Casa Arana). The same Treaty granted that the concessions that would have been given to Peruvian nationals in what was now Colombian territory would be recognized by the Colombian government. The Arana family kept thus a concession of nearly six million hectares in Colombia.

In 1939, the Banco Agrícola Hipotecario bought the rights of the Arana family in the Putumayo for US$200,000, but only paid $40,000 at that time. The Banco Agrícola never had the chance to cancel the rest of the money because the Colombian government ordered its termination in 1954, and put the newly created Caja Agraria in charge of its liquidation. In 1964 the Caja Agraria ratified the purchase made by the Banco Agrícola back in 1939, and paid to the heirs of Arana the remaining $160,000.

In 1980, the Caja Agraria declared before a public notary that the Banco Agrícola owed Caja Agraria $70,000 on account of its liquidation, and that to cover that credit Caja Agraria

would appropriate the fifth of the "Predio Putumayo" ("Putumayo Estate") already canceled by the Banco Agrícola. In this manner the Caja consolidated the full property of the territory (Colombia, 1989).

In 1983 Caja Agraria decided to make use of its property and designed a giant "plan of development" for the Predio Putumayo, which started in 1985 with the investment of two million dollars in a 800-hectare experimental farm in La Chorrera. The main installations of this luxury farm were erected in exactly the same spot where Casa Arana had had its headquarters and main rubber depot. The standing walls and dungeons were carefully preserved and integrated to the design of Caja Agraria's modern facilities.

The Indians were informed one day that their land had an owner called Caja Agraria. Some Indians, especially those living close to La Chorrera, were in favor of the Caja Agraria and its development plans because it would bring jobs and direct benefits (construction of an air strip, electric light for La Chorrera, weekly supply of foodstuffs), while others, mostly young men spurred by the parish priest of La Chorrera, began a vehement protest against the presence of the Caja Agraria and its claims of property over the region.

The situation gained momentum the following year, 1986, when Virgilio Barco became President and helped cancel Caja Agraria's plans. An agreement was reached in 1988, according to which Caja Agraria would sell Predio Putumayo to the Instituto Colombiano de la Reforma Agraria (Incora), which has the attribution to constitute Indian *resguardos*.

Incora, in turn, speedily proceeded to constitute the real estate as a *resguardo* on April 23 of 1988, in favor of the indigenous groups of the region. Caja Agraria's two-million-dollar farm was excluded from the *resguardo* territory (Colombia, Ministerio de Gobierno, División de Asuntos Indígenas, archivo).

In 1993 the Solidarity Fund of the Presidency of Colombia acquired the old Casa Arana house from Caja Agraria to lodge the new secondary school of La Chorrera. The Colombian First Lady travelled to La Chorrera for its inauguration; she said on that occassion: "The idea is not only that the Casa Arana be a school but that the community feel it as its own and understand that it has a special meaning. . . . For this reason, since today, it will be a symbol of freedom" ("De casa histórica a salón de clases," *El Tiempo* [Bogotá], 29 XII 1993, my translation).

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