Emerging Peoples
marubo myth-chants

Guilherme Werlang

Geh hin und such dir einen andern Knecht!
Der Dichter sollte wohl das höchste Recht,
Das Menschenrecht, das ihm Natur vergönnt,
Um deinetwillen freventlich verscherzen!
Wodurch bewegt er alle Herzen?
Wodurch besiegt er jedes Element?
Ist es der Einklang nicht? der aus dem Busen dringt,
Und in sein Herz die Welt zurücke schlingt.
Wenn die Natur des Fadens ew'ge Länge,
Gleichgültig drehend, auf die Spindel zwingt,
Wenn aller Wesen unharmon'sche Menge
Verdrießlich durch einander klingt;
Wer teilt die fließend immer gleiche Reihe
Belebend ab, daß sie sich rhythmisch regt?
Wer ruft das Einzelne zur allgemeinen Weihe?
Wo es in herrlichen Akkorden schlägt,
Wer läßt den Sturm zu Leidenschaften wüten?
Das Abendrot im ernsten Sinne glühn?
Wer schüttet alle schönen Frühlingsblüten
Auf der Geliebten Pfade hin?
Wer flicht die unbedeutend grünen Blätter
Zum Ehrenkranz Verdiensten jeder Art?
Wer sichert den Olymp? vereinet Götter?
Des Menschen Kraft im Dichter offenbart.

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust* (1808)

De la musique avant toute chose...
De la musique encore et toujours!...
Et tout le reste est littérature.

Paul Verlaine, *L'Art Poétique* (1874)

To Tonton...

ies Duane and Paulo, John and Diana could provide, thanks; and among these, thanks above all to Wanderlei and Solange Pina, for much more than mere logistics.

In between trajectories, sincere thanks to Philippe Erikson, Angela Hobart, Julio Cezar Melatti, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro; and to Delvair Montagner, a grateful hug.

More still, thanks to Benedito Dionisio, the first to wave from the Upper Ituí: *Otxi vopiroá... Ea vopitĩpá.* To Robson Dionisio, for much more than I could expect. To Fernando Dionisio, to Cristiano and Manoel, and Vicente, thanks; to Felipe Ermeino, to Lauro and Antonio Brasil; to Abel and Armando, to Aldino, Chico, Geraldo, Paulino and Floriano, Pedro Cruz, Eduardo, Simão; and to *Raõewa*, *Vamãewa*, *Shoĩewa*, *Vanẽwa*, *Pekõewa*, *Tamãewa*, and to all their children, strongholds of their world. To all these -*nawa* peoples, and to all the others, *nawa*-ones like me but too many to mention, thanks for their unique generosity.

Now back home and throughout all these stories, thanks to José Francisco and José Maria Dias da Cruz, generations of geniality, supreme sensibility. To Flávio Barbeitas, for our parallel trajectories, if out of phase. To Alexandre Eisenberg, Afonso de Oliveira and to all friends who met through our music: Among others, to Zé Paulo Becker, Sérgio Abreu, Giovanni

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abstract

This is an exploration on music and myth among the
Marubo, one of the several native peoples around the
adventitious border between Brazil and Peru, south-
western Amazonia. It portrays these peoples as they
express themselves in and are themselves the expres-
sion of their *saiti* festivals and myth-chants. In their
native language, *saiti* designates a generic festival
where myths occur in a specific musical and chore-
ographic form, the form that establishes the origins
of these peoples, those of their world and all things
therein.

foreword

> . . . myths are not entirely true unless while living in the proper ambience of their truth—religion—and in substantial connexion with the proper form of their existence—ritual action. . . mythology does not come out from any urge to explain the World, Humanity or Divinity: it is the pure expression of the encounter between humans and gods, in a world that, at each encounter, is the scenario wherein it unfolds.[1]

This is a description of the *saiti* myth-chants of native peoples from southwestern Amazonia. It explores the grounds of their music and myth, history and cosmos.

The Marubo are one of the several native peoples of the adventitious border between Brazil and Peru. This book portrays them as they express themselves

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[1]Sousa 1973:118:

> . . . os mitos não são inteiramente verídicos, senão quando vivem no ambiente próprio da sua veracidade, a religião, substancial-mente unidos à forma própria da sua existência, a ação ritual. . . a mitologia não nasceu de qualquer anseio por explicar o Mundo, o Homem e Deus: é pura expressão do encontro de homens com deuses, em um mundo que é, para cada encontro, o cenário em que o mesmo decorre.

in and are themselves the expression of their *saiti* festivals and myth-chants. In their native language, *saiti* designates a specific festival where myth performance occurs in a specific musical and choreographic form, the form that establishes the origins of these peoples and those of the world where they live.

"Marubo" is an exogenous ethnonym. It is a state construct dating back to the second half of the 19th century, accounting for native peoples whose historical references are sporadic and scarce. Albeit a somewhat loose denomination, it consistently nominates certain indigenous peoples whose names often end with a common root, -*nawa*.

The Marubo today comprise about 2,000 individuals, settling in longhouse communities in the heart of large tracts of virgin forest. In their *saiti* myth-chants, these peoples do indeed emerge from the earth with several different ethnonyms ending with the suffix -*nawa*. However, *nawa* is a native word that in isolation means "foreigner"—a typical trait among Pano-ans.[2]

The strategic situation of the Marubo, at the tributary waters of the Javari River, is consistent with their position as relative representatives of their territory. The Marubo are an amalgamation of several

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[2]Pano peoples form a linguistic family which totals a little less than 40,000. For wider-ranging details, see Erikson *et al.* 1994.

minor populations, a homogeneous complex with various constituent peoples stretching from the foothills of the Peruvian *montaña* toward the Brazilian *várzea*, from mountains to valleys. Panoans constitute one of the most fragmentary and continuous groups of people in Amazonia, making their own delimitation and definition a difficult task.[3]

If Pano territory features one of the least known musicalities in indigenous South America, Amazonian music is still a minor topic of anthropological research. The marginality of musical monographs, growing numbers notwithstanding, is due to an ethnographic bias. This neglect should be enough to justify a comparative project on the music of Panoans. Their geographical condition just enhances their musical relevance, in the transition between the Amazonian rainforest and the Andean mountains: Pano peoples would present a potential pivotal case in the musical panorama of the continent.

The Marubo would give weight to this hypothesis: By adding mythical layers to local history in the formal intricacies of music, the *saiti* encapsulate the lives of these -*nawa* peoples, emblems of pivotal populations. The intense interaction that Panoans

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[3] *Cf.* Townsley 1988 and Erikson 1993 and 1996.

maintain through history with other Amazonian languages, such as the Arawak and the Tupi, should leave its mark in their musics. A comparative endeavour would benefit from musicological work done among the Wayãpí, Kayabí, Kamayurá (Tupi), and among the Wauja, Kulina, Wakuénai, Amuesha (Arawak), not to mention research on other native musics from northwestern and central Brazil, as among the Ye'pâ-masa (Tukano), the Kalapalo (Carib), the Shavante and Suyá (Gê), and the Bororo (Macro-Gê). A comparative musicology of these peoples could well lead to the formulation of a continuum from lowlands toward highlands, enabling a wider musical horizon for indigenous Amazonia.[4]

However, this work concerns less the comparison among these musics than the theoretical problem that such a comparison would entail: commensurability. How do we reconcile the mysterious history of a given ethnic identity—at once unitary and multiple—with the musical-mythical account of its origins? Now the

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[4]Pano music is unknown to my knowledge, except for some work among the Shipibo (Lucas 1970), which nevertheless does not deal with first-hand data (*cf.* Erikson et al. 1994). Otherwise, musical ethnography in Amazonia now comprises the works of Beaudet 1997 and Fucks 1989 (Wayãpí), Travassos 1984 (Kayabí), Bastos 1999a [1978] and 1989 (Kamayurá), Mello 1999 (Wauja), Silva 1997 (Kulina), Hill 1993 (Wakuénai), Smith 1977 (Amuesha), Piedade 1997 (Ye'pâ-masa), Basso 1985 (Kalapalo), Aytai 1985 (Shavante), Seeger 1980, 1986, 1987 (Suyá), and Canzio 1992 (Bororo).

problem is above all about methods: What are the premises upon which a mythical-musical praxis can relate to its ethnography? What is the stance that the relation drawn between a historical-mythical account and its ritual-musical enactment requires? In sum, what are the meanings that the research on myth-music calls into question?

In fact, more than a prerequisite to any comparative study on either myth or music in Amazonia, these questions seem to condition any enquiry into the Marubo. The key to understanding of indigenous realities lie in finding out how commensurate they are to our own. Therefore I propose in this work a study on *musical translation.*

This study offers a few negative answers to the questions above: Among the Marubo, no history is possible without a firm grounding in the native synthesis of music and myth: no mythological analysis is sustainable without regard to musicology. But neither are their myths reducible to an inventory of musical practices—scales, instruments, or genres—nor are those myths messages that a merely mnemonic musical medium of music transmits.

Thus Marubo music does not "fit into" society in the fulfilment a semiotic function; it is not just a part of a whole, an attribute of a substance, a formal feature of a mythical content—just as myth is not a mere residual repository of social history.

The positive, peculiar outcome of all this is that *saiti* myth-chants are the ritualisation of native mythology in the form of a musical poetics, and the poetical form of such music is the mythical matrix of native history. Our conclusions still concern methods rather than hypotheses. The grounds of our perspective on music is the *a priori* synthesis which natives present, the mythical expression of a cosmic encounter between humanity and divinity rather than an *a posteriori* explanation of history, rather than an exclusive analysis, be it musicological or mythological.

The basis of this study is the native theory and practice of *saiti*. These mythical embodiments of the cosmos at once ground in and lead to the very worldview that these myth-chants express without separation between musical semantics and historical meaning. The sheer significance of the word *saiti* gives us every reason to disbelieve the validity and efficacy of such a compartmentation. Our disciplinary boundaries would tend to enforce, as the extant ethnography marks too often, an epistemological fallacy that western academia espouses at large. The study of indigenous worlds, of which the myth-chants are an expression and a reification at once, leads less to the place of music within a worldview than to the form whereby music reifies and expresses such a worldview.

This is not an obvious given in music schools: mythical-musical ontologies are to be found in academic ethnographies rather than in conservatoire classes. There, perceptual knowledge is understood as transcendental to the intellect, but at the same time epistemologically inferior; superior music is thought, or "felt" to be immanent in sense-perception. This underrates both the amenability of music as an object of science and the musician, *qua* musician, as a knowing subject. Thus it happens that anthropological studies emphasise the "societal" character of native music and fall short of the "musical" character of indigenous society.

Here it is a matter of writing anthropology as a commentary to music, rather than listening to music as an anthropological commentary, beyond the western bias which takes away from the sense-perceptible musical sound its verbal intelligibility. If Amazonian ethnography testifies that indigenous peoples grant semantic density to music, one is still to ascertain where and how to search for musical semantics in academia.

To me, this unavoidable difficulty was only to be overcome after fieldwork. To write about myth-chants should be in itself a strong statement against the disciplinary dilemma that music presents within the confines of the written word. The mythical-musical material would not be a mere illustration to cultural exe-

gesis: the former was to be the guideline for the latter. The path it should take appears here and there, in bits and pieces throughout: the key issue of musicological enquiry is a musical ontology. If ethnography suggests that research on music should divert toward the musical conservatoire, western academia would leave the methodological issue with no solution. The solution does not fit into this foreword and shall find scope along this study. Here I just introduce the route.
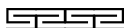
This book starts with a wide overview of the peoples among whom we find the *saiti* myth-chants. The initial exposition features three temporal themes— chronology, sound, logic—with four chapters each.

The first chapter (*past and present*) presents the mosaic of which those peoples are a central piece, revolving around thematic axes that account for simultaneous unity and multiplicity: ethnonyms and ethnicity *vis-à-vis* some local historiography.

The second chapter (*stories and histories*) relies on archival records of contact between natives and nationals.

The third chapter (*some sketches*) presents the unofficial counterpart of these histories, assembling indigenous stories that stress a general historical trait: access to and isolation from the outside—*viz.* nation-

als, nation-state and mission—is a function of native initiative and needs.

The fourth chapter (*bitter and poisonous*) analyses how natives formulate their own historicity through the theme that names one of the myth-chants, the *saiti* on which we shall linger on: the Marubo were once *mokanawa*, bitter-poisonous peoples, and their human constitution and that of their world was their emergence, once upon a time: *Mokanawa Wenía*.

The following four chapters, still expositive, add to the gradual scenario of *saiti* performance.

The fifth chapter (*tone and language*) categorises their vocal genres, their formal styles of word intonation.

This leads to chapter six (*shamans and healers*) with a description of some shamanic categories that relate to chant forms.

The seventh chapter (*space and time*) sets the spatial scene where the chants are, where the *saiti* festivals and performances are held.

Finally, chapter eight (*myth and music*) summarises some essential traits of the *saiti* myth-chants, highlighting the feature that shall establish the link between myth-music and the world it unfolds: the temporality of the performative form.

Another set of four chapters concludes this first part. These initial twelve chapters comprise a con-

ceptual framework; the four chapters that conclude it just expand on this repertoire, pointing at the core of this study. Even though these are far from constituting its most original section, they are the methodological bond that shall allow for the temporal link between myth-music and native ontology.

This connexion starts to take shape in chapter nine (*persons and peoples*) with the distinctions between "human being" and "human nature," "individuality" and "collectivity," western glosses that have no univocal correspondence with the native terms *yora* and *nawa*.

The following chapter, number ten (*spirits and doubles*), comprises an account of the soul-like constituents of human bodies and their being and becoming in death and disease.

Then chapter eleven (*bodily voices*) extends these theories to the realm of the relations between human bodies and the cosmic entities that humans associate with and transform into along their lives, *yové* and *yochĩ*.

The twelfth chapter (*more dualities*) concludes this most extensive introduction: this initial conclusion summarises those psychophysiological theorisations and delineate a comparison between native conceptual dualities and some pairs of concepts that are quite familiar to our metaphysics. The issue, now and again, is one and the same: commensurability.

The second part is a response to previous exhortations toward a reconciliation between music and its musicality, while reconciling it with its historical reality. Its narrower scope is an attempt to compensate for the generality of the first twelve chapters: it is a description of one single myth-chant, *Mokanawa Wenía*, "the emergence of poisonous-bitter peoples." All prior allusions to other *saiti* are cursory, mere references that give rise to the exegesis of this myth-chant.

This second part starts with three chapters that match the threefold thematic division above. This initial set of chapters first presents the *dramatis personae* that surround the performance of one particular *saiti*; second, the mythical-musical study of its structures; and third, the particular references it brings about.

Thus chapter thirteen (*singers and listeners*) is a contextual description: here we set the performative scene, but now in biographic narratives that relate the performers' lives to their live performance of the myth-chant, relating their personal stories to the histories that pervade their mythical-musical account.

Next, chapter fourteen (*sound structures*) studies a score transcription of *Mokanawa Wenía*; the description here is paradigmatic, defining the basic musical structure as an actualisation of the temporal tenor of categories drawn in the first part.

In the following fifteenth chapter (*emerging words*), this is subject to further linguistic speculations and conceptual comparisons; here is a general introduction to the near conclusion of this brief exegesis.

The final three chapters conclude this second part with the recurrent content lines that the myth-chant presents in musical form. These chapters are beyond description: first, through a systematisation of all the non-human principles which the emerging humans confront in the course of *Mokanawa Wenía*; second, through the phrasing of this confrontation in its words; and third, in the interrelation between such a verbal poetics and its music.

Thus chapter sixteen defines the stance that humanity develops toward non-humanity as one of original *mutual domestication*: human beings become humans in their intercourse with animals and plants and their respective substances and elements, in movements that allow for the humanisation of emergence toward environmental occupation.

The seventeenth chapter will contextualise such a systematic "mutual domestication" within the *poetical formulae* of the myth-chant, of these original movements between human earth-emergence and the world of humanisation.

The final, eighteenth chapter stresses the sonic form that associate those recurrent words, *qua* visual representations, with their temporal form: musical *circles*

and lines. Our concern in this brief exegesis overlaps the linguistic interpretation of *saiti*; here the relation between the myth and its musicality is at stake.

Likewise, the third and last part is a methodological statement. It lists a series of propositions, details their implications, and proposes some corollaries of the exegetical description of *saiti*. Its methods are both a retrospective abstract and a prospective agenda. Much as the formal expression of native premises lies in the words and notes of native myth-music, I sum up my consequent method in terms and equations that are both descriptive generalities and prescriptive guidelines. Much like a structural analysis, but still beyond its structuralist meanings, the significance of this synthesis lies in a constructive critique that envisages a sensible rationale in that which our western tradition regards as irrational impressionism.

the marubo

past and present

In its westernmost limits, the right bank of the Amazon basin is crossed by the mouths of the parallel valleys of three of its major tributaries: from left to right, facing North, the Ucayali, the Javari, and the Juruá Rivers. The Javari River, known in its upper course as Jaquirana, is central in that which is one of the largest wildlife territories on Earth. It marks a long stretch of the contemporary borders between Peru and Brazil, two of the largest local countries.

The Ucayali, the Javari, and the Juruá Rivers have been three of the major waterways along which the frontiers of contact between western and native peoples have been moving in southwestern Amazonia. This has not been a peaceful process. Waves of rebellions followed one another throughout colonial history along the Ucayali River. The territory of the Juruá became part of this history when rubber-tappers moved upstream more than hundred years ago, dissolving into, disturbing, or destroying those peoples

who were formerly independent from and formally
against the intrusion of nation-states. The Javari,
however, is barely mentioned by the authors of the
Handbook of South American Indians, the standard
historical reference. Here the violent outcome of colo-
nial history accounts for the lack of extensive ethnog-
raphy.[5]

Between the Ucayali and the Juruá, the middle
tracts of the Javari River run just a few days walk
from the headwaters of the Curuçá and Ituí Rivers,
two of its major low-course tributaries. Most water-
ways in the Javari, run more or less in parallel from
South-West to North-East, while the sources of its
right-bank tributaries converge not too far from the
Juruá River. In the official history of local nations,
this has been no-man's land: little-known peoples still
live round about these waters.

The Marubo had neither been under missionary
influence, nor had any known any settlers, traders,
or explorers in their territory up until the second
half of the nineteenth century, when the Juruá was
taken over by colonisers and the more frequent expe-
ditions up the Javari took on a significant economic
purpose. Instead of the traditional tropical drugs that
had drawn no more than local adventurers against the

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[5]In the Ucayali River alone, Steward & Métraux (1948:513)
mention general aboriginal resistance to intruders in 1686, 1695,
1704, 1742, 1767... and "as late as 1921."

dangers of the wild peoples who dwelt in the headwater regions, new vegetable riches brought then the *fin-de-siècle* and its lust to Amazonia, luring vast contingents of migrants to the remotest corners of the jungle. This newfound wealth came from the fallen trunk of the *caucho* tree (*Castilloa ullei*) and the even more precious, better-quality *seringa* latex, a perennial tree-sap made to exude regularly from superficial cuts on the bark of the arboreal genus *Hevea*.

Hitherto, then, and some time thereafter, the hinterland peoples were generally taken by westerners as neither more nor less than *índios bravos*, "wild ones," taken to be akin to the Mayoruna, Indians who peopled both the upper and lower reaches of the Javari River. These peoples underwent generalisation under generic denominations. As time went by, those peoples who eventually and gradually met Peruvians or Brazilians in the headwater streams of the Javari, farther away from neonational settlements, came to be known as "Marubo." Their assigned name and assumed traits spread further back to their neighbours, regardless of their cultural proximity or distance. "Marubo" is no self-denomination. It was, until not long ago, a name for all known and unknown peoples in and around the headwaters of the Javari.

The etymology of this name is not of much help in tracing its origins: while -*bo* is a suffix that indicates plurality, *maro* means just "headless" , "with

no headdress" for the present-day Marubo. In neigh-
bouring languages, however, this term associates with
the asocial—very distant, again, from a self-name.
Among the Matis, for example—Mayoruna-speakers
who neighbour today the Marubo—the word *maru*
means "bald" and constitutes the name of a mythi-
cal character who, ludicrously enough, has no anus.
Among the peoples who speak languages similar to
those of the Marubo and Mayoruna—the hairless, un-
adorned *maru* spirit and its collective form *marubo*
are akin to warfare and enmity.[6]

   The past and sparse accounts of colonisers, trav-
ellers, and missionaries might indeed have led to in-
tuitions about the generic "Marubo" and "Mayoruna."
Indeed, the languages of those who are known today
as such are branches of one and the same linguis-
tic trunk: Panoans, peoples whose names tend, with
some consistency, to end with -*nawa* and -*bo*. Their
languages constitute a minor family in the Amerindian
Lowlands, in relation to the Tupi, Gê, Arawak, and
Carib. Hinterland Panoans, such as "Mayoruna" and
"Marubo," were once thought to be a transitional joint,
the remains of a speculative original continuum. These

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[6]Philippe Erikson, personal communication. More overtly,
the author points out:

> "De là à postuler une association étroite entre les notions
> d'ennemis, de *maru*, d'invisibilité et d'absence d'ornements,
> il n'y a donc qu'un pas qui sera franchi avec d'autant moins
> de réticence qu'une thématique similaire se rencontre chez
> d'autres Pano." (1996:58)

peoples were the lost link counteracting an "Arawak split" that Julian Steward, in his corresponding section in the *Handbook of South American Indians*, thought to separate southern and northern Pano branches to diverge from a common "proto-trunk." In Philippe Erikson's important work on the Matis, these peoples remain as "the most enigmatic of native Amazonians."[7]

One of the first mentions of "Marubo" appears in 1862, in the writings of Antonio Raimondi. There it occurs in consistent association with other blanket categories such as "Mayoruna." Under his perspective, as from the Peruvian town of Iquitos, on the banks of the Marañón River, where over a hundred years later bronze statues, "Marubo" and "Mayoruna" laid on public sidewalks—accurate naming could not be the concern. An even earlier explorer, the North American navy officer William Herndon, verifies in 1853 the same classificatory relationship obtaining between them. Both were names that, regardless of their

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[7] *Cf.* Erikson 1996:17. Romanoff 1984 studies the Matsés, the present-day Mayoruna. See Erikson 1992 for more data on demography and for a "Pano ethno-history," with a specific emphasis on Mayoruna-like Panoans in Erikson 1994 and 1996. For Marubo ethnography, see Montagner Melatti & Melatti 1975a and 1975b, Melatti 1977, 1985a, 1985b, 1986, Montagner Melatti 1985, Ruedas 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, and Cesarino 2008. See still Melatti, ed. 1981 for an overview on the indigenous peoples of the Javari Valley, most of them inter-riverine Panoans.

sources, meant unfamiliar "others," those upriver, farther away from zones of wider interethnic contact.[8]
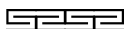
In sum, being in the centre of that immense fluvial complex in the Upper Amazon, Javarian waters have been on the margins of official western history for too long. But such a marginality will not explain the mystery surrounding the indigenous populations, the inter-riverine ones in particular. The obscure sources of the past, the still scanty present ethnography, and the sparse missionary information on the surrounds of the Ucayali, Javari, and Juruá offer us a riddle.

The majority of their names have in common an onomastic composition comprising a "non-human" substance or attribute and a "human" or "plural" morpheme: Pano ethnonyms follow respectively the x-*nawa* or x-*bo* formulae, *i.e.* "people of so-and-so" or simply the "so-and-sos." Further, these names of animals, plants, or other things ending with -*bo* or -*nawa*, pluralising and humanising suffixes, mutually

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[8]In 1948 Steward & Métraux quote an ethnonymic profusion from Raimondi's *Apuntes sobre la Provincia Litoral de Loreto*:

> "The village of Maucallacta, also on the Amazon, was once occupied by 100 Marubo [Maroba], a Mayoruna [Maxuruna, Majuruna, Mayiruna, Maxirona, Mayuzuna] subdivision." (1948:552)

Erikson (1996:57) in turn quotes in turn Herndon's *Explorations of the Valley of the Amazon*, which situates the Marubo "much upriver in the Javari."

refer both to external ethnic groups and to the several kin sections that are internal to those -*nawa* and -*bo* societies.

In use, this entails a process of never-ending naming, the classificatory urgency of a particular kinship form and an unbound ethnicity: peculiar conceptualisations of social exteriority and interiority. Besides their similar-sounding names, these seem to be the typical traits of peoples pertaining to the same family. The rationale of these traits we will see in the course of the next chapters. For the moment, it means not only to justify the attribution of a generic denomination for those little-known populations who were thought to share some sort of common-ground in the past, but that this common-ground is also in pieces. While both their linguistic commonality and their -*nawa* and -*bo* denominations identify them with the Amazonian Panoans, their onomastic self-identification is fragmentary. The contradiction between their unique language and their multiple ethnonyms is an intra-cultural and inter-social icon of these mysterious peoples, a complex kaleidoscope.[9]

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[9]The malinowskian qualification "kaleidoscopic" abounds in Townsley 1988, there with reference to the Yaminawa and other neighbouring Pano-speakers that the author labels generically "Purus Panoans," after the glotochronological classification of d'Ans 1973. This implies the historical hypothesis that these peoples, who now have different denominations and speak distinguishable dialects, stem from an original common-ground be-

If "Marubo" is a foreign ethnonym, an exogenous
name, its eventual misuse is more than a matter of a
lack of precise information. The hinterland natives of
eastern Peru and western Brazil, within the transition
between Andes and Amazonia, preempt clear-cut la-
belling. In the accounts of early conquistadors from
Spain, as in those of the competing Franciscan, Je-
suit, Carmelite, and secular missionaries; both among
their enslaving rivals from Portugal (ancestors of cur-
rent Brazilians, speakers of *língua geral*) and among
the late Quechua-speaking, Peruvian settlers; for all
sorts of newcomers, names are transformational oper-
ators of selves into others. For ethnicity stems from
the outside point-of-view, for newcomers and natives
alike, in written accounts and word-of-mouth, in his-
tory and myth.[10]

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tween the Juruá and the Purus Rivers. Here instead, the lan-
guage is one and the same for peoples who also now deserve the
qualification "kaleidoscopic," but beyond historical contingen-
cies. The Marubo language, self-nominated as *yorã vana*, has
been subject to professional description in Costa 1992 and 2000,
after preliminary missionary work (Boutle 1964 and Kennel Jr.
1976). The spelling of indigenous words here in use is identical
to the one in use in bilingual schools (*cf.* MNTB 1996). For the
sake of linguistic consistency, if not of the ethnographic termi-
nology, the same spelling applies here to other Pano ethnonyms,
even when they do not coincide with those of the Marubo kin-
ship sections.

[10]If the term "Mayoruna" is thought of as of Quechua extrac-
tion, at least since the 18th century (meaning "people of the
river," *cf.* Erikson 1996:54), Steward & Métraux (1948:512–

If this seems to be the general case among Pano-
ans, ethnonymic inaccuracy, as concerns the Marubo,
is understandable from two different outward angles.
For onomastic fragmentation counteracts the linguis-
tic homogeneity of both indigenous and incoming peo-
ples: while the cultural cohesion of the native inside
contrasts with its original multiplicity, all outsiders,
be they White or Panoan, constitute the homogenous
whole counteracting such a fragmentary ethnicity.[11]

In the next few chapters, such paradoxical state-
ments will undergo some recapitulation. The Marubo,
like the Mayoruna, are the past face of the fierce re-
sistance of the "wild", of the present *índio bravo* who,
aside from their generic names, are known with refer-
ence to their threatening weapons, as "club-wielders"
or "archers," *caceteiros* or *flecheiros*, for instance. For
hundreds of years and up to this date, these remote
peoples fit in a conceptual gap of "wildness." These
names fit in well with the unity behind their multifar-
ious ethnicity. In consequence, "Marubo" reads here
in plural. These peoples and other unknown groups,

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513) testifies that such was the *lingua franca* among Peruvians,
the equivalent to the Tupian-Brazilian *língua geral*.

[11]All that exogenous homogeneity produces indigenous mul-
tiplicity as it meets that which, again, Erikson phrases as "a
scheme of ultimately well-distinguishable limits":

> ". . . l'ontologie des Pano reflète leur fractionnement et con-
> tribue sans doute. . . à l'instaurer. Le contact avec l'Occident
> n'a pu qu'amplifier le phénomène. . ." (1996:47)

marginal to the borders of neonational settlements, are the heirs of native populations under wide-ranging denominations, which betray at one time both their ethnonymic multiplicity and their ethnic homogeneity.[12]

Of course our confusion in the face of a redundant "ethno-ethnic" classification is nothing but the reflection of a surface appearance, more a mere mirror of our ignorance than any apparent classificatory failure of theirs. Although ambiguous and circumstantial, their "ethno-ethnonyms" follow native notions of ethnicity that are in turn subject to an indigenous ontology, one that is not amenable to our familiar syllogisms. Such an unfamiliarity stems back from both our own ethnicity, and our own way of dealing with names, and with words in general. For neither are the *-nawa* and *-bo* suffixes part of a subject *vs.* predicate relationship manifest in ethnonyms, nor are these ethnonyms akin to taxonomies of clan-totemic classes. The explication requires the native conceptualisations of ethnicity (such as *nawa*), the corresponding notion of plurality (expressed as *bo*), and the substances and attributes that join the *-nawa* and *-bo* suffixes in the composition of names. This requires an in-depth enquiry into the mythical-musical context and form in which such words are said. These words, their context

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[12]Erikson 1993 and 1996 presents wider generalisations on this, which is taken to be a typical Pano paradox.

and form, call into question the western meanings of "words," "context" and "form."[13]

The measure of the task that the language of these peoples impose on our thought is commensurate to the confusion that their names spread through history. Marubo ethnonyms cannot be seen as a classificatory grid through which groups of people boil down to mutually exclusive ethnic, kinship or linguistic categories. Instead, the nominative suffixes *-nawa* and *-bo* are the linguistic operators of a native out-bound logic that entails an ethnonymic proliferation.

With regard to the logic of "ethno-ethnicity" here at stake, any preconceptions of what "ethnic" means will be prejudicial: "ethnonyms" are not quite the best translation to *-nawa* names. The Marubo logic of nomination operates in accordance with the diametrical meanings of the word *nawa* as found among Panoans. This word serves, in fact, as a prime classificatory operator of humanity—but not of humanity *par excellence*: the meaning of *nawa* is essentially plural. The lexical meaning of *nawa* as a single word is

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[13] *Cf.* Heidegger 1992 [1982] on a critique to western logic, for example:

> "...erroneous ideas, reigning supreme in linguistics even today, originate in the circumstance that the first reflection on language, Greek grammar, was developed under the guiding line of 'logic,' *i.e.*, the theory of declarative assertions, propositional theory. Accordingly, propositions are composed out of words, and the latter denote 'concepts.' These indicate what is represented 'in general' in the word." (1992[1982]:21)

in contrast to the syntactical one, to that of -*nawa*
as an affix; that is, the gloss "foreigner" in the first
case contrasts with the second sense, when the word
stands for a matrilineal section, a "kin group" and /
or a "people." At least for the Marubo, *nawa* gains
yet new significance in the mythical-musical context,
in myth-chants, as "large" or "prototypical" and, last,
-*nawa* can be part of a proper personal name among
these peoples (*e.g. Kenĩnawa*), in which case the word
may be glossed as "person" (in this example a "*kenĩ*
man," a "bearded" one).

In further chapters, our focus will be on the rela-
tions between those meanings, these semantic layers.
As well as epitomising a mode of socialisation among
Panoans, one that entails a specific social dialectics
governing ethnicity, the understanding of *nawa* shall
afford us insight into notions of personhood and hu-
manity itself.[14]

Both -*nawa* names and the alternatively suffixed
-*bo* ones are not to be understood as universal cate-
gories, substantive nouns that gain attributive speci-
ficity, adjective function when "inhuman" prefixes are

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[14]Even within the realm of its narrower "societal meaning,"
the semantics of *nawa* is of course a favourite theme in wider
comparative Pano studies, and not less so in Erikson 1996,
where it is seen as a marker of the "assimilation of the exte-
rior" (1996:78), whereby "...we are another... and the other
is in us... [as much as] a good deal of our neighbours is..."
(1996:72).

attached to them: *nawa* is instead a functional sub-
stantiation of exteriority, a contextual one, which con-
tradicts the exclusivity of attributes of humanity to
the social interior and simultaneously gives rise to
contradictory and inclusive classifications among hu-
mans. These classifications correspond to the alter-
nate conflicting identities, alternating in accordance
to which kinds of humanity the -*nawa* name is referr-
ing—to an outsider or an insider— while extra-human
things or beings are made human through the *nawa*-
qualification in myth-chants. If a *nawa* thing is meant
as "originally large and exterior" in myth, the his-
torical contextualisation of persons or peoples with
nawa-names makes them to stand along the alterity
and identity divide—to mean either foreigner or kith
and kin.

This is to say that such a human substantiation in
the form of ethnonyms and personal names, the in-
teriorisation of the exterior, occurs by means of the
qualification of an "inhuman" thing as *nawa*. The
combinatory means for ethnonyms to vary in the pro-
cess of defining human identity *vis-à-vis* the social
interior—defined as that of ours and that of theirs,
that of Marubo, Panoan, or White—is the articu-
lation of the "non-human" qualifier with the "*nawa*-
exteriority." The contrast among humans that these
names create—from the sole meaning of *nawa* to the
substantial attributions of the -*nawa* suffix, from an
"extra-human" diversity to a general "human" unity—

does not negate, but assert their humanity. It is as if
nawa-foreignness were to cancel non-humanity. This
is because, among the Marubo, the everyday mean-
ing of *nawa*, "foreign person," is but a hypostasis of
an all-pervading, on-going equation between outsider
and affine, the exogenous humans which in fact define
humanity—Pano humanity at large—in some essen-
tial or "prototypical" fashion and, furthermore, not
just in names.[15]

Thus the confusion between this terminology and
the vocative terms in the mutual assignment of these
ethnonyms starts to make more sense. It becomes eas-
ier to understand the extent to which kinship denom-
inations and native conceptualisations at large have
been taken as or mistaken for ethnonyms in the liter-
ature. One becomes aware of multiple perspectives,
categories cut in unclear ways as one hears that many
of the local peoples' names of the area are intelligible
for the Marubo: with local accent, their names would
be spelt *Kãchinawa*, *Iskonawa* (*Iskovakevo*), *Shane-
nawa*, *Marinawa*, *Pakanawa*, *Kõtanawa*, *Yawanawa*
(*Yawavo*), *Shawãnawa*, *Kamãnawa*, *Wanĩnawa*. The
Marubo would translate these names, mere examples
of the onomastic maze that ethnographers find among
Panoans, as "peoples of the Bat, of the *Japu* Bird

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[15]The implications of this seem to extend to other Panoans,
as in Townsley 1988, Erikson 1996, and Lagrou 1998—the latter
in a wider-ranging statement of perspectival, rather "graphic"
dialectics of designs, of self and other among the Kachinawa.

(genus *Psarocolius*, in the literature *oropendola*), of
the Ultramarine Grosbeak (*Azulão*, bird of the genus
Cyanocompsa), the Agouti, the *Taboca* Bamboo (*Guadua weberbaueri*), the *Babaçu* Palm (genus *Orbignya*),
the White-Lipped Peccary, the Red Macaw (*Ara macao*), the Jaguar, the Peach-Palm Fruit (*pupunha* in
Brazil, *Bactris gasipaes*)." The reasons for classificatory confusion take form in the fact that some of these
-*nawa* peoples, these "people" denominations are actual kinship sections.[16]

One can even find wider categorial words used as
ethnonyms among other mysterious Panoans, like the
legendary *Nawa*, the "people" people of the Upper Juruá, and the *Yora*, also known as Amahuaca, whose
name means a literal "person" in Marubo. These
two ethnonyms are now but a few examples of the
ethnographic prodigality and slight levity in giving
names to little-known peoples, when social fragmentation is taken for ethnic heterogeneity. Further, such
fragmentation is beyond a totemic-classificatory logic;
rather, it is a substantial implication of each of those
names.[17]

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[16]For other "mutually intelligible" Pano ethnonyms, see Steward & Métraux 1948. Kensinger 1983 questions the validity of
the many such -*nawa* denominations:

> "I am inclined to believe that many of the approximately one
> hundred [Panoan] groups listed ... [in the *Handbook of South
> American Indians*] have never existed as autonomous linguistic
> and cultural entities." (1983:849, my translation)

[17]Erikson always gives weight to the hypothesis of a more

Our compulsion to impinge ethnic boundaries by means of ethnonyms is too often at odds with the native conceptualisations on ethnicity, which are inseparable from a indigenous construal of humanity, in onomastics or otherwise. The literature suggests many potential parallels among Panoans, a similarity beyond onomastics in between the headwaters of the three major basins above. Here the Marubo are once again an inter-riverine icon of adjacent territories.[18]

Let us probe into another example. If the Amahuaca are *Yora*, *yora* is the word for "body" among the Marubo, but only insofar as such a "body" is in relation to other entities, whose glosses further below are "souls," "spirits," and "doubles"—*vaká*, *yové*, *yochĩ*—or still in relation to other peoples. Cursory ethnography states that the Amahuaca have what would be the equivalent to the Marubo entities *yochĩ* (*yoshi*) and *yové* (*yowïï*). Meanwhile negative statements por-

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general unity behind apparent multiplicity among all Panoans:

> ". . . les Pano utilisent fréquemment de noms de moitié ou de section en guise de vocatifs. . . [I]l est. . . vraisemblable qu'à l'instar des autres Pano, les anciens Mayoruna se répartissaient en nombreuses d'unités, chacune s'auto qualifiant de x-*nawa*." (1996:66–67)

[18]Take *Iskonawa* as an example: it is a kinship section among the Marubo; while it is thought to be a separate group among the Shipibo, Ucayali Panoans (Kensinger 1983:857). It is worth noting that their alternative denomination *Iskovakevo*, among the Shipibo, is an ellipse of the syntagma *iskõ vake náwavo* for the Marubo—literally "the peoples of the *japu*-bird's children" in mythical-musical language.

tray these Indians without gods, with no rulers, no shamanic entities— ultimately with no names.[19]

The characterisation of the Amahuaca *yoshi* spirits yields remarkable similarities with the Marubo *yochĩ*, briefly but typically. And so does the assignment of these peoples as *yora*. If dubious, this is not at all surprising. The meaning of *yora* spans across semantic extremes as widely as *nawa* does: it means so much that it verges on empty meanings.[20]

The meaning of *yora* is ascertainable in its adjectival, possessive function in its genitive form—*e.g. yorã vana* for "our language"—or it is otherwise a generalising term altogether—*e.g. yora yama*, "there is nobody." There is indeed a somewhat pronominal qual-

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[19]In pre-Clastrean fashion, Carneiro describes the Amahuaca in 1964:

> "The Amahuaca have a Tropical Forest type of culture, but of *a rather rudimentary sort...* social and ceremonial organisation is *exceedingly simple*; even headmen and shamans are *absent...* the system of supernatural beliefs is similarly *not very elaborate...*" (Carneiro 1964: 6, my emphases)

[20] *Cf.* Lagrou 1998 on the Kachinawa:

> "*...yuda* means the individual as well as the collective 'social body' of close kin with whom one shares the substances of daily life." (1998:35)

While Townsley 1988, on the Yaminawa, puts *yora* within narrower limits:

> "The circle of kin created around any ego by th[e] idea of a shared blood is referred to as the *yora* ("body")... This term is in fact used flexibly in different contexts to distinguish "our people" from "others" but is always carries this connotation of real biological kinship..." (Townsley 1988:54–55)

ity to this word, which echoes its conceptual variations among Panoans, such as the Yaminawa *yora* and the Kachinawa *yuda*. The Kachinawa seem to employ the term in an analogous way to the Marubo, and use it even less like an ethnonym as such.[21]

As in the Marubo case, one of the Amahuaca words that seem to be closest to a self-denomination might indeed be *yora*. Thus, *yora* and *nawa* might be taken as the indigenous analogues of exogenous denominations such as "Mayoruna" and "Marubo." However, the understanding of native terms for "person," "people," and "body" requires an even closer attention to the logic underlying those conceptualisations.

Our western concepts cannot be more than mere translation tools in the study of native words pertaining to "humanity," like *yora* and *nawa*, as well as of those concerning notions of the "extra-human" entities that share the world where these "persons," "peoples" and "bodies" live. The words, notions, and conceptualisations concerning self-reference conform to a sys-

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[21]Viveiros de Castro attempts a general explication for what he describes as a typical Amazonian phenomenon concerning ethnonyms:

> "Far from manifesting a semantic shift from a common name into a proper name (taking the word for 'people' as the name of the tribe), such words [Amazonian ethnonyms] point to the opposite direction, from substantives to perspectives (whereby 'people' is taken as the collective pronoun '[we] the people')... Apparently these ethnonyms are frozen artefacts produced in the context of interaction with the ethnographer." (Viveiros de Castro 1996:125, my translation)

tematic complex of experience of humanity and the human world that we may suspect to say something different about "persons," "peoples," and "bodies." We hypothesise that they themselves represent it in their myth-music: in the original form in which they utter their words. The conceptual logic of translation must be subsume under the native utterance itself.

Before turning to such native utterances, I shall simply summarise that *nawa* has an extrovert societal reality, whereas *yora* has an introvert cosmo-physiological meaning, though that "societal reality" is the expression of this equally social, cosmic physiology. To say more about these and other words will require a further focus onto that which those peoples call *saiti* and we translate as "myth-chants."
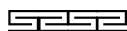
A richer ethnographic material alone shall allow for ambitious generalisations, as generalisations would allow for comparison. In Panoan cartographic settings, Marubo language would be close to that their neighbours westward, the well-known Shipibo-Conibo-Shetebo. As one descends the *piedmont* from the Ucayali toward the Javari Valley, it would find similarities among the hinterland Kapanawa, the "squirrel people." Further to the South, toward the upper course of the Juruá River live the Yawanawa, in the old days active rubber-labourers, "Marubo" peoples in linguistic

terms. Even more so are the neighbouring Katukina.
Deep upriver in Acre, back across international bor-
ders, one finds the highest diversity of Panoans. Con-
temporary ethnography is more abundant on these
southern Panoans, above all the Kachinawa and Yam-
inawa.[22]

All these peoples scatter further back to Peru and
to Bolivia, along the Juruá, Purus, and their tribu-
taries, which flow through Brazil into the Amazon,
far to the North. But now it is time to land on the
Javari Valley. The Marubo territory in the Upper Ituí
borders the lands of the Matis to the North, while in
the opposite direction there is a *varador*, a walkway
connecting its headwaters with the Juruá, around the
Brazilian community of Boa Fé. The Marubo and I
spent together our lives in the Upper Ituí between
February 1998 and January 1999.

To these peoples is my debt. As of 2011, their
population amounts to 687 peoples in the Upper Ituí
(data from the current governmental agency for in-

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[22]Shipibo-Conibo-Shetebo ethnography includes Roe 1982,
Bertrand-Ricoveri 1994, Lecrerc 2003, and Colpron 2004. The
New Tribes' missionary *John Jansma* testifies the linguistic
similarities between Marubo and Kapanawa, after some thirty
years working in the area. For the Katukina, see Coffaci de
Lima 1994 and 2000. A representative sample of the ethnogra-
phy in the southern and other close-neighbouring areas would
include Kensinger 1995, Deshayes & Keifenheim 1982, McCal-
lum 1989, Lagrou 1998 (for the Kachinawa), Townsley 1988,
and Calavia Saez 1995 (for the Yaminawa).

digenous health, SESAI). A missionaries census taken over ten years earlier, shortly before fieldwork, had 356 individuals living among 14 longhouses. Those in Vida Nova were in highest numbers (159). In addition to occasional passers-by from other longhouses on the limits of native territory, Vida Nova had the more sporadic presence of individuals and families from other communities in the Middle Ituí and Upper and Middle Curuçá (Rio Novo, Maronal, São Sebastião, São Salvador).

One of the latter, short-stay visitors was decisive for this study: *Ivãpa*, western name *Vicente*.[23]

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[23]Fieldwork took place first in Vida Nova and then in the community of Alegria, with two longhouses further down the river, summing up 62 peoples. Some visits were paid up the river to Liberdade (two longhouses, 39 peoples).

I had regular visits from even further upriver, from the households of *Memẽpa* (Paulino) and *Cherõpapa* (Armando Paiva), which had 36 and 18 peoples each.

stories and histories

Before any further focus, some recent time-depth. We are in southwestern Amazonia, seen by westerners as an inexhaustible source of valuables. There, in the expanding economic boom at the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, Peruvian and Brazilian rubber-tappers—*caucheros* and *seringueiros*—skin-poachers and loggers had successive, gradual contact with the natives of *terra firma*. These peoples were the "Marubo" of the Javari Valley.

These peoples remain to this day on the mysterious fulcrum of their linguistic territory, in a geographic centre—but today marginal to the jungle *centro* where for centuries they have seen the encroachment of the coloniser, up on the streamlet headwaters, far away from the main waterways.

Their progressive movement from the small tributaries to the secondary mainstreams of the Javari, in particular the Curuçá and the Ituí Rivers, form a successive pattern that sounds cyclical in their *saiti*

myth-chants. Now we want to make sense of musical-
mythical time through a historical angle, before mov-
ing on to the temporal character of the myth-chants
themselves. Against the official history of nation-
state "contact," which maintains that these indige-
nous peoples have been under the attraction of the
western world on the banks of larger rivers, here we
take a local perspective. Before we hear the chant of
the mythical fundamentals of their historical cycles,
this chapter presents foreign reports on the area, while
the next shall deal with other stories, some sketches
of native history. Both chapters describe the cycli-
cal temporality of the native space as the outcome of
indigenous decisions, in which the successive state of
relations with foreigners has always been at stake.

Let us start from the more recent accounts, those
that portray the advancement of the nation-state in
the Javari Valley. For a long time national assign-
ments had no meaning whatsoever. This is not to
mean that those indigenous peoples were unaware of
a massive foreign world surrounding them: the sheer
location of their villages, either deep in the forests
or closer to the main rivers, is a consequence of de-
cisive attitudes taken against exogenous penetration.
The foreigner has been present as a warrior or en-
slaver, as rubber-tapper or logger, official or mission-
ary, as the national symbol of absent state-authorities
or of the hardly present, but still threatening national
army. For the Marubo, these outsiders have always

been *nawa.* For the incomers, the territory is still marginal, and native peoples are little known. The political borders were not official before the decline of latex extraction in the late 1920, after the settlement of most disputes involving rubber-tappers, emigrants from northeastern Brazil and Peruvians through the West.

By that time, a medical doctor of an international frontier-delimiting expedition brought to light a brief survey which locates the "Marubius" (*sic*) by the Jaqui-rana, *i.e.* the Upper Javari, "from the mouth of the Galvez River to its headwaters."[24]

As late as in the 1940s, little is known in written sources about the Javari Valley. A Capuchin friar presents then some scant information. Friar Fidelis de Alviano was a missionary in times of stagnation, when the portray of those hinterland aborigines was still quite mysterious.[25]

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[24]Carvalho provides an enlightening geographic overview:

> "Four are the tribes that inhabit the Javari basin: the *Mayus*, the *Capanauas*, the *Marubius* and the *Remus.* The *Mayus* live in the Curuçá River and in the Lower Javari, stretching toward the Galvez, the Tapiche and the Branco [Rivers]; the latter two are tributaries of the Ucayale (*sic*). The *Capanauas* dwell in the Igarapé dos Lobos and along the right bank of the Javari, from the mouth of the Galvez until Lontananza... The *Remus*... had, until not too long ago, a large settlement by the Bathan (*sic*)... and are today reduced to a small nucleus in Contas, a couple in San Pablo and some families in the lands that separate the Javari from the Ypixuna River (*sic*)." (1931:252, my translation)

[25]He reports on the "Marubas" (*sic*):

> "This tribe lives in the Upper Curuçá, in the Ituí, Itaquaí, Arrojo, Rio das Pedras. These Indians are enemies of the

The history of contact between Indians and Whites
in the Javari Valley dates back to the days of the first
missionaries and tropical drug-collectors, but consis-
tent accounts are rare until the more recent histories
of conflict. These are fresh enough in the living recol-
lection of the last moments of rubber extraction and
the more transient times of tree felling, among those
who saw the initial influx of of governmental officials
and missionaries from the New Tribes Mission. The
crucial historical mark is indeed in the 1940s, when
the first log parties drift down from the small wa-
terways to the stream of the Javari. The Marubo
were well familiar with rubber-tappers from Brazil—
seringueiros (after *seringa*, the latex from *Hevea*),
having still vivid memories of the *txami koro*, "Pe-
ruvian" exploiters—*caucheros* (from *caucho* rubber-
tree, from the genus *Castilloa*).

The ensuing timber did not reach as further deep
into the forest as latex-exploitation, even though the
colocações, the tree-felling sites were at the heart of
native territory. The activity had a stronger impact

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caucheiros [rubber-tappers], and have little contact with the
Whites. . . [speaking] a dialect of the. . . Pano [linguistic] fam-
ily." (1943:5–6, my translation)

Whereas Steward & Métraux, in the *Handbook* section "Mon-
taña and Bolivian East Andes":

"Although the tribes along the main waterways are now largely
acculturated or assimilated, those in the hinterland of the
rivers retain more aboriginal culture than is found among most
South American Indians. . . [having] escaped continuous mis-
sion influence and best survived White settlement." (1948:509)

on indigenous politics, even though its immediacy
was less conspicuous than the previous pressure from
rubber-exploiters, several decades earlier than tim-
ber times. In fact, the exploitative pattern maintains
some continuity from rubber to timber, at some point
in the middle of the 20th century. The first logging
parties date from at least 1945.[26]

From the early 1950s on, access to the land would
be easier: since logging is seasonal, it did not require
a permanent settler. But the exploitation of both
rubber and timber would follow an earlier regional
model, linking Indian labour to their White *patrão*-
boss through the chains of *aviamento*, the debt-peon-
age system that the natives themselves had known at
the turn of the century. One interesting adaptation
to these relations was the establishment of indigenous
patron-bosses, steering boats, and managing store-
houses. These "bosses" would be occasional longhouse
owners in their own villages, holding credit with west-
erners from the nearest town in the form of western

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[26]One written account dates from 18th May 1950, when a
zoologist from *Museu Nacional* of Rio de Janeiro wrote an entry
in his field diary from Benjamin Constant, the main logging
centre in the Javari Valley, reporting on the arrival of a logging
party from upstream in the Ituí River. He reports on the main
local products, timber and rubber, noting the decadence of local
villages after the decline of the latex-boom (*cf.* Mello Carvalho
1955:28,30). See also Melatti, ed. 1981 for other important
Indian and White testimonies on the earlier history of the Javari
Valley.

goods. The clients of these new patron-bosses would
be their younger kinsmen, with whom there were al-
ready pre-existent hierarchical relationships.[27]

The impact of logging was following then that ear-
lier pattern of interaction between indigenous peoples
and exogenous exploiters. To the eyes of missionaries
and adventurers who went up those rivers in search of
whatever shone like gold, of souls—speciations within
the wide categories of "Indian" or "Marubo," since
colonial times, were beyond the borders of wilderness.
But if the eyes of these intruders did not discriminate
much among the "wild peoples" they met, the latter
would regard the former as *nawa*, generic foreigners.
The difference between the two perspectives was that
the distant regard of a high-rank trader in the debt-
peonage chain could easily ignore that reciprocal re-
lationship, the interpenetration of different interpre-
tations. If the interface of these economic relations
was too often interethnic violence, the local relation-
ship between boss (*patrão*) and debtor (*aviado*) would
follow an indigenous hierarchy of kinship.[28]

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[27]For the Marubo *vs.* White commercial relations see Melatti,
ed. 1981, which presents a summary description, placing the
local debt-peonage labour system within a more general frame-
work. Melatti 1985a provides an account of the impact of such
aviamento system on previous indigenous sociocultural forms.

[28]Taussig 1987 is a vivid historical account of violent debt-
peonage in Columbian Amazonia. The beauty of the narra-
tive lies in the way the author portrays indigenous actions—
shamanic perspectives—as counter-reactions against the en-

These relationships precede and should survive the
rubber-boom. In fact, they became even stronger
when the highest demographic pressure came a lit-
tle after the second world-war, after the consolidation
of international borders in Amazonia. The boom-
ing rubber times were over, although the *seringa* la-
tex was still to be tapped; now the motor-power of
nation-wide exploitation was valuable timber from the
headwaters of the Javari. This is when indigenous at-
tempts to establish a permanent engagement with the
market economy date from. As timber trade gains
momentum, the movement from native headwaters
to national riverine settlements led to river connec-
tions along the Ituí and the Curuçá Rivers. In a
mythical past, whose re-enactment is ever-present in
myth-chants, natives peoples alternate their settle-
ments between large rivers and hinterland hillocks,
moving along a riverine axis. This performance of
mythical chronology gains historical contour in next
sketches: in the nearly contemporary times of logging,
the spatial alternation of longhouses took a downriver
direction. This was in opposition to the earlier histor-
ical cycle that, otherwise, similarly drew them from
upstream to riverbank: the initial movement to re-
gain contact with westerners, earlier in the 1940s, had
taken place toward the Juruá.

Up to now, the White neighbours who are clos-

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croachment of imperialistic violence.

est to the Marubo live along the banks of the Ju-
ruá River. The Brazilian population that is currently
there, around the southern borders of the territory,
comprises the remnants of former *seringais*, rubber-
tapping settlements. It was there that post-war con-
tact with the nation-state took place in one of those
communities, the *seringal* Boa Fé, aiming at a regu-
lar supply of western goods against forest products,
after the incidents that had broken up relations with
rubber-tappers during the rubber-boom. The prox-
imity contrasts with the later long-term journey that
wood had to go through down the river, unable to
cross the watershed in the South. If riverine dis-
tance mediates the impact of timber trade with in-
digenous labour, the historical movement of rubber
and wood had homologous directions, if in opposite
senses, from headwaters to large riverbanks. Up to
these days, although rubber-balls *não têm preço* (they
"no longer have a price"), the strongest contrast to na-
tive lifestyles, and the consequent epidemic danger on
these peoples still comes across watersheds, from the
banks of the Juruá River.

The conjuncture of contact is contemporary, al-
beit not new. Not only is transit from streamlets to
riverbanks familiar to the Marubo, both in rubber
and timber times, but the violence that intermedi-
ates the two settings is too. The intermittent violence
throughout the local histories contributes to the con-
tinuous mystery surrounding these forests, a constant

of contact. Irrespective of linguistic considerations, "Marubo" has been a local synonym for wildness at large, for "Javarian Indian." "Marubo" is a flexible construct of cross-cultural contexts, still today in the context of contact.

Contact through the 20th century was not an altogether new phenomenon in the Javari Valley; but the consolidation of foreign relations was to follow the lead of the Indian willingness to trade with the White, around the 1950s. If national and international conjunctures impinge on local histories, history is just as much the gradual result of indigenous agency. It is obvious that the increment of intensive contact and potential confrontation between White and Indian in the 50s and 60s, in Brazilian Javari, can be seen as the result of the expansion of national frontiers, under the auspices of timber and still some surviving rubber. Yet this outcome could not occur before Marubo migration to more navigable waters in early 1960s, in search of an easier outlet from the jungle after inner conflicts, with the enthusiastic help of the North American New Tribes Mission.[29]

Government officials came in about ten years after the first settlement of missionaries in 1952, to serve

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[29]*João Americano*, NTM missionary, was living then among the Marubo, and was still around during fieldwork in what is today the settlement of Vida Nova. For an account of missionaries in the Javari, see Montagner Melatti & Melatti 1975a 1975b and Melatti, ed. 1981.

the purpose, as regards indigenous decisions about
their destinies, of facilitating and establishing media-
tion with the western world. When the first timber-
men went up the Javari, the nation-state was a vague
idea, an extraneous one if existing at all. The nearest
governmental office was by the Solimões River, *i.e.*
the Upper Amazon on the Brazilian side of the triple
international border. The Indians would be soon keen
on attracting the White, diverting the focus of for-
eignness from the watershed, from the Juruá, to the
mouth of the Javari.

Another ten years after that first official contact in
the early 1960s, the Brazilian Government, through
the offices of FUNAI (an acronym for the govern-
mental agency for indigenous affairs, *Fundação Na-
cional do Índio*) sent the first "anthropological mis-
sion," with Julio Cezar and Delvair Montagner Melat-
ti, aiming at a more specific "ethnic profile" of those
peoples. This pioneering research mentions an en-
emy group to the present-day Marubo, now known as
the Mayoruna from Igarapé Lobo, a tributary of the
Javari. This was the first official attempt to recog-
nise the difference between the Upper Curuçá and
Ituí peoples, "proper Marubo," and the other Indi-
ans of the Javari, with such an "incorrect" denomina-
tion. Native names suffer a semantic shift. "Marubo"
would now refer not to the "wild" but to the "domes-
tic" ones, that is, to those peoples who had regular
relations with the nation-state. The official compul-

sion was now for ethnic definition.[30]

It is not accidental that this identity compulsion was concurrent with certain governmental plans toward a political-economic agenda. Brazil underwent a dramatic gross-income increase between the late 1960s and early 1970s, at the height of a military dictatorship. The basis of the regime was the infrastructural growth that became known as the "Brazilian Miracle." One of the monumental projects was the construction of the *Rodovia Perimetral Norte*, a motorway that would cross the entire territory of the Javari Valley, running parallel with the international border. To the relief of the forest peoples the plan was left on each end after some dozens of miles, near the cities of Cruzeiro do Sul and Benjamin Constant.[31]

Another governmental project dating from that time was oil prospecting, up to the Jaquirana and

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[30]The Melattis' ethnographic reports state that, as late as that, governmental technicians had all Javarian peoples who refrained from regular relations with neonationals under the label "Marubo." One had to provide specifications:

> "The Marubo in question have been in contact with civilised peoples since the beginning of this century. When rubber prices reached the lowest levels around 1932, the civilised (Peruvian *caucheros*) left the area and the Marubo went back to the hinterland. In 1952 the Marubo began to show up in the Juruá River." (1975a: 12, my translation)

The "Mayoruna" in question would then call themselves Matsés (*cf.* Garcia Paula 1979).

[31]In fact, parallel policies of the current left-wing government (as of 2011) give rise to speculations about new such projects or the revival of old ones.

downriver from the Curuçá and Ituí, in the exploratory
expeditions of PETROBRAS, the Brazilian Oil State
Company. Again, their failure was all to the good. Oil
prospectors were less violent than past exploiters but
still aggressive, fishing with bombs and approaching
unknown villages without previous negotiation. As
usual, ethnonymic generalisation was the rule: in a
rather coarse manner, White explorers called the In-
dians *pica amarrada*, "tied penis," after the way they
wore their genital garments—*ina tené chiá*, among
old-days' Marubo.

These unsuccessful attempts to integrate the area
in a national programme meant that the local re-
lations were still to be in the hands of indigenous
agents. While the area had been full of settling and
passing newcomers since the mid-1950s, this did not
prevent natives from negotiating in equal terms with
westerners—through their own version of debt-peon-
age, with state officials and missionaries. Among
these incoming partners, the latter were to hold a
privilege as interlocutors and intermediaries in foreign
negotiations. The presence of missionaries is indeed
the result of new arrivals to the area: rubber-tappers,
poachers, loggers, settlers, and traders. The more of-
ficial barriers there were between Indians and Whites,
the more power was given to the missionaries. The
New Tribes Mission was to work as an extra-official
authority, as concerns other intruders, serving as some
sort of fake presence of the nation-state. The absence

of the latter led to the ascription of doubtful powers
to missionaries, in what was considered as a no-place
of time-immemorial forests and rivers, animals and
peoples. But these peoples were those who had the
power to choose their favourite partners.

The Marubo chose the Brazilian Government—the
mission, as a deputy—as substitutes for the former
patrões, the rubber- and timber-patrons. All these
new peaceful relations were a means for these peoples
to move from the tributary headwaters, where na-
tives had kept to in times of open warfare, but where
impending sorcery would be rife. Those westerners
were now seen as a means of access to the large river-
banks, to undertake the migration movement down
from the mythical headwaters' hillocks, the predica-
ment of native myths-chants in spite of circumstantial
contingencies.

It is true that these exterior connections would di-
vert from the southern Juruá to the northern Solimões
in parallel with the economic shift from rubber to
timber. But also here the initiative was indigenous.
If nation-state officials took the first steps toward
"normalising" the situation, the "abnormal" situation,
from the official viewpoint, was the sheer presence of
"wild people" in an urban environment. The Marubo
went, in the early 1960's, as far down the river as to
the nearest national cities to attract their attention.
Further official attempts of "attraction" were the foun-

dations of what is today the indigenous community of
São Sebastião, in the Middle Curuçá. But the plans
to establish an official post were mutual. The long-
houses, in the headwaters of small tributaries, quite
apart from the dozens of rubber-tappers and loggers
along the main course of the Curuçá, also saw with
fear the "expeditions of adventurers," a feature of the
official discourse that met the view of the Marubo.[32]

The reciprocal, widespread fear of wild *índios bra-
vos* was part of the riverbank attitude toward the jun-
gle as a foreign domain, much in the same way as hin-
terland perspectives would place the *nawa* foreigner
on riverine land. Hence the suspicions of connections
between outlaws and forest peoples.

Indeed, such connections are drawn in reports of
conflicts among *seringa* tappers in late 1965, when

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[32]The documentary source of that story is an earlier gov-
ernmental post on the banks of the Upper Solimões, near the
city of Benjamin Constant. A list of reports from *Posto In-
dígena Ticunas*, all from 1963, gives us a quite precise idea of
the agencies at stake in the series of episodes leading to contact
with a Marubo subgroup up the Curuçá River. These peoples
were further downriver from those who had already been under
missionisation in the upper headwaters since the early 1950s.
One official report mentions two men who had come down ear-
lier from the headwaters of a tributary of the Lower Curuçá,
spending two years in the *Ticunas* Indigenous Post. Their orig-
inal homeland was quite far from the Curuçá River, miles away
from the *Posto Indígena* in Benjamin Constant. Shortly after
their stay, the two of them went back to their home village with
some officials.

two Brazilian settlers were found dead in the Ituí River. The national army took immediate action and an expedition was sent, spending the night in a long-house. SPI (*Serviço de Proteção aos Índios*, FUNAI's former office), would mention that "Peruvians," set-tling in the Curuçá among the Indians, trading pelts to the Juruá, were to be held responsible. The affair would also hold responsible a famous *regatão*, a retail trader, a certain João Barbosa Guimarães, the fore-most patron-boss from Benjamin Constant. His name sounds distinctly Portuguese; but the recurrent image is that of the Peruvian wrongdoer mixing up with the Indian through wayward routes, speaking their lan-guage and "influencing" them against the Brazilian. Evil comes from abroad, keeping official trade and settlement of the nation-state at bay. Other, the in-digenous peoples were keen on settling and trading on riverine land, something that would presume contact with the outside.[33]

SPI, and later FUNAI, should establish a *Posto de Atração* ("Attraction Post") as the first step toward a *Posto Indígena* ("Indigenous Post"). The Govern-

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[33]The explicitly Brazilian, semi-official views are manifest in SPI archives. The discourse attributes the causation of all deaths in the area to "foreign elements, notably Peruvians (ban-doleers, adventurers, etc.) [who] live among the Indians, with full command of their patois [*gíria*, as opposed to "proper lan-guage"], instigating them...." All SPI documents are kept in microfilms in *Museu do Índio*, Rio de Janeiro.

ment did not do much more than doing a few censuses.
The picture of the situation was not too dissimilar to
memories of earlier times of warfare, in the middle
of the jungle. In 1972, anthropologist Roberto Car-
doso de Oliveira describes raids as a contemporary
phenomenon: the *correrias* were still "cleaning up"
the land. This testifies that the temporal cycles, as
much as the peoples who live them, are homogeneous,
albeit fragmentary: the warlike atmosphere that left
the Upper Ituí in peace after the indigenous settle-
ment with missionaries was rife in the Curuçá.[34]

The New Tribes Mission gave a prompter response
to the indigenous needs of maintaining peace with the
nawa outside than the Brazilian Government. This
also helps to explain why official support has been
given to missionaries. It was a means to secure sover-
eignty, especially in times of national security para-
noia under the military: some sort of an informal al-

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[34]In 1965–1966, the Marubo under SPI assistance amounted
to 185 peoples. By 1967, all activities had come to a halt due
to a typical "absolute lack of financial resources and personnel."
As for warfare, the famous Brazilian anthropologist would
later state:

> "Now one must persuade the directors of the SPI to undertake
> an expedition along the Itacoaí River (*sic*) up to the headwa-
> ters of the Curuçá, to the longhouses of the Marubo. It is
> uncertain whether some of their raid parties or local groups
> are involved in these *correrias*. This is not too unlikely, since
> many of these Indians suffer from the direst exploitation and
> are dependent on groups of loggers working in the surround-
> ings of their longhouses." (Cardoso de Oliveira 1972:39, my
> translation)

liance was set up between missionaries and the authorities.

But the Brazilian have set out an ambiguous position on the Mission. Certain pressure against missionaries can be felt in some documentation from the SPI, conditioning their stay to the absence of the nation-state. An anthropological consultancy said that, with a view on "constitutional provisions" (!), missionaries should be only in permanent contact areas, where native peoples "were already part" of neonational life. The technical report states that missions should not lie within indigenous areas: missionaries were seen as mere substitutes for official action—a view that natives were likely to share. However, hostilities from authorities notwithstanding, the indigenous approval were to diminish the official restrictions on the missionary profession. The continuous renewal of permits attest to it: six missionary names in the area in a list of 1973.[35]

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[35]The first evangelical to settle among the Marubo, Robert Allen, as given an individual authorisation to stay in 1952. The signature is of a Col. José Luis Guedes from SPI, an organ that had had a certain military ascendance over the administration ever since its foundation. In 23 June 1958 SPI official Tubal Fialho Vianna, from Cruzeiro do Sul, manifests his discomfort with missionaries at large, and recommends against his application for extension of stay. Later on in 1958, anthropologist Mário Ferreira Simões, also from SPI, wrote up the said report concerning missionaries in general. Copies of the permits, as well as all documentation, are also in the library of *Museu do*

The missionaries' enclave met all interests, respond-
ing to native tendencies to move downstream and
relying on the complicity of some authorities. New
Tribes' first headquarters in the Javari Valley were up
on the headwaters of the Ituí. While the missionaries
were to stay for good, the intermittent official assis-
tance would consolidate only with the foundation of
two "Indigenous Posts" in the middle courses of the
Curuçá and Ituí Rivers, through which FUNAI would
at last assert its presence in 1974. The former post is
now in the upper reaches of the Curuçá. The latter,
formerly *Posto Marubo*, is now known as *Posto Matis*.
At no time such a denomination meant any substan-
tial assistance to the "true" Marubo. Both posts were
mere poles of attraction for those native peoples who
were already in regular, however rather untrustwor-
thy contact with westerners in new riverine villages.
The government gave no more than a focus to the
indigenous inflection toward the larger rivers, a spa-
tial tendency that had already been set in motion in
accordance with an internal logic.

FUNAI's assistance was indeed disappointing: the
main consequence of the governmental intervention
was more mutual familiarity, due the reestablishment
of native settlements a bit further downstream. From
the foreign perspective, those two posts were to satisfy
the need for clear-cut ethnic boundaries, no matter

Índio, Rio de Janeiro.

how purely instrumental ethnonyms may have been
in contact situations.

FUNAI's aims were rather to contact unknown
peoples than to assist those who were in fact "at-
tracting" the government. The main achievement of
the "Marubo" Indigenous Post, for instance, was to
favour the later settling, on the banks of the Ituí, of
a people hitherto unheard of: the Matis. Regardless
of their vicinity to the Marubo, this people are closer
to the northern Panoans, the Mayoruna. "Marubo"
becomes a more restrict designation as an ethnic di-
versity came to the fore. This was again the case when
the *caceteiros* "club-wielders" became known as "Ko-
rubo," after contact with the Matis. But "Marubo,"
with its lexical variations, remains a construct of con-
tact.

Regular relations between the Marubo and FU-
NAI now take place only in the Upper Curuçá and
Rio Novo—the Indigenous Post in the Middle Ituí—
as well as through the sporadic visits to and regular
native residence in Atalaia do Norte. As always, his-
tories repeat themselves in the Javari Valley.

Governmental presence is now conspicuous in the
impermanent contact attempts with the Korubo: FU-
NAI has set up a "Contact Front" (*Frente de Contato*)
at the mouth of Ituí River, assuming the responsi-
bility for an inter-ethnic situation that by definition
surpasses its sphere of influence. Permanence in the

contact area is strictly forbidden: non-Marubo, non-Matis, and other unwelcome newcomers are not allowed to trespass. The *Frente de Contato* functions as a patrol station, as a means to control that which is uncontrollable, for contact is hardly an official initiative.

All contributes to enhance the mist of mystery upon the region and to stir the conflictive atmosphere. Yet the conflict that is inherent to the situation is no reason to rely exclusively in governmental initiatives. Ladário, the nearest neonational community was the first informal front of contact. Locals testify that this is something that the natives are certainly keen on. The Korubo regularly visits both official and unofficial fronts, while these two are always at odds with each other over the issues of land and native rights. Formerly sharing large extensions of indigenous riverbanks, lakes and forests, Brazilians from Ladário now lack their game, fishing, and logging grounds.

FUNAI in turn fears violence and urges for a lawful initiative. White officials fail to acknowledge the situation from the indigenous perspective. If the Marubo paradigm is applicable in the case of these wild Panoans, the native looks on the radical *nawa* outside as one generic totality, just as the "savage" is a generalising western category.[36]

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[36]So would say contact agent *Paulo*, on the mouth of the Ituí, January 1999:

The Marubo travel increasingly wide across the
borders between the Indian and the White worlds,
aloof from official patrolling. Today, their communi-
ties concentrate in four nuclei that represent different
levels and modes of interaction with the outside, dis-
tinct relationships that nevertheless share a common
ground: the desire of access to riverbanks. The oldest
among present-day villages are there where mission-
aries set up their post on the Upper Ituí. The Mission
hold its name after the respective oldest community,
Vida Nova. Unlike those who gather together around
Maronal, São Sebastião, and Rio Novo, in the Upper
and Middle Curuçá and Middle Ituí, the two main
populations in the upper course of the Ituí rely on
missionaries. These still belong to the same branch
of MNTB (*Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil*).[37]

> "This land is interdicted. Ask *Sydney* [*Possuelo*, head of FU-
> NAI's contact department] if you want to come in. It is at his
> discretion. Nobody knows what Indians dwell in these forests."

This is true. The *flecheiros*, the "arrow people," are an instance.
[37]MNTB a missionary organisation congregating several
evangelical denominations and nationalities, stemming from the
North American New Tribes Mission.

Aiming at raising information about MNTB, anthropologists
Maria Elizabeth Monteiro and Jussara Gomes wrote the Mem-
orandum Nr. 46/CENDOC/MI/85, now in the archives of FU-
NAI, dating 13 September 1985. I translate one excerpt:

> "It seems that the justification for missionary activities in in-
> digenous areas lies in the 'symbolic value' of the work of these
> entities among non-western cultures, *i.e.* among 'non-reached
> peoples'... Paul W. Fleming created the New Tribes Mis-
> sion in 1942, in the United States. In 1946, it started to
> work among Indians in Brazil, where it is now established
> among 20 different peoples. The majority of missionaries are

Indeed the first missionaries to settle among the Marubo were North Americans. Two foreign couples were spending their lives in their lands during my fieldwork, *John* and *Diana Jansma* and *Paul* and *Sheril Rich.* The former couple has already left the Javari. A third couple, Brazilians *Wanderlei* and *Solange Pina*, would share with the latter the facilities of the mission at that time: a school, the occasional site of the local version of the evangelic cult, an adjoining infirmary. It is curious that natives would call the cult *koká iki*, a locution standing for all foreign music, having as an alternative designation *yosnẽ vana*, "the word of God".

If once itinerant cults were held in the longhouses, now they took place in one sole site along the entire Ituí, the Vida Nova Mission. The missionaries' quarters are next to a number of indigenous settlements, among which was the largest longhouse of the whole river. The Vida Nova longhouses were my fieldwork home and a favourite working place for eight months in the course of nearly one year.[38]

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North Americans, with no more than secondary education. The training courses are run by the religious congregations themselves and are full of common stereotypes about Indians and prejudice against the indigenous cultures. They receive no more than some notions of linguistics, applied to Biblical translation."

[38]More precisely, fieldwork in Vida Nova took place between February and May 1998, July and September 1998, and October 1998 and January 1999. The heavy logistics involved in

At a small distance up and down the Ituí River from Vida Nova, there stand other longhouses in communities known as Alegria, Praia, Liberdade, Paraná, and Água Branca. These and other spare villages have names in Portuguese, at times the name of the longhouse owner, *e.g. maloca do Pedro Cruz* and *maloca do Paulino*—in native language, *Rao Mayãpã shovo* and *Memãpã shovo*. Brazilian names are internally used for persons and places whenever the interlocutor is external, as in radio communication. The meanings of these names are not immediate reminiscences of regional characters or toponyms. They often originate from neowestern, riverine settlements, the *seringais*, rubber-tapping sites whose final decline, in the 1980s, is due to the first movements toward official land demarcation, after a severe and definite downfall in international prices and an increasing intranational competition. Here again, the indigenous peoples model themselves after the *nawa* other.

The Javari Valley Indigenous Land (*Terra Indígena Vale do Javari*) had been made part of PP-TAL (Integrated Project for Protection of Indigenous Populations and Lands in Legal Amazonia) in 1990s. In a joint association of the Brazilian and German Governments, through the respective efforts of GTZ

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fieldwork with the Marubo—travel, bureaucracy, and general arrangements—can be assessed by the proportion between time spent in the actual native villages and my overall stay in Brazil, in regular contact with these peoples: roughly 1 : 2.

(*Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenar-
beit*) and FUNAI, the programme sought the involve-
ment of local leaders, still at that time under Marubo
hegemony in the Javari.

The process went in good course through the long
juridical process of claims for land rights. In 1998, the
Ministry of Justice issued the law delimiting the in-
digenous lands in the Javari Valley, the second largest
in Brazil, encompassing the Marubo, Matis, May-
oruna (Matsés), Kanamari, as well as the highest con-
centration of otherwise unknown native groups in the
world. Wherever streams do not delimit the land,
footpaths marking the boundaries would engage in
native labour and supervision, with technical assis-
tance of FUNAI and GTZ.

With the official recognition of the indigenous peo-
ples as active actors in the local politics, nowadays
it is not too difficult to reach and locate their settle-
ments, with missionary aircrafts and GPS equipment.
If the Marubo peoples have no easy access to neona-
tional territory, this is the result of their own histor-
ical choices, which favours some mediation with the
outside world. Their choice is to travel either through
rough footpaths, several-days walk across the Javari-
Juruá watershed, or hundreds of miles down the river
to the first riverine community outside the indigenous
area. The situation is much as in the first written
accounts about the Javari Valley: the Ituí and the

Curuçá Rivers still traverse dense forests, unheard-of peoples, whose account of contact has been long in the background. Marubo histories run from the Juruá, flowing almost in parallel with the Javari River, meeting its waters not far from its mouth into the Amazon. They move up and down along tributary streams and large rivers, as *saiti* festivals show. Their alternatives are and have been deep into the wild—a *mokaka*, "bitter" alternative, as they phrase it in myth and music.

some sketches

Marubo histories stretch back and forth in a spatial rhythm, along waterways and watersheds. The brief glimpses that those memories catch of rubber-tapping times are perceivable in their present: present relations with the foreign world are a transposition of past realities, of the state of affairs when *caucho* latex was taken from rubber-trees, and later on when the *seringueira* tree would yield its perennial rubbery sap.

The oldest living memories are from the turn of the century, when the foreigners went up and across the waters on forays in search of rubber, lonely men in search of women, in search of slaves. One or two generations above the current middle-age longhouse owners, more than a few Marubo children had been taken down and brought up in riverine Amazon towns, both on the Brazilian and Peruvian sides of the border. These neonational stepchildren would go back to their native motherland afterward and become leaders and

pidgin traders among their own kin, intermediaries between the two worlds. The many foreign lands in the surrounds could be easily construed as one single whole. If most Amazonian Brazilians who could be found at the mouth of the basin were recent arrivals by then, Peruvians had long before traversed western Amazonia to settle in the Javari. These former farmers or traders were mestizos who had been long familiar with the Panoans from the Ucayali River, without much regard for indistinct national and ethnic borders. They found their way into the lowlands along the waterways, deep within the valleys, during the first rubber-boom expansions.[39]

The exploitation of *caucho* is nomadic, rotational. Often, a single *cauchero* would stay in a shanty, a provisional *barracão* in the middle of nowhere, in the *centro* of the jungle. The exploitation of *caucho* is contingent to the temporary availability of tree and tree-tapper, and thus to the headwaters where these two were available. Today the first of these *caucheros*, known among the Marubo as *txami koro*, feature in native memories as *noke yora*, "our people," virtual equals, potential partners: in their search of *caucho*, they found warlike peoples on the upper banks of the small tributaries of the Javari, along the *igarapés*, tiny streamlets that curl up to the heart of the forest.

Peruvians, possibly Quechua-speakers, were tra-

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[39] *Cf.* Steward & Métraux 1948:513.

nsient peoples, no less due to their exploitative ends than to their contradictions: predatory means *vs.* familial demeanour. This fit in well within inner kin-struggles that were typical of those times. These Peruvians were *caucheros* in an accidental way; they became actual partners in the exchange of goods and in the mutual raids among Panoans. As such, Peruvians were middle-steps in an ethnic gradient. Above all, they were all competitors for women. Although "ours," *noke yora*, these were truly *nawa* peoples: *txami koro*, Javarian Peruvians, were near "Marubo," while the Marubo, in official imagery, could almost be "Peruvians." If "Marubo" is an imprecise name, "Peruvian" cannot be taken here as a designation of nationality. As a conceptual tool it is as tentative as the indigenous *nawa*.

This chapter reports on heard discourses, as that of the late *Panĩpa*, a former middle-age leader in the community of Alegria. *Txonã Tama*, his father, was both a *romeya* "shaman" and a *shovo ivo* "longhouse owner," who had a commanding lead within his household. Marubo authority is both a function of the warlike environment and of roles within the external world at large. *Panĩpa* himself held a reputation of strictness and autonomy in his community, but his position of leadership was less due to warfare than to his capacity to command large labour parties among his kin in foreign transactions. He was known among Brazilians as *Lauro Brasil*, and was able to trade and

organise his own logging teams before the governmen-
tal interdict of timber extraction a few years earlier.
In diffident Portuguese he told me how, when he was
a child, much before the arrival of the Protestants,
Peruvians would "tame" (*amansaram*) the Marubo,
teaching trading and exploitative skills, wavering be-
tween war and trade. Here in his voice "taming" was
tantamount to wearing western clothes: "my father
and all men went about just with an *envira* [bark fi-
bre] around the waist to hold fast the foreskin of their
penises, when they met the Peruvian."[40]

Clothes are not only a marker of "domestication" in
their encounter with the Peruvian. In fact, clothes are
part of the existential constitution of themselves. The
anthropogenic importance of clothes—understood as
body ornaments—will be more clear later on: as myth-
chants further demonstrate, natives are born in se-
quence with their clothes-ornaments. Indeed, besides
the glans-protecting tie, in pre-contact times men could
also wear what they call *shãpati*, a native cotton-
woven loincloth. Now such attires have given way
to ordinary western clothes, metonymically known

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[40]Be they associated with a state of warfare or not, the remi-
niscences of his father as a leader are somewhat similar to some
early notes taken on the Kachinawa:

> "At dawn, the chief speaks loudly while still on the hammock,
> assigning the daily tasks to everyone. Later on he wakes up
> and gives orders once more in front of each hammock." (Car-
> valho 1931:228, my translation)

as *õpo* ("cloth"), whereas the female *vatxi*, a tubular piece of woven cotton worn as a skirt (or a word translatable simply as "egg"), maintains the original form, but now in industrial textile material. Daily practices concerning former garments remain alive: men hold their penises upright or stick them underneath their crotch when bathing, while women squat in the river to take off and wash their skirts.[41]

Present-day Marubo are the outcome of this past interaction with Peruvians, as much as these peoples acquire their "clothes" as they spring from earth in their myth-music. "Peruvians" here are *nawa*, close-others *par excellence*, while this word refers to the specific native image of humanity that we come across in myth-chants.

In images of everyday memories, in the domestic realm of the household, Peruvians did not differ from the Marubo in their fancy for neighbouring women and children. If violence was then usual among longhouses, it was constant in inter-ethnic contact, which set the pattern of longhouse settling. The Indian com-

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[41]From descriptions, those Marubo garments look quite the same as those portrayed in old photographs of Uitoto Indians in the Middle Caquetá (Northwest Amazon), shown in Taussig 1987. Accordingly, Steward & Métraux generalise:

> "Nakedness in men had a high correlation throughout the montaña with some method of tying up the genitals... [Some] bound up the foreskin of the penis with a thread, whereas [others] fastened it up with a string of *Astrocaryum* passed around the waist" (1948: 571)

munities went up and down the streams in reply to a belligerent or peaceful environment. Peace drew peoples together, whereas longhouses were several days apart from each other in times of warfare. Peaceable visiting in between longhouses was as much usual as it is today, but in ancient times these would alternate with feud, fission, and war raids, dispersing the settlements over wide distances.

The first evangelic missionaries to penetrate the area would hear even more vivid reminiscences of the warlike atmosphere: native accounts make evident the violence that intrusion and "mutual domestication" entails. For decades after the vanishment of *caucheros*, it is said that one could still see the remains of a sunken boat down the Ituí River, where the whole crew aboard had fought each other to death. Meanwhile, it must be born in mind that such violent intrusion was parallel both to the struggling state between longhouses and to an expressive opening toward the exterior.[42]

As some place names now evoke old *seringais* and rubber-tappers, so were the first western names given to natives by and after the *caucheros*. This explains

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[42]Veteran missionary *João Americano—John Jansma*, "the American"—says:

> "These Peruvians were evil, and evil remained in this land for a long time. *Roberto* [Robert Allen, that first missionary to settle among the Marubo] found a debit slip dated from 1912!"

why, after the breakdown of relations between Indians and Whites in the late 1920s, by the time of their resumption in the mid-1930s, now toward the Juruá, the first longhouse owners to show up were already known as *Dionisio* and *Ernesto*, for instance. Despite the violence, or rather through it, Peruvians could relate to the Marubo. Parallel to violence, there was the exchange of goods and, in consequence, conviviality. This was however shaken by political plots and mutual raids around a domestic axis: " competition for women," *briga por causa de mulher.*

One of the few foreign Indians living these days in native villages would hold a laconic version. *João Branco*—"John, the White"—is a Arawak-speaker Kulina, whose pale looks and seemingly White manners contrast with the Marubo. He was an ex-soldier from the Brazilian Army marrying into the longhouses of Vida Nova, remaining on that ethnic borderline that *nawa*-ness signifies for the Marubo. Being fluent in the life of towns and battalions, throughout several forest landscapes and across several boundaries, he was able to explain in a few words the chain of dominance that held him fast ever since he remembers. He summarises: Colombians killed; Brazilians traded; and, like middlemen, Peruvians killed and traded, that is, they domesticated "with" the Marubo. If historians should stress how strife inserts into global economics, local histories are only explainable after distinctions have been drawn on the specific modes of

indigenous interaction with the exterior.[43]

The identification between *caucheros* and natives
would imply that those Peruvians took sides within
internal friction. External economic circumstances
put an end to the great rubber boom after a gradual
decline. But in the Javari Valley, where exogenous
violence would revolve around the control over latex,
indigenous warfare had women as its target. This was
the triggering factor. When the boom was over, the
exploitation of rubber was brought to an end because
of gender strife. If low prices put a check to search
for rubber, the Marubo say the latter went for good
in order to settle disputes over women.

If the rubber boom had brought about state-nation-
al delimitation, its decline led to the oblivion of border
issues. But inter-ethnic interaction, with the alterna-
tion of peace and violence in the jungle, would still
be coterminous with the consolidation of international
boundaries. Although the neglect of real limits meant
the permeability of frontiers, "Peruvian" was to linger
even more as a vague category of Indian-ness than as

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[43] *Cf.* Melatti, ed. 1981 and Taussig 1987. Meanwhile, *João
Branco*, in more detail:

> "The English who managed the rubber business and the
> Colombian they hired killed Indians at a distance. They didn't
> even talk. They didn't let anyone mess about with their busi-
> ness... Indians were shot as they were seen from a turn of
> the river, lying on the beach. Afterwards the Peruvian came
> and domesticated, married, had children, mixed up, traded,
> worked in the forest with their help, but also killed many of
> us. Then the Brazilian came and made peace."

an indicator of nationality. It would include all those who had close unofficial contact with Indians and carried out unknown and uncertain trade. In those years of White oblivion of the forests (c.1930s–1940s), of unclear boundaries, Brazilian suspicions of ongoing deals involving "Peruvians" were as inconsistent as the vague category of "Marubo." The "Marubo" domain was there where "Peruvians," "bandoleers and adventurers" or otherwise nameless traders or exploiters, had their suspicious affairs.

The vague certainty that such illegal, "international" contact was taking place in the upper tributary courses became the leading motive for governmental action in the Javari Valley. Hence, the affirmation of a definite "ethnicity" to the term "Marubo" meant a declaration of Brazilian sovereignty; and this in turn meant that, more than an international initiative, the consolidation of frontiers was dependent on indigenous collaboration. Insofar as natives felt compelled to establish peaceful relations with westerners, the borders between Peru and Brazil were to be made clear. If this was a movement toward the definition of identities, it has been both native and national.

"Peruvians" have not always been from Peru, for such an occasional labour force came too often from neighbouring indigenous peoples who spoke their language, besides Spanish, and behave accordingly among the Marubo. But this "category" would soon

vanish visually from native life, although not conceptually.

In the Upper Ituí, the sole surviving presence of such past memories is *Mário Peruano*. If older Marubo still salute you like the Peruvian—*compadre*, *paisano*—this will be little more than a survival of that original *nawa* identity-with-difference that, at each time, defines the native *vis-à-vis* the foreigner. The life stories *Mário* and his family, like those of his late uncle *Faustino* and his younger cousin *Sebastião*, conform well to the mutual self-constitution between Marubo and Peruvian. *Sebastião* is the one surviving son of *Faustino*, a mestizo who, after being brought up by his Indian mother and her relatives in the longhouse, was taken to lead a life in the borderline with the White, as a half-Brazilian, half-Peruvian—in short, as a southwestern Amazonian.

In line with the flexibility of these categories, *Sebastião* and *Mário*, the two living reminiscences of the Peruvian among the Marubo, have never ever in their lives been to Peru. Indeed, *Mário Peruano* has a stronger grounding in the Upper Ituí than *João Branco*. Contrary to the "marginal" Kulina Indian, large part of his past has been spent in between longhouses. This qualifies him to a native status, which was to consolidate when the long-dead leader *Francisco Cruz* played the matchmaker between himself and *Shetã Mayãewa*, an older widow. As the head

of a native family, *Mário* was then able to establish kin connections to entitle him to the ownership of a longhouse. It was not without reason that "Mario, the Peruvian" would tell us in a usual idiom: "I am a child of Brazil!" However, being always prodigal with his stories, he would trace mestizo origins up to just two generations before.

Mário's maternal grandfather was a *cauchero* known as *Comapa*. As such he took part in *correrias*, literal "forays" to enslave and massacre entire indigenous populations. Their target was those who were reluctant to join in or tolerate rubber-tapping parties. Yet native complicity in the violence could be found, inasmuch as these forays were also vengeful raids against previous attacks between longhouses, for capturing slaves in the indigenous sense of the word: prisoners were not so much for labour, but rather for domestic extension. *Mário*'s grandmother became one of these victims of exogenous raids in the Javari. To spare her from massacre, she had to marry her captor, have children, and later traverse the jungle from Peru to Brazil. In *Mário*'s words: "my grandfather shouted: 'don't kill her!' and took her for his wife, naming her *Ramona*."[44]

"Peruvians" as his family—nomadic settlers, intermingling mestizos—became part of the migratory

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[44]See the definitions of *correria* as they vary according to agent perspectives in Taussig 1987.

waves of *caucheros* who left their homelands after the decadence of rubber. These peoples came across the Javari toward the Juruá, where they found some casual work as labourers in *seringais*, permanent settlements where tracts of sparse trees would still yield latex long after the boom was over. Some of the life stories in his family feature in the official archives of SPI, for his uncle was to emblematise the "Peruvian" in both Marubo and Brazilian imageries: half-Indian, half-White.

So in 1933 there are reports on the arrival of the *Comapa*, from Peru, at the Brazilian *seringal* of Boa Fé, on the confluence of the Juruá River with the tributary waters of the Ipixuna. All became *seringa* rubber-tappers, but only four of them stood up to the adaptation to the arduous job, remaining on the spot with *Ramona*. After a while, the matriarch was the only to survive the local adversities along with three of her grandchildren—*Mário*, his sister *Amélia*, his cousin *Santiago*—as well as her son *Faustino*, who led an unstable life as the *regatão*, a peddling retailer on his boat.

The *Comapa* family had a different vocation from the other, Brazilian emigrants: more than the nationals of any specific country, they were true Amazonians, children of the jungle. This lack of definition accounts for their reasonable capacity of adaptation to different nation-states; but their case was not entirely

exceptional, either among neonationals or native peoples, in that which is a typical transitional territory. Their "Peruvian" affinity with the Marubo was by no means coincidental.

Here another story parallels that of *Mário Peruano*. It refers to a particular instance of the historical construction of the prototypical *nawa*, the mythical other upon which the native self is built. *Mário*'s uncle *Faustino* fits into this role later, as his fate intermeshes with that of the Marubo. Much as his story relates to the encounter with the "Peruvian," to the *correria* raids, longhouse massacres with kidnapping of children and women were an exogenous invention that ingrains deeply in indigenous identity. The following historical sketches instance this statement with almost mythical overtones.

Possibly in the early 1930s, a dispute between the leaders of two longhouses led to the destruction of a native community. The community leader was *Koa*, a.k.a. *Vaĩ Kamã* (literally "Wayward Jaguar," as he was fond of wandering in the forest through the night), a man whose brother unduly claims would impinge on others the rights to "raise" a child for a spouse. The situation was tense: intrigues involving suspicions of sorcery and poisoning—two semantic realms that relate themselves through myth-music. The whole story would result in public insults, as when a youth sent for a party invitation had his glans shown, utter of-

fence that led to retaliation. The offending longhouse leaders, *Vaĩ Kamã* and his brother *Shawã Pei*, were caught in an ambush led by *Topãpa*. The sad leader's brother was able to flee in desperation, coming across a group of incoming rubber-tappers, on the banks of the Upper Ituí. He was taken down the river to live in small neonational villages working as an occasional *mateiro*—a forester, a common occupation among domestic Indians. In exile he acquired a White name: *Ramon*.

Meanwhile, the warring leaders held hegemony over the other longhouses. *Aurelio* was how the White knew *Topãpa*, the longhouse owner who had planned the death *Ramon*'s brother *Vaĩ Kamã*. *Aurelio*'s leadership was a function of friction: the coew of his ascendance was the initiative to decimate the opponent. The gap became wide between the two worlds, except for *Ramon*, Indian among the White. But this fragile connection was enough to spoil the contingent balance of authority in the hands of *Aurelio-Topãpa*.

Once *Ramon* took part in expeditions of loggers and poachers upstream to the headwaters of the Curuçá. More aware of the dangers of the adventure, he let himself behind in his canoe while the others went up ahead along the stream. The Marubo were living then by the smaller streams away from the route of the newcomers. However, following the lead of the belligerent *Aurelio*, were prompt in keeping the main

waterways free of invaders.

Aurelio led a foray to attack the approaching canoes. He was the first to shoot with his bow. His companions, like *Dionisio*, would not dare. Yet the consistency between acts and words of the warlike chief met the acknowledgement of his followers: virtuous oratory and predation are rather complementary for these peoples. *Aurelio*'s speech and action had a challenging and predatory tone: he shot once, then twice. One of the two incomers strove to reach the riverbank and, agonising in pain, he heard his murderer intoning the "jaguar's true language": *Aurelio* spoke *ino koĩ vana*, the predatory speech, repeating ascending intervals of a fifth, shouting loud in the utmost expression of verbal anger: "why have you come to our land?"

To *Aurelio*'s fate, the hat of the second man he shot had fallen on the water, floating downstream with an arrow stuck in it. *Ramon* saw it drifting, asking his companions to wait, while jumping on land and carrying on behind the trees. *Aurelio*'s companions then saw their former kin-enemy approaching, in vain... Under the groans of his own *ino koĩ vana*, the killer would not listen to their warnings. *Ramon* shots. *Aurelio* fell and, half-dead, he had to hear a rejoinder in his own murderer's words, now in foreign, (*nawã*) language: "you killer, now you have your lot!" *Ramon* went back to his half-urban life, never to re-

cover his indigenousness. But *Aurelio* had died and
this led to dramatic changes for the Marubo, affecting
their self-identity as well as that of the surrounding
nationals. His death entails future consequences for
all parties, after a past of friction.

Now the two stories intermingle, those of *Ramon*
and *Mário*, as these characters move in different dire-
tions—in and out their territory, from South to North.
Their successive trajectories flow along the course of
the rivers, as all native histories. *Mário Peruano*, the
one who was to end up marrying no one less than
Aurelio's daughter *Shetã Mayãewa*, had not yet been
born when his maternal grandparents came from the
banks of the Javari to the *seringal* of Boa Fé, near the
mouth of the Ipixuna River. As in those days the situ-
ation had grown too difficult in their Peruvian home-
land, they came in the hope of more stable surrounds.
His story came to a halt when the whole family was
working hard with *seringa* latex, most of them dead
or gone in search of fortune elsewhere, except for the
old grandmother and *Faustino*, her youngest son, who
had come to Brazilian riverbanks in his late teenage
years. His youngest sister was *Mário*'s mother, who
died from childbirth soon after the death of her hus-
band. *Ramona* and *Faustino*, the actual parents of
the orphan children, were raising *Mário*, his sister
and his cousin *Santiago* on their own, when the native
signs were found on the Ipixuna.

Aurelio-Topãpa's death led to a dilemma for his
peoples. It was not a question of leading power or lack
thereof. Here the state of outbound relations takes
precedence over the inward status of a leader. For
the Marubo, the connection with the external world
was the historical factor in question, the issue upon
which a decision had to be made. The internal affairs
of authority were a mere consequence of it. After
all those years of rubber-boom contact, with the re-
sulting interchange of women and children, some of
the longhouse owners outliving the aggressive leader-
ship had, besides western names, also some command
of the language of westerners, especially *Ernesto* and
Dionisio, those who were therefore more able to re-
open the channels between the native world and the
world abroad.

These two young men went to the *seringal* Boa
Fé, at that time a suitable place for a retail empo-
rium by the banks of the Juruá, to look for someone
to exchange western goods for forest products. They
sought a *patrão*, a debt-peonage boss: to some ex-
tent, a sort of godfather too, a *padrinho* in the local
jargon. The White *seringueiros* were afraid of the In-
dians; but through the old matriarch *Ramona*, a na-
tive Javarian, *Mário*'s kin could relate to the peoples
emerging on the riverbanks. Under the instigation of
his mother, *Faustino* went alone after his would-be
relatives in the forest.

All of a sudden the old woman died. *Faustino* took *Mário*, his sister, and their cousin to the longhouses that at the time were between the Upper Curuçá and the Upper Ituí, near where the dead chief had held his peoples together. The surviving *Comapa*, three children and their uncle, came in the year of 1946. *Faustino* immediate response was to meet the demands of the Marubo, qualifying as a *regatão*, an intermediary retailer for natives and a *patrão*, their "patron-boss."

Faustino's tragic story then proceeds, raising controversies that survive his death and illustrate the contradictory dynamics of mutual identity and difference between Peruvians and Brazilians, Indians and Whites. Out of the many stories that constitute my field notes, I select his as an emblem of shifting identities. *Faustino*'s ability in dealing with those identities made him able to impersonate each in different stages of his tragedy. He took high risk for a grand fate, that of becoming both a "White" cattle landowner and an "Indian" longhouse leader. His doom was to suffer from the internal competition of such leaders as *Ernesto* and *Dionisio*, as well as the coercion tactics of *Thomaz Maia*, patron-boss on the Juruá River.

Thomaz Maia was the former patron of the *seringa* tappers in Boa Fé, the father of *Nilo Maia*, the present-day *patrão*—in modern terms, the current "administrator" of the old rubber settlement. *Nilo*'s grand-

father *José* was the patriarch of the *Maia*, the Portuguese family who came across the Atlantic to the never-exhausting Brazilian ex-colony. When *Thomaz Maia* took over the riverine *seringal* of Boa Fé, *Faustino* was already trading with the Marubo. Being all too eager for the foreign goods of which they had been kept away under *Aurelio*, those peoples had become too hardworking for too little. Under *Thomaz Maia*, an informal impersonation of the state authority, *Faustino* had against him claims of legal ownership over the land and monopoly in indigenous dealings. *Faustino*, as Indian-Peruvian, was to be sent away by the Brazilian-Portuguese. *Thomaz* hold *Faustino* under arrestment, under the usual accusation of debt: the former was the *patrão* lender; the latter was the weak side of debt-peonage, the *aviamento* chain that bound the Amazon to Europe.

Once free, but under threat of death, *Faustino* set off to Cruzeiro do Sul, the nearest jural authority, to take a strategic political position. It was the year of 1951. Against *Thomaz*, the Portuguese White, *Faustino* countermovement was to impersonate the Brazilian Indian: to the judge he protests against uncivil persecution; to the Federal Government, through the offices of the SPI, he requests goods under the pretext of due material assistance to "his" people. To Brazilians he was the Indian *tuxaua*, "indigenous leader." To the Marubo, he was the White *patrão*, or rather a "Peruvian." This ambiguity was manifest

in the city, where he would circulate with feathers
and weapons with his otherwise duly indigenous co-
workers, among whom he was the only one to be fluent
in Portuguese and Spanish. As ambiguous as in the
jungle, *Faustino* would exploit his co-residents as did
the White, with far too unfair wages.

His position became in effect unsustainable whe-
re the two worlds met. *Faustino*'s uncertain position
as a *nawa*-foreigner; his dire downfall in all fronts;
his confrontation with male authority, among White
and Indian—are an univocal reflection of the equivo-
cal insertion of Peruvians in Brazil. White and Indian
were both competing for scarce resources: while one
would stress the procurement of produce, the other
put emphasis on women. *Faustino* was competing for
both. *Faustino* would represent a convolution both to
the *patrão* boss and to longhouse leaders, like *Ernesto*
and *Dionisio*, who had greater mastery of the western
ways among their peers. Under intimidation himself,
Faustino had to intimidate both Indian and White,
pitting one against the other. But he could not cope
with a third-party conjuncture.

This new factor came into play in the following
year of 1952. This is when the news of native new-
comers nearing neonationals reach New Tribes Mis-
sion. These were Mexican Jose Moreno, the scout,
and the North American Robert Allen, first pioneer
to settle with a family among the Marubo, from 1955

to 1957. The incoming missionaries, for obvious rea-
sons, were to side with the state authorities.

The diversion here on the missionaries sets the
scene for the native point-of-view. The inadvertent
rhetoric of evangelists fails to appreciate indigenous
historical strategies. Rather than active agents in
their own history, native peoples are taken as pas-
sive containers. The actual truth is that choice of
whether to maintain continuous relations with west-
erners has always been in their hands. The dilemma
just that rose to a climax with the introduction of the
New Tribes Mission.

Peace among Marubo longhouses was made at the
expense of many deaths, of the indigenous leaders and
the *nawa* foreigner alike. It was not a mere question of
whether to resume contact with foreigners or not: the
mythical given is the movement toward large rivers.
The issue then at stake was what would be the ba-
sis of such new foreign contact, what were the risks
worth being taken. The option then was for a con-
stant access to the large riverbank, although under
control and mediation—initially dealing with rubber-
tapping settlers, eventually adopting the missionaries
as their main intermediaries.

This choice entails some sort of symbiosis with the
latter, as much as previous choices had led to an iden-
tity between "Peruvian" and "Marubo." If the con-
tentious issues in past times of war were women, the

basis of the contract with missionaries gave rise to problems of another order. Marubo moral precepts state that one should never ever be stingy (*wachika*) or aggressive (*onika*) towards one's neighbours, even when living in quarters apart, as is the case between missionaries and natives in Vida Nova. These values are incompatible with proximity: stinginess is contagious through bodily fluids; aggressiveness is an ethical affection for your enemies or for ritual, extraordinary occasions—as in instance above, with the *ino koĩ vana* intonations, when such affective tone is manifest at a supra-personal level.

The Marubo put up with such immoral behaviour of evangelicals because they understand that their vicinity is a predicament of history—not of the westerners themselves. Foreign presence was to happen out of native necessity, and the morality of contact has always been at stake. The acceptance of missionaries close to their longhouses, although conflictive, results from a strategy toward finding suitable mediators with the western world. The establishment of the evangelic mission follows political movements under indigenous control.

In fact, its permanence has always been under debate during fieldwork. On the one hand, some old longhouse owners may have good memories from the missionary *Roberto*, like *Txomãpa* (a.k.a. *Abel Dionisio*). While being keen on shamanic knowledge and

practices, *Txomãpa* was sympathetic to missionary activities. Yet, on the other hand, these memories are those of a failure, foils for critical remarks against the stinginess and aggressiveness of still extant missionaries. These are complaints that reach native consensus, finding agreement today even among some evangelicals.

Their first bastion among Javarian Indians, set up by missionary *Roberto*, had been left behind. The missionaries give uncertain reasons for the temporary abandonment of their project: either governmental pressure or hard working conditions, since the story goes that the pioneering missionary left the Mission altogether soon after his failure among the Marubo. After contact in 1952, New Tribes was to submit several applications for permits. Definite permission came in 1959, but the missionary project did not gain new momentum before 1962, with the arrival of an ascetic voluntary who was to spend a few years in the forest without a permanent house nor a family of his own. He went along in between longhouses, in a semi-nomadic existence, until some of his co-residents were ready to settle for good on the banks of the Upper Ituí.

In fact, natives have a more precise version of permanent contact with the West, the outcome of their lives after the insertion of New Tribes. In spite of the current dissatisfaction with missionaries, in contrast

to nostalgic memories of their initial arrival, the testimonies of older longhouse leaders in tape recorders testifies that the pioneering evangelicals had in fact to leave out of a native fear against the illnesses that were brought along with their recurrent transit to and from foreign lands.

The rationale of this follows the imagery of the *nawa*-aetiology of all diseases. Old *Raimundão*, one of the voices on tape, is precisely one of those leaders who would first accept missionary permanence in their second attempt to settle in the early 1960s. He was among the first leaders to build a longhouse on the banks of the Upper Ituí, in Vida Nova, always asserting his authority over the presence or absence of the *nawa* foreigner among them. *Raimundão*'s conditions for their activity were a satisfactory health and educational assistance, in order to counteract the predicaments of contact. He also claims the lack of success of the first missionaries to have been actually due to their own unsatisfactory conduct, to their inadequacy to stand up to a native ethos. Up to now, in a conjuncture in which missionary mediation is still important, the recurrent threat against their permanence has never come to stand. Its conditions have always been what medicine and knowledge they have to offer: "when we know how to speak, we'll send the *Americano* away," so said *Raimundão*.[45]

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[45]The voice of *Raimundão* is in cassette-tape and tape tran-

These voices are clear in that the initiative for the
re-establishment of relations with westerners was na-
tive. As the outline above suggests, the resumption
of contact after an interruption of some ten years, be-
tween the mid-1920s and mid-1930s, was in effect fol-
lowing a cyclical pattern that typifies native history.
Isolation had become the result of internal strife and
the retreat of *nawa* newcomers. Further contact be-
came then a necessity, insofar as the *nawa* foreigner is
a necessary element of native identity. It took place
along a discontinuous chronological scale, until the
permanent arrival of missionaries. The year of 1952
represents a landmark, when the New Tribes Mission
and the Indian met for the first time in the Javari
Valley. Yet in a sense this was the re-enactment of an
existing experience, rather than a series of ground-
breaking events: with the aid of missionary assis-
tance, mainly medical, the natives were only able
to re-establish continuous commerce with the world
abroad.

The year of 1952 is even more remarkable because
it marks the downfall of *Faustino*, whose story we
can now again proceed with. Back in those days, the
usual surface route taken to reach trading posts was
even lengthier than it is today, running upriver to-
ward the *varadores*, the footpaths across the water-

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scription, always in the library of *Museu do Índio*, Rio de
Janeiro (FUNAI 1988).

shed between the Javarian tributary headwaters and
the banks of the Juruá. Moreover, this itinerary be-
came rather difficult for *Faustino* as his political posi-
tion fell in disgrace. Under the restrictions of *Thomaz
Maia*'s guardsmen and other bullies from Boa Fé, he
resorted again to the judge of Cruzeiro do Sul in 1955.
This was to be of no avail, in spite of the patriotic
zeal of the judge, showing his sympathy toward the
Brazilian Indian, Amazonian native at the mercy of
massive foreign forces. Now *Faustino* had complaints
also against the missionary *Roberto*, who had set an
alliance with *Thomaz*, as testifies today his son *Nilo
Maia*. Too bad for *Faustino*: his paradoxical figure
was too easily identifiable with that of an indigenous
outsider. *Faustino* was himself the mirror image of
the alien alliance he had to face; in native language,
he was too much of a *nawa*.[46]

As the patron-boss, *Thomaz Maia* had control over
the police and other forces. This would encourage
him to try and assume the mediating role with re-
gard to the Marubo. *Thomaz* would confiscate all
the goods *Faustino* had SPI send him four years be-
fore, as an transvestite Indian, and gave them away

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[46]The judge of Cruzeiro do Sul either had inaccurate picture
of the situation or was himself inaccurate. This shows well
when he refers to the Marubo as "Coringa" and to *Faustino*'s
surname as "Mapes" in a telegram to the Governor of the State
of Amazonas dated 24th May of 1955, now in the archives of
the late SPI in the *Museu do Índio*, Rio de Janeiro.

the longhouse owners themselves, gaining for himself recognition and more local power.

Thomaz had eventually even the sympathy of the local authorities of SPI. *Faustino*'s complaints back in 1951 had led to an official enquiry, in response to the exhortations of the judge who had paid heed to the "Brazilian Indian." This had resulted in a report produced by a SPI inspector in 1952, which saw with clear favour the legal owners of Boa Fé, against the background of a misbehaving impostor in carnivalesque disguise, who took advantage of his genuine labour force and spent his money boisterously in local taverns. While this picture is not likely to be too incorrect, it still may be not entirely true, given the subtleties of local identities. For the Marubo, *Faustino* was the most "genuine" *nawa*, someone else rather close to themselves. But the inspection did not report on native subtleties: after the investigations, SPI gave an official post to *Thomaz*'s cousin *Antonio Maia*, who is now "Delegate of Indians in Boa Fé," in order to "normalise that region." This would seal *Faustino*'s fate.[47]

Faustino's sad fate, ending in the hands of his native employees who were unhappy about his ex-

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[47]The correspondence involving Caio Valadares Filho, the judge of Cruzeiro do Sul, and the SPI director Alipio Edmundo Lage, as well as the inspection report signed by the official Alfredo José da Silva, are also available in the SPI archives.

ploitative conduct, was at last a result of sexual mis-
demeanour. In committing adultery and willing to
marry his classificatory daughter, he became ultimate-
ly responsible for a pivotal continuity between two
moments in history: *Faustino* was the transition bet-
ween the Peruvian *cauchero* and the North American
missionary, two indigenous personifications of *nawa*
foreignness, two forms of western-native mediation at
the limits of self-identity. His death was a landmark
of the White insertion in the Marubo landscape, by
connecting the indigenous past—when gender-centred
homicide was ever imminent among sparse communit-
ies—and the concentration of present-day longhouses
around exogenous agents. *Faustino*, ambiguous me-
diator and ambitious maverick, not only was a com-
bination of several shifting identities, but through
his dual ambiguities and ambitions—those of "Peru-
vian" and *nawa*—he was vulnerable to fatal political
forces both within the indigenous territory and among
the surrounding westerners. *Faustino*'s fate still to-
day haunts the delicate politics between Indians and
Whites in the Marubo world.

Faustino was outlived by the two children he had
his Marubo wife *Vasĩewa*. She was still alive in 2011,
with her husband *Pekõpa* (a.k.a. *Felipe Ermeino*),
the nominally chief longhouse owner in the whole of
the Upper Ituí, who duly took over the surviving off-
spring. Their daughter, living and dying, after field-
work, as a fully-fledged Marubo in the Upper Curuçá,

marks a decisive difference in the destinies of these natives. Her brother *Sebastião* was raised as a native, with the name of *Shapõpa*, but his attempts to constitute a proper family were vain. Later in life, his cousin *Mário Peruano* took him to the big world. *Mário* today declares to "have taught him the creed" by the time he was himself a Pentecostal.

Now, between the Juruá and the Javari, the two cousins share with the missionaries the widening avenues to the western universe. Once *Mário* bought a boat in society with some elders to go regularly to Cruzeiro do Sul, entitling some to some little social benefit. He charges a small fee from each for "administrative expenses." *Sebastião*, after much personality-juggling, met an evangelical woman in town whom he took for a while to longhouse life. Now both work for the incoming missionaries in Cruzeiro do Sul. Were it not for his innate instability, he could easily qualify as the first indigenous convert: *Sebastião* would be the only "full Protestant," as concerns some missionary understandings—although some natives do not quite view him as a "full Marubo." It is no wonder that he spends less time among the longhouses than his own cousin, *Mário* the "Peruvian." *Sebastião* has outdone his father: he is the one figure who shifts among identities best.

As the narratives above imply, the coincidence of his father's death with the arrival of missionaries is

not arbitrary. The common ground between the two
events is a native construction. The coincidental events
were a turning point in the progressive inclusion of
westerners in this world, from Peruvians to North
Americans. While truce among longhouses effectively
led one period to the other, the consequent move did
not put an end to the conflictive landscape of those
lands, at least as sorcery, a mythical-cyclical poten-
tial. While *nawa* foreignness preconditions indige-
nous identities, permanent intercourse with the ex-
ogenous *nawa—caucheros* or missionaries, *seringuei-
ros* or loggers, FUNAI or NGOs—is the simultane-
ous precondition and consequence of an ethnic con-
struct, the "Marubo," a unitary contingency. This
contingent unity is an ongoing paradox *vis-à-vis* the
fragmentary character of these peoples. To come to
terms with the western-*nawa* world, these -*nawa* peo-
ples had to gather and, somehow circumstantially,
isolate themselves; still the engagement with west-
erners is a recurrent necessity for those many peoples
who are now known as Marubo. These -*nawa* peo-
ples are themselves *nawa*-others; to maintain their
fragmentation—*viz.* independence and autonomy—
within a peaceful environment is their great historical
challenge, their mythical compulsion.

bitter and poisonous

After much controversial naming through history, on arrive at meanings of selfhood that entail a signification of otherness in the Javari—that is, to a definition of human being "of a kind" that implies a particular conception of generic alterity. "Humankind" has always been the other, the anti-self for these peoples, ever since their own self-conception. Those who have been henceforth known the "proper" Marubo, in the Upper and Middle Ituí and Curuçá, disguise their plurality under this fortuitous "umbrella-denomination." Because those who live in those four community nuclei on the banks of these two rivers are one people in plural: they are *yora*, "persons" of several kinship sections, -*nawa* "peoples" who stand in complementary opposition to the foreign *nawa*.[48]

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[48]Precise numbers for those community nuclei, other than the one in the Upper Ituí, were lacking during fieldwork. Ruedas (2001:90) brought out a census made shortly before that, counting 370 persons in the Upper Ituí, 220 in the Upper Curuçá, 115 in the Middle Curuçá, and roughly 105 in the Middle Ituí,

These are the descendants of those little-known, "fierce" *índios bravos* who came across foreigners in the successive guises of enslaver, rubber-tapper, missionary, logger or riverine trader. If the progressive mutual acknowledgement *vis-à-vis* the nation-state happens since from the rubber-boom in the end of the 19th century until the post-war period and the advent of the missionary expansion, with the intermittent governmental intervention—all that has been no smooth process, with isolation and trade, war and peace alternating throughout the 20th century. It was just one generation ago, when commercial, labour, and cultural interchange made the official historical change no longer reversible, that the higher visibility of these peoples gave ethnic specificity and new significance to the worn-out denomination "Marubo."

In contrast to other Panoans, as the neighbouring Matis, who display an apparent physical homogeneity, the present looks of these peoples hint at past of genealogical turmoil. It is as if the Matis, as well as other unknown peoples of the Javari Valley, were what those who are now "Marubo" had been

reaching a total population of 834.

I would estimate the overall Marubo or Marubo-speaking population at the time in between 900 and 1,000, including a few individuals and families in the neighbouring cities and villages. Over ten years later, in spite of all adversities, it is doubling its size: SESAI (the aforementioned *Secretaria Especial de Saúde Indígena*) estimates it today in about 2,000 persons.

in the past. All those who, within this diffuse uni-
verse, now gather together as an island among the
former hinterland fractions that have had recent con-
tact with the nation-state, would have been them-
selves "fearsome savages" at one time. In the pub-
lic view of both natives and governmental officials,
"savage" or "indomitable" are those who still today
remain in the very middle of *terra firma* forest and
resist the western siege. The Marubo peoples cannot
help but admit, if only in private and in their own lan-
guage, that they are themselves *mokanawa*—"bitter,"
"poisonous" people, a qualification that constitutes
an indefinite but definitional aspect of inter-riverine
Panoans, those who, in the centuries of colonisation,
had no more than ephemeral encounters with incom-
ers.

One brief episode illustrates this well. *Raõewa* was
an unusual widow: due to the frequent absences of
her twenty-something year-old son *Mashẽpa*, she was
a female longhouse owner in Vida Nova. There was
no permanent male presence in her longhouse, with
the exception of the regular visits of her neighbouring
son-in-law to her daughter *Memãewa*.

Her son was at the time living through a period
of life-style schizophrenia, typical of his age-group:
Marubo adolescents live right on the vertex between
intensive missionising and shamanising, between the
jungle- and city-spaces, half-way between longhouse

communities and the promiscuous urban stress, en-
gaging in wage labour from time to time. Youngsters
leave their homeland both to experience a wider hori-
zon and as a means to achieve prestige once back with
their kin. Unless they have an unstable familial situ-
ation, due to the premature death of a parent or an
unusual carefree attitude of stepfathers, all tend to
come back home at times, and eventually for good.
At that time, their main urban destinies are, in de-
creasing order of importance, the Brazilian cities of
Cruzeiro do Sul, Guajará, Atalaia do Norte, Mâncio
Lima, Benjamin Constant, and Tabatinga.[49]

The situation of age-related mobility tends to change
slightly with governmental policies of conceding a spe-
cial pension for native elders. With this, most of
them get more familiar with western ways. *Raõewa*
is in one such situation of grown mobility. *Mashẽpa*,
for his part, is well familiar with western language
and quite at home in those favourite destinations for
those who travel toward the banks of the Juruá River.
He seems to be far more at ease in transit than at

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[49]Cruzeiro do Sul was the second largest city in the State of
Acre with about sixty thousand inhabitants (1998), in contrast
with the actual frontier between the Marubo and the White,
where there are no more than small rural settlements like Boa
Fé. All the other neighbouring cities were smallish, with the
exception of Tabatinga, which forms a urban continuum with
the Colombian free-trading port of Leticia, opening a window
to a wider world for native teenagers—at least before they reach
maturity and create their own families.

his actual home. Before leaving his kin, more than
once, *Mashẽpa* had been old and strong enough to
build a beautiful small longhouse for *Raõewa*, who
then would live there with her older daughter and
son-in-law *Pekõpapa* (a.k.a. *Cristiano Dionisio*), a
community leader in Vida Nova. *Mashẽpa* could not
assume the functions of a longhouse owner, a status
that predicates upon being the father of a large fam-
ily like *Pekõpapa*'s, with dozens of children with his
two wives.

Meanwhile, his mother had taken the lead. *Raõ-
ewa* had high regard for both her senior status and
exceptional attributes. *Raõewa* was all knowledgeable
in herbal medicine and had a keen interest in other
shamanic knowledge: she was most intent to ask and
listen to myth-chants in tape-records.

In spite of language limitations, we would under-
stand each other. With hindsight, it looks as though
we were always juggling with our differences. She had
access to the western world, both as a pensioner and
thanks to the connections of her two sons—besides
Mashẽpa, the eldest *Rao* was a born traveller, roam-
ing in an oil-tanker from Baghdad to Macapá, send-
ing her news from the Persian Gulf to the Amazon
Mouth. When she last heard from him, from Bahia,
the foreign realm was less alien than usual to her. Yet
Raõewa had no doubts in choosing among contrast-
ing identities: more than an exceptional case among

her kin, she was a hyperbolical Marubo. For her, as
for all the peoples she lives with, "Marubo" is no def-
inite denomination, but rather a "no-identity"; both
for herself and for the collectivity, its significance is
that "we're not like someone else." It was just in our
game of differences, that is, it was against the *nawa*
that she would posit a positive statement of sameness,
her meaning of "being of a kind." She would measure
the distance between my temples with her hands and
then compare it to hers, much narrower, while saying:
ea mokanawa, "I'm a wild one!"

That statement was not just meant to be a conclu-
sion taken from the comparison of our temples; nor
was she saying that she was "wild" in contrast to me, a
nawa "foreigner," as if *moka*-wildness were a negative
particle in the definition of a humanity. She did not
identify herself as Indian in opposition to the White.
Rather, *Raõewa* was defining herself as one among
peoples who unite themselves through multiplicity.
She is *moka*, a qualification that means "bitter," a
metonymic "poison"—the attributes that would orig-
inally qualify "Marubo," a plural construction. Her
particular human, *nawa*-essence is multiple because
it means foreignness. . . and that which conflates hu-
manity and foreignness is essentially *moka*, the "bitter
and poisonous" incorporation of *nawa*-otherness into
selfhood.

In spite of her present reputation and past re-

spectability as the widow of *Francisco Cruz*, a well-known longhouse owner, *Raõewa* was defining her "wild and bitter," *moka* identity against her own co-resident relatives. She was one of those who would explicitly place the root that denotes humanity, *nawa*, in the semantic domain of otherness. She was among those who define sameness is not definitive similitude, but bitter-wild estrangement among themselves. *Raõewa* was stating how *moka*-strangeness made her a *-nawa* person, while making her own kin strangers: for her, these are the Marubo.

More than an ethnic *-nawa* labelling, her statement of *moka*-ness had specific historical intent, with strong moral connotations: it concerns the betrayal, ambush, and execution of *Koa*—her own father, *Vaĩ Kamã*. The construction of indigenous identity is coterminous with the violence of exogenous encounters, as those in the story of *Vaĩ Kamã* and *Aurelio-Topãpa*. The efforts to unite and seal the sentence of *Vaĩ Kamã* made both victims and assassins "poisonous" and "bitter," as treacherous *moka*. The subsequent death of *Aurelio* would put an end to a past of wild-bitter warfare, contrasting with the present peace with westerners. The *moka* character of *Raõewa* could not be taken as just an idiosyncratic inheritance from her father. If after his murder she was captured, and in practice adopted, "domesticated" by his murderers, still up to these days some people would not only confirm her self-judgement (*ea mokanawa*) but

apply it to themselves. *Raõewa* saw herself as a bitter-wild person, but this did not make her an absolute foreigner, nor even less of a Marubo: much to the contrary.

The massacre of most of her family was a deliberation of a council of belligerent leaders. The adoption and marriage of the surviving children of *Vaĩ Kamã*, the integration of his family into those that had massacred their own had followed a recurrent pattern. Following an equally common association between warfare and residential alliance, the leaders would gather closer together into the forest both in preparation and in consequence to the execution. The distance between the communal residences was made smaller after the whole episode, only to increase again after the death of *Aurelio*, in that attempt to ambush an invading logging party in the early 1950s, in that momentous event that made possible permanent transactions between natives and neonationals. The ensuing peace with western foreigners would eventually draw longhouses together on a new basis, under the leadership of *Topãpa*'s brother *Itsãpapa*, a.k.a. *João Tuxaua*, while missionary presence would later create an alternative mode of peaceful interaction.

One is driven back and forth from historical to mythical themes: more than representing a linguistic hyperbole, sectional kin are -*nawa* peoples in relation to each other because they are indeed mutual foreign-

ers, potential enemies brought into a contingent communality, into an adventitious, domestic conviviality. If the spatial organisation of longhouses is a temporal arrangement, it manifests the mythical underpinnings of their historicity: as earlier studies demonstrate, locality is a reflection, however faint, of the sectional character of kinship.[50]

Either as a expression of consanguinisation of affinity or of affinisation of consanguity, contiguous generations belong to and identify themselves as distinct kin sections or different -*nawa* "peoples" altogether. The Marubo and their alternate-generation -*nawa* sections are radical operators of a positive arithmetic of predation: here alterity is neither equated to cannibalism nor negated through teknonymy, but is instead added to the most intimate realm of sameness, where identity is divisible and multiple.[51]

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[50]For a fuller account of the Marubo-Kariera matrilineal-sectional system see Melatti 1977, which gives more details on their relation to other similar systems in Amazonia. Kensinger 1995 provides a wider modelling statement, regarding Pano kinship as a structural whole. Erikson, in turn, summarises what seems to be a principle of Pano identity in a brief locution: "constituent alterity" (1986:189, 1996:81).

[51]The ambivalent attitude of these peoples toward similar others sounds like a local variation of a recurrent theme in Amazonia, akin to either the exocannibalism of the Tupi or to the concentric endogamy found in the Guyanas. See Overing 1975 for a pioneering study of consanguinity as the internalisation of the exterior, through teknonymy or otherwise, as a form of assimilation of difference in kinship and marriage in Amazonia.

I have shown how one important element of the expansive movement that split and rearrange these originally *moka* "poisonous," -*nawa* peoples had been male war parties. This movement ran in parallel with those exogenous forays that saw these -*nawa* peoples as one single whole, unifying those whose descendants ate now the "Marubo." The pivot of these integrating and disintegrating forces that kept separate and after all unite men through war and peace were women, and consequently their children.

Women were decisive for the simultaneous cultural unity and social fragmentation of these *nawa*-peoples. If the matrilineal, polygynous family is the current centre of constitution of the household, in the past it was the centre of longhouse dispersion as well. Under the prevailing warlike ethos of pre-contact times, raids were competition for women, who were the axis of hostility and alliance. In contrast, women of today transmit the names of their mothers to their children, connect alternating matrilineal generations: one's section is the same as that of one's mother's mother's and her siblings.

Women attach themselves to their children and to their children's names both by means of teknonymy ("mother of. . . ") and through the kinship system of alternate sections: there is a correspondence between personal onomastics and sectional membership.

Women are the key agents of *nawa*-sociality and of

nawa-foreign fragmentation: they have always been a central axis of attractive however poisonous *moka*-ness, combining these peoples as a whole in pieces. If -*nawa* sections once fought for women—and still do, in apparent peace—they ever since relate to each other through them.

The Marubo of the Upper Ituí do not reason these socio-historical patterns out of mere words. Rather, they sing their rationale in myth, in musical sounds and in verbal poetics. Indeed, one of the myth-chants known as *saiti*—*Teté Teka*—traces the origin of the "bitter" *moka* blowgun poison to an old woman, the sectional namesake *par excellence*: myth-chants symbolise female elders, like *Raõewa*, as the personification of their alternate-generation kinship. *Teté Teka* narrates how, in the origins of humanity, one such elder woman is sent by her male grandchildren to procure *moka*-poison to kill the *teté* hawk (*gavião real*, harpy eagle, *Harpia harpyja*).

This is in effect a giant predator, *txai tivo* in the verses of the *saiti*, literally the "enormous affine," the beastly bird that lays predatory siege to the primeval humans it had taken as consanguineous. In the mythical-musical narrative, the *teté* hawk stands up on the top of the large *samaúma* tree, the largest of the forest, awaiting the nomadic peoples who would wander along their original forking paths of primordial times. The monster persuades these early humans to take

the road that leads to its home-tree, and makes them believe that it is in fact a relative of theirs, and thus their potential co-resident.

Indeed, if *txai tivo* is a phrase whose literal meaning denotes affinity, the nickname of the *teté* hawk means otherwise "large longhouse" in mythical-musical language. But if *txai tivo* means affinal residence, its connotation is monstrous, cannibal. The *saiti* myth-chant narrates that, as soon as the wandering peoples settle around its giant tree, the *teté* hawk starts preying on them to feed its own fledglings. Original affinity entails their sedentary settlement, but celebrates their sacrifice to the cannibal co-resident as well.

It is not without meaning then that the old grandmother, the personification of consanguinity and convivial co-residence in the historical present, will be responsible for the murder of the affinal hawk-longhouse in a mythical past. As a consequence, she brings forth the subsequent achievements that its death entails—a new residential configuration. In its own nickname, *txai tivo*, the monstrous *teté* hawk embodies the contract that settles the contradiction between affinity and a stationary state: -*nawa* multi-sectional, human conviviality within the longhouse requires the sacrifice of the divine longhouse-monster itself through mastery of *moka*-poison. The convivial poison kills, without forgiveness—but it rectifies.

The death of the titanic animal is the birth of a

new human world, enacting the transition from no-madic movement to permanent residence, from canni-balistic affinity to *moka*-bitter, -*nawa* consanguinity. It is, in sum, the enactment of the paradoxical -*nawa* sociality, that which complies with a mythical-musical logic of "domestic *moka*-wildness."

Given the contemporary residential configuration of the Marubo—a historical given—this transition had to feature an old female protagonist in the myth-chant. Her male grandchildren are helpless: after sev-eral ludicrous attempts to kill the monster, imbibing arrowheads with their penises' smegma, the peoples under siege must resort to their prototypical grand-mother. It is hardly surprising that she should be sent to a *nawa*-foreign land where she finds the incanta-tion of *moka*-poison, the "poisonous bitterness" that kills monkeys. In effect, the other Panoans who neigh-bour the present-day Marubo are known as monkey-eaters: the Mayoruna-Matis are specialists on the art of hunting with poisonous blowgun darts, being suit-ably seen as *mokanawa* peoples. The consanguineous, alternate-generation old woman symbolises the *nawa*-sections that constitutes the Marubo themselves in-sofar as she brings the Pano *moka*-poison that kills monstrous, cannibal affinity inherent to sedentary so-ciality. The myth-chant creates the latter as the foun-dations of the longhouse settlement, the symbolic em-bodiment of the social-segmentary body of these peo-ples.

Ireserve further judgement on the *saiti* myth-chants
for the moment, waiting to study their poetical mean-
ing in closer connection with their musical form. Let
it suffice for now to underline the female semantic in-
flection of *moka*-ness, side by side with meaning of
nawa-ness. Before further consideration, let us look
at such gender implications of both *nawa* and *moka*,
as these conceptualisations reflect a native paradox
between selfhood and alterity, between "domestica-
tion" and "wildness."

Raõewa, an old woman, at some point defines her-
self as *mokanawa*. However, under "societal" condi-
tions, *nawa* has a gender-counterpart: it is a male
term in contradistinction to *shavo*. That is, the mat-
rilineal-sectional denominations into which men and
women gather together as several "peoples," in accor-
dance to which these persons have names, do not end
with -*nawa* only. In effect, these inner, ethnonyms
end respectively with the gender-markers -*nawa* and
-*shavo*: male and female personal names occasionally
have these respective suffixes as well. In contrast,
when it is a matter of giving a positive definition in
relation to the outer world—*e.g.* in the use of the
expression *mokanawa*—the gender character of *nawa*
is irrelevant, inasmuch as *nawa*-foreignness refers to
the absolute foreigner, irrespective of gender.

This contrast between the specifically "societal,"
gender-suffix forms on one side, and the generic *nawa*

on another will make more sense under the light of
some peculiar phrasing in the verses of *saiti* myth-
music, in *Mokanawa Wenía*, in part two below. There
we will see that the *moka*-bitter *nawa*-peoples emerge
from earth before their *shavo*-sisters. Now, mythical-
musical meanings aside, we just point up the rele-
vance of the gender-like quality of the sectional and
personal suffix (-*nawa* for men, -*shavo* for women).
In other words, the onomastic distinction between fe-
male and male in "societal" terms is consequent. On
the one hand, it signifies a further estrangement be-
tween the distinct sections that separate adjacent gen-
erations among these *moka* peoples, beyond the sig-
nificance of "foreignness" that is already intrinsic to
the word *nawa*: it reinforces the fragmentary char-
acter of the Marubo. On the other hand, the oppo-
sition between the non-gender *nawa*-foreign domain
and the gender-like section- and personal-name as-
signments (-*nawa* and -*shavo*) within this matrilineal
society highlights the fact that the maternal link—
shavo women—are the connection along the alternate
generations, male -*nawa* sections: that is, women co-
alesce sociality. Through the *shavo*-female link, both
consanguineous homonyms and sectional in-laws are
in social association.

In sum, these peoples situate themselves through
women, through whom men belong in each section
and relate to the other social-constituent sections.
Marubo women hold together the kinship-marriage

network in sectional, female-fragmentary form: if you belong in your mother's mother's section, your name is that of one of the different-section consanguines of your mother, while you marry into that affinal section whose different-section maternal kin marries your different-section maternal kin. This makes these "sectional-peoples," these co-residential affines and con-sanguineous kin one single people of a "maternal" kind *vis-à-vis* the whole, which distinguishes these mat-rilineally-different *-nawa* and *-shavo* sections—or, as they themselves say, these several "people-races," *raças de gente.*

The bizarre gloss that natives assign to their own matrilineal sections is not as absurd as it may seem. If it is true that these sectional sets of "other-peoples" regard themselves as similar selves who are matri-lineally one people under the name of "Marubo," there will be little sense in saying "races." Yet the Marubo do treat their *-nawa* and *-shavo* gender-sections as independent entities altogether. Deep underneath, as states *Raõewa*, natives have a common female soci-etal axis that is *moka*, "bitterly poisonous." But this is not a mere social-binding centre: it accounts for fragmentation too.

Although these peoples share a common language, culture and sociality at large, the several sections still hold more sway as "ethnic" unities, in use and mean-ing, than the general ethnonym "Marubo": from the

native viewpoint, the gender-sectional denominations
are decisively definitional of humanity, being above all
separative. If sections do not mark ethnic-belonging
in the strict, western sense of the word "ethnic," the
corresponding gender-ethnonym is instead a decisive
marker of human-identity definition—for genderless,
foreign *nawa*-ness means absolute difference.

If the *nawa*-human is the exogenous foreigner, the
indigenous-*nawa* is *moka*, while that "bitter" human-
ity stands for the amalgamation that that umbrella-
denomination likewise designates. The present so-
ciocultural commonality and the past linguistic dif-
ferences that typify their fragmentary unity trans-
late in the idiom of *mokanawa*-ness. As *Keniñawa*
states: "...the [Marubo] races spoke different lan-
guages and fought among themselves, each living on
its own; nowadays we live together in peace and speak
the language of the *Chaiñáwavo* ["Bird people"], who
do not exist anymore." *Venãpa* adds that the current
language stems also from the *Nínawavo*, an existing
matrilateral section among the Marubo.

If *nawa* is an extra-societal force, *shavo* is the fem-
inine *moka*-axis, the bitter fulcrum of the gender-
sociality that attracts foreign enmity sympathetically,
and thus transforms the generic foreigner into part
of a matrilineal section. For these peoples, the cul-
tural definition of ethnicity is *nawa*-foreignness that
transforms into *shavo*-gender sociality through *moka*-

alchemy.[52]

This axiom assumes, however, that the gender-dichotomies pertaining to the "public" and the "private" have no absolute value for the Marubo: such gender-differences are a historical condition. The absolute assumption that war is an outward, social-subversive male activity against the inward, domestic female realm are as inadequate as the view that, under any historical circumstance, fission is masculine while fusion is feminine.

Absolute gender dichotomies mean the neglect of the cyclical dynamics of peace and war in indigenous history, in favour of an exogenous viewpoint, that is, the point-of-view of the exogenous *nawa*. The foreigner-warrior, *nawa*-subject was male, but the subject-matter of *moka* warfare has always been female; men might disrupt societal life, but their incorpora-

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[52]Here *moka*, "poisonous bitterness" acts on both foreigners and insiders, blurring the borders between subjects and objects. Hence its "alchemic" character, much in line with studies on other sensorial substances in Amazonia:

> . . . el objeto externo—las especies vegetales y la extracción de sus sales—son sustancias y procesos del orden natural y técnico que permiten procesar sustancias y procesos corporales. Se plantea aquí una relación diferente entre sujeto cognoscente y objeto de conocimiento. En una manera análoga a la alquimia, donde el trabajo sobre la Obra es al mismo tiempo una operación sobre el Obrero, la vivencia y las transformaciones que se ejercen sobre el mundo no están desligadas (objetivamente) de los procesos y vivencias internos (subjetivos). No se trata simplemente de generar un saber sobre un objeto, sino de, por medio de la operación de ese objeto, conocer y transformar los sujetos y de incrementar su vida. (Echeverri & Román 2008:21)

tion of women into society, would create sociality as well.

A westerner marrying into the community would potentiate this male perspective, as much as previous wars among natives would actualise it. The *nawa* outsider triggers indeed the alternate cycles of war and peace that revolve around relations of kinship, that lie within a gender framework where women are at the kin-centre against alternating, centripetal-centrifugal male forces. The gender nuances of the nucleus of indigenous sociality vary in consequence, in accordance with the state of affairs with the exogenous intruder. Therefore, with reference to native society at least, the balance between women as a centre of integration and men as a force of disintegration is contingent to the circumstantial context of warfare.[53]

In the peaceful present, the mobile significance of gender in the definitions of identity and difference holds as much sway as in a more predatory past, though in a variant form. At a local level, *i.e.* among the neighbouring longhouses, present-day male kin

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[53]This should layer the gender-assignments to sameness and otherness among Panoans, as proposes Erikson:

> "Les Matis détonnent toutefois en ce qu'ils associent l'intérieur et la masculinité..., tandis que la plupart... des autres Pano procèdent exactement à l'inverse: en règle générale, les *nawa*, (et/ou *inca*), les jaguars, le maïs, et les chamanes relèveraient par essence de la moitié masculine et extravertie, tandis que le pôle du soi, de la chefferie, et de la féminité ressortissent évidemment de l'autre moitié." (1996:105)

gather for the preparation of hunting expeditions, con-
gregating for a foray into the jungle just in the same
fashion as war parties did in the past. These days,
wives and children even brandish a machete or a club
in the pursuit of a peccary, seconding their husbands
and fathers, who are otherwise the actual leaders of
the collective hunt.

Both sexes equally actualise today kin links within
a wider territory, between more distant communities.
Whenever a supplement of garden produce is in need,
women visit their kin in faraway longhouses to help
in harvesting or just share the crop. If farming fields
require men to assist with labour, the primordial tie
to favour cooperation is consanguineous solidarity.

In the past, the warlike actualisation of a female-
focal interior and a male-ward exterior would extin-
guish any communal cooperation beyond the house-
hold, and left leadership as a embryonic potential;
whereas while truce would deconstruct such a gender-
binary opposition, it led to the alliance of longhouses
and the extension of authority over larger commu-
nities. The opposing states of political affairs were
complementary: the previous stories illustrate how
supra-local chieftainship has been the counterpart of
latent warfare.

In brief, either in peace or war, native power has
been a matter of "poisonous" or "bitter" *moka*-ness.
At present, chieftainship as a general function gains

another meaning in the present times of little ac-
tual violence, times of less "poisonous-bitter," but still
moka peace. Now *moka*-ness comes to refer instead to
the ascendance of older over younger kin. This peace-
ful authority concerns counselling rather than coer-
cion: elders advise and admonish, induce and exhort
rather than prohibit and punish. Their supra-local
strength is not the power to exclude, but an ability
to intone the supra-personal voice that shamans are
able to embody from the *yové*, the canorous spirit-
helper.[54]

Authority in peace—althought all authority is, in
one sense or another, shamanic—is to contain the in-
fusion of the *yové*-spiritual intonation, in fact a gift
from a certain spirit-bird *mawa*, the thrush (*sabiá*,
genus *Turdus*).[55]

To contrast with the vivid and visible egalitarian
character of present societal relations, elders insist on
the higher authority of the warlord status of long-
house owners of old. The price of present peace was
the loss of much capacity for communal efforts, which

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[54]Another theme of comparative resonance: for the increasing
politics-laden role of Yaminawa shamans in recent history, see
Townsley 1988.

[55]For a more general, historical statement concerning
"shamanic birds" among Pano-speaking peoples, see Steward
& Métraux :

> "The Panoan shaman obtained help from a bird... spirit
> helpers... are probably widespread." (1948: 531)

were concomitant with unending mutual invitations for festivals and the consequent conservation of a neat network of footpaths between longhouses. It is as if warfare potentially set apart but drew the community closer together, by means of the assignment of a certain coercive significance to chieftainship, or by the sheer strategies for self-defence and mutual reliability for aggression that comprises their art of war. The "poisonous bitterness" of *moka*-wildness was then a source of coercive-communal power.

Not only have the historical changes after permanent contact and settlement on riverbanks had consequences for gender relationships, but also the warlike past contrasts with the state of native age-group relations in present times of peace. Contemporary community leaders remember a past of health and higher familial morale under the auspices of the harmonious ascendance of elder over youngster. An interior discipline overrode constant strife among longhouses and with the exterior at large.

These are not lamentations of conservative elders, although the verbal content of statements of this sort may sound quite nostalgic—when, while hosting their festival audiences, they address their public, guests and younger kin alike. These statements have a counterpart in history and a bearing on the present: they invoke a *moka* past of violence that legitimates and constitutes the authority of their shamanic discourses.

It is an indirect invocation: the violence inherent to the historical discourse of a mythical golden age that inspires contemporary sociality is not in mere words, but it is conspicuous sound of these ritual intonations. These shamanic intonations are themselves *ino koĩ vana* addresses, the embittered expressions of aggressiveness that brings *moka*-ness from a past of warfare to the peaceful present.

If *moka*-ness used to be about "fighting for women," the literal significance of poisonous-bitterness in the past is the figurative one in the present. Under the political logic of past *moka*-ness, the multiplication of longhouses was a movement which sexual strife would trigger.

Even when war ceases and peace resumes, *moka*-ness still resounds in the air in the present form of advisory addresses. Contrary to those violent days when the warrant of truce was a supra-local chief, now authority lies in the milder realm of convivial kinship. While peace now reopens the communicating channels, as men and women maintain them by continuous visiting and partying, the range of leadership relies not in belligerent coercion but in a supra-personal, sonic-verbal domain. If *moka*-shamanic song and speech is parallel to present-day peace, the ritual advice of longhouse leaders outlines gender distinctions just like warfare did. However, the gender-dichotomies that this vocal form of bitter-poisonous, *moka* strength

determine have now undergone transformation. The
shamanic advisor of today is male, as the warrior of
yesterday also was; nevertheless, the admonishing ad-
vice of contemporary leaders is but a vocal echo of
the predatory threat and command of old chiefs like
Aurelio, of their jaguar's voice, *ino koĩ vana*. If the
shaman's voice possesses an authoritative tone, now
it has neither the authoritarian connotation of a war-
rior's intonation, nor even of that of a man: his voice
is gender-equivocal, *yové*-spiritual.

The feminine viewpoint is hidden when quarrel-
some dispute for women is at stake ("men fight for
them"), as it is in the masculine intonation of the
advisory word. However, much as gender positions
in society transform when mutual predation changes
into peace, the changeable viewpoints of mythical-
musical performance will reveal the importance of
the female audition and ritual repetition *vis-à-vis* the
leading shamanic-male vocals. Also in this gender-
transformative sense, certain equivalence come to the
fore between the mythical intonations of shamans and
the historical dynamics of war and peace: the shaman-
ic voice of advice is a sublimation of warfare. Here
this means the transferral of *moka*-agency from per-
sonal predation in warfare to the supra-personal per-
formance in the form of *moka*-shamanic intonations.
The human voices that repeat the shamanic intona-
tions are in fact reproducing a spiritual voice.

The difference between past and present contexts concerns politics: if *moka*-violence in disputes between several longhouses were once about gender, now shamanic-vocal *moka*-ness entails no more than the gender opposition of ritual performance, within one single longhouse. It is as if now, when these peoples have a less violent outlook onto their surrounds, the aggressiveness of their world converges within the longhouse.

The correspondence between both historical situations is the ever-present commutability of gender-perspectives, in past warlike authority or in shamanic vocalisation: the "interiority" of women and the "exteriority" of men were as mutable then as the gender-status of "performer" and "listener" is now. This is somehow suggestive of the ambivalence of gender roles in marriage, in which wives have hidden sex with brothers-in-law while husbands marry sisters. From the mythical past to the historical present, sisters enjoy sexual commonality with their common husband at polygynous homes, while men search sex somewhat in secrecy with their sister-in-law at their co-resident brothers'. On the whole, conspicuousness is the main gender diacritic, either in the politics of war or in the shamanic vocalisations, both in myth-chants and in everyday sexuality: men are visible, while the female point-of-view tends to be subliminal.[56]

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[56]Moreover, this gender generality might be not so peculiar

In line with the commutability of gender perspectives in warfare and ritual vocalisations, in both mythical-musical and daily life, *moka*-aggressiveness is overall above gender, inasmuch as it is above human persons. The *mawa* bird, the feather-strewn *yové*-spirit that endows the shamanic voice of advice to the longhouse leader, symbolises always more than predatory camouflage in ritual; much to the contrary, those spirits are in a wider cosmological order than aggressive hypostases—the *yochĩ* "animal-doubles" or otherwise. Contrary to *yové* bird-spirits, predation is rather earthly, or transiently unearthly at most; it is somehow mute in relation to spiritual speech and song, in *saiti* festivals and in this study.

Now one just may say that the oppositions among performers and between the performer and the audience in native vocal music—or in any speech style, any "tonal word" with ritual legitimacy—is no dialogue in the pure linguistic sense. Even though the gender opposition between musical interlocutors may be socially relevant, Marubo music and rhetoric at large entails repetition, silence, or still signals of attentiveness from <u>both</u> performers and audience. It does not

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to the Marubo: the ethnography suggests a correspondence between "informal polyandry" and the matrilineal sections found among Panoans. *Cf.* Erikson (1996:129):

> "La notion selon laquelle la totalité d'une fratrie participerait à l'engendrement de ses fils s'accorde d'ailleurs remarquablement bien avec une logique sectionnelle..."

exclude interlocutors, but rather their agency in their
personal voices. At the end of the day, both listen-
ers and the singers-speakers themselves are absent in
order to give way to the *yové*-spiritual voice. There
is little room for contradiction: the counteraction of
the shamanic word is silence or vocal repetition. Oth-
erwise, one is to hold the reputation of deafness—*mĩ
nĩkãma*, "you don't listen / understand!"—a threaten-
ing verdict, tantamount and concomitant to that of
stupidity, improper behaviour.

The shaman himself is susceptible to such an ac-
cusation, for the elocutionist *par excellence* is more-
than-human: he is *yové*-spiritual. If in the past war
was concomitant to talk, today it is the condition
of conviviality, but in accordance with a specific set
of musical-dialogical, vocal forms that are more than
mere discourses: these forms respond to a native logic,
a dialectics that relates animals to spirits, linear elo-
cution to circular reiteration, animality to divinity
through humanity.[57]

Marubo accounts do not draw a radical opposition
between violence and speech, between blind, mute
rage and rational, soothing conversation. Between
words and acts, war and peace, a spiritual-sonorous

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[57]If distinct from mere verbal dialogues, linguistic interaction
may assume a silent form among other Amazonian peoples, such
as the Arawakan-speaking Pa'ikwené; and there as well, silence
does not mean plain passivity (*cf.* Passes n.d.).

intermediation reveals the mythical rationale underlying all native history. Vocal musicality is the medium of all affections, of all ethic dispositions, all morality.

For example, the aggressive, spiritual speech of advice that the *shovo ivorasĩ*,"longhouse owners" address to visitors, *ino koĩ vana*, "the word of the jaguar," is formally known as *tsaĩti*. We have seen how such *ino koĩ vana* intonations were in warfare itself, in the stories of *Aurelio* and *Ramon*. The same jaguar-groaning speech, those threatening, reiterative ascending-fifth intervals are now in a special ritual context, in the *saiti* festivals. In such festivals, another "aggressive" intonation introduces the action: the *sai* shouts in the sonic form of a preliminary falsetto, of high-pitch vocalisations on /ee/. These vocalisations are present before and after the *saiti* myth-chants. There, the word *sai* is the onomatopoeia of the jaguar's roar, of the predatory language *ino koĩ vana*. These *sai* shouts are both a badge and the linguistic root of *saiti*. There is otherwise no apparent linguistic connection between *sai* or *ino* and the ordinary word for "jaguar," *kamã*: the "real", *koĩ vana* of *ino*, this "jaguar's language" is at another semantic level, the realm of spirits and shamans that comes to the fore in the *saiti*, in festivals and myth-chants.

The word of *sai* "roars" or its intonation *tsaĩti* is the "spiritual language," *yové vana* for the Marubo, and so is all native music. While the host shouts his

spiritual *inõ* jaguar-like address in ascending scales, the guests retaliate by shouting *sai* and, at times, by actually destroying the longhouse and its surroundings. Aggression is the typical prolegomenon of a fully-fledged *saiti* festival, followed then by the congregational music and dance, eating and drinking. Festive references to warfare and affinity abound: the same vocal-dialogical, ambiguous and aggressive *moka* ethos that occurs in ritual forms during the festival sometimes occurs already on the visitors' arrival to the path leading to the inviting longhouses. There the hosts anticipate the reception to the guests: each of the former welcome the latter by choosing an affine, holding him with the arms around his legs, lifting and carrying him for a short distance, in the direction of the longhouse festival.

The *saiti* festival is the compromise between peace and war, the tonal speech of authority and the representational enactment of fighting: *saiti* partying, in the traditional sense, is *moka* to the extent that it is *sai iki*, "the verbalisation the jaguar's groan." As a syntactical function, the lexeme *iki* verbalises the noun—in which case the native expression for "partying" could be literally "to do *sai*." At the same time, as a rhetorical device *iki* attributes speech agency to the subject—*i.e.* it could translate *sai iki* as "*sai*, [he, she or they] said." The double meaning of *iki* points to the act and to the word, as well as to their subjective-objective agency; in the case of *saiti*, it points to those

third-person acts and words, and to the agencies that
relate to the expressions *ino koĩ vana* and *yové vana*,
a spiritual and jaguar-like language, a supra-personal
one. If the suffix -*ti* in turn nominalises the action, the
verb *sai iki* becomes thus *sai iti* or, more colloquially,
saiti, the myth-chant and its ritual performance, the
musical-mythical form and festival where one "does
sai"—where *moka*-bitter, poisonous "jaguar-roaring"
takes place.

tonal language

Marubo commonalities came after long vicissitudes, as in the testimony of *Kenĩnawa*: he attributes what is today known as *yorã vana*, the common language, to one of their formerly constituent matrilineal sections. There are some living elders still fluent in *asãki iki*, the former *lingua franca* and actual language of all *yové*-spirits. But that the *Chaĩnáwavo* are taken to be the original speakers of the current language of all -*nawa* sections is not devoid of significance. Nor is the fact that this "people" would be an extinct section. *Chai* means "generic bird" in their ordinary language. That birds in general are language-givers in their myth-chants is consistent with the placement of their linguistic origins in a remote past. In language, mythical and historical time coincide. The source of what they take to be their language reinforces the present-day contention that these peoples have a composite origin: their kinship sections would be a political arrangement binding together the rem-

nants of similar -*nawa* communities. The Marubo would be survivors of war, abduction, enslavement, and other forms of fragmentation.[58]

Thus there is *yorã vana*, the daily language of these peoples, a cultural reference to birds as a foundation of human sociality. This reference unfolds into two points.

First, in characterising the aforesaid section as "extinct," the natives assume extinction to have taken place after much *moka* warfare. For the *moka* bitter-poison does not mean pure and simple "wildness," but is instead a distinctive character: *Chaĩnawa* "Birds" stand not only for present ethnic commonality, but also for the warlike past they make reference to.

Secondly, the mythical-musical "bird" epitomises some "spirituality" in the guise of *mawa yové*, the "spirit-thrush." The association of birds with the *yové*-spiritual world, *i.e.* with ritual speech, shall now lead to the diacritical dimension of the bird-like *yové*-voice, its musical intonation.

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[58]If this contention could be held without much speculation about a great many of hinterland Panoans, this is some evidence to it. Melatti, ed. 1981 equally addresses the notion of a linguistic paradigm, which is consistent with earlier information:

> "More than one indigenous informant seems to admit that they themselves result from the reunion of remnants of several tribal groups." (Melatti 1977:93, my translation)

So if commonalities that allow for the ethnic unity of these peoples go beyond the foreign vague generalisations of past written sources, such commonalities also stand before their culture and nature—their present-day kinship and their environment, their language and their settlements, and so forth.

"Marubo" now is more than just a vague ascription. The ethnic unity that these peoples share is mythical-musical: it concerns cosmic and human origins, and hence is myth, and hence it is music. Their testimony is the *saiti* myth-chants, for their notion of sameness is a "tonal" one. The tones of their words have thus more importance in common use and communal practice than their ordinary language, which in turn recognises those "word-intonations" as several categories. Among all of their tonal forms, we single out in this thesis the *saiti* myth-chants: it is the one form that traces their origins at the outset of their mythical journey, that which unfolds their historical time and is reiterative in music, notably in the *saiti* festivals.

This, and all the other tonal forms of construction of their own indigenous origins, is what we call "native music" so as to distinguish from the exogenous forms of word-intonation. These, which we would call otherwise "western music," they categorise instead together with all "sonic things" that mediate their contact with the foreign world: the native locution *koká*

iki includes the missionary cult, while *kokati* indicates every recording apparatus.

"Intonation" here means what one would call "musical notes," or its terminological variations: measurable pitches, discrete frequencies that are visualisable in a spectrometer, like the linguistic "tones" of western phonetics. Nonetheless such intonations are not only "etic" but also, and above all, have an "emic" correspondence: *mané*. In other words, tonal words are sounds that are as much audible to our ears as they are perceivable to native thought. Conversely, the sounds of tonal words are intelligible categories to us as much as they are meaningful to the Marubo. Otherwise, if their musical and spoken language makes no distinction between words in music and in ritual speech, if ritual intonations synthesise conceptual meanings and verbal sounds, then the distinctive concepts of "language" and "music" that the expression "word-intonation" implies are nothing but analytical tools.

The translation of the native notion of *koká iki* as "western word-intonations" depends less on the verbal language in which natives intone these words than on the attitudes and attributes that their "sonic form" implies: *koká iki* means the intonations to which one listens and dances to in particular ways, referring to the mechanisms that reproduce their particular contexts. These are sounds that natives do not pro-

duce, sounds that the *nawa*, the "prototypical foreigners" would call their own "music." It would include anything from disco music, when the occasional youngsters' party turns the longhouse into a dance-hall, to the evangelical hymns sung in the mission headquarters of their Upper Ituí, which adapt native language to western tunes. This is not to mention the omnipresent *forró*, a quite popular dance-party genre brought to the surrounding area by immigrants from northeastern Brazil. By extension, *koká iki* means any instrumental music coming from the non-native world, such as Colombian *merengue* and Andean styles.

All such *nawa*-music that reproduces foreign sounds is *koká iki*. In turn, *kokati* is the word for "radio" and "tape-recorder," the means through which this music comes into native life (-*ti* is here, again, the nominalising suffix). That which is "indigenous music," an exogenous category hereby defined to the exclusion of *koká iki*, is thus the word that natives intone. Again, here "tonal" would mean a "musical" quality to our ears: tones, pitches, and pulses.

For the Marubo, the voice is the only sound-producing device that is compatible with their several modes of "intonation": there are no "musical instruments" as such among them, except for the *ako*, a large log producing a hollow sound.

The *ako*-drum is known as *trocano* among neona-

tionals. It is hung within the longhouse behind and
parallel to the parallel seats *kenã*, at its front en-
trance. The drum is essential for invitations to and
creating enthusiasm during *saiti* festivals. It resounds
during and in the preliminaries of the festival, in a pe-
culiar, distinct, way. It is said that there have been
many more performing styles or rhythmic patterns in
the past.

One arrangement is widespread: three men stand
upright on the parallel *kenã* seat and perform coun-
terpointing figures. The three players, bearing names
that indicate their respective roles, hit the *ako* with
upright sticks, in a downward movement. The one to
the right is called *taash'ká*. The one in the middle
is called *kayaka*. The one to the left is *votĩya*. The
two players at both ends of the *ako*, to the left and to
the right, stand in a fixed position. The *votĩya* hits
the *ako* with a long pole, producing a more intense
sound. The *taash'ká* plays together a similar rhythm,
halving the beat and filling the upbeats of the former.
The *kayaka* varies, alternating among festival partic-
ipants. He play the same fourfold regular pattern
with his long pole (strong-weak-weak-weak), follow-
ing the same pulse as the *votĩya*, but his strong beat
is invariably out of phase with the others. There is
always an alternative stress on each player's upbeat,
creating the general polyphonic effect. The overall
movement is a male-dialectical activity. The strong
beats of players hardly coincide, producing a constant

and ever-changing pattern: contradiction is the rule, although the two lateral players are stable at each round of *ako* performance.

All that shows that, although *ako*-beats is hardly within any current category of "tonal discourse," it is nonetheless rather formal. All beats comprise reiterative, rhythmic cells—those that the Marubo, in melodic chants, call *mané*. The position that requires most proficiency is *votĩya*, to the left. Few Marubo can play it well. The *votĩya* must be able to produce several patterns among the surviving, traditional rhythms, *e.g. teõne akoká*, "the lizard beat," *voĩni akoká*, "the woodpecker beat," *shasho tokiká*, the "maize-grinder beat," and *mĩshõne akoká*, "the animal-owner spirit beat." The latter imitates the sound that this animal-spirit, known among nationals as *curupira*, produces on the roots of large trees, pointing to hunters where their prey lies.

The *ako*-drum is also a powerful means of inter-village communication: the simultaneous sounds it produces can travel many miles, since it is connected to the longhouse through supporting beams and pillars. Its beats, vibrating through ground, the pass on messages in a rhythmic code among communities. Long, regular pattern point at someone arriving from a long distance. Another example is the announcement of an approaching pack of wild pigs, summoning the neighbourhood for an imminent col-

lective hunt: the presence of herds in the surrounds is spread through short and long *ako* beats.

These hunts can either precede a festival or not, while drum-playing may be just a formal invitation to it, with no direct relation to game. But it always bear with a direct or indirect relation to myth-chants, since *ako* performance is mandatory during the *saiti*.

However, not much else seems to be meaningful in *ako* playing, as concerns "intonation" categories. It might have been different in the past, with a richer repertoire of rhythmic patterns, conforming thus to a fully-fledged semiotic code. But now its sounds are mere badges of "tonal words," to *mané* sounds. This is so in spite of the instrumental capability of the *ako*-drum as a communicatory device or of its contextual connection with the *saiti* festival and myth-chants. Thus, if those "word-intonations" define the sum of all that entails a "sonic" meaning, the *ako*-drum cannot be a "musical instrument." What the Marubo say in musical tones cannot be said in plain words; but it has to be vocal, and their language emphasises that.

The native musical classification is a means to introduce the sonorous meaning of their tonal words. Here a distinction between emic and etic, "native" and "musical" categories is cogent only insofar as the emphasis is on the simultaneous contrast and similarity between categorisation mode. This seemingly tautological proposition is in effect functional: like the cate-

gory of "music," the pigeon-hole category "tonal word" is useful just to the extent that it encompasses several words and phrases that have something in common. If this commonality is explicit, it is not amenable to neat categorising, and therefore we invent the categorial compromise of "musical intonation." The meaning of the commonality that allows for such blanket categorising is ineffable as regards verbal categories, and still it is the foremost inspiration of our research. For Marubo language effectively negates the concept of "music," or rather negates our categorial syllogisms, taxonomies and axionomies: there is no indigenous term for "music" as an essential category, for a start, because these Indians are not familiar with the Grecian Muses. This is not to say that these two universes are incommensurate: this is an open question to those who are somehow familiar with both ancient Greece and its contemporaneity to the western world, and with the present-day Marubo and their traditional myth-chants. More than a scholastic issue, this is a confrontational situation between two universes, between past and present, one that situates Indian and White.

Although I present here but a small fraction of the wide-range category of "Marubo music," there is in effect a semantic essence behind these sweeping glosses. I shall argue that the negation of this essence essentialises the "Other": it negates the possibility of a non-western "Music." I argue for the opening up and

stretching out of the category of "Music," to encom-
pass something that westerners have long forgotten,
ever since the times of the actual "Muses." I argue for
its plurality, "musics," if such qualification will please
some readers. But I argue in particular for its unity as
one qualify it as "Marubo music," without subscribing
to a universal essence. Its usefulness is coterminous
with any other all-encompassing cross-cultural cate-
gory we may use, such as, say, the "Marubo peoples."
These are categories that, if not originally indigenous,
are among those that Indians are keen on using in a
much less "relativistic," and still contextual fashion—
more so than many White anthropologists are prone
to seeing. The interface that natives present to our
"music" might not be in one single native word; its
categorial unity is nevertheless in and through many
words in their language. The contention that several
native discourses and practices, that many of their
describable and translatable sonorous phenomena de-
mand a synthesis is not a theoretical *a priori*.[59]

Therefore, if the definition of indigenous music ex-
cludes *kokati* sounds, its positive rendition is in var-
ious native words and styles of word-intonation. We
start from our shorter descriptions: first of all, *wai iki*,
"to wail," *i.e.* vocal laments for a death or the return
of close kin who had been taken as dead. The Marubo
shed profuse tears to the point of exuding catarrh in

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[59] *Cf.* Bastos & Piedade 1999 on the issue.

a demonstration of profound emotion for those who
have just died, and for those who arrive from deadly
journeys, one that entails a bodily transformation—
coming back from hospital, for instance. The rel-
atives of the dead, of the person whose body has
been likewise "under transformation," repeat single
words (like *vake*, *vake*, "child, child"...) in descending
patterns: it is the semantic-structural opposite from
the aggressive ascending fifths that are characteris-
tic of a type of *ino koĩ vana*, the "jaguar's language."
Here the opposition between ascending and descend-
ing intonations has an ethic-affective, musical sense:
the wail *waiti* descends toward co-resident / consan-
guines, while the aggressive advice *tsaĩti* ascends to-
ward enemy / affines.

So there is also *tsaĩ iki*, a form of *ino koĩ vana*,
of "jaguar's true word" or "language." We have seen
how the qualification of *ino koĩ vana* is more than
longhouse owners' intonations in festivals: it includes
the same *tsaĩti* declamations of warriors and the *sai*
shouts "jaguar's groan." This is meaningful to the
extent that such a "jaguar's language" is within the
realm of spirituality *yové*, which comes to the fore
in *saiti* festivals and other shamanic performances.
Shamans and shamanic language relate predators to
birds. The *yové*-spiritual voice is super-human, supra-
personal; hence its musical expression means some-
thing other than daily language. This differential se-
mantics refers both to the characteristic intonation

of the *yové* bird-like voice and, to a lesser extent,
to its lexicon, the ancient language *asãki iki vana*.
While some birds are prototypical *yové*-spirits, *ino*
stands for "jaguar" just when it is intonation—*i.e.* in
the mythical-musical vocabulary of *saiti* chants—or
when it is a prefix comprising a proper name for a
matrilineal section or person (*Inonawa*, "Jaguar peo-
ple," *Ino*, "Jaguar," *Inõpa*, "Jaguar's father," *Inõewa*,
"Jaguar's mother"). The ordinary word for "jaguar"
is *kamã*; that is, the "jaguar's true language" that *ino
koĩ vana* denotes already implies a distinct vocabu-
lary, a differentiation between "vocal music" and "non-
musical speech," the meaningful tone and its absence
in the ordinary word. The "spiritual language" is not
only "musical": tonal words, those of *ino*-jaguars and
yové-birds, have several standard affixes (such as -
ki). At times, an altogether alternative lexicon or
highly dense metaphors are in use. But although the
use of "figures of speech" is chant language is in some
sense extensive, the vocabulary, if the the meaning, is
recognisable for a native speaker.[60]

Like any form of *yové*-spiritual language, the jaguar-
ino language has several layers of meaning upon ordi-
nary speech, the *yorã vana* "word of body," "people's
language." As a genre of tonal word, *ino koĩ vana* con-
forms to a musical semantics and entails a multi-layer

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[60]This seems to contrast with the use of circumlocutions that
Townsley 1988 reports in Yaminawa vocal music, a specialist
shamanic code.

vocabulary that is non-reducible to mere metaphorical play. Further, the performance structure of vocal-tonal genres is an aspect of their ritual form that is as structural as their musical character and distinct verbal lexicon: *ino koĩ vana*, for instance, addresses the relatives *qua* enemies during festivals, and enemies *qua* relatives in warfare. The former situation represents the beginning of several *saiti* festivals—the *sai* shouts of guests, the *tsaĩti* addresses of longhouse owners; *Aurelio*'s performance in stories of warfare features the latter. These three characters—guests, relatives, enemies—are key figures in both, festivals and wars. These two situations stand in complementary contrast in the recent and decisive vicissitudes: both in *saiti* festivals and in warfare, those three figures are passive receptacles or audiences for *tsaĩti*, the *ino koĩ vana* declamatory genre. In both situations, the *ino*-jaguar is a host or aggressor. But, above all and above them, it is a *yové*-spiritual human voice: guests, relatives, and enemies are commutable figures, three possible interlocutors of the supra-personal *yové*-spirituality in the voice of longhouse owners, shamans, and warriors.

The daily speech *yorã vana* connotes conviviality, whereas all tonal language entails foreign affairs, cosmic or earthly. If the addressees of vocal genres like curing intonations and myth-chants are spirits and animal-doubles, the native term for the prototypical affinal / inimical figure who partakes in *saiti* festivals

is *txai*. Contrary to the ambiguity of the *nawa*-other,
a term that takes part in native self-denominations,
the meaning of *txai* is univocal: it is a marriageable
kinship category in contemporary use, whose every-
day, familial usage is a diminutive form, *i.e. txaitxo*.
Here the term stands for "male cross cousin"; it loses
thus any direct inimical connotation and gains a weak
affinal denotation, as a friendly address to unclassifi-
able strangers, be they White or Indian. To call some-
one *txaitxo* implies a certain familiarity, being thus
very different from saying simply *nawa*, a "foreigner,"
a term that is no vocative unless a slight aggressive-
ness is meant. Calling someone as *txai*, without the
diminutive suffix, is unambiguous: it is tantamount
to considering the person as an enemy.[61]

The "jaguar's language" may not address "enemies,"
but it denotes the same definite disposition toward
"outsiders." Although the *sai* manifestations of *ino
koĩ vana* are shouted more or less at random, its *tsaĩti*
form structures verbal sentences in ascending pat-
terns. It has an explicit message: *tsaĩti* expresses in-
ordinate anger or just strong statements, those words
that cannot be heard among co-residents. They are
descriptive instructions, relating actions that should
or have been taken in the past, and prescriptive-in-

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[61]An interesting semantic variation of *txai*, with the same
exogenous core-connotation, is found among the Kachinawa.
There, *txai* are the members of NGOs who come to work with
the indigenous peoples, according to Lagrou (pers. comm.).

structive actions for the future. They are advice and aggressive reprimands to the enemy and nostalgic complaints to kin and guests. No answer for these words is admissible: it requires a silent and reiterative, either agonising or attentive audience. Such is the awe this sort of *ino*-jaguar intonation inspires: it transcends the sheer aggressiveness of the leader's loud shouts inasmuch as it comprehends the authoritative tones of the *yové*-spirit: *tsaĩti* is the converse of a *waiti* wail. Ferocious groans and lamenting wails do indeed sound symmetrical and complementary, each expressing an alternative ethos: death or rebirth, affective memory or immediate affection, anger or love. Both *wai iki* and *tsaĩ iki*, both melodious utterances are segmented in equal cells and go in opposite, regular directions, upward or downward.

The three extant categories that constitute the overall meta-category of "native music," their vocal forms or tonal words are *initi*, *shõti*, and *saiti*. All these three, together with the two previous categories of intonation *tsaĩti* and *waiti*, are likewise cells or rhythmic-melodic patterns (*mané*). In essence, all share a super-human or supra-personal quality of spiritual *yové* endowment. All five categories are at once "vocal" and "spiritual," all equally "words of spirits": they are all the tonal words of the perfect, beautiful, wise and ever-renewing *yové*-spiritual entities.

These *yové* beings embody an ethical paradigm,

for their voice proffers the ultimate moral statement
for the peoples who utter it, much as their body adorn-
ments are the embodiments of a paradigmatic eth-
nicity. I qualify such a voice provisionally as "spir-
itual," to stand for *yové*-ness, in the absence of a
better gloss and following Marubo understandings of
the Portuguese word *espírito*. In any case such *yové*
beings are to be understood both in opposition and
complementariness to *yora*, the native conceptualisa-
tion of "human person" or "human body," in whose
anatomy spiritual entities take part in an equally sym-
metrical conceptual configuration.

This study not only proposes that the various vo-
cal types share a musical-semantic common ground.
It also claims that, through an extrapolation of a sin-
gle example taken from one of those musical catego-
ries—a *saiti* myth-chant—the tones of these words
are in sequences and hierarchies. To understand these
meanings some more ethnographic background is in
need.

In turn, that single mythical-musical example—
Mokanawa Wenía—will give substantial significance
to three points that we shall outline here. The initial
point is the relation between myth and history in the
spatial arrangements of these peoples, which is con-
current with their alternative configurations through
time. The other point is the relation between "bird"
and "jaguar" in the expressions *yové vana* and *ino koĩ*

vana, the two qualifiers of tonal "word" or "language" that entail simultaneous spirituality and predation— and as a corollary, the "supra-corporeality" or "super-humanness" of the *saiti* myth-chants. This leads to my last point, the composite character of native personhood. Here humanity is a peculiar conceptual conjuncture, a mythical-musical one: bodies are combinations of souls; humans are soul-like beings who are bodily becoming.

shamans and healers

I must proceed with the categories of word intonation, however. I shall just divert a bit further by introducing another indigenous distinction. Marubo language distinguishes between *romeya* and *kẽchĩtxo*, English "shaman" *vs.* "healer," through native glosses of *pajé* and *curador*. In a literal sense the two words mean "the one with *rome*" and "small chamaleon." *Rome* in turn is a common phenomenon in Amazonia: it means "tobacco," but in this context it is also the magical "dart" found within the shaman or in the ailing body, the shamanic hypostasis of vulnerability and predation as well as of his curing powers.

Although most ordinary, normal healthy people are devoid of *rome*, almost all mature men—including all longhouse owners (*shovo ivo*)—know how to *shõ iki*, how to sing in order to heal: they are *kẽchĩtxo* healers. Being a *kẽchĩtxo* is one of the fundamental attributes of a family leader: he must be able to cure his kin from all usual ailments. Therefore, in

principle if not in fact, all men are to acquire such
kẽchĩtxo-shamanic curing capabilities through a long
initiation process, one to which women also had ac-
cess in the past. *Kẽchĩtxo* abilities are "shamanic"
both in opposition to plant-curing knowledge—which
is a gender-generic attribute of the old—and because
these capabilities approximate such a healer to the
romeya-shaman proper. The knowledge of the latter
is in neither diametrical nor symmetrical opposition,
not either contrasting but complementary in a rather
concentric manner to that of the former. The *romeya*
is like a clone of the *yové*-spirit, for their similitude is
corporeal. A *romeya*-shaman has usually bright white
snail-shell bead necklaces, plus arm-, wrist-, ankle-
bands and garters (made of *novo*, the shells of a river
mollusc *Pomacea sp.*, known in the region as *aruá*):
his body is a paradigmatic *yové*.

The fact is that if human shamans share certain ca-
pabilities with spirits, they lack the total capacity for
regeneration of *yové* bodies. That partial identity or
"human-spiritual character" is not a privilege of a few,
but is inherent to most native knowledge, shamanic
and musical *par excellence*. Even though the *romeya*-
shaman is the most powerful singer among mortals,
the ordeals of his musical, "spiritual body" are a heavy
burden through initiation and throughout life. In the
acquisition and as a possessor of the powerful *rome*
tobacco-dart, he is fragile as a child, as if constantly
ill. His death is otherwise an easy one. It is as

though his life-long learning were a preparation for corporeal renovation in the afterlife, when his bodily knowledge will show him the way to a wise, happy and good eschatological destiny. He dies not too long after his formal apprenticeship with the *yové*-spirits is complete. The *romeya*-shaman knows when death is coming—some other sort of shamanic knowledge. The spirit or "essence" of the *ayahuasca* vine (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) as well as that of tobacco (known as the *shãko* or "core," the "sprouting stem" of *oni* and *rome*) guide the dead souls of those who maintain living intercourse with these substances and their hypostases, that is, the souls of the *romeya*-shaman. If the *yové*-spirit is the desirable soul-becoming of human bodies, the *romeya* indeed becomes his own renewing destiny while still among mortals. The souls of the *romeya* start their eschatological journey in life. Therefore his body is in a constant liminal state. As living he dies: by and large, body and soul and spirit are each complementary folds of a unity, only to unravel at the death of normal people, but made manifest in the life of the *romeya*-shaman.

The time I spent in the field was rather inappropriate for shamanic research. Most shamans had already died, while new ones—like *Cherõpapa*, *Panĩpa*, the young *Venãpa*—were in the process of their formation. Therefore some of the data on shamanic knowledge are second-hand, relying much on material forthcoming from past *romeya*-shamans, notably

Ravẽmpa, know among Brazilians as *João Pajé*. But all such information went through later approval, much as natives who were contemporary to my research would elaborate most of these data in a very straightforward and creative fashion. I did not rely just upon the living memories of a lost reality, but in that of the many "latent" shamans, those young and mature men who had interrupted or were undergoing their apprenticeship.

In short, any eventual flaws herein are hardly due to the mere absence of a *romeya* during fieldwork. Different from western craftsmanship, shamanic knowledge is not a skill to learn: it is a call from the spirits *yové* that reaches the would-be *romeya*-shaman, while awake or asleep, through a predatory mediator—a huge anaconda for example. This is not surprising, given the analogy between birds and predators that we have already found in native vocal forms. By the time that such an extraordinary encounter with a predator takes place, borders of consciousness become hazy for the apprentice; and while the initiate is in such a propitious state as to entertain closer bonds with *yové*-spirits, the initiator, a *kẽchĩtxo*-healer or an occasional *romeya* himself, entertains the role of guidance, selecting among the several incoming spirits. Because the shamanic domain is larger than the personal knowledge of any *romeya*-shaman or *kẽchĩtxo*-healer, apprenticeship is not entirely dependent on their presence. The shamanic reality will survive the

death of all shamans, insofar as their world does survive as a reality as well.[62]

Similar to chant-healing and other shamanic rituals, the performance of a *romeya*-shaman takes much tobacco (*rome*) snuffing and *oni* drinking. This is a vine of the genus *Banisteria*, popular through the literature as *ayahuasca* or "yagé." However, *oni* is not quite like the hallucinogens that are often found in Amazonia. Beverages like the *ayahuasca*-drink among the followers of certain local religions in this part of Brazil (*e.g. Santo Daime* or *União do Vegetal*) tend to mix up with other plants, such as the species *Psychotria viridis*. The Marubo recognise that, when *ayahuasca*-brew takes other ingredients, it can indeed produce hallucinations, but normally take infusions that contain no more than the pure *oni* vine. Even when other substances such as *rome* tobacco-snuff are

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[62] *Cf.* Townsley 1988 on the less fortuitous, more propitiatory role of shamans among the Yaminawa—who, not coincidentally, is known as *yowen*—in an otherwise familiar process of shamanic initiation:

> "Men become shamans through personal choice. . . dieting run concurrently with absolute sexual abstinence. . . [and] a series of extremely painful ordeals. These are encounters, supervised by the shaman who is initiating him, with the spirits of animals and plants. . . becoming or being a shaman is not considered merely a question of acquiring knowledge or learning. . . it is a question of being transformed in a substantive way. . . the common feature of all initiation procedures is the taking into the body of substances of other creatures and plants. . . [However] the spirits of these things choose the person as much as he chooses them. . . neither the initiate nor the initiator determines the process. They merely create the conditions in which it can happen. . . " (Townsley 1988:132–133)

present, the effect is never expected to be hallucino-
genic.

This did not prevent them from asking now and
then to this novice: "did you have any *visagem*"?
why would they ask whether taking their *oni* gave
me any "visions," just after acknowledging the vision-
ary "strength" of *nawa*, "foreign" *ayahuasca*? would
ayahuasca consumption be just the measure of the
distance between the outer world and that of the
Marubo? The Marubo say that *ayahuasca* "visions"
include scenes from the *nawa* world. In this case,
would they be saying that *oni* opens a window into
a "natural" world, rather than into a "supernatural"
one, away from common experience? or would these
peoples experience the openness of their own world
toward any "other worlds" through *oni*?

All these rhetoric questions make sense, even if
we consider that *visagem*, in regional Brazilian Por-
tuguese, is not just an unusual vision, having an oth-
erworldly connotation. It is an omen of sorts. Perhaps
the *visagem* of *oni* that natives kept asking me about
had to do with the fact that, contrary to the *kẽchĩtxo*-
healer, the *romeya*-shaman needs an involuntary and
extraordinary call to be taken as such. The "halluci-
natory" or "real," but always spontaneous "vision" or
dream that prompts the would-be *romeya* is "other-
worldly" insofar as it is deadly: it is sometimes con-
current with a serious threat to his self, such as sick-

ness plus dreams or visions. If *oni* is understood to facilitate contact with *yové*-spirits and to enhance the spiritual-vocal capacities of shamanic singing, it also opens another possibility of a visual encounter with the predatory, however "propitiatory" entity.[63]

The association between *yové*-spirit and predator, between spiritual voice and predatory vision is a subtle one: it reflects the ambivalence of the shamanic capacities, powerful and still dangerous. This association conceals a hierarchy: shamanic visions are a secondary preamble to spiritual audition—and then to vocality.

Therefore the daily consumption of *ayahuasca* of most men is both central and marginal to a proper *romeya*-performance: *oni* is present in any sort of shamanic practice, be it that of the *kẽchĩtxo*, of the *romeya*-shaman, of the *yoiya*-singer of *saiti* mythchants or otherwise. It bears relation to spirits, much as it maintains the relationship between men and some sort of essential humanity: if *noishavo* is the "beloved

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[63]Townsley 1988, in an account of a Yaminawa "shamanic level of consciousness" would be more in line with the familiar opposition between nature and supernature, subscribing to metaphysical issues on "reality" that are quite alien to the marubo:

> "*Shori* [*ayahuasca*] gives the initiate the power of the vision and is the *sine qua non* of shamanic practice... opening out the world of spirits to human intervention." (1988:134)

woman," *noioni* is its male counterpart.[64]

The *kẽchĩtxo*-healer seats on the longhouse frontal benches (*kenã*) with other men to "draw a picture" of the illness, and squats on a smaller bench in the central patio near the lying patient, interspersing his singing with much *oni* drinking. But the *romeya*-shaman does less and yet more: he lies alone on his hammock half-asleep, across the longhouse main entrance; he murmurs as if dreaming, ready for the arriving *yové*; and then he sings. The *yové*-word is song, and the *romeya*-shamanic singing would the most supra-personal and still most bodily voice among all vocal sub-categories that native language presents— those musical genres that constitute the spiritual realm of "tonal words."

The singing of the *romeya*-shaman is *ini iki*. It teaches the *kẽchĩtxo* and other mortals the art of healing and, in general, all super-human, supra-personal musical capabilities. Always in repetitive cells, with specific *mané*, the voice and the self of the *romeya* state his simultaneous corporeal identification with and personal absence from the *yové*-spirit. As the *romeya* is not only like a spirit in bodily form, but also its preferential partner, the *yové* is in fact intoning the words through the mouth of the shaman without possessing his body as such. Instead, the body of

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[64]The verb *noia* means transitive human love: "I love you" is *mĩ ẽ noia*, whereas *mĩ ea noia* means "you love me."

the *romeya*-shaman is the *yové*-spirit; he embodies its spiritual voice.

Then *initi* is a vocal-auditory means for spiritual communication and at the same time the human-embodiment of the otherworldly *yové*. The aesthetic objectivity of spiritual truth is neither subjective nor ideal: it is material *qua* audible sound, and thus is subject to objective ethic judgements. The *romeya*-shaman is like a *kokati*, a more or less trustworthy "recorder."[65]

It is by means of *initi* chants that the audience of the shamanic sessions—including healers *kẽchĩtxo*, as well as the *romeya*-shaman himself—learns how to *sai iki* and also to *shõ iki*—how to sing the *shõti* "curing songs." Healing is an attribute of either *kẽchĩtxo* or *romeya*, since one function does not exclude, but encompasses the other. One "shamanic function" distinguishes itself against the other in accordance with the span of its respective musical specialisation, the styles that correspond to each vocal repertoire, and reflect a different degree of identification with the *yové*-spirits. But the shamanic relationship of human

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[65]This is an usual analogy in Amazonia, where natives say that shamans (*pajés*) are "radios." The gloss is suggestive of a comparative musical scope, in a prospective approximation to the singing of the Tupi-speaking Araweté (Viveiros de Castro 1986:543), or in descriptions of the also Tupian Juruna, whereby the shaman is "nothing but a spokesman" (Stolze Lima 1999:119).

apprenticeship with these spirits is always the same: both *kẽchĩtxo*-healers and *romeya*-shamans are listeners.

Mimesis is everywhere among the Marubo: in myth and in the everyday, in the origins of knowledge and in its transmission. The sequence of listening and repeating in shamanic sessions is analogous to the pedagogy of *sai iki*, of myth singing in *saiti* festivals, when a more general audience learns the myth-chants by repetition.

All shamanic chants are not "a possession of" the shamanic healer or chant-leader, although each performance assumes an idiosyncratic musical form according to the "supra-personal personality" of the performer. Marubo music is non-individual; indeed, it is divisible, both as synthetic performance and in its analytical transcription, both in musical-choreographic form and in visual-verbal representation—in verbal formulae (*yoiya*) and sonic patterns (*mané*). Although the exegesis of musical transcriptions and verbal translations shall focus on the *saiti* myth-chants, these assertions are equally true for all shamanic singing, including the *shõ iki* "chant-healing" of *kẽchĩtxo*-healers. In other words—perhaps too evangelical—the healer sings the *shõti* chants, but the *yové*-spiritual voice cures.

Although healing chants are in a shamanic sense "impersonal," or rather scientifically, non-individual—

the cure-singing of *shõ iki* tends also not to be a spe-
ciality: it is part of the current knowledge of most
longhouse owners. The *yové*-voice is in principle "free
and for all": all native adults are knowledgeable in one
or another vocal form, the many parts of the entire
musical corpus of spiritual wisdom.[66]

As all *yové*-tonal voice, the musical form of the
shõti curing chants is cellular. I mean that all na-
tive word-intonation is in more or less equal musical
cells: in their language, it has a constant *mané*. The
shõti chants are even more "monotonous" than their
other formal intonations. This is consistent with the
constant contention that the healing chant is a deriva-
tion of the *ini iki* singing of the *romeya*-shaman, as
well as somehow deriving from the *saiti* myths. At
least shamanic healers always claim that the knowl-
edge of chant healing and other musical forms, such
as the *saiti* myth-chants, "is all one and the same."

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[66]At first sight this might contrast with Townsley's account
on the Yaminawa:

> "The idea of possession is a key one in relation to *koshuiti*
> [shamanic songs] because there is a sense in which they are
> regarded very much as objects." (1988:139)

But a further qualification of this statement shall draw it closer
to the Marubo, even though the author remains faithful to a
linguistic bias on music, and thus to a "concept of language" as
the concrete reification of an abstraction, an "essential power":

> "...the words and metaphors are the vehicle for the powers
> which constitute the essence of the song... [and] the origin of
> these powers was not really the shaman who passed them on
> but the spirits themselves." (1988:139)

It is perhaps more admissible to say that *shõti* and *saiti* sound like slight musical variations on a single verbal-lexical theme.

This might account for a "sonic unity of meaning." This unity is a theorisation of the truth-statement that there is a single *yové*-spiritual source for all vocal forms, all the musical practices of the Marubo. In line with the *kẽchĩtxo*-healer's argument, we note again that often those who sing *shõti* to cure are the same performers who sing in *saiti* festivals, while the different contexts, vocal styles, and audiences are comparable. There is still room for performing preferences, if not for a slight specialisation of some longhouse leaders in one or other vocal form, as a rule among elderly men who live in the same community.[67]

At all events, in every longhouse there must be someone to cure the household. There must be a *kẽchĩtxo*-healer to *shõ iki*, to sing the curing chants to the patients who lie on the hammock, around and on them. He may otherwise apply *shõ iki* to remedial food (*shõka*, past participle—like banana puree) or to a special resin (*sẽpa*), to be eaten or to paint ailing

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[67]Townsley 1988 seems to envisage an even closer identity between cure-chanting and myth-telling, but at the verbal level only, as usual:

> "...the shaman carefully enumerates the qualities and characteristics of the things he sees, including their mythic references, as if wishing to exhaustively describe and identify them..." (1988:149)

bodies. The curing chant potentiates the sick body, the nutritional medicine or the resinous paint that graphically designs its skin. While the *shõti* chants aim at ailing bodies or medicinal substances, their addressees are both the *yochĩ* animal-doubles that cause the diseases and the *yové*-like spirit-helpers that shall assist with their cure. Both are the actual recipients of the verbal-musical message that charts the disease origins: if the animal-doubles are the disease-agents, the healing-helpers are the spirit-like entities who fight and re-order the body. The indigenous cure focus on the exogenous cause of the disease: its geography stretches from the farthest foreign land, the *nawa* origin of all illness, to the very patient's anatomy, the arena of a multi-dimensional struggle. The healer is the one who knows about the layers of action and agency interfering with the person's health. He cures through identification: "I know where you come from, disease" or "warmth, come and cure" are some of the messages of the *kẽchĩtxo*-healer.[68]

These messages are not improvisations, and still are variable. Inasmuch as the *initi* shamanic chants of

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[68]The similarity of this with a description of Yaminawa curing chants in Townsley 1988 is as remarkable as it was unintentional:

> "... [it] seems to be concerned with an absolute and powerful identification of the spirit to which it is sung and seems to say '... I know everything about you... so I will banish you, call on your power or do whatever I want to do with you'." (1988:144)

the *romeya*-shaman are musical teachings for chant-
healing, the "verbal content" of the *shõti* curing chants
requires some formulaic prolegomena. Before the sing-
ing and during its interludes, some healers recite the
origin of the ailment in verbal formulae. Through
these recitations, the healer describes its aetiology
and mythical aetiogony, its spatial and causal origins,
both exogenous and exo-social. The disease comes
from other, foreign peoples, from the riverine *nawa-
rat* in one instance; and in most cases, if not in all,
the particular disease-agent is a *yochĩ* animal-double
risen from ecological transgression—a monkey under
the hunter's mockery, in another chant. Following
the preliminary recitations, the disease diagnosis un-
folds into a prognosis throughout the healing chant;
there, parts of the soul, parts of the body, sickening
and curing agents are given names and connections
to symptoms.

To be sure, there is no clear-cut semantic separa-
tion of verbal or musical content between *shõti* curing
songs and the *saiti* myth-chants. Besides the formal
diacritics of each, at the musical and verbal-thematic
levels, the most apparent difference lies in their per-
formance: the former in the quiet domestic atmo-
sphere, the latter in feasts. This study concentrates
on myth-chants—on only one of them; it allows for no
more than brief comments upon *shõ iki* cure-chanting.
Besides the fact that the form and performance of
curing and myth-chanting justify our brevity—since

the *saiti* and the *shõti* are similar vocal forms sung in variable ways—our focus is meant to all shamanic knowledge. The omnipresence of bird-characters such as *mawa* or *isá* in several *saiti* and *shõti*, for instance, corresponds to a semantic continuity that goes beyond the variability and similitude of musical form. That continuity in native exegesis only reinforces our adoption of the meta-category "word intonation," to include all shamanic singing in the same semantic domain.

The specificities of cure-singing and other forms of vocalisation cannot be an objection against favouring the *saiti* myth-chants, if only because the mythical origins of human diseases are a fundamental issue in the intonations of *shõti* chants. Mythical-musical awareness is subliminal when shaman-healers treat a disruption of bodily equilibrium as an issue of the person within the environment and cosmos, and inasmuch as such relations are in a temporal framework of both personal stories and disease histories: if every symptom and curing agent is in *yochĩ-* and *yové*-like beings, if every such being has a particular original source, this is once more due to the mutual basis of the singing of both the *kẽchĩtxo*-healer and the *romeya*-shaman, of both *shõ iki* and *ini iki*.

These and all similar musical forms—the symmetrical intonations of *wai iki* and *ino koĩ vana*, and the *saiti* myth-chants—are cellular narratives; and all the

musical-narrative structures refer to the original on-
togeny of ailing and curing agents, or doubles and
spirits, or humans and human attributes. The rela-
tion of cosmological context with such a formal, struc-
tural character of these tonal words shall provide us
with the key to the unifying code underlying their
shamanic semantics: their musical-cellular structure,
their verbal-poetical form are not the "arbitrary signs"
of structural linguistics.

In line with such cosmological considerations, the
"mythical" character of *saiti* music is one that under-
lines ontological origins. Again, this topic relates to
native history and their spatial displacement along
time; to that predatory qualification of *sai iki*, "to
do *sai*"—where *sai* is a jaguar-roar onomatopoeia—
which further associates with its spiritual character of
yové vana, "bird-language"; and finally to the multi-
ple bodily and soul-like composition of these peoples.
With all its attributable associations, one of those
saiti myth-chants constitutes the focus upon which
these themes shall converge with the main subject-
matter of this thesis: a brief musical-poetical exege-
sis.

space and time

Before moving on to the more extensive myth-chant exegesis in part two below, I have to expand on the three topics that relate to the originality of *saiti*: Marubo historical spatiality, the relation between animal and spiritual ethos in mythical-musical language, and native soul-structures. This chapter provides a few details on the temporal dimension of the spatial setting of longhouse residence, while we approach the two other points toward the end of this first part.

It should now be no surprise that, in the upper and middle courses of the Ituí and Curuçá, there is a clear contrast between the headwaters of tributary streams, where people hunt and collect in the dry season, and the high banks of these rivers, where their present-day longhouses are. This dynamic contrast is an instantaneous translation of cycles of migrations, back and forth between tributary headwaters and larger rivers. These migrations span through a much wider distance between riverine and hinter-

land than the grounds where their contemporary sea-
sonal movement takes place. The current movement
of these peoples along the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers,
between riverbank and headwater, is the summary of
a larger temporal scale: locality is both a spatial in-
stant in diachrony and a synchronic projection of the
past. Each conjuncture corresponds to configurations
of an ever-moving spatial polarisation between isola-
tion and concentration, between riverbank and head-
water. The relation between past movements and
present locality is a dynamic one: rather than a mere
result of causal events, Marubo spatiality conforms to
a temporal logic of cyclical poles and recurrent linear
directions.

Yet this rationale is not model-like. The constant
relations among those settlement poles and migratory
directions do not imply any deterministic mechanism,
for if places and movements are cyclical and recurrent,
their meaning is changeable inasmuch as they are
temporal performances. The Marubo perform their
history, rather than being the historical characters of
someone else's plot.

In recent times, this spatiotemporal principle has
been in force in the experience of slavery and war-
fare of these peoples. We have seen how slave-raiding
parties came up the major rivers and met their own
indigenous wars. In contrast to the current loca-
tion of longhouses, the instantaneous representation

of that historical moment were sparse streamlet settle-
ments, a reaction to an aggressive atmosphere: river-
ine peoples would ambush *terra firma* longhouses and
scatter them deep into the bush, inasmuch as hinter-
land peoples would raid among their own and disperse
throughout the territory. The old native custom of
burning the longhouse and abandoning its surrounds
as a sign of bereavement would amplify the proportion
between violence and dispersal. The resulting move-
ment was centrifugal, kidnapping women and children
away from community nuclei, from the tributaries'
headwaters up to the town trader.

War entails fragmentation, enforces a migratory
pattern of the same design as the later movement
that latex- and timber-trade would re-signify. The
logic that the precedent chapters unfold prevails: if
such movements were a function of the entire exterior
world, internal conditions gave particular significance
to them. If the later engagement in the extraction
of rubber and wood came to be a means to relate to
the foreigner and concentrate on the riverbanks, the
movement of dispersal that incoming warriors would
incite was most of all the outcome of the warlike spa-
tiality of earlier times. The flux of both warfare and
trade have taken an outward direction, from remote
longhouse to riverine settlement, moving between tur-
moil and tranquility, there where the purposeful en-

slaver or trader would not reach.[69]

The history of these peoples intertwine external
and internal contexts. Marubo raid parties would
capture wives and stepchildren, whereas sheer slavery
was the object of foreign attacks. Women and their
children were like a middle-ground, potential families
or slaves, subjects who were subject to the encom-
passing environment. The change of gender statuses
in the transition from war to peace, as seen in a pre-
vious chapter, was dependent on the changing state
of affairs with the *nawa*-foreigner.

After all, truce would not alter the potential dy-
namics between longhouse and foreign land. That
is, the outbound movement from hinterland to larger
riverbanks would survive the partial substitution of
belligerent exchange, both indigenous and exogenous,
through the subsequent extraction of rubber-balls and
huge logs from the headwaters to the large rivers.
From rubber to logging times, longhouses would gath-
er closer together and move downriver, while women
and children would extend the now centripetal house-
hold into a communal interior; but still a masculine
vector toward the exterior, similar to that of warfare
and slavery, would point from the streamlets to the
mainstreams.

Longhouse locality is a spatial expression of his-

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[69] *Cf.* Steward & Métraux 1948:515,528,555 for inter-tribal
warfare in a wider but still regional context.

tory; nevertheless, as much as the forms of exchange with the outside reiterate through time with variable objectives and agents, native geography, *viz.* the environment of the existing longhouses on the riverbanks, is very much the same as the surrounds of the old settlements on the headwaters. Residence construction and residential courses are constant, even if the native ethos moves from belligerence to peace: structures remain, significances change.

This changeable constancy is what we may claim to be the mythical matrix of native history. The arrangement of longhouses is but a spatial aspect of temporal conceptualisations that these peoples make visible, or rather audible in the performance of their *saiti* myth-chants. Their settlements are but one example: the two polar residential arrangements have always, in history and myth, been built on stretches of high ground, *cabeças-de-terra* (in native language *mató*), low hillocks either on the riverside or a bit further inland, either on high banks or high mounds. With equal constancy, very small intermittent streams crisscross in between these two favourite dwelling places.

Yet these streams are not the most constant connection among them. While keeping this word, *mató*, for further reference, I focus now on the one characteristic of the land that allows for spatiotemporal continuity: the paths that invariably connect their

changing settlements, which interconnect themselves clusters of longhouses. Paths cut across the hilltops and ascend toward other cosmic levels beyond the limits of this biosphere, as the *nawã vai* rainbow (the "foreign, *nawa*-prototypical way"), or the eastern *nai tae* "foot of the sky." The Marubo call *nai taeri* the "East" (where -*ri* is a directional suffix), while *vari ká*, the"way of the sun" is the "North."

Even the cardinal directions of native space are paths—the most conspicuous of which is the solar way from East to West. But the most important among these spatial connections, both for eschatological theories and shamanic practices, runs along a southwestern diversion: it is *vei vai*, the "dangerous path" that leaves this earth, right on the entrance of longhouses where people die, toward the *yové*-spiritual paradise of post-mortem renovation, *shokó nai shavaya*.

The afterlife path originates from *Vei* (dangerous) *Maya* (female name). She calls forth poisonous snakes to kill her, in mythical-musical times, while bathing near pepper-bushes by the longhouse, after suffering mistreatment from her jealous husband, who held her guilty of incest with her brother. She would build *vei vai* in response, with the help of *Tama yové náwavo*, spiritual beings from the forest canopy, *Shono yové náwavo*, from the *samaúma* tree (*Ceiba pentandra*)— huge, prototypically spiritual dwelling—and bird-spirits *Chai yové náwavo*. There she herself would live hence-

forth and tempt the dying souls away from the proper, paradisiacal fate. Once the purpose of warfare, of earthly fission and fusion, women and their love misfortunes cause the misfortune of all on the celestial level.

The *vei vai* is circular, or rather a zigzag path, beginning and ending in the two cosmic dwellings (*shavaya*): the earthly *vei shavaya* and the celestial *shokó nai shavaya*. Its *yové*-spiritual end is its very beginning; the only diacritical difference between both extremes of the *vei vai* path is human temporality, the dangerous course life and death. The dead start their afterlife journey on the borderline of human existence, where the living interact with the tree-spirits *yové*, proceeding to the super-human level of body-renewing *yové*-spirituality.

Certain people with special training, spotless behaviour, and genealogical privileges—shamans *romeya*, healers *kẽchĩtxo*, and above all those who belong to the *Iskonávawo* kin-section—are able to take a shortcut to paradise, diverting to the North West. The *japu*-bird kinspeople *Iskõ vake náwavo* have even a special device with wings, *wekor'ti*, to jump directly into the *yové*-path without risking the bodily integrity of their souls: such a spiritual lightness is most necessary, since *yové vai* starts, contrary to the dangerous *vai* path, some two meters above the ground.

With temporal-transformative, mythical-musical reg-

ularity, both terrestrial and cosmic paths provide link-
ages, winding up and down through the undulating,
arboreal landscape: the gardens are grown down the
hill slopes, on the way between earthly settlements,
while the forest canopy is full of semi-divine, semi-
human *yové* beings on the way from earth to their
spiritual paradise.

The respective meanings of these paths are di-
verse but equivalent: they are all dangerous means
of communication. Both the event of death and the
shamanic seance are central operators establishing the
connections between divinity and humanity, whereas
the deadly friction among living humans has always
been an expanding force, extending away the trod-
den ways of conviviality connecting the longhouses
even in the bitterest times of *moka* warfare. Even
in peace, natives think of themselves as fragmentary
peoples spread through a vast territory, and conceive
humanity in a celestial-terrestrial network of inter-
communicating footpaths.

Paths are on the divide between sociability and
hostility, humans and spirits, life and death; in this
sense, they are at least as significant in myth as the
waterways along which their history takes place. In-
deed, although their environment is typical of Am-
azonian Lowlands, Marubo settlements order through
firm land rather than by streams, be their territory a
farming, hunting, logging, rubber-tapping, or yet as a

shamanic space: in mythical-musical time, shamans transform the horizontal plane of terrestrial organisation into a vertical, cosmic one.

Thus longhouses and gardens are the nodes of a framework of jungle paths, even when such a network takes on a fluvial axis. The spatiality of settlements is similar regardless of their location. It always orders through terrestrial trails, whatever is the distance between longhouses. The Marubo have never been known for their artistry in canoe-building: their old canoes were no more than rudimentary troughs made out of the *paxiúba* palm-tree (*Iriartea ventricosa*). Their longhouses are understood to have always been across land connections, just as dead-end footways would lead to lumber and rubber trees at different stages in their history.

Likewise, cosmic paths depart the earth toward the ulterior limits of this world in their ever-recurrent myths and shamanic sessions. Marubo topology, both cosmic and earthly, squares into a grid of circular and linear paths, and so does the temporality that their music represents. This is most evident in the standard form of *saiti* myth-chants. These paths have directionality, not only within the dwelling space and native cosmos, but in musical time too.[70]

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[70]Townsley 1988 quotes the testimony of a Yaminawa shaman on his own shamanic songs:

> "With my song I cut a path—walking along it I look this way and that—I see many things—but the path should be straight

Marubo longhouses have significant location: unlike those of the Matis, its traditional entrance face the sunset instead of the headwaters. This might be a false opposition, since the native sunrise takes place in *noa taeri*, "the foot of the large river," an alternative denomination to *nai taeri*, the "East". In myth-chants, large rivers are as important *qua* oriental origins as death, following a rather coincidental, but western etymology, is occidental.

But it is not only the case that natives give a special significance, be it universal or otherwise, to certain cardinal directions. The meaning of this and other instances of native directionality are as fluid as the flux of the rivers: the direction is less important than the dialectics that gives impulse to movement along time, the circular and linear temporal motions that are a recurrent occurrence in their history and in the *saiti* myth-chants.[71]

The Marubo longhouse (*shovo*), standing on a slight elevation within a forest clearance, provides defini-

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and I don't stop." (1988:141)

[71]Compare with Erikson on the socio-spatial organisation of the Matis longhouse, facing upstream, and his "panological" generalisations, to which the Marubo example might add some time-depth:

> "L'amont représente, pour les Pano en général, et pour les Matis en particulier, la direction de l'avenir et de la progression... les aînés naissent en aval des cadets, comme si la société remontait le fleuve." (1996:83)

tion to an otherwise even surround. It is an important orientation even for those who are familiar with the jungle. Longhouses, then, define the space itself, as the units of the clusters of settlements that constitute the nodes of a network, both earthly and otherworldly. Their attributes are to be thus understood, insofar as here sociology subsumes to cosmology. For the *shovo*-longhouse encompasses living quarters and meeting point, while both spatial functions have gender-markers.

But these and other significant markers of the dwelling structure make more sense when it is seen as a ceremonial space. Within the *shovo*, the highest pillars that support the roof—the *kaya natĩ* posts—coincide with the functional boundaries that the Marubo draw between the central *kaya naki*, the internal longhouse patio, where much ritual choreography takes place, and the square *shanẽ*, the peripheral "domestic hearths." These are the sleeping quarters of the nuclear families, within beams and posts, with no visual privacy except during the night, when the whole longhouse is in deep darkness unless for the faint glow of fire embers underneath the hammocks in each *shanẽ*. In each *shanẽ* square, close kin hang their hammocks and store their smaller and everyday belongings.

Away from this space are the larger agricultural utensils, the new aluminium pans, clothes and shoes,

as well the precious *txakiri*, the fine glass-beads that
come from the Czech Republic, straight through the
hands of the riverine trader. All these treasures are
kept elsewhere: the indigenous longhouse is not built
for the storage of exogenous things.

Indeed, the residential communality that festivals
bring to light stand out against the dim atmosphere
found within the four square walls of another kind of
building present in the village. All that which na-
tives obtain from their trade is taken to one of the
regional-style shanties built on stilts with the same
paxiúba wood that their ancestors had for canoes. The
Marubo call these shanties *tapo*, building them in line
around the longhouse, in a larger ellipse bordering the
village and the surrounding forest, gardens and rivers.
There each family manages its own set of western
possessions. From there negotiation with the foreign
nawa world takes place fragmentarily: each family,
or family-fragment in the case of polygynous house-
holds, negotiates their acquisitions on its own. The
shanty is an entrepôt, an exit to the outside rather
than an entrance to the inside; it is an appropriation
from and a concession to the exterior, rather than an
architectural-acculturate alternative.[72]

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[72]The Matis call forthwith their neoregional huts that also
surround their longhouses *nawã shobo* ("foreigner's house").
From Erikson's account, the spatial organisation of the Matis
sounds similar to that of the Marubo, if somehow more socio-
centric, for according these "western shanties" would "respond

The situation within the *shovo* longhouse is different. Its spatiality is as elliptical as the line of surrounding shanties; but in the inside, the ellipse that it forms is concentric to walls and familial hearths, supporting pillars and internal patio. This elliptical form subtly encompasses some linearity, which appears in the form of an axial corridor. This longhouse "line" runs across the centre, between the posts and the square *shanẽ* that align along the proximal periphery, on both sides of the oval contour. The corridor is a connection between the distal extremities of the oblong longhouse, where there stands the two opposite entrances, *ikotí*, sometimes with doors, in the guise of panels of woven straw or wooden planks.

Male visitors come through the main entrance, as all do during the *saiti* festivals, irrespective of gender or place of residence. Next to it, along both sides of the entranceway, the two low and parallel *kenã* "benches" stand. The aforementioned *ako* logdrums is hung on very thick vine trees just behind one of them, toward the walls and parallel to the benches, sometimes one on each side. Beyond the obvious communicative function of the *ako* under focus in a previous chapter, its placement in performance is my main concern here. Now I can situate it a bit better: it lies near the male entrance, a dou-

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to an inveterate necessity to put in quarantine all that comes from the outside" (1996:174).

bling diacritic of its masculinity, since *ako*-players are
almost always men. Further, the position of the *ako*-
drum forces players to stand on the equally male *kenã*
bench, to hit it with long poles and make it sound
with its deep, far-reaching tones. The polyrhythmic,
doubly-male *ako*-playing that we call "dialectic" is in
clear contrast—not only at a performative level but
a that of gender—with the singing of myth-chants in
saiti festivals: while the former is gender-exclusive,
the latter disguises distinctions of gender. Although
other shamanic rituals emphasise these distinctions,
being above gender defines *saiti*-singing in festivals as
yové-spiritual— much as the intonation of its words,
the tonality of its music does.

Gender distinctions mark the longhouse in *saiti*
festivals and at all times. If the parallel *kenã* and
the *ako* constitute the functional space of men, of
male fabrication and use, at the other extremity of
the longhouse lies the opposite, female entrance. It is
known as *repãkirí*, a word that has a feminine conno-
tation upon the straightforward meaning of *repã*, the
"extremity." It is there that women carry out a great
deal of their domestic tasks such as weaving, grind-
ing corn and manioc, and fabricating *novo* or plastic
beads, ornaments made of snail-shell or alternatively
PVC. Women prefer to work in their *ikotí*, their own
"entrance," except in the case of the leading nuclear
family, which also uses the main male entrance, close
to which it has its *shanẽ* hearth, known as *repã shanẽ*.

Both entrances are, in fact, a middle-ground be-
tween the day luminosity and the dim shadows inside,
affording partial protection against biting bugs. The
gender character of each is no more important than
their respective spatial situation toward the foreign
domain, outside the longhouse—a status specification
that the leader's *shanẽ*, the *kenã*-benches, and the
ako-drum assign to the "male" side, assigning thus a
higher emphasis on foreignness than on gender. The
presence of men marks the main entrance less than
the movement of visitors, either cosmic or terrestrial,
in the *saiti* festivals and in shamanic sessions.[73]

The *kaya naki*, the internal central patio of the ob-
long longhouse, lies midway between both the proxi-
mal *shanẽ* family hearths and the distal male and fe-
male extremities. While *naki* means "inside" or "mid-
dle," *kaya* means "tall," "high," "most important," the
main part of the longhouse at its centre—as well as a
metaphorical entirety, as for example *iwi kaya*, "tree
trunk," or *yorã kaya*, a "personal body." This is where
women and children sit down on straw mats in cir-

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[73]In connection with Montagner Melatti & Melatti 1986,
Erikson emphasises and amplifies this male / female spatial
opposition in an amazing scale, with particular reference to the
Matis:

> "...deux axes imaginaires coexistent et conjoignent leurs ef-
> fets, opposant, pour le premier un amont masculin et aîné à un
> aval féminin et cadet; pour le second, une droite prestigieuse,
> consanguine et masculine, à une gauche assujettie, affine et
> féminine." (1996:185)

cles, for communal meals, whereas men eat on the *kenã* whenever labour- or hunting-parties congregate, joining their commensal families at other times.

Incoming visitors make gender distinctions even clearer in the longhouse space: men go to the male *kenã* area, also known as *kenã kirí*, while women to the female *repãkirí* entrance or gather together with their children to eat in the *kaya naki* internal patio, near the *shanẽ*-precincts or the *repã*-end.

Otherwise, the divisions within the *shovo*-longhouse are to be understood as a gender-generic whole just at some points during the shamanic seance. If the names of some constructional sections reveal a metaphorical anatomy (bodily designs *kene* are its "walls," for instance), these ordinary analogies are clear references to the shamanic body. The *romeya*-shaman is said to be the "host" of the visiting *yové*-spirits when the latter come to the earthly session, in the same fashion as longhouse owners invite their neighbours for *saiti*-festivals. The longhouse is the shaman's body, a meeting point for visiting households and a middle-ground between humanity and divinity. Shamanic performances transform the spatial gender-order of the *shovo* into a cosmological one, redefining the oppositions between male and female extremities, periphery and centre as oppositions between humans, spirits, and doubles.[74]

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[74] *Cf.* Montagner Melatti 1985, and specifically Montagner

Any mention of the longhouse centre has metonymic ceremonial reference, in the *saiti* intonations or even in everyday talk: the *kaya naki* is the central space where most festival performances take place. It is where the circles of "dancers" or "travellers," according to a current metaphor, respond to the chant-leader intoning the *saiti* myth-chants from the entrance benches. This responsory along time is the most crucial spatial opposition within the longhouse. The Marubo designate the shamanic chant-leader as *yoiya*, the "one who leads," the "guide," while calling the responding *saiti* performers "dancers" or "travellers," in figurative glosses.

Their "dancing" could be understood as something close to a "choreographic movement"; but the appropriateness of "travelling" is difficult to understand. At first glance, those who respond do nothing but walk in pairs or triads one after the other, going round in ever-repeating circular steps along the line bordering the central *kaya naki* and the *shanẽ*-periphery. It is in their performance, however, that the contradictory spatiality of the cosmos becomes visible on earth. It is then that the design of the *shovo* is the confrontation of two spatiotemporal values. The longhouse becomes visualisable as a linear corridor between the two entrances, whose main extreme is focal for the festival

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Melatti & Melatti 1986 for more details on the longhouse's anatomic morphology.

but still in the periphery; and as a circular patio,
which is marginal to myth-music but central in the
saiti choreography.[75]

The exegesis of the very mythical-musical discourse
of the *yoiya* chant-leader shall paraphrase later the
ontological message of the sonic-choreographic move-
ment that he himself and his responding responsory
perform during the *saiti* festival. The *saiti* perfor-
mance represents and reproduces the *shovo* longhouse
as the human world *par excellence*, within both the
earthly and cosmic spheres—not as an "ideal" con-
struction, but as a universe that is a construal inas-
much as it is a performance along time. The per-
formers construe this world in its barest temporal
framework, that is, as the well-trodden paths that
traverse the earth and the whole cosmos along time,
along which the *yora*-bodies, the *yové*-spirits and the
yochĩ-doubles "travel."

The diversity of directions and meanings of these
movements, on earth and through the cosmos, shall

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[75]Compare with Erikson 1996: contrary to the Marubo long-
house, in the morphologically-related Matis *shobo* the middle
patio is reduced to a minimum, and virtually transformed into
a corridor. Meanwhile, Matis men congregate on small, indi-
vidual benches within the longhouse centre (*nantan*) to form a
circle, in a stark contrast against the linear, parallel, collective
and peripheral *kenã* benches of the Marubo. The Matis merge
in one what is kept separate and dual among the Marubo: the
central circle and the peripheral centre. Matis longhouses are
horizontal. Marubo ones emphasise verticality.

help us to trace these conceptual entities at a later stage; now we just leave a few hints. The *yové*-paradisiacal world is the focal dwelling of recurrent renovation. The *yové*-spirits inhabit the celestial *shokó nai shavaya*, where dead human souls shed their skin at the end of their journey in the afterlife. In so doing signal the end of the dangerous path that runs along the margins of earth and sky, *vei vai*.

Meanwhile, human death liberates the *yochĩ* animal-doubles that wander along past lifelines on earth or along the same *vei vai*, the transitory limbo that is the transient future of all living humans. The *vai* "path" is called *vei*, "dangerous," because it traverses a marginal space, where the *yochĩ*-doubles bar the *yové* spirit-becoming of souls. If this attribute of danger indicates "transformation" as well, this is meant to be an eschatological one, standing for the transience between life and death. If the skin-shedding, circular-renovating movement of the *yové*-spirit is the distal destination of the dead humans, the transit of the *yochĩ*-double in the margins of life and afterlife is their proximal passage.

The *yora*-body embodies the dangers of soul-transformation, the potentials of animal-doubling or spiritual-transmutation of the *vei vai* itself. Living humans enact this in *saiti* festivals. If both the *yochĩ* and the *yové* may occupy alternative niches near the ways of the living *yora*-humans, on earth or on tree-

tops, at death this opposition reproduces the *vei vai*, the interstitial trail that, although full of earthly *yochĩ* double-ness, conducts to the sky of *yové*-spiritual renovation. The *saiti* myth-chant and its choreography, in turn, effect a countering spatiotemporal transposition of the movement from earth to sky that occurs after one's lifetime. For *yora*-bodies, the *vei vai* path stands thus for a decisive journey of dangerous transformations that reflects human life on this earth and performs its post-mortem potentiality.

The spatiotemporal structures that are shamanic performance in the *shovo* longhouse during *saiti* festivals have historical repercussions insofar as they have a logical counterpart in the residential structure as well. If the male longhouse entrance is central in the mythical-musical performance, the female opposite extreme is peripheral *qua* "entrance," *i.e.* as regards the relation between the domestic interior and the external world. Visitors always approach the male side, while those who are going away may follow the path between the two entrances across the longhouse, leaving through the female extreme as a farewell gesture. The female entrance is in effect an "exit," with reference to the movement of peoples in between communities, as much as the mythical-musical periphery in *saiti* choreography is the circular movement that represents the eschatological destination of soul-skin renewal.

Moreover, the traditional westward direction of the main entrance suggests that visits come from the direction of the sun, like the *yové* spirits. Given that the unanimous location of the *nawa*-foreign land is on the larger banks downriver, ultimately in *noa taeri* or *nai taeri*, the eastern "foot of the large river" or "foot of the sky," would visitors be "affine-becoming kin" then, while affinal conviviality is a prior stage to the *yové*-spirit becoming of souls? is the longhouse on the way of a double process of "*nawa*-estrangement" and then "*yové*-spiritualisation," equal to humanisation for peoples whose historical directions run in parallel, up and down the water flow?

Much as human corporeality and the spiritual voice are one and the same in mythical-musical performance, the social statuses of kin and affine, of women and men, are indeed in a state of flux within and through the nodal longhouse. This is not true for the domestic sphere only: Marubo kinship phrases in terms of gender relations, but gender is in the cosmic context that comes to the fore in shamanic ceremonies.

The hearth of the longhouse owner, *repã shanẽ*, is to be found on the male side, behind the *kenã* parallel benches and the *ako*-drum: this confers to its occupant the condition of "leader" (*kakaya*). This part of the longhouse, this *repã* corner, deprives of spatial centrality the socio-cosmic centre that it represents. As regards daily affairs, it is utterly peripheral in-

deed. Even though the longhouse owner (*shovo ivo*)
is known as *kakaya*, "leader" or "chief"—with proba-
ble morphemic links with the central *kaya*—the male
space he occupies in the distal extreme of the long-
house is its peripheral focus, the "ex-centric centre" of
this whole cosmos.

Again, this becomes clear in the *saiti* festival: it
is from the male entrance that the *yoiya* chant-leader
leads the singers who move in circles in the internal
patio. If the longhouse centre *kaya naki* is spatially
central but musically marginal, it contrasts with the
male extremity, with the *ikotí* from which the *romeya*-
shaman departs to cosmic journeys in order to invite
his *yové*-spiritual guests from their celestial or arbo-
real longhouses to the earthly shamanic session. It
is still on the *kenã* benches, at this focal periphery
that the *kẽchĩtxo*-healer starts the performance of his
cures, by means of *shõ iki* singing upon remedies or
by reciting the origins of the disease.

Therefore, if the male side of the longhouse is the
magnetic focus of cosmic transactions, the line that
links it to the *repãkirí* back entrance is an axis of dis-
persion. In this sense, even though households are
now centripetal in community nuclei, the centrifugal
"feminine direction" within the longhouse is consis-
tent with the pivotal meaning of femininity in his-
tory. Marubo women constitute the paradoxical op-
posite pole of warlike or cosmic forces; if the male

warrior or shaman is as "foreign" or "ex-centric," their direction is female. Women are a simultaneous motor of binding and dispersal, both now and before; but native socio-cosmology inverts the relation female : interior :: male : exterior, an equation otherwise in force under certain historical conditions. In those past movements of alternating peace and warfare, women tended toward the "foreign interior" of society. From the ever-present shamanic regard, a mythical-musical and eschatological one, the feminine is instead at the level of *yové*-spiritual circularity, in the cosmic exterior—although this exteriority is within an ex-centric perspective, that of the shaman.

In stories of the past, both the pole of human congregation and the motive of social disintegration were female: women were both the core of sociality and the currency of warfare. Now from a shamanic perspective we may realise that, if the agents in transactions with extra-human entities are men, the direction of the becoming of all human beings is feminine. Indeed, the *romeya*-shamans of the past are thought in full array of *novo* snail-shells and *txakiri* glass-beads, as profusely as most living women do, and as some of the present-day *kẽchĩtxo*-healers still dress themselves. The shamanic attire is a *yové*-spiritual guise, which is a feminine state of recurrent renewal. Marubo men, indeed, describe the *yové*-sky of post-mortem renewal *shokó nai shavaya* as womanly, sensual, and attractive.

This is the cosmic scene of the *saiti*, with its spatiotemporal implications. Now I move on to a characterisation of the *saiti* myth-chants proper. But after setting this historical background, and before we delineate its formal generalities next, I shall conclude this chapter with some words on the predatory character of its "public performance." This was already seen, in part, as the second of the three aspects of *saiti* that its exegesis requires to its further development: the agencies of its performance. Neither this nor its generic description, and not even the correlative topic of soul-bodily personhood that shall follow suit exhaust the study of *saiti*: all that is just a preparation of its semantic ground. Of all manifestations and expressions of shamanic vocal-musical practices, the *saiti* is the most conspicuous, and therefore it is the last one to be seen in detail. But these details are just preparatory notes for its interpretation.

The suggestion that the term *saiti* is a derivation of the verb *sai iki*, "to do *sai*," is not so discrepant with its usual meanings of "festival" and "myth-chant." In all *saiti* festivals, the ritual performance of the *saiti* myth-chants ends with several *sai*, the high-pitch falsetto shouts of the *yoiya* song-leader and responding choir. These *sai* high-falsettos conclude myth-chants in the voices of all singers, or singers may shout them first, in between each of the final verses / cells which structure the myth-chants. They indicate that the performance has come to an end, or

anticipate the *yoiya* song-leader as an indication that
the responding dances look forward to its end. When
guests shout *sai* in the first stages of the *saiti* cere-
mony, when they "invade" the host's longhouse and
patio, jumping and trotting and holding each other's
arms in several groups, the performance is about to
start. Then such shouting may accompany the partial
destruction of the host's assets, especially in *Wakáya
Saiti*, festivals in which less intimate peoples are the
guests.

All these attitudes stand in opposition, and still
are analogous, to the walking hand in hand, in pairs
and triads, of the responding chorus during the music
and choreography of the myth-chant in its proper fes-
tival rendering. This is how shamanic performance in
saiti festivals sublimates warfare: the overall atmo-
sphere is festive, but besides the occasional ritualised
vandalism of guests, the aggressive character of the
sai cries both pervades the ceremony and counter-
acts the mythical-musical voice, in the responsorial or
mute dialectics of the myth-chants and in the host's
ritual address. For at the end of the day, the *yové*-
spiritual *saiti* myth-singing of the *yoiya* chant-leader
is as *inõ*, as "jaguar-like" as the *sai* high-pitch shout-
ing, or as the ascending tones of *tsaĩti*, the language
that longhouse leaders intone in the prolegomena of
sai iki.

myth and music

The everyday speech of these peoples is *yorã vana*, that which they call "our language" or "word of body." But these two expressions are nothing but tentative indications toward the meaning of *vana* and *yora*, some of the categories concerning their identity and the general theme here under focus, to wit the mythic-al-musical emergence of these peoples—in their history and their world. But the convergence of this focus, the emergence of these peoples in their world and along their history, is not in this ordinary verbal language, *yorã vana*: it is ritually rendered by shamans and represented by everyone in extraordinary occasions such as the *saiti* festivals and myth-music. This means that, while a mere linguistic analysis would be insufficient to render indigenous identities clear, it would not suffice to account for the *saiti* synthesis, the mythical-musical form of native history and cosmos. The interpretation of a set of concepts is insufficient. Beyond a visual-verbal study of translations and tran-

scriptions, it is in need of musical-poetical exegesis, if only because the main medium in which these peoples articulate their verbal conceptualisations on such themes like identity, history, and cosmology is a formal language, *mané vana*, words in tonal form. For these peoples, this musical-poetical form is the sonic axis along which humanity and the world are temporal; and this is the tonal language of the *saiti*, their "myth-chants."

These prolegomena aim at a broad characterisation of those myth-chants, providing the elements for the exegetical commentary that shall concentrates on one such *saiti*, the myth-chant of *Mokanawa Wenía*. This myth-chant shall be brought into focus because of its pedagogical character, both for the reader and, within and around the large communal longhouses, for the young audience who repeats *saiti* verbal verses / musical cells in response to the chant-leading elder, the *yoiya*. The *saiti* is the vocal genre of the *yoiya* chant-leaders and the responding circling-dancers, in festivals that bear the same name *saiti*, wherein mythical narratives are sung. In short, *saiti* are mythical discourses told in musical form, and the word further designates the performance of such oral narratives in choreography. Among the Marubo and through the Marubo, *saiti* are myths in music: they are structures in time.

Here I understand "myth" in line with the rath-

er commonsensical definition of a narrative of origins of the world, and of every possible being in it. This definition is at once too broad and too narrow, however. It is a broad and vague definition because every single instance of *saiti* myth-chant occurs in verbal narratives that give specific meaning to what is "original" and "originative" in it. Origins in the Marubo myth-chants entail humour and history, eschatology and physiology, cosmological and cosmographic references. All this is beyond the strict sense of original creation—of what natives call *wenía*, "emergence," the past and ever-present event that some of the longest among these musical-mythical narratives denote.

Above all, the commonsensical, definitional formula of "myth" is too narrow and simple a definition because *saiti* chants are always more than a verbal narrative, at any rate when it is performed and heard. The *saiti* is more than spoken words precisely because it is musical poetics, a ritual form. It is not in mere speech, but through the expressive means of these words that the historical emergence of these peoples themselves and of their world takes place; or, as they say, *wenía* occurs in *saiti*-singing.[76]

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[76]Melatti 1986 focuses on *Wenía*, a longer version of the *saiti* in question here. It is a larger rendering than *Mokanawa Wenía*, but with a different *mané*, a different sonic-poetic structure. The author describes it as the prototypical "mythological origin of the Marubo culture." His description envisages myth as a written representation, *i.e.* from a univocal visual-verbal

The verbal meanings of *saiti* are often cryptic. In such cases myth-chants hardly make any sense at all without their ritual form. The musical poetics of the myth-chants of *wenía*-emergence, for instance, is the temporal configuration in which the being of all things in the world materialises as primordial substances that combine in pristine earth, emerging (*weni*) as humanity and humanising it. Earth becomes world as the ground is a clearance, as an archetypal dwelling (*shavaya*) in the human-becoming of all "creative things."

But if such movement from earth to world and from things to humanity is ontological, *i.e.* it is as anthropogenic as it is cosmogonic, it takes place in musical-poetical rather than in mere linear time. In those *saiti* myth-chants, all things and entities that are constitutive of humanity and the human world come into life in a musical articulation between recurrence and progress, reiteration and succession, circularity and linearity. These binary structures, rather than constituting a universal intelligibility that sits outside of space and time, are instead sensible temporal articulations in musical and spatial movement, that these sketches intend to render more intelligible for those sensibilities away from the life and experience of the *saiti* festivals and myth-chanting of the Amazonian Marubo. Although alien to the experi-

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perspective.

ence *in situ*, readers may experience myth-chants as sonic-poetic descriptions, much as spirits and wandering souls may approach their shaman-siblings and take *ayahuasca* and tobacco-snuff through their bodies. Feelings are personal.

The transcription, translation, and subsequent study of *saiti* myth-chants do entail several methodological problems that relate to the disciplinary split between music and anthropology. This split presupposes a separation between myth and music, or between their form and their mythical or musical meaning. The existing ethnography predisposes the presentation of mythology or musicology as a reduction to anthropology, and this implies the usual search of mythical or musical meaning in an implicit social model. I aim instead at the temporal meaning of sociality through an analysis that makes explicit native synthetic structures, that which they mean when they sing their *saiti* myth-chants—and that they mean so because they could not do it otherwise.

The idea of metaphor, easy to evoke in the understanding of unfamiliar languages, is likewise reducible to verbal meanings, often prone to allegorical interpretations. It is clear that the shamanic language of *kẽchĩtxo*-healers, for example, differs decisively from everyday speech. But much as the linguist aims at structural meaning beyond circumstantial semantics, the anthropologist should make a concession to musi-

cians in acknowledging the need of a thorough inves-
tigation of meanings behind metaphors, whose mean-
ings are themselves behind the usual words.

This dooms the fateful fortune of the dearest of
metaphors in the structuralist myth—music as an al-
legory—to be a squalid bi-dimensional score frozen in
the void: a dualistic representation. The structural-
ist structure that models after music in fact ignores
its temporal character. In consequence, it ignores the
ritual context of myth as well, failing to account for
its form and neglecting thus all the agencies of its
performance. If the structuralist myth is visualis-
able language, one cannot hear its words; it cannot
be music unless when one pictures the latter as writ-
ten, prescriptive or descriptive musical notes. It is
only under the guise of this visual, a-temporal repre-
sentation that one can conceive musical harmony as
mere synchrony, the instantaneous moment of chord-
verticality, which fugal counterpoint is seen as plain
diachrony, the horizontal succession of melody-lines.
Time is thus seen as opposite of a-temporal instants;
its positive definition cannot be more than progres-
sive linearity, in an opposition that is homologous to
the positivist definition of truth as eternal and ab-
stract and of knowledge as evolutionary and concrete.
The topological transformations that structuralism
unfolds in its "science of mythology," in actual fact an
unfoldment of its own metaphysical myth, are duly
within this visually-eternal, ideal reduction of tempo-

rality.[77]

The "original sin" of the structuralist study of myth has deep roots in ancient western biases on the ontology of time and in correlative epistemological dichotomies, like the anatomical dissection of the human soul into the bodily concrete sense-perception and the eternally abstract intellect instantiates.

The Marubo, we shall see, divide their bodies into left and right "souls," while each has different sensible-intelligible attributions. The structuralist homology found between myth and music, the "middle-way" between sensibility and intelligibility that structuralism proposes for its own metaphysical dilemmas is fallacious only because it deprives both myth and music, both sense-perception and thought from the one factor that relates the western "universals" to their native "particulars": time. Time fills the metaphysical gap between words as a-temporal and a-spatial "ideal concepts" and their performance. The *saiti* myth-chants may be a metaphysical reification; but it shall be so just to the extent that it is myth heard as music and

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[77]The structuralist project proves itself to be "symbolic inefficacious" in the study of myth and music at the very inception of its all too ambitious project, since the grounds of its monumental announcement lie in the out-of-date overture of an equivocal late-romantic symphony:

> "The search for a middle way between aesthetic perception and the exercise of logical thought should find inspiration in music" (Lévi-Strauss 1994[1964]:14)

Under wrong inspirations, it suggests a most inspiring idea.

thought made perceptible, that is, just because those peoples perform it along time. Their musical performance allows for temporal multiplicity, allowing for the existence of a myriad of worlds, multifarious cosmos, as well as the sheer constitution of peoples as manifold social, historical beings.[78]

Although its temporal form is music and poetics, choreography and festival, *saiti* lexicon does not differ from the everyday verbal language of these peoples, from those words they call *yorã vana*. However *saiti* words are *yové vana*, language of the spirits, being thus hardly understandable to laypeople. Before, behind, between, above, and below metaphors, their means of expression are spiritual.

The fundamental aim of this work, to wit the reconciliation of *saiti* words with their intonation, with that which characterises them musically and poetically, results from this sort of verbal neutrality that is found in ritual language. This work and its written words find their limitation in print, in a a-temporal and a-spatial, visual form: here "ideas" and "concepts" are at stake. In Amazonia, instead, native peoples perform their sensible-intelligible affections in mythical-musical form, as an ontological comment on and along time.

The words I use are thus bound to be simple indications of the sonic meaning of the musical-poetical

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[78] *Cf.* Overing 1990, 1995.

articulation of *saiti* myths. Even if their words do reveal a wider use of tropes and vocal melismas than the everyday language, the intonation of those words as a meaningful diacritic is at once a social and cultural emphasis among the Marubo. Previous accounts of their music and myth form a respectable corpus devoting minute attention to the "spiritual," cosmological context in which the shamanic cures and mythchants take place. However, what makes shamanic language "spiritual" is its poetical musicality and, *vice-versa*, it is thanks to native cosmology that such language means at once "music" and "poetry" for the Marubo.[79]

The Marubo conceive the world that constitutes the cosmological context of cure and myth as populated by "bodies" and "spirits," "doubles" and "souls," and other entities. Conversely, all these *yora, yové, yochĩ, vaká*—all these words which are present in their everyday language are meaningful just inasmuch as these conceptualisations respond to a musical-poetical reality.[80]

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[79] *Cf.* Montagner Melatti 1985, Melatti 1985b, 1986, and 1992, as well as the more recent contribution of Cesarino 2008, providing precious details on the poetical construction of shamanic discourse but leaving out most its sonorous quality. Cesarino, a Brazilian poet himself, revels his inclinations toward the poetry of João Cabral de Melo Neto, in a famous quote: "Carlos Drummond de Andrade is lyrical, almost musical. . . I hate music!"

[80] Within Marubo ethnography special mention must be made

The native point-of-view draws the most striking distinction between the spiritual *yové vana* words of the *saiti* myth-chants and other shamanic intonations on one side, and the common *yorã vana* language on the other. Further still, it stresses that such a semantic distinction lies less in lexical and syntactical arrangements than at their concrete sonic level—the musical-poetical form. The verbal-visual, abstract dimension of "ideal concepts" is insufficient as an account of *saiti*, as it fails to account for the Marubo.

In this sense, this study goes beyond linguistics, and is closer to an approach to the "performing arts." Such an approach is nonetheless all about words, in chants and everyday words, native ones and their translation. After the trajectory that brought us at last to a broad characterisation of *saiti* and its historical import, the implications of my mythical-musical study shall require me to expand on a number of native verbal conceptualisations, which will acquire a more material meaning later, in the form of myth-

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to Montagner Melatti 1985, an extensive account of the native "spiritual world" of the curing chants. The author duly registers:

> "In thinking of Marubo society, one immediately associates it to music, since their culture is based on vocal sonorities. To be able to sing and to be a good singer are highly valued attributes among these peoples. Social or religious relations manifest themselves by means of chants...: children are lulled with cradle songs; myths are sung during collective rites or can be heard occasionally at sunset; shamanic chants establish bonds between humans and the *yové*-spirits; and curing chants are sung to heal." (1985:591, my translation)

chant exegesis. The methodology of this study is be-
ing built by means of verbal-visual description, aim-
ing however at the significance of *saiti* that is in the
sound of their pronunciation, beyond the visualising
capacity of written words. These methods will be
comprehensive as conclusions—as are a response to
a rather traditional anthropological issue: the non-
verbal grounds of social action.[81]

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[81]As in Evans-Pritchard's comments on Zande divinatory
seances, for instance:

> "An observer who recorded only questions put to the witch-
> doctors and the replies which they gave would leave out the
> whole mechanism by which the answers are obtained, and even
> the answers themselves. A witch-doctor 'dances the ques-
> tions'." (1976[1937]:89)

The Marubo sing their myths.

persons and peoples

The Marubo are *yora*, at least as far as self-denominations go. After the description of their tonal forms, it is necessary to delineate better the meaning of *yora* and other categories, to deepen our insight into the original relations between these peoples and persons and their myth-chants.

The way these peoples refer to themselves is *yora*, as an inclusive third-person. However, the direct designation of *yora* is that of their "body," a specific form of humanity. Not only are *yora* "bodies" different from *nawa*, that human category that designates foreigners and at the same time constitutes the names of these persons and peoples—but these *yora*-persons are also set in complementary opposition against a whole range of forms of beings—like *yové* "spirits" and *yochĩ* "doubles."

There are still less narrow renderings to *yora* such as in *yora wetsa*, for instance, which means "other indigenous peoples" (literally "other body"). Other-

wise, when it reads *yorã*, the genitive designation in its broader sense, the word means "of our peoples," "ours." Thus *yora* is an indeterminate subject that includes the first-person: "we, the people," humanity in its most specific meaning.

But who are the peoples to which the *yora* "we" refer? Their words provide indications: *yorã vana* is nowadays the language spoken among all the peoples living in the Upper and Middle Ituí and Curuçá Rivers. That is, the *Varináwavo*, *Shanenáwavo*, *Inonáwavo*—the "peoples of the Sun," of the "Bird Ultramarine Grosbeak," the "Jaguar", and all other -*nawa* "peoples" or kinship sections among which the *yora*, these kinsfolk interrelate and subdivide, speak one and the same language. But although current as a designation for "person," *yora* does not stand as an ethnonym for those mutually intelligible peoples. The only ethnonymic alternative otherwise available to them is "Marubo"—which is an ethnic definition just when foreign affairs are at stake, as in representations regarding indigenous and governmental organisations.

This means that, contrary to "Marubo," *yora* is not qualitatively distinguishable from "White." All humans beings are *yora*, inasmuch as one can establish a difference between such beings and an animal (*yoĩni*), a spirit (*yové*), a double (*yochĩ*). As an all-including self-reference, *yora* is equal in kind

to *nawa*, the generic "people" and "prototypical foreigner." But instead of partaking of a taxonomy for humanity, *yora* is a topological operator, situating these "body-peoples" in their universe.

In this sense, *yora* also does not differ in kind from "Marubo," but rather in semantic location. Each term is at a different level of self-identification, regarding "humanity" on the one hand, or "indigenousness" on the other. While both designations refer to the same peoples, "Marubo" and *yora* have different meanings and contexts.

Two examples illustrate this idea. One day the old *Txomãpa*, lying down on the longhouse bench and resting his head on my lap, suddenly said: *mia marubo*, "you Marubo!" I was an obvious "human body." But he would never say "you *yora*." Likewise, *Natõpa* (Manoel Dionisio) and *Pekõpapa*, my hosts in the field, would comment among themselves after several years of conviviality: *Menẽpa nawa marivi*, "*Menẽpa* [this anthropologist] is no White."

Rather than realising any similarity between my demeanour and their own ways, Marubo elders were then asserting the difference between me and foreigners at large, Brazilians above all. "Marubo" might mean to be a *nawa* "like them" instead of a generic, White *nawa*. But it would hardly mean being part of their cosmological configuration, as *yora* would indicate. More than indicating an outward, bodily simil-

itude, being a *yora*-body means to partake of a cosmos of *yoñni*-animals, *yochĩ*-doubles, and *yové*-spirits. "Marubo" means the same as "Indian," the simple contrary of "White." But it stands for indigenous identity just insofar as it is an exogenous designation.

This negative employment of "Marubo," as a qualitative vocative for "non-White," assumes such a meaning in situations that pair off with my domestic encounters with *Txomãpa*, *Natõpa*, and *Pekõpapa*. This was the case in a somewhat western *saiti* festival, a *nawã saiti* in *Panĩpã shovo* (the longhouse of Lauro Brasil), in the Upper Ituí community of Alegria. In this, as in other festivals, these peoples are well aware of the disruptive effects of white spirits among teenagers—in a state of consciousness wherein, in most cases, Indians emulate White cultural reactions and social ways. For fear of undesirable consequences, *Tamãpa* (a.k.a. *Simão Cruz*) would address the youngsters dancing to Brazilian *forró* music: "Marubo! keep cool and don't fight, or we'll be in trouble with CIVAJA [the city-based indigenous organisation]."

"Marubo" was here in contradistinction to "White." It did not have the positive value of *yora*. Both *Txomãpa* and *Tamãpa* had terms to distinguish among contradictory identities. In the latter case, the definition in question was against the ambiguous exogenous-indigenous organisation, to the exclusion of all other foreignness. In the former case, in relation to myself,

it would include a particular foreigner who was in the village ambiguously, "like one of them" but without pertaining to the same world.

The contextual uses of "ethnonymic" designations, such as *yora* and Marubo, do more than indicate the diverse contexts of identity and difference. These episodes are indications that the "Marubo," these *yora* "bodies" are *nawa* peoples too, in the most ambiguous sense of this definitional term.

Present among most Panoans, the term *nawa* is both a word for "foreigner as such"—or, more precisely, for the "non-indigenous" other—and a general marker for "people." In this sense it is a self-reference as well. This is the case among the Marubo. As a single word *nawa* denotes the "White," in contrast to the "Indian." Also, to stress the ambiguity of the category, *nawa* is a suffix the composition of their personal names.

Beyond single persons, *nawa* designates their several alternate-generation kinship sections, *i.e.* *Varináwavo*, *Shanenáwavo*, *Inonáwavo*, etc. In mythical situations, *nawa* refers to their own origins in opposition to foreigners. In the everyday, it differentiates among themselves: *noke ivo náwavo*, "our kin sections."

Indeed, the terminology in their chants, sung narratives, stories, hint at a composite origin of both persons and peoples. *Keniñawa* would call their al-

ternate-generation matrilineal sections "races"—those
section which, in sociological terms, are constitutive
of an "Australian kinship system in Amazonia."[82]

Thus *nawa* is subject to high elaboration in native
discourse, both in myth-chants and in daily speech,
constituting an ever-present concept among Panoans.
If the foremost meaning of *nawa* in chants, as a single
word, is "prototypically, superlatively large," Marubo
nawa-ness obtains also in certain usual phrasal con-
structions such as *nawã vai*, literally "foreigner's path,"
but ordinarily "rainbow." Otherwise, the main mean-
ing of *nawa* in common talk, "non-indigenous" or "for-
eigner," creates a fascinating *double entendre.*

However the association between these senses is
hardly self-evident. To explain it, one must examine
in detail the paradoxical peculiarities of *nawa*-ness in
its onomastic use. The paradox lies in the fact that,
while *nawa* is in the composition "ethnonyms" among
Panoans, it is also present in "sectional names" among
the Marubo. Its peculiarity is that while *nawa* on its
own defines maximal, "prototypical alterity," -*nawa*

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[82]This is more or less the title of Melatti 1977, the first de-
scription of the Kariera-type organisation of Marubo kinship
and of such a sectional system among Panoans.

Townsley 1988 identifies the sectional inflection in an other-
wise Dravidian description of Yaminawa kinship. Erikson 1996
generalises in turn a Dravidian inflection in the kinship systems
of all Panoans, which could thus present traits in common with
the general Amazonian model in Viveiros de Castro 1993.

names are brought to a minimal social distance in the denominations of their matrilineal sections.[83]

I said above that *nawa* is a suffix in kinship terminology as well as in certain pre-teknonymic names, *i.e.* those under which single men are known before having children. I must say "under which" because one does not "possess" such names as a permanent, personal qualification: pre-marital names are always a transitory designation that the name-bearer avoids after marriage. After teknonymy, these names are a motive for shame, of a negative onomastic value that runs parallel to these peoples' attitudes towards those who are no more: as among many other Amazonians, there is a taboo interdiction against the pronunciation of a dead person's name.

The personal -*nawa* name is a "detachable" part of the self, the foreign "otherness" with which one becomes intimate while keeping it more and more at a distance through life. At death, the same distance obtains: the apparent free reference to dead persons using their western names masks the onomastic prohibition in the afterlife: while natives may say the *finado* so-and-so in Portuguese, the "deceased" such-and-such, the truly euphemistic expression in their

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[83]Marubo -*nawa* names takes the form of the *dawa* moiety among the Yaminawa, according to Townsley 1988. For a denser treatment on *nawa* as a key classifying category among the Shipibo and the Kachinawa see Keifenheim 1990.

language is *oĩmase*, "[the one who] does not see [or is not seen] any longer at all," or *yamavo*, "those who are no longer extant."

Personal names are definitely gone at death, while the reference to the deceased include a negative syntagma, as if the dead "had no eyes." If pre-pubertal and kin onomastics at large is full of *nawa*-ness, death is a matter of depriving the dead of names altogether, as well as of the capacity to see or be seen at once. Or rather, these peoples are phenomenologists: much as aural intelligibility (*yové vana*, spiritual language) is equivalent to visual sense-perception (*visagem*, shamanic vision), those who cannot see or be seen cannot have their names heard at all, lest their names evoke their images. The name-taboo exorcises sinister visions of the dead.

Likewise, the "visibility" the *nawa*-ness of childhood disappears from adolescent life when child names are no longer said. This shall prove to be a clue to a perceptual form of cognition or *patho-logy*, "science of sentiments": images and names are not immutable in time, but are transient instead, appearing and changing as fleeting sounds, as signs of human existence, of *nawa*-creation.[84]

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[84]Townsley 1988 identifies Yaminawa names with the "social person" that perishes at death with the "physical body," which happens to be his translation for *yora*. Following this rather familiar metaphysical equation nature : culture :: bodies : names, the author maintains that such identity would constitute the

In short, the same onomastic inconstancy beyond death is evident in the variable significance of -*nawa* names along one's life. Let us take the fact that some pre-teknonymic names may end with -*nawa* (*i.e.* "man," *e.g. Keniñawa*) or -*shavo* (*i.e.* "woman," *e.g. Tamashavo*). These are not teknonyms inasmuch as such personal names do not end with -*pa*, -*papa* ("potential or actual father of") or -*ewa* ("mother of"). Instead of designating a social standing of teknonymic inclusiveness, -*nawa* and -*shavo* personal names designates single persons.

But in contrast to other childhood names, these -*nawa* and -*shavo* personal names may remain along one's life, overcoming teknonymy at large. Indeed such names, much as later teknonyms, belong to -*nawa*

"natural realism" of "primitive mentalities" that he "imagine[s] to be true of most Amazonian cultures" (1988:150).

Without such primitivist overtones, Erikson 1996 generalises the onomastic taboo to other Panoans, with the important exception of a certain "liberality" about personal names among the Matis, the case-study there in question.

Resuming Townsley's rather essentialist overtones, Viveiros de Castro 1996 takes Amazonian name interdiction to a level of generality that the Marubo would recognise, but without being so strict as to follow it at all times, *i.e.* without abstracting its temporal dimension:

> "... names are not pronounced by their bearers, or in their presence; to name is to externalise, to separate (from) the subject." (1996:126, my translation)

The Marubo "externalise" their own interior, "foreign" *nawa*-ness in their names.

and -*shavo* sections as well. Even when teknonyms e-
liminate *nawa*-ness and *shavo*-ness from personal names,
one still expresses sectional sameness in terms of gen-
der: the generic name for one's own section is *noke
ivo náwavo* or *noke ivo shávovo*, "our [gender-specific]
kin."

However, all works quite as if human society would
emerge out of a genderless, foreign humanity; as if
personal and sectional names ending with -*nawa*, in
contrast to -*shavo* names, had an original significance
that surpasses the limits of sociality. And this sig-
nificance would be at the very origins of persons and
sections, at their emerging beginnings in myth-chants
and in social life. It would be coterminous with them.

Let us expand on this point.

On the one hand it is true that, unlike its gen-
der-generic meaning of "foreigner," in personal names
-*nawa* is a gender-suffix in opposition to -*shavo*, "wom-
an," just as when both suffixes occur in their matri-
lineal sections (*e.g. Varináwavo, Shanenáwavo, In-
onáwavo* correspond to *Varishávovo, Shaneshávovo,
Inoshávovo*).

Yet on the other, *nawa* has also an equivalent,
feminine counterpart to its mythical-musical sense of
"prototypically large" or "original," which is not *shavo*,
but *ewa*. The referential significance of *ewa*, in the ev-
eryday, is both real and classificatory "mother", *ewa*—
a word that points at the matrilineal origins of soci-

ety twice: while it is a teknonymic suffix, its vari-
ations are vocative terms for "mother" and its cor-
relates (*ewã*), some female kin in the third superior
generation (*ewatxo*) and in the first and third lower
generation (*ewashko*).

All the functional applications of *nawa*—giant and
foreigner, section and person—are under one and the
same broad lexical and categorial umbrella: that of
humanity in its origins, prototypically, intra-culturally
and extra-ethnically at once. It is the most inclu-
sive category of humanity from the perspective of its
diversity. This is evident in the sheer fact that its
own female counterparts is multi-lexemic, that is, na-
tive language renders the gender-equivalent of *nawa*
in two different words, *ewa* and *shavo*.

Unlike *nawa*, both these words have a kinship over-
tone in everyday usage: *shavo* is a term on its own for
"wife," but in sectional and personal names it stands
for "woman," while *ewa* refers to a kinship realm that
is wider than, but revolves around that of "real moth-
ers." If *shavo* stands for affinity as *ewa* does for con-
sanguinity, *nawa* includes affinity at the same level as
consanguinity, as a designation of the human "other"
who is "self," foreign and kin in one go.

That *nawa* is an ethnic-ecumenical term would al-
ready suggest that its core connotation is that of gen-
derless "ancestral peoples," while its conterparts *shavo*
and *ewa* are markers of little semantic weight, as con-

cerns gender, at this "original" level of meaning—as
if *nawa* were a gender-neutral category. But -*nawa*
is still a foremost classificatory device, applicable to
the social-contextual, and hence gender-laden circum-
stance, when it stands against -*shavo*. Here it has its
most direct denotation, that of "personal name and
kinship section suffix." Given that it first means the
"prototypical foreigner," *nawa* is a marker of same-
ness and difference at once. Both its synchronic-
classificatory, gender denotation and that of gender-
less "foreigner" stem from the neutral core conno-
tation of *nawa*, a mythical-musical designation that
is diachronic, or at best originative: "large," "orig-
inator," the equivalent of which is *ewa*, "motherly,"
rather than "feminine" at large. Both the "contextual"
and the "prototypical" senses of *nawa* gather together
at the level of shamanic learning, and at this level
it is a "foreign," "gender-neutral" term. This mean-
ing obtains in the usual association between ancestral
peoples or things and *nawa*-foreignness in the myth-
chants, the ethnonymic alchemy between the proto-
typical origins of humanity and the realm of the extra-
human, animals, plants, and other -*nawa* things.

I must now state that these qualifications of "syn-
chronic" and "diachronic" do not equate with static
and unidirectional temporality, with the absence and
presence of absolute time. The *saiti* are a present
mythical-musical enactment of history, an account of
humanity and the world which living people render as

an interpretative performance, with an ever-recurrent chronology that goes beyond transient life on this earth, but without negating earthly temporality. The *saiti* myth-chants re-enact, re-present past origins and future eschatology at one time, conceptualising and combining different temporalities. In mythical-musical histories, the prototypical emergence of *nawa*-humanity is circular, diachronically describing the linear development of the synchronic construction of society and the soul-body becoming of these peoples.

Among the Marubo, kin-communality determines the social meaning of *nawa*. But common to all its attributive senses—"gigantic" or "foreign," "sectional or personal name"—is the fact that all these meanings denote exogenous denominations: such meanings are markers of alterity.

Pano ethnonyms, like "Marubo," are likely to be derogatory designations or fictions with little factual relevance among the peoples who are actual -*nawa* namesakes. These namens ending with -*nawa*, or with -*bo*, are nonetheless Panoans. In general, Panoans have no self-names but rather "exonyms," "other-names," which seems to be a familiar trait in indigenous Amazonia.[85]

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[85]Writing on the Marubo, Cesarino (2008:43) quotes Arthur Rimbaud (1871): *je est un autre*. The Marubo might change it into: *je sont des autres*. This would qualify better Erikson's generalisations for all Panoans:

> "... la plupart, sinon la totalité, des ethnonymes utilisés...

The peculiarity of the *nawa*-concept is that it is a self-attribution, an ontological otherness. The Amazonian "Other," taken as an essence, would be reductive of this quintessential quality of *nawa*. The Marubo have a particular history of self-identification that allows for an identity-conflation with the other—a "generic other" that takes part of several selves—and hence for the "pluri-ethnic unity" that emerges to life in their myth-music.[86]

Here the transcendent other is a most immanent feature of familial bonds. But this does not blur the bonds and boundaries of identity, nor projects an apparent indifference with internal definition onto the outsider, as if the indefinite Other were a defining template of the Marubo Self. It is rather a matter of defining different others as an undifferentiated unity in order to allow for its multiplication as a differentiating self-identity.

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so[nt] des "exonymes," imposés de l'extérieur... chaque ethnie Pano semble... très réticente à délimiter linguistiquement ses propres circonscriptions... il s'agit... en utilisent des termes extrêmement inclusifs, d'exprimer la perméabilité conceptuelle des frontières ethniques" (1993:50)

[86]This would divert from the generalising formulation of Viveiros de Castro, which aims at an even larger perspective than Erikson's:

"Ethnonymic objectification applies primordially to others, not to those who are in a subject-position. Ethnonyms are third-party names." (1996:125, my translation)

The Marubo are themselves the *nawa*-others who name themselves.

And this trait does not occur only in the idiom of *nawa*-ness. If other indigenous peoples, *yora wetsa* for the Marubo, are known as "we-others," close kin are known as *wetsama*, "others-not," whereas older kin are *sheniwetsa*, "ancient-others." These *wetsa*-other designations are obviously in line with the fact that the affix that denotes contextual belonging—sectional or personal—is *nawa*, the simultaneous marker of identity and alterity, a sign of the "estrangement" that humanity means for these peoples. The term always contextualises the object and subject as external; the internal context to which it belongs is a composition of both. It is the self's other, rather than other selves. Hence if these peoples' selves are a negative construct, the positive value of their identity is the conflation of difference, its composite character.[87]

To be Marubo is to be "other," to be *wetsa* as our *sheni* elders, as the sectional or homonymic identity among different alternate generations confirms. It is to be the *wetsa*-other, but to have *wetsama*, "others-not" as co-resident kin. To be Marubo, in consequence, means to be *yora*-bodies similar to those of

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[87]This gives a specific significance to the similar logic of identity and difference that Erikson extrapolates from the Matis:

> "Chez les Pano, la définition du soi transiterait donc obligatoirement par des notions (celle d'*utsi* et de *nawa*) dont la forme brute (la quintessence) s'incarne avant tout dans la figure des 'Autres'." (1996:81)

In other words, Marubo selves are not others; rather, the others are themselves.

other Panoans, *yora wetsa*, but still be "other" than
them. Marubo otherness affirms selfhood while it con-
strues the social identity of the interior not as its sub-
traction, but as an additional particularisation of the
exterior whole. The human innermost is made "exte-
rior" in various semantic layers of *nawa*-ness, refering
to concentric levels of inclusiveness: the -*nawa* per-
son and the nuclear family; local kin and the -*nawa*
sections; -*nawa* peoples and the foreign *nawa*.

Let us rephrase it. The most internal and intimate
pre-marital -*nawa* level draws a distinction in the pas-
sage between the prepubescent and the teknonymic
name. Then the matrilineal -*nawa* sections distin-
guish kinship categories with reference to ego and
kindred, grouping persons either as those from equal,
even and odd generations, affines and potential in-
laws or consanguine and domestic in-mates. Finally,
the Marubo, *qua* Panoans, -*nawa* Indians, distinguish
from the *nawa* Whites. The social-creative operation
of onomastic multiplication ceases only at death: as
the dead lose their names, *nawa*-sociality ends.

After all, the relevance of the homology between
the composite and exogenous structure of their ono-
mastics and the original conceptualisation of indige-
nous humanity is as simple as that: their life in society
is within the prototypical -*nawa* names and other in-
tonations of their *saiti* myth-chants—within onomas-
tics, their dialectics of selfhood and otherness, the

interplay between "us" and "them" that these peoples find and express in myth-chants is an ontological statement.

As such, such a statement is alien to the cognitive hypotheses of primitive "modes of thought," of a "totemic" or "animic" cognition, of nature following a cultural template or of culture mirroring a natural one. These -*nawa* peoples think just like any human being does. But thinking different things, these peoples are unfamiliar with the antinomies of culture *vs.* nature or subject *vs.* object, or rather combine such opposing terms in the terms of their own mythical-musical conceptualisation of self and other, of humanity, animality and divinity, without subscribing to those age-old epistemological dilemmas. With reference to such dualistic dichotomies, the anthropological issue of contrasting "forms of cognition," the traditional and the industrial, would be better thought as an issue of parallel, rather than tangential or "orthogonal," cognitive contents: the ancestral -*nawa* Indian and the modern White *nawa* may live and act in different worlds altogether, but are fundamentally human beings. The Marubo would just refrain from calling such common-ground humanity as the universal *Homo sapiens sapiens.*

The western separation of relative or cultural subjects from absolute or natural objects, as well as the consequent extrapolation of multiple "native episte-

mologies" from a one-sided antinomic ontology, are
not without an illustrious ancestry. But no scholas-
tic wisdom, no presumptuous scientificism can assume
that native origins, either epistemological or ontologi-
cal ones, are combinatory permutations of its own: no
form of knowledge, anthropological or otherwise, is in
a position to compare logical relations using the same
ethnocentric logic and terms for all "ethno-peripheral"
equations. There is no way we may learn anything
from these peoples this way.[88]

In Marubo -*nawa* onomastics—in the personal names
or ethnonyms of the everyday, similar to those present
in the myth-chants of creation—natural objects at
large (things of nature, plants, birds, and animals,
such the *Vari*-Sun, the *Shane*-Grosbeak, the *Ino*-Jag-
uar) come into being as cultural, *nawa*-subjects in
the names of humans. Thus *nawa*-humanisation is a
nomination process that occurs both in myth-chants
and along lifetime, from childhood to adolescence and
throughout all of their generations, alternating through
matrilineal sections. Although dual and classificatory,

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[88]This happens to be the ambition of the "rationalistic tra-
dition" as in Descola 1992, in a proud tribute to structuralism:
native "epistemological equations," an anthropological privilege,
seem to hang over the dichotomies that separate multiple "so-
cieties from nature" or one "nature from society," rather than
configuring an "orthogonal" ontology in relation to them, as
maintains Viveiros de Castro (1996:115). In both cases, how-
ever an inevitable hierarchy of knowledge places civilisation it-
self above all barbarians.

the onomastics that entails the *nawa*-suffix nomination of persons and of sectional denominations is a construct of -*nawa* Indians that presupposes the existence of the *nawa* White.

Hence the consequent conceptualisation of -*nawa* names as objectifications of subjectivities conflating self and other: *nawa*-identity never designates a solipsistic humanity, an indivisible entity standing outside the world, but rather a *nawa* "outsider" who fuses with and fragments into it. If both *nawa*-exteriority, *i.e.* the superlative-prototypical foreigner, and things, plants, birds, or other animals constitute the names of the interior self, that of the *yora*-bodily person, then the human self-centre projects itself onto the peripheral, human-like other, *i.e.* onto *nawa*-foreigness as well as things, birds, plants, or animals that partake of -*nawa* onomastics. In the sectional and pre-teknonymic personal names that are conspicuous in their *saiti* myth-chants, *i.e.* among sections as well as among children and adolescents, those plants, animals, and birds—those "other" things are immanent to the -*nawa* human person just inasmuch as the *yora*-body transcends sheer biological humanity.

Therefore, just as a *yora*-body is in relation and contrast to both *yoĩni*-animals and *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles, *nawa*-humanity identifies with—without being identical to—onomastic, extra-human objects and foreign, extra-social subjects: the human

person transcends the subject insofar as is immanent
to that object, while being still a *nawa*-stranger. For
these -*nawa* peoples, humanity is more than cultural-
formal attributes or natural-substantial materiality;
it is more than the solipsistic body or the indivisible
individual.

In short, to translate in a sentence the meaning
of *nawa*: it is a superlative, collective, augmentative,
and prototypical human person, the anti-self that con-
stitutes the self expanding *yora*-corporeality beyond
its subjectivity, beyond individual and society, to-
wards the "foreign" objectivity of the extra-corporeal
world.

While *nawa* is an emblem of the *yora*-personhood
for these -*nawa* peoples, the *yora*-body is the objec-
tive noun that embodies the social subject, the col-
lective first-person as seen from a third-person per-
spective ("we, the people"). While *nawa* is an interior
emblem of humans either *qua* -*nawa* persons or *qua*
members of ethnic or kin -*nawa* groups (*e.g.* those of
the *Vari*-Sun, the *Shane*-Grosbeak, the *Ino*-Jaguar),
the exterior marker *nawa*—*qua* "foreigner," prototyp-
ically "large"—classifies natives as human-like others,
as external things in relation and contrast to the *yora*-
body, *e.g.* as birds, plants, animals, "other" humanoid
peoples.[89]

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[89]And this "immanent transcendence" of a subjective consti-
tution of the internal human self toward an external object—

The corollary of such -*nawa* ontology is that if, in practice, in everyday speech, *yora* points at a "social-inclusive" referent (*noke yora*, "we, the native / kin"), in theory the word means no strict distinction as regards the ethnic status or humanity of a people, their specific identity against generic alterity, their culture against nature. Instead, *yora* is the distinctive corporeal trait of -*nawa* humans, the object of human subjectivity, of estrangement from and belonging to the world: "we" both includes and excludes *wetsa*, "the other."

The subjective agency as an objective, -*nawa* status, either manifest as a personal name or as an ethnonym, does not oppose humans to non-human beings, drawing thereby an irreconcilable split between a self-centre and an other-like, peripheral world, or between individuality and sociality. The distinction which is made explicit in onomastics does structure a *nawa*, "foreign" type of human-worldliness. The Marubo define themselves not simply as others but above all through others, naming persons and peoples after animals, plants, birds, and other things. And

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animal, bird, plant, or otherwise—may bear strange, beautiful resonances elsewhere in Amazonia—as among the southern Amazonian Juruna, paraphrased in Stolze Lima 1999:

> "We have to produce [human] characteristics in ourselves, in the body... human reproduction and socialisation are based on interventions that neutralise an animal affection (aggressiveness / fear), bar volition, and capture capabilities and strength from animals... and plants." (1999:113)

they do so under an external conceptual perspective, *nawa*, one that is analogous to the "ex-centric" situation of the shaman, one that defines the subject at one with the object, equating the non-human part to the human whole. Those *yora*-bodies, these *-nawa* peoples and persons pronounce themselves, *nawa* designating such elocution, with a far from ethnocentric, anthropocentric, or egocentric accent. The Marubo pronounce themselves with the intonation of a chant, for mythical-musical creation is far beyond, but still deep within humanity.

Thus, if the ethnonym "Marubo" is an exogenous denomination—possibly a word from an unknown Pano language for those hinterland Panoans—their sectional and personal names seem to be onomastic variations on an ontological theme that proclaims an "plural-alteristic" humanity and ethnicity. This is because such sectional and personal names most often have *-nawa* suffixes, as among a great deal of Panoans. And if Pano ethnic designations—like the Shipibo, Conibo, Shetebo—occasionally end with the plural marker *-bo*, elliptically, Maru-*bo* matrilineal sections employ the *-vo* suffix.[90]

The Marubo *-vo* does indeed denote plurality in their everyday words—as well as a human and ethnic plurality in a mythical-musical sense. Be it *-nawa*, *-vo*

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[90]Their *v* is similar to our *b*, pronounced as a sonorous bilabial fricative.

or *náwavo*, Marubo and Pano denominations are fragmenting and fragmentary: these names designate ethnic fragments that are held together as one whole precisely by means of a particular kind of sociocultural fragmentation. If *saiti* myth-chants trace the diverse origins of such a fragmentary humanity and ethnicity to different animals, plants, and other things—such origins appear in oral and bibliographical accounts of multiple, mixing populations. And notwithstanding their plural onomastics and origins, these peoples present a high degree of linguistic and territorial homogeneity, after this "plural-alteristic" logic that seems to be a "family trait" among Panoans, most clearly manifest in the *-nawa* and *-vo* configuration of their names.[91]

The conceptualisations that are constitutive of these peoples feature in their names, just as well as in other words. Further elaboration will situate these *yora*-bodies and *-nawa* peoples in their world, before we turn to the way in which this world and its entities emerge as native chant their myths, acquiring proper performative, mythical-musical meaning in *saiti*.

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[91]See Melatti 1977 and Montagner Melatti 1985 for an historiographic register of the consolidation of an ethnically fragmentary past into ethnic unity among the Marubo. Erikson 1992 characterise the unitary fragments of the Pano "macro-ensemble" as a "compact nebula." Erikson 1996 also provides a similar rationale for Pano ethnicity: internal diffuseness and external definition, semantic stress on a radical alterity to constitute their self-identity.

The ambivalence of the various occurrences of the word *nawa*— in the names of kinship sections, peoples, persons—as well as the ethnic diffuseness of the word "*yora*-body," as well as "Marubo," stresses the composite character of these indigenous humans. Hence the plural form when referring to "these peoples," Marubo, is consistent with the plural quality of themselves and their self-names, as if natives were the multiple offspring of one *nawa*-exogenous commonground.

This is what the *saiti* sings. While the sectional suffix -*nawa* alternates and combines in common usage with the plural marker -*vo* (*e.g. Wanĩvo, Shane-náwavo*), their intonations, musical language, employs a fully-fledged ethnic onomastics, a composite compromise. In contrast to the ordinary section-designations in *yorã vana*, in "bodily language," in the *yové*-spiritual language of the *saiti* myth-chants one sings the formulae *Varĩ vake náwavo*, *Shanẽ vake náwavo*: "the children of the (plural) peoples of the Sun, of the Ultramarine Grosbeak Bird"...

spirits and doubles

I must divert even more on the way to the transcription and translation of *Mokanawa Wenía*, to the "bitter emergence" of the Marubo. The understanding of *moka* "bitter," *nawa* "people," *yora* "person," and similarly dense words will hardly be enough to render mythical intonations and their peculiar lexicon understandable.

I remember *Kenĩnawa* and me, lying on our hammocks under the equatorial heat, writing down many *saiti* lines containing the expression *vake náwavo*, a peculiar form of refering to kinship-section designation as peoples, "human races" in myth-chants. I would ask him: Why *vake*? why "children"?

A tentative answer would be rather tortuous. If persons receive names after their potential children through teknonymy, these same peoples would inherit their sectional names as "sectional infants." If these *vake*-children are those whom these names come from, these *náwavo*-peoples should be ancestral -*nawa* sec-

tions. But how could "children" be "ancestors"? That might evoke the alternate-generation sectional logic of kinship: Marubo grandfathers address their grandchildren as *takeká*, like brothers.

To all that, *Kenĩnawa*'s simple answer was: "because they are *miúdos*." Portuguese *miúdo* is the opposite of *graúdo*, "large." However the word is meant here more in the sense of "little ones," *i.e.* young, newborn people, than in that of size. These *vake náwavo* peoples, these current matrilineal sections are ancestors, but in their mythical youth. Further, the notion of *vake*, "children of" suggests more proximity, more consanguinity than merely "people of."

This is mythical-musical language, whose *mané*-rhythm requires the full syntagmatic, *vake náwavo* expression of the original peoples, says *Kenĩnawa*'s uncle *Võchĩpa* (*Fernando Dionisio*). But the right rhythm is meant to convey the right sense: the ancestors of present sections are understood as close kin who relate themselves to the animals, plants, and other things that often prefix sectional ethnonyms. These *vake náwavo* are the original peoples *Vari*, *Shane*, *Ino*, *Kana*, *Shawã*, *Wanĩ*...

These mythical ancestors are children of the Sun, the Ultramarine Grosbeak Bird, the Jaguar, the Yellow *Ararajuba* Macaw (*Aratinga guarouba*) and the Red *Araracanga* Macaw, the Peach-Palm Fruit, and so forth. Original peoples are not these things them-

selves, but are instead the young ones who establish
this fundamental form of humanity in a cosmological
configuration. The syntagma . . . *vake náwavo* reads
"the peoples of the children of. . . ," rather than "the
children of the peoples of. . . "—disclosing an direct
nawa-contract between the original humans and those
"other things" which constitute sectional ethnonyms.

These sectional prefixes must be taken neither too
literally nor too structural-linguistically. A "totemic"
ancestry has never been expressly clear in their lan-
guage. There is no literal reference to animals, plants,
and other things giving birth to people in myth, nor
is the attribution of an ethnonym like *vari, ino,* etc.
a metaphorical assignment of the qualities of "sun",
"jaguar" etc.—*e.g.* "brilliance" or "fierceness— to these
peoples. Indigenous metaphors are no adjectival attri-
bution to nouns. The attributable qualities of meta-
phors are rather substantial. Indigenous substances,
however, are not a material substrate in opposition to
spiritual abstractions.[92]

As *Mokanawa Wenía* describes, the origins of these
-*nawa* peoples rely on animal and vegetable substances,
like sap (*recho*) and blood (*imi*), in a tectonic and
sonic alchemy within worldly spaces such as *shoi,* a

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[92]The Marubo do not claim "kinship to parrots", to make
reference to a famous statement among the Bororo of Central
Brazil, under debate in a famous article on the sense of indige-
nous metaphors in figures of speech relating humans to animals
(Crocker 1977).

rumbling hole on earth. The fact that many section-namesakes are neither plants nor inanimate things, but either birds or predatory animals, encourages speculation in line with the previous parallel between the *vana* "language" of the musical *yové*-spirit and that of the mythical jaguar, *ino koĩ vana.*

But here let us just mark the shamanic similitude of animals, spirits, and humans, which expresses best a soul-anatomic structure or *yora*-bodies: the *yové / yochĩ* antinomy. The dual onomastic outline—whereby those animals, together with plants and other things, are -*nawa* humans and so constitute sectional ethnonyms and personal names—is as constitutive of ethnicity and personhood as the soul-duality of native anatomy.

The physio-cosmological conceptualisations below amount to no more than a few sketches. Few *romeya* would assist me in the research on these matters, since such shamans "proper" usually have a short existence and little availability for anthropological preoccupations alien to their own. However, every longhouse leader is a virtual *kẽchĩtxo*-healer, someone who as a rule is as knowledgeable in shamanic matters, even though at a theoretical level, more akin to a native science—while being as capable and likely to sing myth-chants in *saiti* festivals, as *romeya*-shamans.

This study stems from fieldwork in the largest community on the upper banks in the Ituí River, Vida

Nova, the home-village of *Venãpa*, the youngest and
most prestigious among existing *romeyavo* (plural form)
after my research took place. Before it, it had been
the home of the late *João Pajé*, one of the shamans
of greatest renown. He had his longhouse not too
far from the quarters of the first evangelic mission
in indigenous territory. His kin remembers him as a
yové-looking, larger-than-life shamanic practitioner.
At his death, he would exhort his "children," all those
to whom he was a "father"—either real and classifi-
catory: *epã* is a general vocative term that many co-
residents employ to address their leader—should stay
where they were, going against the ancient custom of
burning old dwellings and abandoning the sites where
important deaths had taken place.[93]

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[93]Extant extensive studies on native mythology and cosmol-
ogy had the late shaman as a favourite source. This was helpful
and reliable to me. Melatti 1985b and 1986 are articles on the
myth-chants of *Shoma Wetsa* and *Wenía*. Montagner Melatti
1985 is a more extensive monograph on *shõti* curing-chants.

After completion of my study, Cesarino (2008) did thor-
ough research on native shamanism with the discretionary help
of *Venãpa* and *Cherõpapa*, a *romeya*-shaman who had been a
kẽchĩtxo-healer during my own research stint.

Except when factual convergences are evident, I refrain from
contemplating his data. The preoccupations therein differ from
mine, due to exoticism that pervades his approach. He stands
at a political level that fails to do justice to indigenous spiritual
reach *vis-à-vis* exogenous philosophies.

This is even more the case of Ruedas (2001)—another recent
fieldworker, intent on grand assertions out of rather meagre sub-
stance. Both Cesarino and Ruedas were careful in data collec-

The use of definite glosses for native terms is foreign to such shamanic knowledge, especially notions akin to our "spirits" and "doubles," "bodies" and "souls," even when bilingual informants translate them and their translation has further sanction in the ethnography. The variability of glosses, albeit within the limits of terminological coherence, is a partial means to indicate the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between indigenous notions and western concepts.

The following list outlines some features of the juxtaposition of some of the actual "souls," potential "spirits" and "doubles," within native persons and in their "bodies." The precise number of such souls is less relevant, inasmuch as these entities may vary according to the shamanic status of each person. All are nevertheless variations on the contrasting themes of *yové*-spirituality and *yochĩ* double-ness:

verõ yochĩ = "the soul-double of the eye"

chinã nato = "the core of the breath" or "the soul of thought"[94]

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tion. But both fail to appreciate the groundbreaking potential of native perspectives on western metaphysics and its sclerotic underpinnings for obsolescent anthropological practices.

[94]Montagner Melatti 1985 renders *chinã nato* as "the soul of the heart." This gloss sounds figurative, given the native designation for "heart," the physiological organ, as *oĩti* (possibly from *oĩ*, "to see," or *oi*, "to shout" or "voice" + *ti*, nominalising suffix). As Erikson's Amazonian generalisation suggests, the centrality of *chinã* within the human body is indeed more important than its identification with a specific organ:

mechmirí vaká = "left-side soul"

mekirí vaká = "right-side soul"

isõ yochĩ = "the soul or animal-double of urine"

poĩ yochĩ = "the soul or animal-double of excrement"

Efforts toward a clear-cut classification, a separation dissecting those souls as independent entities would be vain. The entities that "animate" the human body are virtually uncountable, except for individual cases. *Venãpa*, for instance, has a profusion of souls in accordance to his shamanic rank: *Isko Osho*, the "White *Japu* Bird"; *Kapi Kene*, the "Candle-Bush (Brazilian *mata-pasto*, genus *Senna*) Grass Design"; *Waka Panã*, the "*Açaí* Palm-Tree (*Euterpe oleracea*) of the River"; *Vimi Nii*, the "Fruit Forest"; *Wirã*, the "Youngest Child"; and *Shaká Papiá*, the "Corpse Bearer," the body's owner.

The first of these souls, for instance, is [a variation on] his *chinã nato*. The latter is in turn responsible for the maintenance of his personal *yora*-body, which would be an otherwise hollow, inanimate container, a "corpse," *shaká*. Thus it is a caretaker for his personality as such. It is "me" himself, *ea*, but his own self is not reducible to it. As a shaman, *Venãpa*'s "brother-souls", his *vakavo* as he calls and translates

"[le] cœur [a] une position centrale... [Il est] perçu par les Matis (entre autres) comme le siège de l'intelligence / âme'." (1996:242)

them, wander through the universe. *Shaká Papiá* remains around his body as a custodian, lest he should die in the absence of his animating entities.

Further, his mate "Yellow-Macaw *Açaí* Palm-Tree," *Kana Panã*, a *yové*-spirit proper, is always around his *vaká*-brothers, being the actual son of *Isko Osho*, the eldest among his souls. These soul-interrelations are likely to reproduce usual kin consanguinity in longhouses: *Venãpa*'s central soul *Isko Osho*, his *chinã nato* is "paternal nephew," *epa* of *Kana Ina*, who was in turn *chinã nato* of the late *João Pajé*—*Venãpa*'s *epa* himself.

This commutability of souls within an encompassing environment reinforces the usual native analogy between the human *yora*-body, the *shovo*-longhouse, and our earth at large, *nokẽ mai*: if the both this earth and our body are like a longhouse (*na mai shapavá nokẽ kaya shovo keská*), then the earth as such is like a human being (*mai yora keská*). According to *Venãpa*, this is rather literal: "our earth sweats, it has blood, has breathing (*nokẽ mai niskãya, imi aya, chinã aya*). This earth is <u>substantial</u>. *Võchĩpa* would add, in his own words, reinforcing the human-worldly quality of such an earth: *na mai shavapá shovo keská yorã kaya* ("this living world is like a longhouse, like a human body").

The sensible attributes of these souls—anatomic locations, musical representations, scents, and images—

are both immanent and transcendent to a living human, a *yora*-body. A *yora* "body" without these "souls" is no proper living being, while the latter survive the former in analogical form, as future *yové* "spirits" or *yochĩ* "doubles." These bodily-souls, *yorã vaká*, surpass both life and death through dispersal and transformation.

The semantic fields of these soul-entities overlap each other, being hard to assess in the form of encyclopaedic entries, of exclusive compartments, of classificatory pigeonholes. They are more than "animic," more than just "soul-like." They are all within the *yora*-body, but cannot be seen as parts of a whole: souls are less and still more than the native body. They make themselves perceptible, I shall argue, in musical form.[95]

Let us examine them one by one.

The *chinã nato* is the most far-reaching entity and precise soul-like notion, due to the morphological metaphor of the *nato* "core" and the importance of the *chinã* "breath-thought" in the mythical-musical creation and construction of human beings. This is so even though *chinã* might be just another ambiguous category for us, both syntactically and semantically: it means both "thought" and "to think," "breath" and "to breathe." In spite of its ambiguity, it indicates a

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[95]The term "animic" is here meant to be an explicit disclaimer about neoanimistic neologisms, as found in Descola 1992.

specific spot on the body: the "pit of the stomach," the solar plexus. The "*chinã* core" is central in the body: it is the innermost fulcrum of the breathing and thinking capabilities within humans. Missionaries translate *chinã*, not without consistence, as "life."

In contrast, "double" is but a partial and misleading translation for *yochĩ*. This entity refers to a visual reproduction of the body, as the reflection of one's image in the eye's pupil (*verõ yochĩ*). It may also refer to that which reproduces the whole body in metonymic form. Of all *yochĩ*-souls, those two that associate with bodily waste are "body-doubling," when *nami ichná aká*—wrong, literally "flesh-worsening" songs— manipulate them—that is, in predatory sorcery or hunting magic, in order to cause harm to people or chase game. The ultimate pathogenic agent of all illness and predation is a *yochĩ*-double. The *yochĩrasĩ* (plural form) constitute one of the most important ontological categories for the Marubo, together with to the *yové*-spirit. However, in contrast to *yovevo* (plural form), *yochĩrasĩ* are dumb, amenable to perception through their visual expression only.[96]

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[96]See in Townsley 1988 the Yaminawa "soul of the eye" *wëroyoshi*. In spite of the physiological precision of the native designation, the author regards it as a metaphor for an "aspect of the mind," the "seat of perception." This characterisation diverges from the *yochĩ* of the Marubo, although both share the same unequivocal "visuality." Accordingly, Lagrou 1998 puts *yuxin* as a wide-range "cosmo-visual concept" among

The *vaká* "souls" have a less ambivalent meaning, at least potentially: the *mechmirí* "left-side" *vaká* is future *yochĩ*, while *mekirí vaká*, the "right-soul," is potential *yové*. The *vakárasĩ* (plural form) exist solely in living humans: at the topological level of daily life, these souls exist as halves of *yora*-bodies. Indeed, standing apart from these *vakárasĩ* and the other "soul-like values" that have a visible presence in the *yora*-body as bodily sites and substances, native somatology features another crucial "spiritual" entity: the *yové*.

Although "spirit" is too much of a semantically-laden word our western vocabulary, it would be useless to strive for a better gloss for the *yové*-beings, "spiritual" entities that populate the cosmos, entertaining a vital environmental relationship with humanity. *Kenĩnawa* would render *yové* as *pajé*, a word that means "shaman" in Brazilian Portuguese. Then again, all natives would translate the word *pajé* back

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the Kachinawa.

Further beyond Panoans, but under cultural influences from Shipibo, there are similarities between the *yochĩ*-double and "the most general reason for human mortality" among the Piro people of the Lower Urubamba River, a tributary of the Ucayali, in the westernmost stretches of the Amazon. *Cf.* Gow n.d.:

> "... food (more specifically game) leads to an accumulation of "filth" in the stomach... [This is] a negative transformation of feeding, but not a specific one... [It is] the "downside" of desire, for just as feeding generates life and kinship, so eating food generates death and loneliness." (n.d.:12–13)

to their language as *romeya*, much the most famous *romeya*-shaman of late was known among Brazilians as *João Pajé*. Once I even heard a native rendering of *yové* as "anthropologist." In fact, to translate both *romeya* and *yové* as *pajé* or even as "shaman," not to mention as "anthropologist," is highly unsatisfactory: much as other native categories, the variable scope of these glosses is too wide. Using the same simplifying procedure that renders *yové* as *pajé*, *Keniñawa* would occasionally translate *yochĩ* as *alma*—as "soul," another incomplete gloss.

The scrutiny and translation of the cosmic entities *yochĩ* and *yové*, as well as of their human-corporeal counterpart *yora*, shall constitute one of the most complex tasks in this book. The *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits are both intra- and extra-human. Both precede and succeed the living *yora*-body and its living souls, its left and right hemispheres, its breath and thoughts, eyes and excreta—the *mekirí vaká* and *mechmirí vaká*, the *chinã nato*, and other double-like souls—on a temporal scale.

It would be as if these soul-entities were the products of the subjectivity *yora*-bodies or of the relations between humanity and the world, where it not for its little solipsistic or dualistic, subject *vs.* object character. Rather than cognitive devices to understand the world, these souls result from the human world itself, in opposition to a view on earth *qua* objective

thing.

Hence there is no native concept of a "material" body against a "double" or "spiritual" soul: corporeal matter, *qua* human, is already more-than-matter. The *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits are not eternal, in opposition to transients *yora*-bodies and their souls. Those entities, *qua* soul-transformations, are rather temporal alternatives of recurrence and succession in the vital cycles of humanity in the world. The *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits are in free transit into and out of transient *yora*-bodies throughout their lives. In that sense, both are also transient. Their relations, much as *nawa*-relations that natives entertain with the world are irreducible to distinctions of subject and object, of culture and nature. All these *yo-* words, including human bodies, spirits, doubles and even *yoĩni*-animals, are overarching categories that operate such and other distinctions—their mutual distinctions—not as metaphysical givens, but in the critical circumstances that these peoples confront in their environment—such as war, predation, death, disease, and shamanic events at large.

Both *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles are themselves potential bodily souls, animate bodies classifying both humanity and animality according to peculiar taxa that conflate, rather than oppose one to the other. *Venãpa* would say: "My knowledge is not the outcome of intellectual development: it is the knowledge of

children, of nature, the world." Shamanic knowledge
states that all human bodies consist of "animal" souls
akin to either *yové*-spirits or *yochĩ*-doubles: most ter-
restrial animals, as well as monkeys and bats, are pos-
sible *yochĩ*—rather than possessors of double-ness—
whereas most birds associate with the *yové*—as em-
blems of spirituality.

This is not to say that the *yochĩ*-double identifies
with carnal creatures while the *yové*-spirit is ethe-
real, its positive equivalent. That would be an alle-
gorical interpretation, in the manner of St. George's
dragon and St. Francis' birds. It would also mean
some sort of compromise with those missionaries who,
while evangelising with tireless, apocalyptic urgency,
translate *yochĩ* as the Manichean "Beast." The predi-
cation of bestiality to the *yochĩ* and of spirituality to
the *yové* is a gross mistake, if for anything because
neither of the two can subsume to unitary entities
reducible to either term. The *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-
doubles do not satisfactorily predicate empirical enti-
ties, but are predicates of acts and agencies instead.
They are both human and animal, comprising oppo-
site potentials of humanity and taxonomic principles
of animality at once.

While we translate *yové* always as "spirit" and at
times *yochĩ* as "animal-soul," these glosses limit them-
selves to the palpable aspects of these entities. "Spirit"
has to do with the unearthly chant or vocal-aerial

character of the *yové*, whence its association with "bird" comes. "Animal" is instead a diacritic than a literal predication to *yochĩ*, associating it with predation. Both entities are rather substantial than adjective abstractions.

The western etymology of spirituality (*spirare*, "to breath") evokes indeed the phono-aural, cyclical capacity for renovation of the *yové* and of its suprapersonal, super-human song: when the *romeya*-shaman sing with spirit-laden voice, its tonal quality is unrecognisable *vis-à-vis* his spoken voice.

As for the *yochĩ*, out of all possible translations that would occur to me in the field, "double" is preferable because it implies a concrete human relation to the transience of life and of the environment at large. Again, rather than a means to achieve such environmental relationship, *yochĩ* and *yové* are its expressions, its by-products. In different ways, the "spirit" and the "double" are material projections of an environmental configuration of native humanity. The Marubo are *Homo sapiens sapiens* like any of us, but in the sense of a world-prosopopoeia, rather than in crude evolutionist-biological terms. The marubo are human beings, but not *qua* animals—rational ones, Thomas Aquinas would say—but rather as beings of language, in the manner of Charles Pierce.[97]

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[97] *Cf.* Gehlen's philosophical-anthropological approach to language as short-circuit between mouth and ear, at the origins

Marubo anthropogenesis presumes a prosopopoeia
that, instead of an adamic, creationist theory of hu-
mankind, relates humanity to *chinã* breath-thoughts,
imi-blood, *recho*-sap of *yochĩ*-like animals and plants,
while it emerges from its chthonic origins. Humans
"have learnt" to be humans from animals and plants,
just as such an emergent humankind would acquire
linguistic capabilities from birds. But rather than
an acquisition, human language and humanness at
large is a process of song-mimesis leading into an
intellectual-perceptual short-circuit within *yora*-bod-
ies.

Mokanawa Wenía will state, toward the end of
this book, that humans become humans out of al-
chemic relations with other living beings, while ac-
quiring human-like capabilities for language and or-
namentation out of relations with an extra-human
realm. Contrary to western cosmologies, scientific or

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of both infant consciousness and human cognitive capabilities
at large. At first sight, the inspiration of such an environmental
psychology draws from Freud's Darwinian projections of neu-
rotics onto primitive humankind (1950). Instead, in the spirit
of Wilhelm v. Humboldt, Gehlen (1978[1940], 1994[1956]) con-
ceives the emergence of humankind as a sort of language-game,
a world-making prosopopeia.

Cf. also Overing 1990 for an understanding of shamanic lan-
guage in similar terms, projecting Nelson Goodman's analytic
philosophy onto the Amazonian efficacy of shamanic practices.
A comparative study along these lines, albeit fascinating, is
beyond the scope of this book.

Judeo-Christian, humans do not come from protohumans in animal or godhead form. Therefore it is no surprise that, while the circular music-choreography of their myth-chants is *yové vana*, their passing bodies imply *yochĩ*: while prototypical birdsongs replicate the *yora*-body, "animal-doubles" are its shadows.

In fact these soul and body, spirit and double configurations bring about a number of implications. Although akin to predation and to predatory relations with animals, the *yochĩ*-soul fragments of the living body are no "natural" portions of human nature against its "cultural" side. Although the *yochĩ*-double perpetrates disease against humans, and in spite of the forlorn, solitary demeanour of the *yochĩ* "animal-souls" *qua* the doubles of dead corpses wandering through the jungle, the counterpoise of a *yochĩ*-animality against humanity has no meaning for these peoples. However, although the *yochĩ* animal-double is essentially human, it is even less an essential particularity of humanity. The culture *vs.* nature dichotomy is incommensurate to the oppositions of *yora*-bodies or *yové*-spirits against *yochĩ*-doubles.

Responding to the relevant discrepancies between their culture and that of others, a well-known *kẽchĩtxo*, the shamanic healer *Natõpa*, would refuse to follow the assumptions behind such questions. His apparently dull answer to exhortations in favour of native folkways is in fact quite vivid: *kurtura tanama*, "cul-

ture, [I] don't understand."

Just as one cannot do without "Marubo," or some
other sort of ethnonym to distinguish between "In-
dian" and "White," by the implicit definition of the di-
alogical exercise that this study represent—it will not
bring into question whether *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-
spirits are "authentically indigenous" or stem from
native "dialogues" with missionaries. Recent inter-
play between evangelical teachings and shamanic tra-
ditions even bring to the fore interesting reflexions on
apparently exogenous ideas of "love" or "universality."
Venãpa, rather free from salvationist overtones, would
even compare his own modern task or that of brother-
souls as that of a Marubo "Jesus Christ." The task of
shamanic modernity is hard to understand.[98]

Rather than any search for authenticity, it is far
more important to remember that such surprising,
syncretic idioms are a powerful means of spreading
native wisdom throughout an increasingly threaten-
ing world: deadly epidemics, such as viral hepatites
and other sexually transmissible diseases, as well as
economic harassment on their ecological equilibrium,
such as hydroelectric dams and international motor-
ways, makes the claims on the relevance of their knowl-
edge all the more urgent. The messianic-creationist
language, like the recent native equations between
the Judaeo-Christian God—*Yosnẽ*, in missionary lan-

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[98] *Cf.* Cesarino 2008:64,431

guage—and *Kana Voã*—a most powerful spirit that classifies all things through their attribution to cosmic layers in myth-music—hardly corresponds to a submissive compromise between indigenous and incoming cosmologies, but rather a patronising concession to anthropological understandings.[99]

Marubo messages represent a decisive contribution toward the flaws of our own western knowledge: not only do their cosmic entities hardly belong to the exclusive realms of either "nature" or "culture," but these entities are instead the terms through which these peoples conceive humanity in relation to animality and spirituality—in their own terms. Thus extraneous understandings, either missionary or scientific— such as the ideas of an universal "nature" or "love" underlying all the particular "cultures," of a single way toward truth and a single form of life—are bound to be more than mere foils to indigenous practices.

In order to avoid a confusing overlapping of the respective attributes of *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles, the antinomy that these entities represent has to be set against different grounds than those dictated by foreign preoccupations, which can bring forth nothing but metaphysical headaches.

Therefore, I assert that *yochĩ*-entities are not passive objects. But if still volitional, such beings are not subjects objectifiable by and commensurate with

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[99] *Cf.* Cesarino 2008:303.

a projecting and opposing human subjectivity. If the coinage of new words is of any use at all, I would say that the *yochĩ*-being is the "entification" of the linear mutability of all living things—a term entailing "relationality," in contrast to the much used and abused thing-like concept of "reification," one that assumes an antagonism between idealism and materialism.

Once thus understood, *yochĩ*-doubles stand in clear contrast to the recurrent vital circles of the *yové*-spirits, whose spirituality is the expression of a moral paradigm. This spirituality a phenomenon that mythical-musical movement manifests, fully attainable by humans just as an aesthetically-pleasing destiny, as a desirable ethics that the final fate of death fulfils, as the eschatological becoming wherein the reiterative cycles of *yové*-ness are momentarily set apart from the mundane *yochĩ*-line of the living and the post-living paths that dead humans traverse.

Broad generalisations about *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits can only be drawn little by little, and not without awkwardness, from the several instances where these entities are made manifest in manifold forms, among which the myth-music is the model.

These entities are more than "concepts" springing up from the native account of liminal events of human life in its environment, or a "cultural response" to "natural phenomena," such as death and disease. Instead of being ritual incarnations in *yora*-bodies,

yochĩ and *yové* entities come onto the stage in this world in the acting out of *saiti* myth-chants, as well as in other types of shamanic-vocal performances, such as *shõti*-healing incantations. Thus *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits are tautegorical representations in chant, rather than chants being allegorical representations of such "ideas." And much as they are not ideal principles, they are neither soul-embodiments nor ghost-possessions, nor even objective projections in opposition to a human subjectivity.

This is what *vaká yochĩ*, the "soul-doubles" indicate, in opposition to *yorã yochĩ*, "images" or "shadows," "photographs" of *yora*-bodies: the left-hand side *mechmirí vaká*, the *verõ yochĩ* of the eyes, the *isõ* and *poĩ yochĩrasĩ* of excreta, as above. Within the *yora*-body, these forms of *yochĩ* double-ness are always ambivalent, intrinsic and exogenous, latent and actual, entailing a number of temporal paradoxes concerning human life that are to be heard unambiguously just in music, a native manipulation of temporality where linearity and circularity stand in complementary combination.

Whereas the transient *yochĩ*-latency is an intrinsic attachment to the *yora*-body of humans as impalpable visual images—as our own double-ness: *nokẽ yochĩrasĩ*, its cast shadows and mirroring irises—the tangible *yochĩ*-actuality is left-sinister, visual capability, and bodily excretion: the remnants of past life

or past ingestion. The *yochĩ*-doubles are ocular expressions of humans, either exuding from carcasses or releasing themselves from the living, while shamans manipulate these emanations musically, as sounds, as a means to deal with disease and death.

Thus sound manipulation in the form of shamanic songs are a real necessity for these peoples, not only as means for health or predation, in healing and "wrong," sorcery songs, but also because the *yochĩ*-transformative soul holds fast to the dead and wanders around the rotting corpse and all places that are evocative of its bygone memories. The formal disposal of the dead body and the interdictions for the surviving kin stem from the necessity to avoid the *yochĩ*-double, which one inevitably evokes in connection with the living recollections of the deceased.

Mourning relatives usually cover their skin with a layer of red paint made from *sẽpa*, a certain tree-resin and *mashe*, Brazilian *urucu* seeds (*Bixa orellana*, also known in the literature as *achiote*). Mourners cut their hair, while in ancient times they would burn their dead altogether. Would paint and haircut be counter-evocations of the renovation of blood circulation and hair growth, set in explicit opposition to *yochĩ*-termination?

If this metaphorical hypothesis is valid, I shall follow the native reasoning that inspired their old funerary rites. There, close kin would consume the ashes of

the dead bones to incorporate the remnants of *yochĩ*-ness, recycling the deadly linearity to the living cycles of consumption and excretion, removing the *yochĩ*-doubles from the eschatological realm and replacing them on that of scatology, of body-renovation.

Dead *yochĩ*-doubles and the close living relatives of the deceased still share bodily substance, an exhumed persistence of kinship ties. Common substance is the rationale behind sexual, labour, and alimentary inter-dictions to the kinsfolk after a relative's death. When a *yora*-body expires, such surviving commonality is made explicit and makes death contradictory to con-vivial life, for bodily *yora*-ness is the support of the actualisation of social ties in the form of kinship.

Post-mortem *yochĩ*-doubles are impossible, incom-plete survivals of the consubstantiality and conviviality that hold sway among *yora*-bodies along transient daily life. Therefore, the *yochĩ* must be erased as the *yora* expires. The remaining dead *yochĩ*, the *yochĩrasĩ* of the dead proper, endanger the living themselves so long as the latter still share substances and resulting memories of the deceased, present in their common environment and some of the material artefacts they had when alive. These are the metonymical prolon-gations of the dead body. As such, when a *yora*-body dies one must destroy all that is corporeally close to the deceased person. This could include the whole settlement in the past. It is the reason why one

would burn longhouses at the death of their owner,
during a cremation ceremony that is still somehow in
force: upon the recent death of the old *Tamãpapa* in
Vida Nova, burning his longhouse and interring his
body were one and the same movement toward "en-
dorcising" and thus recycling his respective wandering
yochĩ-doubles.[100]

The *yochĩ*-double impregnates, "psycho-logically"
so to speak, the habitat and all things around which
the corresponding *yora*-body once inhabited, much as
the excreta and other dead bodily matter of the living,
like hair and nails, physiologically do. These bodily-
doubling entities may be extra-corporeal, however not
at all immaterial: beyond being a disease-agent by
definition, the *yochĩ*-double can physically fecundate
women in their sleep, visiting their dreams when their
vake yochĩ, the "children of doubles" are conceived.
Nowadays the *yochĩ* intruding in women's hammocks
are kept from introducing their double-seeds in female
yora-bodies by means of the repellent action of west-
ern perfume, odours incompatible with the stench of
animal-doubles. Once again, odours identify them as
perceptual substances.

The substantial outcome of a doubling-distortion,

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[100]Lagrou 1998 describes the rationale of such past funerary
rites among the Pano Kachinawa. See Carvalho 1931 and Stew-
ard & Métraux 1948 for other historical testimonies in the same
linguistic-geographic territory.

yochĩ-fertilisation would be either twins, as one would expect, or tailed, deformed children with unusual hunting capabilities. The usual ability to communicate with animals and prey on them, which every hunter achieves through magical powers—*yochĩ*-incantations— and treatment with *moka*-poisonous substances like *kãpó*, "frog's poison" and *vakisi*, "nettles" is enhanced in these exceptional animal-children. Due to their parental ties, which reinforce their community of substance with prey, they are able to hunt even barehanded, rushing through thick bush. *Kenĩnawa* would recall a tail-born *vake yochĩ* who at a very early age would be capable of collecting tortoises (Brazilian *jabuti*, genus *Chelonoidis*) in the forest. Once an adult, he would chase and grab deer with his own hands and feet. This had been so up to his final, mysterious disappearance one day in the jungle: *vake yochĩ* are unwanted children indeed, near animals, the preferential victims of infanticide.

Both dead animal-doubles and those that live among humans are wandering contradictions. The life of a "double-child" *vake yochĩ*, usually ill-behaved, is paradoxical and problematic to the extent that any death, normal or abnormal, human or animal, entails the ontological problem of continuity. From the wider eschatological perspective, shamanic expertise envisage the cycles of human *yora*-life as the *yové*-spiritual destiny of souls, which are meant to detach an all-encompassing circularity from the local, tem-

porally discrete event of bodily *yochĩ*-decay. The cir-
cular bodily renewal of *yové*-souls differs in essence
from the progressive doubling of the corporeal *yochĩ*-
excrescence.   Predation, both in hunting and that
which death in general implicates, fleetingly liber-
ates the *yochĩ*-double in the course of the human so-
journ on earth: its permanence here is impossible,
for its reproduction relies on putrefaction. Memo-
ries and corpses waste away together, erasing thus
passed-away doubles from this earth for the benefit
of its living-*yora* inhabitants, who try to evade their
yochĩ-evanescence. The humanity of the living lies in
bodily form, as *yora*-bodies, which are to follow the
conditions of life animation—the structure of their
souls—with a view to a desirable eschatological des-
tiny, that of becoming wider circular *yové*-ness coun-
terbalancing linear *yochĩ*-ness. The decomposition of
yora-bodies is the precise partition of their constitu-
tive souls, the end-product of the terminal decline of
the nurturing forces in one's life, the overcoming of
yochĩ-being toward *yové*-becoming.

The *yochĩ*-double is internal to the *yora*-body. It
is an interpolation between humanity and divinity:
similar to the *yové*-divine spirit, it is an extrapolation
of human anatomy throughout the external universe.
Relations between humans and *yochĩ*-doubles are the
rationale behind the control exerted over predation
that is inflicted on animals: the preyed animal-*yochĩ*
must be kept at bay by proper human conduct. Be-

cause *yochĩ*-doubles are the disease-causing agents *par excellence*, a decaying force that works against *yové*-immortality, *yora*-bodies endanger themselves with the *yochĩ*-ness of dead animals in predatory acts. Immorality may trigger death-contamination. Possibly all prophylactic and ritual action toward healing *yora*-bodies, all procedures revolving around curing performances aim at expelling and repelling the actualisation of *yochĩ*-doubling potentialities within the sick person.

Yet the foreign *yochĩ*-double that causes illness is not the illness itself: *yochĩ*-ness is a state epitomised by substances, the dark side of predation provoked by incorrect behaviour, both toward animals and toward humans. Hence every human death is either undue predation or due to predation. In the case of animals, bad hunters who outrage dead animals are haunted by *yochĩ*-doubles, or will have their children plagued with *yochĩ*-ness.

For a mythical example, an old woman's arm penetrating the anus of a tapir motivates her predicament. In more everyday instances, a young man sticking his rifle into a monkey's vagina invokes some *yochĩ*-double of sorts, which stretches with its nimble hands the mouth and facial muscles of the victimised hunter's infant child into distorted grimaces; while misbehaving people who act like animals by committing incest become *yochĩ*-doubles themselves after death.

If *yochĩ*-ness is the linear limit of humanity—the ascendant and declining constituent of the curve of human life that equalises it with animality—beyond and before it lies *yové*-spiritual divinity, the transcendent circuit of life-exchange. Under immanent mortal lenses, human life acquires the transitory parabolic shape *yochĩ*-ness. Under a shamanic perspective, *yochĩ*-linearity within *yové*-circularity results into an undulating movement, the linear *vs.* circular dialectics that is the musical-temporal ontology of the Marubo. It is the temporality which their *saiti* myths instate in the form of music.

In an incorporeal, disembodied guise, *yochĩrasĩ* are lost beings, erratic and solitary animals in the bush. These doubles associate with a personal human past and with past settlements. Further, the potential "animal nature" of the left-hand *yora*-body, an embodied, future *yochĩ*-double, equally equates to the transience of human life. Thus, as much as faeces and urine contain or are themselves *yochĩ*, the passing remnants of life, the once corporeal left-side *mechmirí vaká* ceases to be human and stays on earth when the living *yora*-body perishes at death. In the main it is the *yochĩ*-soul *mechmirí vaká* that leaves the consumed *yora*-body and transforms itself into a wandering animal that lingers around those sites where the dead left their memories, like former dwelling places, living quarters, their lost neighbourhood. In due course, the *yochĩ*-transformed human soul also inflicts disease

on the living. It is the memory of the person but not a person, a personal reflection and a bodily dejection.

Hence, again, the translation of *yochĩ* in missionary vocabulary— the "Beast"—is a distortion. The Latin-Greek *diabolus* is that which "throws away," separates and scatters. For the Marubo, it is rather death and disease that disassociate the *yora*-body: bodily dispersal is the separation of left- and right-souls, *mechimirí* from *mekirí vaká*, past *yochĩ* from future *yové*. A *yochĩ*-double is an all-too-human entity rather than a devilish pervert, although it may well associate with animals and be a disease-causing agent. In this case, native aetiology are closer to western science than to evangelical belief. The ill *yochĩ*-putrefaction lies where degenerate human-matter stands, in the burying grounds and encircling forest, on the earth, where the living lay their dead, where they defecate and urinate.

Furthermore, *yochĩ*-doubles are the eyes' pupil, the manikins that are seen therein, and all extant evanescent images that appear in the native world. The Marubo word for photographs, films, and for sinister spectres at large is *yorã yochĩ.*

After the recent promotion of tourism and documentary filming among the beautiful and beautifully ornamented Matis, image-recording came to be seen with more welcoming eyes by the Marubo, who even betray a certain jealousy of their well-rewarded, re-

lated neighbours. However, the danger that pertains to *yochĩ*-ness, since literally "imaginary," *i.e.* pertaining to imagery, is also made manifest for these peoples in visible representations of humans such as photographs and films, just as the *yochĩ*-double is a dangerous, disease-causing image reflected and revealed in the outside in the form of spectre or excretion. *Kenĩnawa* would refuse to look at the picture (which is itself *yochĩ*, in his language) to which he himself had posed, featuring him holding a huge poisonous snake in his hands. This is no wonder: both human portraits and snakes are motifs of *yochĩ*-ness.

Here another field episode gives concrete significance to this fear, much as the visual-venomous connotation of the *yochĩ*-double might shed light on an enigma.

An employee of FUNAI's *Frente de Contato*, the official post in charge of implementing "pacifying" policies in the territory of the Korubo, the "club-wielders" at the mouth of the Ituí River, had been killed in an incident with this also Pano, Matis-related group. This lamentable event would mark the drawbacks of a long and painstaking peace process: with persistent, bilateral efforts, FUNAI and the Korubo had just managed to establish an intermittent truce after the several murderous conflicts with local Brazilians. At least one indigenous community was showing regular signs of willingness to communicate. Officials were

responding to it: after months of "mutual pacifica-
tion," peaceful contact seemed to have been achieved
for good.

This was not to last too long. A while later, a
group of adolescent and young Indian males came to
the riverbank across from FUNAI's "Contact Front,"
signalling for food, which had been the chief currency
in these common conciliatory attempts. A few White
men from the governmental crew embarked on a ca-
noe, moving toward the group. One of the former,
about to leave the base on leave, made an imprudent
move as he approached the other: the poor man had
the unfortunate thought of taking some pictures to
take home and show to his folk. His head was piti-
lessly smashed.

The ephemeral governmental contact had been made
not long before the murder, in 1996, under the aus-
pices of the FUNAI coordinator Sidney Possuelo, gain-
ing international support, publicity, and acclaim. Nu-
merous photographs and films were shot among the
Korubo and exposed in the Internet, in the extensive
"on-site" coverage of the contact-explorative expedi-
tion in which governmental personnel had the coop-
eration of *National Geographic.*

I was in Paris when the first pictures of the "dread-
ful club-wielders" were exhibited there, in an almost
"real-time show." Possuelo was often on-line at the
same time as he conducted the expedition, answering

with genuine passion the candid questions of North American college students and professors. A massive amount of e-mail messages would arrive to the jungle, at the very moment when the experienced officer had to confront in person the most delicate stages of the gradual encounter with the Korubo.

Two years later, when I left the field in February 1998, the situation had visibly changed: the governmental Front was still well established at the mouth of the Ituí, but officials maintained, to say the least, a distant attitude toward passers-by like this anthropologist. Mistrust was in the air after the incident with the incautious official.

Now the deadly episodes of contact must be kept within the historical perspective of mutual violence when, most of the time, its range, initiative, and intensity had been out of unbalance—usually at the expense of the Indian. This is the other side of the White rhetoric, that which gets credit for all attempts of establishing durable relationships with those peoples.

The murder case was nothing but a strategic blunder due to scant ethnographic information. It is attributable to the unpredictability of wild natures, but rather to the ignorance of cultural practices. Even among those who well familiar with television and all the media apparatus, the registration of images has a tremendous power on peoples' life and death, so much

so that its significance may provoke violence. Among the Marubo, who are not unrelated to the Korubo, picture taking and filming—*yochĩ aká*—are all the more risky, since such practices bear in themselves all the connotations of death and disease. Even *Võchĩpa*, an informant for this work who was bilingual, literate, and fluent in both universes—someone who had lived, worked, and mixed with western ways as a frontier soldier, a ferryboat sailor, and a boat-trader—even him would be reluctant to have his *yochĩ*-image registered in a *yochĩ*-photograph.

The dangerous denotations of *yochĩ*-ness do in effect connote foreignness, inmuch as death and disease are in original association with the prototypical White *nawa*, as native myth and history sustain. For these -*nawa* peoples, the *nawa* outside is ever-present, virtually or in reality, in inter- and intra-social relations. The *yochĩrasĩ* are illness-agents not only engaged in reciprocal shamanic raids among the Marubo, through human sorcery and in hunting magic: these animal-doubles are the prototypical exogenous source of any disease and death. The *nawã yochĩ*, the "foreign animal-double" is not only a carrier of maladies, but also the ultimate foreign provenience of all malignity, which the healer fights with the aid of *yové*-related spirit-helpers. In curing seances, the *yochĩ*-illness is easily associated with all sorts of western substances and emblems, such as sugar, gasoline, domestic animals, wheels, and engines.

At variance with *yochĩrasĩ*, the *yovevo* inhabit the top strata of the jungle-space, on the highest layer of the forest canopy. The Marubo call this favourite *yové*-dwelling *tama shavaya*, the "arboreal clearance." A *yové* is a mediator between cosmic planes, a spiritual hybrid of nature and super-nature, if such a dichotomous categorisation is explanatory at all. To put it better, the *yovevo* are between an "ordinary" ground level of human daily life and an "inordinate" one that is literally above it, the also *yové*-spiritual world of the dead: spirits also make death present in living existence.

Inasmuch as their spiritual voice is collective, suprapersonal, beyond the *yora*-body, the *yové*-spirits are themselves "super-human." The *yovevo* are liminal entities inasmuch as, like the *yochĩ*-doubles, traversing the limiting paths between two layers of existence: life and death. But while the animal-double draws the curve of human growth and decay, the movement between life and death itself, the *yové*-spirit lies in both its origins and ends, conjoining creation and destruction into a single circle. As myth-music represents it, *yové*-spirituality is the archaeology and teleology of the human world.

The *yové*-spirit is liminal because it delimits and thus jointly constitutes earth and sky: it dwells both on the limits of the inner social world of the living, and close to the deadly, outer limits of the universe. On

the one extreme of *yové*-agency, there is the "earthy" layer of the earthly *yora*-inhabitants, *mai shavaya*, which literally corresponds to jungle clearings, the high mounds (*mató*) where humans have been since mythical-musical times. Rather than "immemorial," this is the original ground of the prototypical *yora*-human dwelling, of *shovo*-longhouses, which one continuously remembers and re-actualises in chant. On the other extreme, there lies the *shokó nai shavaya*, the celestial, clear *yové*-spiritual destiny of *yora*-bodies in ever-renewing death. In the middle, on the borders of earth and sky, stands the near-terrestrial *yové*-clearance, the arboreal *tama shavaya*.

In the Marubo cosmos, the forest canopy is the horizon *par excellence*, the conflation between *nai* "sky" and *mai* "earth." Within the *tama shavaya*, "arboreal dwelling" or "clearing," stands out the *shono*-tree (*Ceiba pentandra*: in the ethnography *lupuna*, *samaúma* in Brazil). Whoever looks at it, it is hard to be missed: it is the largest tree of the forest, in volume at least, over-canopied with luscious radial branches towering up above. It is the huge tree upon which, as the reader will remember, the monstrous hawk would devour humans in their primordial settlements, in the myth-chant of *Teté Teka*. If the qualification of *nawa* is taken as "prototypically large" in chants, the huge, protruding roots, its trunk and round foliage of the *shono* will account for its mythical status as *nawã tama*, the prototypical tree of the *tama shavaya*. This

top stratum of the forest is the intermediary cosmic
layer between the earth of the living and the reju-
venating skies of *yové*-transformed, peeled-off *yora*-
bodies.

Beyond both *shavaya*-dwellings, the *tama*-arboreal
shavaya and the *shokó nai*, celestial-renewing *shavaya*,
the sun follows its paths in its *vari nai*, the ultimate
"solar-celestial" *shavaya*, even above the overarching,
supreme dwelling "sky of clouds" *koĩ nai shavaya*, en-
veloping the whole native cosmos. The land of the
living lies down below all that. Within the *tama
shavaya*, the *shono*-tree is the favourite dwelling of the
yové-spirits, those entities of soul-becoming, spirit-
helpers in healing, to those *yora*-humans who stay on
the safe side of the good eschatological destiny. Before
and beyond this arboreal, transitional, and prototyp-
ically *nawa*-position that the dead *yora*-bodies, now
fragmented into soul-persons—some *yové*-like, others
yochĩ-like—face for the first time the transformative
vei vai dangers of immediate after-death, fulfilling in
sequence their fate in accordance with the moral in-
tegrity or corruption of their lives before.[101]

The generic *saiti*-denomination for trees is *tama*.
It is an extraordinary word, taken from the mythical-
musical lexicon, from the *kẽchĩtxo*'s talk, from the

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[101] *Cf.* Lagrou 1998 for an account of other cosmic-semantic
emphases on the *samaúma* tree among the Kachinawa ("a me-
diator *par excellence*").

shamanic repertoire. The ordinary, common word for "tree" is *iwi*. But the semantic stress of the *tama shavaya* is on something that is not of everyday experience, for it refers to the transition between life and death. The dangerous *vei vai*, the eschatological path of souls traverses *tama shavaya*. The transience that the *tama shavaya*, as a cosmic layer, signifies for *yora*-lives is in contradiction to its being a permanent living quarters for the *yovevo*, meaning for them the same as the spiritual destination of bodily death, the skin-renewing *shokó nai shavaya* does for humans.

These spirits are also themselves singing contradictions, expressing in their tonal voice the ambivalence of life and death. They are a recurrent permanency to be achieved at the end of the deadly *vei vai* road, where *yové*-spiritual benevolence will help the morally good human souls to overcome transient *yochĩ*-ness, a recurrence that humans already experience in life as shamanic song, if transitorily.

This arboreal *yové*-liminal habitat is also a cue for the paradox of the shaman's voice: the vocal association between the *yovevo* and birds does not exclude predation from its spirituality, but incorporates instead the former to the latter within the singing *yora*-body. If *yové*-spirits associate with singing through *mawa*—the thrush or "prototypical spirit-bird"—still shamanic song is *ino koĩ*, jaguar-like.

The *yové*-spiritual destination of dead humans is

further away from death, from the eschatological dangers of the predatory *yochĩ*, just like the supernal *shokó nai shavaya* is beyond the abode of the birds in the *tama*-trees. Thus the identification of the dead human souls that reach the "celestial dwelling of renovation" with the *yové*-spirit is more significant than the bird-like character or predatory capacities that the shamanic-spiritual voice anticipates on earth. Resurrection for the good human souls is quintessentially *yové*-like. These spirits peel their skins and hence are forever young—however old since wise, shamanic, and white-haired. These spirits are renewing bodies. To them death means a life of all-day-round feasting and bounteous revelry, which only a spiritual state of musical wisdom may allow for: shamanic music is an anticipatory audition of the spirit-becoming of humans, being reborn anew in *yové*-cycles, ever and ever inflecting the predatory lines of growth and decay into spiritual circles.

In contrast to this transcending, vocal-eschatological *yové*-spirituality, the *yochĩ*-double is intrinsically immanent to the human sojourn on earth: it connects to decay through its putrid growth from corpses. All excreta have *yochĩ*, the result of past alimentation, the cause of present illness and eventually of future death too. Excrement is used in sorcery to cause harm to opponents, as well as in order to prey more generally, since sorcery includes the hunting incantations that are sung over the faeces of large game: sorcerers and

hunters chant over waste with the aim of invoking the *yochĩ*-double of the human or animal prey, whose predatory action will turn against their source, war enemies and game alike.

The *yochĩ*-double both conspires for and stems from the expiration of the body: it is both a precondition and an outcome of predation. It is a dialectical force against the *yové*-spirit. And such dialectics encapsulates all native temporal paradoxes between linearity and circularity, of life and health, death and disease. This is the primary message of *saiti* myth-music: the *yové*, as the entity that counterpoises the *yochĩ*, constitutes the regenerative, mythical-musical realm that encircles faulty existence. Humans strive in vain toward this paradigmatic perfection throughout their terrestrial lives, for here such a state cannot be more that a pre-requisite toward a celestial balance that one is to attain in full only at death.

A successful human life is that which paves the way toward such a predestination. The dangerous *vei vai* path to the *shokó nai shavaya* heaven is the dissolving solution of the soul-constitution that *yora*-bodies construe on earth. Proper life is that where one duly surmounts the wild *yochĩ*-double, where the domestication of humanity has overcome its own animal misfortune, surpassing the constant contradiction that works against the person's ultimate environmental equilibrium, shaken by the mutability of all vital

things. A living *yora*-body is a theatre of paradoxes
that one must stage in life, representing it in the mu-
sical dialectics of myth or otherwise. Life is a contra-
dictory performance that living humans manage to
sort out at their own end only. Marubo myth-music
is the re-presentation of the paradoxical truism that
there is no *yové*-vitality and environmental balance if
yochĩ-decay does not entail a *yora*-bodily death.

Even after death, it takes a while before one solves
such paradoxes of life—before both death itself and
those who are left behind on this earth of ours, those
who enact such a paradoxical existence on a mythical-
musical basis sort it out. After passing away, the indi-
vidual *yora*-body divides itself into soul-parts: human
bodies decompose into *yové*-becoming "souls" that as-
cend to the skies on the one hand, and the earth-
lingering *yochĩ*-doubles on the other.

But even though the *tama shavaya yovevo* (those
yové-spirits that live on the top of the forest, above
all upon the *samaúma*, the *shono*-tree's foliage) as
well as the spirit-like essences of shamanic substances
(those of *ayahuasca* and tobacco-snuff, *oni shãko* and
rome shãnko) make all efforts to support the journey
of their deceased soul-mates, in the meantime all sorts
of eschatological *yochĩrasĩ*, the counterparts of the
earth-lingering *yochĩ*-souls, will hinder their course.
The dangerous eschatology belongs to the *yochĩ*; their
transience is the passing memory of life that belongs

to the post-mortem, *vei vai* path.

Before I advance in the study of soul-entities in their living existence as human *yora*-bodies, it must be advanced that one should not find much direct significance in the few nominal references to *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits that are present in some *saiti* myth-chants: the significance of these doubles and spirits, as of all *saiti*-mythical words, is within their musical-temporal form. The importance of the ethno-graphic translation of linguistic conceptualisations present in this and other chapters is a function of their relevance for their own mythical-musical understanding: if the *saiti* sing the origins of human life, one must to understand beforehand what native death means.

For these peoples, death is not the negative outcome of an ailing *yora*-body. It is not a sheer nothingness, a celestial negation of life on earth. Instead, death is the actualisation of the *yové*-spiritual and animal-*yochĩ* agencies that have a potential counterpart within indigenous humans in their own original constitution as such, as *yora*-human bodies. The *yora*-bodies of -*nawa* peoples are the carnal alloy of a primordial sonic alchemy, an intricacy of substances, all of which have an exogenous chthonic genesis. The *saiti* myth-chant is the main reagent.

bodily voices

Rather than a mere construct, the mythical-musical agency of *saiti* performance constitutes the human body within its world. The *saiti* myth-chants are more than narratives of origins because, under their temporal dynamics, the representation of this world exceeds verbal discourses: shamanic music is beyond encyclopaedic explications of the cosmos, constituting it instead as the scenario of the mythical history of human anatomy. With a view to elucidate the musical soul-constitution of the *yora*-body of these -*nawa* peoples, let us recapitulate and expand on a few points from the chapter above.

In contradistinction to *yochĩ* disease-triggers, the *yovevo* are spirit-helpers. These spirits are at once healing-agents and health-providers that expel alien *yochĩ*-doubles, the afflictive dispositions of patients. They are also guiding-*yoiya*, good-willing shepherds who conduct the *yové*-compatible souls of the extinct body through the dangerous *vei vai* path of

immediate eschatological existence, which is a transitory human state, an unstable temporal space on the limit between two layers, spanning from the borders of earth toward the human other, post-mortem celestial dwelling. To become a *yové*-spirit is the destiny of the rising soul-like human beings that succeed in their upward journey toward the sky of renovation. These non-*yochĩ*, non-double human souls fall into a categorial amalgamation that projects itself onto a present-living future, including *mekirí vaká* and *chinã nato*, *i.e.* the "soul of the right-hand side" and the "thought-breath centre" of the *yora*-body.

Both in a human lifetime and on a vertical cosmic axis, a *yové*-spirit is a hyper-human, whereas the *yochĩ*-soul is some sort of hypo-humanity: *yové* and *yochĩ*, while within *yora*-bodies, are their respective not-yet and still-not-anymore, their temporal affections. Both entities are potential *yora*-humans, transforming bodies, beings to become. Further, the ontological distinction between humans and animals exists more or less in the very symmetrical form of the soul-arrangement of the human body. The *yochĩ* animal-double is potential predation on its left-side *mechmirí vaká*, while the *yové*-spirit is the rightful bird-like song latent on the *mekirí vaká* side. In contrast, the soul-constitutive *yora*-body is the transitory and comprehensive, conjunctive category that idiosyncratically characterises and literally embodies humanity. The *yora*-body is the arena where and

when, especially at the bodily disjunction of life—
death—the potential opposition of the *yové*-spirit *ver-
sus* the *yochĩ*-double projects itself onto specific spa-
tial forms, an anatomic-hemispheric and cosmic-strat-
ospheric one.

However, death is an "othering" experience. As
such, it is something that the living must live by
projecting the soul-disjunctive destiny of the dead
into bodily activity, as much as their self-projection
is a product of their *nawa*-foreignness. The spatial,
cosmic-anatomic projections that human death actu-
alises are a function of human life. As such, these
projections are not amenable to metaphysical mod-
elling, for native time is neither univocal nor continu-
ous, while their models and structures are not eternal
ideas. At best, the structural reality of body and
cosmos that eschatology explicates is either mythical
and musical or equivocal and ambiguous—since na-
tives envisage it as a living performance that is at
once finite and recurrent: the *saiti* chant and chore-
ography.

The complementarity of souls in *yora*-bodies, the
anatomical projection of a cosmic structure, is an in-
tellective perception of action: *chinã*-thoughts plan,
yochĩ-doubles of *vero*-eyes situate the spacial setting,
while left- and right-souls, *mechimí-* and *mekirí vaká*
join their efforts to achieve the bodily task. *Kenĩnawa*
and *Venãpa* would illustrate this idea with trivial ex-

amples, like sowing seeds in a garden. To them, the template territory of mindful action is the body.

Likewise, humans and the world do not equate to inner and outer realms, to individual, mindful or sensible subjects in opposition to multiple, mindless and senseless objects. The misleading characterisations of the terrestrial *yochĩ* as "temporary-double" and the celestial *yové* as "eternal-spirit," while characterising both as soul-attributes of a body-substance, might lead one into an absolute opposition of animality or nature *versus* divinity or culture, or a nature against a super-nature, a physics against a metaphysics, etc. But such western oppositions are just transpositions of a deceptive antinomy opposing the "perishable" and the "perennial." This leads us to two points.

First, as concerns native humanity, even in its "spiritual" or "double-like" dimension, I argue that the concept of "eternity" is erroneous. By paying heed to *saiti* myth-chants, one realises that their history is not a-temporally "cold," but is rather a constant reenactment inasmuch as their myth-chants are linearly circular, circularly linear, *viz.* temporal.

Second, both entities, the *yochĩ*-double and the *yové*-spirit, are counterbalancing affective substances whose dynamic dialectics differ in life and in death, in health and in illness, in the emerging genesis of humans and in their final fate. Human body-souls are not transient, material particulars moving toward

immutable, universal forms, imperfect variations on an eternal theme. The mythical-musical movement of bodies sets motion to their souls, *i.e.* bodily parts, thus constituting cosmic wholes along time. This is why music can cure.

Both the *yové* and the *yochĩ* change in the course of human life and afterlife, when time is both progressive and regressive, linear and circular, but not sempiternal. Time never annuls itself in omnipresence. There is no such a thing as an eternal entity in the native pantheon. Cosmic "things" are themselves hardly seen in their everyday as visualisable entities, except for occasional stages in the formation of *romeya*-shamans. The *yové*-spirit is constant to the extent that it means temporal renewal, which presupposes the growth and decay that *yochĩ*-doubles entail.

These are not entities, strictly speaking, but felt dispositions. A *yochĩ* is the double of a human and still an animal, mute and imperfect corporeality, longing for a lost sociality: it is both disease and decomposition. But paradoxically, or rather dialectically, the *yochĩ*-negation of *yora* social-corporeality results into the *yové*-spiritual paradigm of human society and body. Both paradoxically and dialectically, the *yové*-spirit is also as much an animal—as a "prototypical bird"—as it is a human being, in its vocal capabilities. These spirits are moral perfection, festivity, harmony, and health: the *yové*-spirit is a musical form, that of

the *saiti*-myths, which incorporates—or "embodies," in the shape of human *yora*-bodies—its own *yochĩ*-negation. None of these "spiritual" or "double" beings are *Ding-an-sichs*, a-temporal and a-spatial "things" as such. Both are cosmic potentialities of human beings to become, made palpable and manipulable in the shamanic music that informs, that imparts form to the bodies of humans.

As the Marubo intone the cosmic realm of human anatomy, its origins and destinies, these -*nawa* peoples become impersonal, a permanent circle, or rather the permanent impermanence of a circular movement. In shamanic music, actual *yora*-bodies become what they actually are in their potential ethical and aesthetic capabilities, that is, as *yové* and *yové vana*, spirit and spiritual language. The *yové* and its language are song, a temporal-auditory representation in kinetic circles in sound and space. During shamanic sessions and dreams, the *yové* asserts the primacy of its voice: it is rather heard than seen. This is no surprise, given its essentially temporal character. In actual chanting, the *yové*-spirit presents itself and is presented by and through the shaman to the audience. Thus all shamanic music is at a level of suprapersonal, super-human wisdom.

The Marubo are great listeners, a fundamental cognitive trait that, although a correlative of the temporal constitution of their humanity and cosmos, proves

to be very annoying to missionary schoolteachers. These often complain about native manifestations of "silent respect" toward their evangelical teachings, whose pedagogical results are nonetheless null, according to their own perspective.

This is hardly surprising: neither agreement nor lack thereof, or perhaps both, lie under the silent intent of natives. The Marubo literally "let it be" when they listen, since the truth of their form of being, their knowledge of it, is a mythical-musical, temporal phenomenon. When listening, natives do not interrupt speakers, but rather punctuate their delivery with words and sounds meant to display attentiveness, as *ma*—a particular interjection against shamanic speeches. Marubo speakers are better understood as "orators" or "oral performers," since their speeches are monologues that people listen to in the same way as they repeat their myth-chants in responsory.[102]

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[102] *Aví* is another common interjection when a Marubo is listening to a narrative or while being taught a curing chant. One pronounces *aví*, sonically speaking, one note to a syllable, *i.e.* two notes in an approximate tonal interval of ascending perfect fifth, the first note longer than the second ("*aa-ví*"). The similitude of this with *ino koĩ vana*, the "jaguar's roar," the *tsaĩki* intonations, is more than mere curiosity. It is just curiously, however, that such a colloquial interjection is similar to the religious-laden Latin salutation in the hailing opening theme of Josquin's motet *Ave Maris Stella*, after a traditional gregorian chant melody.

This means that native reasoning would be lost in verbal dialogue as such. Their monologues are in turn quite telling of their "concept of speech," if such conceptualisations can be at all understood in spite of its sonic performance. All metaphysics on native thought is *a posteriori*: their acts and intentional enactments, their *chinã*-breaths always precede the categorisation of their *chinã*-thoughts in spoken words: their sounds think their ideas. In other words, the "speech acts" of these peoples, their shamanic discourses (*inõ koĩ vana*, "true jaguar words" and *yové vana*, the "spiritual language") are in the main extempore intonations that address a silent or interpolative audience. These discourses are statements that follow a spiritual-unilateral, musical logic. They are a collective heritage that nevertheless gains significance and form, in one go, in the vocal performance of contextual actors. The semantic and formal source of these statements is neither personal nor at all "subjective." Yet these words have an objective origin, which is spiritual but still not "ideally conceptual."

If one may conceive *sai iki* "jaguar-like roaring" as a musical-dialogical discourse, an occasional *sai*-onomatopoeic verbalisation, it follows a "responsorial" rationale—assertion and reassertion, rather than a question-answer structure. If the chorus-response of *saiti* myth-chants to the *yoiya* chant-leader, the leading *saiti* actor, is no more than verbal repetition, it is still much more than the materialisation of a

"concept." It is an active ritual re-production and re-presentation of a cosmic message that does not exist in the abstract or, even when one conceptualises it as such, is not expressible without its concrete enactment.

Ritual song, *saiti* expression, and formal speech at large are "spiritual phenomena," in the absence of a better qualification. This is not to mean that there is an ethereal "spirit" antecedent to the musical performance. Elsewhere I have shown how every verbal or musical genre, all ritual speech in general requires the establishment of a personal relationship between the subjective *yora*-speaker and the *yové*-world. The shamanic voice is an unearthly gift and command, a carnal, bodily result of the spiritual intercourse that initiates in mythical origins and one reinstates it in initiation ritual, re-occurring in song at every musical performance.

The spiritual language *yové vana* is the objective thought and intention of the *mawa*-bird or its equivalents—as *tikõ*, *txõtxõ* (also a *sabiá*, thrush species, genus *Turdus*), *isá* (another thrush), the fast-flying *peta*, the knowledgeable *mãpo* ("cardinal bird-dove" or *cardeal*, a *Cardinalidae*)—or of those birds who, like *mawa*, can imitate other birds, like *isko* (the *japu* bird) and *txana* (genus *Cacicus*, "cacique," Brazilian *japiim*). These are mythical-musical characters that makes its appearance precisely in *saiti*, featuring an

implicit human guise. At the level of *saiti* perfor-
mance, the form of the spiritual bird could not be
other but human: the *yové*-epitome is exactly the vo-
cal capabilities of a music-making and music-made
humanity.

Birds like *mawa* are quintessential *yové* to the ex-
tent that spirits are singers *par excellence*, gradually
endows their singing, *i.e.* the formal musical-speaking
capabilities to initiates in shamanic *kẽchĩtxo*-healing.
These spirit-birds eventually endow all musical knowl-
edge to natives at large. In this sense, if the *yové*-
spirit and its language are song in general, spiritual
birds are the capacity to sing irrespective of the singing
speciality.

As I said above, the distinction between *kẽchĩtxo*
("healer" or *curador*) and *romeya* ("shaman" or *pajé*)
is a matter of degree, not so much of quality. If one
cannot voluntarily acquire certain shamanic capabil-
ities, there is no hierarchical gradation between the
two categories: *yové*-ness is not an amount to mea-
sure. The amount of knowledge one may get depends
on dedication to learning. But the difference between
kẽchĩtxo and *romeya* lies on the degree of personal
independence that each manifests, the ability to dis-
engage from one's volitional individuality in face of
the *yové*-spirit. One can choose to be a healer, but
a shaman proper is "chosen," when "spiritual calls"—
paradoxically, *yochĩ*-predatory events, dreams or vi-

sions—"erase" the personality of the initiate, as it were.

The similarities between *kẽchĩtxo*-healer and *romeya*-shaman remain stronger than differences: no matter how each identifies with the spirit, the shamanic-musical capabilities never abandon their *yové*-bird source. The shamanic voice is not totally "given away" to the singer, to the extent that it maintains an inter-subjective, supra-personal character, no matter who intones it: healer, shaman, longhouse owner, community leader, or *saiti* performer. All these personae amount to interchangeable and equivalent positions in relation to *yové*-spirituality. The average Marubo, regardless of social position, is someone who always partakes a commonality of body and soul with the *yové*-world.

The *mawa*-like *yové*-spirit guides the heart-mind of the morally good, the shamanically powerful: it orients their *chinã* "breathing-thoughts." The *mawa*-bird is the *yové*-spiritual beacon of the path for the *chinã*-soul among the *yochĩ*-dangers of death, as well along the quests for bodily and cosmic, *yové*-spiritual knowledge. If there is any major diacritical mark differentiating the shamanic healer from the shaman proper, the *kẽchĩtxo* from the *romeya*, it will be the differential capacity of detachment of the *chinã* "breathing-thoughts" from their *nato* "core," their bodily site. The mindful-breath of the *romeya*-shaman is that part

of his which, during shamanic seances, leaves his *yora*-body behind and goes on a cosmic journey. It is the shamanic breathing and thoughtful *chinã*-soul that parallels the customary attitude of earthly longhouse leaders, those who visit in person their near neighbours to make invitations for festivals: it fetches the *yovevo* from their spiritual-arboreal dwellings, calling the spirits to descend and enjoy the hospitable conviviality of humans, the friendly homeliness of *yora*-bodies. Along life and in the afterlife, the *yové*-spirits repay this token of reciprocity with their guidance, in the shaman's seances and in his eschatology.

Moreover, the shamanic seance, on earth and in heaven, is always a musical feast, taking the travelling breathing-thoughts quite far. Breath-thoughts may get as far as to the spiritual sky of renovation. At this point the shamanic trip leads one to such an ecstatic enthusiasm that *romeya*-shamans, *i.e.* their *chinã* breath-thoughts, end up having to be entreated by their *yové*-spiritual hosts to return to earth, to the society of their own living co-residents, at the conclusion of all sessions. All too often, once back to their own longhouses, *romeya*-shamans will miss their dead: in their *chinã*-journeys, they have the opportunity to see again their deceased relatives in a *yové*-transformed state, in enthusiastic ecstasy, partaking of celestial company in their revelling *shokó nai shavaya* paradise.

Then a substantial divide, a bodily one, has to be drawn then between the living humanity and the spiritual-renewed dead, even though and just because the shamanic song and seance and substances in general, *ayahuasca*-brew and tobacco-snuff, are the very means for opening the paths that unite and separate the two worlds. The borderline between sky and earth becomes the potential sharing of food of the shamanic-*chinã* with the *yové*-rejuvenated dead, a celestial commensality that may go beyond the liquid and powdery drugs and all substances that both *kẽchĩtxo* and *romeya*, all healers and shamans share with spirits on an almost daily basis. If, during the shamanic seance and the simultaneous communal feasts that take place in *yové*-dwellings, the visiting *chinã*-soul of the *romeya*-shaman partakes of *nãko* "sweetness," the food of spirits, it should be bound in the spiritual-celestial realm forever. And should his *chinã* remain in its new heavenly home, or even if it eventually returns—the once-empty, now irreparably deconstructed *yora*-body of the shaman would languish and die, following the already-realised destiny of its youth-renewed breath-soul.[103]

In fact, if the *yové*-like souls of both the *romeya* and of the *kẽchĩtxo* do not face strong *yochĩ*-resistance

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[103]See Montagner Melatti 1985 for a description of *romeya*-shamanic seances. The library at *Museu do Índio* in Rio de Janeiro contains some beautiful recordings of *João Pajé*'s powerful *yové*-endowed voice singing, *ini iki*, his *romeya* chants.

in the ascension to the heavens, notably at death, this is because their *yora*-bodies are already "spiritualised" on earth. Marubo shamans are already saturated with vine-brews and snuff-powders throughout life, as wells with all sorts of other shamanic ingredients— usually *moka* substances, like giant-ant (*Paraponera clavata*, Brazilian *tocandira*) poison and chilli-peppers (genus *Capsicum*)—thus relying on the help of the tutelary entities of these spirit-related stuffs. Life is already consists of a cyclical renewal for them, which but foreshadows their future post-mortem, renewing-circular state.

All blood of *romeya*-shamans, in fact, exude from his bodily holes along initiation. Initiates suffer from hemorrhagic eyes, ears, anuses, mouths, and noses. Thus told me *Venãpa*, recalling his predicament when he was young. His blood thus became pure spirit.

Likewise, the archetypal *mawa* bird-spirit endows the initiate shaman with the capabilities of the *yové*-chanted word. Through initiation, it conveys the *mõti kene*, the decorated *taboca*-cane segment, the graphically designed mortar made from the section of a certain large species of bamboo (genus *Guadua*). In its material state, one uses it to grind tobacco leaves and ashes into a thin powder—a powerful ingredient in healing—much as, in ancient times, it functioned as a quiver to store poisoned blowgun, *moka tipi* darts. But in shamanic words, the *mõti*-mortar is the larynx

itself covered with *kene*-design.

The transmission of another representative singing capability in native shamanism occurs through *rewe*, the long inhalator through which one blows tobacco-snuff into another's nostrils during seances. The individual tobacco-inhalator (*rome rechtí*) is a v-shaped, short tube made out of curassow wing's bones and beeswax, which connects mouth and nose in daily snuffing. The long *rewe*-inhalator requires instead a blower and a snuff-inhaler, each one at each end of the long, thin bamboo with a hawk's wing bone on its tip. Its exclusive use occurs during shamanic sessions. It is another metonym for tobacco and simultaneous metaphor for the chanter's throat, the vocal chords that vibrate at a higher pitch and milder tone than a *mõti*-voice.

In fact, *rewe* is also the metonymical name of the assistant that blows tobacco-snuff into the nostrils of *romeya*-shamans, *kẽchĩtxo*-healers, and all male participants along their seances, much as *rewe pei*, a spirit-helper, is a metaphorical bird who acts as a faithful instructor and guide to shaman's and healer's voices in their communication with the spirits. Hence its higher shamanic importance. In the long run, the endurance that shamanic singing requires in healing sessions above all favours *rewe*-voices at the expense of *mõti* ones. If the *rewe*-voice is said to "project from the mouth," the *mõti* one is "in the throat." Both are

always full of designs. But the "spiritual thin throat" *yové rewe* is fed by the actual *rewe*-inhalator prior and during shamanic performances.

Geometrical drawing is an art that seems to be a distinct cosmological feature and skilful practice among Panoans. Marubo design is a womanly parameter of excellence, mostly in festivals. However body-painting is gender-complementary, insofar as it is an overall shamanic art. Both sexes have their *yora*-bodies covered with beautiful patterns that women draw with a resinous *achiote*-paint and black ashes with *genipa* juice (Brazilian *jenipapo*, the fruit of *Genipa americana*). Meanwhile, men sing upon resin (*sẽpa*), providing spiritual protection against diseases: musicianship achieves shamanic excellence also in the arts of design.[104]

To witness the chronic, lengthy, often non-ceremonial, rather inconspicuous shamanic initiation for healing capabilities would require years of fieldwork and much attention. Initiations have been going on surreptitiously, despite the moral persecution and blackmail of missionaries. Thorough acquisition and consolidation of the designed metaphorical larynx, the

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[104]Lagrou 1998 and Keifenheim 1996 develop the hermeneutic potential of the similar graphic designs found among the Kachinawa of Acre. With reference to the also Pano-speaking Shipibo-Conibo of the Ucayali, Gebhart-Sayer 1985 verifies the synaesthetic relation between singing and drawing within the context of ritual healing and elsewhere.

epitome of the shamanic vocal powers, demands several years of apprenticeship and sexual-alimentary restrictions, especially from the most gifted candidates. Initiation strengthens the voice and knowledge that obtains in formal elocution, in curing chants and elsewhere.[105]

In some sense such shamanic capabilities are an innate gift from a *yové* bird-helper, which initiation only substantiates. The *yové*-spirit that maintains a conspicuous association with the initiate—*mawa*, *isá*, or a similar bird—is humanly so long as it characterises a *yora*-bodily potential that is attributable to any human, or rather to any -*nawa* person: to wit, the persistent vocal knowledge and power that counteracts disease symptoms.

The *yové*-bird is a remedy for all maladies, an antidote for all symptoms just because it "sharpens the ears" and "clears the brain," doing exactly what is required not only to cure, but to sing well first of all. It is a social bequest, a birthmark, rather than being just an elusive capacity that one learns from scratch: *mawa*, *isá* and the like entertain specific relationships to sectional ethnonyms. Ethnonymic markers appear both in the context of curing songs and in

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[105]Marubo shamanic initiation is more fully described in Montagner Melatti 1985. The data available seem to "substantiate the substantiality" of the initiation process which Townsley 1988 describes among the Yaminawa. The Marubo data does not reproduce the "gruesome" aspect of the Yaminawa description.

that of myth-chants: *Rane isá vanaya* in *saiti* means the song-helping, speech-giving *yové*-spirit of the *Ranenáwavo*, for instance, the "peoples of the white-collared peccary."

Kenĩnawa, a lesser healer, would supply two conflicting literal translations for the *mawa*-bird, applicable to the musical contexts of both myth and cure. According to him, this *yové*-bird would be the thrush (Brazilian *sabiá*) indeed. But he would also state, more generically, that *mawa* is "the bird that imitates other birds."[106]

Turdus species sing distinctive, rich sound patterns. But is it really an imitator? or does its singing rather <u>include</u> all other bird songs?

Kenĩnawa's translation might be due to his low degree of either shamanic knowledge or command of Brazilian Portuguese, our *lingua franca* during my fieldwork. But either *sabiá*, the common regional bird that other natives also would point out as *mawa*, is an altogether inconsistent gloss, or the spiritual *yové-*

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[106]In this, the *mawa*-bird would be quite close to the *japiim*, another common bird of the region, also conspicuous in the *saiti* myth-chants. Loquacity is the most remarkable feature in the cosmic-mythical characterisation of the *japiim* among the Pano Kachinawa (*cf.* Lagrou 1998). This bird has the same designation both among the latter and the Marubo: *txana*. It should not be coincidental that *mawa* and *isá*, other quintessential *yové*-spirit among birds, are as talkative (*vanaya*) as *txana* and its correlative *isko*, the *japó*-bird—Pan-Pano spiritual birds.

bird is closer to a general category. Just as the *yovevo* are spiritual beings at large, their generic bird-like badge would be the very human vocal capabilities of mimesis, instead of representing a specific musical or anatomic, bird-like morphology. In that sense *mawa* and the like would be as generic as that which natives call, in other chants and in the everyday, *chai*.

However innate, vocal capabilities must be reinforced. By "shamanic" I mean sensual-intellectual knowledge, musical capabilities at large. Thus "initiation" is no privilege for a few elected only, but is instead something that virtually any healthy adult is entitled to.

Among other procedures, shamanic initiation "embodies" the mimetic spirit-bird *mawa yové* in *yora*-bodies through the application of irritating substances, such as wasp's and giant-ant's poison—on lower backs, solar plexuses, throats, tongue- and nose-tips, and mouth- and external eye-corners of initiates. The initiating shaman-singer must rub the tongue which is to articulate myth-chants and curing songs in the future with the perforated tongue of spirits-birds and similar beings soaked in hot-pepper juice, provoking profuse salivation—metonymic tongues of metaphorical imitators like *mawa*, *vawa* ("parrots" in general, *Psittacidae* family), *txana*, remarkable singers like *shatxĩ tapõ* (*uirapuru-verdadeiro*, "musician wren," *Cyphorhirius arada*), ominous singers like *rewe pei*, fast-speaking

animals like *kapa* (*quatipuru*, "Brazilian squirrel," *Sciurus aestuans*), birds of prey like *veshtao* (*cancão-grande*, "red-throated caracara," *Ibycter americanus*) and *chãcha* (*cancão-de-anta*, "black caracara," *Daptrius acter*). The applicator of *chíaka*, "peppery" substances belongs to birds known for their verbal, sonic, or predatory abilities, being mimetically associated with the human organ where it is applied. The effects are localised in the body. However, such effects are felt in the mind: memories in initiate's heads become "like recordings in a recorder," *Venãpa* would say.

After all, the whole initiation process is based on bodily aesthetic transformation: the knowledgeable competence of shamans has an extra-corporeal source that is incorporated as and embodied through a sound-producing device, namely the invisible larynx in one's throat (*mõti kene* and *rewe kene*), the vocal cords especially decorated with beautiful *yové*-spiritual, graphic-geometrical patterns.

More than one *saiti* expressly mention spirit-birds like *mawa yové* as language-givers. Much as theses *yové*-birds are agents of transformation and spiritual bestowal for initiates, healers at large invoke bird-spirits alongside with other *yové*-related curing agents in order to restore convalescents. Those *shõti*-evocations occur precisely by means of the vocal faculties that humans share with the *yové*-spirits: the *mawa-*

bird capacity to intone words.

The shamanic-spiritual, tonal invocation of several other *yové*-like entities through the healer's voice aim at each *yochĩ*-symptom and sensible pathology: difficult breathing, impure blood, pains, visual impairment. These *yové*-agents of cure either have specific names that may refer to myth-chant characters, like *Shoma*, or are themselves perceptible sensations. One invokes coldness (*matsi*) against fever's heat (*yoná shana*), while sour (*katxa*) and sweet (*vata*) cleanses the patient and clearness (*pasha*) and lightness (*shata*) soothes it. If the Homeric Asclepius, in ancient Greece, would ascribe the rationale of health and disease to a sensible balance between "substantial attributes" within the body, Marubo healers invoke *yové*-percepts in order to counteract the dangerous *yochĩ*-dispositions.[107]

These are no more than perfunctory explanations on how their musical curing arts are a matter of perceptual manipulation of the palate, among other sensations. *Vata*, for example, corresponds to our perceptions of both "sweet" (*soka vátaka*, with specific reference to "sugar") and "salty" (*katxi vátaka*, bet-

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[107]More on such healing practices, on "theories of sensations" or "pathologies" of both sickness and cosmic entities, can be found in the extant ethnography on Panoans, as Montagner Melatti 1985 on the Marubo, Lagrou 1998 on the Kachinawa, not to mention the inspiring accounts on healing synaesthesia among the Shipibo-Conibo in Gebhart-Sayer 1985.

ter understood as "sweet-salt"). If *katxi* is specifically salty, the correlative *katxa* is "sour" (*rimo kátxaka*, referring to lemons). In the words of *saiti* myth-chants, these words seem to be best translated as "flavourful," even thought their ordinary reference is plain cultigens such as sweet bananas, the pungent wild honey (*vona vata*), the coarse salt that natives use now to preserve and sell their game-meat to neonationals.

The most important semantic associations that shamans make in effect do not derive from the way those words extend beyond our categories of taste, but from their manipulative perception of these. In shamanic semantics, the sharp flavour of *katxi* or *vata* is associated either with straight foreignness, in the first case, or in the second with the extra-alimentary, *yové*-spiritual meaning of *nãko*, to which the "sweetness" mentioned in healing chants is closer. *Nãko* is the specific sweetness of the prototypical plants of original anthropogeny, one of the creative substances from which humans *weni*-emerge in the "chthonic sprouting" that in the *saiti* myth-chants of creation narrate, like the one to be studied shortly.

There, more than anywhere else, adjectival tastes are substantial, while semantically laden: if the original *moka*-bitterness of native humanity is associated with the wild and aggressive forest, with exogenous origins, then it is not incoherent that *katxi*-saltiness or *vata*-sweetness be antidotes to western-related dis-

eases, originally exogenous. The original ambiguity of natives is bittersweet indeed: if their originality is their *nawa*-creation from the outside, the origins of their diseases are equally out-centred.[108]

The association between the healing agent and the chanted cure is manifest both in names of curing substances (as *asho*-sap, the figurative fluid of the *mulateiro*-tree (*Calycophyllum spruceanum*), renews the bark and protects the patient's skin against relapses) or in the naming of perceptible entities (as *matsi*-coldness, a counteractive relief to the corresponding bodily affection of high temperature). Both substances and percepts, that is, the substantive curing agent or entity and the adjective perception that cures—*asho* "renewing sap" and renewal, or *matsi* "coldness" and cooling, for example—are in one single semantic field of tonal elocutions.

In shamanic song, matter and attribute, form and content are one: the meaning of *yové*-spirit and *yochĩ*-double *qua* substantial perceptions of health and disease is chanted. As such, it exists in sounds rather than being just the imaginary reifications of therapeutic or malign properties into remedial or pathogenic things. Therefore, the "symbolic efficacy" of the heal-

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[108]This seems to be an inversion of Erikson 1996 on the Matis, whereby "bitterness" is to "sweetness" as "poison" is to "antidote." The Matis, according to the author, see both poison and disease as endogenous, in opposition to the "sweet outside" (1996:195,206).

ing chant is not analogical, much as its words are no "figures of speech": for the Marubo, the musicality of words is the agency that cures. Contrary to psychoanalysis, healing speeches are from the spirits to the spirits, from the world to the world, through healers and patients.[109]

Both in myth- and cure-chanting, the same relationship between words and sounds obtains. Just in the same way as, in the mythical-musical evocations of *saiti*, the emergence (*wenía*) of the -*nawa* peoples from earth is the outcome of a combination of material substances and perceptible attributes of plant or animal (*e.g.* the *nãko*-sweetness of plants, the *chinã*-thoughts of animals, etc.), the curing chants invoke substantial percepts to treat opposing symptoms, affected *yora*-bodies. Just as the conflation of human identity and alterity, that is, the dual composition of the sectional and personal names of the -*nawa* peoples created in myth-music, is a substantial transformation of the sensual percepts of animals, plants, and other things (*chinã*, *nãko*, etc.) into humans, all substances of cure and disease are transformational sense-perceptions constituting *yora*-bodies. And if this constitution is not "conceptual"—to the extent that it occurs dynamically, in potentiality and

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[109]Contrary to Lévi-Strauss' famous thesis on shamanic healing (1963), as well as to those which some of his critics maintain (*e.g.* Townsley 1988, among panologists). See Seeger 1987 for a more persuasive critical assessment.

in act, in musical performance—the body-perceptual, substantial constituents here in question are of course *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits.

I have been saying that, although *nawa* is the native prototype of otherness, the mythical relevance of *nawa*-ness for the native self is "prototypically large," both in their coming to life and in their departure to death. In view of this fact—that these peoples are -*nawa* outsiders in a strong mythical-onomastic sense—it is no wonder that their illnesses are to identify with foreign *nawa*-agents, *i.e.* with animals, plants and things whose provenience is likewise exterior.

I need to stress further that this *nawa*-exteriority is a chanted event, that which relates these peoples to their world, which establishes the pact between humanity and divinity. Hence this is what constitutes their *yora*-bodies as a relationship between *yochĩ*-ness and *yové*-ness, these two cosmic-temporal anatomic constituents. For this reason, while their myth and history, past and present—as well as, in some sense, the possible, decisive alternatives of their future— are confounded in the *saiti*, such a mythical-musical knowledge and their curing capabilities in general are commensurate and proportional epistemological fields. This is what *Pekõpa*, a longhouse leader in the community of Liberdade, was asserting when he exhorted me to learn how to cure (*shõ iki*): curing chants "are of the same knowable stuff" as that which forms the

corpus of the *saiti* myth-chants.[110]

Due to my limitations, the issues relating to *shõ iki* and *shõti*, "to sing healing songs" and the "curing chants" as such, are relevant here just to the extent that they relate to *sai iki* and to its nominal form *saiti*. In both cases, *iki* is a verbalising morpheme, whereas *-ti* is a nominalising suffix. Therefore, the relationship between the two musical forms is summed up in the semantic association between the roots *shõ* and *sai*.

For the purposes of the present description, it is worth emphasising that when healers stop singing upon a patient or upon medicine (*e.g. shõka* or *sẽpa shõka*, prayed food or resin used in therapeutic body-painting), they repeatedly release a whistled blow, two or three times. As the current meaning of *shõ* as a single word is "blow," there is an obvious analogy between this morpheme and *sai*—with the shouts produced in the *saiti* festival, during, before, and after the mythical-musical performance. Just as much as *sai iki* means literally "to do *sai*," that is, to emit loud, high-pitched, falsetto-like cries, *shõ iki* means "to whistle": "to do *shõ*" is to exhale forcefully blown, noisy breaths.

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[110]Among the Shipibo, another Pano-speaking people, Illius 1992 provides some data on shamanic healing that is quite amenable to a convergent comparison with the Marubo. See Townsley 1988 again, also, for the relation between myth and cure in shamanic singing among the Yaminawa.

Primacy in curing and myth-chanting is given to sound, to song and the singing breath. The shaman sings and blows, but it is still the *yové*-voice that cures and chants myths—not the voice of the *yové* as such, but its words and intonations as a spiritual endowment of the bird-like canorous capacity, something that is as human as *chinã*-breathing is.[111]

The *yové* spirit-bird has a powerful human voice indeed. It is *vanaya*: "loquatious," an adjective derived from the ordinary meaning of *vana*, "word" or "language." The function attributed to the *yové* as equivalent to *saiti*-mythical characters is *vanaya*: the spirit-bird is talkative, not in a bad sense altogether, but rather in line with the native regard on verbal, as well as aural capabilities in general. To be loquacious is to be wise: it is an original potency. In *saiti* myth-chants, *yové*-like birds, much as *isá*-song, endow language to, and thus denominate, all the matrilineal

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[111]Townsley's account of Yaminawa musical cure is quite close to what seems to be true for the Marubo, except for his compulsion to see "meaning and power" as invisible ideas and patterns behind and beyond indigenous representations. Instead of sounds and songs, these seem to be mere markers of an *a priori* metaphysics, of the meaningful matter in his interpretation of similar acts of blowing:

> "His [the shaman's] singing will be intermittently accompanied by the blowing of tobacco smoke on the patient or a more rapid, vigorous and staccato blowing... but the effective healing power is thought to originate in the song. The blowing effects a sort of physical transfer of the meaning and power of the song into the patient." (1988:138)

sections that emerge from the tellurian unnamable.

This *yové*-song of the emergence of -*nawa* peoples
onomastically constitutes not only an ethnic, human-
bodily construct, but the whole native world. In
myth-chants, sectional names correspond to rivers and
animals and other things in the world, which receive
names after the ethnonymic markers *Shane*, *Kana*,
Shawã... Worldly entities are called, for instance, the
river or animal of the "Ultramarine Grosbeak," of this
or that "Macaw." It is as if each matrilineal section,
each "race of people" belonged to one level of reality,
to an autonomous universe. Things in the world are
marked with human-belonging through birds, since
these are name-givers as long as they identify -*nawa*
sectional ethnonyms in the myth-chants of creation.

Conversely, the spiritual bird identifies with world-
ly things and entities through the vocal capacity it en-
dows to humans. Belonging to the world is a musical-
linguistic competence whose essential meaning is the
yové-spirituality of the -*nawa*-named peoples, whose
specific denominations conflate all beings of the world
with human-*nawa* estrangement. Like the human
body, the humanised world is a *nawa*-alchemic alloy,
which spiritual catalyst is loquacity, melodiousness,
beauty in chants and in the visual guise of graphic
body-painting and designed patterns, in pleasant scents
and profuse ornamentation. It is all that and also
the consequent, quintessentially *yové*-like attribute of

wisdom. Here wisdom is "sensual," "perceptual," an assortment of anti-metaphysical attributes: not ideal, not conceptual, not syllogistic.

Hence, regardless of their undeniable expertise, the "analogical larynx" of shamans, the vocal organ that identifies with a designed bamboo (*mõti kene* or *rewe kene*) is not the only human throat whose singing faculties are spiritually gifted. By and large, all -*nawa* peoples have a *yové*-voice insofar as they speak and sing, inasmuch as all such *nawa*-peoples are humans. But still, among these -*nawa* humans, the *yoiya* chant-leader and every performer of the *saiti* myth-chants are all the more spirit-endowed, for they are humanity *par excellence.* There, as in any shamanic throat, instead of occupying the bodily space left vacant by a wandering soul, *mawa yové* replaces the vocal cords of its human repository with *mõti kene* or *rewe kene*, the decorated mortar or long inhaler for tobacco-snuff, a spiritual gift to the singer that is ingrained in the flesh. The shamanic singer is a borrower of *yové*-plastic parts: in this substantial way, the designed human larynx is supportive of a spiritual voice.

As such, the singing voice is an adaptive response to a divine encounter, an environmental endowment that is rather a human diacritic than a metaphorical support for a metaphysical musical expression. Even though it originates from the bird-spirit, the spiri-

tual song just exists in humans—to the extent that the body-soul dynamics of transformation informs its musical temporality with generation and corruption. Shamanic music is assigned to the singer from a *yové*-spiritual source that relates to the origins and destination of humanity. Its bodily form, *mõti kene* or *rewe kene* larynx, performs the trajectory of all human souls throughout the *yochĩ*-vicissitudes between these two spatiotemporal poles.

In this collective sense, the voice that intones it is personal only in a weak, non-individual way. Lay-singers who listen and repeat the *saiti* myth-chants are performing a basic pedagogical, socialising and socialised task: to learn them is both to develop one's auditory capabilities and to identify one's vocal capabilities with a third party, so to speak. The responding chorus utters as much a supra-personal discourse as that of the leading voice, insofar as the intra-personal and super-human counterparts of souls identify themselves to the bodily performers. *Saiti* myth-chants are native music inasmuch as these -*nawa* peoples represent themselves supra-personally therein, inasmuch as their *yora*-bodies partake of the potentialities of the *yochĩ*-double and the *yové*-spirit.

Like the -*nawa* onomastics above, or the anatomic structure here, *saiti* myth-chants are both objectification and partaking of multiple subjectivities. That is, *saiti*-music is an objective artistic representation

that presupposes an identification of inter-subjective perspectives through a specific vocabulary and code, different from ordinary talk, in a musical, meta-verbal grammar. *Saiti* myth-chants, I argue, configure a musical-verbal code, the temporal codification of the dynamics of a cosmic duality that is subliminal to the structure of soul-entities within the *yora*-body. If *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits are both spatially on earth, in forests, rivers, and skies, both are temporal refractions within the *yora*-person and in the mythical history of these -*nawa* peoples, temporally oscillating between cyclical repetition and discursive finiteness.

Singers—as well as their listeners—encode and decode these dual messages, by and large non-verbal ones, in the sympathetic conversation with these extraneous entities which is enacted through a non-dialogical vocal interaction. Shamanic singing—such as *sai iki*, *shõ iki*, etc.—is non-dialogical because the *yochĩ* and the *yové* are not entities with a similar "individual" status to *yora*-bodies. And still doubles and spirits both condition and depend on humanity: doubling and spiritual beings are its original and ever potential constituents. Thus to sing with, through and about such potentialities of human souls—the *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles—means for humans to "sing" their *yora*-bodies throughout time. This ability determines a good shamanic performance.

This refers back to the issue of truth-value in sha-

manic linguistics. In analytical terms, *i.e.* from a verbal, written, visually a-temporal perspective, the shaman does perform figurative language, *e.g.* a "tree" in myth-chant is not a simple "tree," or the "creational substances" which are to be seen later—*chinã*-breaths, *nãko*-sweetness— are not just "human thoughts" or "spiritual food." While tree-trunks are as human bodies, those substances may equate to original sperm fecundating a generative womb under the guise of a locational "primordial ground" (for example *oso atõsho* or *veo atõsho*, in *Mokanawa Wenía*). These are valid, albeit circumstantial construals of *saiti* language as a repertoire of allegorical metaphors.[112]

However, one should not go as far as to say that natives posit an ontological distinction between the "apparent" or the "visible" and a shamanic "reality," between the "literal" and the "metaphorical"—as some might put it, between "nature" and "super-nature." The semantic distinction that shamans pose in music is temporal rather than essential—ironically so. *Võchĩpa* would tell me during *saiti* translation, with reference to the entities in chants: "it's not a tree, it's people! The *kẽchĩtxo*-singer is mocking us!"

All the irony notwithstanding, these -*nawa* peoples are indeed "trees," "animals," and other "things" as one "gives birth" to them in their original, onomastic constitution. The difference between the shamanic

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[112] *Cf.* Cesarino 2008:254.

and the ordinary perception is a cognitive one: the
shaman perceives inordinate realities insofar as he
sings the mythical-musical origins of all reality. The
reality that natives share with us is one. But in song,
it gains time-depth.[113]

More than presenting a differential lexicon, curing
or mythical language is at another temporal level with
respect to the linear narrative: the shaman-singer
shapes words in the form of a synthetic, no less lit-
eral vocabulary expressed in sounds that I, for lack of
a better definition, may call "musical form." In *saiti*
myth-chants, linearity is a function of circularity, I
shall argue. There is no narrative progression where
discrete *mané*, "sound-reiterative units" are not con-
strued. There is no healing nor myth without music.
As it gives voice to the temporal regime of dual bodily
and cosmic entities, transforming or repeating vocal
phrases, *saiti* music sets the scene for the conceptual-
isations of self and other performed in death and life
among the Marubo. Although this study examines
concepts before sounds, these conceptualisations—as
nawa and *yora*, *yochĩ* and *yové*, *chinã* and *vaká*—are
no more than a second-order representation of their

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[113] *Cf.* Gow *n.d.* for the distinction between the ordinary visi-
ble and the hallucinatory vision for the Piro, the same physical
vs. metaphysical distinction that Viveiros de Castro 1996 ex-
pands to the whole of Amazonia, while Townsley 1988 uses it to
explicate Yaminawa shamanism in Tylorean, primitivist fash-
ion.

musical discourse.

The shaman's curing and mythical voice is a product of cosmic commerce: through synaesthetic associations, it makes body-specific perceptions commensurate with visual design and spiritual scents, with musical cells (*mané*) and verbal verses (*yoiya*), following a rationale that is prior to linguistics, metaphor and metonym, to analogical cognition and to metaphysical concepts. If the right- and left-hand *vaká*-sides are conceptually symmetrical, this conceptual symmetry is just a projection of the temporal soul-speciation of the human *yora*-body into respective *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles, two musical conceptualisations.

Marubo myth-music is a multifarious anthropocosmic discourse that socialises and is socialised throughout the whole community in *saiti* festival performances. Any intelligible native conceptualisation is empty without them. The Marubo produce social life under a cosmic arrangement, a musical one, performing human culture through the modalities of a supra-personal, super-human nature which order the two temporal vectors that order the mythical history of *yora*-anatomy: *yové*-circularity and *yochĩ*-linearity.

more dualities

A few of the issues above will come to a conclusion in this first part, with particular attention to the dual conformation of native myth-music, a matter that conditions our stance toward indigenous thought. I have shown histories, ritual performances, and linguistic categories to introduce the context of understanding of *saiti* myth-chants. This is not enough. The issues that this introductory exercise raises at the historical, ritual, and linguistic levels entail dualities that are more than structures taken as ends in themselves, the metaphysical outline of a "savage" cognition. Although tautological at first sight, these dualities will be a means to assess the meaning of native conceptualisations in musical practice. If western dualities are visualisable a atemporal structures, native dualities conform to sonic structure that at the end of the day assigns practical value to their own dynamic relations to the world, distinguishing them from alien ones.

Rather than entailing a system of thought that os-
cillates between the universal and the particular, du-
alities are here no more than a systematic heuristic
device. Ellaborations on dualism are an aid in the
exegetical commentary on mythical-musical meaning,
instead of implying a dualistic nature in indigenous
culture—as a structuralist reasoning might lead one
to think. The structure of native thought is natural in
native music. It is there that the structural-dualistic
hypothesis can be taken to its tangible consequences,
on condition that one distances oneself from universal
cognitive models and gets closer to particular forms
of being. This is the sole significance of "structure" in
regard to indigenous thinking.[114]

Rather than to proclaim ambitious cognitive gen-
eralities, such as this or that particular or universal
dualism, engaging thus in the eternal spatiotemporal
dilemma in Plato or Aristotle, the aim of this con-
cluding chapter is to carry on a bit further the ques-
tioning of each native conceptualisation through con-
trast. Instead of emphasising conceptual-linguistic
analogies between dualistic notions, I intend to en-
quiry on indigenous time. Marubo conceptual cat-
egories are implicit in a sonic temporality: contrasts
among these conceptualisations and their translations
into our words can only take into account their unique

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[114]Clastres 1989[1974], in this connection, performs some
structuralist steps from indigenous discourse toward its under-
lying ontology, *apud* Stolze Lima 1999.

temporal tenure if one heeds their musical reality, especially the metaphysical reification that natives call *saiti*.

This chapter is both a conclusion to the first part of the book and a bridge toward its core. The preceding chapters were necessary layers to be peeled away toward its main intent. Its methods and interests are idiosyncratic: the ethnographic testimony that this book so far has shown, that of *saiti* as an "indigenous artefact," may be of greater importance to the anthropologist to the extent that it renders clear the self-other divide, the foundation of the discipline, the projection that opposes the "exotic" against a familiar metaphysics. However, *saiti* is intentional only insofar as it is music, as there is indigenous meaning in the musical form that informs such an exotic metaphysics—if such a thing exists at all without its performance, its formal expression. I claim is that the sphere of native thought can only be genuinely claimed to be autonomous from the orbit of western thought if it is understood as performance and expressed as such.

Dual forms are instrumental in the study of native thought, but the performative emphasis, once committed to the task of translating indigenous categories, becomes cogent precisely when a critique of structuralist studies on myth and music is in view. The structural-dualistic stance toward myth-chants

is legitimate to the sole extent that there is a significant contrast between repetition and succession in the musical-verbal performance of the *saiti*, which natives posit themselves at a different level from ordinary language. The relevant given is the performative structures that natives perform in mythical-musical form, where one posits a distinction between the circular repetition of musical and poetical units, of phrases and cells, of strophes and rhymes on the one hand, and the linear succession of the mythical narrative on the other.

In this regard, the understanding and expression of native thought cannot be bi-dimensional projection of a musical-mythical structure, a score frozen under a visual-bias, an atemporal regard on time. The score, the text, the formal idea (*eidos*) is in manifest conflict with *saiti*, with myth in the form of music, much as an immutable picture of the native body is in conflict with its soul structure. The performative meaning of the myth-chants is temporal. Hence, it entails more than the dual-structuralist regard on native cognition. The mythical-musical, sonic-structural aspects of *saiti* are not circumstantial, secondary addenda to a visual-verbal thought. Further than an emphasis on the temporal character of myth, I emphasise the musical performance of myth as an native comment on time. This distances our stance from the structuralistic remit.

The historical weight of western metaphysics, the obvious biases which are manifest in structuralism and elsewhere in anthropology—sempiternal and omnipresent ontology, running parallel to a visual-verbal epistemology—are a "western myth." Perhaps any manifesto against ethnocentrism should assess structuralism as a variation on an invariable underlying structure that is no cognitive universal—nothing but a particular construct in history. The mythical past of our discipline is Platonic truth as the immovable ideal form plus Aristotelian time as spatial movement. This this alone has taken away any spatiotemporal dimension from the our notion of structure.

In regard to the *saiti* myth-chants, this would result in nothing but nihilistic nothingness. As Nietzsche might put it, this would reduce the objective immanence of those who hear, those who are heard, and that which is to be heard, to a structure whose exclusive visual-verbal rationale lies at the level of a transcendental subject, an agent who just does not exist for the native. Thus structuralism develops into the clearest form of ethnocentrism inasmuch as it is itself identifiable as a deceptive reflection of the bi-dimensional, dichotomising metaphysical icon that mirrors western images throughout western history: the idea of the ideas. This is the a-temporal, a-spatial truth that structuralism claims to have found in the empirical reality of cerebral structures, where the transcendental subject becomes im-

manent to solipsistic objects. Human thought is hold captive in unconscious "logical chains" and "mandatory paths," regardless of space and time.[115]

From Plato and Aristotle, the recurrent western myth has set successive guidelines for a nation-state, dominant view of being and becoming, space and time, body and soul, sensation and reason, reinforcing the "we" versus "them" partition that has underlain anthropological studies in the last centuries. Grecian "visuality" is in the fundamentals and inflections of western metaphysics. The structural-linguistic overtones that anthropological studies superimpose on non-western mythologies were nothing but the regional, twentieth-century version of a long western regard that has been told once and forever in the allegorical myths that equate truth to vision or visualisable things, such as those of the Line, the Sun, and the Cave. But this is not to say that mainstream history has not left room for subversive counter-versions of those myths.[116]

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[115]Of course, nobody phrases this better than Lévi-Strauss himself:

> "...la pensée, relativement affranchie des contraintes du milieu, paraît avoir le champ libre, elle reste néanmoins soumise à des lois propres. La récurrence des mêmes problèmes d'interprétation, posés par des sociétés fort éloignées dans le temps et dans l'espace, vient donc appuyer l'hypothèse que des cadres logiques astreignent le pouvoir créateur de l'esprit à des cheminements obligés." (1988:13–14)

[116]The sketches of the Republic of the West, of course, are in Cornford 1990[1941]. To contrast, Heidegger 1987[1959] is

The anti-metaphysical claim is hardly unheard of, albeit it comes with a certain note of urgency in this thematic field: the western *eidos* should not blind us to the inherent musical character of *saiti*-myth. The Marubo insist on positing a conflation of myth and music that is at odds with the verbal tone-deafness of any atemporal, visual representation of both. On the contrary, the mythical-musical conflation of *saiti* brings forward the differential mark that distinguishes *yové vana* from *yorã vana*, spiritual from ordinary language, myth-music from common word. In sum, it features the different semantic layers of vocal intonation. The Marubo differentiate between the respective audible dimensions of "music" and "speech," and not between the visual *langue* and the aural *parole*, nor between structure and performance.[117]

Here I must highlight the import of these statements. The Marubo peoples have undergone and still face all sorts of threats against their chanted world.

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a broad outline of the anti-metaphysical stance in, while the anti-metaphysics of the metaphysical myth, as it lurks in the epilogue of the very Platonic Republic, appears in Heidegger 1992[1982].

[117]Here one cannot but bear again in mind the *Mythologies* (Lévi-Strauss 1994[1964] and 1981[1971]). To contrast, Bastos sheds light on "the phono-auditory universe" of the Kamayurá of southern Amazonia, whose "conception of the world would constitute a 'world hearing' rather than a 'world view' (1999b:3)." The representation of such worlds should take into consideration their "audible" aspect firstofall.

But natives still intone their words against the prose-
lytes of evangelic tunes, hymns that the missionaries
translate into the most farcical "native" lyrics—much
as their shamanic healers keep singing to keep the
doom of epidemics at bay, while absorbing medical-
scientific knowledge on B- and D-hepatitis, filariasis
and malaria.

The words of natives with foreign meanings have
no native meaning if such words are set to the music
of foreigner, while western words are meaningless un-
less put into native sounds. That which means first
is sound. From both a foreign and a native perspec-
tive, the tonal character of the spiritual *yové vana*
language that is performed in *saiti*-mythical music is
a cultural reality that cannot be ignored in any con-
ceptualisation of indigenous nature: its metaphysics
is a musical *physis*.

The contrast between the words and sounds of
myth-chants, *i.e.* between their verbal meaning and
their musical-poetical structure, assigns semantic con-
tent to the tonal form itself, to the *mané* of each *saiti*.
But the *saiti* is a semantic synthesis between these
two contrasting analytical levels: each correspond to,
rather than differ from the other, both identify rather
than separate. These myth-chants configure units in-
stead of dichotomies, whereby the "word" and the
"tone" constitute as one single symbol in the com-
plementary performance of symbols in *saiti* ritual-

festivals. These *saiti* symbols do not designate a given reality: these myth-chants are the given reality itself, creating and transforming it.[118]

The words and tones of all native music, its phonemes and pitches refer to a common ritual context. Both healing and myth-chants are epistemological forms of the same ontological content, as shamans often reassert. The choice of *saiti*, the myth-chants and their ritual performance as the focal point of this investigation, as its "total social fact" is somehow arbitrary: all musicality, all shamanic sessions have a similar meaning—since myth, healing, and all chants are the territory of shamans *par excellence.*

There is an obvious homology underlying either the invocation of external agency when the *kẽchĩtxo*-healer sings against a diseased body, or the ex-centricity of the *yoiya* chant-leader standing in opposition to the dancing circles, or the exogenous origins of -*nawa* humanity emerging from earth out of animal, plant, and other things in the ontogenetic *saiti* myth-chants. In the quiet and dark longhouse periphery,

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[118]Here, siding with Overing 1990, I understand "symbol" after the Hellenist Eudoro de Sousa:

> "It is not easy to say whatever might be worth saying of the 'symbolic'—of that which, in accordance with its etyma *symballein* or *symballesthai*, means the 'co-thrower,' 'united in a single delivery'—in simple and univocal terms, since such terms designate 'things' and not 'symbols'. . . 'Things' are dispersed fragments of diabolically destroyed 'symbols.' It is best not to take 'symbol' for 'sign-*qua*-thing-representative-of-something-else'. . . " (Sousa 1988:59, my translation)

in the noisy and busy festival patio centre, and in
the original grounds of myth-music—in all such sit-
uations and there fundamentally, the shamanic song
distinguishes *yové*-spirits, human *yora*-bodies, animal
yochĩ-doubles as temporal affections.

Therefore one cannot subsume *yové*-spirits, *yochĩ*-
doubles, and *yora*-bodies to distinctions between soul
and body, or between immaterial intelligibility and
carnal sensibility—inasmuch as one cannot distinguish
them on the grounds of face-value glosses such as
"spirituality," "animality," and "humanity." The in-
digenous logic underlying those *yo*-prefixed conceptu-
alisations is based on a dual temporality. The *yora*
self-body, as a living entity, is inextricably linked to
several different kinds of other-becoming beings, the
soul-like constitutive fragments of humanity: the lon-
gitudinal *vaká*, "hemispheric souls," and the inner-
most core *chinã nato*, the breathing-thinking "central
soul" of *yora*-bodies, are alternatively *yochĩ*-beings or
yové-becoming, the "animal-doubling" or "spiritual"
entities that in turn configure a multitude of forms
within and without human existence.

Our metaphysics could sketch countless possible
parallels to the dualities that the native conceptuali-
sation of humanity entails. But most of these would
not work smoothly, due to the metaphysical limita-
tions of our own language. One can say that con-
trasts between *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits always

yield up more meaning than the ones between *yové*-
and *yochĩ*-like souls against *yora*-bodies, since the na-
tive physiology is already a soul-antinomy. But that
anatomic antinomy is based on eschatological oppo-
sitions that are equally problematic to us, to the ex-
tent that the *yové* and the *yochĩ* do not correspond
to a human or "cultural" principle *versus* an animal
or "natural" one.

Further, inasmuch as these peoples do not oppose
spiritual "form" to animal "content," the *yové* and the
yochĩ cannot be understood as congruent with respec-
tive "outer" and "inner" realms, be it in regard to an
anthropo- or to an ethno-centred perspective. Both
the *yové*-spirits and the *yochĩ*-doubles are in a sense
beyond the *yora*-body. Even from a human-anatomic
perspective, these entities play within diverse seman-
tic and spatiotemporal domains depending upon ethic
and aesthetic balance or imbalance. They are a fu-
ture prospective or a past retrospective, a destiny or
a memory. They are quintessentially human.

As such, these entities are perceived as different
bodily states. But both the *yochĩ* and the *yové* are
in constant semantic traffic along the cosmic ways of
space and time. Their migrant and recurrent dwelling
within the human realm brings about opposing *ethoi*
and *aisthesis*, intelligible forms of life and sensual-
perceptual experiences. They are diametric, paradig-
matic parameters, irreducible to expedient explica-

tions. One must deal, now and again, with plurality and incomplete renderings: nonetheless, regardless of the limitations of linguistic translatability, the more detailed and interconnected each conceptual description is, the clearer these native conceptualisations will be.

One has to admit that "soul" is a rather imperfect gloss for any of those entities that are immanent to the *yora*-body but transcend its sensible human carnality both in time and in space. The semantic overlap among spirits and doubles, centres and hemispheres is such that comprehensive paraphrases for any of them are always in danger of misrepresenting the constituent entities of the human *yora*-body.

In the realms of physiology and eschatology, these soul-entities are so diametrically apart from each other, and still so intertwined in their bodily nature, that the definition of *yora* itself as "body" becomes problematic. Human bodies can only be understood as a spatiotemporal arrangements. The *yora*-body is an axis of opposing potentialities, those of recurrence and transience. Marubo bodies comprises central breath-thoughts, proximal hemispheres and distal destinies, reflective images and ejective refuse. In other words, these *yora*-humans are the regular *nato* essence of their *chinã* breath-thoughts, in the pit of the stomach; their left or right half-body are the transient conjunction of *vaká*-souls, two extra-corporeal potentials; the

bodily *yochĩrasĩ*, the also transient anatomic signs, are the doubling reflections of eyes or shadows, visual images, excreta, discharged vestiges of human life.

Meanwhile, in *yora*-humans the *yové* is scents, songs, the designs and adornments that stand for the regular renovation of the body skin. But the *yové*-spirit is not sheer benevolence, inasmuch as that would entail an inherent "malignity" to all *yora*-corporeal life. Its cyclical character is paradigmatic of human life, but ultimately incompatible with the linear *yochĩ*-transformations of all living humans.

If these dual translations are not Platonic-Aristotelian, these entities shall not be Christian, in spite of all that evangelisation over the past fifty or sixty years: *yové* and *yochĩ*, spiritual recurrence and double transience, are not expressions of an antinomy between animate spirituality and carnal materiality; *yora*-anatomy is not dissection, for natives corpses are not soulless flesh. Hence the ancient habit of eating the ground ashes of their native kin in endo-cannibalistic rites, after burning their bodies with and within the whole longhouse, with the personal belongings of the dead. If all potential *yochĩ*-habitats and signs of doubling evocation were destroyed, this is because the actual influence of dead bodies and their appendixes upon the living used to be even more conspicuous then than it is now. A living body is susceptible to association with death even before it dies

because it is the latent spatial expression of a temporal duality, where minimal and linear growth and decay stands against maximal and circular, renewable age.[119]

In view of the absence of precise glosses in our language for *yochĩ* and *yové*, *chinã* and *vaká*, plus the awkwardness of our categories in tentative translations, any distinct definition of these souls and cosmic entities will have to be sweeping statements. These entities are the spiritual-animal seeds of personal and historical -*nawa* identity in *yora*-bodies. If such a statement sounds vague and abstract, it has a concrete, palpable sonic reality. It would be otherwise erroneous to attribute to human souls and animal-spiritual entities a formless common, pervasive and unitary essence, an eternal and ideal form spread among humans, animals and spirits, while this three-fold partition—that of humanity, animality and spirituality—does not entail exclusive conceptual realms among the Marubo.

This corroborates with the fact that it would be

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[119]This is stark contrast to the "conceptual," Christian-Cartesian account of Yaminawa psychophysiology in Townsley 1988:

> "Flesh is always a potential vehicle for spirit and spirit powers. Although thought to be inextricably intermingled in reality, they are clearly distinguished conceptually, as *yora* and *wĕroyoshi*. . . one could say that all ritual action is aimed at regulating this highly ambiguous and problematic relation between spirit and flesh. . . " (1988:122)

likewise erroneous to attribute to the *yora*-body the character of a container emptied at death. If a living soul-bodily *yora*-essence does exist, it will have to be subjective, multiple, changing, more than an objective materiality but no less perceptible than intelligible.

Yora-ness is more than human, and it is perforce a performance along time. If humans are not spatial continents of eternal souls, the animal-doubling and spiritual inflections constitute for their part the distinguishable spaces that *yora*-anatomy defines as different cosmic temporalities. The right-*mekirí*, the left-*mechmirí vaká*, and the central-*chinã nato* occupy distinct spatiotemporal provinces, as the several other signs of visual reflection and waste ejection—the bodily *yochĩ* of shadows, pupils, excreta. The temporal dimension is the determinant diacritic among these entities of a partitioned body.

Thus, when *yora*-beings chant the mythical-musical origins and destinies of their bodies, their life and death, they become beyond all these temporal signposts: they are both surpassable animal-transience and forthcoming spirit-recurrence. These soul-embodied human beings are both *yochĩ* and *yové*: they are "animal" and "spiritual" at different times and spaces. This dichotomy operates through a spatiotemporal logic that, although alien to structuralist-static oppositions of mind *vs.* matter, culture *vs.* nature, is

quite amenable to structural formalisation in music.

Beyond any opposition between substantive and adjective qualities, the pervasive similarities of human bodies and spiritual-animal souls are based on substantial attributes. From the fact that these peoples do not have carnal carcasses sustaining or sustained by ethereal souls, it follows that the spatiality of *yora*-bodies is a temporal status, a disposable spiritual-animality or a renewable animal-spirituality. Corporeal elements and bodily fittings are soul-substances that fit into the bodily space as alternative temporal values: either the *yochĩ* of faeces and urine, shadows and pupils, all under the guise of doubling animality; or the *yové*-like ornaments, the beads and scents that are the badges reproducing an equally animal spirituality in humans.

The *yora*-body sets the opposition between *yochĩ* preying-doubles and *yové* bird-spirits on another, moral-laden level, with reference to ill or good health. If the *ayahuasca* vine-brew and the tobacco snuff-powder are beneficial to *yora*-humans at all, enhancing their breathing-thinking *chinã* and bodily right-*mekirí vaká*-soul, this is because the tutelary entities of those shamanic substances, their "essence" or "core" *oni shãko* and *rome shãko*, are medical agents that are to bridge the gap between humans and *yové*-spirits. But both *ayahuasca* and tobacco, in addition to their psychotropic properties, are expectorant and emetic, diuretic

and laxative: their effect is bodily, conspicuously so, purging humans from their *yochĩ*-animality. The sense of body-purification of these substances in life is the same as the meanings of spiritual guidance and skin-renewal that the heavenly *yové*-spirits assume as ushers and hosts of souls at human death.

In contrast, the animal, left-side soul *mechmirí vaká* is the visual evanescence of the body. As such, it is its consumptive conservation. The visual-waste excrescences of bodies conserve the evanescent consumption that goes on throughout life on the margins of terrestrial paths and on the edge of the celestial limbo, hovering on the way of the dead souls that travel toward the *yové*-spiritual paradise of rejuvenation.

Therefore, even if the *yochĩ*-animal equates to moral trespass and bodily decay, these human-doubles and the *yové*-spiritual guiders and recyclers of humanity are not translatable into an opposition of "bad" against "good" ideals. Both *yochĩ* and *yové* are ethical dispositions set against the shifting temporal conditions of all *yora*-bodies. Both are inner by-products of the human *yora*-body and its outer corporeal representation in *saiti* myth-chant. Both either pursue or lag behind on the transitory and ever-recurrent paths of death and life.

Marubo cosmogony throws some light on the moral attributions of such ethic dispositions in the human

world. This world, as well all cosmic layers above
and below, skies and earths, *nai shavaya* and *mai
shavaya*—are the fruits of a number of *yovevo*, chil-
dren of water (*waka*) and wind (*we*), which often fall
into the same category: *Kana Voã*. However a lesser
yové-spirit, *Kanã Marí*, is the creator of the grounds
of this *yora*-human world, *vei mai shavaya*: the dan-
gerous earthly dwelling.

Both *Kana Voã* and *Kanã Marí* can either ben-
efit or harm humanity. But the former, closer to a
yové-spiritual status, is more powerful. The lesser
powers of the latter create confusion in human hearts
and minds. Conflict between the two *yové*-creators
is perennial among humans. Therefore, those who
cling to a *yové*-morality, the precepts of *Kana Voã*, al-
ways overcome those who stand close to *Kanã Marí*.
Even *romeya*-shamans are amenable to such a dual
classification. Those who are known as *rome shãko*—
namesakes of the spiritual essence of tobacco—follow
Kana Voã, while *matsi kene*, the "cold design" sha-
man—who associate himself with *matsi chai*, the "cold"
yové-bird—are close to *Kanã Marí*.

Conflict is still unavoidable, because it is part and
parcel of human condition on this earth. Confusion
is its suffering predicament. The paths that connect
such a dangerous dwelling, *vei mai shavaya*, to all
yové-worlds are the actual spiritual reference in this
human world.

This qualifies the previous statement that the spatial references of the cosmos, both worldly and otherworldly, are paths that crisscross a vast network of forests and waterways. These cosmic routes and space-limits of the native universe are informed with and conformed to the peoples and principles, essences and entities that go along with them. Marubo souls and bodies are the "mundanisation" of humanity, insofar as *yora*-humans are *yochĩ* double-becoming and become *yové* spiritual-renewal in soul-corporeal form, a movement that has to be mythically and musically represented in order to acquire cosmic-temporal value.

In their visual representations, in figurative drawings—another construct of contact—natives portray all human souls as manikins. Likewise, while the depiction of doubles are animal-monster degeneration, the *yochĩ*-pictures of the *yové* are body-perfection—that is, the "images" that natives draw of *yové*-spirits (*yochĩ*-forms of representation) are attractive *yora*-bodies. Both in their actuality of left and right *vaká*, and in their potentialities of *yochĩ* and *yové*, human souls are *yora*-bodily representations.

In brief, both souls and bodies also traslate the humanisation of the world. The Marubo are *yora*-humans as a plurality of persons: souls within and without bodies, a profusion of double and spiritual forms. The Marubo represent humans as concentric to the environment but ex-centric to humanity, as sev-

eral soul-subjects, dually diametric and beyond the single objective body.[120]

Now if such soul-like subjects are corporeal objects, both human and inhuman, what is then the being of this native humanity, archaeologically and teleologically? what are its beginnings and ends, its origin and destination?

Although one may conclude, from the reasoning above, that the origins and destinations of such a humanity are *yové*-spiritual, while the arc of its life and death is *yochῖ*-double, it might be sounder to state first "when" natives are. These -*nawa* peoples generate their human personality, their *yora*-bodies within and with the sounds of their *saiti* myth-chants. The mythical-musical movement is the moment whence these peoples *weni*-emerge within and with their world. Humanity, for the Marubo, comes into being in chthonic emergence and celestial becoming.

The translation of this mythical consonance be-

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[120]See Montagner Melatti 1985 and Cesarino 2008 for Marubo pictures representing the souls and bodies, doubles and spirits that populate their cosmos. Compare such a "mundanisation of humanity" and "humanisation of the world," with Townsley's rather solipsistic, mentalist jargon on the Yaminawa:

> "...Yaminawa thought... holds no concept of 'mind' as the unique locus of sensory or cognitive events; it 'spiritualises' many of the things we would classify as mental events and places them out in the world... it posits a world of not only material and mechanical properties but also of animate, conscious and perceptual ones..." (1988:148)

tween personhood and cosmos without its musical
conformation, that is, its transposition into visual
projections onto texts, transcriptions, and figurative
pictures is problematic. It is important to face and
voice this problem, because its epistemological inter-
face is beyond the disciplinary limits of anthropology.
As I say, it concerns western ontology itself.

It is therefore appropriate to be generous with in-
verted commas, so to stress the simultaneous unsuit-
ability and inevitability of words such as "body" and
"soul" in the understanding of *yora*, *yochĩ*, *yové* and
other indigenous creations and creative entities. Maru-
bo anatomy is a temporal construct, for the bod-
ily *yora*-whole comprises associative and dissociative
soul-parts, *yochĩ*-like and *yové*-like souls.

The agencies of doubling and spiritual entities ac-
count for both environmental and vital elements, for a
cosmic and somatic temporality. The breath-thought
centre *chinã nato* is the linear regularity of bodily
vitality and no less an epitome of a wider biological
equilibrium. The doubles of *vero*-eyes, *poi*-excrement,
isõ-urine, in animal and human guise—as doubling
vision, image, shadows, and excreta—are more than
the transitory linearity of bodily parts. These entities
stand for the transience of life in the whole world.

Human life is singular in that it is the mythical-
musical present between a *yochĩ*-double linear-para-
bolic past and a *yové*-spiritual circular future, while

the polar *vaká*-halves are the partitioned transience
of *yové*-recursive renovation within *yora*-bodies, re-
covering spirituality as humans face *yochĩ*-finiteness
at each death and disease.

However, the origins of humanity and its world
are both *yové* and *yochĩ*, much as humans face both
spirits and doubles at the deadly end of their *yora*-
bodies. Rather than metaphysical projections, all en-
tities and beings of the cosmos, *i.e.* the body and its
doubles, bodily souls and spirits alike, are manifested
and expressed in a native temporal structure, along
human lives and in musical rites, in which "today"
(*rama*), the immediate present, emphatic "now" (*ra-
mase*), mediates between humanity and the temporal
world—"no-time," both past and future, "yesterday"
and "tomorrow" (*shavama*).

As correlatives of *yochĩ*-doubles and *yové*-spirits,
all these human "souls" are true "bodies." The anato-
my of the *yora*-body—its thought-breath, its projec-
tion-reflection, its left and right halves, its ejected
excreta—translates into a soul-structure. But the
structure of these souls is hardly distinguishable within
the body *per se*. This animistic anatomy establishes
spatial oppositions that captures the body-locations
of its various souls. But beyond these dispositional
notions, it is impossible to establish the difference be-
tween them in an atemporal dimension. The right-
side soul (*mekirí vaká*) and the seat of breathing-

thoughts (*chinã nato*) both relate to spirits. But
the former acquires spiritual specificity just when it
traverses the ways and limits between the terrestrial
and celestial realms at death, while the latter literally
voices *yové*-ness in formal speeches and live music ses-
sions. For their part, the *yochĩ*-doubles of humans do
not exist in their usual visual guise but in a extra-
somatic form, as reflective flashes, fleeting shadows,
or as faecal and urinal matter. The left- and right-
vaká sides of bodies and all similar inner souls are
nothing but tautological distinctions that the body
itself brings into play, either before or after death or
disease, but always as music or musical speeches, that
is, as temporal affections.

Eschatology provides the key for all soul-distinc-
tions, in that it defines the spatiotemporal destiny of
all human souls. Both the *chinã*-centre and the right-
mekirí souls follow the same after-death fate, leav-
ing the left-side *mechmirí vaká*, the *yochĩ* double-soul
with the remains of corpses, faeces, urine, the segre-
gated and illusory images, the living shadows and re-
fractive pupils, all still lingering on earth, wandering
around along the lost paths of past existence. After-
ward, both of those *yové*-like souls face their *yochĩ*-
double counterparts in monstrous-animal guises, as
snakes, hairy monkeys, seductive women, and other
spectres on the fringes of the dangerous eschatologi-
cal ways, the *vei vai* path of transformations.

Both such spiritual souls associate with the celestial *yovevo* in temporal terms. But their association is but a post-mortem potential. Bodily souls have no practical purpose for human beings in their living reality, apart from being entities to become in music. On this earth, their temporality makes sense in a universal space that myth-music, shamanic seances, sorcery, and healing open up, coming to life in all the ritual situations in which natives face the potentials of eventual death and renewal. Liminal situations that succeed one another in one's life and at death, in a more or less unpredictable way, are the temporal markers of a cosmic topology and a human anatomy.

Thus shamans need to put signals in the human body and world, making real the mythical homology between a multi-layered cosmos and the anatomic souls of humans. Shamans bind the universe in their musical travelling through the spiritual-celestial home of renewal (*shokó nai shavaya*) and the spirit-bird abode on forest canopy (*tama shavaya*), just below the sky and above our dangerous, transformational, therefore confuse habitat, *vei mai shavaya—nea mai shavaya*, in shamanic language, "this terrestrial dwelling" that we share with the wandering, living and dying *yochĩ*-doubles.

The Marubo often refer to their bodies as *kaya*, a figurative reference to the central space in their long-

houses, *kaya naki*. But the true *kaya*-dwelling of their souls, according to the *yové*-spirits, are their vocal capabilities and their blood. Just as humans emerge in myth-chants through the dangerous ground, human flesh belong and will return to it. All sufferings of life on earth are fleeting like the movement of the blood: when circulation stops, all pain is gone. Blood is among the creational substances from plants and animals in mythical-musical times: it precedes the earthly ground in the constitution of humanity. As flesh belongs to earth, human spiritual-essences tend to the skies, abandoning all grief.

But the doubling-*yochĩ* counterparts of the *yové*-like souls in bodies also take part in human regeneration, much as the terrestrial grounds are a means to generate humanity. The oblivion of pains on earth in the celestial fate of spiritual-made souls are equivalent to the redressing of wounds in living bodies. This correspondence between *yochĩ*-renewal on earth and celestial-spiritual renovation is present in the form of *yové*-blood in the veins of shamans. The correlation between the renewal of flesh though bodily circulation and the forgetfulness of pain, once their souls turn into spirits, release the shaman from all fears of death. His vocal sounds move him and all natives toward the wider movement of the universe.

If cosmic space and the entities that constitute it are geared to temporal transformations that hu-

mans live through life and death, the linear recurrence of these is condensed in mythical-musical time. Its structure is determinant of such recurrent, transformative becoming of human beings, but as performance only. In dealing with human origins, *saiti* myth-chants are a concentration of uncountable lives and deaths, a retrospect and a prospect. These myth-chants reify and refine the duality between double *yochĩ* and spiritual *yové* in dual musical structures, whose body-performance is at odds with the structuralist, deterministic dualism of savage minds.

Here myth encodes the latent assimilation and differentiation of the *yochĩ* and *yové* to and from the *mechmirí vaká* and other bodily doubles, the *chinã nato* and the *mekirí vaká* souls—which are, respectively, the sinister ejective and imageable animal side, the thoughtful central breath and the dextrous, spiritual-side projection of humans. For the purposes of this study, a visual-verbal representation, the musical illustration of this duality will be a single *saiti*-chant— *Mokanawa Wenía*—to follow in the next part. The Marubo "emerge" (*weni*) therein as "bitter peoples" (*mokanawa*) in mythical-musical shape.

The two *yové*-becoming souls are vital pulses, while *yochĩ* ones associate with mortal growth and decay. But in *yora*-bodies these are just latencies, possible anatomic projections. The cyclical character that *saiti* musical cells inter-encode is the enactment of such

latencies, the reiteration of regenerative *yové*-circles
in a succession of *yochĩ*-lines. This reiteration is the
highest drive of the thinking-breathing singers. Their
chinã-breaths are the thoughts that sing, intellectu-
ally creative, but perceptible, accessible to the senses
as well. These breathing-thoughts are the reiterative
yové-regeneration that demands concurrent growth
and decay. They are, of course, the soul that is clos-
est to the body-song, the singing larynx. They are, at
the same time the most bodily central one, between
the two hemispheric potentialities of the *vaká*-souls.

However, the *chinã* is central not only in a bodily
sense. These musical thoughts are the breath of liv-
ing creatures, being neither exclusive to humans nor
to animals, belonging to both supernatural culture
and divinised nature. The breath-soul is precisely
in-between, the intercommunication channel between
humanity and divinity. It intermediates between bod-
ily potentials and actual bodies, between successive
spiritual-reiteration and circular animal-linearity, be-
tween terrestrial humanity and celestial divinity. The
chinã is the shamanic soul *par excellence*, that is, an
environmental gauge between cosmic layers.

No Marubo would speak in ordinary language a-
bout any soul-like embodiment of manifest animality,
save for the contradictory expressions of *yochĩ* double-
predation and *yové* bird-spirituality. Being a middle-
ground between those contradictions, the singing sha-

manic breath is accordingly ambiguous.

Although the mythical-musical intelligibility that the breath-thoughts of humans sing is no doubt "spiritual," the *saiti* myth-chant in question below portrays *chinã* of tapirs (*awá*) and vipers (*rono*) as a substantial basis for human *wenía*-creation, as perceptual animal-substances "thrown on earth" (*oso atõsho*), out of which the *mokanawa* "bitter-humans" emerge. Such a myth-music is the sole linguistic realm where an animal breath-thought figures as a literal object, instead of figuring as the supra-personal human subjectivity that the *chinã* in general means.

If in *Mokanawa Wenía*, the myth-chant of "wild-people" creation, some of the seeds that generate humanity are the animal *chinã*, the breath-thoughts of tapirs and vipers—which are themselves *yochĩ*-laden animals of prey and predation—when it refers to humans, the stress is on the location of these central thoughts. It is in *yora*-bodies that the essential *nato*, the "core" of *chinã* lis, a thinking-breathing site that relates to the *yové*-world *qua* musical voice in living existence. Humanity is a condition in which the *yora*-body, the pit of the stomach more precisely, is the perceptible repository of these breaths, where the human *chinã*-breath is made intelligible notably during shamanic sessions.

In original *saiti* times, however, regardless of the animal qualification of *chinã*, earth (*mai*) is the real

home of thought-breath animation. Exogenous earth is the true creative repository of the *chinã*-souls that will give rise to those *moka*-bitter, -*nawa* peoples. Earth, as the generative womb, is external to humans, and therefore *chinã* is an animal-divine endowment to humanity in the same sense as the singing voice is spiritual-divinity endowed to the shaman. These chthonic, animal-spiritual breath-thoughts bring *wenía*-emerging human beings to life.

Earth is the primordial environment that endows these emerging -*nawa* humans, future *yora*-bodies, with their primordial *chinã*-vitality in the form of pulse, cyclical circularity, the recurrence of *yové*-spiritual soul-becoming out of the linear transience of *yochĩ*-animal soul-beings. Shamanic music alone manifests this vital-environmental relationship, *viz.* the circular linearity that correlates humans, animals, and spirits in mythical anthropogeny.

There, the chanted animal-*chinã* becomes spiritual in order to be humanised, creating the ancestral humanity in *moka*-poisonous form throughout *nawa*-genesis. There, those same breathing-thoughts are heard as "terrifying" (*ratea*) in the sense of unpredictable, uncontrollable in their original chthonic form. The breath-thoughts out of which the original peoples *weni*-emerge are scary because these animal *chinã* engender ambivalent humans, *mokanawa* "poisonous-strange" ones, for whom the original preda-

tion-like animals are the uncertain linear movement toward the circularity of a breathing and thinking, spiritual humanity. These breath-thoughts engender humans while estranging from earth in animal form. From the same earth, engendered humans are thus estranged, *nawa*-exteriorised toward the acquisition of language and ornamentation—the *yové*-attributes with which humanity roams through the world and settle at last. The human destiny is *saiti* myth-music— the alchemy of animality and spirituality that the exegesis of its *mané*-sounds and *yoiya*-words shall spell out in the second part of this book.

I have shown some hints that, in many senses, the ex-centric identities of natives are grounded in *nawa*-estrangement. Their mythical-musical language unfolds the several semantic layers of the fundamental *nawa*-conceptualisation that founds their socio-onomastic organisation. In history, their Indian taxonomy classifies them as -*nawa* peoples in their encounters with *nawa*-foreigners like the *nawa*-White— the category that is at the maximal level in their current gradient of alterity. Westerners represent in the ethnographic present the foreign-*nawa* prototype, the stranger who, in return, names these peoples under one single denomination, Marubo.

One must be state now and again that such a *nawa*-gradient is prior and parallel to any historical construction of Marubo humanity or White foreign-

ness. This amounts to saying that these peoples are
already -*nawa* beings, *i.e.* reflexive other-persons, be-
fore becoming *yora* self-bodies.

Thus it would be equally valid to say that this na-
tive *nawa*-metaphysics precedes its "corporeal" real-
ity, were it not for the fact that their *saiti* mythical-
musical fictions, its metaphysical arena, are a sonic
and choreographic praxis with a bodily-pragmatic ex-
istence. This limits the predictability of such form of
temporal enactment, of such mythical matrix. Before
myth-chants become historical facts, Marubo history
is a mythical fiction that, from a temporal viewpoint,
has multiple causal directions, having neither begin-
ning nor ending, being rather both: the circular cells
repeat the reiterative intonations of the verbal verses
in every single *saiti*, but in a variable way.

Hence it is impossible to posit a native dialectics
of alterity and identity in a univocal and continuous
chronology, in our usual temporal terms of successive
diachrony against static synchrony. The dynamics of
chronological contradiction is foundational in mythi-
cal origins.

The temporal-dialectical construction of -*nawa* peo-
ples as *nawa*-strangers is a prerequisite to that of their
yora-bodies as a composition of *yochĩ*- and *yové*-like
souls. Their temporal dialectics is mythically and his-
torically circular, in contrast to the linear constitution
of the human body along the vicissitudes of life and

death.

Those who come first, the original -*nawa*, the *moka*-poisonous peoples of the *saiti* myth-chants, are already strangers from the start inasmuch as they are more than *yora*-humanity and still less than a spiritual super-humanity, being yet a supra-personal composite, a divinity-becoming animality. It is this original "strangeness" that always allows for native identification with the "stranger." As *Võchĩpa*, a capital informant and companion told me in few words, both brotherly and fatherly: "you and I, we are all *nawa*."

The *nawa*-conceptualisation does not refer only to the generic, nameless *nawa*-foreign. The Marubo identify themselves with others in the same way as these -*nawa*-named peoples define themselves as *yora*-bodies and, as such, as potential *yové*-spirits and *yo-chĩ*-doubles. But prior to being *yora*-humans native are -*nawa*—those who, in their myth-chants, become their emerging selves out of the substances of those same projective soul-destinies.

Thus, any native representation of identity construction has to be synchronically constituted in a circular diachrony that subsumes linearity, whereby the other has an ontological priority over the self rather than a chronological precedence. Marubo *nawa*-otherness is *yora*-embodied into its selfhood: the other becomes consubstantial with the self in anatomic-animic structures that are inscribed in mythical and musical,

spatiotemporal ones.

The Marubo create the time of their sprouting
emergence: the creation of these peoples is a musical
performance, a mythical fiction rather than a histori-
cal fact. History is subsumed here under the regular,
cyclical enactment of musical myths in *saiti* chants:
myth-music holds now and again the course of the
past and the future, for it works in and on time.

The primeval community of human self-soul sub-
stances in common with animals and plants, with
other things past in the world, mingled on primor-
dial earth, has the same musical meaning and expres-
sion of *yochĩ* and *yové* as future potentials within and
beyond human life, in disease and death. The con-
stitution of their personhood recurs ever and ever in
the *saiti* myth-chant, choreographed as a circular line
with an ex-centric centre, *viz.* the chanting chorus
against the *yoiya* song-leader. Marubo persons are
exterior re-presentations of reiterative circles, musi-
cal cells repeated along a linear verbal discourse that
is narrated in the chanted verses. In myth, in death
and life, the *yora*-body is composed of conflicting pro-
gressive and regressive pulsations: Marubo music and
Marubo bodies are projective and retrospective, per-
fect and putrid, vivid and dreary, circular and linear
cycles acted out along *saiti* cells.

Conversely, the historical construction of native so-
ciety, the emergence of these -*nawa* peoples, is based

on momentous decisions after a delicate balance be-
tween these two poles, following an archetypal logic
that the musicality of myth conveys. Marubo myth-
chants narrate in mythical-musical time whatever might
have or still may happen in their history: *saiti* is but
a temporal junction of ever-latent potentialities.

An eloquent example of the mythical tenure of na-
tive historical vicissitudes, spoken in ordinary *yorã
vana* and translated by *Keñĩnawa*, is in the voices
of two of his *koka* maternal uncles, the former lead-
ers of Vida Nova *João Pajé* and *Raimundo Dioni-
sio*. The testimonies of the two old, not long-dead
longhouse owners are in the same 1987 tape-recording
mentioned in the historical chapter above. It voiced
a collective message that was to be sent to the Pres-
ident of the Republic of Brazil, a formal complaint
against a problematic situation that has changed very
little since then. Both narrate the unstable equilib-
rium of relations between natives and the national
government. The Marubo names of *João Pajé* and
Raimundo Dionisio, these two important political fig-
ures in their recent history are lost, as well as those of
all their dead who, as mentioned in passing before, na-
tives refer to through the euphemism *oĩmase*, "[those
who] do not see any longer." If visual, transient im-
ages of death relate to the *yochĩ*-double, these dead
people would be lacking precisely the visible epitome
of life-transience, *yochĩ*-ness!

Indeed, if their names are heard no longer, their faces cannot be seen anymore. The dead *yochĩrasĩ* of their eyes are now gone forever. Their *yové*-souls have certainly reached the sky of spiritual-synaesthetic renewal, judging from their renowned shamanic capabilities and moral qualities. However, the latent possibilities shown within their aural addresses are still an actuality. Their names are not pronounceable because -*nawa* nomination is a prerogative of the living *yora*. But glimpses of their history and stories of their personal lives can be grasped through the recorded voices of these two dead leaders.

These were rather informal discourses, but with deep emotional tones that teem with anger, with mythical truth. *Raimundão* gives an autobiographical account, with special concern to native contact with the national society and, in this connection, to the establishment of relations with the transnational evangelic mission that settled within their territory in the early 1950s.

His account underscores the historical conjunctures that were present at that crucial moment: old longhouse owners dying, enmities disappearing, but *yové*-paradigms shattered too. The Marubo had to reinvent the *nawa*-other, the foreigner who enables them to become their *yora*-selves but at the same time brings the inevitable *yochĩ*-diseases along. Their only choice at that time was toward the large rivers, the

riverine *nawa*-land itself. The decision at stake was just about who and when such *nawa* would be.

However, as the narrative throughout the recording shows, the beacon of headwater ravines still kept shining, repelling the attractions of the large *nawanamã*, the "foreign place" *par excellence*, thus obfuscating the *nawa*-magnet that is also the teleological mythical destiny of a musical archaeology, the other-home of the *-nawa* selves who emerge from earth. Against that necessary *nawa*-domestication of life, *Raimundão* and *João Pajé* would at times threaten to gather up their relatives in a sort of terrestrial version of the celestial *shavaya*-clearing of the spiritual-dead, returning to a "home of renovation" situated somewhere upriver, in the "streamlet headwaters, like our ancestors" (*na cabeceira dos igarapés, como os antigos*). Here history reproduces eschatology: the fate of natives oscillates between the two poles of *yové*-recurrence and *yochĩ*-transience, a pendulous movement that the *nawa*-estrangement of their form of life, *i.e.* their peculiar conflation of selfhood and otherness entails.

In short, if native history follows a mythical-musical matrix, this statement means to reinstate these peoples in their historical agency. The absolute contemporaneity of *saiti* festivals in the Upper Ituí, where the missionary bastion dates back to five or six decades ago, is hardly a relative survival. If myth-music is an assertion of agential authority, *saiti* is a symbol

that constitutes it, rather than just standing for such authoritative identity. However, this shamanic form of power is neither objectively material nor subjectively individual. Historical agency has nothing to do with the "freewill" of some leaders or whoever. As I said, strictly speaking, myth-chants are not "things" that pertain to so-and-so. The *saiti* do not belong to anyone, not even to the shaman. It is an "other-word," if we are to follow the logic thus far pursued.

This is no analogical inference, no figurative statement. The spiritual-animal other is in all native hearts and minds, while this ill fits the dichotomy of intellect and sentiment. Its epitome is literally situated onto one and the same bodily and conceptual locus: the stomachic *nato*-core of the *chinã* thought-breaths. Divine animality in humans is diaphragmatic reasoning, breathed thoughts in combination with the state of synaesthesia that the shamanic singing triggers. If *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles cannot be taken as separate entities from the *saiti*-singing *yora*-body, this is because both are conflated in the shaman's breath-thoughts, from which his bird-endowed, predation-sublimating voice sings.

This is in line with that peculiar dialogical-dialectical character of such voices: *saiti* myth-chants are dialogues that relate the festival performers in a musical dialectics that is as extra-corporeal as it is internal to the *yora*-body. If Marubo music is dialog-

ical *qua* performative responsory, *i.e.* at the formal-choreographic level of the performance, the song-leaders and the repeating choruses singing in response allow for no individual expression, but for the dialogue of their souls instead. This music is *yové vana*, a spiritual language intoned through *mõti kene* and *rewe kene* throats, an endowment of the spirit-bird to the initiated singer, a voice that maintains a metaphysical independence from the body while physically constituting it. If the original source of shamanic singing is spiritual, its actuality is *yora*-bodily. But the musical reality of such native intonations is the contradictory compromise of a super-human expression of all-too-human bodies, of a supra-personal agency that singing persons actualise.

In other words, the spiritual-tonal word of the *yové*-world makes the personalities of singers silent. But their human *yora*-corporeality is made of the same soul-stuff that makes that same spiritual world real. The *saiti* musical dialogue expresses a dialectical opposition between these -*nawa* peoples' souls and their potentialities, within and from their *yora*-bodies. The souls of their bodies live and die in a structural dialectics of circles and lines that is neither mutually exclusive nor Manichean, which takes place in time rather than in space, when shamans translate it into music as mythical, curing, or other song, in the course of liminal ritual, in-between and along human life and death. The *yové*-voice sings divinised humanity through the

bird-song that heals, while this spiritual music belongs to a post-mortem human destiny that itself constitutes the bodies of these humans. The living *yora*-body is a thoughtful-breathing maze of animal- and plant-souls, a spirit-becoming form of life.

Thus, while a superficial regard on the myth-chant of *Mokanawa Wenía*, the *saiti* at stake below, will read how it narrates humans originating from *chinã* breath-thoughts of animals or correlative vegetable substances, to acquire ornamental-linguistic *yové*-attributes—its verbal translation will lose much meaning if these chant-words are taken at face-value. To understand these mythical-musical words as literal statements without the formal context that informs them would be just as wide of the mark as to see them as structural-semiotic metaphors. The breathing-thinking movement from animal and vegetable substances toward linguistic-ornamentation unfolds the history of -*nawa* humanity as well as personal *yora*-stories, from mythical origins to eschatological destinations. Both are temporal movement. Therefore, the historical fact and mythical fiction that human-selves and animals, plants and other things are -*nawa* namesakes is to be understood from a musical-poetical perspective, that is, from the very temporality of the reiterative succession of *saiti* cells and verses.

In other words, all *saiti*-translation has to be layered by the temporal movement of concealment of

human *yochĩ*-ness and disclosure of *yové* mythical-musicality. The main referents of native eschatology and physiology are also those of the history of native society. The meaning and value of these referents—*nawa* and *yora*, *yové* and *yochĩ*, *vaká* and *chinã*, as well as of other native conceptualisations and dialectical dualities—is to be analysed through the dual counterpoint that the voices singing *saiti* instate, which is none other than the bodily polyphony among souls and spirits and doubles along time. The Marubo ontological synthesis is song: in sound, divine humanity and human vegetal-animality are confounded.

In short, *saiti* chants do more than narrate the origins and destinies of the human *nawa*-sections or "races," to follow a native gloss—the mythical movement of humanity. Their subject-matter, objectified in musical time, is the soul-composition and dissolution of human bodies: myth-music is about life and death, while death is separation, the dismemberment of an animated corporeality into a cosmic one. The destitution of life in humans constitutes corporeal animation in the form of *yochĩ* and *yové* manikins, the actual and equivocal fate of *yora*-humans.

The Marubo say that, when one dies, the mortal latency of spirituality and animality in one's bodies is actualised on the dangerous *vei vai* path, where the *yochĩ*-doubles bar the way of the spirit-becoming, *yové*-related souls. That the double previous-human

soul hinders the *yové*-yearning side of the dead body means that the predatory-terrestrial state is in conflict with celestial soul-becoming: earth (*mai*) and sky (*nai*) do not wish to separate in mortal ways. It takes death to disrupt the bodily equilibrium that sustains the native cosmos. But death is also the temporal realisation of such a cosmic order, a reality that is available to the living in the form of myth-music. Such "articles of faith," "beliefs" or "truth propositions" are no less than mythical-musical performance.

Death is both separation and reunion. At the end of the transformative eschatology of the *vei vai*, the souls of each -*nawa* section follow their own ethnonymic-exclusive path to the home of their deceased kin. The *yora*-body dissolves at death, as left and right human souls follow distinct destinies, putrid or perfect fates. This is simultaneous to the dissolution of the convivial social equilibrium among -*nawa* sections in their post-mortem actuality. The undeveloped putrefaction and perfection of living bodies unfurl at death together with the underlying foreignness of these -*nawa* peoples: *yochĩ* and *yové* are the temporal opposites of the eschatological route that starts with sectional *nawa*-ness and forks into a multiple *nawa*-crossroads at its end. Once the lateral anatomic distinction between right and left *vaká*-souls decomposes *yora*-bodies, the -*nawa* sections that once composed these peoples disperse too.

The ever-renewing sociality of the *yové*-spirits relies on kin sameness, which erases all *yochĩ* doubling-difference. Only the human souls that endured the moral tests that the *yochĩ* impose on their way to *yové*-transmutation will find their own consanguineous-specific *nawa*-way. Because the arrangement that holds human bodies together and relates them to the world is the same arrangement that founds worldly society, the *nawa*-matrilineal sections cease to make sense when *yora*-humanity is transposed to another cosmic dimension, that of celestial *yové*-divinity beyond terrestrial *yochĩ*-animality.

In effect, all traces of foreignness vanish from convivial life inasmuch as the -*nawa* sections are meant to live in total segregation after death. This explains why such an eschatological *nawa*-destiny includes the missionaries, who are said to play bandstand music on their way to meet their own kin in paradise! The Marubo accept co-residence with evangelic proselytes thanks to their own ecumenical eschatology. As *Kenĩnawa* recalls, Christianity receives here an unexpected exegesis: *nawa*-conviviality against *yochĩ*-predation on earth, with a *yové*-ethics in the sky was the shamanic response that the deceased *João Pajé* used to give to missionary exhortations toward their one and only path, their truth and their life. The Marubo ways, bodily souls and deaths are multiple, as *João Pajé* told his consanguines, persuading them to remain in his longhouse even after his demise.

The proximity of the evangelicals could not possibly threaten the reunion of their own *nawa*-kin in the afterlife.

It is through the refractive echoes of physiology and eschatology that the native notions of being and becoming will be perceptible and intelligible as myth-music, that a temporal ontology is to be made commensurate with their mythical-musical practices. This concludes the initial proposition of this study: a relationship between a tautological worldview and a sonorous tautology—*saiti* myth-chants. These two levels are limited here to a native repertoire of conceptualisations presented above and to another of musical-poetical instances to be presented next, in one single *saiti* instance. Both axiomatic accounts are limited in scope in order to allow for a concise exegesis. These two parallel descriptions will go hand in hand if one bears in mind the overall aim of finding conceptual sense within the native sonic-formulaic vocalisations, in particular in the myth-chants that we may hear as music and they call *saiti*.

I argue that these myth-chants account for a unity of the native sensible and intellectual world, providing a means of epistemological access to an ontological construct. The grounds of the physiological and eschatological notions of these peoples will makes coherent sense as perception sensation in *saiti* performance. If natives conceptualise those theoretical notions in

such terms as *nawa* and *yora*, *yové* and *yochĩ*, *chinã* and *vaká*, these are to be unified within a shamanic-performative perspective. Any conceptual-analytical division of the *saiti* synthesis makes no sense unless regarded on a temporal scale, either through its mythical-musical performance or along human life and death, along which such performances are carried out and whereby the animic-anatomic partition of humans is projected onto the whole living cosmos. In the *saiti* myth-chants, one hears the vitality of native bodies and their environmental projections.

Within the limits of this study, I have shown that the decomposition of the unitary *yora*-body is equivalent to the transformation of its multiple souls into animals—doubles and spirits that undertake celestial journeys or disperse in the forest and haunt old abandoned dwellings. Meanwhile, the same *yochĩ* and *yové* reassemble, either as animal-diseases and doubles or as bird-spirits and other healing-helpers. The temporality of that wider cosmic cycle is the musical time of which *sai iki*, the ritualisation of the *saiti* myth-chants, is the enactment. It is the form to which the narrative of the chanted myths of *wenía*-creation conforms. It is the form to which the performance of chthonic origins and original fates, of sound-transformative substances corresponds.

Thus *saiti* translate the cosmic temporality of the post-mortem projections of humanity into the myths

of human origins, expressing mythical time through musical word-intonations. The *yoiya*, the shamanic chant-leader, sings cell after cell, verse after verse, repeating in rhythmic and melodic phrasal patterns the verbal lines that elders and youngsters, women and men walking in circles replicate at intervals. In terms of sounds, musical speech is successive reiteration, both as an unfolded narrative and as a repeated rhythm and melody. The second part of this book will focus on these structures. In them, the verbal verses and lines of the *saiti* chant configures a maximal mythical cycle that sounds as transformative musical circles, rhythmic-melodic phrases within in a minimal cell—whose notation, simple and yet complex, is an ethnographic stenography.

A final note on *saiti* choreography, *monoa*: the circular succession of musical cells in alternate responsorial reiteration is commensurate with the movement of responding singers who walk in circles while repeating the successive verbal verses of the ex-centric chant-leader. To translate the movement the double- or triple-lined circles as "dance" is the usual native approximation. But *Võchĩpa*, without a need for self-justification, would refer to the it as "travelling."

"Travelling" is the way his gloss to *monoa* goes: travelling to nowhere and to everywhere. From the visual perspective that is available to a outsider, those concentric circles suggest neither dance nor journey.

Instead, the circular segmentation of pairs or triads of singing dancers, walking hand in hand, one behind the next, substantiate the statement that mythical-musical time is neither continuous nor univocal. Its choreographic circles are homologous to the segmented circularity of the intonations of the *yoiya* chant-leader and the reiterative chorus, to the repeated cells and verses, phrases and lines. One has to listen to *saiti* with closed eyes and unfettered soul-body to understand the native metaphor: its mythical "travelling" is based on a homology between musical time and spatial movement in his universe.

The immediate metaphorical sense for such a musical "travelling" can be otherwise found in the identification between *saiti* performers and the mythical characters of some *saiti* chants, like the "Old Grosbeak Woman" *Shane Memi Yõsha*, the "Wandering Women" *Pero Nanã Shavovo*, or still, of course, the very "Emerging Poisonous-Peoples," in *Mokanawa Wenía*. There, the journeys of myth acquire historical contours, as one hears that the emergent *moka* peoples move their settlements along the banks of large rivers *(noa mai)* and to and from the forest mounds (*mai mató*). I have shown how such reiterative mythical movements materialise throughout the history of the Marubo.

Vei Vai Yoiya, the *saiti* of "Guidance to the Dangerous Path," might suggest an even closer, formal

approximation between music and movement, "journeying" and "dancing." Here the myth-chant enacts the very musical-choreographic temporal path where the eschatological travellers move. By singing it, humans not only describe, but most of all perform the dangerous travels and entities of the *vei vai* way, a common space to both cosmic entity and human soul. The human anatomies that collapse at death face the dangers of transformation on their way to the spiritual sky. Meanwhile, living *yora*-bodies have fewer difficulties to follow the *vei vai* route in festival performance, since there are proper guides on this earth: the *yoiya* chant-leader and the *yoiya*-words of *Vei Vai Yoiya*. Its *saiti*-lead is circular, or at best spiralling: this myth-chant presents a specific musical-choreographic representation of the ritual symbols of the after-death, of the *yové*-spirits and the *yochĩ*-doubles, of the travelling souls on their way through these dangerous transformations.

This mythical-musical choreography is exceptional, for the chant-leader does not lead a responsory between ex-centric centre and moving circle as usual, leading instead a chanting queue meandering through the longhouse patio. In fact, the myth-chant itself is exceptional: *Cherõpapa*, once the *yoiya*-singer, instead of leading the alternate response of the chorus, would punctuate the continuous equal *saiti* cells of the *vei vai* with a likewise unusual cell-concluding long note. *Vei Vai Yoiya*, in a festival performance

at *Tekãpapa*'s, was a sort of hybrid between myth-music and eschatology: *Cherõpapa* would intone the *saiti* cells at the top his *mõti kene*, design-deep voice with a row of singers in Indian file, one holding the other with hands on the shoulders and facing each others' back, all singing in one with the *yoiya*-leader. Our spiralling way and chant were an enactment the *vei vai* path, with all the dangerous meanders of this all-inclusive eschatological limbo.

Further generalities aside, I shall turn to *saiti* language, or rather to the way in which this language sounds in one such myth-chant: *Mokanawa Wenía*. These peoples intone their speeches in more significant ways than those of their everyday conversations. Their aural universe, their sonic humanity is *chinã vana*, *yové vana*—breathing-thoughtful, spiritual language—far larger than that which constitutes and is comprised in their *yorã* "word of the body."

a brief exegesis

singers and listeners

The remaining sections of this book account for a performance by *Ivãpa* (Vicente) of the *saiti* myth-chant of *Mokanawa Wenía*—literally, the "Emergence of the Poisonous-Bitter Peoples." It was done without the proper festival context, with the purposeful intent of recording it. We were sitting in a *tapo*-hut near the *shovo*-longhouse of *Txomãpa*, in the Upper Ituí community of Vida Nova, in a warm afternoon of April 1998.

After hearing, in the course of many festivals, many other *saiti* such as this one, it would become clear for an observer—even for a participant one—that, at the level of verbal and musical form, myth-chants do not vary widely according to context. The most striking difference between the "ritual" and the "non-ritual" performative situations is the repeating chorus-circle choreography (*monoa*) responding in the patio centre to each musical cell (*mané*) with a verbal verse (*yoiya*) that the *yoiya* chant-leader intones in its periphery.

It is the musical-choreographic form, the responsory between dancing circles and leading singer that constitutes the circumstance of their festival rendition—a spatial arrangement that we would reproduce whilst recording *Mokanawa Wenía*, between the peripheral *tapo*-hut and the central *shovo*-longhouse in the village, where everyday life went on in that afternoon.

Ivãpa, the singer in this recording, is unanimously taken as one of the most knowledgeable *kẽchĩtxo*-healers *yoiya* chant-leaders among the living Marubo. *Ivãpa* is fastidious: he is heard correcting younger people on the way *yorã vana*, their current language should be spoken.

Ivãpa was a shrewd joker, a both friendly and sarcastic middle-aged man in 1998, who was living at the time in the Maronal community in the Upper Curuçá River. His linguistic diacritics are paradigmatic of ancient language, *asãki iki*, the native *lingua franca* whose origins stem from an ethnonymic paradigm, the aforesaid *Chaĩnáwavo*, spirit-laden "Birds." The Upper Ituí Marubo say this and many other things about *Ivãpa*. To me, his curing capabilities and other shamanic capacities are just vivid aural impressions of more than a decade ago, in those warm afternoons in Vida Nova.

His voice can still be heard on tapes, laughing at the absurdity, the incommensurability between myth-chants and the Christian Word, between the native

language and the evangelical idiom: after one of his *saiti* recordings he suddenly shouts, "God be Praised!"[121]

Ivãpa's prolegomena to his rendering of *Mokanawa Wenía*, the first of all his recordings, point also at a less ironical ambiguity. The newborn in ancient times, these peoples are *nokẽ shenirasĩ*, "our old ones," our ancestors, albeit *noke ivo yoramai*, "human bodies other than ours." As I have shown, the usual expression for native kinship is *noke ivo náwavo*, while *yora* refers to belonging to a specific cosmos, rather than to an ethnic specificity. The Marubo are -*nawa* peoples who relate to other cosmic entities as *yora*, but who also stem from the same *nawa*, foreign common-ground, the grounding of estrangement from which all peoples on the earth emerge into this world.

Ivãpa's exact words are as follows:

> **vana wetsa mato yoãshonõ**
> *I wish to tell you other language-words*
>
> **nĩkãtsomá, ramaro. . .**
> *listen to me, and now. . .*
>
> **vana wetsa, yoã anõ**
> *other words, I will tell*

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[121] *Graças a Deus* is a usual expression among Brazilians— one that evangelicals use often, although it tends to translate little religious circumspection in the regional Portuguese. *Ivãpa* was making fun of me, as when during the same recordings he says, laughing: *nawa. . .* All sounds as if he meant: "How can a foreigner, from within western religion, ever expect to understand this?"

nõ iti, nokẽ shenirasĩ, shoviti
anciently, our ancestors, came to light

mato ashõnõ
I wish to do that to you

noke ivo yoramai
not of our own body-kinspeople

shovim'taivo yora, ẽ yoã anõ
body-persons who came to light long ago, I will tell

mato yoãshonõ inã, mato ashõa
I tell as I wish to you, I do that to you

mã nĩkãnõ inã
as you are willing to listen to me

mã yosĩnõ, ma nõ vanayanõ
you will teach, you will be loquatious

matõ vake, mã anõ vana yosĩnõ inã
your children, as you will teach these words

mato yosĩa
I teach you

These recordings were made where the singer has some close kin, at *Txomãpa*'s longhouse in Vida Nova, where the shamanic capabilities of Upper Curuçá elders have always been respected and feared. I had the assistance of one of these close relatives of *Ivãpa*'s in the exegesis of *Mokanawa Wenía*, a maternal nephew of his who was just a little younger than himself: *Txomãpa*'s stepson *Võchĩpa*, who in turn was also *Kenĩnawa*'s materneal uncle. The latter two served as chief *saiti* translators throughout the whole of this study. This book is as indebted to them as it is to the actual *saiti* performers who lent their voices to the tape-recorder.

These two men have been my generous hosts, to the extent that their kin would identify them as respective "older brother" and "father" to me. The true consanguineous relations involving *Võchĩpa* and *Kenĩnawa*, both between each other and with *Ivãpa*, were at least as significant for this study as the kind of rapport we had in the field.

Relations of apprenticeship and solidarity between *saiti* translators and performers have been strategic for my exegesis. The matrilineal uncle (*koka*) is highly value-laden, both in societal and mythical-musical terms. The importance of this kin category among natives cannot be too emphasised. From him, one expects utter respect and simultaneous intimacy, material reciprocity and reliability.

The maternal uncle is said to have been a preferential "godfather" or "assistant" in old puberty rites. This has resonance in the sexual-initiatory and educational role performed by this kin category among other Panoans, such as the Matis. Marubo kinship reasoning sustains that the maternal uncle belongs to the same -*nawa* matrilineal section that alternates at each generation with that of the nephew or niece.[122]

Following a tendency toward uxorilocality among the Upper Ituí Marubo, their *kokavo* (plural) are in

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[122]Some Pano societies, such as the Kachinawa, go as far as to conjoin pairs of alternate sections into moieties. *Cf.* Kensinger 1995.

fact preferential fathers-in-law and co-resident long-house owners at once. The maternal uncle means potential affinity since from sexual initiation. Certain rites, which have now fallen into disuse, would have pubescent girls held in an palm-straw enclosure, *pichĩ shovo*, within a longhouse *shanẽ*-hearth, in which their parents and *koka*-uncles would look after and educate them until reclusion was over.

Thus the *koka*-relationship carries both an avuncular-conjugal and an initiatory meaning. These relatives would prepare them for marriage with an appropriate partner and kin relations at large. Her potential spouses would be among her matrilateral cross-cousins (*txaitxo*), an occasional sister's husband, but always the son of a *koka*—one of her potential "wife owners" (*shavo ivovo*). The first decision about the correct match for the girl was in the hands of these uncles and similar maternal kin.[123]

The *koka*-ship that would connect *Võchĩpa*, *Kenĩnawa*, and *Ivãpa*, in a cascade of hierarchical kin relations was appropriate to the sort of mythical-musical

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[123]This is the same ambivalent kinship status found among other Panoans—something in between consanguinity and affinity. See Erikson, with reference to *kuku*, a "true pivot of alliance and continuity" among the Matis (1996:145). See also Kensinger 1995, McCallum 1989 and Lagrou 1998 for a similar Kachinawa category. Through Viveiros de Castro 1993, we can situate the *koka* avuncular ambiguity as a diversional generality of Dravidian kinship systems in Amazonia.

transmission that was to be dealt with in transcription and translation. If the myth-lexicon is ambiguous, its musical structure consists of alternating phrase-sections held together into reiterative cells, just in the same fashion as these peoples belong to matrilineal kinship sections which alternate along regular time.

Võchĩpa translated the *saiti* of *Mokanawa Wenía* in the same place as we had recorded his uncle *Ivãpa*, being seconded later by his nephew *Kenĩnawa*. It was a lengthy process, which shall be abridged here. I shall withhold the translation in its entirety but in the appendix, while concentrating on the most invariant structural aspects of the rendition along the book. This is a study in the musical-cellular unit of this myth-chant, whose transcription provides its distinctive stamp, with the recurrent verbal lines and poetical formulae that typify the translation of its narrative.

Ivãpa has a peculiar life story. *Kenĩnawa* told it to me during a fishing trip down the river, where no one could hear us. It became clear that his tone was more a manifestation of the delicate meaning of the historical issues in the story of this man than a useless attempt to overcome general gossip. *Ivãpa*'s experiences were known at large.

Ivãpa appears in a violent episode in his village several years ago, on the banks of the Curuçá. "Because of women," as natives always explain violence, *Ivãpa*

and another companion burnt White poison—that of jaguar poachers, literal *nawã moka*—with Marubo sorcery. This episode fits into the classical situation of revenge for betrayal, adultery, envy, jealousy—the territory of *moka* affections. Their black arts lead to a number of deaths, among enemies and kin alike, while leaving them in a state of mental disorientation, near bodily disjunction.

Ivãpa and his aggrieved and aggressive accomplice then left the land for several years. He enlisted as a soldier in the Brazilian frontier town of Tabatinga, in the Upper Amazon, not to be seen for a long time thereafter among the Marubo. I met briefly his friend in Cruzeiro do Sul, living in nostalgic exile, anxious about his memories.

Ivãpa would fulfil an opposite fate to that of his companion. He would return to his kin, back from the neonational towns on large rivers (*noa*) to his native villages on forest hillocks (*mató*), where now he lives and is vocal about his wisdom and happiness. *Ivãpa* would reverse roles to fetch back home his maternal nephew *Võchĩpa*, as the latter was following the footsteps of the former, leaving his relatives in his youth to join the Brazilian army in Tabatinga.

It is still not incidental that a similar situation would involve another *koka* and *Kenĩnawa*. His maternal uncle *Pekõpapa*, on the pretext of needing his help for lumber-logging in their native territory, even-

tually brought him back from a temporary exile among neonationals. Indeed, *koka*-relatives often act out their relationship through cooperation in labour, with ascendancy of uncle over nephew. As throughout their history, here foreign elements conform to an inner pattern: outer political-economic relations constitute such a pattern just inasmuch as kin ties re-signify them in the formation of labour groups. Hence, this local variation of *aviamento*, the regional debt-peonage system, is more significant for them than its more general context in Amazonia.[124]

One typical case of the enactment of such a historical variation on a kinship-relational theme also features *Võchĩpa*. As he was a *patrão*, a native "boss" himself, his family would at once engage in logging, implicating the same sort of maternal kin cooperation found in other communal enterprises among natives. He and his family built together a little longhouse to fell and drift wood down the river, further downstream from the other settlements in the Upper Ituí. *Võchĩpa* himself would trade it with the White.

In fact, most longhouse owners once had *colocações* ("lumbering sites") further down the Ituí. Up until the recent governmental prohibition of timber trade in native territory, these logging sites were living quarters during the dry season. From May to September, the current tradition is still the dispersion of villages into

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[124]*Cf.* Melatti 1985.

small nuclear families camping away from the long-house communities in the upper course of the river. In less populous areas, down the river, one finds more abundant chelonians, chelonian eggs, wild fruits, and game above all. Marubo society reproduces its own historical cycles of settlement dispersion on a yearly basis.

Indeed, the historical pattern of longhouse migration in the first half of this book seems to follow from these seasonal displacements, through which natives establish new frontiers of settlements. This is the temporal meaning of the recent move of longhouses from streamlet headwaters to the main course of the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers.

The exploration of hunting territories is the first step toward the clearing of gardens, which in turn precedes the building of more permanent settlements. The ordinary and extraordinary designation of dwelling—*shavaya*, both in common language and myth-chant—manifests the original semantic equivalence and temporal sequence between clearing the forest and inhabiting the forest clearance. The settlement of emerging -*nawa* peoples is *moka*-poisonous predation to animals and plants in clear-*shavaya*. The Marubo phrase it in *Mokanawa Wenía*, in the sounds of myth: if *shavaya* is *shavá*-like, *shavá* relates to time.

If the present historical moment leads natives to settle around local outposts of the non-indigenous,

nawa-world—evangelical missions, governmental posts, community radios, schools—these peoples still pay regular visits to past lumbering sites in hunting expeditions throughout the season. The Marubo operate innovative activities by inserting them in exclusive native contexts, by means of their inclusion in a autonomous logic.

The presence of the same temporal logic in native memories is illustrated in the living trajectory of *Ivãpa*: once an Indian criminal, then a White soldier, he has borne through life the *nawa*-seal of *moka*-ness, that is, of virulence. At the same time, his life is a performance along that same longhouse cycle between headwaters and mainstreams, in the lesser period of a lifespan but on a wider geographic scale, from native to western land and back again.

Ivãpa's self-confident wit and cheerfulness does not contradict his peripatetic past. On the contrary, his story is one of dangerous "other-empowerment." He did in one life what his peoples take alternate generations to do, in progressive contact with the foreign realm. *Ivãpa*, once a *nawa*-foreigner, a *moka*-poisonous person, is today a most original Marubo: not only is he much respected among his kin, but he is also one of the few who has free transit between the two rivers where the native settlements concentrate to this day, the Curuçá and Ituí. Behind his prestige as a *yoiya* chant-leader—which crosses these

settled borders and in doing so overcomes the historical forces that separate the native communities across the watershed—there lies his *moka*-poisonous, *nawa*-foreign past standing above the political opposition between the Upper Curuçá and the Upper Ituí.

Marubo communities in the two rivers are nothing but a spatial projection of the alternate diachrony that natives perform in history and myth, in kinship and music. Marubo territory charts native history in the spatial key of a synchronic geography. At times, one's life story encompasses both history and territory, as in the case of *Ivãpa*. Contrasts between dispersal and concentration, rarefied authority and concentrated leadership, riverbank and headwater are multilevel projections of the Ituí and Curuçá Rivers. *Ivãpa* is above all those distinctions: he himself represents them along time.

Ivãpa is beyond everything because he had it all. *Võchĩpa*'s household and his close relatives therein are not that which makes him exceptional: many natives have kin connections across the rivers. However, *Ivãpa* is one of the few who can actualise these connections over such a distance, opening up an access from the Upper Curuçá to the Upper Ituí.

If this has not always been so, the contradictions of his tragic past are explanatory. *Ivãpa*'s political range is now wider inasmuch as he was once a psychopath. Years ago, he is reported in a psychotic mood, wan-

dering without his clothes, his glans exposed—supreme shamelessness, sheer madness—while he intoxicated his Indian relatives and neighbours with the venomous exhalations of the *nawa* jaguar-poison that he and his accomplice had stolen from a White skin-poacher. "It was sad," says *Kenĩnawa*.

The measure of *Ivãpa*'s reputation is the fact that the three *saiti* he recorded—of which one myth-chant alone is brought into a closer focus here—were disputed by informants. *Kenĩnawa*, for example, was rather disappointed when he knew that *Võchĩpa* and I had been working on those myth-chants during his absence, becoming very keen on getting hold of the transcriptions: shamanic knowledge is power.

The Marubo requested *Ivãpa*'s tapes to be played back whenever a new visitor appeared in *Pekõpapa*'s longhouse, my main dwelling site in the field. That included both persons who lived from just a two-minute walk away and those who came from a considerable distance. The most assiduous of these curious visitors was without a doubt *Raõewa*, that most loveable lady of a dignified ancestry that, significantly, included *mokanawa*, "poisonous and bitter" people generations ago.

As I said, she would tell me about her bitter-wild origins but once and in whispering tones, making strong faces. Here again, this was no secret—but were there more people around us, she would never have men-

tioned it. In fact, few people would talk about the matter. But when the issue was at stame, her good reputation was in dispute, which is telling of her progenitors' story.

Raõewa was remarkably dignified, notwithstanding the egalitarian standards of the Marubo. When her father and her whole family were killed ages ago, *Raõewa* became a *nawa*-other *par excellence*, the exogenous outsider who constitutes the indigenous societal inside and innermost self. As a typical *nawa*, *Raõewa* is prototypically strong. In the absence of her deceased husband, as well as during the escapades of her son *Mapi* to the city of Cruzeiro do Sul, she would to fell trees and sow and harvest her own gardens. Tired and "starving for game meat," she once went to Cruzeiro do Sul, always on her own—and with no more than a few words of Portuguese—grabbing her son back from his wage-labour job.

Raõewa was somehow a gender-counterpart figure in relation to *Ivãpa*. She would cross the Ituí-Curuçá watershed with equal ease, although recent marital skirmishes between her daughter's daughter and her in-laws from the other river would raise once again a barrier. She was strong, sparing no efforts to dissolve her granddaughter's virilocal marriage and bring her back, while at the same time she had the reputation of a knowledgeable woman: her wisdom as an herbalist has always been well known, and her interest for

other shamanic, mythical-musical knowledge was not fortuitous.[125]

Either in spite of of, or precisely due to her origins, *Raõewa* was known for her strong volition and independence. She was not an isolated case, inasmuch as personal stories among these remarkable peoples are hardly historically casual. Strong and knowledgeable, *Raõewa* is the female version of *nawa*-foreignness, that *moka*-power which entails fundamental native knowledge—in the form of music, therapeutic plants (*ni pei rao*) or otherwise—but entails warfare as well. As our gender sketches suggest above, Marubo women have always counteracted past warfare and ever-present polygyny with volitional and independent decision-tak-

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[125] *Raõewa* was a friend. This might be more than a matter of personal empathy, since she had a controversial *nawa*-foreign reputation. The late *Panĩpa* (Lauro Brasil)—whose stepbrother *Tekãpapa* (Antonio Brasil) was a well-reputed healer who, incidentally, was *Raõewa*'s classificatory sibling too, another typical *nawa*—would tell me, always in private:

> "Mind you this woman is no good. Nobody wanted her to marry that beautiful granddaughter of hers with that old man from the Curuçá River. She doesn't listen. She took her on her own across the watershed, making things worse between ourselves and those peoples. 'Cause the girl disliked her elder husband and kicked him away [she would refuse sex with him]. Then *Raõewa* takes her granddaughter back and they run away together to this Ituí River. We had to send the girl back to her husband to prevent his kin from sending sorcery to us [virtual warfare]. This woman is no good, she doesn't listen to what she's told."

Unsurprisingly, I usually heard the same complaints about *Panĩpa*: "He does whatever is in his thoughts, regardless of all. . . "

ing, in the form of informal polyandry and literal escapades.

Kenĩnawa's mother is another such case. She fled a husband to whom she was no favourite wife. Sustaining the weight of her belongings and her two children hanging on her neck, fled through the jungle paths from the Curuçá, joining her brothers *Pekõpapa*, *Natõpa*, as well as the now deceased *João Pajé* and *Raimundão*—*Kenĩnawã kokavo*—on the banks of the Ituí. Such strength is nothing else but the physical counterpart of female volition, independence, and knowledge. The claim that, in the past, there were women-shamans—*romeya* proper—among the Marubo, confirms it.[126]

While *Raõewa* is the female epitome of the generic strength, volition, and independence that permeates native knowledge, being often consulted for herbal-therapeutic advice, *Ivãpa*, for his part, is as respected as a *yoiya*-singer throughout the whole of the Ituí River, as as he would have a powerful shamanic reputation among his closer co-resident kin in the community of Maronal. His virtuosity can be measured by the length of his performances, the linearly longest

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[126] *Cf.* Montagner Melatti 1985, with native testimonies. I have not seen a single female chant-leader among the living Marubo, not to mention a womn healing or shamanising as such. *Venãpa* confirms such a female potentiality, adding that there are indeed, as of 2011, two *kẽchĩtxo*-women, both in the Curuçá.

mythical-musical deliveries in my field recordings, being at the same time the most steadily repetitive, circular sequences of musical cells and verbal verses, of strophes and rhymes, among all *saiti* in my tapes.

Ivãpa, more than any *yoiya*, is not simply telling a story through his myth-chants. His myth-musicality is impeccably regular, his vocal support never fails. His voice, as those of most *kẽchĩtxo*-healers, is deep and strong—*mõti*-throaty, but hardly rasping: it comes from his *mõnti kene*, his "mortar-design," his tobacco-related healing voice. Contrary to the weaker voices of other *kẽchĩtxorasĩ* (plural), who gradually raise the tuning of their intonations, the *mané*-sounds of his reiterative musical cells lead his singing throughout the same pitches from beginning to end in his performances. His thoughtful diaphragm (*chinã nato*) is powerful, since the regularity of his breathing thoughts, *viz.* of his cell-intonations, is the native parameter of mythical-musical excellence. Conversely, the language he intones in *saiti*-verses is the most cryptic, less amenable to literal renderings and full of associative possibilities.[127]

Ivãpa's singing talents are indeed remarkable, and his knowledge of *saiti* was coveted by all those who, like *Raõewa*, came to my hut asking for his recordings

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[127]See Overing 1990 for a view on Amazonian shamanic language as indigenous epistemology: it is as powerful, as capable of moving the world as cryptic.

now and again, as it was also by all those who wanted to help me with their transcription and translation later. *Võchĩpa* kept in his own notebook all the words of the three *saiti* myth-chants that *Ivãpa* presented to us—*Teté Teka*, *Perõ Nanã Shavovo*, and *Mokanawa Wenía*—cherishing them as virtuous wisdom.

As of 2011, his last movement along the paths of the native universe was back toward the headwaters, up a small stream of a tributary of the Upper Curuçá: *Komãya*. He still performs his life along mythical-musical circles and lines, ever increasing his reputation and power, while death surrounds his peoples through the encroachments of hitherto unknown diseases, as filariasis, B- and D-hepatitis.

Võchĩpa's previous attempts to visit Maronal, crossing the watershed from the Upper Ituí, while we were together in Vida Nova in 1998, would result in failure. Due to proverbial rivalries ("because of women"...), he had to wait until a few years ago to move to the new community of Morada Nova in the Upper Curuçá. He lives now with *Sinãpa*, who as a *kẽchĩtxo*-healer stands in an almost similar status to *Ivãpa*. Using the same writing and recording techniques that has lead to this book, his current study in the shamanic tradition of his own ancestors had an impressive effect in mood and tone. *Võchĩpa* had been seen fighting in streets whilst a soldier and logger. His seduction of other men's spouses had given rise to the animosities

that would block his way for years the ways to the Cu-
ruçá. Opening the channels between the two rivers of
native current dwellings, his shamanic training made
him both a healer and a remarkably cool man.

Kenĩnawa has been pursuing his studies on educa-
tion, being the first among his peoples to complete a
higher degree. At present he is a teacher in a state
school at Vida Nova, earning a high salary in local
standards, but precarious support from the govern-
ment.

The transmission of wisdom from maternal uncle
to nephew continues. But rather than a linear chain
conveying objective information among several *koka*-
subjects along matrilateral generations—from *Ivãpa*
to *Võchĩpa*, from *Võchĩpa* to *Kenĩnawa*—the spiral of
natives knowledge allows for higher recurrence: *Kenĩ-
nawa*'s sister son, *Venãpa*, is now the *romeya*-shaman
of greatest renown. His work was invaluable to the
revision of this study and eventual publication of this
book. As I write these lines, he sits by my side.

I feel happy to be able to elaborate and write
on this last chant from what I learned from *Ivãpa*,
Võchĩpa, *Kenĩnawa*, *Venãpa*, and all those I have known
among their peoples. This is a simple and yet com-
plex task: in that hot afternoon at *Txomãpa*'s, we
heard in *Ivãpa*'s voice the three hundred and ninety
verbal verses of *Mokanawa Wenía*, the *saiti* myth-
chant of the "emergence of the wild-bitter peoples,"

in one single musical cell:

saiti musical cell of *Mokanawa Wenía*

sound structures

This score requires a brief sonic exegesis, a musical-mathematical diversion that is meant to make sense out of the discussion in the previous part of the book, much as the personal stories of the preceding chapter endorse our initial sketches of native history. Further, besides bringing clarification and concrete expression to several statements above, this exegetical diversion will also lead to some preliminary concluding remarks to this study, compensating for its rather abrupt and arbitrary conclusion. The score is itself a bridge.

First, a few remarks on the regularity of the musical cell: its notes—its sounds understood both *qua* tonal pitches and *qua* temporal durations—are repeated *ipsis litteris* 390 times, at the intonation of each verbal verse. *Ivãpa* chants all verbal verses of *Mokanawa Wenía* as a simplified summary of the entire *saiti*, that is, in an invariable musical cell subdivided in a fourfold, slightly irregular pulse. Each pulse is marked by the constant presence of the tone

F. Each one presents another note that occurs in variable temporal lengths and pitch intervals in relation to that tonal pole F.

Such a musical synopsis of the whole myth-chant can be summarily represented, both melodically and rhythmically, as four pulses or intervals of two notes each, whose durational values roughly follow the four unequal numerical proportions 2 : 4 / 2 : 4 / 3 : 4 / 2 : 4 (third pulse imprecise, last note elongated) and whose tonal values, G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F / C ↑ F / F ↓ D (third interval imprecise, last note flattened), are likewise configured in an irregular interval pattern.

Thus, the second remark is the apparent lack of arbitrariness of this musical artefact—that is, the overall coherence of a sonic logic expressed as a homologous symmetry between durational and tonal values. The successive durational values given in the four pulses are quaver and crotchet / quaver and crotchet / dotted quaver and crotchet (a somewhat indeterminate relation) / quaver and crotchet (this last note having a variable, very undetermined length, preceding a fermata pause). The corresponding tonal values entertain the respective intervallic relations of descendent minor second / descendent minor second / ascendant perfect fourth (here a somewhat indeterminate interval) / descendent minor third (an also very undetermined interval, slurring down in a glissando).

Such a tonal-durational homology means that, with-

in the whole cell, the irregularities at the levels of duration and tone—that is, the irregularities that occur at the respective rhythmic and melodic levels, take place at the very same place and time. These irregularities are consistently matched on the slightly indeterminate durational and tonal relations present in the <u>third</u> pulse / interval: a rhythm of <u>dotted</u> quaver plus crotchet corresponds to a melody that consists of an <u>ascendant</u> fourth.

Conversely, the two initial pulses / intervals of the cell are exactly equal and precise, whereas the two concluding ones are irregular and undetermined, but in different degrees: in fact, their contrasting diacritic is not just a tonal-durational indeterminacy, but their mutually inverted, intervallic symmetry. The initial pulses feature small intervallic leaps, configuring a minimal repetition, whereas the intervals that conclude the cell are larger, symmetrically maximal.

If the first cell-half is a generic mythical-musical symbol, as a segmented succession of minimal equal structures, the second half of the cell—its last two pulses and intervals, its four concluding notes—is in contrast "diabolic": its interval-symmetric design is coterminous with the imprecise, irregular instability that constitutes the native *diabolus in musica*. The third pulse and interval starts to break the initial identical regularity within the cell with a slight indeterminacy, both length- and pitch-wise, disturbing

the preceding rhythmic and melodic pattern—while this sonic event leads to an intervallic ascendance that, inasmuch as it is a drastic change of durational proportion, is even more disconcerting. Finally, the fourth and last pulse and interval complements such a rhythmic-melodic disturbance with an even larger lack of pitch and length determination, as the last note is longer and downward, ever changing until a brief, but again indeterminate silence ensues, in the transition to the next cell and verse intoned in the course of this myth-chant.

Thus, tone and duration are homologous codes that divide the musical cells into phrases and sub-divide these phrases into intervals and pulses, into melodies and rhythms—in successive dyadic structures, in the case of *Mokanawa Wenía*. Indeed, if not all *saiti* are dyadic, this structuring function of tone and duration features constantly in all myth-chants, whereas the words that correspond to these musical notes, intervals / pulses and phrases are always structured into cellular verses composed of successive verbal lines, through which the mythical narrative is told—poetically, with the employment of parallel rhymes and strophes.

The parallelistic employment of rhymes, strophes, and other poetical devices means that the verbal level of the *saiti* myth-chants, that of the mythical narrative, follows a particular logic. Such a structural ra-

tionale goes beyond the mere progression of the discursive narrative, on the one hand; on the other, it is rather independent from and freer—that is, less rigid and repetitive than the reiterative musical-cellular structure: verbal and musical reiterations are not always in phase. The respective reiteration of verbal verses and musical cells do not always structurally coincide.

Hence the division of the cell into two phrasal halves, which is the structure in *Mokanawa Wenía*—a dyadic division of musical cells in two phrases that are themselves divided into two interval / pulses of two notes each—is not only a tautological function of interval-tones and pulse-durations. Besides the musical structure *per se*, the poetical devices that distribute verse lines along cellular phrases are another foremost rationale of temporal delimitation within and across verses and cells. These structure-determinant devices come out either when clusters of several verses group their lines into strophic units larger than the dyadic cell; or when these strophes, or even poetical structures no larger than a verse, start in the middle of cells; or still when verses and cells are demarcated by a musical phrase without a verbal line—notes without words. More than pure verbalisms, all these poetical devices are part of the musical poetics of the myth-chant.

One example shall provide some general illustration. The strophic unit that occurs in verses 4–5–6,

71–72, 191–192, as elsewhere in *Mokanawa Wenía*, is a poetical device whose meaning configures "ornamentation formulae"—that is, specific sequential structures of verbal lines which figure along musical phrases as part of the mythical-musical narrative, sequences which describe the ornaments of the emergent humans. The final chapters of this book present the specific translations of this and other recurrent formulae, with the semantic implications of their respective musical-poetical configurations.

Here the example just serve to illustrate how a generic fourfold strophic form demarcates the *saiti*-cell in two phrases. The strophic arrangement of four formulaic lines that constitutes our example always begins with the words *atõ. . . / moka. . . / atõ. . . / shavá. . . .* Each of the three table below quotes its four corresponding verbal lines in their correspondence with the respective musical phrases. The three dots occurring in some columns precede lines in parenthesis that do not belong to the strophe in question. The relevant detail in these three strophic instances— occurring along the myth-chant in verse-sequences 4– 5–6, 71–72, 191–192— is the variable mode of interaction between their respective formulaic lines and its cellular phrases.

The first occurrence features the strophe starts with the line *atõ aya weni*, in the middle of verse 4, which delimits the two halves of the correspondent

cell:

	first cellular phrase	second cellular phrase
verse 4.	. . . (*nawa weni ini*)	*atõ aya weni* (first line)
cell	**G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F**	**C ↑ F / F ↓ D**
verse 5.	*moka shawã ina* (second line)	*atõ teneao* (third line)
cell	**G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F**	**C ↑ F / F ↓ D**
verse 6.	*shavá raká ini* (fourth line)	. . . (*atõ awe shavovo*)
cell	**G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F**	**C ↑ F / F ↓ D**

Then the second occurrence demonstrates the structural independence that verbal verses acquire with regard to the respective musical cells, as part of a larger strophic unit such as this. The same strophe starts with the same line, but in the first half-cell instead:

	first cellular phrase	second cellular phrase
verse 191.	*ato aya weni* (first line)	*moka epe shãko* (second line)
cell	**G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F**	**C ↑ F / F ↓ D**
verse 192.	*atõ init'ao* (third line)	*shavá rakáraká* (fourth line)
cell	**G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F**	**C ↑ F / F ↓ D**

In the third occurrence of this strophic unit there will be the interpolation of a "blank" half-cell between the first and the second line of the strophe. In the respective cellular phrase, a vocalisation in *i* replaces the words, which a dash (–) here indicates. This will have semantic consequences in the musical-poetical economy of the myth-chant. Here it illustrates how the changeable dialectics of line and phrase, resulting from the strophic organisation of verses along cells, corroborate their dyadic structure:

	first cellular phrase	**second cellular phrase**
verse 70.	*ato aya weni* (first line)	–
cell	G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F	C ↑ F / F ↓ D
verse 71.	*moka kana ina* (second line)	*atõ mait'ao* (third line)
cell	G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F	C ↑ F / F ↓ D
verse 72.	*shavá rakáraká* (fourth line)	...(*nawa weni ini*)
cell	G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F	C ↑ F / F ↓ D

I conclude that mythical-musical poetics is not a mere aspect of the verbal order that subverts the cellular regularity of the *saiti*-structure through the discursive narrative. It in fact reinforces the irregular subversive germ that the dyadic cell already contains. The musical homology between tone and duration that gives a coherent structure to the cell develops into an overall cellular asymmetry—given either by its irregularity on the third interval / pulse or by its consequent division in two opposite halves of two intervals / pulses each. But the distribution of formulaic lines and wordless vocalisations along the cellular phrases is that which renders such a dyadic asymmetry explicit along the entire mythical-musical discourse.

In *Mokanawa Wenía*, the first half-cell or musical phrase is neat and reiterative: its minimal unit is a precise interval, G♭ ↓ F, repeated twice. It represents circularity around the second note of each of its two constituent intervals (F), a longer, stressed gravitational centre, the downbeat around which the initial upbeat (G♭) of the two pulses revolves. The two tonal poles, weak (G♭) and strong (F), constitute a sinusoidal curve.

The second half-cell confirms that second, attractive note (F) of the first cellular phrase as a centre of gravity. But now it is the apex of a maximal parabolic curve, upward and downward, to and from a precise tone: C ↑ F / F ↓ D. This configures a linearly designed musical phrase ascending to and descending from that central tone which had already been affirmed in the previous first half, but which is here preceded and succeeded by lower, imprecise notes instead.

Mokanawa Wenía, in short, is this *saiti*-cell as a whole—or *vice versa*. The poisonous, bitter-wild emergence of humanity is alternatively circular and linear, gravitating around a tonal centre that is neither its initial nor its final note, while still invariant in the same regular frequency in the four cellular pulses and intervals: F, the moving ground along which the temporality of the myth-chant manifests itself.

The cellular variation taking place between the two constituent phrases is of a temporal order, one that determines an alternative circularity and linearity in pulse after pulse, interval after interval, changing the relative timing and positioning of the constant grounding space. *Wenía*-creation revolves and evolves on a sonorous, tonal ground. Hence this grounding is not stable: revolution and evolution imply an irregular temporal disposition of that constant, central tone.

The conspicuous content of this *saiti*—the human emergence (*wenía*) in such a bitter-wild poison (*moka*) that results in these -*nawa* peoples—exists in mythical-musical form as the opening up of open cells, in continuous repetition but in themselves discontinuous. Their tonal centre is indeed central, rather than initiating and concluding a discourse—a verbal template that much western music asserts. Marubo tonality and its consequent tonal dialectics is fragmentary instead: although constant, it is an unstable terrain. *Mokanawa Wenía* initially affirms the attractive tone F in circular reiteration, in the first half of the cell. Then it temporally questions such a tonal centrality is in the second half by means of a linear transition from low pitch back to low pitch. This negatively asserts F as a centre through the imprecise lower provenience to which it is predestined.

The double, tonal-durational indeterminacy of this negative questioning and reassertion—low and long, indeterminate notes—marks a linear character but still a higher lack of determination for the verbal lines sung to this second, rhythmically and melodically insecure phrase. The first musical phrase— the positive assertion of a centre as F, as temporally cyclical, coming always after and longer than G♭—will in turn present the more determinate and circular assertions among the lines of all verbal verses chanted in succession along each reiterative musical cell, throughout the whole myth-chant.

However, no verbal content in lines or verses in this *saiti* is amenable to the absolute sonorous assertiveness that the relative formal strength of a western tonal centre could give. The inconclusive character of the native tonal medium denies this to the mythical-musical message.

This statement unveil at least four discernible reasons. Besides the fact that all musical cells always end with the indeterminate long and low tones and timeless duration of the second phrase, *i.e.* of the concluding half-cell, the mobility of verbal lines across phrases, *i.e.* their alternate occurrence in opposite cellular halves, makes any affirmative character that notes can lend to words something equally changeable. Further, the assertive circularity of each cell repetition, which the initial phrase minimally reasserts, is questioned by the linear story of creation that the successive verbal verses unfold—the creational discourse is a progressive transformation—as well as by the questioning and negative linearity that its minimally explicit in each of the rather inconclusive concluding halves.

Mokanawa Wenía, in its minimal constitution, is maximally circular, maximally linear. The dubiety of cells, an ethical translation of the aesthetical irregularity of their third pulse / interval, corresponds to the cellular establishment of a ground that is central and still movable. Their tonal sequence results both

in its circular assertion and in its own questioning and reassertion by negation in each cell. The third pulse and interval disturbs the evenness of the twofold cell. But it points at the same time at the overall unitary quality of the myth-chant: cyclical and still sequential.

In summary, each musical cell is the sum of two contrasting phrases, each one a succession of reiterative pulses / intervals, of durational and tonal relations, numerical proportions that epitomise the temporal states which sustain native ontological statuses. The Marubo express thus, and only thus, that which is otherwise verbally ineffable for them: the affective and intellective opposition between *yové*-circularity and *yochĩ*-linearity, as well as the core-equivocality of the *chinã nato* breath-thoughts.

The sketches of native history, in the course of this study, suggest that these dual cosmological oppositions and psychophysiological middle-states are regularly present and recurrently central in variable spatiotemporal configurations. Now it will be time to render clearer how the *saiti* are historical sketches themselves. In short, I should ask what histories throughout a long narrative are meant in the mythical-musicality of *Mokanawa Wenía*.

Of all my myth-chant recordings, *Mokanawa Wenía* features musical phrases and verbal lines that are least distinguishable in degree of recurrence. The over-

all tendency of myth-chants toward a stark discrepancy between musical repetition and verbal succession gains here more structural balance in the formulaic poetics of the chant-words. In the recurrent combinations of these lines along the reiterative phrases, verbal and musical meanings intertwine.

But the strongest and most visible hallmark of the interaction of these verbal verses and lines with their respective musical cells and phrases is the independence between word and note against the subliminal dyadic character of the myth-chant. This is predicated on the free displacement of verbal lines back and forth between first and second half of the double-phrased musical cell, from circular to linear propositions. As often as not, a strophic combination of verses starts or finishes in the middle of the reiterative, dyadic cell, beginning in its final phrase or ending in the initial one, as the example above illustrates.

The recurrent lines of the myth-chant end up as either assertive or indeterminate, either circular or linear, depending on different musical-poetical contexts. All results in an independent polyphony of pitch and syllable, of cells and verses, which is to acquire meaning with reference to the *saiti* poetics itself.

Overall, *Mokanawa Wenía* results in a distinctive proportion among its most recurrent lines, favouring either phrasal assertiveness or the indeterminacy of their negative tonal reassertion. I shall show the

meanings of its alternative circularity or linearity toward the end of this study. Suffice it to say now that the sonic expression of *saiti*, the cell studied and summarised above, is in itself a synoptic ethnography, a concise statement, whose conciseness amounts to extreme repetitiveness in the whole *saiti*.[128]

Soon I shall elaborate, with greater refinement and a more accurate terminology, on a selection of commentaries to the most recurrent verses and lines of the myth-chant. The next chapters are an elaboration on mythical-musical time, an exegesis on indigenous commentaries that revolve around the issues above. The Marubo peoples and their cosmos, that is, the historical construction of the *nawa*-humankind and its ex-centric universe are both circular and linear in *saiti*, in the different combinations of such a temporal "synthetic symphony."

Mokanawa Wenía, among all *saiti*, is circularity to the uttermost, while the "emerging poisonous-bitter peoples" undertake a linear journey from their telluric origins to their tellurian dwelling, from undifferentiated earth—the home of the primordial substances of animals and plants—to the becoming of humanised beings in the worldly human-made home. As concerns this study, these contradictory temporal movements constitute the meaning of the myth-chant. Therefore this analysis stands in clear contrast, with

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[128]See the whole myth-chant in the appendix herein.

a critical stance, to most anthropological mythologies and to all studies found in the ethnographic bibliography that focus alone on the verbal-textual or visual-representational character of an immense corpus of myths. Rather than mysteries, impossible to assess, myths become inaccessible due to this exegetical bias.

Out of the seemingly infinite repertoire of *saiti* found in the Upper Ituí, the outcome of my work with *Ivãpa*, *Võchĩpa*, *Keñinawa* and many others has been some three hundred pages of translations and transcriptions of myth-music recordings. But all these myth-chants are notated as fragments. The richness of detail, paired up with a melodic and verbal minimalism—a deaf ear would say "a monotonous repetition"—makes one wonder if a complete version of any *saiti* would be feasible at all.

The Marubo and all around them suggest that fragmentation is native nature—fragmentation in minimal, repetitive units. This study is far from aiming at an exhaustive totality. It aims instead at the meaningful variation that sounds impart to the reiterative monotony of linguistics-biased mythologies—at the restitution of tones to the words of natives.

This implies the use of verbal and notational means, both of which are visual-graphic. To resign ourselves with the inherent limitations of sound notation, or with the rationalisation of sound expression—discarding the descriptive representation of *saiti*-music, or

its verbalisation in critical commentary—would mean more than the recognition of our visual-verbal limits *vis-à-vis* that which natives express as aural, as musical. To take the inappropriateness of our media as an excuse to omit the musical aspect of mythology, or the mythical aspect of musicology, is tantamount to enshrine native myth and music within the realm of the esoteric—it would be tantamount to ignore the cultural character of *saiti* as *yové vana*, as "spiritual language." This amounts to an aspect of tonal language that surpasses the analysis of lexical variations and ritualistic affixation of suffixes at the linguistic, ordinary *yorã vana* level of the *saiti*. The mythical ritual in its synthetic form is music, ritualised language *par excellence*—the *saiti* myth-chant.

Our medium remains a visual-verbal one. Once I am done with the strict sonic meanings of *Mokanawa Wenía*, I will move back to words, while music moves to the background. But it is still to be heard. I shall draw brief comments on instances of such a "language of spirits," a label that gives a good account of the duality present in native myth-chants and in the lives of natives. This shall reaffirm that one contrast, single, dual, and plural, that this book draws throughout: the one between the discursive verbal narrative and the reiterative melodic-rhythmic pattern; or the one between diachronic history against synchronic myth; or still the simple contrast between the performance of word and that of ritual—that is, the performance

of the mythical-musical form of *saiti.*

emerging words

Before indulging in the linguistic commentary on a number of recurrent verbal lines in *Mokanawa Wenía*, I will make one last short pause for some preliminary thoughts on certain words often heard throughout this and other myth-chants. The concern in now *wenía*-words, those that relate to the *saiti* of "emergence-creation," regardless of their actual pronunciation in these mythical-musical texts.

I refer firstofall to the words that, like the native conceptualisations *yochĩ* and *yové*, *chinã* and *vaká*, *nawa* and *yora*, relate to the mythical lexicon and to the musical structures that express them. The focus is on words but never quite on linguistics, for which competence would be lacking: etymologies, for example, are tentative, as this study arrives at them through some transcriptions and translations of several myth-chants—of which the one in question, *Mokanawa Wenía*, is just one example.

I shall analyse this myth-lexicon from a musical-

synthetic viewpoint, since the pure linguistic side of the spiritual language *yové vana* is not too different from the ordinary one, *yorã vana*, to which those words pertain first. The terms that here define the morphemes in native language, for the most part affixes, were not drawn from professional description. I expect to provide satisfactory indications to their respective meaning through myth-music.

/ *Yo* / is an ever-present morpheme in mythical-musical discourse, as it appears in words like *yové*, *yochĩ*, and *yora*—whose temporal significance has been seen before. I argue that the conceptualisations on native temporality that these words entail are in the semantic foundations of the *saiti* chants. It is also at the structural level of myth and music that native ontology gains significance. Hence, finding some etymological common-ground among these terms and similar ones might give new ontological insight on their mythical-musical expression.

/ *Yo* /, the common root of *yové*, *yochĩ*, *yora*, also appears in everyday words like *yoi*, "to show, to indicate, to lead," and in the derivative *yoiya*, "chant-leader"; in *yõ*, "fire heat" and in *yotxi*, "pepper" (possibly from *yo* + *txi*, "fire"); in *yowã*, "famous, spoken of." It precedes morphemes that are quite usual in other contexts. It occurs in connection with the suffixes *-ya*, "substantial-adjectival," that indicates the material possession of an attribute; *-vé*, "comitative-

associative"; *chĩ*, that relates to the "innermost cen-
tre" of the *chinã*-soul, "breath-thought"; *-ra*, "inter-
rogative"; to nasalisation, "genitive"; or still *-wã*, an
"exhortative" suffix.

Is it possible to deduce a figurative relationship
among such variable semantic layers? what is the
morpheme /*yo*/ originally, beyond its more obvious
association with "indication," "orientation," and "lead-
ership"—given that the termination *i* of *yoi* is a com-
mon verb suffix—which is in itself a sign of its impor-
tance?

If the "family resemblance" among the meaning of
yové, *yochĩ*, and *yora* relates at all to their morpho-
logical similarity, to an ineffable or archaic radical
/*yo*/ there might correspond the potential qualities
of "comitative association" (*yové*) and "interrogation"
(*yora*), as well as "essential centrality" (*yochĩ*). These
meanings derive from the corresponding affixes, found
in other native words than those beginning with /*yo*/.
Yet the semantic common-ground which this parti-
cle represents may concern the very meaning that it
stands for in these words too. Their common-ground
might "pertain to fire" (*yõ*), as well as be "speakable,"
amenable to utterance (*yowã*).

That the suffixes attached to the former three qual-
ities are respective markers of "comitative associa-
tion," "interrogation," and "centrality," with reference
to /*yo*/, coheres with the layers of meaning that those

three composite words—*yové*, *yora*, and *yochĩ*—de-
note in native temporality. First, the *yové*-spirit en-
tertains an extraneous association with humans, which
is made manifest precisely in sonic form, as a "comita-
tive voice," a supra-person who intones the *saiti* and
other shamanic song from within human bodies. Sec-
ond, the *yora*-body that embodies such a voice is a
contradictory, temporary arrangement of such spir-
itual association with its temporal counterpart, the
yochĩ-double. Third, this double counterpart is at
the very centre of the human expression of the spiri-
tual sound, as the linearity that allows for its circular
reiteration.

The suffixation of those affixes *-vé*, *-ra*, and *-chĩ* to
/yo/ results in three categories through which natives
conceptualise humanity. Their connotation of "asso-
ciation," "question," and "centre" would also associate
them with the terms that define and translate the
saiti musical structures above: the circular assertion
of tonal associations, their questioning—with a nega-
tive reassertion—and tonal centrality throughout.

This musical-tonal "grounding," in the mythical
words of *Mokanawa Wenía*, is the creational earth
and the world of humanisation, the telluric ground
and the tellurian surface whence humans emerge, where
humanity opens the dwelling-clearance of human ex-
istence. The meaning of /yo/, in a putative etymol-
ogy and in the concrete temporality of myth-chants,

relates to some sort of essential humanity.

From these tentative associations, it follows that the two latter qualities of "fieriness" (*yõ*) and "pronounceability" (*yowã*) must concern humanity as well. If the musical background of *Mokanawa Wenía*, as it contrasts the two phrases of each cell, present the musical grounds for the assertion and interrogation of tonal associations—whereby the respective quality is a function of either the "assertion" or the "interrogation" of an attractive note (F), an "essential centre"— the "fiery" and "utterable" character of *wenía*-creation should be the *saiti* text. Indeed, the words of bitter-emergence stress the linguistic diacritic of humanity: the knowledge / apprenticeship (*yosí / yosia*) of language (*vana*) is one of the main mythical-musical movements that characterises the emergent humanity. There is something "knowledgeable" about /*yo*/.[129]

That this radical occurs in the verbs *yosĩ, yosi*, and in the noun *yosí* ("to teach," "to learn," and "knowledge") might be as suggestive as other occurrences of /*yo*/ that lack obvious relations to those meanings. It also occurs in for instance *yõsha* ("old woman") and *yome* ("lad"), where the meanings of suffixes are unknown to me. But from their mutual relation one may

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[129]The Grecian *pyr* and *logos*, "emerging fire" and "unveiling utterance" or "gathering word," are here understood after Heidegger 1998[1994], with reference to fragments 66 and 30 (:171–182) and 50, 45, 72, 115, and 112 (:251–405) by Heraclitus.

infer that /*yo*/ relates to age or maturation.

/*Yo*/ also occurs where meaningful relations are more uncertain, such as in *yopa* ("bad luck" or "failure to obtain something," where -*pa* is an augmentative suffix); in *yõká* ("guava fruit"; -*ka* is an adjectival one); in *yomãka* ("difficult"); in the verb *yomea* ("to tire out"); or in *yonai* ("fever"). The relation of feverish states to fieriness is obvious, while a speculative etymology for *yõká*, would consist of *yõ* + *ka*—that is, "fiery." Indeed, native guavas have reddish flesh, figuring also in myth-chants as *nai yõká*, one of the "celestial fruits"—*nawa*-prototypical ones—that *saiti* characters eat in their travels through the cosmos. Another speculation would be *yomãka* as *yo* + *ma* + *ka*, that is, /*yo*/ plus a "negative suffix" and an "adjectival" one. Thus "difficulty" would be a lack of /*yo*/, while "bad luck" would be excess of it.[130]

To speculate more on /*yo*/-occurrences would require reliance on the musical structure of the mythical discourse. Rigour relies on the myth-chanting of tonal and ritual words, in presentations and re-presentations, in transcriptions and translations, in their native commentary and in the exegesis below—in the notes within the musical cell above, as well as

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[130]The Marubo translate *yopa* as *panema*—more in the sense of "lack of success" in achieving goals in hunting, love, or relations with foreigners, than as "bad luck" as the outcome of the infringement of a certain taboo, as among Amazonian Brazilians.

on a closer study of some recurrent verbal lines in the verses of *Mokanawa Wenía*.

I follow this direction in the next chapters. Here I proceed with the very idiom that entitles this *saiti*. Not only is *weni*[*a*] a conspicuous mythical word, but it also is a subliminal verb throughout all myth-chants. Further than "to emerge," "to get up," *weni* means "to originate," "to germinate"—akin to *physis*, in ancient Greece.[131]

Presocratic Greece features in Amazonia against the sonic background of a founding social pact between humanity and divinity: the originality of shamans lies on their simultaneous proximity to and remoteness from the West. If in *wenía*-emergence a nature-*physis* comes into being, establishing humanity on earth, such establishment occurs at the expense of the transferral of native paradigmatic sociality—*nawa*-ness without difference—to a "other"-world. This earth-emerging world is the territory of alterity: the becoming of a celestial-divine *yové*-circularity is to undergo the mediation of terrestrial-doubling *yochĩ*-linearity.[132]

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[131] *Cf.* Grecian *physis*, after Heidegger (1987[1959]:14):

"[*Physis*] denotes self-blossoming emergence (e.g. the blossoming of a rose), opening up, unfolding, that which manifests itself in such unfolding and perseveres and endures in it; in short, the realm of things that emerge and linger on."

[132] *Cf.* Bastos, on the Amazonian Kamayurá (1989:283,287):

"'Nature' for these Indians is 'divine'... [whereas] social reproduction... [is] the great threat, the one which impinges the

As a consequence of the wider meaning of *wenía*-emergence, myth-chants are the widest ontological grounds of these peoples. If all *saiti* convey this meaning to a higher or lesser degree, *Mokanawa Wenía* makes literal references to the recognition of a "cultural" or humanised space by means of the establishment of a relationship between -*nawa* humans, *viz.* natives matrilineal sections, with animals and plants—their ethnonymic namesakes. It is through this original "pact," under the mediation of animal-arboreal terrestrial substances, that humanity recognises and establishes itself in its surrounding or "natural" environment, which for the most part associates with rivers and their high banks.

If the native cosmos stresses the geographical importance of the terrestrial and celestial paths through which peoples and other entities intercommunicate, rivers are no less important as historical points of reference. This is understandable in a landscape of dense jungle spread over a rather flat terrain, a plain relief that only the undulating elevations (*mató*) disturb, the *cabeças-de-terra* or "earthen heads" among which watery arteries (*teã*, Brazilian *igarapés*) drain the firm land (*mai*) to larger streams and large rivers.

Those little streams were poles of attraction rather than passageways in earlier times, when these peo-

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renunciation of nature-divinity, and thus enforces the compulsion of humanisation." (my translation)

ples were living in the vicinities of the headwaters
that lead to medium-size rivers and major tributaries
of the Amazon. Both intermediate tributary waters
(*waka*) and larger rivers (*noa*) have always been envi-
ronmental landmarks throughout native history, now
functioning as ways of transport across the territory.
The Marubo live on *mató*-hillocks adjacent to two of
the most visible watercourses leading to the Javari
River, the Ituí and Curuçá. At present, this is the
river space that native create whilst humanising them-
selves and their environment in *saiti*.

I have shown that the footpath network linking
all native dwellings, gardens, logging and rubber-tap-
ping sites, as well as the distribution of the various
longhouse communities that it separates along several
walking days, are terrestrial representations of the his-
torical movements that myth-chants manifest in the
association between "large riverbanks" (*noa mai*) and
"earth mounds" (*mai mató*), between riverside and
terra firma. All this lead on to an understanding of
the network of cosmic and eschatological paths—*nai
vai* or *nawã vai*, "celestial route" or "rainbow" and *vei
vai*, "dangerous way"—as "second-order" representa-
tions of those movements.

The concluding suggestion is that natives represent
both their mythical and historical transit through these
celestial and terrestrial paths in *saiti*-music, which
inscribes its own temporality in their space. All this

constitutes such a native *physis* or its mythical-musical origin or "representation."

The Marubo world shuns single "things" that conform to an "objective reality," in any solipsistic dimension, either intelligible or sensible, that would make itself available to subjective knowledge. Marubo *wenia*-nature has a temporal reality summarised and constructed in *saiti* myth-chants: that is the sense of "spatial self-humanisation" in mythical-musical creation. The Marubo world consists of temporal relations: it obviates relations between "subjects" and "objects," "culture" and "nature."

The idea of *saiti* as an "artistic expression" of a "cultural-specific reality" has no meaning for a native world where art and culture are no accessories. What would be the point in chanting in ritual a "made-up social world" if this were meant to give full vent to a mere "culture-specific metaphysics"? what is the point of metaphysics at all, if this "cross-cultural category" is meant to account for specific particulars, if the "concept" or the "idea" are generically taken for granted as *eidos*, as "natural universals"? what is the use of giving musical expression to such a purported metaphysics in a performed festival at all, if the entire human and natural existence were not at stake there?

These peoples sing is their sheer existence, that is, that of human nature, that reality which is contingent upon the entire humanity. The Amazonian

world where the Marubo live would cease to exist,
should these -*nawa* peoples disappear. This is no fig-
ure of speech, as one knows well from the example
of other lands where native life has been wiped out,
where its ontological grounds have been uprooted.

The *saiti* myth-chants are a matter of life and
death. The world of natives, the natural world of
these peoples in Amazonia—cultural specifics are unim-
portant here—is the stuff of which those myth-chants
are made. From a native perspective, *saiti* deals with
humanity as a *nawa*-relation with birds and animals,
plants and other things that emerge-*wenía* in nature-
physis. The "Marubo" peoples are neither fond of
this particular ethnonym nor of any similar form of
"ethno-specificity" for no other reason. For them, hu-
manness is generic *nawa*-ness, the foreign element
that "estranges" itself from earth and thus emerges
in the world. If native ontology is the formal con-
tent of *saiti*, such ontology cannot, by definition, be
relativistic insofar as it is constructed upon the *nawa*-
other.

Thus the "cultural" content or "social" function
of a *saiti* will in fact refer to "culture" or "society"
just inasmuch as such contents and functions are set
against to its formal frequencies, structural relation-
ships, its morphemes, lexemes, affixes. I define such
phenomena as "hard data," *viz.* the objectified subject-
matter of the description and exegesis in this study,

the structural form in which one could represent native forms. Yet envisaging things in this way betrays one's biases. In looking at structures and forms as "things," one nullifies the native. Any such opposition between the functional content and the structural form of *saiti* pre-empts a descriptive exegesis of native ontology. These forms and structures, functions and contents will be empty, sheer nothingness, if one take them as the ontological grounds of culture and society.

A "cultural reality" makes no sense without its respective *physis* or *wenía*—or some "natural ontology," the primordial foundations of what things are and what is to be and to become. But an "ontological relativism" is not enough to overcome the nihilism and emptiness of a multiculturalist nature-culture dichotomy. This opposition, including its topological transformations into an homologous "multinaturalist" model, would amount to some sort of philosophical indigence *vis-à-vis* indigenous knowledge.[133]

The existence of multiple cosmos in Amazonia, as myth-chants unveil among the Marubo, imply indeed the existence of several layers of meaning in the world. But the articulation of these layers is a maze of paths that shamans traverse often in music, being available to all just as one approaches death. To ignore the performative means of the statements that constitute

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[133]See such a "multinaturalism" in Viveiros de Castro 1996.

the a symbolic semantics of such a multiplicity would be a diabolic appropriation of shamanic knowledge within a western framework.

If a multinaturalist approach, a multiple perspective on indigenous natures contains a valid critique to the weaknesses of multiculturalism—the positive side of such a critique would be as negative as any sort of cultural relativism. The analytical shift from epistemological to ontological issues would ignore the fact that the dichotomy which distinguishes those issues, once stemming from a homologous distinction between culture and nature, is itself a western construal. If multinaturalism differs from a multiculturalist anthropology in saying that not only "culture knows" and "nature is," but that culture also "is," it forgets to say that, according its own reasoning, nature also "knows." But such a "natural knowledge" follow its own anthropological reasons, instead of conversing with natives.[134]

If Marubo myth-chants were mere representations *a posteriori* of a fundamental native ontology, instead of letting such an ontology occur from the perspective of the *a priori* performative realm of their forms, in the formal structures of *saiti*—all these structural construals would amount to nothing less but the same pseudo-scientific neutrality found in structuralism at

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[134]See Viveiros de Castro in his commentary to the debate on "animism" of Bird-David 1999.

large.

This is evident in indigenous medical issues. If western doctors often treat the Marubo, medical doctors at large often refuse to treat their own relatives. This is tantamount to an acknowledgement that science is hardly value-free. A Marubo healer assists his kin for both moral and emotional grounds, but would hardly exclude a scientific treatment on his own patients. The humanity in their bodies overcomes epistemological variations on psychophysiological ontologies.

Likewise, any epistemological reversal of the culture-nature dichotomy, as well as of any other similar, value-laden metaphysical template—like the opposition between particular "perspectival bodies" and a single "universal soul" in "specific ontologies"—would fail to acknowledge the value-judgement that such a tautology imply. These inadvertent tautologies will be as methodologically inefficient to understand other natures as any structuralism, multinaturalist or otherwise, means another positivistic anthropology proposing cultural essentialisms in the guise of universal generalisations.

If a "cultural world" were less such a nihilistic and empty category as "world culture" for the Marubo—natives say *kurtura tanama*: "culture, [we] don't understand"—there would be no point in attempting to unfold the *saiti* as "native nature" through our structur-

al-musical method. The assumption of that nihilism
and emptiness—that which led western metaphysics,
in the mainstream its history, has led to ontological
enquiries—is the methodological precondition of this
study.

I still sustain that this meets the ontological grounds
of the Marubo. Hence, the necessary complement
to such methods is the enquiry on the ontology that
these natives perform in *saiti* . This means to take
seriously both what natives state and how these na-
tives statements are made—both the content and the
form of their ontological tenets.

Therefore a tentative explanation of *wenía* as a *ph-
ysis*-like "emergence" is not enough. This would be of
pushing the Marubo too much against the background
of ancient Greece. To a certain extent, some honest
research requires it. But after looking at our dead
gods and ailing myths, whilst looking at them against
the sonic background of indigenous music structures,
I must look at the *saiti* text itself and at the peoples
who emerge in it, in their due myth-chant form.

After all, who sprouts in original *wenía*-creation, in
saiti? *Mokanawa* for sure, at least in this study, but
much more than those peoples alone. I have already
shown that *mokanawa* means "poisonous people" or
"bitter people": "peoples," or rather -*nawa* humans,
here denote first humans in a somewhat loose sense,
raças de gente. This sense is in line with the suffix-

ing of native matrilineal sections (*Shanenawa, Vari-nawa...*).

It has also been shown that -*nawa* is a suffix for personal names (*Keniñawa...*). These names indicate persons in an indirect way. These persons receive -*nawa* names to the extent that each person and corresponding name relates to specific kinship sections. *Keni*, in *Keniñawa*, means "beard," for instance—as the whiskers of a jaguar. *Keniñawa* is an *Inonawa*: he belongs to the section of the "jaguar peoples"—hence his name is that of a "man of bristles."

This homology between -*nawa* person and -*nawa* section is common, but not simple. In the example above, -*nawa* and *ino* mean in ethnonyms and in myth-music that which people in the everyday call respectively *yora* ("person") and *kamã* ("jaguar") . Indeed, onomastic prefixes such as *ino*-jaguar have as many semantic layers as the -*nawa* peoples themselves, that is, as all native onomastics. The semantic key for personal or sectional names is mythical-musical.

In everyday language, *mokanawa* means autonomous indigenous groups that live in total isolation from the nation-state, those that once were inimical to the Marubo. At present, it just names all the native peoples who neighbour their lands, such as the Matsés, the Matis or the Korubo. *Mokanawa* is as generic a denomination as "Marubo" or "Mayoruna," an in-

digenous sub-classification of the prototypical exoge-
nous *nawa*, a negative counterpart of the social subdi-
visions that constitute the native matrilineal sections.

Rather than just designating *índios bravos*, "wild-
bitter" ones, the term refers to non-kin indigenous
peoples, to *yora wetsa*—peoples of "other bodies," those
who anyhow share an original *nawa*-classificatory prin-
ciple of self-constitutive alterity with the Marubo.
Marubo language places such specific "wild-bitterness,"
and all those *moka*-peoples who are named after it,
within a closer realm of alterity than the generic *nawa*
"foreigner." *Mokanawa* refers to "another kind" of
yora—more often than not, to Panoans. *Mokanawa* is
nonetheless a somewhat derogatory designation that
marks the "poisonous" border of native relations with
the outside—a historical limit.

The Javari Valley, even after increasing contact be-
tween indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in the
past decades, comprises one of the highest concentra-
tions of autonomous peoples in Amazonia. The Ko-
rubo "club-wielders" (*caceteiros*) and other unknown
moka-peoples are a due source of fear for the Marubo,
although in native semantics their "bitterness" is less
close to "wildness" than to the "tasteful ethos" of the
blowgun poison.

Panoans are quite familiar with the hunting poi-
son that *moka* designates both in chants and in the
everyday. The Marubo are nowadays an exception:

in their world, shotguns (*tipi*) are almost homonyms
to blowguns (*moka tipi*), becoming thus their concep-
tual and actual substitute, while bows and arrows still
survive in hunts.

In contrast, the neighbouring Matis, in the Ituí
River, excel in the use of blowguns and of the cor-
relative *moka*-poison, regardless of the recent intro-
duction of firearms. In their case, accordingly and
inversely, the weapon that equates to the foreign shot-
gun is the arrow and bow. The Matis have a disparag-
ing reputation among the Marubo: those *mokanawa*
are monkey-eaters, which makes sense inasmuch as
monkeys, while being full of taboo-connotations for
the latter, are the preferential prey for poisoned darts
blown toward the treetops. The Matis are *moka*-
peoples *par excellence*, even though this may have lit-
tle to do with disparaging reputations or with their
dietary preferences. The Matis understand poisonous
bitterness, like the Marubo, as a condition of empow-
erment, even though the former phrase such a power-
embitterment in quite idiosyncratic terms.[135]

Hence the apparent adoption of perverse White

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[135]Erikson 1996 finds these terms in the categories *chimu* and
sho. Marubo and Matis representations of bitterness entail a
common-ground of ambiguous "mixed feelings":

> "Être souffrant se dit d'ailleurs tout simplement *chimwek*,
> 'devenir amer,' en quelque sorte, souffrir d'un excès de
> *chimu*. . . [Cependant] les hommes, loin d'éviter, recherchent
> l'amertume, qu'ils soient ou non chamanes." (1996:200,203)

values against the peoples of "wilderness," a prejudice that "acculturated" Indians would manifest against the "pristine-primitive" Matis or Korubo, is in fact no less than a conscious native attitude against an actual past and a future potential of *moka*-ness. Being "wild" as a *mokanawa* would be better understood among them as a "bitter" pathos, an "poisonous" ethos that in fact belongs to the Marubo, as it has been manifest in earlier times and is still latent in their *saiti* festivals—when their welcome addresses *tsããti* make it conspicuous as *inõ koĩ vana* intonations, in true "jaguar's roars."

The *moka*-poison has always been a threat hovering along native history, over internal and external affairs, social and political relations. But it is still no evil icon to be exorcised. If it is an essential ingredient, in all probability, in initiation and increase rituals, now it is indispensable in the acquisition of hunting and shamanic capabilities. Its historical significance is a matter of variable dosage among the Marubo.

The Matis, in a similar fashion, had to interrupt several rituals that would involve such a *moka*-character—as initiation and increase, hunting and warfare. This has been a means to overcome and come to terms with the pacification of external relations with the nation-society, entailing the most severe epidemics. If the Marubo reasoning can apply to the

Matis, *moka*-ness and its correlative substances are
venomous and virulent but still vital. Its excessive,
pervasive proximity in the form of the *nawa*-foreigner
just requires greater concern and semantic redefini-
tion.

In any historical situation, *moka*-ness becomes a
physical state that is contingent upon a *nawa*-exoge-
nous humanness, rather than being a phenotypic trait.
The Matis, who are quite short, are *mokanawa* in the
same sense as the Marubo, known at present for their
stout complexion among local natives, are equally
poisonous-bitter in their origins. The designation of
mokanawa is dependent on time, while historical time
is dependent on the internal state-of-affairs *vis-à-vis*
the exterior: much as the Marubo regard their own
moka-past as times of isolation, but health and strength,
the Matis are regarded as *mokanawa* due to their a
more recent, if devastating contact with the nation-
state.

In *Mokanawa Wenía*, bitter-peoples are born ei-
ther "tall" (*kayapavo*) or "short" (*potopavo*), but al-
ways healthy and strong—their distinctive, wild trait
of alterity that adds to their "poisonous" aggressive-
ness. Variable size is rather a part of the wide array
of classificatory criteria that define *moka*-humanity as
plural, including the multiple creational substances,
languages, ornaments, and names that this *saiti* at-
tributes to them. Dimensional, substantial, linguistic,

ornamental, and onomastic difference is the *nawa*-foundation of the speciation of the emerging peoples in the myth-chant, a human-speciation that is homologous to the current sectional differentiation among the Marubo. Above all distinctions of size, substance, language, ornamentation, and name, *moka*-ness is *nawa*-ness: it means audacity, a mixture of poisonous-aggressiveness and bitter health-strength.

The Marubo say that the *mokanawa* are *valentes*, "fierce:" in the *saiti*, these peoples are accordingly chanted as *nawa yovamavo*. The radical /*yo*/ is now associated with "fierceness," here understood as an other-trait of self-constitution among these peoples. The myths and histories that these natives narrate, in music and in everyday chatter, indicate that /*yo*/ and its variations are typical of the poisonous-bitter otherness of the *mokanawa*, much as these *mokanawa* are the original Marubo.

Thus *moka*-ness is indeed an essential component in the *wenía*-creation of these -*nawa* peoples, as this *saiti*-chant makes explicit. The Marubo are no less *mokanawa* than *yora*-bodies, *yochĩ*-doubles, *yové*-spirits—even if these words are rather implicit in the myth-text. As mythical-musical structures imply these entities along the emergence of those wild-bitter peoples, I shall move to the more outspoken, textual expression of *Mokanawa Wenía*.

mutual domestication

This is no more than a brief exegesis. Hence, the three chapters that conclude this second half of the book shall focus on no more than the most conspicuous verbal phenomena of *Mokanawa Wenía*, seen in the light of the previous discussion. The current chapter looks at the form in which the mythical-musical creation of humankind entails ontogeny—that is, at the formal specifics of the establishment of a relationship between humanity and the order of the world.

In the myth-chants of *wenía*-emergence, peoples emerge as "others," as -*nawa*-beings, the form in which natives conceptualise humanity, while the same myth-chants present their formal conception of animals and plants as "creational substances." Through the latter, animals and plants, and the world at large, partake of the *nawa*-forms that name humans—or rather, the emergent *nawa*-humanity partakes of the emerging world through these animal and arboreal substances.

Creational substances are the specific animal and

vegetable metaphors or metonyms (the *chinã* "breath-thoughts" and *imi* "blood" of tapirs and vipers, as well as the *imi* "blood" and *nãko* "sweetness," *vimi* "fruit," *oa* "flower," and *recho* "sap" of several species of plants) that give rise to human bodies in *saiti*. Further, humans acquire personal names after those animals and plants from whose substances these -*nawa* peoples emerge, then acquiring language from birds and anteaters. Finally, from most of these plants and animals, birds and anteaters, humans acquire ornaments. This entire process leads to their full emergence from earth and settlement in the world.

Here "peoples of *moka* poisonous-bitterness" refer to Indians in relation to Whites: the senses of *nawa* as a suffix and as a single word intertwine in the relationship between identity and difference that this very term mediates in the creation of the *mokanawa* humanity. These *mokanawa* refer to those peoples who are to follow the long processes of in *wenía*-creation, along which persons gradually acquire the proper human status.

The Marubo devise this condition as humans develop a paradoxical association with the other entities it confronts in the world—animals and plants. Marubo personal names are the consequence of domestication, a mutual process that native humanity entertains with the non-human realm of its universe. This is a process where *nawa*-beings become

humans while emerging from earth, acquiring names and languages, then embellishing themselves in the intercourse with animals and plants, to settle in the world at last. The -*nawa* peoples in myth-chants are like original "ethnic groups" or matrilineal sections, kin-*nawa* for the Marubo, since socio-kinship relations among them are on the make in mythical-musical time. Their *yora*-bodies are to embody personal names as badges of "mutual domestication" inasmuch as humanity consists in an ontological compromise, a *nawa*-onomastic contract that it establishes in the world, much in the same way as these peoples have striven for a "mutually domesticating" form of relation with *nawa*-outsiders throughout their history.

In myth, human creatures are "prototypically large" (*nawa*), but still in their infancy (*vake*). These peoples are *nawa* before being *yora*-beings, receiving accordingly the qualification *moka*—as humans in their bitter-poisonous origins. In this connection, the designative reference that the prepubescent personal names of these peoples make to a material object is also mythical-musical, often referring to the objective matter whereby humanity emerges from earth into the world (as *shoi*, "hole" or *vimi*, "fruit"). In other words, both those *nawa*-sectional ethnonyms and these children's names consist of animals, plants, and other related things around the Marubo, to which their myth-music superimposes several layers of meaning

and above all a sense of worldly domestication. The Marubo say that the newborn -*nawa* beings coincide with actual children. These *moka*-peoples are in the initial stages of such a process.

Marubo bodies are *yora*-fragments that become *yochĩ*- and *yové*-related souls to the extent that the *saiti* states humanity as a composite state of pieces of animals and plants, associating personal names to objects, while each name relates to animal- or tree-named matrilineal sections. Their infant names identify these objects with the creation of these -nawa peoples, with their own sectional ethnonyms themselves, as for instance *Ranenáwavo* ("white-collared peccary" or "bead" peoples).

The mythical-musical logic is clear: if humans are made of vegetable and animal creational substances, the -*nawa* peoples and the persons who emerge as such are subject to an arboreal, animal, etc. onomastics. The created peoples are other-becoming beings, more than in the sense of *yora*-bodies subscribing to a specific ethnic or cultural identity. Their self-attributed ethnicity is due to their *nawa*-nature and to the related *moka*-quality, to a human status that entails a wild-foreign state. For the Marubo, to be human is to partake of a tree or an animal: to be one is to be another—to be is to other.

I will examine how creational substances convert into *mokanawa* humanity, proceeding later toward

an explanation of how this conversion relates to the correlative processes of human acquisition of name, language, and ornament. The synchronic relations of animals and plants with the respective substances will feature first in the diachronic temporality of *saiti* lines, the whole chronological order in which these creational appear throughout *Mokanawa Wenía*, taking them later as particular cases.

The words in boldface in the table below lists all creational substances, with the respective animals and plants underneath. The numbers in parenthesis beside animal and plant indicate the precise verses where each animal- or plant-substance occurs for the first time. The table is meant to show their overall sequence, omitting the immediate, successive occurrences:

chinã-**thoughts**
        imi-**blood**
awá-tapir (2)   *nãko*-**sweetness**
        awá-tapir (16)   *vimi*-**fruit**
rono-viper (29)   *oa*-**flower**
        rono-viper (39)   *recho*-**sap**
mai-earth (65)
        tama-tree (81)
          tama-tree (88)
              tama-tree (92)
                tama-tree (97)
         paka-bamboo (104)
                paka-bamboo (112)
         shono-tree (119)
                shono-tree (127)
         waki-tree (136)
         epe-palm (147)
                epe-palm (153)
                isã-palm (171)
                   vinõ-palm (175)
                vinõ-palm (184)
                   anĩ-palm (196)
                   rome-tobacco (216)
                rome-tobacco (224)
         rome-tobacco (231)
                   mani-banana (240)
                mani-banana (250)
             tama-tree (268)
        kenã-tree (283)
                panã-palm (293)

These animals, plants, and their respective substances feature with an approximate regularity until verse 293, which indicates an abrupt change in the *saiti*, on the way toward the completion of its three hundred and ninety verses. Along those near three hundred initial verses, an infallible succession—*awá*-tapir / *rono*-viper / *mai*-earth / *tama*-tree / *paka*-bamboo / *shono*-tree / *waki*-tree / *epe*-palm / *isã*-palm/ *vinõ*-palm/ *anĩ*-palm / *rome*-tobacco / *mani*-banana / *kenã*-tree / *panã*-palm—indicates that the distribution of the respective substances among these animals or trees follows a certain linear order. There is no interpolation in the successive series of animals and plants—

except for *tama*-tree, which appears as late as in verse 268.

This *tama*-tree is also the term that has the widest distribution among creational substances: (the chant features *tama imi*-blood, *tama nãko*-sweetness, *tama vimi*-fruit, *tama oa*-flower). This points to the pivotal character of *tama* as a generic "arboreal category," cohering with the fact that such a category constitutes the grounding of the prototypical *yové*-spiritual, intermediate abode (*tama shavaya*).

Following the succession of human-creational animals and plants in the myth-chant, the linear chronology of substances would be in a corresponding order: animal-earthly *chinã*-thoughts and *imi*-blood, *imi*-blood and *nãko*-sweetness of plants, and then plant-fragments, that is, *vimi*-fruit, *oa*-flower, *recho*-sap. Let us look at these creational substances more or less in this order, in the way that the *saiti* phrases it.

In preparation for the *wenía*-emergence of the *moka*-peoples, the creational ground is full of "thoughts" (*chinã*) and "sweetness" (*nãko*), since from first verse with actual words (2) almost to the last verbal verse that narrates human creation (283), among all the initial *saiti*-verses in which the myth-chant features humans emerging from such substances. These human-creational verses phrase both breath-thoughts and spiritual sweetness as substances "put into place there"— as *chinã oso atõsho* (in verses 2, 31, 66) and *nãko oso*

atõsho (in 88, 104, 119, 136, 147, 231, 283),

One may translate *chinã* and *nãko* in these ... *oso
atõsho* formula as "spatial thoughts" or the "sweet-
ness of the [originating] site." The difficult translation
of these lines results from the apparent senselessness
of assigning a spatial character to something that is
usually human (*chinã*-thoughts), or of assuming the
inherent "sweetness" (*nãko*) of the origins of humans.

Indeed, *chinã* and *nãko* are creational substances
in more than a figurative sense. These "thoughts"
and "sweetness" inform a theory of creation that en-
visages humanity and the human world in a mutual
perceptual alchemy. Further, much as *chinã* allows
for several layers of meaning beyond that of "breath-
thoughts," the "sweetness" of *nãko* is an oversimpli-
fication of a semantic-laden word. It means, for in-
stance, one of the several shamanic varieties of *oni*-
drinks, a type of *ayahuasca* vine-brew with honey or
fruit juice, in addition to some leaves—as those of
the *asho*- or *shai*-tree, *envireira* in Brazil (*Annonaceae*
family).

Both as spiritual food and as supplementary nour-
ishment for children to gain weight, *nãko* is as nutri-
tional as "breath-thoughts" are vital. However, as oc-
curs with *chinã*, the gloss "sweetness" is inappropriate
insofar as it takes substantial matter for an adjecti-
val attribute. Both substances stand for some sort
of perceptual substantiality instead. If *nãko* is like a

"spiritual sweetener," *chinã* is some sort of "spiritual animator."

Given the serial distribution of the two . . . *oso atõsho* lines along the myth-chant, it is tempting to translate the dual distinction that this recurrent formula presents in mere structuralist terms. The two creational substances, "thoughts" and "sweetness," would be cultural forms to address a natural discontinuity, since animals have *chinã* whereas plants have *nãko*.

However, if the common and intrinsic "spatial" character (*oso atõsho*) of these "thoughts" and "sweetness" already dims the contrast between animal and vegetable, the dissimilarity disappears altogether with reference to another substantial correlative of both: "blood." The "blood in pools" (*imi veo atõsho*) of both animals (verses 17, 53) and tree (verse 81) clot on the same ground that sweetness and thoughts constitute without distinction, in a sensorial sense: while still sweet and thoughtful, creational earth is bloody.

In fact, that "original earth" whence the original peoples emerge is poorly designated. The verbal constructions with the syntagma *oso atõsho* just imply it. The "earthen" or "tellurian" qualities of space are no literal qualifications of a creational ground, no designation of substance. The ultimate message that creation conveys will be the ontological "spatialisation" of *noa mai* and *mató*, the *nawa*-land of large riverbanks (*noa mai*) and the high forest mounds (*mató*)

where the native villages stand. These two geographical spaces are both original landmarks that figure elsewhere in the myth-chant and the precise features that configure the everyday reality of the native world.

In the myth-chant, the spatial substantiality of this original earth is itself blood (*imi*), sweetness (*nãko*) and thoughts (*chinã*), the nutritional-vital substances that originate humankind. The threefold provenience of these substantial origins of humans (*awá*-tapir, the *rono*-viper, plus the generic *tama*-tree and its specific arboreal variants) are still secondary to the unitary emphasis on the primeval terrestrial medium that these three subtances constitute. Otherwise, the stemming of "bitter" peoples (*moka*) from a "sweet" substance (*nãko*) would sound like a "bittersweet" oxymoron, as absurd as animal *chinã*-thoughts or the *imi*-blood of trees on the ground.

This bitter-wildness, *moka*-ness is no more than a marker of *nawa*-alterity, the "poisonous" potency that creates humanity and the human space. Its palatal taste is as irrelevant as the simultaneous "sweetness," "thoughtfulness," and "sanguinity" of all original peoples with regard to their common creational ground. These sense-perceptions are the intellectualisation of humanity in the human space, of the original chthonic nutritional-vitality to which the equivalence of *nãko*, *chinã*, and *imi* refers.

The earth-constitutive relation among these crea-

tional substances is a function of their logical "family resemblance." That is, the three of them associate themselves through the partial superposition of their respective associations with animals (*awá*-tapir, *rono*-viper) and the generic tree (*tama*), as follows:

chinã-thoughts	⇒	*awá*-tapir, *rono*-viper
imi-blood	⇒	*awá*-tapir, *rono*-viper, *tama*-tree
nãko-sweetness	⇒	*tama*-tree

This "family resemblance" is locative: all the three substances are *veo atõsho* or *oso atõsho*, "in pools" or "in place," as a grounding. However, these three creational substances exhaust neither the ground-constitution of *saiti* nor all the substantial origins of the emerging peoples, albeit typifying both. The myth-chant introduces a further speciation of creational substances in order to account for human *nawa*-diversity, which could indeed lead to a structuralist opposition, however paradoxical, between animal origins and vegetable ones.

In effect, while the *awá*-tapir and the *rono*-viper remain the single human-creational animals, *Moka-nawa Wenía* adds eleven other plant species to the generic *tama*-tree, completing the matrix of creational substances. The resulting arboreal taxonomy includes *shono* (the spiritual "*samaúma* tree"), *epe* (Brazilian "*jarina* palm-tree," genus *Phytelephas*), *isã* (species *Jessenia bataua*, "*patauá* palm-tree" in Brazil), *vinõ* (known as "*buriti* or *carandá* palm-tree," *Mauritia*,

Trithrinax, Copernicia, Acrocomia genuses), *panã* (the "*açaí* palm-tree"), *mani* ("banana tree"), *paka* (known as "*taboca* bamboo"), *waki* (species *Jacaratia spinosa*, "*mamoí* tree"), *rome* ("tobacco"), *anĩ* (Brazilian "*tachí* tree," *Triplaris* and *Tachigali* genuses), *kenã* (species *Apeiba tibourbou*, "*pente-de-macaco* tree"). At the same time, three metonyms of trees (*recho*-sap, *vimi*-fruit, and *oa*-flower) join the two creational tree-metaphors "sweetness" (*nãko*) and "blood" (*imi*), enlarging the mythical-musical classification of arboreal substances at the expense of the scarcity of animal ones, which include just the same *imi*-blood and the *chinã*-thoughts.

However, the meanings of these substantial metaphors and the three additional tree-metonyms of human creation might be not so divergent. This, of course, would render the very distinction between "metaphorical" and "metonymic" creational substances quite arbitrary.

The generic *tama*-tree differs from the other trees not only inasmuch as it is the single arboreal species coupled with *imi*-blood. Above all, it is an inordinate category, typical of the mythical-musical vocabulary and imbued with *yové*-spiritual connotation, just like the substantial metaphors *chinã*-vitality and *nãko*-nutrition. Contrariwise, *recho*-sap, *oa*-flower, and *vimi*-fruit, the three other plant-specific metonyms that the myth-chant introduces with the addi-

tion of the eleven arboreal species, pertain to ordinary language, just like these species themselves.

As it happens, the *tama*-tree, no matter how inordinate, is also substance-related to ordinary *vimi*-fruits and *oa*-flowers, while the native interpretation of *recho*-sap as a speciated form of arboreal blood—a fluid equivalent of *imi*—corresponds to an interesting classificatory distribution along the myth-chant. This classification blurs again the opposition between substantial metaphors and metonyms. Since arboreal *recho*-sap and *imi*-blood are equivalent substances, both sharing the original nutritional-vitality of *nãko*-sweetness and *chinã*-thoughts, the *saiti* presents them as mutually exclusive: sappy trees do not exude blood, while bloody ones do not exude sap. As the table above shows, if the generic *tama*-tree not only has *vimi*-fruits and *oa*-flowers but is "bloody" as well, it does not yield *recho*-sap like the other, speciated trees.

Thus the two creational-substantial categories *imi* and *recho* are complementary—that is, their arboreal referents do not overlap:

imi-blood	⇒	*tama*
recho-sap	⇒	*vinõ, panã, mani, rome, anĩ*

Now if we reduce this complementary classification to one overarching meta-category of "arboreal fluid," considering the "tree-blood" (*tama imi*) as equivalent to a hypothetical "tree-sap" (*tama recho*)—all the

three tree-metonyms, plus the eleven arboreal species that correspond to them, will maintain a relationship of categorial similarity through *tama*-tree. It is as if these additional trees and the corresponding metonyms were just poetical devices to enlarge the relational range between the emerging humanity and the arboreal substances of creation. The *tama*-tree will be the one category that encompasses all specific trees—inasmuch as, apart from being a "generic tree" in myth-music, it relates to all arboreal substances that occur in this *saiti*: besides *nãko*-sweetness, it associates not only with substantial *vimi*-fruits and *oa*-flowers but, through the *imi* blood-metaphor, with *recho*-sap as well.

This means that all creational substances, both arboreal and animal ones, both "metonyms" and "metaphors" will have something in common through the generic *tama*-tree. Hence *tama* will be the pivotal term that connects the threefold substantial sub-classification of trees (*vimi*, *oa*, *recho*) with the category of *nãko*-sweetness, while it also connects, through *imi*-blood, all these arboreal substances to *chinã*-thoughts, the animal-exclusive creational substance. An overall logic of family resemblance obtains throughout all sets of creational-substantial equations, between metonymical and metaphorical substances, between plants and animals. This overcomes the paradox between a multiple arboreal-animal speciation of human origins on the one hand, against the common earth-

provenance of all on the other.

The table below summarises the equations between all creational substances and their respective plants or animals, underlying the names of arboreal and animal species that bring out the overall substantial resemblance:

creational substances		**plants / animals**
vimi-fruit	⇒	<u>*tama*</u>
oa-flower	⇒	<u>*tama*</u>, *shono*, *rome*, *paka*, *epe*, *vinõ*, *mani*, *isã*
imi-blood, *recho*-sap	⇒	<u>*tama*</u>, *anĩ*, *rome*, *panã*, *vinõ*, *mani*
nãko-sweetness	⇒	<u>*tama*</u>, *shono*, *rome*, *paka*, *epe*, *waki*, *kenã*
imi-blood	⇒	<u>*tama*</u>, <u>*awá*</u>, <u>*rono*</u>
chinã-thoughts	⇒	<u>*awá*</u>, <u>*rono*</u>

This intertwines all creational substances and the respective vegetable and animal realms:

nãko, oa, vimi	⇒	plants
imi or *recho*	⇒	plants and animals
chinã	⇒	animals

The Marubo conceive the single cosmic reality that begets their multiple-sectional humanity in the creational-substantial terms of these equations, instead of modelling several totemic templates after one real given. The *saiti* renders this explicit in those formulae which feature each creational substance. These verbal lines configure the ontological space where peoples emerge from earth into the world.

Both *chinã*-thoughts and *nãko*-sweetness are *oso atõsho*, "in place," while *imi*-blood is *veo atõsho*, "in pools." The typical spatial states of *recho*-sap (*avatõsho*), of *oa*-flowers (*as' iki atõsho*), and of *vimi*-fruits (*reoko atõsho*), as *saiti*-lines present them, are three variant expressions that just express the existence of the respective substances "there." If *chinã*-thoughts and *nãko*-sweetness are homologous to the specific space where humanity "fits in" (*oso atõsho*), *recho*-sap, *oa*-flowers and *vimi*-fruits would be contiguous to this space, while blood-pools (*imi veo atõsho*) are midway between homology and contiguity, "coagulating there" (*vetxõ kaĩ atõsho*).

These distinct *saiti*-phrasings might suggest again a distinction between substantial metaphors and metonyms, through an analogy with that which structural linguistics calls syntagmatic and paradigmatic axes. If thoughts (*chinã*) are metaphors of animals, sweetness (*nãko*) will be of plants. If sap, flowers, and fruits (*recho*, *oa*, and *vimi*) were metonyms of trees, parts standing for the whole, then blood (*imi*) would be an intermediate: a metaphor for trees and a metonym for animals.

However, these *saiti*-expressions are not analogical figures of speech in the way structural linguistics understands it. According to native phenomenology, all creational substances are both adjectives and substantives, adjectival substances rather than attribu-

tive adjectives to some substantial matter.

As such, these substances do not constitute an epistemology of the real, qualifying and distinguishing between ontological realms, "spiritual," "human," "cultural," "natural" or otherwise. Rather, creational substances make up native ontology in myth-chants, with all its epistemological offshoots. The Marubo present such ontology, in this *saiti*, as the chthonic-alchemic creation of humans and the human world. Instead of presuposing an opposition between substance and attribute, such distinctions as between metaphors and metonyms can just serve the end of variation and reiteration of this creational ground.

Further, both animal and vegetable substances are in direct connection with human nomination: naming is coterminous to creating, a reassertion of the creational common-ground, of the substantial continuity between animals, plants, and peoples. The names of the created peoples derive from those of creational-substantial animals and plants through the expression . . . *ikã ayavo*—"[they] have [their] names" or "[they] are [their] homonyms." This poetical formula, more often than not, follows the indication of the respective animal or vegetable substance in the . . . *atõsho* lines.

The Marubo submit the word *ikã* to interesting twists of meaning. In *Mokanawa Wenía*, its gloss as "homonym." But native translators would render it in other myth-chants as "to ripen a plan," which re-

lates to nomination as much as our equivalent gloss "thinking" does to creation. Instead of translating the subjective will of a creator, names and ripeness, thoughts and plans are objective processes of coming into being, from earth toward the world of humanity, conjoining animal and vegetable origins and the corresponding human creatures.

Next comes the linguistic stage of the ambivalent process of domestication. This a stage that accompanies and follows the chthonic generation of humans whereby humanity is assigned and assigns itself personal names. This whole process is to be understood as one of mutual approximation, instead of the establishment of ontological partitions separating humans from animals and plants. The ambivalence of this approximation is particularly clear in the human acquisition of the ability to speak, which the myth-chant phrases in two countering directions.

The development of linguistic capabilities is both active and passive: humans both learn their languages (*vanaki a yosisho*) and have them taught (*atõ vana yosî*). This occurs in their intercourse with animals that are classifiable in two distinct genera. In contrast to the animals from whose substances humans emerge, the origins of human languages refer to two species of anteaters—*shae* and *vi*, the giant anteater (species *Myrmecophaga tridactyla*, "*tamanduá-bandeira*" in Brazil) and the smaller "*tamanduá-mirim*" (*Taman-*

dua tetradactyla)—as well as to several species of birds (the "red macaw" *shawã*, the "*maitaca*-parrot" *sheshe* (genus *Pionus*), and the "ultramarine grosbeak" *shane*).

Originating from anteaters or birds, language is as exogenous as the animal and vegetable substances that ground the origins of peoples. However, much as humans are not engendered out of other beings but become human, *i.e.* "*nawa*-others" through their ground-constituent creational substances, language (*vana*) does not simply come from non-human entities. It is "that which brings forward" (*vitima*) a mutual relationship, a reciprocal contract that coheres with the alchemic-chthonic nutritional-vitality which comes through animals and trees along the mythical-musical process of *wenía*-emergence.

The embellishment and establishment of humanity in the world is the last movement in this earthemerging process of "mutual domestication." It is hardly the least significant one in *Mokanawa Wenía*. Before turning to it, let us look at the meanings that the *saiti* encodes in the message that the original existence and knowledge of humans is not anthropomorphic—that human names, as badges of their animalarboreal *nawa*-creation, as well as their bird-anteater languages, do not originate as exclusive to humankind.

First, the substances of anthropogeny (breath-thoughts, blood, sweetness, flowers, fruit, sap) that configure the earthen *nawa*-mould of humanity connect the two

extremes of the creation movements—from animals and trees, toward the nomination of humans. On the animal side, there is a stress on predation (*awá*-tapir and *rono*-viper, prototypical prey and predator). On the arboreal one, the three substantial tree-metonyms are just additional variations on a key metaphor, a palatal substance (*nãko*-sweetness).

Further, the chthonic interrelation among the animal-arboreal substances that give rise to humans obtains through the *imi*-blood of the *tama*-tree. After this creational substance and all others, the dual composition of -*nawa* ethnonyms codifies the mutual relationship that human creatures entertain with animals and plants throughout that "ontological movement" of creation. Humanity is a composite state of *nawa*-transmutation.

Now in contrast to this substantial-nominal relationship between humanity and non-human living being, neither predatory animals nor perceptual substance take part in the transmission of linguistic knowledge to humans, in this "epistemological movement" as it were. This is a prerogative of inedible animals, among which birds stand out.

The ontological and the epistemological levels of human creation have a sonic commonality: both the existence and knowledge of humans, both creational-nominational and linguistic movements from non-humanity to humanity, are inscribed in mythical-musi-

cal temporality as successive verbal verses juxtaposed to reiterative musical cells. But the non-human entities and substances that these movements involve emphasise the distinction between both levels: the creation-onomastic form of chthonic humanisation requires sense-perceptible substances as mediators between the human outcome and the predation-related animal or plant source, whereas the linguistic form of humanisation dispenses with substantial mediation between humanity and the inedible animals, anteaters and birds, that relate to it.

The schema below summarises those parallel movements, the ontological creation-nomination and language-epistemology of mutual domestication relating humans to animals and plants. In accordance to previous reasonings, it reduces all metonymic tree-substances to the metaphoric *tama nãko*, "arboreal sweetness," while taking *imi*-blood as both metaphor for vegetable substance and metonym for animal predation:

	↗	**predatoriness** of tapir and viper	↘	
earth	⇒	animal-arboreal **blood**	⇒	**human names**
	↘	**sweetness** of trees	↗	
nawa-**world**	⇒	**insipidity** of anteaters and birds	⇒	**human language**
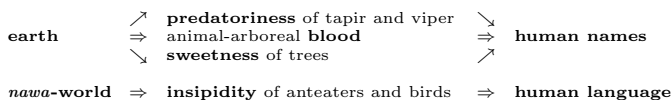
As a rule, naming acts mark the long series of creation events. This explains why the acquisition of human names after animals and plants is tantamount to their "ripening" (. . . *ikã ayavo*) in the *nawa*-world.

This means that creational substances "ripe" on earth as -*nawa* humans in the world, whose personal names designate this two-way process, sealing the animal-arboreal substantiation of humanity. Those tellurian substances—which <u>sound</u> in existence as human names much as a metaphorical-metonymical "blood" (*imi*) "clots" (*vetxõ kaî*) on chthonic space (*atõsho*)—mediate the relationship of mutual domestication of humanity *vis-à-vis* predation-related animals and *nãko*-perceptual trees.

In contrast, the parallel linguistic domestication is unmediated by substances since it is insipid—that is, it includes inedible, non-predatory animals: anteaters and birds. Thus linguistics is impermeable to onomastics: between humanity and non-humanity, a mutual epistemology—learning-*yosi* and teaching-*yosĩ*, a double movement—pre-empts the substantial mediation of an ontological mutuality. The list of language-giving animals (*shae* and *vi* anteaters, and the birds *shawã*, *sheshe*, *shane*) excludes name-givers.

This results in the exclusion of such insipid animals of language from the table below. It connects vegetal and animal onomastics with the respective distribution of creational substances. Double arrows indicate the effective connection from animal-arboreal provenance and creational substance to the resulting human name:

animal	arboreal		substances		names
tapir			*chinã*-thoughts	⇒	–
viper		⇒	*chinã*-thoughts	⇒	*rono*
tapir			*imi*-blood		–
viper			*imi*-blood		–
	generic tree	⇒	*imi*-blood	⇒	*tama*
	mamoí tree		*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*epe*
	generic tree	⇒	*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*tama*
	samaúma tree	⇒	*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*shono*
	tobacco	⇒	*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*rome*
	taboca bamboo	⇒	*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*paka*
	jarina palm-tree	⇒	*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*epe*
	pente-de-macaco tree	⇒	*nãko*-sweetness	⇒	*kena*
	açaí palm-tree	⇒	*recho*-sap	⇒	*panã*
	buriti palm-tree	⇒	*recho*-sap	⇒	*vinõ*
	banana tree	⇒	*recho*-sap	⇒	*mani*
	tobacco		*recho*-sap		–
	tachí tree		*recho*-sap		–
	taboca bamboo	⇒	*oa*-flower	⇒	*paka*
	generic tree		*oa*-flower		–
	samaúma tree		*oa*-flower		–
	tobacco		*oa*-flower		–
	jarina palm-tree		*oa*-flower		–
	buriti palm-tree		*oa*-flower		–
	banana		*oa*-flower		–
	patauá palm-tree		*oa*-flower		–
	generic tree	⇒	*vimi*-fruit	⇒	*vimi*

The dashes (–) and sequences of arrows (⇒) from animals and plants through substances indicate and lead to several gaps, to some inconsistencies and redundancies in the column of names. But except for the *nãko*-sweetness of the *mamoí*-tree, entailing *epe*-homonyms instead of *waki*, while the *vimi*-fruit of the *tama*-tree, an exceptional metonymic substance for generic trees, appears as a human name instead of its arboreal provenance—there is a literal correspondence between namesake animals or plants and the consequent names. If the tapir (*awá*) does not generate a corresponding name through its substantial metaphors and metonyms, the generic tree (*tama*), much as the *taboca*-bamboo (*paka*), lend their names to the substantiated humans through two different

substances each (*imi* and *nãko* of *tama*-trees, *nãko*
and *oa* of *paka*-bamboos). Again, the essential ar-
boreal substance, the metaphorical *nãko*-sweetness of
the generic *tama*-trees, creates continuity between an-
imals and plants, from metaphor and metonym to hu-
man names.

At last, both the "ontological" and "epistemologi-
cal" movements of such a mutual domestication, both
the substantial-onomastic constitutions and linguistic
capacities of humanity converge in one movement of
"beautification." While creational substances medi-
ate the association of predation-related animals and
plants with the created humans, whose languages de-
rive from their intercourse with inedible, insipid birds
and anteaters, body-adornments mark their settle-
ment in the world. The mediation of "ornamental
elements" represents the completion of the mutual-
domestication process.

These elements, whose ornamental origins stem
from both animals and plants, relate to both sense-
perceptual predation and insipid inedibility. If animal
and arboreal creational substances and their deriva-
tive names are mythical-musical symbols of the chthon-
ic origins of humanity, of the nutritional-vitality of
earth made human body through substantial anima-
tion, ornaments are the resulting synthesis of this
world-humanisation. Both humans and the human
world are the hybrid outcome of a zoo-botanical mix-

ture on earth.

As with the human acquisition of names and languages, *Mokanawa Wenía* expresses the distinction between the symbolic emergence of humans from earth and their synthetic embellishment-establishment in the world on a categorial basis: creational substances and ornamental elements, while having the common animal-arboreal provenance, pertain to sets of animals and plants that are almost altogether different. But unlike the absolute categorial incompatibility between the endowment of names and languages, the taxonomic expression of the distinction that the *saiti* draws between creation and ornamentation is a concentric relation: the latter encompasses the former.

If native linguistics and onomastics are two conceptual poles that exclude each other, ornamental elements are inclusive: ornamentation relates not only to animals and plants from whose creational substances humanity emerges and acquire names, but also to those animals which endow language to humans. These ornaments substantiate the earth-emergence of humanity in its settlement in the human world. Hence the names of these -*nawa* peoples, as indications of their ornamental establishment throughout creation, emerge from the mythical past into the historical present, among contemporary native children.

This means, on the one hand, that all language-giving fauna and avifauna, except for the small *vi-*

anteater, originate ornamental elements as well: some
ornaments derive from *shawã*-macaws, *sheshe*-parrots,
shane-birds, and *shae*-anteaters. Yet on the other,
even though there is no direct congruency between
creational and ornamental formulae in the myth-chant,
there are more important similarities between these
two *saiti*-movements than the fact that both require
substances or elements as mediators between human-
ity and non-humanity. Apart from a few common veg-
etable sources (*panã* and *epe* palm-trees) for both cre-
ational substance and ornamental element, the myth-
ical-musical distinction between the animality that
gives rise to creation (tapir and viper) and that which
produces ornamentation (jaguar and monkey, sloth
and anteater, etc.) is rather nominal. If ornamental
animals imply the same predatoriness of creational
animality, ornamentation also implies the inedible in-
sipidity of language-giving animals.

This also means that, although ornamentation is
no substantial symbol of creation, ornaments syn-
thesise the humanising effect of both the movements
of substantiation-nomination and those of language-
endowment. This imparts human direction to the
mythical-musical sounds that come from earth and
move toward the world.

The embellishment of the emergent humanity is
the synthesis of a symbolic chthonic emergence that
results in the terrestrial establishment of humans. If

humanity is the outcome of the ground-constituting movements of animal-arboreal, sensory-predation percepts, the outgrowth of animals and plants concurs with its aesthetic settlement on land. If animal and vegetable creational substances are agents of fertile humanisation, ornamental elements like tails and teeth of animals, seeds and sprouts of plants are objects of the subjective agency of humans. But embellishing is the final act of domestication movements that always convolve humanity and non-humanity in the mutual constitution of their existential grounds: without ornaments of animal and vegetable origin, there is no possible dwelling in the world.

The distribution of ornaments and ornamental elements, in relation to the animals and trees that originate them, clarifies the conceptual continuity that the myth-chant establishes between the symbols of creation and and their ornamental synthesis:

animal	arboreal		elements		ornaments
shae-anteater		⇒	*ina*-tail	⇒	*papiti*-dorsal ornament
isko-bird		⇒	*ina*-tail	⇒	*shãpati*-frontal garment
shawã-macaw		⇒	*ina*-tail	⇒	*txipãti*-posterior garment
shawã-macaw		⇒	*ina*-tail	⇒	*keo*-labial stems
shawã-, kana-macaws, *kayõ*-parrot		⇒	*ina*-tail	⇒	*tene*-headdress
kana-macaw, *txere*-parakeet *kayõ-, vawa-, sheshe*-parrots, *osho*-crane, *isko*-bird		⇒	*ina*-tail	⇒	*maiti-, soromaiti*-headdresses
txere-parakeet		⇒	*sheta*-beak	⇒	*táshekiti*-ankle band
naĩ-sloth, *kamã*-jaguar, *iso*-monkey		⇒	*sheta*-tooth	⇒	*tewiti*-necklace
shawã-macaw		⇒	*sheta*-beak	⇒	*rane*-bead
shae-anteater		⇒	*rani*-down	⇒	*shãpati*-frontal garment
shane-bird, *kayõ*-parrot		⇒	*rani*-down	⇒	*maiti-, soromaiti*-headdresses
vawa-parrot		⇒	*rena*-facial down	⇒	*soromaiti*-headdress
võto-snail		⇒	*keshá*-shell	⇒	*romoshe*-nostril ornament
	pĩtxo-palm	⇒	*shãko*-sprout	⇒	*maiti*-headdress
	epe-palm	⇒	*shãko*-sprout	⇒	*inĩti*-straw band
	pĩtxo-, panã-, pani-palms	⇒	*eshe*-seed	⇒	*rane*-bead
	shepã-palm	⇒	*sheo*-thorn	⇒	*romoshe*-nostril ornament
	voa-palm	⇒	*kanase*-thorn	⇒	*keo*-labial ornament
	pani-palm	⇒	–	⇒	*vatxi*-skirt
	rome-tobacco	⇒	–	⇒	*pei*-leaf (to suck)

The table above testifies that, contrary to the naming-creating of the *mokanawa* peoples, there is no opposition between their body-ornamentation the learning-teaching of their languages. On the contrary, the animal and vegetable ornaments connote both predation and inedibility, blurring the distinction that excludes

the bestowal of languages from the creation and assignment of names to humans—that is, that which distinguishes between their acquisition of knowledge and their coming into being.

On the other hand, the concentric inclusion of animal and plants relating to the symbolic substances of creation-nomination among those that relate to the synthetic elements of ornamentation is an elaboration of the widest humanising direction of the *saiti*. The expansion of creation into ornamentation directs the emergent humanity from the earth that <u>is</u> to the world that <u>becomes</u>.

While creational substances (thoughts, sweetness, blood, etc.) are the metaphors and metonyms of animals and plants which constitute human bodies—the ontological basis of the animal-arboreal fragmentation-combination thath constitutes the grounding of the *wenía*-sprouting of humanity—the ornamental elements (tails, thorns, etc.) that derive from similar animals and plants are prosthetic complements to humans. From the originating earth surface to the originated bodily skin, the human coming into being is a symbolic and synthetic ontological arrangement of a humanised world: humans sprout on the earthen substances of animals and trees, while the sprouting outgrowth from animals and trees substantiate upon a worldly humanity.

As all verbal formulae in *Mokanawa Wenía*, these

animal-arboreal substances and elements conform to the *yové*-reiteration of *saiti*-sounds, from which humans come into existence and acquire names and ornaments. But from this conjunction of ontological origins, it is the *yochĩ*-successiveness in mythical-musical verses that leads to the adorned end of humanity, settled in the world with animal and arboreal names and bodies. If creational substances and ornamental elements predicate a *yové*-spiritual origin and destination, both incorporate and recycle *yochĩ*-double living-matter. Divinity is given human form through humanisation movements whose content is a mythical-musical—the mutual domestication between humanity and non-humanity.

Of all classificatory digressions from mythical-musical meanings, through these animal-arboreal references of the original humanity in *Mokanawa Wenía*, these are the relevant remarks that one should keep for further reference. First, the animal-arboreal earthly origins of the *nawa*-creatures, in their *yové*-originated and *yové*-destined process of world-humanisation, imply the mythical-musical inscription of the *yochĩ*-qualities in the movements of creation. These are the movements that ensure a distinctive linear life and allow for a circular birth and death. Second, such an inscribed distinction is incorporated from non-human beings and encoded within human bodies. It is in the psychophysiology of natives—as left and right, eyes and excreta, pit of the stomach and shadow. It

is in their myth-chants—as origins and destinations, substances and ornaments, hole on earth (*shoi*) and home in the world (*shavá*).

To end this chapter, I refer back to the first of the tables above—the creation order of the substantiation of humanity as it occurs along *saiti*-verses. The *wenía*-emergence movement of substantiation-creation starts with animal "thoughts" and "blood." Then changes into vegetable "blood" and "sweetness," plus the plant-fragments "fruit, flower, and sap."

The turning point in the mythical-musical series is the conversion of *imi*-blood from animal-metaphor to vegetable-metonyms. Confirming previous suggestions, the myth-chant signals this transition as a literal earth-constitution: right between the respective identification of creational substances with animals and plants, in verse 65, *saiti*-lines describe the *chinã*-thoughts of the bitter-land itself (*moka mai*) producing the creative noises (*perẽ akimane*) that give rise to the poisonous peoples.

This concludes the initial regularity of the alternation between reiterative breath-thoughts and blood of animals, between the *chinã* and *imi* of tapirs (verses 2 and 16) and snakes (verses 29 and 39). To perform the gradual transition to vegetable substances, the mythical-musical creation of *mokanawa* humanity requires a wider metaphor—the "breath-thoughts of poisonous earth" (*moka mai chinã*). This allows

for a less figurative trope in verse 81—the "blood of the generic wild tree" (*moka tama imi*). The myth-chant develops gradually from minimal animal reiteration to the multiple succession of vegetable metonyms, through an ingenuous semantic twist—a clear reference to the sonic ground of humanity in the world.

This also confirms the higher relevance of the generic chthonic origins of humanity in relation to specific animal or arboreal substances—that is, to the identity between fertile earth and substantial fertiliser, "womb" and "semen." In fact, this attests to the mythical-musical primacy of the reiterative character of creation over its successive variants. Earth is the creational bed of all original substances, irrespective of their animal-arboreal origins. It the originative source of humans, irrespective of their substantial generation, of their names. Both non-humans and humans originate on earth, for earth is the creational-substantial ground for both. But instead of featuring earth as an antecedent ground that consequently mediates a mutual domestication between humans on one side and animals and plants on the other, *Mokanawa Wenía* shows plants and animals as the true mediators between humanity and the human world, by means of their metaphors and metonyms, their substances and elements.

The myth-chant represents such general direction from earth as the resultant of the specific movements

of humanisation from chthonic creation to settlement
on land, from tellurian origin to human habitation,
through acquisition of name and language and the es-
tablishment of the embellished *nawa*-creatures in the
world. The resulting equation below is the summa-
tion of all the mutual-domestication movements that
involve plants and animals throughout the recurrent
progression of the *saiti*:

$$
\text{\textbf{earth}} \Rightarrow
\begin{array}{c}
\textbf{nomination} \\
\text{(predation-animals and sense-perceptible plants)} \\
\textbf{creational} \text{ substances} \Rightarrow \textbf{ornamental} \text{ elements} \\
\textbf{language} \\
\text{(from inedible animals and birds)}
\end{array}
\Rightarrow \text{\textbf{world}}
$$
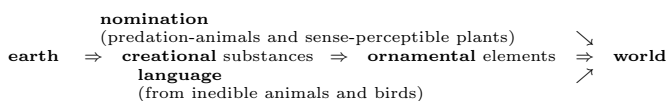
The mythical-musicality of *saiti* states that, like all
forms of mutual domestication, the acquisition of lan-
guage refers to the reiteration of *yové*-circularity. But
in their interaction with and constitution of human-
ity, linguistic capabilities require the successiveness of
yochĩ-linearity. This is so even though it does with-
out the animal and arboreal fragmenting and reassem-
bling onto humans in the movements of creation and
ornamentation.

The linear order of *saiti*-humanisation classifies
the circular decomposition and recombination of the
substantial and elemental ingredients as follows:

earth origin   ⇒   **creational** substances (**primary** mediators)
world destination   ⇒   **ornamental** elements (**secondary** mediators)
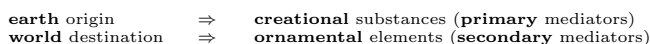
That animals and plants stand between the humanis-
ing earth and the humanised world means that, through

animal-arboreal substances and elements—through rei-
fied forms, metonyms or metaphors of bodies—chthon-
ic sounds form and ornament human beings. To be
human requires more than earthly fecundity. The in-
termediary fragmentations of animals and trees is the
means through which humans follow from the pri-
mary, undifferentiated ground to the secondary, ap-
propriated land. Hence the classification into primary
and secondary mediators.

Although humans originate in terrestrial emergence,
there is no temporal precedence of spatial earth over
the chthonic sounds that herald the emergent human-
ity, of silent space over sonorous coming into being.
Otherwise there is, in the humanisation process, a
spiritual precedence of the animal and vegetable com-
ponents of the grounding that *saiti* opens before hu-
manity. If dark earth precedes the light of the world,
a sounding *yové*-circle of creational substances and
ornamental elements constitutes the temporal *yochĩ*-
line between these two polar spaces.

The *nawa*-creation of myth-chants is a sonorous
spatial reification, regardless of the substantiality of
the beginnings. The creation of the world is the sound
of the inhuman space made into human habitation.
It is irrelevant whether "thought," as concomitant to
"breath" (*chinã*), is more or less substantial than *imi*-
blood or *recho*-sap. The vital-nutritional pulse of
yové-circularity motivates human creation-nomination

through all animal-arboreal substances, in a true process of making "ripe" (Marubo *ikã*) rather than making into a "thing" (Latin *res*). The completion of earth-emergence moves toward ornamental settlement in the human world just as ripeness evokes linear growth and decay: *yochĩ*-ness.

The following schema may best summarise the anthropogenic circular order encompassing the linear movements of creation. These movements are the reiterative succession that sets the opposite temporal states of the cosmos in between and around the two spatial poles of the continuum of human creation:

mai, "alchemic earth"   ⇒   *shavá*, "world clearance"

The double arrow indicates alternation rather than causality, ambivalence rather than antinomy. The movements of *wenía*-creation place darkness on the side of earth in opposition to the clarity of the world: one exists as a function of the other. Further, the opposition is as spatial as it is chronological: *shavá*-clearance is daylight on a temporal scale as well. The ultimate temporal significance of the nether movement to the surface clearance is the creation of linear time in counterpoint with a circular recurrence. The mythical-discursive linearity moves stasis to dynamics, while the same myth-chant counterbalances this movement with a musical-poetical circularity.

From the establishment of the *-nawa* peoples at

home—with their names, languages, ornaments in the
shavá-clearances of their world, on land elevations
(*mató*) and large riverbanks (*noa mai*)—the *saiti* points
back to the *nawa*-alien earthly profundity. But this
belongs the next exegetical chapters of *Mokanawa
Wenía.*

poetical formulae

The chant of *Mokanawa Wenía* is not just a verbal-linear narrative of the myth of "bitter-people emergence." The last chapter has shown that neither does its formal distinctiveness lie only in its sonic-musical expression. The previous chapters made reference to the mythical-musical employment of "poetical devices" such as rhymes and strophes, in addition to the dyadic organisation of the verbal lines and verses in phrases and cells. In its formalisation, *saiti*-poetry means more than the mere conventions of narrative rhetoric.

"Poetry" means here the interface between verbal content and musical form, between the verbal message of the myth-chant and its musical intonation. The poetry of myth-chants is the analytical idiom that synthesises the overall succession of verses along the reiteration of the *saiti*-cells. It configures the verbal structures that formulate the musical myth in a formulaic code that, as the next chapter will summarise,

relates to the structural dualities of the tonal form.

As with the native conceptualisations in the previous part of this study, the difficulty in giving a literal rendering for most of the mythical statements chanted in *saiti* leads to an profusion of glosses. The recurrent formulae in this chapter and in the next one are the extreme cases of verbal repetition in the myth-chant of *Mokanawa Wenía*. The multiple translations below are an insufficient compensation for this repetitive insistence.

It would be even more unsatisfactory to disregard the higher relevance of these insistent lines and verses *vis-à-vis* the entire *saiti*-narrative. Were I to go through its whole text, this book would be not only impossible to read but unproductive as regards mythical-musical rationale. The recursion of textual fragments are comparable to that of the musical structure. This chapter focuses on those poetical formulae that configure the closest verbal counterpart to the sonic structures of musical phrases and cells. Any translation that does not take the formal character of native myth-music as both musical and verbal, as both poetical and sonic, is bound to be beside the mark.

Those recursive line-clusters are an optimal circumstance for examining the relation between text and sound. If there is room for teleology in *saiti*, the purpose of verbal repetition is to achieve a parallel effect to musical reiteration—that is, to relate the

mythical narrative in verses to the temporal dialectics of circularity and linearity that the dyadic cell puts across: text and sound are side by side in the archaeological search for origins in the myth-chants.

Otherwise, the sounds of the mythical-musical words that relate human beings and entities in the native world have no functional purpose. The mythical-musical form of *saiti* is of no apparent utilitarian use for the Marubo. At least, it is less meaningful as the fulfilment of a final function—*e.g.* as a more or less arbitrary "symbolic instrument" in support of a sociocultural form of being—than as the institution of a historical potentiality for these peoples to become.

There is no purposeful model of an ideal humanity in *saiti*. Here humanity is original, as all that is *nawa*. It is the "prototypical other" rather than a "teleological self": myth-chants search the archaeological origins of an alien humanity in the ever-changing native world. At each historical moment, these -*nawa* peoples will become that other that they decide humanity was.

The temporal meanings of mythical-musical origins are nothing but a construal on the sonic stress that natives put on their myth-music and on the words therein. The last chapter leads the reader to understand the relations between the emergence of humanity and the human-becoming process that emerges in its movements as a mutual domestication between hu-

mans and non-human beings. This chapter will read
this in formulaic narrative of *Mokanawa Wenía.*

Here I will present the bare skeleton of the *saiti*
through its main poetical formulae, those that fig-
ure with higher constancy and order. I will show
them in respective association with the threefold di-
rection of humanisation that characterises the myth-
chant and its taxonomies, *viz.* the three movements
that associate animals and plants with the emergent
humanity. This chapter will interpret some of the for-
mulaic expressions of those alchemic-chthonic move-
ments which humans perform from earth toward the
humanised world in myth-chant poetics: first, human
creation and acquisition of personal names through
creational substances; second, the endowment of lan-
guages; third, their embellishment through ornamen-
tal elements.

The chapter above presented several tables that
listed the taxonomic peculiarities of the animal-arbore-
al origins in these three movements. The tables be-
low put them within the textual context of the myth-
chant, the poetical form that will allow for a deeper
exegesis of its verbal structure in this and in the next
chapter. The verse numbers precede each sequence of
lines, in the order such verbal lines appear in *Mokanawa
Wenía*:

        c. creation

            l. language

                o. ornament

2.	*moka awá chinã / chinã oso atõsho*
4—5—6.	*ato aya weni / moka shawã ina /*
	atõ teneao a /shavá raká ini
7.	*moka pani vatxi / shavá raká ini*
10—1.	*moka shae vana / vana vin' aya*
12—3.	*moka voa kanase / atõ keoao / shavá rakáraká*
15—6—7—8.	*wa noa mai / perẽ akimane /*
	moka awá imi / imi veo atõsho /
	moka awá imi / vetxõ kaĩ atõsho
19—20.	*moka pĩtxo eshe / atõ raneao / shavá rakáraká*
23—4.	*moka shawã ina / awẽ ina ĩkéshe /*
	atõ txipã iti / shavá rakáraká
27.	*moka shawã vana / vana vin' aya*
30—1.	*moka rono chinã / chinã oso atõsho / rono ikã ayavo*
33—4.	*moka voa kanase / atõ keoao / shavá raká ini*
35—6.	*moka naĩ sheta / atõ tewit'ao / shavá raká ini*
39.	*moka rono imi / vetxõ kaĩ atõsho*
42—3.	*moka isko ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá raká ini*
44—5.	*moka shawã ina / atõ keoao / shavá rakáraká*
47.	*moka pani vatxi / shavá rakáraká*
48—9.	*moka voa kanase / atõ keoao / shavá rakáraká*
53.	*moka rono imi / imi veo atõsho*
57.	*noa vi vana / vana vin' aya*
61—2.	*moka isko ina / atõ shãpat' iti / shavá rakáraká*
64—5—6.	*wa noa mai / perẽ akimane /*
	moka mai chinã / chinã oso atõsho
70—1—2.	*ato aya weni / moka kana ina /*
	atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká
76—7.	*moka naĩ sheta / atõ tewit'ao / shavá rakáraká*
78.	*moka mai chinã*
81—3.	*moka tama imi / imi veo atõsho / tama ikã ayavo*
85.	*moka sheshe vana / vana vin' aya*
88—9.	*moka tama nãko / nãko oso atõsho / tama ikã ayavo*
92—3.	*moka tama vimi / reoko atõsho / vimi ikã ayavo*
94—5.	*moka osho ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá raká ini*
97.	*moka tama oa / reoko atõsho*
99.	*moka shane rani / soromait' 'yavo*
102—3—4—5.	*wa noa mai / perẽ akimane /*
	moka paka nãko / nãko oso atõsho / paka ikã ayavo
107.	*moka txere ina / ina mait' 'yavo*
109—10.	*moka kamã sheta / atõ tewit'ao / shavá raká ini*
112—3.	*moka paka oa / as' iki atõsho/ paka ikã ayavo*
116.	*moka paka oa / as' iki atõsho*
118—9—21.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /*
	moka shono nãko / nãko oso atõsho / shono ikã ayavo
122—3.	*moka osho ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
127.	*moka shono oa / as' iki atõsho*
129—30.	*moka sheshe ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
133—4—6—8.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /*
	moka waki nãko / nãko oso atõsho / epe ikã ayavo
139—40.	*ato aya weni / moka panã eshe / atõ raneao*
146—7—51.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /*
	moka epe nãko / nãko oso atõsho / epe ikã ayavo

       c. creation
          l. language
             o. ornament

148−9.	*moka shawã ina / atõ teneao / shavá rakáraká*
153.	*moka epe oa / as' iki atõsho*
159−60−1.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã / kana isã yora /* *voto tana irisho / piniki a avaĩ*
165.	*moka shae ina / ina papit' 'yavo*
167−8.	*moka shae rani / atõ shãpat' iti / shavá rakáraká*
171.	*kana isã oa / as' iki atõsho*
174−5−81.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã / moka vinõ recho /* *recho avatõsho / vinõ ikã ayavo*
177−8.	*moka kana ina / atõ teneao / shavá rakáraká*
184.	*moka vinõ oa / as' iki atõsho*
187−8.	*moka txere ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
191−2.	*ato aya weni / moka epe shãko /* *atõ init'ao / shavá rakáraká*
195−6.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /* *moka anĩ recho / recho avatõsho*
201−2.	*ato aya weni / moka kayõ ina /* *atõ teneao / shavá rakáraká*
203−4.	*moka kayõ rani / atõ soromait'a / shavá rakáraká*
206−7.	*moka iso sheta / atõ tewit'ao / shavá rakáraká*
208−9.	*moka shepã shoe / atõ romosh'ao / shavá rakáraká*
211.	*moka shane vana / vana vin' aya*
215−6.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa shoko pakea /* *moka rome recho / recho avatõsho*
218−9.	*moka rome pei / atõ aw'ao / shavá rakáraká*
220−1.	*moka vawa ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
224.	*moka rome oa / as' iki atõsho*
227−8.	*ato aya weni / moka vawa rena / soromait' 'yavo*
231.	*moka rome nãko / nãko oso atõsho*
236−7.	*moka pĩtxo shãko / atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
240−7.	*moka mani recho / recho avatõsho / mani ikã ayavo*
242−3.	*ato aya weni / moka kayõ ina /* *atõ teneao / shavá rakáraká*
244−5−6.	*moka kayõ ina / awẽ ina ĩk'eshe /* *atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
250.	*moka mani oa / as' iki atõsho*
255−6−7.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /* *awá tama yora / voto tana irisho / piniki a avaĩ*
259−60.	*ato aya weni / moka pani eshe / atõ raneao*
265−6.	*moka epe shãko / atõ init'ao / shavá rakáraká*
268.	*moka tama vimi / reoko atõsho*
271−2.	*moka kayõ ina / atõ teneao / shavá rakáraká*
275−6.	*moka võto keshá / atõ romosh'ao / shavá rakáraká*
277.	*moka pani vatxi / shavá rakáraká*
280−1−2.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /* *moka kenã vema / voto tana irisho / piniki a avaĩ*
283−4.	*mokã kenã nãko / nãko oso atõsho / kena ikã ayavo*
286−7.	*moka osho ina / atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká*
292−3−300.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã /* *moka panã recho / recho avatõsho / panã ikã ayavo*
296−7−8.	*ato aya weni / moka shawã sheta /* *atõ raneao / shavá rakáraká*
305−6−7.	*noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã / rovo kenã vema /* *voto tana irisho / piniki a avaĩ*

<pre>
                    c. creation
                        l. language
                            o. ornament
309–10–1.   ato aya weni / moka txere ina /
                        atõ mait'ao / shavá raká ini
312.   moka txere sheta / tashekiti aya
314–5.   ato aya weni / moka isko ina /
                        atõ mait'ao / shavá rakáraká
364–5.   ato aya weni / moka shane rani /
                        atõ mait'ao / shavá raká ini
</pre>

Let us retain the main message of the myth-chant, before going into detail in the translation of each sequence of lines. The result of the poetical-formulaic relations that humans entertain with non-humans—an engagement that the *saiti* translates in the threefold succession which the three columns above distinguish, *i.e.* as their own creation and nomination, as their acquisition of language, and embellishment—are constructs of selfhood and otherness that cohere with the construction of a native habitation in the world.

If natives codify the connections between these constructs and the consequent construction of their cosmos in their personal and sectional names, their *saiti* myth-chants formulate these same connections in the threefold direction of the earth of creation moving toward the world of humanisation. These movements are manifest in the combinations of animal-arboreal elements with the embellishment of humanity; in the intercourses with birds and anteaters whence human languages come; and in the non-human creational substances that generate the each of the emergent peoples with their respective repertoire of personal names.

However, before the taxonomic peculiarities that characterise each movement can acquire a musical-temporal significance, the myth-chant must give their overall direction through its poetical framework. Let us look again at these three movements, now diverting our focus from their formulaic variants—to wit, those animal-arboreal taxonomies that qualify the associations between an earth-emergent world and the emergence of humanity—toward the poetical structure of the formulae themselves.

The schematic summary above includes all creational substances, language-givers, all ornamental elements with their respective animals and plants, as the previous chapter introduced and classified in tables. Now I am concerned with the recurrent character of these canonical *saiti*-formulae, whose higher importance *vis-à-vis* their variation has also been understood in the last chapter. After the deduction of all variant plants and animals and their respective substances and elements from the line-sequences, the three movements of creation-emergence and consequent nomination, language-endowment, and ornament-embellishment reduce themselves to the poetical paradigms below. Some minor formulaic variations are indicated in parenthesis:

```
              c. creation
                    l. language
                          o. ornamentation
c.i       wa noa mai / perẽ akimane
c.ii      noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã (wa shoko pakea) /
          (moka)... yora (vema) / voto tana irisho / piniki a avaĩ
c.iii     moka... / ...atõsho
c.iv      ...ikã ayavo
l.i             moka... vana / vana vin' aya
o.i                      ato aya weni / moka...
                         atõ... ao ('yavo) / shavá raká...
```

This table shows that the direction of the three move-
ments of the myth-chant points indeed to more than
a pure discursive linearity—not only from a musical
perspective, but also from the viewpoint of its verbal
structure. In its most condensed form, *saiti*-poetics
summarises these three movements as the "*moka*-bitter
weni-emergence of the *nawa*-peoples." *Mokanawa Wenía*
puts these words in its most reiterative lines: *mokã
vake náwavo / nawa weni ini*, as the next chapter
will explain. The more extensive poetical form of
the myth-chant multiply these movements, but dis-
tributing them as several cyclical formulae along the
narrative.

The table below shows such a formulaic multiplica-
tion in a somewhat artificial series, with little regard
to the reiterative sequence of formulae in the actual
myth-chant. The glosses under each line reveal a more
detailed relational organisation of the line-sequences
than the previous threefold classification of mythical-
musical movements allowed for. The arrows just high-
light this, displaying how the poetical-formulaic ac-
tualisation of those three movements differ from each

other. The translations explain that, contrary to the
sequences of lines related to "language" and "ornamen-
tation," "creation" formulae complies with three sub-
stages: that of "preparation," "substantiation," and
"nomination."

> **cp. preparation**
> $\Rightarrow$ **cs. substantiation**
> $\Rightarrow$ **cn. nomination**
> $\Rightarrow$ **l. language**
> $\Rightarrow$ **o. ornamentation**

cp.iα	*wa noa mai*
	that large riverbank
cp.iβ	*perẽ akimane*
	it made a noise there like so
cp.iiα	*noa mai tsakasho*
	upright there in the large riverbank
cp.iiβ	*wa nipá kawã*
	there [it] went standing toward
cp.iiγ	*wa shoko pakea*
	there the peel fell off
cp.iiδ	(*moka*). . . *yora* (*vema*)
	(bitter or animal). . . (plant) body (or surface root)
cp.iiε	*voto tana irisho*
	out there, aside, and along
cp.iiζ	*piniki a avaĩ*
	there has been a murmur
cs.iα	$\Rightarrow$ *moka*. . .
	bitter. . . (arboreal or animal substance)
cs.iβ	$\Rightarrow$ . . . *atōsho*
	(creational substance). . . (in place, spread) out there
cn.iα	$\Rightarrow$ . . . *ikã ayavo*
	(an animal or plant) homonym [they] have
l.iα	$\Rightarrow$*moka*. . . *vana*
	bitter. . . (bird or anteater) language
l.iβ	$\Rightarrow$*vana vin' aya*
	[they] have the wish to bring the language
o.iα	$\Rightarrow$*ato aya weni*
	they have in emergence
o.iβ	$\Rightarrow$ *moka*. . .
	bitter. . . (arboreal or animal element)
o.iγ	$\Rightarrow$ *atõ*. . . *ao* ('*yavo*)
	their. . . (a true ornament have)
o.iδ	$\Rightarrow$*shavá raká*. . .
	[in the] lying clarity. . . (adorned)

In the course of the taxonomic study of this myth-
chant, I have singled out the formulae of two of the

creational sub-stages—to wit, that of "creation-substantiation" (cs.iα/cs.iβ, in the table above) and of "creation-nomination" (cn.iα, *idem*). The previous chapter has shown how the substantiation of human creation is the outcome of several combinatory variants of the six different creational substances and the fourteen arboreal-animal correlatives listed in the tables therein. The nomination of the emergent peoples follows from the correlative animals and trees, sealing such a consubstantiality with homonymy. The translations of the *saiti* line-formulae of creation-substantiation and creation-nomination have been presented thus: the expressions ending with ... *atõsho* translate an "existential spatialisation," *i.e.* the constitution of a creational space "there" (*atõsho*), while the ... *ikã ayavo* lines express the "possession of homonymy," which is a figurative "ripening" (*ikã*) of that space where all the animal-arboreal substances exist, as its constituents.

In the translations of these formulaic expressions, my attention has been so far on the means for animal and vegetable mediation in the earth-emergence of humanity and in the humanisation of the world. Now my concern is the very chthonic character of such emergence, as the constitution of that space where the human and the non-human are made one.

I have shown that *mokanawa*-humans are chthonic creatures whose transitional movements from earth

into the world are not immediate, but mediated instead. The emergent peoples are formed out of a configuration of animal- and tree-substances. However, regardless of the specific animal or plant that gives rise to a chthonic humanity, this generic speciated substantiality on the earth is the true alien common-ground of the creational mediation that orders an undifferentiated chaos.

Of course the word "substance," in this regard, will assume a loose sense in *saiti* myth-chants. There, "creational substances" refer to substantial attributes of those animals and plants. This expression is a means to identify those "things" that constitute the earth with an arboreal-animality that, through chthonic alchemy, transforms itself and triggers the emergence of humanity and of the human world, denominating both in this process.

Now if the native world is not an objective construction, but rather an "other-compost" on earth that precedes the constitution of the "ethnic-self," such a creation-nomination cannot be subjectively construed. The inscription of the cosmic topography on the native world as a given on earth is a mythical-musical construal. As these *saiti*-formulae specify, the generic creation and nomination of peoples lack any creating and nominating agency of such-and-such animal or plant.

The emergent humanity is named after an earth-

originating, animal or vegetable creational substances. But no animal or vegetable does name nor generate humans, as much as neither humanity nor divinity ever assumes the role of nominator or creator-generator. Although the *saiti* myth-chants are on public domain, their referents are not the outcome of any particular individual agency. The indigenous agent in myth-music is its very referent: the generic foreigner, exogenous, bitter and poisonous.

However, *Mokanawa Wenía* does not simply name these emerging humans as *moka*, "poisonous-bitter" peoples. Such a simplification would be tantamount to ignoring the multiple *nawa*-speciation of humans based on a animal-tree substantial classification, which happens to be the one definitional trait of the Marubo. The simultaneous generic-specific meaning of this onomastic speciation throughout human emergence—in creation movements that, as seen, are non-subjective and non-objective at once—lies in the preparation of the composite constitution of the chthonic ground before the actual substantial-nominal emergence of humanity.

In studying the mythical-musical statements that instate the non-human mediation between earth-emergent humans and the humanised world, I have so far neglected those formulaic expressions that, with less constancy but with a still lesser degree of variation, precede the poetical formulae that articulate the "sub-

stantial" and "nominal" movements of creation. The last table presented those foregoing formulae under the title of an initial movement of "preparation," that in which some sort of omen announces the emergence of humans from the earth into the world (cp.iα/cp.iβ and cp.iiα/cp.iiβ/cp.iiγ/cp.iiδ/cp.iiε/cp.iiζ). These creation-preparation formulae are phrased in two different two-line sequences: *wa noa mai / perẽ akimane* in some occasions, *noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã* (or *wa shoko pakea*) in others, with the occasional addition of the sequence (*moka*)... *yora* (or *vema*) / *voto tana irisho / piniki a avaĩ* to the latter.

In outline, those two sequences have a similar and simple message: the "large river land" (*noa mai*) where "one stands up" (*wa nipá*) an occasional "noise" (*perẽ*). But I shall look first at the additional three-line sequence that more clearly distinguishes, in formal terms, the two sequences. This supplementary distinctiveness between those two formulae of creation-preparation contains in fact a more obvious "preparatory" meaning than their similitude encodes.

The three lines that at times follow the second sequence *noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã* describe a "murmur" (*piniki*) that keeps coming up from around (*voto tana irisho*) the "body" (*yora*) or the "surface root" (*vema*) of certain trees (the generic *tama*, the *isã*-palm, or the *kenã*-tree). Further, as with the creational substances that feature in the consecutive

creation-substantiation formulae, here too an animal qualifies these trees in a *nawa*-human, "ethnonymic" guise. These preparatory tree-qualifications are either birds, all of which are actual prefixes of native *-nawa* sections—the *kana*-macaw and *rovo*, an alternative name for the *isko*-bird—or the *awá*-tapir, in which case the resulting tapir-*tama*, in common parlance, is a less "generic," rather specific tree: *awá tama*, Brazilian *gameleira* (genus *Ficus*). Further still, in one case, the tree-qualification in the creation-preparation formula is *moka*-bitter, just like the *-nawa*-named peoples who shall substantiate from the creational ground (*moka kenã vema*, "the poisonous surface-root of the *pente-de-macaco* tree" in verse 281).

This similitude between substantiation and preparation formulae is misleading. Those three lines that complement the creation-preparation formulae are indeed close to those of substantiation, that is, to those formulaic sequences (*moka* + animal or tree + creational substance / . . . *atõsho*, as seen before) which in turn allow for the consequent identification between the emergent peoples and the animal-arboreal substances of creation in nomination formulae (. . . *ikã ayavo*, "[they] have homonyms"). The confusion between the two initial types of creation formulae is even more conspicuous when the formulaic lines of preparation indicate a native sectional-ethnonymic bird— when the tree-qualifications that occur in additional preparatory sequences are also contemporary denom-

inations of native matrilineal sections. As suggested, this is the case of the *saiti*-lines *rovo kenã vema* (verse 306) and *kana isã yora* (160): the *rovo*-bird and the *kana*-macaw are current section denominations among these peoples, the respective *Rovonáwavo* and *Kananáwavo*.

However, both *vema*-roots and *yora*-bodies refer in these lines to the animal-arboreal qualification of the origin of humanity, instead of being the human product of chthonic creation: much as *yora* is here rather an "arboreal body," the "surface root" *vema* stands for the ground of mythical-musical creation, without onomastics consequence. The alternative *moka*-bitter qualification of the *kenã*-tree in a similar line (*moka kenã vema*) does just as well as the *rovo*-bird or the *kana*-macaw.

If an human-*yora* as an arboreal body is a rather figurative idiom, *vema* is a literal reference to something known as *bamba* or *sapopema* in Brazil. It refers to the spreading roots on the base of the tree trunk, those that show above the ground without detaching from it, unlike an aerial root. This is the sense in which this "tree root" is like an excrescence of the ground. As such, *vema* constitutes the grounding of human creation, acquiring the same tellurian sense in which *yora* is a "tree body" in these formulae of creation-preparation.

In this connection, the conceptual distinction be-

tween *yora*-body of natives, as these formulae now phrase them, and the native *nawa*-humanity, which this whole myth-chant characterises and substantiates in other poetical formulations—must be made clear once more. The term *yora* may be a collective reference to the native first-person or an undetermined third-person. But its translation as "human" is insufficient. Beyond a "body," one needs a *nawa*-marker of alterity in order to belong to humanity, within the cosmological order of this ab-original world.

As the *saiti*-lines where *yora* and *vema* occur configure an additional canonical formula to the mythical-musical movement of creation-preparation (*moka*-bitterness or animality + tree + *yora*-body or *vema*-root), both its first two terms (the "bitterness" or "animality" of "trees") and the last one ("body" or "root") are qualifications of the earth that originates humanity, but before becoming *nawa*-humanity. *Võchĩpa* was explicit in saying that the *saiti*-expressions *kana isã yora* and *awá tama yora* do not refer to "people." He assured me that, although the myth-chant qualifies the creational ground as *rovo* or *kana*, that is, as homonymous to his own kin-sections *Rovonáwavo* and *Kananáwavo*—in fact all the *weni*-emergent peoples in the myth-chant are bitter-poisonous *mokanawa*, in their origins at least.

Hence in the formulaic lines *kana isã yora* and *rovo kenã vema*, for instance, *kana* qualifies *isã* as

the "yellow macaw's *patauá*-palm" just like *rovo* qual-
ifies *kenã* as the "*japó*-bird's *pente-de-macaco* tree,"
instead of being ethnonymic marker (*i.e.* a hypothet-
ical *Kananawa isã* or *Rovonawa kenã*). That which
kana isã or *rovo kenã* qualifies is not *nawa*-people,
as natives reassure. Here *yora*, or *vema*, means the
"bodily quality" or the "excrescent character" of the
ground itself, in the guise of the bird-animal trunk
stuck on the earth whence the *moka*-peoples are to
sprout.

The myth-chant confirms this later, when the al-
tered repetition of *kana isã* in another line (*kana
isã oa*, verse 171) propitiates a comparation between
yora-bodies and *oa*-flowers. This line relates the prep-
aratory creational ground to the human-consubstan-
tial animal and tree, rather than to the substantiated
mokanawa themselves. The tree trunk, much as the
root on its bottom, is an indicator of an imminent
sprouting on the murmuring ground. It is a chthonic
milestone which signals that, while the upward emer-
gence of peoples originates in arboreal substances, it
is also animal-laden.

The preceding creation-preparatory sequence (*noa
mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã*) refers also to the ground-
ing whence animal-arboreal substances materialise and
prepare *wenía*-emergence—to the creational substances
themselves. An awkward translation for the two lines
would be "upright on the large river land, one stands

from top to bottom."

What stands there? The referent is implicit: the creational ground itself, in the form of animal (or *moka*-bitter) trees. Hence these two lines, which represent this ground as a "large river land" (*noa mai*), appear together in a formulaic configuration that may occur alone, albeit their occasional complement is the additional three-line creation-preparatory formula above: (*moka*)... *yora* (*vema*) / *voto tana irisho* / *piniki a avaĩ*. In a joint translation, these additional lines explicitly say: "there has been a murmur out there, aside and along there where stands [the] animal- (or bitter-) tree body (or surface root)."

Otherwise, that two-line sequence (*noa mai tsakasho* / *wa nipá kawã*) is always an exclusive alternative to the other preparatory formula (*wa noa mai* / *perẽ akimane*). This combination of lines, also twofold, condenses the meanings of the extant formulaic combinations of creation-preparation.

I translate *wa noa mai* / *perẽ akimane* is "that large riverbank sounded like so." The "noise" (*perẽ*) that rises from earth is equivalent to the "murmur" (*piniki*) of the ground-outgrowing "bodies" (*yora*) and "bottom roots" (*vema*). It is equal to the sounds that come out, "aside and along" (*voto tana irisho*) the earth-excrescent animal-trees that stand on "large riverbanks" (*noa mai*), the same rivers that figure in the two alternative-exclusive sequential sets of prepa-

ration formulae.

The words *tsakasho* ("upright and outward") and
nipá ("one stands"), as in the formulaic sequence *noa
mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã*, have no equivalent in
other *saiti*-lines. This formula specifies the direction
of the creational ground. Its words qualify the loca-
tion of the creational substance in its ground-position,
preceding and preparing the creation-substantiation
of humanity: "like a tree," said *Võchĩpa*.

This is the case not only when the formulaic refer-
ents of *tsakasho* and *nipá*, "upward" and "standing" in
subsequent lines, are the *yora*-bodies and *vema*-roots
of animal- or bitter-qualified trees. It is so not only
when such positional qualifiers precede the additional
creation-preparatory sequence, but also when these
words qualify the position of creational substances
as *nãko*-sweetness (in such verse-sequences as 146–
147–151) and *recho*-sap (as in verses 292–293–300).
The fluidity of *nãko*-sweetness and *recho*-sap cannot
stand up unless these substances stand for mellifluous
trees. But *nãko* and *recho* stand on the ground just
inasmuch as such trees constitute it as a preparation
for creation. These substances and their spatial refer-
ences represent a generic animal-arboreal ground that
gives rise to an *nawa*-specific emergent humanity.

The opposition between the animal-arboreal gen-
erality of the chthonic common-ground that prepares
creation and the specificity of its human-constituent

substantial speciation is precisely that which distinguishes between the formulae above and those of creational substances—those which end with the ... *atõ-sho* lines, "... there." This distinction is that which qualifies the creational ground of *mokanawa* peoples as the paradox of a concrete non-human unity that still allows for the animal-arboreal multiplication of humans—a paradox that is homologous to the native attribution of a *nawa*-foreign substrate to humanity in contradiction of its *nawa*-ethnonymic speciation.

But such a paradoxical distinction is not all that clear. In *Mokanawa Wenía*, the generic preparation of the grounds of human creation attributes animality to trees in the midst of chthonic sounds, while the several substantiations of humanity and the resulting human names are specific variations on an animal-arboreal mixture in space. This entails an interpretative dilemma between the simultaneous generality and specificity of the creational ground. If it consists of several animal-arboreal substances and originates a multiple humanity—how would the grounds of emergence stand as a single ground toward all emergent humans? how do these several emerging peoples come from different substances of animals and plants, but still emerge from the same ground?

The key to the simultaneous multiplicity and unity on the creational ground lies in the translation of *awá tama yora*, a creation-preparatory locution. *Võchĩpa*,

a former lumberman, knew well that *awá tama* is a specific arboreal species (*gameleira* in Brazil). However, he would translate this *saiti*-line as the "body" of the generic *tama*-tree with a *awá*-tapir qualification, instead of rendering it as literal "tapir-tree's person."

The last chapter has shown the *awá*-tapir qualifying *nawa*-substantiation through *chinã*-thoughts and *imi*-blood. These two creational substances are exclusive to animals, except for the very generic tree that tapirs qualify in preparation for creation (*awá tama*) and still yields substantial "arboreal blood" for humanity (*tama imi*). The *chinã*-substance of vipers generates humans and provides them with *rono*-names. But the animal substantiality of tapirs excludes their *awá*-name from human nomination.

Võchĩpa's translation maintains the status of tapirs as a substantial animal toward humans, on a par with *rono*-vipers, the generic *tama*-tree, and all other arboreal species that supply creational substances. But now *awá* appears as a qualification for the generic-*tama* in the preparation of the ground of creation, while some of the birds that provide human establishment in the world with ornamental elements—*kana*-macaw and *rovo*, an equivalent of the *isko*-bird—qualify preparatory trees of which some creational substances likewise partake of.

If humanity were just as variegated as its original soil, it would difficult to explain its *nawa*-commonality

of origins. The tapir fulfils the same qualifying function in the preparatory formulae of creation as it does with regard to creational substances, while *kana* and *rovo* qualify trees in those preparation-lines in a similar fashion as birds are qualifiers of ornamental elements. Further, it *awá*-tapirs represent the predation quality of animals in the substantial creation of humans, the *kana*-macaw and *rovo*-bird are as inedible and insipid to humans as their language-giving avifauna. But trees, both generic (*tama*) and specific (the *isã*-palm and the *kenã*-tree), undergo a radical change from substantiation to preparation, from arboreal substances to *yora*-bodies and *vema*-roots extending the ground of creation.

Võchĩpa would eventually translate *awá tama yora* as the "tree-body of the tapir." But here the *awá*-qualification is locative, "standing like a tree," rather than onomastic, as animal-arboreal qualifications to creational substances usually are. In these supplementary formulae of creation-preparation, some trees that relate to human-substantiation (*isã*-palm, *kenã*-tree) receive ornamental-bird qualifications (*kana*-macaw, *rovo*-bird). Or still, one of these tree-projections are simply *moka*-bitter. These preparatory lines (*kana isã yora*, *rovo kenã vema*, *moka kenã yora*) describe the ornamental-substantiality of the creational ground as sounds moving upward and standing as trees. Meanwhile, the tapir-formula phrases this movement by qualifying the generic *tama*-tree itself as animal, a

yora-body outgrowth of the earth on large riverbanks.

The human identity that emerges is a *moka*-unity, prior to its *nawa*-multiplicity—albeit such a unity is dyadic: humanity results from a *nawa*-encounter with animal or plant, in the form of creational substance and ornamental element. But these animal-arboreal substances and ornaments combine themselves beforehand in dyads—an animal qualification, at once predatory (*awá*-tapir) and inedible-insipid (*kana*-macaw, *rovo*-bird), to trees—as a prefiguration of the departure and direction of the earth-emerging movements of humans toward their world. The sounds that indicate the ground where emergence takes place announce these movements—ontological and epistemological, creational and linguistic, onomastic and ornamental ones—in dyads of animals and trees. Before *-nawa* peoples constitute such dyads in an invariant combination with variable trees or animals, animal-movements qualify trees in preparation of creation. Before the relevance of the substance- and element-mediated relation of humans with creational animals and trees in the substantiation and ornamental movements, creation-preparatory formulae establish the dyadic structure of such *nawa*-relations.

The sense of this ground-positioning, or rather the overall directionality of creation, becomes clearer in one particular verse (215). There, in place of the usual *wa nipá kawã*, the expression *wa shoko pakea* follows

the line *noa mai tsakasho* to complement the creation-preparation formula.

The meaning of *wa shoko pakea* bears some resemblance to the connotation of cosmic renovation that *shokó* conveys. This word usually means "to peel," a key emblem of native eschatology, as well as an important anthropogenic indication.

However, in *Mokanawa Wenía*, this word appears with no accent in the creation-preparation context of the formula *noa mai tsakasho / wa shoko pakea*. If "to peel" is an inappropriate gloss for *shoko* in this textual expression, its single alternative occurrence in the whole myth-chant was given a translation that, likewise, does not seem to match the meaning of "peeling" at all. The line *shoko rakáraká* translates as "all gathered [settled] together" (verse 14). In both *saiti*-contexts where *shoko* occurs, translations diverge from the meaning of *shokó*.

But such a *shokó*-peeling will cohere with *shoko*-crowds gathering *pakea*-together in *saiti*-meanings with some congruence, if seen in the light of some of the several previous comments to this mythical-musical exegesis. I have shown that the gloss "peeling off" refers to the skinning of renewed souls, peoples made anew in the threshold to the post-mortem paradise. In native eschatology, *shokó* is re-creation, whereas in the myth-chant *shoko* is instead a preparatory movement toward human creation (in the line *wa shoko*

pakea). In *Mokanawa Wenía*, this inverse significance further relates to "dwelling." In the line *shoko raká-raká*, the literal meaning of *raká* is "to lie, to stay, to inhabit," as in an usual salutation that a visitor will address to a native host: *mĩ rakasa*, literally "are you at home"?[136]

If a consistent parallel between the celestial heaven and the mythical earth comes to the fore, a freer and clearer interpretation can be given to the creation-preparatory formulaic reference to *shoko* in *saiti* verses. The translation of the line *wa shoko pakea* is diametrical, therefore complementary to its formulaic alternative *wa nipá kawã*. The two alternatives represent precisely the transition from the one to the many.

The preparatory formula *noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã* features a *nipá*-stance that allows for the "upward" (*takasho*) movement substantial creation toward ornamentation in "large riverbanks" (*noa mai*). But while *kawã* also points at animal-arboreal earth-excrescences "from top to bottom," its referents are singular: *nipá kawã* refers to single long projections of creational ground. In contrast, *noa mai tsakasho*

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[136]This literal meaning follows the general pattern of salutations in Marubo—verbal confirmations of perceptual experiences toward someone else. The examples abound: *mĩ vesoi*, "did you wake up [opened your eyes]"? *mĩ oá*, "did you arrive"? *mĩ oshama*, "are you not sleeping"? This has a bearing on native knowledge: "knowing someone" means "having seen" this person, say the Marubo: *oĩa*.

/ *wa shoko pakea* refers to a multitude of arboreal-animal projections of earth emerging and standing up in human form.

The usual meanings of *pake* ("to fall") would give "downward direction" to the *shoko*-hoard of creational substances transforming into several -*nawa* peoples. However, much as *shokó* in the spiritual realm, in the *nai*-celestial *shavaya*-dwelling is the peeling-off of renovation as human death separates multiple souls from single bodies—*shoko pakea* translates best in the *saiti* as "delivery," downward movements as substances of animals and plants stand up and come out as humans from the creational ground, *weni*-emerging on large riverbanks.

This is the precise meaning of native *vake pakea*: "childbirth." *Mokanawa Wenía* is indeed a figuration of human procreation. But its myth-music is a reiterative representation of prototypical origins and renewing destinations of human bodies. The line *shoko rakáraká* is the multiple establishment of the *vake*-newborn, the *moka*-bitter -*nawa* peoples. Those who emerge from earth follow the direction of mythical-musical movements leading toward their human habitation in the world. But as this leads from *nipá*-unity to *shoko*-multiplicity, this humanising route is parallel to the dangerous *vei vai* path that the many souls of *yora*-bodies traverse toward the *shokó*-transformation of spirits into humans.

This celestial parallel is valid to the extent that the mythical-musical lines that demarcate the paths of the terrestrial cosmos, through large *noa*-rivers and high *mató*-mounds, configure *wenía*-emergence as circles moving along earth-creation and world-settlement. To be human in plenitude—created, named, adorned, settled as several -*nawa* peoples—is equivalent to *yora*-bodily renewal, to the *yochĩ*-linear return to *yové*-circular divinity. If the being and becoming of these peoples perform a sonorous alchemy with super-human, supra-personal entities in mythical-musical performance, myth-music expresses such an alchemic performance as the animal-arboreal chthonic emergence of humans the and establishment of humanity into the world.

In *Mokanawa Wenía*, the earth signals world-creation by producing general noise (*perẽ akimane*, *piniki a avaî*). This is a preparatory omen to sprouting beings on large riverbanks, peoples springing from the original animal-arboreal chaos into life, in movements analogous to those that are to become at human death. These chthonic noises are the first sonic signs of things to come, heralds of emergent beings and the means for the formation and transformation of their world—a preparation to mythical-musical words that, in the form of circular and linear sounds, are a creative and transformative driving-force of the cosmos.

The earth-emergent trajectory of human lifecycles is similar to that of the after-death, inasmuch as it leads such humanity along time, along sonic circles and lines, toward its prototypical habitation in that spatial situation which delineates the native world and cosmos at large. If mythical-musical creation occurs on the banks of large rivers (*wa noa mai, noa mai tsakasho*), then what is this location of *wenía*-creation, whence *moka*-human beings emerge and where their emergence becomes establishment?

Kenĩnawa used to say that *noa* means a wide and deep river, "like the Juruá." The Juruá River is one of the largest tributaries of the Amazon, possibly the longest. I have said before that it borders native territory in its upper course, constituting a borderline that has been approached and traversed throughout the history of these natives. It is the *nawa*-limit of their world, although these limits have been stretched along time: Marubo-like Indians, probable former co-residents as the Katukina, now live beyond its course. If the natives who people that world today consider large riverbanks as foreign land, this is because these rivers have been a favourite access to and from the external domain—not only for foreigners but also, and above all, for the native peoples themselves.

In the everyday, the *mai*-lands of large *noa*-rivers mean *nawanamã*, the domain of *nawa*-outsiders at large. But some *saiti*-accounts, such as this origi-

nal emergence of the *moka*-peoples, attest that large rivers are rather congenial environments for these -*nawa* humans. In shamanic language, according to *Venãpa*, each river in the world has a different name. The Javari is itself *koro waka*, "gray water," while *txeshe waka* and *ino waka* are its "black" and "jaguar" tributaries Ituí and Curuçá. This is native territory nowadays. But if, since mythical time, *potá waka* means the "muddy waters" of the Juruá, *noa* is the "sea" itself to shamans. These *noa*-waters, large "rivers" are an original place for all emergent peoples. Unless one intends *noa* for a mere mythical-musical marker of alterity, like the wild-bitter foreignness of the *moka-nawa*, those large shores are the ground that originates those who are now known as Marubo.

The mythical location of the original -*nawa* matrilineal sections in this specific environment—the "banks of large rivers"—places again native origins on the ethnic "outside," a realm that has a necessary historical importance for the internal affairs of these originally *moka*-poisonous natives. The identification of these peoples as -*nawa* groups implies that their convergence to refuges in the past—inter-riverine, headwater territories—as well as their present adaptation to a composite ethnicity in a single habitat are indeed the ephemeral fruits of temporal vicissitudes.

The *saiti* myth-chants trace one and the same *nawa*-origin in common to all native peoples at the outer

limits of their world. This makes the inner differences that their matrilineal section-prefixes represent less relevant as "ethnic markers" than as a conceptual emblem of the human condition. Bit Marubo ethnonyms do not encapsulate an opposition between animal-tree "particulars" and a *nawa*-human "universal": *nawa*-ness is the very unitary principle of same-otherness that relates humans to multiple animals and trees and things, irrespective of what these are in particular, thus constituting humanity as an equally multiple whole.

If the *nawa*-land of large *noa*-waters is the original centre of human emergence and establishment in the world, its placement on the rims of the universe traces the limits of native existence on that same mythical-musical borderline that identifies humanity *vis-à-vis* things in the world. Hence it is not fortuitous that *noa mai* has an etiological importance as a cosmic-geographic reference, as the native curing chants render explicit: the *nawa*-outside of the large riverbank is the origin of human diseases because it charts the finiteness of humanity, here understood both as lifespan and as ontological condition.

This concludes the repertoire of preparaory meanings in creational formulae. Along with creation-substantiation and creation-nomination, this constitutes a significant part of the code which draws the ontological limits of humanity through its alchemic-chthonic,

saiti-formulaic relations with animal and arboreal substances. The less conspicuous movement that configure native epistemology—that "teaching" and "learning" (*yosĩ* and *yosia*) of verbal skills elsewhere in *Mokanawa Wenía*, is a relational outcome of the circular encounter of humans with other living things. The receptiveness to this encounter (*vana vin' aya*) is that which allows for the acquisition of human language from a "poisonous-bitter" bird or anteater (*moka... vana*).

Võchĩpa would emphasise the ambivalent contrast between the different phrasings for the same action of language-endowment. The *mokanawa* peoples first learn an exogenous language (*vana ki yosisho*) from its non-human source. In sequence, the agency of word-acquisition moves from humans toward the language-givers, birds and anteaters who teach them linguistic capabilities (*ato vana yosĩ*). This two-way motion goes against a view of language as thing appropriated or apprehended. It is an event of exchange, a means for establishing a relationship of "mutual domestication" between humans and non-humans. This "commercial" skill follows from the very constitution of the *mokanawa* condition of humanity: not only "poisonous-bitter," but also, and above all, "foreign."

The extant movements of creation are in ornamentation formulae. These formulaic arrangements appear in different versions that always reiterate the

diverse combinations of animal- or plant-yielded element and human-fabricated ornament. The myth-chant tends to formulate them in a sequence of two lines: first *moka*-bitter + animal or plant + element, then a subsequent line that names the respective embellishment in the alternate formulae *atõ... ao*, "their such-and-such ornament [emphatic]" or ... *'yavo*, "the such-and-such ornament [they] have." Quite often, another line precedes this twofold sequence: *ato aya weni*, "they have [the ornaments] in emergence." Even more often, the lines *shavá raká ini* or *shavá rakáraká* close the formulae of ornamentation.

The expression *shavá raká* translates in a short statement as "[they] lie in the clarity." Marubo translators would often indulge in poetical freedom, rendering it as "[they] dwell in the clearance." I shall indulge myself in an even freer interpretation of *shavá*, taking it as the establishment of the earth-emergent peoples in the "worldly daylight."

But first let us understand these important construals with regard to some native exegesis on this word. As consequence of its frequency, the expression *shavá raká*, in its two variant formulations, will have a strong and layered significance in formulae of ornamentation. If the canonical formula *ato aya weni / moka... / atõ...* occurs just 12 times out of 48 ornament-formulaic occurrences, 41 of these line-sequences will end with either one of those two *shavá-*

concluding lines.[137]

Here I follow the same procedure that the transla-
tion of the formulae of creation-preparation requires.
Let us look at that which differentiates between the
two variants of the *shavá raká...* lines, before ex-
amining their commonalities. The difference between
the two *shavá*-lines is reducible to a small but sig-
nificant particle, *ini*, which alternates with a repeti-
tion of *raká*: at times, *shavá raká ini* becomes *shavá
rakáraká*.

Võchĩpa could give me no precise gloss to *ini*. It
might well be just an auxiliary verb. However, at the
same time he would translate other lines with *ini*, in

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[137]The table above shows the complete sequence *ato aya weni
/ moka... / atõ... / shavá raká...* in verses 4–5–6, 70–
71–72, 191–192, 201–202, 242–243, 296–297–298, 309–310–311,
314–315, 364–365. The first line (*ato aya weni*) disappears
from sequences in 12–13, 19–20, 23–24, 33–34, 35–36, 42–43,
44–45, 48–49, 61–62, 76–77, 94–95, 109–110, 122–123, 129–130,
148–149, 167–68, 177–178, 187–188, 203–204, 206–207, 208–
209, 218–219, 220–221, 236–237, 244–245–246, 265–266, 271–
272, 275–276, 286–287. The last one (*shavá raká...*) is absent
in 139–140, 227–228, 259–260. There are still formulaic occur-
rences in their most reduced form, without the first and the
last lines, in verses 99, 107, 165, 312. Another ornamental for-
mula occurs in two lines in verses 7, 47, 277, always with the
line *moka pani vatxi*, the "*tucumã*-palm skirt" (*i.e* made of fi-
bres from the species *Astrocaryum aculeatum*), but followed by
a *shavá*-line. This is the only case in which the ornamental el-
ement is a synecdoche of its own provenience, appearing in a
single line with its corresponding ornament.

several *saiti*, as general "embellishment." This is quite a recurrent word, since to embellish, to name, and to create are three favourite mythical-musical themes, issues that are in contiguous semantic fields in that sonic-verbal context.

Here it seems that, more than performing a mere syntactical function, *ini* links original human body-formation to body-adornment. Marubo translations suggest that the mythical-musical aesthetics echoes the linear-circular ethics of eschatology, in a temporal semantics that goes beyond mere chronology. A beautiful beginning begets those peoples who direct their destination to the double transience of death and disease through the transformative dangers of the eschatological path *vei vai*, wherein a virtuous humanity is bound to beauty-becoming, spiritual beautification.

Indeed, *Mokanawa Wenía* translators did not require a direct *saiti*-reference to comment with some consistency that all emerging peoples adorn themselves just like the souls of the dead do upon their arrival in the paradise of renewal. If *Võchĩpa* would insist that *shavá raká ini* meant "all, countless (*shákama*) beautiful beings," he would translate the other line-variant *shavá rakáraká* as "...and they embellished themselves," regardless of any straight sign of or textual mention to "embellishment"

Any attempt toward a more literal rendering was unsuccessful, despite the wide variety of native para-

phrases would provide for the two line-variants. I can only assume that by coming to the "clarity of existence," by "dwelling in the clear," humans necessarily beautify themselves, to the sheer extent that they become human and humanise the world. This mythical-musical embellishment mediates between the alchemic-chthonic origins of humanity and *shavá raká*, its "habitation clearance" or "place of residence."

All the newborn bitter-peoples (*mokã vake náwavo*) emerge (*nawa weni ini*) with their adornments, as these recurrent lines describe along with the poetical formulae of ornamentation throughout the myth-chant. Therefore, one should not take *ini* for a diacritical marker that differentiates between the two variant lines where the expression *shavá raká* occurs. The "lying ground" *raká*, there where one "is," is beautiful inasmuch as it becomes human habitation with the emergence of humanity. In the same sense, *shavá* qualifies this "dwelling" referent as "clear beauty," as a "clearance embellishment" or an "ornamental clarity."

The ordinary meaning of *raká* ("to lie") already relates to a semantic field ("place of stay" and, metonymically, "forest clearance") that is contiguous to *shavá*. Thus, *shavá* translates either as "the clarity where one lies" or as "dwelling" just as well.

Then I should look for the layers of meaning that the two variant lines share in this very equivocal word: *shavá* alone means "clarity," as well "villages," native

ones or otherwise, or even "cities." But the term allows for much manipulation in native semantics. For instance *vari shavá*, literally "the clarity of the sun," denotes the time-span of a year. Here *shavá* already gains a temporal connotation. However, its adjective form *shavaya* is not used for time but for space, with the same designation of a "dwelling place": *shavaya* is here applicable both to humans and non-humans, to living beings and beyond life—that is, at the various levels of the native universe.

The meaning of *shavá* associates the "day clarity" with the inhabited spaces of the cosmos, to the several cosmological planes of the native world, on earth or in the skies, like the cosmic layers *mai shavaya* and *shokó nai shavaya* or the intermediate *tama shavaya* mentioned previously. The *shavá*-reference to a literal "clearing" is explicit in the meaning of the *tama shavaya*: a "clearance of [among] the trees." It is the opening where the *vari*-sun illuminates the existence of human beings and other cosmic entities.

The Marubo posit a homology between all the superimposed terrestrial and celestial layers, the various *mai*-earths and *nai*-skies and the intermediary strata where all living and non-living beings dwell. Yet, these latitudinal levels of existence retain their respective ontological peculiarities. The word *shavaya* gives the universal-homologous common-ground in its significance of "clearance-dwelling:" it is a measure of

the humanisation of the cosmos.

There is little environmental variation among those cosmic landscapes, since paths always crisscross all layers of the native cosmos as well as the everyday reality of natives. However, their respective entities vary in the types of temporal-categorial relations that humans maintain with them. This means that the characterisation of the cosmic layers of the native universe takes places in function of their own respective inhabitants, while it depends on the association of these with either *yové*-spirits or *yochῖ*-doubles or with equivalent entities.

All these layers are spatial. But all layers constitute an interconnected universe which shamans, mythical characters, and the dead traverse in music, through the inter-cosmic *vei vai* "path of perils" and other ways. Therefore, in spite of its spatiality, such a cosmology has a foremost temporal-laden meaning. The network of paths that defines the human-relational cosmic space is traversed through time. The Marubo can draw many figurative depictions of their cosmos upon request. But these are just illustrations that, being visual, do not capture its essential character, to wit, the temporality that is inherent to their myth-music, structures that natives communicate in *saiti* just because they cannot communicate them otherwise.[138]

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[138]In this way, this mythical-musical exegesis is a necessary

The measure of the applicability of this temporal-cosmic significance of *shavaya* with regard to its root *shavá* will lie in the etymology of *-ya*. This suffix may just relate to the verb *aya* ("to have"). At any rate, it stands against the meanings of similar forms of suffixation in native grammar: while the *-ka* suffix has a pure adjectival function, hence accidental—as in *roaka*, "good," or *ichnaka*, "bad"—words ending with *-ya*, since essential, tend to be closer to nouns: natives are reluctant to understand *romeya* ("shaman") or *taeya* ("sweet-potato") as *rome*-tobacco or *tae*-foot + *ya*, even though such etymologies seem to cohere with the meanings of their respective words.

Both suffixes can be seen as attributive on a temporal scale: *-ka* would be temporary, while *-ya* is permanent. However, a tendentious opposition between temporality and eternity, between substances and attributes shall always make the definition of the lexical repertoire of shamans, with all its "substantial affections," quite difficult.[139]

In everyday speech, it looks as though *-ka* implies an excellent quality to something or somebody, while *-ya* entails the substance of such quality, irrespective of degree. But the affixation of these suffixes to qualitative nouns seems to place them in a quantitative

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complement to the visual descriptions of the native cosmos in Montagner Melatti 1985 and Cesarino 2008.

[139] *Cf.* Costa 1992 and 2000.

gradient: from an adjectival -*ka* to a stronger -*ya*—
to a substantial attribution of the essential root. If
the derivative *shavaya* is "that which has [substan-
tial] *shavá*," this word-root may translate in *saiti* not
only as "[solar] clarity" or "[clear] dwelling," with a
strong temporal connotation: it will be also the radi-
cal essence of native temporality.

   The mythical-musical meaning of *shavá* is beyond
its mere spatial sense in everyday speech, where this
word, much as its correlative *shavaya*, designates ter-
restrial dwelling—the space where a longhouse, a vil-
lage, a city lies: more literally, *shavánamã*, "place of
dwelling." If *shavá* implies a temporal reference in the
common expressions *vari shavá* or *shavama* ("year"
or "yesterday / tomorrow"), it also may convey the
same ordinary sense of space as *shavaya*. But if daily
shavaya has just a spatial referent, it is no less time-
laden in the native cosmos. In *saiti*, its essential root
shavá distils this significance. In myth-music, regard-
less of its specific spatial connotations, *shavá* means
a temporality that presupposes a temporal ambiva-
lence that native cosmography represents in the sev-
eral *shavaya*-planes. In *saiti*, the word *shavá* is that
which expresses the generic ambivalent temporality of
the native world.[140]

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[140]On a weeklong journey undertaken with people from my
host village, from the Marubo community of Vida Nova down
to the Brazilian town of Atalaia do Norte, life was intense and
close together among all those aboard the overloaded canoe.

Marubo cosmology has temporal implications that define cosmic topoi. So does the mythical-musical meaning of *shavá*. In *saiti*, the word *shavá*—hence also *shavaya*—means the immediate presence, a temporality "made present." Thus *shavá oma*, an exemplary expression in other myth-chants, might translate as "almost daylight," with no other temporal specification but that of "near clarity"; but in *saiti*, it stands alone for "dawn" as the first daylight ever. Still more significantly, in this case the suffix *-ma* may stand for "causation," instead of its alternative native meaning of "negation." *Shavá oma* will be "that which causes *shavá*."

Hence *shavá* means "day, light"; but such a "daylight" produces temporality. If that is the case, the etymology of *shavama*, the everyday construction that means both "yesterday" and "tomorrow," will in turn consist of more than "daylight" + "negative suffix." It would be imply an understanding of linear time as "no-time," reducible to circularity. It would literally mean "non-temporal," rather than "not-today."

We travelled night and day, slept and ate on board. We were of course always anxious to spot places to rest and hunt and collect some food on the riverbanks. Whenever an abandoned or temporary dwelling was seen, people would shout: *shavaya*! More than just a "clearing" or a "dwelling," *shavaya* was the spatial human mark on the horizon that punctuated at intervals the temporal movement of the canoe on the river: a visual chronometer.

This coheres with the fact that the ordinary word for "today" is *rama*, whereby natives say *ramase* for "now," *i.e.* "truly today." If the true opposite of *rama*-today is the "absence of clarity"—*shavama* would be "time without light"—*shavama* will be in the end tantamount to a "absent temporality," but still non-eternal: more than "not now," such a temporal nothingness is linear—hence dark. In native myth-music, *shavá*-time is immediate; but rather than an a-dimensional point in a continuous line, it results in circles.

Mokanawa Wenía is, *qua* anthropo-cosmogony, the creation of *shavá*-light in the double-sense of human-space and world-temporality. The "presentified" present of natives is *shavá*-clear. It is not the punctual instant, but instead the instantaneous presence of time in a spatial "there." That is the native truth: *shavá* is the clearance where humanity and the humanised world become true. It is as if the mythical exegesis of *shavá* brought the same message as the musical structures of the *saiti*: native time is dyadic, multidirectional and discontinuous, as opposed to the univocal-continuous temporality that we are familiar with. But again, such musical dyads can also be seen as asymmetric, or concentric: in my visual-spatial language, temporal circles include their own linear negation.

For the Marubo, the most relevant temporal opposition is not between the "before" and the "after," whereby the "present" would be an immediate nega-

tion of time. Likewise, our view of spatial points as
the negation of space should sound extraneous to the
native geometry. For them, that which matters is
immediacy against temporal mediation, the present
"there" that, against the complementary absence of
the "not there" (*shavama*), will assert rather than
negate their temporality. Thus natives open a human
space in the world, a "clearance."

Marubo time is not a triad past / present / fu-
ture, but a dual dialectics of clear presence and dark
absence. These peoples become human in *shavá*, the
world-clearance that is the instant when all is and
becomes: native temporal-humanisation is the cir-
cle over the line, a recursive present that absorbs
a successive progress, the ex-centric centre that en-
compasses the periphery. These circular forms are
dyadic—because this is only means to maintain *nawa*-
commutability in the insertion of multiplicity into uni-
ty, unity into multiplicity.[141]

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[141] *Cf.* Overing 1995 and Stolze Lima 1999 for the debate on
time in Amazonia, a discussion that is as critical of the posi-
tivism of Gell 1994 as it is undoubtedly indebted to the struc-
turalism of Clastres 1987[1974], in its groundbreaking exegesis
of native moral-ontological statements.

circles and lines

If the everyday reality that the Marubo peoples live in the Upper Ituí is the *nawa*-humanity that the *saiti* myth-chants instate as their origins, this reality is temporal. As such, it points to the historical transformations of the native world. The Marubo perform this transformative reality along time, and so instate their own conception and perception of it in chants. This amounts to nothing less than the mythical sense of their own history.

Likewise, the significance of the verbal verses of *saiti*, of the mythical words that natives chant thereby, is the product of an accumulation of semantic transformations along the notes in musical cells. This intonation makes sense of the being and becoming of their form of humanity and of the human world where natives live.

Of all *saiti* that inform this study, *Mokanawa Wenía* is the most formulaic. Its verbal narrative consists of poetical formulations that render clearer the cellu-

lar circularity to which the discursive linearity of all myth-music conforms. This general feature of native mythical-musical poetics refers to the specific values of the temporal semantics of all myth-chants. Even if the structural formulation of this *saiti* were not enough reason to draw attention on it, its exegesis would have to end up in this fundamental trait of all *saiti*: their circular-linear ambivalence. It is in this dialectical ambivalence that one shall find the analytical correspondences between the mythical performance and its musical-poetical form, the synthesis of the myth-chant as a social and sonic medium.

Mokanawa Wenía narrates how animal and arboreal substances spread as the grounding of creation and stand up "like trees" on the large riverbanks, where the ground rumbles and the substance-namesake *mokanawa* peoples *weni*-emerge. These peoples settle on land with the ornaments and languages acquired in their intercourse with birds and other animals and plants.

But the verbal linearity of this mythical narrative is in effect circular, both because it gains a cyclical contour in recurrent poetical formulae—in the creation movements of preparation, substantiation, nomination, as well in those of language and ornament acquisition—and because the original grounding of humanity is the same ground of human establishment: the land of the large rivers. Conversely, this

whole creation-habitation circle follows one linear direction from the animal-arboreal earth toward the world of humanisation, a direction that those several sequential lines perform as particular movements from the "large riverbanks" where human emergence takes place (*noa mai*) to the human occupation of the "ground clearance" (*shavá*) on the same land.

Thus the movements that *saiti*-poetics formulate in cycles of sequences will contain the circular linearity of the direction of human creation. In other words, if this trajectory is on the whole circular, the partial events that compose it succeed each other linearly. These movements follow the circles of emergence-establishment in linear sequences that overlap and intertwine each other in the poetical form of the formulaic cycles that the tables above present.

But I have shown before that the reiteration of these cycles and the overall creation-settlement circularity that these sequential movements perform are not the sole, nor even the most important musical-poetical means to formalise the linear narrative of the mythical discourse. The preceding chapters situate all animals and plants, substances and elements that figure in the myth-chant in those few tables therein, organising them in their respective poetical formulae of human emergence from earth and world humanisation. Now in order to understand their temporal dialectics, it is time to place all these mythical words

in the musical form of the *saiti*. This will result in a synthesis of the mythical-musical narrative with reference to the previous analysis of phrases and cells.

The poetical-formulaic structure of the myth-chant has already made explicit how its sequences of verbal lines reproduce, in bare outline, the circular-linear temporality that its musical-cellular structures present. But if the main structural meaning of the myth-chant is temporal, the dyadic temporality that the musical-cellular structures set forth should have a more direct bearing on its concrete verbal-narrative progression than a mere analogical template would do: circularity and linearity are not abstract concepts here. The poetical-formulaic movements that perform the verbal direction of the *saiti*-narrative occur in the same temporal-dialectical interaction that the circular and linear phrases within each musical cell of the *saiti* entertain.

Such a generalisation should not be new to the reader. The new revelation that this final chapter will make is that the narrative direction of the humanisation movements in the entire chant is translatable as a temporal transit from circularity to linearity. In brief, the musical significance of the dyadic succession of phrases within each recursive cell, from the circular first-half to the linear second-half, is the same temporal message that the 390-fold progression of verbal verses puts into words.

Here there is no scope for a semantic determinism of musical structures over verbal ones. Both musical cells and poetical formulae have a formal preeminence in *saiti*. The semantic primacy of myth-chants is in the musical-poetical form, since their primary significance concerns time. If *Mokanawa Wenía* cells concentrate a higher semantic potency as regards the temporality of this *saiti*, this is just because its overall meaning lies nowhere else than in the temporal relationships that its dyadic structure contains in the most basic form. This temporal-semantic correspondence between the minimal cell and the maximal structure of the narrative provides the key to the musical-poetical effect that the disposition of verbal verses along the myth-chant produces.

The recurrent lines and cyclical formulae that codify the *saiti*-direction along its several stages are more than circular arrangements of linear sequences—just because it is through their repetition in the dyadic phrases of the equal cells that these verbal devices become the signposts of the discursive progression of the myth-chant. The semantic connection between the mythical narrative and its poetical formulae is more than just verbal: the linear discourse of *saiti* formulates circular variations on a musical theme.

If this statement is still cryptic, the key to it is quite simple. The particular frequencies of musical-poetical occurrence of reiterative lines and cyclical

formulae along the three hundred and ninety verbal verses of the entire myth-chant impart an alternate character to each line and formula, as a sheer consequence of the dyadic form that their repetition in constant cells produces. The distribution of verbal lines along verses locates them within either circular or linear phrases, *i.e.* in first or second half-cells. This suffices as an outcome of the consistent relationship between the musical syntax and the poetical-formulaic mythical discourse.

In effect, the lines that complement or take part in the sequences that announce the earth-emergent humanity tend to occur in the first, circular half of cells; whereas the second and linear half-cell tends to present a complementary or sequential line that presents emergence as a process toward world-humanisation. This demonstrates an undeniable consistency between the whole verbal narrative, whose particular lines or formulaic sequences develop along the *saiti*, while on the other the maximal temporal significance that the musical cell concentrates in a minimal arrangement of eight tones, which combine in four tonal intervals that two phrases oppose in pairs.

Just as these two phrasal halves express together a tonal opposition, within the cell, between G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F and C ↑ F / F ↓ D, the temporal meaning of the whole myth-chant lies in the opposition between the cyclical affirmation of the central tone

and its questioning-negative reassertion. In sum, in
accordance with their poetical disposition along the
myth-chant, the recurrent lines assume an alternate
character of assertive reiteration or progressive inver-
sion, the opposite temporal poles that an invariable
musical structure impinges on the verbal semantics of
the *saiti*.[142]

Conversely, beyond the dialectical progression of
the mythical-musical poetics, the disposition and dis-
tribution of *saiti*-lines along sequences of verses, *i.e.*
along time, corroborate at several levels that temporal
significance which the minimal cell states with max-
imal economy in its dyadic-phrasal structure. This
chapter will now present the most conspicuous man-
ifestations of these correlations. Further, it will elabo-
rate their exegetical implications. Not only the verbal-
poetical organisation of the myth-chant supports the
wider semantic validity of the musical-cellular direc-
tion from circles to lines—both *vis-à-vis* the whole
mythical narrative and in view of its partial abbre-
viation in the most reiterative lines and formulaic
sequences—but this direction will also have an ob-
vious bearing on the exegesis of these *saiti*-words.

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[142]These verbal and musical meanings correspond to the dis-
tinction Bastos 1989 draws in Kamayurá vocal styles between
semantic "value" and "judgement"—*ethoi* and *axia* in Greek.
The approach to the interaction of sound and text that this
distinction allows for is one of the finest musicological elabora-
tions ever produced in the ethnography of Amazonia.

In *Mokanawa Wenía*, the maximal-minimal structural homology is significant in that the myth-chant is divisible in two general sections at its widest level, each with a specific formulaic configuration. The initial section follows the formulaic events above, *viz.* those of preparation, substantiation, nomination, language-endowment, ornamentation and settlement at last. Then after the recurrence of the respective formulae and a few complementary lines, overlapping and intertwining with some recurrent regularity along more than three-quarters of the totality of *saiti* verses— all of a sudden the narrative changes. The peoples cease to emerge but still undergo the process of humanisation, albeit in a different poetical form.

Human emergence stops when a sibling couple of new characters, *Oã Mani* and *Oã Maya*, makes an appearance in the final section of the myth-chant and summons the emergent peoples to large fallen trunks. There all peoples sit, and the two new arrivals re-endow them with their names and reaffirm their language-capabilities. These renewed movements appear now in different poetical formulae, while a single reiteration of ornament-acquirement follows them in the same formulaic sequencess as before. Now all these formulae, new ones and the old one, succeed each other in a strict sequence.

After this summation of the humanisation movements, the summoning session after earth-emergence

leads to the literal journey that the *mokanawa* peoples undertake through the world. The linear course of the myth-chant will complete the circular process of chthonic creation-humanisation.

Then the reaffirmation of the linear direction of the circular dialectics of the *saiti* will appear in the repetition of previous formulaic sequences and lines that are a semantic condensation of the partial movements from earth-emergence toward world-establishment. Among these lines and sequences, the formulae that relate to human ornamentation stand out. These are the ones that, in most cases, start with a reference to emergence from the earth (*ato weni aya*, "the emergent ones had"...), with one subsequent mention to an animal or arboreal element and another to the ornament it constitutes, ending with a reference to the circular settlement of humanity into the world—an "embellishment-establishment" line (*shavá raká*..., "[they] were in clear dwelling").

The significant direction of the *saiti*, from circles to lines, comes to the fore in the connection between these sequential formulae and the other reiterative lines and sequences that associate with them. That these ornamentation-formulae are a summary of emergence-humanisation, condensing the verbal-poetical significance of all mythical-musical movements from the earth to the world of human establishment—this would already suggest their semantic relevance

with reference to the temporality of the whole myth-chant. Their alternative occurrence in musical-opposite half-cells will confirm this import and even more: these formulae, with the lines that relate to them, state the temporal transformations that the *saiti* undergoes and its semantic ambivalences at once.

In conclusion to this exegetical study of *Mokanawa Wenía*, I will look at these and other lines that recur in the myth-chant. The recurrence of these lines, either in formulaic sequences or not, is the most significant operator of the mythical narrative, disclosing its musical-poetical dynamics in their statistical distribution. A number of these lines were already present in the formulae above. Others are even more conspicuous than these, appearing in isolation or in partial sequences, like the *saiti*-refrains *mokã vake náwavo* or *nawa weni ini.* Some still pertain to other formulaic arrangements that have not been seen yet.

In the case of isolated lines, *i.e.* those that do not conform to a formulaic-sequential pattern, the musical significance will be an absolute factor. The predominance of their overall occurrence in either circular or linear half-cells determines their respective character. In the case of sequential formulae, the circular or linear character of each line will be otherwise dependent on its relative frequency—either in comparison with the other lines of the same sequence or with similar formulaic constructions. In either case,

the temporal meaning of the entire myth-chant, as manifest in all its recurrent lines, will gravitate around the opposition between circle and line.

The crucial task of looking at mythical texts as *saiti*-intonations, at the textual dimension of the myth-chant within its musical context—is just one among the many projects that this study proposes without the intention of an exhaustive accomplishment. But had I stopped here, my enquiry would be more than insufficient or incomplete: the analytic omission of the mythical-musical synthesis of native words and sounds would have been an inconsistent obviation.

A careful consideration of verbal notions like *wenía*, *moka*, *nawa*; of other relevant words in this myth-chant; or of native conceptualisations like *yora*, *yové*, and *yochĩ* are essential for all mythical-musical understanding. But an anthropological neglect of the musical form of such notions, words, and conceptualisations would be as unsatisfactory as a musicological disregard for the mythical locutions that natives chant in *saiti*. Both approaches would fail to ask about those who sprout in the mythical emergence of *Mokanawa Wenía*.

The Marubo chant their origins as "the emergence of the poisonous-bitter peoples." However, these peoples do not just come into being in a poisonous-bitter (*moka*) emergence (*wenía*), nor does their ethnic specificity just derive from a single generic humanness (*nawa*).

Rather, natives frame the multiple compositions of
their origins in temporal terms, in a musical-poetical
framework. This is beyond describing specific animal
and arboreal components on earth becoming human
beings in the world. This native framework specifies
the temporality of the alien trajectory of humanisa-
tion.

The Marubo chant such mythical origins in the
poetical-musical configurations of *saiti*-verses, in re-
current lines and formulae whose cell-phrase arrange-
ments intone such an animal and arboreal emergence
as both circular and linear. Hence, now my inquest
asks about the musical-poetical form that will relate
these mythical arrangements to the native conceptu-
alisations under study so far. Rather than searching
for an artificial "ethnographic totality," for definite an-
swers in a descriptive final-product, I shall make total
sense of the historical referents of native mythology,
as well as of the cosmological and psychophysiologi-
cal references of the native ontology, in the temporal
ambiguity of their own *saiti*-form.

That simple mythical-musical statement—that a
bitter-poisonous humanity emerges in the *saiti*-form
of *Mokanawa Wenía*—brings me back to my initial
question: Who are the Marubo?

The recurrent refrain that encapsulates many of
the traits of the peoples who emerge in this myth-
chant is *mokã vake náwavo*. It points to the poisonous-

bitterness (*moka*), youth (*vake*), humanness (*nawa*), and the collective character (*vo*) of the manifold arboreal and animal forms that humans assume in the *saiti*-formulae of creation.

In its most general aspects, this particular line defines *Mokanawa Wenía*: the gender-alternative *mokã vake shavovo* (the "bitter women-children") appears just once. This disproportion seems to be a sign of the human-generic character of the emergent *moka*-peoples. Contrary to its habitual use as a gender-laden sectional-suffix, *nawa* means here an exogenous humanity, a general principle of alterity that is more akin to a genderless qualifier. Here *nawa* is the ambivalent self-other: as with *moka*, its social referent is at once external and internal, disruptive and constructive of an ethnic identity that, although generic, *weni*-emerges in many specific forms along time.

However, that these *mokanawa* peoples do not sprout on their own means more than their multiplicity. To put it in *saiti*-words—-which at times coincide with the inevitable male-centricity of the *yoiya* chant-leader—these peoples emerge from earth "with their women." The myth-chant states that *atõ awe shavo*, "female third-persons of their same [*moka*] kind" follow the emergent *nawa*-humans. But this occurs in a much lower frequency than the recurrent assertion of the emergence of these peoples in the line *mokã vake náwavo*, as generic "bitter-poisonous children-

peoples."

A native gloss translates *awe shavo* as "sisters": the syntagma would reads best as *aweshavo*. But these *awe shavo* are not the literal siblings of the *mokanawa* peoples. If the expression reads better in a single word, this is because it is a euphemism for "sister" that in fact means "those who are female."

The women (*shavo*) who emerge in this line are a paradigmatic social third-party, "he" or "she" (*awe*). If *awe* also means "what" or a "thing" (*e.g.* in *awerá*, "what is it" or "*awemá*," "nothing"), here the word has a pronominal character that indicates a "third person."

The myth-chant reiterates the genderless commonality of origins of the *mokanawa* peoples, coming in successive movements out from the earth, while *shavo*, the female gender as a potential social term of relation, occurs as a much less frequent addendum. It is as if gender relations were not coterminous to human emergence. The inauguration of *nawa*-society depends on the subsequent advent of a *shavo*-female third-party.

The myth-chant announces the consummation of both social and gender relations but once, with the single introduction of the line *vevo aĩ aya* in verse 87. This occurs in immediate verbal connection with the lesser reiteration of the gendered form of emergence, *atõ awe shavo*. The native translation for former line

was "[their] wives came in front." But the sense of
"women" that this translation of *vevo aĩ aya* purports
seems to draw on the preceding verse, which features
the line *atõ awe shavo*. If *aĩ* is the nominative form of
"wife" in ordinary usage, *shavo* is its occasional voca-
tive, but with a strong consanguineous sense, since
it is also a matrilineal section suffix. Even though
vevo indicates seniority, precedence, natives always
emphasise the original consanguinity of the emergent
moka-women.

Now if *aĩ* is a transformation of *shavo*, the lat-
ter will be closer to its sectional-suffix function, "fe-
male kin," than to its function as an everyday con-
jugal vocative. This means that if the *moka*-peoples
are generic *nawa*, their original affinity emerges from
female consanguinity. Although the literal transla-
tion of *vevo aĩ aya* could be "the first [elder] exist-
ing wives," *Võchĩpa*, the translator, would insist that
these women sprout as "their sisters," as the *atõ awe
shavo* of the *mokanawa*.

Do these *nawa*-peoples understand their female sib-
lings as spouses? or do their *aweshavo*-sisters <u>become</u>
their *aĩ*-wives? The habitual vocative-conjugal mean-
ing of *shavo* should not bias the native gloss. Its sys-
tematic mythical-musical reference is "kinswoman" for
the Marubo. Above all, -*shavo* is a kinship-related,
sectional-ethnonymic lexeme, a gender-marker that
subordinates *aĩ*-conjugality. Kin vocatives such as

txitxo or *txira*, "older" or "younger sister" proper, are
also subsumed under this term.

It is the linear succession of the circular emergence
of *nawa*-peoples, along with their *aweshavo*-sisters,
that entails their multiple animal-arboreal speciation—
thus transforming sisters into wives. The very poet-
ical musicality of the myth-chant states this subor-
dination of marriage to kinship, of affinity to consan-
guinity, or still of kin terminology (*txitxo* and *txira*) to
sectional affiliation (-*shavo* sections)—though a pre-
ponderance of the circular emergence of *moka*-gender
over linearity. In the relative occurrence of the respec-
tive lines along the cells of the myth-chant, *atõ awe
shavo*, "their kinswomen" occurs in 21 verses evenly
distributed from the beginning of the *saiti* until verse
276, against one single occurrence of *vevo aĩ aya*,
"[they] have [their] first wives." The line *atõ awe shavo*
appears mostly in musical circularity: the proportion
of occurrence between first and second half-cell is 13
: 8, which means that the tonal centre of the initial
cellular phrase (G♭ ↓ F / G♭ ↓ F) tends to assert
the presence of *shavo*-women as a gender-differential
section-constituent.

The two lines *atõ awe shavo* and *vevo aĩ aya* occur
in succession but in different verses, both in the first
half of the respective cell, which expresses in music
an equal assertive reiteration. The announcement of
the emergent peoples, either consanguineous or affine

to women, gendered or otherwise, tends to be the same circular event that precedes the linear direction of their *saiti*-emergence.

Thus the mythical-stenographic statement of the "bitter-poisonous children-peoples," in the words of the line *mokã vake náwavo*, has also a more or less even distribution along musical cells, which in most cases will assert the same circularity. This line ceases to occur 55 verses before the end of the *saiti*, long after *atõ awe shavo*. This interruption shall constitute the statistical marker that formally delimits the two stages of *Mokanawa Wenía*.[143]

I said that the line *mokã vake náwavo* is a verbal stenography of the *saiti* just in that it represents "poisonous-bitter children-peoples," that is, it contains the key words that define humanity in its mythical-musical emergence. But if this is so, such stenography is also present the two other recurrent

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[143]The "poisonous-bitter *nawa*-children" *mokã vake náwavo* occurs in verses 3, 11, 18, 25, 32, 38, 40, 54, 58, 64, 66, 78, 79, 82, 90, 93, 98, 102, 105, 106, 113, 120, 125, 128, 137, 152, 155, 176, 181, 185, 193, 197, 212, 217, 222, 232, 233, 238, 251, 254, 257, 269, 282, 285, 290, 294, 301, 303, 307, 316, 326, 335. Its gendered counterpart *mokã vake shavovo*, the "poisonous-bitter she-children" occurs in verse 62, while the altered form *kanã vake náwavo*, the "macaw's children-peoples," appears only in 172. Their "kinswomen" *atõ awe shavo* occurs in verses 3, 6, 41, 46, 69, 74, 86, 100, 108, 143, 150, 157, 189, 198, 203, 209, 214, 244, 252, 273, 276, whereas their "original wives" *vevo aĩ aya*, as stated, occurs only in verse 87.

lines that present the verb *weni*, "to emerge:" *ato aya weni* and *nawa weni ini*. These two lines complement the characterisation of the *mokã vake náwavo*, these *mokanawa* "children-peoples," as earth-emergent.

I have already come across one of these "emergence-complementary" lines, since it is part of the formulae of embellishment-settlement: *ato aya weni* translates as "they [the *mokanawa* peoples] emerge with" ...their ornaments. This line occurs in 12 verses in regular distribution along the myth-chant, not in straight sequence with all ornamental formulae, but always as a formulaic introduction to them. It as an allusion to their precedent earth-origin. Therefore, it could not be other than an assertive and circular line, with an unequivocal higher frequency on the first half-cell.

The other stenographic line of this myth-chant, *nawa weni ini*, means just "[the] *nawa*-peoples emerge." It will be in turn linear. But this is no surprise either, since in its partial formulaic occurrences, it appears in a complementary association with *mokã vake náwavo*. That the simple significance of the line *nawa weni ini* is that the *mokanawa* "sprout" complements the circular assertion of these emerging bitter-poisonous peoples. Thus, it is also hardly surprising that both its frequency and that of *mokã vake nawa* are the highest among all *saiti*-lines. If the line *mokã vake náwavo* occurs in no less than 54 verses throughout the entire

myth-chant, *nawa weni ini* has 72 occurrences, will the two lines occur in the same cell 21 times.[144]

Further, the distributions of *ato aya weni* and *nawa weni ini* along *saiti*-verses also demarcate the formal subdivision between the initial and final parts of the mythical-musical narrative. The regular occurrences of these two lines stop not long before the "poisonous-bitter children-peoples" *mokã vake náwavo* themselves cease to emerge, respectively in the 315$^{\text{th}}$ and 316$^{\text{th}}$ verses.

This statistical delimitation will have semantic implications inasmuch as *mokã vake náwavo*, *nawa weni ini*, and *ato aya weni* are the most typical and concise statements of this myth-chant. Together, these lines reiterate its leitmotif, *viz.* the "emergence of the bitter children-peoples with their [ornamentation],"

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[144]The "emerging peoples" *nawa weni ini* occurs in verses 4, 19, 26, 32, 34, 38, 40, 42, 45, 48, 50, 59, 67, 69, 72, 77, 82, 83, 89, 90, 94, 96, 98, 101, 106, 108, 110, 114, 120, 121, 128, 137, 138, 141, 143, 150, 151, 154, 156, 158, 163, 166, 172, 176, 182, 185, 186, 190, 197, 213, 217, 219, 221, 225, 229, 232, 234, 241, 247, 251, 254, 270, 273, 284, 285, 291, 294, 301, 308, 313, 316. There is also a variation to this line in verse 226, *rome nawa weni*, whose unusual construction with "tobacco" instead of "poisonous-bitterness"—as "the tobacco-peoples emerge," should give an even more shamanic-laden connotation to *saiti*-creation. This connotation is indeed that which their ornamental possessions shall point at with the formulaic introduction of the line *ato aya weni*, "they emerge with..." in verses 4, 70, 139, 191, 201, 227, 242, 259, 296, 309, 314, 364.

coming from earth toward their embellishment and establishment in the world. That the even frequencies of the three lines stop round about the same spot not only subdivides the *saiti* in two parts, but also characterises the first one as an emblematic phase of "bitter-poisonous emergence."

Moreover, the circular incidence of these recurrent lines in this first part will delimit the linear character of the second stage. The line that at once epitomises earth-emergence and introduces the formulae that lead to the world-establishment of humanity (*ato aya weni*) has a definite circular character, but the subsequent ornamental sequences move toward linearity. Meanwhile, the other refrains that characterise the epitome of *wenía*-emergence (*mokã vake náwavo* and *nawa weni ini*—that is, together, the "*mokanawa* children emerge") present absolute cellular-phrasal proportions that complement each other. The relative result of these statistics is the successive reiteration of emergent-circularity as a prerequisite for emerging-linearity. Whenever these lines occur in the same cell, the former will precede the latter: in this cellular succession, *mokã vake náwavo* will be in assertive and circular half-cells twice as often as *nawa weni ini*.

This reinforces again the maximal verbal validity of the minimal musical structures of *Mokanawa Wenía*. Just like the two narrative phases of this

myth-chant, the two phrases of the musical cells of this *saiti* represent a relative opposition between the initial circular-assertion and the final linear-progression of a central tone. Likewise, the complementary occurrence of *mokã vake náwavo* and *nawa weni ini* in the same cell places the circularity of the "bitter-poisonous children-peoples" before the linearity of their "emergence" in 14 against 7 occasions.

This corresponds to the overall higher frequency of *mokã vake náwavo* in the first halves of cells (in 29 out of 54 verses), which assigns an absolute circular-assertive character to that line. Further, this proportion coheres with the general tendency of *nawa weni ini* to appear in second cell-phrases (38 out of 72), which characterise this line as linear and progressive. This is also in line with the circular precedence of *ato aya weni* over the sequential lines of ornamentation that lead to the human settlement in the world.

The verbal significance and the poetical disposition of all these recurrent lines and respective formulaic associations follow temporal-semantic values that the musical transcription of the *saiti* renders explicit, in a nutshell: *wenía*-emergence is a line along time, whereas the *mokanawa*, the bitter-poisonous peoples, emerge and re-emerge in circles. The process of emergence, which the line *nawa weni ini* expresses ("peoples emerge"), is a linear progression with respect to the *mokã vake náwavo* ("bitter children-peoples"),

that is, in regard to the cyclical circularity that the emergent ones assert.

Along the same lines, *ato aya weni* ("those who emerge have"...), the line that introduces the formulae of ornamental world-destination after their earth-emergence, puts a higher emphasis on circular assertiveness. In its musical-poetical context, it makes stronger reference to the emergent peoples than to the emerging process. It also occurs twice as often in the first half-cell as in the second, in an absolute proportion of 8 : 4.

Conversely, *Mokanawa Wenía* characterises its first part, through these three verbal lines, as a literal stage of "*wenía*-emergence of the *moka*-bitter *nawa*-peoples." It is the narrative phase of the chthonic movements in which, after the temporal dynamics of musical cells, linearity follows circularity. However, the figurative meaning of these movements in the *saiti*—the humanisation of the world—goes much beyond its epigrammatic title: it pervades the whole myth-chant. The first stage that those three lines epitomise delimits the circular recurrence of the earth-emergence of the *mokanawa* peoples. But the final part is no less creative, if shorter and linear-like. It ends with an account of the journey that, at last, human creatures undertake through the world. These wanderings establish a clearer analogy between the transformative ways of native eschatology and a peri-

patetic humanisation. Because the endowment of all attributes of humanness along the first *saiti*-phase of *wenía*-emergence is not enough to characterise humanity in full, the creation of *mokanawa* beings will become a complementary travelling transformation in the second stage.

This final "linear-transformative" part starts after verses 317–318, when a concise line marks twice the end of the initial "circular-emergent" stage of *Mokanawa Wenía*. This line translates as a literal "ending": *weni i mashtesho* ("the emerging finishes there"). As one mifht expect, it appears first in the circular half-cell and then in the linear one. From then on, some of the formulaic movements that, in the initial *saiti* stage, overlap each other and punctuate human emergence at regular intervals will reoccur in the same order as seen in the tables above: acquisition of name, language, ornament.

But the poetical form of most of these formulae changes, while their disposition in a stricter sequence does not overlap. This confers a prosaic, linear character to them. The strict linear succession, in this final stage, of those cyclical events that intersperse human emergence in the initial one is but one of the several traits that, while conforming to a common pattern of humanisation, differentiate the two parts of the myth-chant.

This distinctive differentiation is precisely evident

in that earth-emergence develops out of different sub-
stances, with several onomastic denominations, lin-
guistic and ornamental attributes that lead to world-
settlement in the first part, while in the second one
these denominations and attributes follow instead from
a reunion of the settled *mokanawa* peoples after the
call of two new *saiti*-characters. These, *Oã Mani* and
Oã Maya, form a male-female, sibling couple who,
rather than agents of creation, are markers of this se-
mantic change in the myth-chant. The siblings will
organise humanity along a straight line.

Still more distinctive of that second stage is the
ensuing travel along the large riverbanks. This indi-
cates that an incomplete humanity resu[145]lts from the
predominant circularity of the emergent *mokanawa*
peoples in their initial humanisation. Their lacking
component is that linear journey which complements
them.

When their summoning-reunion takes place, start-
ing from verse 319, the earth-emerged peoples are al-
ready settled in the world, but lack mobility. These
mokanawa humans collect upon fallen trees, as a vari-
able "locational formula" expresses it with the fol-
lowing lines: *moka*-bitter + animal or tree + *tapã*-

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[145]The formula *moka...   tapã / ato setẽ vakĩsho / moka...
tapã / tana vakĩ aki / ... ikã ayavo* appears, in either complete
or reduced form, in the verse-sequences 319–321–323, 325–328,
330–331–333, 338–339–341.

trunk, always in the circular half-cell, preceding *ato setẽ vakĩsho*, "they sit in a row like so there," always in the linear one.

The *Oã* creational-couple, in another line that always follows a variant of *moka... tapã*, complement these locational formulae walking up and down along each trunk on the ground, as if anticipating the ensuing movement of humanity across the land. This line reads *tana vakĩ aki*, "so they do it along," always in the second half-cell too. In different ways, both the sitting situation of the *mokanawa* peoples, side by side on the *tapã*-trunk, and the walking movement of the creational-couple along it, rehearse the linearity that humanity will represent in its subsequent journey— always in linear half-cells.

The final formulaic line also anticipate this journey. The *mokanawa* peoples regain their names with the same formula that figures as a creation-nomination movement in the previous *saiti*-stage: *...ikã ayavo*. But now their denominations come after the trunks where they gather, not after a creational substance as earlier. As in the first part, the *...ikã ayavo* line, "...namesakes [they] are," most often appears in the circular cell-halves.[146]

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[146]The locational formulae *moka... tapã / ato setẽ vakĩsho / moka... tapã / tana vakĩ aki / ...ikã ayavo* appear, in either complete or reduced form, in the verse-sequences 319–321–323, 325–328, 330–331–333, 338–339–341.

With one exception, there is also a straight corre-
spondence between those *tapã*-trunks and the names
that humans receive in this second *saiti*-stage. Hence
nomination is a circular confirmation of the linear
animal-arboreal origins of humans—be such origins
creational-substantial or locative. This means that,
in this and in other senses, the formula *moka. . . tapã*
is equivalent to those of creation-substantiation: its
middle-term is either animal (*i.e.* the *rono*-viper) or
arboreal (the *vinõ*-palm, the *paka*-bamboo, the *isã*-
palm), much as these animals and trees figure as qual-
ifications of creational substances in the first stage as
well.[147]

However, regardless of the semantic congruence of
tapã-trunks with the creational ground, such a hu-
man assembly along them differs from emergence on
earth. This not only due to the sitting situation of hu-
mans on trunk-benches or to the walking movement
of the creational couple along them. In this second
stage, the relevant diacritic is that the habitation of
humanity in the world is not consequent on, but si-
multaneous with the humanisation movements.

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[147]In the initial part of the myth-chant, the nomination
formula . . . *ikã ayavo* appears in sequential connection with
creation-substantiation formulae in verses 31, 83, 89, 93, 105,
113, 121, 138, 151, 181, 247, 284, 300, with a first half-cell pre-
dominance of 8 : 5. In the final *saiti*-stage, as the previous
footnote suggests, it occurs in verses 323, 328, 333, 341. Here
the circular half-cell predominance is even more pronounced: 3
: 1.

This means that the line that expresses such a human habitation here coincides both with the locational formulae, *i.e.* the sequences of gathering-nomination and with the subsequent ones, those that renovate language-endowment. The line *mato ivo nawa* presents the settlement of humanity in formulaic connection with both movements. Here it means that "you (plural) are [these] peoples-owners"—that is, that these *mokanawa* possess personal names both after their initial earth-emergence and all through their final re-nomination and re-endowment of language.

These two equally formulaic movements are now coincident with sedentary settlement, rather than anticipative of it, as in the first *saiti*-stage. The humanisation process that first led to such a human-settling now leads to a transformative transit: those same fallen trees where the *mokanawa*-beings gather and after which reacquire their names will soon become passageways.

Accordingly, the half-cell distribution of the line *mato ivo nawa* assigns the temporal-semantic ambivalence of these human collectivities around the ground-trunk. The speciation of humanity though names is at once an initial departure and a final arrival, the commencement and the consequence of humanisation. Hence, the verbal line that expresses it in musical phrases must be about as circular as it is linear.[148]

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[148]The line *mato ivo nawa* appears in verses 322, 327, 333,

Mokanawa Wenía represents the transformation of
the fallen trunks along which the emerged humanity
stands as their transposition across the large rivers
where these humans will be heading for. This is no
great semantic juggling for the Marubo. Rather than
a long "gathering bench," *tapã* is a common native
word for any large fallen trunk lying across a river
or over an otherwise impassable terrain. The most
ordinary connotation of *tapã* is that of "access."

Indeed, these fallen trunks are much more emblem-
atic of a bridge to travel across than of a site for the
reunion of humans after their emergence and settle-
ment. The transformative meaning of *tapã* in the
saiti, from bench to bridge, means that human be-
ings are now mobile rather than sedentary. In this
second stage of the myth-chant, *tapã* becomes a tran-
sition between the alchemic-chthonic emergence of hu-
man beings and their transformative journey. It de-
notes a "path," with all its mythical-musical, *saiti*-
choreographic connotations: a linearity that gives con-
tinuity to the circularity that the emergent humans
represent in the first part of the myth-chant.

As some poetical formulae above suggest, that the
tapã-trunk is more a dynamic situation than a sta-
tionary position does not mean that it is on the whole
dissimilar to the ground where the animal and arbo-

340, 342, 348, 354. Of these 7 occurrences, 4 are in circular
half-cells, while 3 are in linear ones.

real creational substances ferment, from where humanity sprouts and settles with ornaments on land. Rather, in more than a musical sense, its final semantic shift from gathering bench to moving bridge, from stasis to dynamics emblematises not just the reiteration of those initial humanisation movements, but their partial reversal as well. When the settled re-nomination stops (*ane i mashtesho*, literally "the naming finishes there," in verse 363) and the emerged peoples start moving along the large rivers, shouting the festive shouts (*noa kaya tana / sai in' aya*, "they leave along with *sai*," in verse 366), the familiar eschatological combination of travelling with transformations will take place across the trunk-bridges. The translocation of the *tapã*-bridges is also the transposition of mythical-musical creation to another key. When humans cross the large rivers, the watery domain poetically inverts terrestrial humanisation. The now journeying peoples will lose their ornaments which, once fallen into the river, generate insects, lesser animals (*shako*-worms, *vina*-wasps) that do not take part in the initial human earth-emergence and ornamental world-settlement.

It follows that *Oã Mani* and *Oã Maya*, the mythical-musical siblings who summon and align the peoples on fallen trunks before this final journey, are not creators at all, but rather "creational assistants." It is the location of humanity on the transformative trunk-benches, with the successive re-nomination and re-

endowment of language and ornament that somehow recreates or, better said, reverses creation.

Better said, *Oã Mani* and *Oã Maya* fulfil their roles with the new ordering of the re-nomination and language-endowment of the *mokanawa* peoples in a linear sequence which, concluding with an embellishment-establishment formula, becomes a summary of their *wenía*-emergence. This is just an intermediary prelude for these *moka*-beings to line up for a journey that is the transformative completion of their *nawa*-circularity, a complement of the circular origin of the initial alchemic-chthonic movements that convolve humanity and non-humanity.

Both the linear sequentiality of formulae in the second part of *Mokanawa Wenía*, before humanity initiates its migratory movement, and the creation-associates *Oã Mani* and *Oã Maya*, the two characters who introduce it, just underscore this spatial transposition of anthropogeny from chthonic creation to rootless roaming. The *Oã*-couple points out the specific homologies that underlie the two stages: if the emergent *moka*-humans stand for both sexes in the first part, since *nawa* is a gender-generic suffix, humanisation is gender-complementary in the figure of those two new characters.

Now this re-enactment and reversal of the initial human creation in the final part of the myth-chant suggests that, no matter how pervasive is the direc-

tion from circle to line that the *saiti* reveals in its
verbal and musical keys—*i.e.* in the twofold narrative
and at all the semantic levels that relate to it—such
directions do not exhaust its temporal meaning. Both
the minimal dyadic cells and the maximal poetical
structures that set the myth-chant as an anthropolog-
ical statement—as a narrative of a circular humanity
coming from animal and arboreal substances in linear
emergence—also reiterate a cultural paradigm. Those
moka-peoples are not only men growing with their
female conterparts out of an animal-arboreal earth
which develops into a human world: more than an
emergent humanity, what emerges in the myth-chant
is the multiple *nawa*-basis of native ethnicity and of
the sociability of those who base their convivial affin-
ity on a poisonous-bitter consanguinity. This *saiti* is
an ontological matrix for these natives, both for their
social speciation in the everyday world and for their
post-mortem perfection in the -*nawa*, ethnic-specific
society of the *yové*-spirits.

As I have shown, *Mokanawa Wenía* perform the
substantial transformations that lead to human cre-
ation as an emergence from substances of plants and
animals that, in their allusion to *yochĩ*-predation, dif-
fer from the inedibility and insipidity of language-
giving birds and anteaters. The transformation of an-
imal *chinã*-thoughts into *nawa*-humans, for instance,
is equivalent to a linear *yochĩ*-progression toward the
circular *yové*-assertion of a "bitter-poisonous," "in-

fant" and "foreign" humanity (*mokã vake náwavo*).

Therefore, that non-human substances become human beings just as natives name their own peoples through the onomastic formula x-*nawa*—where "x" usually stands for animal or plant—means that *nawa*-humanisation is not human-transformation, but refers instead to a transformative non-humanity, a "doubling" of humankind. The circle-line direction of the humanisation process in the myth-chants refers rather to the *nawa*-becoming of animals and plants, not to human beings as such. The Marubo world is an earthen mixture of animal and arboreal elements and substances which the myth-chant mixes along time in its circular-linear dyadic cells.

However *nawa*-transformation, *i.e.* the humanisation of the non-human entails not only *yora*-corporeal constitution, *i.e.* the anatomic, soul-substantial structure of these *mokanawa* peoples, but also their acquisition of the human attributions of ornamentation and language—that which happens to be the paradigmatic attributes of the spiritual paradise. The Marubo are *mokanawa* not only in that their bodies and personal names derive from an alien principle on earth, but also in that their human actualisation of these origins and of all that which concurs with their establishment on the prototypical world-clearances, both in terrestrial life and in celestial death, is the circular outcome of a linear process. Hence, if the

saiti-succession from circularity toward linearity describes well the non-human origins of humanisation, this is an incomplete description of such a process— of that in which the original humanity engages. The indefinite reiteration of such succession asserts a definite circular meaning to all linear processes.

Rather than just conforming to the direction from circle to line that typifies the myth-chant, the *saiti* line *mokã vake náwavo* asserts *mokanawa*-ness as an anthropological paradigm in function of time—as a bitter-poisonous (*moka*), foreign-prototypical (*nawa*) circularity that incorporates or, in native psychophysiological terms (*yora*-bodies, *yové*-spirits, *yochĩ*-doubles), embodies a complementary linearity. Further still, this line points at a "primordial infancy": it is the musical-poetical validation of the native statements that posit the archetypical character of their matrilineal sections, a sort of pre-social originality that their section-specific eschatological destinations are just to reproduce. The peoples who emerge in the myth-chant are children throughout (*vake*), while such original infancy comes as circles out of a linear generation from earth.

These peoples are without parents: their emergent circularity is just an animal-arboreal growth in a linear chthonic gestation. They emerge into the world from an alien and alchemic earth, rather than from particular animals and plants. They are orphan chil-

dren of a generic poisonous-bitterness, fruits of *nawa*-prototypical substances and elements that combine anew into human wholes. Their infancy is the circular amalgamation that results from the linear chthonic estrangement of a fragmentary humanity from fragments of animals and plants. Their childhood is the generic expression of this alien and manifold generation in the human origins, not of the specific affiliations of the original humans. The Marubo are not children of such-and-such plant or animal, but the multiple outcome of the humanisation of the non-human.

The line *mokã vake náwavo*, the "poisonous-bitter children-peoples" is not the exclusive expression of the "childish" character of the original humanity. Another *saiti*-line does it better, always after the formulae of human embellishment-establishment in the world, *i.e.* after the *shavá raká...* lines. This line reads *sai toa iki*, where *sai* is the aforementioned "festival shout," *iki* is a verbalising suffix or auxiliary verb, and *toa* might mean "offspring."

If one translates its constitutive words without much effort, its overall meaning is not that obvious. The key to the line is in *toa*, its last word. It translates in other myth-chants as "child." In the everyday, *shavõtoá* is a kinship term for male-speaking "matrilateral nephew." Following the affiliate-consanguineous tenor of *shavo*, here the meaning of *toa* is a literal

"kinswoman's child."

The terminological counterpart of *shavõtoá* is *koka*, "maternal uncle," whose moral ascendancy over younger kin is incontestable. If the vocative term *kokã* is reciprocal, the main nominative connotation of *shavõtoá* is a patronising one. The two terms are asymmetrical, since *koka* is normally senior to the *shavõtoá*. Therefore, in contrast to the vocative reciprocity of *kokã*, the nominative form *shavõtoá* denotes the consanguineous seniority of the designator over the designated. Its best everyday gloss would be the "male offspring of female sibling." Extrapolating, the *saiti*-line in question might be understood as *saitoá...*, meaning that the *mokanawa* "children" are both "subordinate" to and "consanguineous" with the "festive shouts": they are born from *sai*.[149]

In the light of that, this line becomes an clear statement of the original creative power of the *sai*-falsetto, that predatory vignette which the *mokanawa* peoples shout in their mythical-musical journey along the large rivers, the same that natives shout in the preambles of *saiti*-festivals and during the myth-chants themselves. The free native translation for *sai toa iki*, in *Mokanawa Wenía*, is "the people newly born," however fully formed, in celebration. These *toa*-children are *sai*-shouting whilst "established in embellished clar-

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[149]Melatti describes the ordinary meaning of *shavõtoá* in his neat portrait of kinship relations among the Marubo (1977:101).

ity," in accordance with the *shavá raká. . .* formulae, the "clearance settlement" of the emergent peoples, which always precede that line in the immediate half-cell or verse before. These *moka*-children are creative in shouts. Instead of nether sounds moulding animal and arboreal substances into human shape—as the creation-preparation formulae of the myth-chant say in *perẽ akimane* and *piniki a avaĩ*—now the sounds themselves are the substantial mould, the material form of the earth-emergent humanity after its world-settlement.

However, another native rendition of *sai toa iki* is the creation of milliards of peoples, "all those who are born." These *sai*-shouts could as well be understood as the onomatopoeia of the festive cries of the emergent children in multiple multitude. In this line, the emergent creatures, the *toa*-offspring, as well as the emerging process itself as *sai iki* sound-intonation are confounded: *sai toa iki* is as just as circular as it is linear, occurring 4 times in either half-cell, in the overall *saiti*-proportion.[150]

If the line *sai toa iki* always follows the ornamental sequences that end with *shavá raká. . .* lines, the temporal ambivalence of its overall half-cell distribution is not quite representative of the circular-linear temporality of humanisation which becomes manifest in

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[150]The line *sai toa iki* occurs in verses 36, 123, 168, 189, 205, 238, 246, 299.

those formulae of embellishment-establishment. There, in the development of these sequential formulae of ornamentation and in several other formulaic sequences and lines, the progress of the mythical-musical narrative through the verbal verses assumes an unequivocal direction from circularity to linearity.

The three definitional lines of *Mokanawa Wenía*—the "bitter-children" *mokã vake náwavo*, their "emergence" *nawa weni ini*, and *ato aya weni* as that which "they have in such emergence"—occurring throughout and assigning meaning to the first *saiti*-part, already hint at the succession from circles to lines in relative frequencies. The other lines and formulae that express this direction most often appear in those ornamental sequences or in association with them, since the formulaic expressions therein are a summary of all humanisation movements in this myth-chant: such formulae and lines often begin with a reference to the earth-emergent peoples (*ato aya weni*, "they emerge with [ornaments]") and end with their world-establishment (*shavá raká...*, "lying in the [embellished] clearance"). In their relative occurrences in circular or linear half-cells, these and other recurrent lines point at the typical direction of the *mokanawa* peoples, their displacement from the earth of *wenía*-emergence toward their world.

The most frequent and obvious allusion to this direction is in the line *avi ato pari*, the "original first

ones" among the emergent peoples. The significance of *pari* ("first") is somewhat analogous to *vevo* (the "precedent, eldest, firstborn"), as in the *saiti*-line *vevo aĩ aya* above. It merges with that of *avi*, "long ago," an expression exclusive to myth-chants, *kẽchĩtxo*-healing language—hence its "original" intent. Both significances merge into the meaning of the whole line, indicating a point of inception in space. The "precedence" tenor of *avi ato pari* reaffirms the transition of the chthonic people-emergence toward the primordial human establishment in the ground-clearance.

If native cardinal directions suggest that *-ri* is a directional suffix, a cognate of *pari* might be *parori*, where *paro* is "spatial side"—as in *nai parori*, the "south" (the literal "the direction of the sky"), in opposition to *nai parowetsa*, which means "north" (*i.e.* "the other [opposite] side of the sky"). The celestial ascension that figures in some *saiti*-narratives is through *nai tae*, the "sky foot," which natives situate in the east (*nai taeri*), which the "foot of the large water" also designates (*noa taeri*). Accordingly, the way back from sky to earth in myth-chants is through *nai votĩ ikitõ*, "where the sky bends," or *vari ka atõ*, "where the sun goes"—the "west," to which the *vari*-sun gives temporal connotations.

The cardinal directions of the native world are variations on the theme of a directionality which results in bipolar parabolas—east : west :: north: south.

Marubo humanity draws a parabolic course in cos-
mic space: from "foot" to "bend," from east to west,
from north to south, from earth to sky—from the first
(*-ri*) to the last (*-tõ*). If the suffix *-ri* is directional
<u>provenience</u>, it should support un understanding of
avi ato pari in a musical key. The transitional mean-
ing of this line comes to the surface in the relation
between the mythical-musical movements of creation
and settlement, more than in its constituent words.
If, at a verbal level, it indicates the spatial directions
of *Mokanawa Wenía*, its musical sense is of a transi-
tion from circles to lines.

The line *avi ato pari* will associate with the circu-
larity of the emergent humanity. However, it will also
indicate the same linearity as that of the movements
of human emergence. From the circular assertion of
the emergent peoples, *Mokanawa Wenía* incorporates
an increasing linearity, as the succession of the lines
mokã vake náwavo and *nawa weni ini* in respective
cell-phrases sum up, up to the point when the human
creatures set out on a literal journey in the final part
of the mythical-musical narrative. In this connection,
while *avi ato pari* has to express the circular recur-
rence of the emergent *mokanawa*, it should also show
the linear direction of *wenía*-emergence.

In absolute terms, the frequency of this line, al-
most as often in the first cell-phrase as in the second,
demonstrates again this temporal ambivalence. But

its position in relation to other formulaic lines is the actual measure of the semantic position it occupies in the myth-chant: it will acquire its most general significance in regard to time in its specific poetical-musical framework.[151]

There, *avi ato pari* presents a circular character which points at a linear direction. The original direction that the "first newcomers" indicate in *avi ato pari* almost always appears in a formulaic sequence. With just a few exceptions, it precedes *shavá vevo ini*, the "firstborn of the clearing," a line that expresses the "primordial character" (*vevo*) of the chthonic birthplace of humanity with respect to its clear *shavá*-dwelling. Whenever the two lines occur in succession, *avi ato pari* comes before *shavá vevo ini*. In most of these cases, both occur in the same cell. There, the "whereabouts from" of the "first-original" *mokanawa* peoples (*avi ato pari*), the ground of human creation, has a circular precedence over their first destination in the world, the *shavá*-clearance where these humans will dwell.

In fact, the recurrent lines that express the same clearance-establishment as the line*shavá vevo ini*— the ornamental formulae that end with *shavá raká*. . .

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[151]The line *avi ato pari* occurs in verses 8, 21, 50, 58, 68, 73, 114, 124, 131, 142, 166, 169, 179, 226, 234, 241, 248, 253, 262, 274, 287, 299, 308, in which the overall proportion between first and second half-cell occurrences is 12 : 11.

lines (those of "clearance settlement')—more often than
not precede *avi ato pari* (the "original directionality")
in the immediate verse or half-cell before. This just
reiforces that *avi ato pari* has a double meaning. This
line is, in relation to those ornamental formulae where
the *shavá raká. . .* lines occur, the circular recurrence
of the linearity of the embellishment-establishment
of humanity in the world. But in relation to *shavá
vevo ini*, it is an assertion of the emergent circularity
of these first *moka*-newborn (*vevo*) toward the same
day-clarity (*shavá*).

In relation to the two meanings of *shavá*-destina-
tion (*shavá vevo ini* and *shavá raká. . .*) the line *avi
ato pari* indicates the same direction of the humani-
sation movements. But it emphasises either circular-
ity or linearity in accordance with those two distinct
mythical-musical phrasings of the *shavá*-clearing *vis-
à-vis* the emergent humanity: the original beginnings
(*shavá vevo ini*) or becoming ornamental in settle-
ments (*shavá raká. . .*).

Further, that this line always appears in associa-
tion with the formulae that express the *shavá*-direction
of humanity is hardly surprising, just as it ceases to
occur a bit before the lines *mokã vake náwavo* and
nawa weni ini, the emblems of chthonic creation—
just when the *moka*-children cease to emerge. Just
as these two emblematic lines, in indirect connec-
tion with them, the "original directionality" of *avi ato*

pari must mark the twofold structure of the mythical-musical narrative.

Similarly, the *shavá*-lines will also characterise the myth-chant in two phases. All of them must share a general meaning, even though occurring in different musical-poetical formulae and positions: the variant *shavá vevo ini* always comes after *avi ato pari*, the "whereabouts" of the *mokanawa*—while in all their occurrences as *shavá raká ini* and *shavá rakáraká*, these lines conclude ornamental sequences. In a loose but literal translation, all the *shavá*-lines must denote together that the "[firstborn] settle in the [ornamental] clearance." But the verbal meanings of these three lines concentrate as much on the ever-present term *shavá* as on their association with *ini*, *vevo*, and *raká*.

As all *shavá*-lines, *shavá vevo ini* is difficult to translate. Marubo translators would say that it indicates the "first day" of the emergent peoples, making occasional reference to the preliminary character of this "coming to *shavá*-light" of humanity, as the first event in a successive row along the reiterative *wenía*-emergence of the *moka-peoples*. The word *vevo* means the original precedence of the "firstborn," which is its immediate gloss. The verbal line *shavá vevo ini* succeeds the circularity of the earth-emergent peoples and thus makes a musical reference to the linearity of *raká*, "to dwell" in the world—a word that underscores

a denotation of "dwelling" in the other *shavá*-lines.

But that which *shavá vevo ini* inaugurates proper
is worldly daylight rather than human dwelling: the
originating earth is dark, say the Marubo. I have
shown that, with no exception, this line occurs al-
ways after the circle-line directional indication of *avi
ato pari* ("their first provenience"). The two formulaic
variants *shavá raká...* alternate instead in ornamen-
tal formulae, presenting a higher relative degree of
circularity in their alternative occurrences. The man-
ifest musical linearity of *shavá vevo ini* ("the first [em-
bellished] people in the clearing") and its even distri-
bution along the myth-chant contrasts with the mu-
tually commutable *shavá raká* ...lines (the [ornamen-
tal] clearance-dwelling"). Although the three *shavá*-
lines have commensurate verbal meanings, the musi-
cal poetics of the *saiti* is a semantic diacritic of the
"precedence," the "inauguration" significance of *vevo*.

Thus in order to understand the contrast of musi-
cal meanings among these three verbal variations on
the mythical theme of *shavá*-clearance—on the theme
of the prototypical human dwelling in the cosmic or-
der of creation—one must look again at their poetical
setting, at their correlation with other *saiti*-lines. If
the line *shavá vevo ini*, the "clearance of the first-
born," tends to follow *avi ato pari*, their "original di-
rection," I have also shown that the "bitter-children"
mokã vake náwavo tend to precede their "emergence"

nawa weni ini throughout the myth-chant. Although both of these two-line formulae occur at regular intervals along the *saiti*, their mythical-musicality conforms to a gradient from circularity to linearity. The "poisonous-bitter children-peoples [who] emerge from [the earth and] come first into light" undertake a mythical-musical trajectory from circles to lines, toward their world. In the temporal order of *Mokanawa Wenía*, the *mokanawa* peoples *weni*-emerge and then take the *pari*-inaugural direction toward being and becoming the *vevo*-firstborn of the *shavá*-clearance. Accordingly, the absolute musical significance of *shavá vevo ini* is linear: its incidence in the second half-cells is approximately fifty percent higher than in the circular, initial cell-phrase.[152]

The other two *shavá*-lines (. . . *rakáraká* and . . . *raká ini*) sum up a half-cell proportion that slightly inverts that of *shavá vevo ini*: 22 circular occurrences against 19 linear ones. However, their relative musical-poetical situation counteract this absolute temporal ambiguidade. The line that marks their context is *ato aya weni*, "they emerge with [ornaments]," one of the three recurrent refrains that emblematise *Mokanawa Wenía*, often opening the ornamentation formulae that end with the two *shavá raka. . .* variants.

I have just shown that the circular-linear succes-

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[152]The line shavá vevo ini appears in verses 8, 21, 68, 73, 115, 131, 142, 169, 179, 227, 235, 248, 253, 263, 274, 288, 300, 309.

sion of the two other emblematic *saiti*-refrains, in their relative formulaic arrangement *mokã vake náwavo / nawa weni ini*, is analogous to the temporality of the formula *avi ato pari / shavá vevo ini*. The line *ato aya weni* relates in similar temporal terms to the ornamental formulae that often end with the *shavá raká. . .* lines.

In this case, the analogy will also show the relative linear character of these *shavá*-occurrences, but now at the expense of their faintly absolute circularity. The poetical-musical meaning is straightforward, unequivocal, although changeable along the mythical narrative. If the circularity of *ato aya weni*, the "sprouting [ornamental] existence" of the *mokanawa* peoples prevails over its linearity in the absolute half-cell proportion of its 12 occurrences, in 9 of these occurrences this line will begin a formula of ornamentation that ends with *shavá raká. . .*, "embellishment-establishment." In turn, in 6 of these 9 formulaic combinations, *viz.* those which begin with *ato aya weni* and end with one of *shavá raká. . .* lines, the former line will be in the circular half-cell while the latter is in the linear one.

This is consistent with the absolute musical circularity of *ato aya weni* and its usual poetical-formulaic position as a prelude to the ornamental movement of the emergent humanity. That the *shavá raká. . .* lines should conclude this movement with their relative lin-

earity is as well consistent with the temporality of
the whole myth-chant, even though this contradicts
their somewhat absolute circular frequency. After all,
in this *saiti*, the linear counterpart of the circular-
emergent *mokanawa* peoples coming from dark earth
must be the daylight of the *shavá*-clearance, the pre-
cise temporal direction that the *vevo*-firstborn take.

All three *shavá*-variants cohere with the temporal
direction that is brought forth in those three steno-
graphic refrains of *Mokanawa Wenía*. The lines *mokã
vake náwavo*, *nawa weni ini*, *ato aya weni*, in their
respective formulaic configuration, indicates a circu-
lar *wenía*-emergence of *mokanawa* peoples leading to
their linear existence. But it is the verbal distinctive-
ness of the line *shavá vevo ini* in relation to the two
shavá raká. . . lines—its "inaugural precedence"—that
explains their musical-poetical discrepancy, *i.e.* the
relative contrast between the definite linearity of the
former against the slight circularity of the latter, in
absolute terms.

Unlike *vevo* ("firstborn") and *raká* ("to dwell"), the
word *ini* is irrelevant as regards this distinction, inas-
much as it occurs both as . . . *vevo ini* and . . . *raká
ini* among these *shavá*-lines. That word just informs
the *shavá*-lines with another ornamental reference to
all emergent peoples who "home on clearance." The
meaning of *ini* as "to embellish," an exclusive shamanic
expression, is here a semantic compromise between

the native meanings of "habitation" and "clarity." But the three *shavá*-constructions equally associate with embellishment beyond the purport of their constitutive words. The adornment-mediation of human habitation after creation is already expressed in *saiti* in the form of the ornamental formulae in connection with which all *shavá*-lines occur, either as conclusive lines or as sequential formulaic sequels.

Instead, the words *vevo* and *raká* are the diacritics that sum up that distinctive musical-poetical contrast between the "inauguratory" character of *shavá vevo ini* and the more straightforward reference to "habitation" which the *shavá raká. . .* lines make. It is in function of *vevo* and *raká* that the exegesis of the word *shavá*—that which in the conclusion of the last chapter takes it as the common-root of the multiple spatiotemporal layers of the native world—will have diverse implications in the myth-chant.

The temporal significance of *shavá* which, in the . . . *vevo ini* line, is a linear departure from undifferentiated darkness to clear, daylight succession—since *vevo* means "the first in a row"—acquires a more circular, but still ambiguous meaning in the two other lines, . . . *rakáraká* and . . . *raká ini*. On the one hand, *shavá vevo ini* is the line that, in the myth-chant, better translates the *vevo*-primeval inauguration of temporality in the native world, from circles to lines—as a momentous *shavá*-instant, as the temporal "now" that

human habitation opens as a spatial "there," in op-
position to the pre-spatiotemporal earth whence hu-
manity emerges. On the other, the two other *shavá
raká...* lines cohere more with the ambivalent tem-
porality that this *shavá*-opening inaugurates, *viz.* the
simultaneous circularity-linearity of the human *raká*-
settlement where native time and space is and be-
comes.

In sum, the line *shavá vevo ini* translates better as
"[those who] come first in clear beauty." The relevant
verbal meaning is the moment when *shavá*, here un-
derstood in its double spatiotemporal sense of "clear-
ance" and "instant," occurs for the first time to the pri-
mordial *moka*-humans, to the human *vevo*-firstborn.
The musical-poetical significance of this line indicates
a linear departure of the circular-emergent peoples
from earth to the world. This line, much as the mo-
ment it inaugurates, stands in straight opposition to
the chthonic origins of humanity inasmuch as light
opposes darkness. But, as much as light, it requires
darkness in order to exist.

This line represents a pervasive event in the myth-
chant. Contrary to the other two variant versions of
shavá-lines, which occur in alternating clusters, the
momentous clarity of the first human dwelling which
the ... *vevo ini* line expresses occurs in 18 verses evenly
distributed along the myth-chant. In 7 of these verses,
this line occurs in the initial circular half, against 11

occurrences in the linear ending of the cell, up to the decisive event that "puts an end there" (*mashtesho*) to *wenía*-emergence in verses 317–318. The *Oã* creation-associate couple leads the gathering summing-up of the *mokanawa* peoples at this point, leading in turn to their journey through the world. Here *shavá vevo ini* stops: the "first beautiful coming into worldly clarity [from dark earth]" marks the same formal cleavage as many other *saiti*-lines.

Conversely, the relationship of commutable variation between the lines *shavá raká ini* and *shavá raká-raká*, as their occurrence in alternate clusters of similar ornamental formulae testifies, shows their semantic equivalence around a common meaning of "clearance habitation." These *shavá raká. . .* lines manifest a temporal ambiguity—that is, a lack of definition between a circular and a linear character. The overall sum of the distributions of their two variants in verbal verses along musical cells results that their absolute poetical significance is slightly more circular than linear. But such an statistic tendency is so weak that their absolute meaning can be reduced to neither circularity of linearity. In fact, although the *shavá raká. . .* variants are interchangeable, their respective half-cell frequencies contradict each other: the circular *vs.* linear proportion of *shavá raká ini* is 4 : 5, while that of *shavá rakáraká* is 18 : 14.

The musical-poetical distributions of *shavá*-lines

also differs in that, contrary to the even distribution of the ... *vevo ini* line along the first part of the myth-chant, *shavá raká ini* and *shavá rakáraká* occur in a relatively disproportionate frequency of 9 occurrences of the former against 32 of the latter. However, the complementary combination of two frequencies in ornamental formulae is regular in that ... *raká ini* and ... *rakáraká* alternate to some extent in 5 verse-clusters each. Further, just as the more uniform temporality of "original whereabouts" of *shavá vevo ini* is pervasive only in the first stage of *Mokanawa Wenía*, the two *shavá raká...* variants also reinforce the formal cleavage of *saiti* narrative in the same place. The end of human settlement in the world coincides with the termination of earth-emergence.[153]

This is so except for one late occurrence. The three *shavá*-lines occur at regular intervals until verse 315, when they cease to be intoned but for a single exception of *shavá raká ini* in 365. This last occurrence corresponds to the final summary of all humanisation movements, after the gathering and before the travelling of humanity in the very verses of the myth-chant.

Considering that the two *shavá raká...* lines occur

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[153]The *saiti* distributes the line *shavá rakáraká* in the following five verse-clusters: [13, 20, 24]; [45, 47, 49]; [62, 72, 77]; [123, 130, 149, 168, 178, 188, 192, 202, 204, 207, 209, 219, 221, 237, 243, 246, 266, 272, 276, 277, 287, 298]; [315]. The variant *shavá raká ini* appears also in five clusters, but only in verses [6, 7]; [34, 36, 43]; [95, 110]; [311]; [365].

in alternate clusters of verses in association with the reiteration of more or less invariable formulae, their conclusive equivalence would not just confirm their interchangeable character with regard to mythical-musical ornamentation and human-emergence at large, but point also to their verbal reducibility to a central meaning revolving precisely around *shavá raká*. These two words, I have shown, share the connotation of "human dwelling in clearance." If *raká* means "settlement," the site where humans stay and the act of staying, the immediate effect of variation between those two lines will be the cyclical reiteration of some common significance related to "habitation," which in turn relates to that which the line *shavá vevo ini* purports.

Of course this significance amounts to the temporality of the *shavá*-clearance, the human space that inaugurates time in the native world, the actual resultant of the movements of humanisation that the myth-chant directs from circles to lines. But Marubo temporality is neither univocal nor continuous: while the absolute linear meaning of the line *shavá vevo ini* is a reinforcement of the unequivocal temporal direction of the *saiti*, mythical-musical poetics also reinforces the ambivalent circularity-linearity of the other two *shavá*-instances.

In the end, the absolute temporal ambivalence of the *shavá raká. . .* lines subordinates both their own

relative temporality and the overall linear meaning
of *shavá vevo ini*. The well-balanced proportion of
half-cell occurrence in the sum of these three variants
reasserts the musical-poetical equivocality of *shavá*-
clearances. In total, the higher frequency of all *shavá*-
occurrences in the second phrase—29 : 30—is negli-
gible.

This equivocal temporality in the *saiti* would re-
quire some further enquiry. It leads to two fundamen-
tal questions, which find provisional answers here and
there throughout this book. These questions revolve
around the same issue of the temporal ambivalence
that the myth-chant assigns to the origins and desti-
nations of humanity: if the direction of the human-
isation movements between these two poles is from
circles to lines, the *shavá*-temporality where humans
settle with their adornments is both circular and lin-
ear.

One of the keys to the paradox between this am-
bivalence and the definite temporal direction of the
myth-chant is in the very relation of equivalence that
holds between the origin and destination of the myt-
ical-musical humanity. After all, where is this world
over which the *mokanawa* peoples roam after emerg-
ing from earth? where is their home?

Without any essential statement about an "their
time" as opposed to "ours," the key to these questions
should render clear once and for all the diacritic that

differentiates the native temporality from any ethno-
centric chronology that may envisage time as progres-
sive, causal, cumulative and irreversible. Rather than
a different "concept of time," natives conceive their
humanity-mundanity with different temporal <u>means</u>.

The combination of lines that localises and posi-
tions the ground of *wenía*-emergence is part of the
aforementioned creation-preparation formulae. There,
the two-line sequence *noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá
kawã* states that one emerges "upright on the lands
[along] the large rivers, one stands up, from top to
bottom." This sequence recurs toward the end of
the first part of the myth-chant, which concludes the
full substantiation of humanity from chthonic animals
and plants.

These two lines are therefore re-generative, as well
as creation-preparatory, succeed several other formu-
lae of substantiation and nomination. Nevertheless,
noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã tend to occur in
one single verse, preceding some of those formulae
and following the direction of the whole myth-chant,
from circles to lines.

In fact, these lines not just reproduce, but empha-
sise such a directionality. The creation order is cir-
cularly located on the riverbank (*noa mai tsakasho*),
while linearly placed in a standing position (*wa nipá
kawã*). In other words, those two lines establish the
creational location as a circular affirmation, whereas

its specific position, its direction is a linear transience.[154]

Then almost always after the formulae of embellishment-establishment (those that end with the *shavá raká. . .* lines) and often after the similar *shavá*-ending sequential formula that follows these same formulae (the line *avi ato pari* and its sequel *shavá vevo ini*), another twofold sequence will reaffirm that the land of human inhabitation is the very same ground as that of human creation. These two lines read *noa mató wetsa* and *wetsa ivo ini*. These two tend to occur together as well, translating as "[in] another high riverbank [a large river mound], [they] take another possession."

This pair of lines is the final counterpart of the initial indication of location and position of earth-emergence in the creation-preparatory sequence, positing the same mythical-musical direction, but now from location to possession of world-settlement. The line *wetsa ivo ini* linearly succeeds *noa mató wetsa* whenever it occurs, not always in the same verse, but most of the time in the second half-cell.

If *wetsa* is a "close other," in connection with native self-conceptualisations such as *nawa*, here that term denotes the expansive movement of the human popu-

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[154]The combination of lines *noa mai tsakasho / wa nipá kawã* occurs in this phrase-order in verses 118, 146, 159, 174, 195, 255, 280, 292, 305. The two lines have just two exceptional occurrences, *i.e.* out of this order and position within the same verse: the first in verses 133 and 215, and the second in 134, 135, 385.

lation in the world. This reasserts some previous conclusions about the internal-exteriority of native humanity: more than an incorporation of the exterior, *nawa*-ness means an extension of ethnic boundaries, an expansion of the humanised world into the nonnative universe. If *noa mató wetsa* often is a mythical land to be inhabited "beyond," a cyclical reference in native history, *wetsa ivo ini* is, in its linear succession, the consequent appropriation of that new land, which often occurs in the span of native lifetime.

The line *noa mató wetsa* is musically circular, except when it occurs in a variant form, with a "volitional" suffix (...*wetsanõ*). In this case, the human-agential direction it implies tends to be placed in the second half-cell. In contrast, but accordingly, *wetsa ivo ini*, the human agency of land-appropriation, tends to appear as linear, in the ending of the musical cell, while even when it appears in the beginning, in a few exceptional occurrences, it always succeeds *noa mató wetsa*.

Beyond *wetsa*-otherness, common to the two lines, the key association that holds them together happens between the expression *noa mató* in the first one, the prototypical dwelling place on the "large river bank," and *ivo* in the second, a word that refers to human inhabitation too: the native *kakaya*, an "elderly leader," must be also a *shovo ivo*, a "longhouse owner."

Among the Marubo, to inhabit is to possess. Hence

the meaning of "another appropriation" of humanity (*wetsa ivo ini*) succeeds "another high bank of a large river" (*noa mató wetsa*), another settling in the world.[155]

This substantiates the statements that open this chapter: this *wetsa*-other site of land-appropriation (*noa mai.../ ...ivo ini*), after the world-establishment (*shavá...*) of the *mokanawa* peoples, is the same positional-locative ground-preparation (*...tsakasho / wa nipá kawã*) of the formulae that precede the creation-movements in their earth-emergence—that is, the high banks of large rivers. This is the utter ambivalence of native humanity in its world: the temporal succession from circularity to linearity in the arboreal-animal earth of human creation leads to an <u>instantaneous</u> *shavá*-combination of circles and lines in the settlement of humans on it.

Another *saiti*-line, *noke ivo náwama*, reinforces this conclusion, which can in turn explain how natives render its words. The usual native translation for this line was "those who are not our relatives." Its single occurrence in the entire myth-chant, in verse 26, might be due to its bizarre construction: although here the association between "owner" (*ivo*) and "people" (*nawa*) expresses the familiar equivalence between

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[155]The lines *wetsa ivo ini* and *noa mató wetsa* occur respectively in verses 9, 22, 37, 51, 125, 180, 199, 318 and in 9, 13, 22, 37, 51, 124, 180, 188, 199, 200, 237, 317.

"to appropriate" and "to dwell," the negative suffix (*-ma*) negates familiarity with these inhabitant-possessors of the prototypical ground.

The positive expression *noke ivo nawa* translates as "those who live with us," our neighbours who share the same world, our kin, if *nawa*-strangers. Instead, here the negation of that is significant: those who emerge from the earth are other than us, other than our own *nawa*-peoples. Those who emerge in the myth-chant are literal *moka*-peoples, poisonous-bitter "others": other nations. They are *noke náwama*, in a definite opposite pole to "us"—not as possessors of other-*nawa* lands but as regards an other-identity.

If this belies the questions about native origins and destinations, it is an apt answer to the question about who emerges in *saiti*—but not just with reference to *Mokanawa Wenía*. The native human condition is itself one of otherness in the world, the necessary contradiction that the *nawa*-opposition between humanity and humanisation entails, a paradox that natives posit in their myth-chants, in such temporal terms—between circles and lines, *yové*-spirits and *yochĩ*-doubles—that just time can sort out, in their history, in their lifetimes and afterlives.

The hyper-assertion of alterity in the *saiti*, of a *mokanawa*-ness which is a double negation of identity—they are *nawa*, "foreign-humans," as well as not "our" *nawa*: they are *noke nawama*—qualifies once more

the statement that the emerging *moka*-peoples represent the generic other that is still a -*nawa* self. Rather than the creation of different human races altogether, the *wenía*-emergence of *mokanawa* peoples is the fragmentation and speciation with which natives conceive their world, hence dividing themselves into their matrilateral sections. But this expands their world to all possible worlds: *mokanawa* constitute the indigenous ethnic fragmentation and social speciation with which the natives of the Upper Ituí hear and respond, at once, to their environment and to the exogenous denomination of "Marubo."

chants of creation

This third part will be less a conclusion than an opening toward a methodology on music research and musicological writing in ethnographic form. It will summarise some theoretical assumptions that guided this stydy and some of the structural traits of the myth-chants that their exegesis unfolded. Ot is, therefore, a synthetic statement of our analytical methods.

Once I was back from Amazonia, my main efforts were directed toward the vast amount of myth-chants collected in the field. This task proved to be exceedingly difficult, and not so much for the mechanical difficulties in editing the transcriptions and making minute comments on the translations. The main, intrinsic difficulty lay instead in the exegesis of the abstract interrelationships between the concrete representations of musical transcription and mythical translation. Over a decade after fieldwork, the main matter of this book is that element which makes *saiti* more than a mere verbal narrative. This element is the poetical musicality of the form.

Given that the Marubo seem to blur the two western, analytically distinct categories of myth and music in such a synthetic form—*saiti*—it would be limiting to envisage the myth-chants through one single perspective, be it either mythical or musical. There would be no point in taking the sectarian stance of a quintessential mythologist, who would see *saiti* as a story, or that of the orthodox musicologist, who would

hear it as song.

The problem was to escape from such crossroads, for the issue is more than parochial. The "quintessential" or "orthodox" academic splitting, the separation between the text and the form in which it is intoned is not without consequence. It masks the representational subjection of every "aural genre," either myth or music, to a flawed visual formalism. That means, in the case of these myth-chants, the objectification of myth and music as eternal, immutable ideas visually represented in a fallacious synchronic temporality. Even when song, verbal language, or other such "genres," aural-vocal or otherwise, are admittedly seen as variations on a formal continuum, such a continuum is invariably regarded as structural *langue*, an abstraction of, say, a concrete musical-poetical *parole*.

Further, native language does not differentiate between the musical-mythical form of *saiti* and the festival context in which it takes place. Vocal forms, as structured things rather than mental abstractions, are not just the sole means to a unitary, if dialectical, meaning to the concrete inherence of text and tone. The formal character of vocalised structures is the actual key to disarm the semiotic-functionalist trap that captures the intonations of texts within their "communicative function in a social context." Formal significance is the means to social meaning. By means

of myth-music, society does not mean anything aside from the mythical-musical message.

The Marubo conceive myth and music as one single form as much as they do not conceive their *saiti* chants as a mere medium, a mere expedient to express an extraneous message—a channel to convey a "context-interactional" content, words and meanings that are alien to their musical poetics. Instead of a "theory of discourse as social praxis," I propose a "theory of social praxis as discourse." The Marubo have good reasons to express what they do in a specific *saiti* form, and this specificity is our concern: musicologically speaking, sociology is a formal study.

This is why this book took as a working hypothesis that the "content" of mythical-musical "form" is to be found in the form itself, in the structures of performance that present themselves to our study. I substitute the abstract separation of content and context from form and structure for an analytical distinction between musical transcriptions and verbal translations.

This distinction presupposes some unity however, a formal and structural basis to provide the synthetic concreteness which contains the convergence between the content and context of what natives express. The basis for this simultaneous unity and distinction between the "verbal" and the "musical" is the "sound." I would myself find authoritative the notions of "lyrics"

and "melody" as distinguishable and united in "song." Marubo informants, translators and performers would subscribe to the unitary and distinctive notions of "verbal" and "musical" sounds as well, if they had the words.

The Marubo would resort to Portuguese whenever they tried to explain the "musical" as opposed to the "verbal," since no native word could be found to nominate that which natives call "sound" (*i.e.* Brazilian *som*) in *saiti*. Their own language provides these other words instead: *saiti*, *sai iki* and the like. The fundamental linguistic opposition we would pose between "speech" and "music," the Marubo find between *yorã vana* and *yové vana*, "word of body" and "word of spirit"; hence we would better translate these words as their respective "non-intoned" and "intoned" language.

Be it more or less grounded on the indigenous language, the unitary distinctiveness we find between *saiti* pitches and words—that is, the distinctive unity between the verbal and the musical levels—has far-reaching consequences. It provides methodological orientation to our approach to the chanted text inasmuch as it constitutes a bridge between linguistics and musicology, metaphysics and physics. It bridges both levels because it searches for a semantic unity of intoned word and word intonation, of performative structure and structured performance. For us,

the foremost meaning of *saiti* is the semantic congruency of the word with its intonation, of the musical form with its conceptualisation in verbal concepts. The ambition of this work lies in the attempt to overcome the ontological compartmentation between conceptualised things and concepts, the epistemological gap that persists in cross-cultural dealings which compartmentalise physical nature from metaphysical culture, the concrete object from the subjective abstraction, the absolute fact from the relative interpretation, the local particular from the universal generality. Although such conceptual conversion and subversion requires simple methodological procedures—we simply pay more heed to what our ears hear than to what our eyes see—it aims at a radical re-signification of the dichotomous concepts above and of the very metaphysical idea of "concept." We claim that if the native conceptualisations that relate to the *saiti* are made explicit in indigenous words, their implicit verbal meaning is reducible to the explicit "tonal form" of the myth-chants, *i.e.* to their musical-poetical structure.

The self-evident form that the notion of "mythical-musical structure" presents here is meant with an intention rather akin to "representation." Such representation, however, has not the "representational" tinge of a Kantian metaphysics: it derives instead from the sense of the Portuguese verb *representar* and its corresponding noun *representação*, which has

a strong "performative" or "acting out" character (as in *representar uma peça*, "to stage a play"). *Representação* means here a temporal representation.[156]

To be brief, here "representation" means to highlight the systematic nature of ritual, and the synthetic character of performative symbols at large. Words like "representation" and other western-metaphysical concepts named "symbol," words that are equally misrepresented as Platonic ideas in the account of the performative ontologies of non-western peoples, are here taken as *a priori* synthetic givens as opposed to *a posteriori* analytic tools. All these *saiti* "chants" are performed "myths" in a most immediate sense: they are mythical-musical "symbols" which "gather [meanings] together," which "represent" humans, the gods, and the world where they live. *saiti* is the "symbolic"

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[156]This denotation of form and structure in a performative context is drawn from the late mythologist Eudoro de Sousa—mainly in his "mythological" works *Mistério e Surgimento do Mundo* and *História e Mito*. These, plus the earlier publication *Horizonte e Complementaridade*, are critical responses to the positivistic stance on the evolutionary transition from Mediterranean myth and Grecian metaphysics, the progression from religious mysteries to presocratic thought. These can in fact be taken as responses to the myth of positivism at large, especially that which is blatantly espoused by Claude Lévi-Strauss in his own "mythologies." Here is another example:

> "...la pensée mythique se dépasse elle-même et contemple, au-delà des images encore adhérentes a l'expérience concrète, un monde de concepts affranchis de cette servitude et dont les rapports se définissent librement" (Lévi-Strauss 1967:407)

praxis in contrast to the "diabolic" theories that "scatter away" the significant means and the significative meaning. We argue against the analytical perspective through which the performed synthesis of "word" and "tone" is semantically separated. We argue that, rather than crumbled into fragments, the significance of *saiti* words is the significance of *saiti* tones, and that both meanings are meant in the *saiti* ritual-festival, a representation along and about time.[157]

Moreover, here the etymology of "re-presentation" points to the repetitive character of the Marubo mythical-musical construct, be it chanted or danced, be it performed in Amazonia or commented in ethnographic transcription and translation. Regardless of the medium in which *saiti* is represented—be it aurally performed in loco or visually projected on paper—such a mythical-musical semantics must always be represented along time and as a comment upon time. Instead of a made-up a-temporal elaboration outside the real temporal reality, or instead of being

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[157]Eudoro de Sousa provides us with another definition of "symbol," without immediate resource to etymology:

> "The symbol is not something—a thing, an image, or an idea—that *signifies* some other thing, image or idea; the *symbol is what it means itself*, even if it reveals itself under another guise or at another level of reality. In other words, one can say that two or more lines of intelligibility converge in the symbol, and two or more degrees of reality interfere at the same event. It is impossible to comprehend ritual action, to understand mythological entities or to apprehend the essence of any artwork outside this category of the symbolic." (Sousa 1973:78–79, my translation, author's emphases)

a cultural mirror of nature, *saiti* representation repeatedly performs presentation: the myth-chants are "always the same about the same."[158]

If these quotation marks contain a generic evocation of Socratic dialectics, Marubo myth-music expresses a specific dialectical dialogue. As mythical-musical representations, *saiti* forms are things that objectify subjects, mortals and immortals, establishing the world and its entities in time, *i.e.* establishing the temporality of the being and becoming of these entities and their world in the mutual relationships that their performance sets out. The *saiti* festivals and myth-chants are an intelligible encoding or formal representation of the temporal perception of the Marubo; they conform to a patho-logical organisation of lived experience, a logic of sensible affections that is alien to any distant transcendental model standing against closer immanent experiences. The *saiti* are, thus, a "musical patho-logy," an epistemological key to ontological evaluation. The performance of *saiti* is the mimetic dramatisation of the temporality of mythical-archetypal figures and cosmological entities, the musical-imitative relation between humanity and divinity; thus, such a "patho-logical discourse" creates the world-ambience, the ethics wherein moral

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[158]"According to Plato, 'always the same about the same' was Socrates' answer to someone who one day asked what he kept on talking about so much and so often." (Sousa 1978:5, my translation)

statements shall be made, with all the eschatological implications that the chapters above outline.[159]

Saiti is, further, a temporal matrix: it is structure in time and a commentary on time. *Saiti* myth-chants organise temporality within the cosmological space that their performance opens up: they operate the spatiotemporal dialectics between the now and the not-now, between circularity and linearity and centre and periphery, rather than operating at a spatiotemporal-neutral level. *Saiti* performers cut across a myth-history divide that, in an arbitrarily impinged metaphysics, would erroneously oppose synchrony *vs.* diachrony, morphology *vs.* chronology, immutability *vs.* movement. More than traversing through temporal layers—a "mythical time" opposed to a "historical time"—Marubo myth-chants institute and constitute time in absolute terms, within its own relational logic, along with the constitution of a cosmic topology and of a human psychophysiology. *Saiti* chants are onto-epistemological discourses, and in being so, they perform a discourse on and along time.[160]

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[159]"Patho-logy" is here understood after Bastos & Bastos 1995:

> "...Kamayurá music [is] a 'patho-logical' discourse, an environmental science of sentiments as values of Good and Evil...[through] the enormous impact of musical phonology and syntax on language...in song, the verbal-linguistic flatness gives way to a musicalised language." (1995:4, my translation)

[160]In another text, Bastos qualifies the temporal tenor of such "musical pathology" among the Kamayurá:

> "Through the creation of an adequate affective atmosphere,

Therefore, the ciphered content of *saiti* forms and structures—*i.e.* their formal and structural content per se—is to be understood as the founding reference to Marubo cosmology, humanity, history and to society at large and, vice versa, Marubo society, history, humanity and the whole cosmos are to be understood through the lenses of the formal mythical-musical structure. Thus, the objective of this monograph has been to draw comments on the *saiti* as a poetical-musical symbol analysable through its representations, its transcriptions and translations, inasmuch as these myth-chants are symbols that are themselves contextual-synthetic representations.

The methodological order presented in this chapter is a reversal of the actual order of presentation along the thesis. Yet, in line with our methods, we value the exegetical description of *saiti* musical poetics more than the secondary relations between myth-chant and festival; we value the final exegesis of the

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music makes possible the transformation [between two temporal dimensions]...doing so...axiologically..." (Bastos 1988:51, my translation; author stresses first, second stress is mine)

Still in another text, Bastos notes the "adaptive" and "associative" implications of such musical "axio-pathology" at an onto-epistemological level:

"The...Kamayurá...have on the phono-auditory universe an absolutely founding focus toward the constitution of their form of being...[through the] us[e] (and educat[ion]) and cognitiv[e] organis[ation of] the world of senses, the particularities of this system of behaviour and knowledge poin[t] also to the[ir] ecology" (Bastos 1999:2)

performance genre more than the performative context that the first part of this dissertation describes. At a minimal level of synthetic concentration, the specific theoretical style of this thesis is baroque: it comprises the verbal-musical rhetoric of the mythical-musical dialectics and its perceptual-intellectual discourse, which is the cosmological dialogue expressed in chants. At a maximal level of analytical exposition, its generic practical concern is the equation between the two aforementioned pairs of opposites—myth-chant : festival :: genre : context. The privileged analytical duality in our methods—*i.e.* the relationship verbal : musical, that is, intoned words : structures of intonation—is synthetically expressed as a formal representation at both ends of the research process, both as *saiti* performance during fieldwork and as translation and transcription in monograph.

Hence, the methodological template that entails our concern with structural form is not merely negative. It is a response to and also an acknowledgement of the metaphysical border drawn along western vicissitudes between the academic and the artistic domains, the verbal-intelligible and the musical-sensible. We argue against any epistemological incompatibility that could reinforce the split that separates a study of the ontology of the Marubo peoples from a formal exegesis of their *saiti* myth-chants. But even though our critical target is the arid epistemological cleavage between the artistic and the academic, the aural and

the visual-verbal, between forms of knowledge that are fallaciously held to be incompatible, the theoretical issue at stake throughout this thesis remains the inescapable dual perspective that pervades anthropological practice, at least in its reduced ethnographic form, its reified end-product. This is the distinction between "us" and "them," between the written academic ethnography and the myth-music performed in the field. Although the epistemological splitting apart of music and words is here under critique, this and the other dichotomous dualities listed above are not entirely erased: this is all we can do in our time, the historical limit of this dissertation. The historical-epistemological critique it proposes remains on the surface of a dual opposition between western and native ontologies. We are their foils, and vice-versa: this thesis is an indication of how it happened that most musicological studies in academia are skin-deep, of how distant our music is from the *saiti* myth-chants, and of how it could be otherwise. We stop short of presenting anything else than mere indications.[161]

Our study of Marubo myth and music—*saiti*— may be thus beyond the claims of structural linguistics, but it is under the historical influence of the western myth that segregates music from its logic— musicology—since the times of Classical Greece, the

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[161]See Bastos 1989 for a more detailed critique of the academic "musicologies"—including its anthropological version— especially is its introduction (republished as Bastos 1995).

mythical mark of our history. We limit ourselves to
a methodological critique, which is to be taken as
nothing but the negative background for a positive
methodological statement. We aim at an analytical
coherence with respect to our main structural-musical
preoccupation, which is in turn aimed at the method-
ological unity of the monograph, at a textual synthesis
of all those extended thematic threads that the reader
should have found enmeshed among and through each
saiti. It is the congruity of these distinct themes—the
histories, identities, shamanic practices, eschatolog-
ical theories, spatial organisation, onto-temporality,
psychophysiology, and the native conceptualisations
of humanity and divinity—which accounts for that
which the Marubo acknowledge as the unity of their
mythical-musical knowledge.

Due to the aforementioned dual ontological split
that underpins our methods, and the consequent epis-
temological barrier we create, we could not avoid the
use of some conceptual tools, some metaphysical ap-
paratus in "our" dealings with "their" myth-chants.
Here we summarise a few terminological considera-
tions, as a retrospective outline of the mythical-musi-
cal formal framework we have been working on. The
thesis' backbone, its methodological tenor, entails the
reiterative assertion of that main motive, the fun-
damental dual opposition which pervades its widest
thematic detours. This translates in the *saiti* as the
opposition between, on the one hand, the reiterative,

circular, cyclical character of the musical cells and po-
etical formulae, and of the cellular phrases and verbal
lines respectively presented therein; and on the other
the parallel, linear, discursive character of the narra-
tive alongside the entire myth-chant, its "story." This
preoccupation with the poetical-musical form of the
saiti chants therefore unfolds the constitutive aspects
of myth which the western-commonsensical obsession
with written words leaves out. The *saiti* comprise
both words and notes, but their poetical musicality
is that which will indicate the ways in which they
interact—that is, either circularly or linearly. Musi-
cal poetics is the founding potency of *saiti* and the
actual means to understand it, a dimension that both
encyclopaedic definitions and linguistic-centred stud-
ies of myth either ignore or undervalue.[162]

Structural form in the *saiti* myth-chants is the
methodological concern that entails the leitmotif de-
veloped in this thesis. In the end, the textual thread
that enmeshes the other counter-pointing motives of
the thesis into one piece is twofold: the leitmotif is
both circular and linear. That is, this leitmotif emerges

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[162]Take for instance the entry for "myth" in the Concise Ox-
ford Dictionary: "a traditional narrative usually involving su-
pernatural or imaginary persons and embodying popular ideas
on natural or social phenomena etc."; or, even worse, "a widely
held but false notion," or still "a fictitious person, thing or idea."
According to these definitions, could the poetical-musical struc-
ture of myth be held as "false" or "fictitious"?

from the mythical-musical analysis of the *saiti* texture—the words and tones of the myth-chants, the ritual-formal relationship that constitutes the symbolic synthesis of those peoples. This twofold main theme converges in these concluding remarks. Now this third part is a somewhat arbitrary conclusion to the monograph, but at least we arrive here at last at an analytical statement on *saiti* temporality, the symbolic synthesis of native time. Here we finish a research trajectory from the study of words to that of tones, that which leads to the examination of the successive and reiterative sequences of verbal verses and lines in relation to the respective musical cells and phrases. In this final stage, we shall represent such sequences by means of letters and other algebraic signs, the abstractions of concrete myth-chants. The equations that conclude this concluding part are intended as a temporal systematisation of native histories, the mythical stories that are musically performed in each chant. The systemic termination of the temporal thread found throughout the thesis is constructed through the use of those formal antinomies which emerge from the dyadic character of the myth-chant, as we studied above: circularity *vs.* linearity, reiteration *vs.* discursiveness. These antinomies are identified at each of the three structural levels of the *saiti*, *viz.* in its overall narrative structure, in its cell and verse macrostructures, and its phrase and line microstructures. We shall explain

this terminology in some more detail before proceeding to its schematic representation, the prospective methodology for future flights.

This dissertation justifies the terminology throughout. The discussion on native temporality was first based on the grounds of an ethnographic commentary on history and eschatology, and this was set later against the formal, exegetical background of the two contrasting textures in the *saiti* myth-chants: words and sounds, the two intertwined strands of poetical and musical structures, of circular and linear perspectives. These terms are justified by the claimed inherence of both medium and message, which is itself a political claim. "Time" is our designation for "indigenous categories of time," and the same applies to "lines" and "circles," "words" and "sounds," "myth" and "music." These and other such terms have been no more than analytical notions here, and would be arbitrary ones altogether if some sort of analytical notions—be they antinomic or not—were not inevitable in any sort of theoretical analysis, and if anthropological theory was not a matter of politics, of the inevitable politics of ethnographic practice. The seemingly arbitrary poetical-musicological method proposed here and its respective structural-formal antinomies are in fact unavoidable: they are a politically-laden response to the essentialism so usual among ethno-scholars of ethno-disciplines such as ethno-musicology, many of whom take "music" and the like to be essentially western

categories with little cross-cultural "utility." What
this essentialistic utilitarianism indeed does is to uni-
versalise the alienation of the "meaningful function"
from its "musical medium." In consequence, it "oth-
ers" non-western musical means of expression: once
they are alienated from "their" expressed message,
the "functional meaning" they purport is bound to
be alien to "our music." It is as if "music" and simi-
lar terms were western-quintessential "concepts," and
not mere words through which we can approximate,
approach, and understand that which other peoples
conceptualise with other terms. Yet, whatever words
we use, we shall all go on making "music" and listening
to it as such.

Conversely, the deafness to native sounds, their ob-
jectification as the "cultural representation" of some
underlying, universal and understandable "nature,"
is also a long-standing political-metaphysical stance
that we must refuse to subscribe to, given its heavily-
laden western bias. Yet if one validates the hypothesis
that both "music" and "language," or "cultural things"
at large are to be seen or heard not as essential uni-
versal categories, but as particular articulated objects
instead—*i.e.* as "systems" or "games," "structures" or
"forms"—the postulation of a number of analytical
tools to deal with them objectively, be they either
arbitrary or inevitable, should be valid as well.[163]

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[163]Bastos & Piedade already attack that political-

The object in question being the *saiti* myth-chants, the conclusive systematisation of the postulates that this thesis presents is as follows: verbal verses group a variable number of verbal lines, and both are the respective verbal counterpart of the musical cells that aggregate phrases; the ongoing repetition of coincidental verses / cells configures each *saiti* myth-chant. Lines and phrases are the respective verbal and musical microstructures; verses and cells are the respective macrostructures. Phrases determine the alternative circularity or linearity of lines at a micro-level, while a circular, reiterative perspective prevails at the macro-level of cells and verses. Conversely, throughout the overall structure encompassing all cellular repetition of verbal verses there is a linear, discursive emphasis envisaged through the narrative perspective. The micro-elements of phrase and line aggregate and interact at the intermediate macro-level of verse and cell, where circularity is the prevailing rationale of cellular unity; whereas a linear verbal structure, an overall narrative, prevails as the rationale of unity for the whole *saiti* chant, where verses and cells aggregate.

Now it is clear that the linear unity found at the maximal narrative level of the myth-chant is verbal, but the circular reiteration of verbal verses in musical

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epistemological position—the "withdrawal" of music from the mere "domain of words"—as a "hermeneutic absurd," in the context of a bibliographical review on Amazonian musicology (1999:1).

cells is still that which constructs this unity. At this
minimal end of the constructive unities of the myth-
chant, *i.e.* at the ground micro-level of alternative
phrases / lines, there is a discursive-recursive dialec-
tics between the words and the notes that perform
these words. The privilege to either linearity or reit-
eration, *i.e.* the alternative emphasis on succession or
repetition changes in accordance with the line sung
within the respective musical phrase, *i.e.* in accor-
dance with the notes in which the words are chanted,
as we have seen in the case of *Mokanawa Wenía*. Nev-
ertheless, beyond the discursive-recursive dialectics of
the phrase / line micro-level, the *saiti* myth-chants
are above all about the cyclical reiteration of musi-
cal cells, as well as of verbal-poetical macrostructures
such as formulaic clusters of lines, recurrent verses or
strophes. Similarly, this poetical and musical circu-
larity undermines the overall verbal-narrative linear
unity of the myth-chant, both at the line / phrase and
at the verse / cell level. This is a constant feature of
mythical-musical performance which may neverthe-
less occur in different degrees and at different levels,
as *Mokanawa Wenía* and other *saiti* render evident.

Mokanawa Wenía highlighted another common *sai-
ti* feature in its field performance. Despite the un-
contested wisdom that *Ivãpa* displayed in his musi-
cological and verbal orthodoxy—in his undisputable,
paradigmatic singing—in various moments during his
recordings he hesitated: it was as if he had to think

before proceeding to the next verse line, being not so sure about their sequential succession in the *saiti*, that is, about the mythical-musical "order of events." This has not been an isolated event: in other recordings, *Tekãpapa* even got it wrong sometimes, either correcting himself immediately or being corrected later by another informant, at the transcription-translation stage. Verbal hesitation seems to be tolerated and not at all incompatible with recognised expertise; much to the contrary, the exact order of verbal lines and verses seems to be less important than the musical firmness of a good myth-chant performance, that which is measured by the consistency of the repeated cells and phrases. The extreme verbal complexity of *saiti* indicates a paradoxical random quality in the succession of verses and lines instead, something that contrasts with the steadier phrase-cellular repetition, and the frequent hesitation of performers confirms that.

Conversely, while this indeterminacy accounts for the verbal uncertainties of *Ivãpa* against the remarkable firmness of his intonations, this is still just one sign of the wider poetical freedom of *saiti*. In different forms, verbal-cyclical structures vary against a more stable structural background of the musical phrases and cells of the myth-chants. Again, these are not idiosyncratic traits of *Mokanawa Wenía* or of its performer in the field: the high degree of commutability of certain verbal lines in poetical formulae, as we saw in the previous chapter, are examples that are

also found in other *saiti* such as *Teté Teka* or *Paka Viá*. In addition, as often in *Mokanawa Wenía* as in other *saiti*, a new verse happens to start with the same line as the one sung last in the previous verse, as if verses were too often verbally "linked" one to the other. This kind of "poetical liaison" between cells merges adjacent verses, and thus reinforces the typical musical-reiterative character of the *saiti* at the verbal level as well. Further, at the intra-cellular level of the verses, frequent elisions between words also subordinate verbal lines to musical phrases: all syllables must fit into invariable notes (*e.g.* in the line *atõ mait'ao*, in *Mokanawa Wenía*, the final vowel of *maiti* is omitted).

Without much effort, the subordination of verbal discursiveness to musical reiteration that we find in the dialectics of *saiti* lines and phrases is recognisable in western music too. In the western concert hall, a discursive musical logic normally determines the structure of the piece—its beginning, middle and end—even in the absence of words. This is the precise particularity of western tonality: the musical narrative is transferred to sequences of sounds. Its limits are well established in sonic parameters, and these have a high degree of social acceptance, as most of us know well the distinction between moments of "music" and "non-music," of silence and of noise, of listening and applauding. This is because we recognise in western tonality a musical discursiveness that delim-

its the piece. In *saiti* myth-chants, the recognition of
musical delimitation takes place at a verbal level in-
stead. However, these limits are blurred when the line
/ verse-sequence gives way to cellular repetition: the
narrative becomes cyclical. The contrast between dif-
ferent western and indigenous tonalities, between dis-
cursive and recursive tonal forms, is thus minimised:
in the classical-romantic sonata-form it often happens
that themes, counter-themes, modulating sections—
the equivalent to "cells" in myth-chants—and exposi-
tions, developments, re-expositions, and codas, merge
within one another at higher structural levels, blur-
ring the sequential order that here occurs at a musical-
discursive level. It is as though western-musical in-
terpolation, in sonata-forms as well as in earlier re-
naissance and baroque counterpoint, either along the
harmonic discourse or in the polyphonic displacement
of musical themes and phrases, were verbally trans-
latable into poetical structures in Marubo musicol-
ogy, in the commutability of lines across verses that
actualises the circular-linear dialectics of the myth-
chants.[164]

One may extrapolate and say that it is as if the
discursive dialectics of the sonata-form, the morpho-
logical paradigm of western tonality, and the cycli-
cal circularity of the "other," non-classical western

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[164] *Cf.* Wisnik 1989 for an also "globalising" musical-historical
account based on the dichotomy of circle vs. line, and Harnon-
court 1988 and 1993 for poetical rhetoric in baroque music.

musicality—the long, a-temporal notes of plainchant, the explicit or implicit modal drones of early and folk musics in the west—were intermingled in Marubo *saiti*. Here the repeated cell circumscribes the poetical discourse by means of formulaic repetition, which emblematises both diachronic narratives and reiterative cycles, the erudite *vs.* popular dialectics found within the western framework. This "global" comparison obtains inasmuch as *saiti* cells / verses circumscribe a bounded unity within which the musical phrases / verbal lines maintain a dialectic relationship, a literal rhetoric of assertion and contradiction, questioning and answering, exposition and conclusion; and further, inasmuch as this discursiveness occurs within each inner recursive unit of all myth-chants, instead of delimiting its overall boundaries. The dyadic *saiti* cell of *Mokanawa Wenía* illustrates well this comparative image; but still the universal truth among these natives is that the workings of all their myth-chants, their sonic mechanisms, their play of ascending and descending tonal relations, of pulse and counter-pulse, and these musical devices alone are that which unfolds their mythical narratives.

One might well claim that, while it is true that *saiti* myth-chants unfold a narrative, the mythical-musical discourse is not a "story:" it has no plot, with a beginning, a development and an ending, with conflicting and dialoguing themes, with a puzzle, a contradiction and then a solution. In other words, the mythical-

musical narrative is not the direct verbal version of the tonal discursiveness of the sonata-form. However, the similarities are more striking than the differences. The closer homology with western formal tonality is not found in the entirety of the native myth-chant, its maximal unity; it is found instead in its smaller cellular units. The cellular structure of *Mokanawa Wenía*, for example, starts with a reiterative tonal assertion that is questioned and reasserted through negation at its conclusion. Therefore, it is also obviously true that these musical-rhetorical devices do not develop into a grand-scale tonal discourse: the development of *saiti* tonality is concomitant to the cellular closure, and follows and precedes its assertive reiteration. The mythical discourse of *saiti* is in fact open: its tonal and durational dialectics happens on a minimal scale, within each verse / cell and among the phrases therein, among the verbal lines that are dialectically expressed in several musical-poetical guises.

This means that the larger narrative structures of the myth-chant always emulate the smaller cell macrostructure, and thus the maximal verbal unity tends toward that minimal musical level of the changeable phrases. If instances of both formal circularity and linearity are to be found throughout the myth-chant, at various structural levels, they are all reducible to the level that is internal to the cell. There, circularity and linearity conform to a specific micro-discourse of their own, one that, as *Mokanawa Wenía*

exemplifies in the dyadic phrasal form of its cell, follows a less verbal-structured rhetorical template than the "sonata discourse" does: its tonal irresolution asks for a constant assertive reiteration, *i.e.* for the cellular structure itself. This rather restricts to poetical invention the possibility of variation on the mythical-musical template; and this is why mythical-musical construction among the Marubo has words as addenda to a cosmo-temporal matrix set into phrases and cells. In this sense, not only would it be absurd to say that *saiti* myth-chants are formless and unstructured, but it would also be senseless to say that their form and structure are not meaningful, or even that its musical poetics is less important than its verbal narrative. Rather, the contrary is the case: *saiti* is itself the temporal matrix of the Marubo cosmos.

The aim of this thesis has been precisely to unfold the cosmic-temporal key to this self-referential musical code, which is to be found in the tautological code itself. This code expresses a clear emphasis on repeated minimal structures and, in general, the specific poetical formulation of *saiti* words is a corroboration of musical-cellular repeatability, as *Mokanawa Wenía* exemplifies in the extreme with the formulaic lines and sequences *mokã vake náwavo / nawa weni ini*, with the formulae of creation, etc.. However, while linearity also takes place at the micro-level of cell phrases, encompassed by the cellular circularity of all verses, the cyclical sequences of poetical structures,

i.e. the strophes and rhymes that the most recurrent lines of the *saiti* configure in their formulaic organisation, act toward verbal discursiveness when encompassed by the linear perspective of the entire mythical narrative. The form of distribution of poetical formulae may delimit the *saiti* in sections for instance, as *Mokanawa Wenía* shows in the chapter above. More often, in other myth-chants, the increased verbal repetition of these formulae may indicate a musical "fading out:" formulaic repetitiveness is a non-discursive device that results into the linearly bounded, discursive closure of the whole myth-chant or of some of its narrative sections.

A similar effect obtains when a mere descriptive intonation, a "re-presentative recitation" listing some of the several Marubo matrilateral sections marks the limits of the *saiti*. The more "list-like" the poetical structure of the myth-chant is, the more "section-structured" it will be; and the more such formulaic repetition happens toward its end, the closer the final narrative section will be to what could be termed as a mythical-musical "coda." This is again more conspicuous in other *saiti* than in *Mokanawa Wenía*, although this myth-chant develops a list-like structure that defines its second stage. Whatever the case may be, this makes the conclusions of the mythical-musical performances less arbitrary, and the minimal cell / verse reiteration becomes translatable into discursiveness through verbal repetition as well. This is

more than a mere resemblance to the tonal devices that conclude much western music, like the thematic repetition in a fugal stretto or in a sonata coda, or the repeated alternation of tonic and dominant chords in the grand finale of a classical-romantic symphony. Still, conclusive repetition in *saiti* is not in the musical but in the verbal domain: cellular repetitiveness is, instead, a principle of composition rather than a device for tonal conclusion. Conversely, while the myth-chants build up on reiterative cells and conclude with repetitive poetical formulae, western tonality is so impregnated with musical discursiveness that tonal-thematic repetition alone can be conclusive.

In effect, the occasional discursiveness of cells or verses in *saiti* is counteracted by their constant, seemingly unending musical repetition. The musical-cellular macrostructures of the myth-chants subsume both their circular-linear microstructures of lines and phrases and their poetical linearity too, although such linearity may be found in combination with reiterative circularity in the structural realm above the cell, *i.e.* in the next ascending order of aggregative magnitude— the verbal-strophic formulae or the "list-like" verses, the formulaic sequences that act as "conclusive remarks" or demarcate the sections of the *saiti*. Still one is invariably taken back to a predominant circularity, also a verbal-poetical one this time, by descending one degree of structural order from the aggregates of cells to the isolated verses. There are signs of reiter-

ation within each verse in the economy of the whole myth-chant, either in the form of the aforementioned "liaison" between verbal lines across verses or in that of their formulaic commutability—*e.g.* between the line-variants *shavá raká ini* and *shavá rakáraká*, in *Mokanawa Wenía.* Further, such signs of reiteration include some conspicuous formulaic endings that reinforce the final musical phrases of each cell—as the "rhyming vowels" that conclude many recurrent lines of that myth-chant and that, for the sake of convenience, were omitted from our translations in the last chapters. Here it is also redundant to term such endings as "formulaic," once the ordering musical rule, the canonical cellular structure that defines conclusive phrases is already too strict. These verbal devices only reinforce musical structures, which hardly admit any exception to the relentless da capo repetition of cells.

Now we have already more than sufficient reasons to suspect that this *saiti* structural game between circularity and linearity takes place at both verbal and musical levels—and in their interaction above all—and at several "orders of structural wideness" of each level and throughout the whole *saiti.* Still, it also seems to be clear that the Marubo maintain a value-hierarchy of circularity over linearity, of musical over verbal structures.

The incompleteness or openness of *saiti* is a corol-

lary to these and other propositions. Here we mean
the ad hoc, circumstantial character of the myth-
chants. I do not know for sure what the "complete
version" of a myth would be, and nobody could ex-
plain or sing it to me while in the field, for the prob-
able reason that completeness or overall "bounded-
ness" is incommensurate with any possible indigenous
conception of what a *saiti* might be. If this question,
the "what" that *saiti* is, is one of the foremost aims
of this research, its future development should have
to account for such a mythical-musical trait, *viz.* the
impossibility of an exhaustive description. And in
the present state of affairs, in the inconclusive con-
clusion of our dissertation, *saiti* can be defined in the
most general terms only. The *saiti* myth-chants as
an open-ended amalgamation of phrases and lines,
verses and cells, all very amenable to *bricolage* in
more than a structural-linguistic sense, but in accor-
dance with specific musical-poetical rules: a genera-
tive matrix through which those peoples develop their
own temporality, and thus perform their own socio-
historical decisions, as simultaneous subjects and ob-
jects of their mythical-musical discourse.

Musically, there is an incomplete sense of ending
to each musical phrase, which the Marubo chant as
no more than a cell-fragment, while there is in con-
trast a marked end to each cell in the form of a pause
or silence, which in festival performance may precede
a verse repetition of not. From a western-tonal per-

spective, the rationale of conclusiveness appears to be inverted: although musical cells have definite endings, *i.e.* they are self-contained tonal motives, *saiti* phrase cadences sometimes seem arbitrary, *i.e.* not tonally-structured. The *saiti* itself would be just a cluster of cells if the cellular structure were regarded as an irrational aggregate of tones. However we have seen how, in the example of *Mokanawa Wenía*, the musical phrases within each cell are very much structured, in a dyadic way in that case. The ruling structural order of the myth-chant is at the level of the cell, as the performer's silence or the literal repetition that follows each one indicates; but there is no musical-formal ending at all to any of the partial verbal-formulaic clusters of cells performed, nor to the form of *saiti* as a whole. As a conclusion to the chant, the cells just cease to be intoned. Overall, the *saiti* myth-chant is fragmentary and minimalist, an open aggregate of isomorphic cells. The myth-chant ends when the *yoya* song-leader manifests the concluding signal of *sai*—high-pitched falsettos—or, alternatively, when the same conclusive vocal manifestations are heard from the responding responsory. This *sai* termination subsumes itself under the verbal linearity of the *saiti* only, *i.e.* that of the narrative discourse intoned in successive verses, in formulaic sequences and recurrent lines; but the timing of this termination is not nearly as precise as the open cellular structure of the myth-chant.

This is because on the verbal side there is as well a strong rationale behind the openness of mythical-musical content: as we have seen, among the Upper Ituí Marubo, all complex wisdom that regards native healing, witchcraft and shamanic arts at large is usually projected onto knowledge displayed and forthcoming from Upper Curuçá elders. For these -*nawa* peoples, knowledge is from the outside toward the inside: from the perspective of co-residential kin, no *saiti* rendered by co-residents could possibly be taken as a full musical-mythical account. This "foreign value" is locally appreciated even when the performing *yoya* chant-leaders are kin elders who do not live where the myth-chant is performed, as was the case with *Ivãpa* in April 1998. This manifested incompleteness of the inside with respect to the outside—not as a positive-negative relationship, but as the complementary identity between the outside-like insider and the inside-like outsider—is not only epistemological but ontological: it affords many of the cosmo-political explanations that are essayed elsewhere in this thesis.

One last reason for *saiti* unbounded-ness might be that, again, its repetitive quality itself could be a clue to explain the ever-beginning character of each mythical-musical performance or general theme, at both verbal and musical levels: open-ended repetition characterises the fragmentary-unitary character of shamanic knowledge, a vivid sign that it is more

than a mere atavistic tradition. Two secondary features stem from this last reason, which by no means is supposed to be the most important as regards the event we seek to explicate, but still leads to most important implications. It must be noted that the itemisation of all these explanatory "reasons" are pure rhetorical devices, and they all refer to the characteristic that struck us at the very beginning of our study of the *saiti* myth-chants, *viz.* their openness, which then required some structural explanation. Now the secondary features that ultimately stem from our reasoning on this first impression are strong claims, and the reader must decide whether they are worth being mentioned as conclusions to this thesis or if they are no more than exploratory hypotheses; but still, whatever judgement is passed, it should prompt further research on the Marubo *saiti.*

One feature is that the shamanic leading theme that links all myth-chants, and that allows for the creation of a homogeneous mythical-musical corpus, amounts to the fact that all *saiti* display similar sentiment-laden, structural hierarchies (*pathos*-evaluation), as well as compatible, not to say complementary world-making contents (*ethos*-ambience). The contents of myth-chants and their tonal hierarchies, their circularity and linearity and the relations between both, are the expression and the expressible in *saiti* structural form, that is, in its musical poetics.

The other feature is that this structural-formal *pathos*-evaluation of *ethos*-ambience is variable. This variation is evident in the degree of circular or linear character of the musical phrases within each cell. Further, it is made evident as a higher or lesser degree of verbal-poetical recurrence within each *saiti*, and the absolute or relative circularity or linearity of its recurrent lines and verses. Yet both musical and poetical variations of degree are secondary: although variable, the mythical-musical character of cellular circularity over linearity remains constant for the sake of the overall "onto-epistemological" homogeneity just mentioned, which the prevalent open recursion of the *saiti* cellular code accounts for. *Saiti* is always cellular from a musical perspective, and this cell structure is at times also accompanied by verbal-formulaic repetition. *Saiti* structures are cellular, always in music and often from a verbal perspective too: in briefer words, music circles round verbal lines. All myth-chants collected in the field attest to this constant.

This feature of inconstancy within constancy is clearly illustrated in several *saiti*, and the alternative circularity and linearity of their recurrent verbal lines, which in *Mokanawa Wenía* vary in accordance with the musical phrase in which they occur, is just one example. After the demonstrations in the last chapters, now we shall draw our attention to the verbal character of the cyclical repetition that we generically referred to before as "strophes" and "rhymes,"

and to which we made specific reference in *Mokanawa Wenía*. Here we may term this verbal-cyclical character as "poetical symmetry"; and by this, we designate the macrostructures that that *saiti* illustrates throughout in the form of formulaic combinations of recurrent lines (*e.g. ato... / moka... / atõ... / ...shavá raká...*). The aforementioned line formulae that are repeated in "list" form toward the end of myth-chants or *saiti* sections, with some variations in the order of verses, are another example.

Poetical symmetry is at work, for example, in the placement of a vowel in the final vocalisation of some verses, in their concluding lines, which thus constitute a rhyme with the last line of the preceding verses. In such instances, the semantic value of the vocal sound is beyond its verbal, linguistic scope. The semantics of these verbal endings is musical, as when entire musical phrases are vocalised without verbal lines: poetry without words. Rhymes are a mere confirmation of the musical prevalence at the verse / cell level of the *saiti*, that which imparts overall circularity to it. Another instance of poetical symmetry at this level takes place when strophes, circular and still verbal, overlap and displace verses in relation to cells: phrases and lines are in and out of phase, and yet musical circularity is preserved and, so to speak, multiplied. In this and in other cases, such poetical devices act according to that counter-pointing cyclical temporality, to a circular rhythmic-melodic logic that we see at

work both at this intermediate macrostructural level
of the recursive cells and in the prevalent and pervad-
ing musical-cellular perspective that one finds in the
phrases therein.

A few concrete instances may clarify some abstract
vocabulary. The preceding chapters have already men-
tioned some *saiti* lines or whole verses that have no
words: they are structurally defined by the musi-
cal structures alone. In this case, verbal "lines" and
"verses" should be respectively called by no other names
than musical "phrases" and "cells." In these situations
the melody is intoned in a single vowel—such as *i* or
a—and each note is sometimes preceded by a glottal
stop—*e.g.* ʼ*i* ʼ*i* ʼ*i.* This is indicated in the attached
translation and elsewhere with a hyphen (–).

More frequently, these *i*'s or *a*'s or other sounds—
vowels or nasal consonants—are intoned at the end of
verbal lines or verses. Here they are used again with
no immediate, designative verbal denotation, in which
case the literal translation in the appendix below shall
indicate them with three dots following the gloss im-
mediately before (. . .). They are rhymes of just pure
vocalisations. Still, it is not too rare an occurrence
that ending vowels might be considered as a tempo-
ral declination. The declination *a* or *ai* at the end of
verb-roots means both present or recent past action,
as opposed to the terminations *aĩ, taĩ, vaĩ* and other
variations, which are employed to express a continu-

ous action in a more remote past. All this might be in
line with mythical-musical temporal meanings—a hy-
pothesis that our current knowledge cannot verify—or
may be another poetical device toward "symmetry";
and as such, these vowel-terminations would be just
phonetic transformations of words in the musicalised
verbal language.[165]

The latter possibility would avoid further confu-
sion in *saiti* translation, but it would also mean to ig-
nore the possible verbal function of such ending vow-
els, and to consider instead *a* or *i*, as well as other
affixes, as mere "linking sounds" between phrases /
lines. Still this choice is favoured by the aforemen-
tioned fact that, among other sounds, *a* and espe-
cially *i* are often intoned in the *saiti* as vocalising
sounds, both in the case of single notes or in whole
musical phrases in which no words nor verbal lines are
chanted. Whenever such vowels are employed in the
aforementioned last notes of many "verbalised" mu-
sical phrases and cells, it should be signalled clearly
enough—through a hyphen or three dots—whether
these sounds have a sole poetical significance, *i.e.* if
they designate a musical-cellular, "symmetrical" logic
but have no designative meaning. This is of particu-
lar importance, for example, in the case of the verb-
root *oi*, "to see," "to look:" if the gap between the

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[165]With reference to Kamayurá music, Bastos 1989 labels this
phenomenon precisely as "vocalisation."

root and the vowel-complement in its visual, written representation (*i.e.* that between *oi* and *a*) were omitted, the expression could easily be mistaken for *oia*, a suffix meaning "equally," "as well," or "oneself." Although the written notation is phonetically indifferent, regardless of the verbal meaning intended—in the performance of the myth-chants, it sounds *oia* all the same—here the musical emphasis is clear when it is the case of a "vocalisation" device deforming *oi* toward a "poetical symmetry" between lines. If the verbally semantic-free vowel in the final vocalisation of *oi* is just meant to rhyme with the last line of the preceding verse, we emphasise, the semantic value of the vocal sound is beyond its verbal scope, and hence such value is "musical," cyclical-symmetrical.

Throughout this thesis, we have made an effort to deepen this "meta-semantics" in a "meta-philological" study of *saiti*, *i.e.* in the exegesis of its poetical-musicological essence, that which should coincide with its extra-verbal mythological essence as well. Such an effort corresponds to nothing else but an introduction to the project that this thesis proposes. The study of the relation between word and note, of the musical interaction between sense and sound, would entail a focus on the structural-formal "ethical-pathology" we mentioned before, on a logic that would be before, behind, between, above and below any transcendent abstraction of concrete immanence, that is, beyond Aristotelian distinctions between "intellect" and

"sense-perception."[166]

The instances mentioned above give an idea of what we have called "poetical symmetry" in *saiti*—perhaps too pompous a term for such familiar, simple devices in native myth-music. It is worth noting again that, in spite of the parallel effect between the verbal lines and verses that such devices produce, and of the cyclical character of all musical-poetical structures—of cells and other reiterative patterns—there is no strict temporal correspondence between musical note and verbal sound, *i.e.* tone and word are not "iso-rhythmic:" *saiti* temporality is variable. This relationship between words and sounds, this "canon" or "counterpoint" between phrases and lines, is analogous to the unmeasured relation between the *saiti* myth-chants and the polyrhythmic *ako* drumbeats, or to that between the mythical-musical form and the choreographic rotation of dancing circles responding to the *yoya* chant-leader, or to the polyphony of *kẽchĩtxo*-healers singing simultaneously to the ailing patient. These are sonic-choreographic configurations that, as we have noted, are transpositions of a mythical-musical logic: although recurrent *saiti* lines repeat themselves, verbal verses are arranged in a different order at each time, establishing new sound / word relationships at each phrasal-cellular repetition.

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[166]That is in line with Bastos' project toward a "musical semantics" (1989)...and with the poetry of John Donne, of course: "...license then my roving hands, and let them go...."

As exemplified elsewhere, such verbal variability takes place by simple change of line order, of line position, or by the intonation of "blank" lines—those where musical phrases are not uttered with words, but are sung instead by means of "vocalised" vowels, or still hummed in *bocca chiusa*. In other words, there is a certain degree of independence and arbitrariness or, better phrased, a higher flexibility to the chanted words, whereas the musical phrases or cells are intoned in a much stricter sequence. Nevertheless, the variability and somewhat arbitrary character of the line / phrase relationship disappears as the *saiti* myth-chant is seen from a wider semantic perspective, as the statistics of verse occurrence of the recurrent lines of *Mokanawa Wenía* have shown in the previous chapter.

The clash between verbal mobility and musical stability results in the "canon" or "counterpoint" that has also been described above as a syncopated rhythm over a regular pulse, in a somewhat analogous way to a western-familiar melismatic melody over a monochord drone. Again, this temporal opposition between variation and constancy resounds in other performative events pertaining to *saiti*, both to the myth-chant and to the festival: the *ako*-drum is beaten steadily by two players, one on each of its extremities, each observing the same pulse but dividing it differently with different-sized drumsticks—the smaller the drumstick, the smaller the pulse is divided. The

two steady players, in turn, are opposed to the rotating middle-player, a role that nearly every male festival participant who surrounds the *ako* at its performance fulfils. The drumbeat in the middle follows the same pulse and divides it similarly to the largest of the steady divisions, but accentuates it differently, enhancing the effect of a rhythmic counterpoint; and once again, the effect is similar to that concordant cacophony that is created when several *kẽchĩtxo*-healers sing different *shõti* curing-chants at the same time.[167]

If these concluding remarks on the mythical-musical structures are still not clear, the diagrammatic and paradigmatic illustration of a *saiti* myth-chant below is our last resource. It is based on four propositions:

(a) the *saiti* myth-chant is a linear narrative composed of an aggregate of verbal verses made up of lines, which respectively coincide with musical cells made up of phrases;

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[167]Erikson 1996 provides one of the few descriptions of Pano music that allows for a parallel with this one, with particular reference to chants aimed at increasing the potency of blowgun poison—which is, by the way, a Marubo reference in the *saiti* of *Teté Teka*, a decisive element in the mythical-musical process of murdering the monster-hawk. That author describes:

> "Chacun entonne sa litanie dans son coin. . . On ne cherche aucunement à synchroniser son récitatif, entrecoupé de chuintements 'shhhh,' avec celui de ses voisins. Toutefois, l'émouvante cacophonie qui en résulte n'en témoigne pas moins d'une évidente volonté d'agir de concert." (1996:215)

(b) *saiti* microstructures are defined by the interaction between line and the corresponding phrase, resulting in a dialectics of word and note, phoneme and pitch;

(c) *saiti* macrostructures are defined by the interaction between verse and the corresponding cell, resulting in a reiterative counterpoint of verbal linearity against musical circularity;

(d) such macrostructures and the resulting verbal-musical perspectival counterpoint take place also at a poetical level, where linear verses and lines are repeated both in phase—rhymes—and out of phase—strophes—with the circular cells and phrases; both rhyme and strophe devices result in an effect of symmetry, which gives an emphasis to circularity above linearity.

In short:

(a) the *saiti* chant, as a mythical narrative, is verbally linear;

(b) its microstructural units, lines and phrases, interact in a circular-linear dialectics within a cellular framework;

(c) its macrostructures, verses and cells, interact in a reiterative counterpoint of lines against circles;

(d) musical circularity is verbally reiterated and coun-
terpointed through poetical symmetry.

Therefore:

(a) *saiti* myth-chant = X + Y + Z + W + K etc.
= Σ verses / cells
overall structure = open linear unity from ver-
bal perspective

(b) Σ verses / cells = Σ (a, b, etc. lines : α, β
phrases)
Σ (X, Y, etc.) = Σ (lines : phrases) = Σ mi-
crostructures
bounded unity in verbal-musical dialectics of
lines and circles
X = (a / b) : (α / β) ⇒ phoneme : pitch
Y = (c / b') : (α / β) ⇒ word : note
Z = (e / a) : (α / β) ⇒ line : phrase
W = (b / c) : (α / β) ⇒ verbal : musical
K = (b' / f) : (α / β) ⇒ microstructural inter-
action

(c) *saiti* myth-chant = Σ cellular macrostructures
= Σ (verse : cell)
verse / cell = circular unity from musical-poetical
perspective
(X, Y, etc.) = verbal linearity : musical circu-
larity
verses : cells = (a / b) etc. verbal lines : (α /

β) musical phrases
(a / b), (c / b') etc. : Σ (α / β) = verbal verses
: musical cells

(d) poetical symmetry = rhyme / strophe macro-
structures
(a / b), (c / b') = circular lines
$\Rightarrow$ repeated vocalisation in final lines = reiter-
ative rhymes
(a / b / c / b') = circular verses
$\Rightarrow$ line-phrase, verse-cell counterpoint = strophic
reiteration

The major claim of this thesis is that Marubo onto-
logical statements on time can be elicited from such
structural interactions. Again, it is pointless to dis-
cuss whether the visualisable categories of "circular-
ity" and "linearity," of "verbal" and "musical" are "emic"
analytical constructs, in contrast with the "etic" au-
ral structures—those that are cellular, rhythmic, or
melodic ones, at a morphological realm if you like. It
would be a discussion like that in Bertold Brecht's an-
ecdote of the Chinese philosophers, those who drowned
in a flood while debating whether the Yellow River
existed independently from them or was a figment of
their thoughts. Otherwise, for those who are available
to see structural form while listening to the Marubo
saiti, it is irrelevant whether "our" terms or "their"
terms are "made up" or "real," either ethnocentrically
or egocentrically. Seeing through listening what the

Marubo sing, and how they sing it, is something of a more synthetic kind than a mere verbal-visual account, less subject to analytical will and more congenial to the native context and commentary. Non-printed sounds are fleeting; they are linear narrative and recurrent lines, progressive verses and reiterative cells, successive phrases and regular tones.

This thesis attempts to make these aural impressions visible, with all the inherent limitations of such a task, and no more of our time should be wasted in trying to justify the truth-validity of such a visualisation. If it is granted that the *saiti* are visualisable at all—if it is possible to write monographs on myth-chants, here or elsewhere—our aim has been reached, and we are free to claim: such music is myth in time, a sensible and intelligible symbolic synthesis of synchrony and diachrony. And as for the dilemma between social natures and natural societies, between the "ethno-" and the "non-ethno-," we suggest: a relationship between particular sensibility and universal intelligibility cannot obtain unless one pays heed to the temporal structures in which humans and worlds inscribe each other, sensibly and intelligibly.

Appendix

mokanawa wenía
bitter-poisonous people + to sprout

Võchĩpa translated this myth-chant for the most part
on his own. Here is a word-to-word translation with-
out the transcription of the corresponding notes. I
omit the *saiti*-prosody at the level of the interac-
tion between verbal line and musical phrase. I do
not mean to underrate its semantic relevance. This
transcription includes all the line-ending vowels that
had been excluded from the exegetical quotes of the
myth-chant throughout the book. Each of the three-
hundred and ninety verbal verses below corresponds
to the cell that is transcribed above. Here the dashes

(–) indicate musical phrases without lines, those that
are vocalised in *i*. The footnotes present henceforth
some commentary to clarify a few unusual words, as
much as marginal exegesis that shall entertain the
more inquisitive reader.

1. –
   –

2. **moka awá chinã**
   bitter-poisonous + tapir + breath-thought
   chinã oso atõsho
   breath-thought + in place + where (outward)

3. **mokã vake náwavo**
   bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
   ral)
   atõ awe shavoya i
   they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...

4. **nawa weni ini i**
   people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
   ato aya weni a
   they + to exist + to sprout...

5. **moka shawã ina**
   bitter-poisonous + red macaw + tail
   atõ teneao a
   they (genitive) + feather headdress[168] (emphat-

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[168]The *tene*-headdress is particularly apt for guests in *tanamea*
or *veyá*, "inviting" or "meeting" festivals. It is a circular band

ic)...

6. ***shavá raká ini i***
clarity + to lie + to embellish...
atõ awe shaveovo
they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)

7. ***moka pani vatxi***
bitter-poisonous + *tucumã* palm-tree + skirt[169]

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with red macaw tail-feathers sticking up around in the guise of a crown. It is meant to be a gift to hosts. Other peoples, says *Venãpa*, use it ordinarily.

[169]Several utensils are made out of the fibres taken from *pani* sprouting palms (*tucumã* in Brazil). It is an alternative material to cultivated cotton. While hammocks (*pani*, a metonym) are made of both fibres to this day, in the past female skirts used to be so too. Note that all garments mentioned in the *saiti* are as ornamental as necklaces and headdresses. Skirts are opposed to other adornments just inasmuch as the distinction between source (*moka*...) and fabrication (*atõ*...) of the ornamented peoples in the clearing of the world (*shavá*...) is not made explicit in the corresponding formula, of which this verse takes part. In contrast to other ornamentation formulae, palm-tree and sprouting palm, *i.e.* the arboreal origin and the raw material of skirts (*vatxi*), are here expressed in one single line, *moka pani*...followed by the settlement of peoples on the cleared surface of earth, in the *shavá raká*... line. This line, as the counterpart of creation, reasserts the ornamental character of chthonic creatures (in accordance with *Võchĩpa*'s translation: "all created peoples ornamented," *cf. supra*). Thus *Mokanawa Wenía* assigns the skirt as a synthesis of sprouts, both of the palm-fibre yarn and of the emergent humanity, of palm-arboreal source and of human fabrication. Here, the reduction of the fourfold formulaic structure of ornamentation

>*shavá raká ini i*
>clarity + to lie + to embellish. . .

8. ***avi ato pari ki***
   original[170] + they + first[171]. . .
   shavá vevo ini i
   clarity + elder[172] + auxiliary verb. . .

(they [the *mokanawa* peoples] possess / arboreal or animal material element / ornament / terrestrial location: *ato aya weni* / *moka. . .* / *atõ. . .* / *shavá raká. . .*) to two lines (*moka pani vatxi* / *shavá raká ini*) is a sign of the humanly innate sense of skirts: "eggs," metaphorical birthplaces.

[170]The word *avi* is *kẽchĩtxo*-language. Hence its best translation is "original," meaning a "long time ago, in mythical times." It is a shamanic expression, rather than from the lexicon of *asãki iki*—an archaic language that precedes the current native language, which in turn stems from specific -*nawa* peoples (the *Nináwavo* and *Chaĩnáwavo*, as explained above). However the archaic *asãki iki* is *yové*-language, understood only by *romeya*-shamans and a few men, *kẽchɪtxo*-healers or otherwise. *Venãpa* says that those ancestors who spoke *asãki iki* "fled to Peru": he could recognise such a spiritual language as common parlance the Shipibo.

[171]This word occurs in the ordinary expressions, such as *ea pari nokoai*, "I arrived first." The full locution . . . *pari ki*, however, is quite usual in shamanic vocal forms, unveiling extraordinary meanings.

[172]The meaning of *vevo* is in ordinary expressions as *vevoke*, an "older person." It also means something or someone "who came before," like an animal leaving tracks in the forest. Hence, more than the literally meaning "clarity elder," the expression *shavá vevo* translates better here as "those who come first" (*cf. supra*).

9. ***noa mató wetsa***
large river[173] + high mound[174] + other
wetsa ivo ini i
other + owner + to reach. . .

10. ***tsoa vana vitima***
whose + language + to bring (nominal, causative)
moka shae vana
bitter-poisonous + giant anteater + language

11. ***vana vin' aya***
language + to bring (volitional) + to exist
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

12. ***moka voa kanase***
bitter-poisonous + certain palm-tree + long and thin stems[175]
atõ keoao a

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[173]Also "sea", in *nawa*-lands. *Cf.* above

[174]The Marubo also use *mató* for all elevations on earth out of their lands, as hills and mountains

[175]*Keniñawa* explained: *voa* is similar to *palheira*, a common palm-tree in Brazilian Amazonia (genus *Attalea*). Its leaves are used as thatched roofing for native shanties and longhouses. The trunk of those trees is covered with long, thin thorns. Marubo men used to dry and stick these thorny stems above the pierced upper lip, making the ornament *keo* that is so usual among Panoans, as far back as in the times of the naturalist-traveller Marcoy (*apud* Melatti, ed. 1981:17).

they (genitive) + supra-labial piercing ornament
(emphatic)...

13. *shavá rakáraká i*
clarity + to lie (twice)...
noa mató wetsanõ
large river + high mound + other (volitional)

14. *shoko rakáraká ki*
many + to lie (twice)...
–

15. *wa noa mai ki*
that + large river + land...
perẽ akimane a
noise + thus (causative, locative)...

16. *moka awá imi*
bitter-poisonous + tapir + blood
–

17. *imi veo atõsho*
blood + pool + where (outward)
moka awá imi ki
bitter-poisonous + tapir + blood...

18. *vetxõ kaĩ atõsho*
clotted + to go (past) + where (outward)
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
ral)

19. ***nawa weni ini i***
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
moka pĩtxo eshe
bitter-poisonous + *muru-muru* palm-tree + seed[176]

20. ***atõ raneao a***
they (genitive) + bead[177] (emphatic)...
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

---

[176]*Astrocaryum murumuru*, Brazilian *muru-muru* is a short palm-tree whose seed has detergent properties. Its commercial use is getting widespread in Amazonia. The Marubo have been using it the bead-shaped dark seeds for generations, to fabricate necklaces and wristbands.

[177]More than "beads," *rane* is in fact a metonym for all ornaments made out of tiny particles of snail-shells (from *novo*, Brazilian *aruá* snail) or seeds (as of the aforementioned *muru-muru* palm-tree). That is, *rane* is a metonym for garters and girdles, bands and belts, bracelets and braces, sashes and necklaces, although glass-beads (*txakiri*) are the commonest material of which some of these adornments are made these days. Still those *rane* seed-beads are not to be mistaken for *txakiri*, the glass-made ones, although these are as important a material of adornment and as popular as the ones made of the snail-shell *novo*, produced from an homonymous snail found on the riverside or, as another common alternative nowadays, from white pvc plastic. All these ornaments are acknowledged attributes in the characterisation of *yové*-spirits, prototypically beautiful entities. Note the coincidence of all that with an also important item in the shamanic apparatus among the riverine nationals of the Colombian piedmont, miles away from Marubo lowlands: *txakira*, heavy bead necklaces whose multiple loops adorn the shaman prior to and during every curing session (*cf.* Taussig 1987).

21. ***avi ato pari ki***
    original + they + first...
    shavá vevo ini i
    clarity + older + to embellish...

22. ***noa mató wetsa***
    large river + high mound + other
    wetsa ivo ini i
    other + owner + to reach...

23. ***moka shawã ina***
    bitter-poisonous + red macaw + tail
    awẽ ina ĩk'eshe
    it (genitive) + tail + half-length

24. ***atõ txipãt' iti a***
    they (genitive) + posterior garment[178] (nomi-
    nal)...
    shavá rakáraká i
    clarity + to lie (twice)...

25. ***mokã vake náwavo***
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
    ral)
    nawa raká shákama i
    people + to lie + aplenty...

---

[178] *Txipãti* would be another ancient adornment-garment that,
as opposed to *shãpati* (a cotton *cache-sexe* men used to wear in
the past, *cf. infra*), was worn over the lower back and buttocks.

26. **noke ivo nawama i**
    we + owner + people (negative)...
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

27. **moka shawã vana**
    bitter-poisonous + red macaw + language
    vana vin' aya
    language + to bring (volitional) + to exist

28. –
    –

29. **moka rono chinã ki**
    bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + breath-
    thought...
    moka mai natẽ ash'
    bitter-poisonous + land + impregnated + to do
    (outward)

30. **veo ini'otivo**
    pool + auxiliary verb (locative, nominal, plural)
    moka rono chinã
    bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + breath-
    thought

31. **chinã oso atõsho**
    breath-thought + in place + where (outward)
    rono ikã ayavo
    poisonous snake + homonym + to have (plural)

32. ***mokã vake náwavo***
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

33. ***moka voa kanase***
    bitter-poisonous + certain palm-tree + long and thin stems
    atõ keoao a
    they (genitive) + supra-labial ornament (emphatic)...

34. ***shavá raká ini i***
    clarity + to lie + to embellish...
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

35. ***moka naĩ sheta***
    bitter-poisonous + sloth[179] (genitive) + tooth
    atõ tewit'ao a
    they (genitive) + necklace (emphatic)...

36. ***shavá raká ini i***
    clarity + to lie + to embellish...
    sai toa iki a
    high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...

37. ***noa mató wetsa***
    large river + high mound + other

---

[179]Order *Xenarthra.*

wetsa ivo ini i
other + owner + to reach. . .

38. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

39. *moka rono imi*
bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + blood
vetxõ kaĩ atõsho
clotted + to go (past) + where (outward)

40. *mokã vake náwavo*
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

41. *atõ awe shavoya i*
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival). . .
shavo kayapavo i
woman + tall (superlative, plural). . .

42. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
moka isko ina
bitter-poisonous + *japu*bird + tail

43. **atõ mait'ao a**
they (genitive) + headdress[180] (emphatic)...
shavá raká ini i
clarity + to lie + to embellish...

44. **moka shawã ina**
bitter-poisonous + red macaw + tail
atõ keoao a
they (genitive) + supra-labial ornament (emphatic)...

45. **shavá rakáraká i**
clarity + to lie (twice)...

---

[180] *Maiti* means "feather headdresses" at large. But it is also typically made of *novo*-snail beads among the Marubo, or is just a native gloss for the western-style "hat." As a generic headdress, the basic morphology of the feather-*maiti* is similar to the *tene*-crown: a circular straw-frame and vertical long feathers in a row running perpendicular to the girth of the head support. This structure is amenable to variation: for instance, although the feathers come normally from the macaw's tail, there is a remarkable variety of feather colours, sizes and sources. Even vultures feathers are used. In fact, *maiti*-hats serve the same purposes as *tene*-headdresses in the "meeting" or "invitation" festivals mentioned *supra*: guests fabricate several headdresses, wear them and thus "invade" the hosts' longhouses and surrounding gardens, destroying some of their trees, plants, the longhouses' threshold, the male frontal parallel benches (*kenã*), the ceremonial drums (*ako*) and other possessions and appliances. In return and compensation for all damage, after much dancing and display of their much ornamented heads and bodies, the guests give their *maiti* away to the hosts.

nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

46. *atõ awe shavovo*
they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)
—

47. *moka pani vatxi*
bitter-poisonous + *tucumã* palm-tree + skirt
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

48. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
moka voa kanase
bitter-poisonous + certain palm-tree + long and
thin thorns

49. *atõ keoao a*
they (genitive) + supra-labial ornament (em-
phatic)...
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

50. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

51. *noa mató wetsa ki*
large river + high mound + other...

wetsa ivo ini i
other + owner + to reach...

52. –
    –

53. *moka rono imi*
    bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + blood
    imi veo atõsho
    blood + pool + where (outward)

54. *weniko ini ki*
    to sprout (collective) + auxiliary verb...
    mokã vake náwavo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
    ral)

55. *moka txorõ rane*
    bitter-poisonous + certain frog (genitive) + bead[181]

---

[181]Certain animals embellish much as they bestow the capa-
bility to speak. Hence, "beads" (*rane*) can be equated to "lan-
guage" (*vana*). The association that holds between "medicine"
(*rao*) and "body ornaments" among the Pano Kachinawa (*dau*,
also "brilliance," a kinship moiety among the latter, *cf.* Lagrou
1998). A more generic connotation of *rao* as "knowledge" among
the native might suggest that beads, *qua* language and possi-
bly beyond, are tantamount to shamanic knowledge. This is a
connotation that some observations above would confirm. Note
however that here "beads" appear in a verse and line structure
where the formulaic logic would lead one to expect, in accor-
dance with previous verses and lines, not *rane* but *vana* instead,
"language" (*moka... vana / vana vin' aya*). Note also that all

>   ***rane vin' aya***
>   bead + to bring (volitional) + to exist

56. –
    –

57. ***noa vi vana***[182]
    large river + small anteater + language
    vana vin' aya
    language + to bring (volitional) + to exist

58. ***mokã vake náwavo***
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
    avi ato pari ki
    original + they + first...

59. ***nawa weni ini i***
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
    –

---

language-giving animals are as inedible or insipid as *txoro*-frogs. In spite of all probable associations, *vana* might have just been mistaken for *rane*, for which reason the *txoro*-frog is omitted from the table of ornamental animals and elements above.

[182]Now unlike all other language-giving animals, the animal itself, instead of sharing the quintessential "bitterness" (*moka*) with the emergent peoples, shares an explicit exogenous provenience with the *mokanawa*: the large river (*noa*). This supports the contention that both qualifiers (*moka* and *noa*) are interchangeable markers of alterity and of identity. The Marubo, the -*nawa* peoples themselves, are potential "foreign" dwellers of large riverbanks—much as the *mokanawa* peoples.

60. –
    –

61. **moka isko ina**
    bitter-poisonous + *japu*-bird + tail
    ato shãpat' iti a
    they + to cover in front + auxiliary verb (nominal)... [183]

62. **shavá rakáraká i**
    clarity + to lie (twice)...
    mokã vake shavovo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + woman (plural)

63. –
    –

64. **mokã vake náwavo**
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
    wa noa mai ki
    that + large river + land...

65. **perẽ akimane a**
    noise + thus (causative, locative)...

---

[183]The phrase *shãpati* refers to an ancient garment in cloth covering male genitals. As all garments listed in the myth-chant, *shãpati* is a rather a ornament, an aesthetic constitution of humanity borrowed from animals or plants.

moka mai chinã
bitter-poisonous + land + breath-thought

66. **chinã oso atõsho**
breath-thought + in place + where (outward)
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

67. **nawa weni ini i**
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
nawa kayapavo i
people + tall (superlative, plural)...

68. **avi ato pari ki**
original + they + first...
shavá vevo ini i
clarity + older + to embellish...

69. **atõ awe shavoya i**
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

70. **ato aya weni a**
they + to exist + to sprout...
–

71. **moka kana ina**
bitter-poisonous + yellow macaw + tail
atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

72. ***shavá rakáraká i***
    clarity + to lie (twice)...
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

73. ***avi ato pari ki***
    original + they + first...
    shavá vevo ini i
    clarity + older + to embellish...

74. ***atõ awe shavovo***
    they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)
    –

75. –
    –

76. ***moka naı̃ sheta***
    bitter-poisonous + sloth (genitive) + tooth
    atõ tewit'ao a
    they (genitive) + necklace (emphatic)...

77. ***shavá rakáraká i***
    clarity + to lie (twice)...
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

78. ***moka mai chinã ki***
    bitter-poisonous + land + breath-thought...
    mokã vake náwavo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

79. ***weniko ini ki***
    to sprout (collective) + auxiliary verb. . .
    mokã vake náwavo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

80. ***atõ chinã ratea***
    they (genitive) + breath-thought + to scare[184]
    –

81. ***moka tama imi***
    bitter-poisonous + tree + blood
    imi veo atõsho
    blood + pool + where (outward)

82. ***nawa weni ini i***
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
    mokã vake náwavo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

83. ***tama ikã ayavo***
    tree + homonym + to have (plural)
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

---

[184]The fright is attributed to the sprouting peoples themselves. Their thoughts (*atõ chinã*) are scary and scared (*ratea*), the cause and the effect: thoughts are engendered as they are estranged from earth, as well as estrange engendered strangers. *Cf. supra.*

84. −
    −

85. ***moka sheshe vana ki***
    bitter-poisonous + *maitaca*-parrot[185] + language
    vana vin' aya
    language + to bring (volitional) + to exist

86. ***atõ awe shavovo***
    they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)
    −

87. ***vevo aĩ aya***
    older + female[186] + to exist
    −

88. ***moka tama nãko***
    bitter-poisonous + tree + sweetness
    nãko oso atõsho
    sweetness + in place + where (outward)

89. ***nawa weni ini i***
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
    tama ikã ayavo
    tree + homonym + to have (plural)

---

[185]It is said that the *sheshe*-parrot eat the fruits of peach-palms, an important native cultigen, plaguing the gardens of the Marubo.

[186]Here *aĩ* refers to *shavo*, as seen above. Since the consanguinity of the term is emphasised, *aĩ* is now translated just as "female," and not as "wife," as in ordinary usage.

90. ***mokã vake náwavo***
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

91. –
    –

92. ***moka tama vimi***
    bitter-poisonous + tree + fruit
    reoko*[187] *atõsho
    to spread on the ground + where (outward)

93. ***vimi ikã ayavo***
    fruit + homonym + to have (plural)
    mokã vake náwavo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

94. ***nawa weni ini i***
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
    moka osho ina
    bitter-poisonous + crane[188] + tail

---

[187]The specific aptness of this word for "ripen fruits" points to the metaphorical potential it shares with *ikã*, the namesake "ripeness" (*Cf. supra*). In other *saiti*, "falling fruits" are an indication of ripeness, comparable to the initiating state of pubescent youngsters who, metaphorically, are *vimi reoko*.

[188]This is a metonymic denomination for cranes, since *osho* means "white."

95. **atõ mait'ao a**
    they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...
    shavá raká ini i
    clarity + to lie + to embellish...

96. **nawa weni ini i**
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
    nawa raká shákama i
    people + to lie + aplenty...

97. **moka tama oa**
    bitter-poisonous + tree + flower
    reoko atõsho[189]
    to spread on the ground + where (outward)

98. **mokã vake náwavo**
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

99. **moka shane rani**
    bitter-poisonous + blue bird[190] + down

---

[189]One would expect *oa*-flowers to be *as' iki atõsho*, to be "right there," rather than to *reoko atõsho*, to "spread down there," in accordance with the canons of the creation-substantiation formulae. This is the only case in which the latter syntagma is not used in connection to *tama vimi*, the "generic tree-fruit." But the invariable arboreal referent justifies its employment here.

[190]The poetical-formulaic structure that relates animals and

> ***soromait' 'yavo***
> headaddress[191] + to have (plural)

100. ***atõ awe shavoya i***
     they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...
     nawa raká shákama i
     people + to lie + aplenty...

101. ***nawa weni ini i***
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
     –

102. ***wa noa mai ki***
     that + large river + land...

---

plants to their outgrowth, *i.e.* to the respective ornamental element and then to the resulting human ornament in the myth-chant, indicates that the *shane*-bird is here at the same level of macaws, parakeets, and other animals and plants. In other *saiti*, the ultramarine grosbeak is a recurrent figure as a sectional-ethnonymic animal, as an indication of the membership of subjects and objects to a matrilateral section. Here instead *shane* is an ornamental motive, besides being a language-giver alongside with anteaters and other birds. Thus, here *shane* does not refer to the *Shanenáwavo*, the "peoples of the Ultramarine Grosbeak," but rather to the more original realm of the establishment of founding relations among humans and other beings in the world.

[191] A clearer definition of *soromaiti* will be lacking again. This type of head-ornament is, indeed, a category that subsumes under *maiti*-headdress. The table of ornaments above makes the similarity even clearer: the down and feathers which constitute the latter (from the *shane*-bird, the *kayõ*- and *vawa*-parrots) are among the elements which form the former.

> **mokã vake náwavo**
> bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

103. **perẽ akimane a**
noise + thus (causative, locative)...
moka me[192]
bitter-poisonous...

104. **moka paka nãko**
bitter-poisonous + taboca bamboo + sweetness
nãko oso atõsho
sweetness + in place + where (outward)

105. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
paka ikã ayavo
taboca bamboo + homonym + to have (plural)

---

[192] *Võchĩpa* pointed out an error here. In fact, *me* seems to mean nothing, while the following wordless notes are sheer hesitation. Following the formulaic logic of previous instances of the line *perẽ akimane*, which is part of a creation-preparatory formula, one would expect a creational substance after *moka*. Would *Ivãpa* be tempted to sing *moka mai chinã*, as in verse 65? That would mean a reversal to the previous stage of creation, when tellurian thoughts give rise to peoples (verses 2 to 65), whereas from verse 81 on all substances on earth have been vegetal. *Ivãpa* hesitates and corrects: in the next verse, arboreal sweetness (*paka nãko*) is made earthy. Thence creation ensues in the proper order.

106. **nawa weni ini i**
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
    mokã vake náwavo
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

107. **moka txere ina**
    bitter-poisonous + parakeet + tail
    ina mait' 'yavo
    tail + headdress + to have (plural)

108. **nawa weni ini i**
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
    atõ awe shavoya i
    they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...

109. **moka kamã sheta**
    bitter-poisonous + jaguar (genitive) + tooth
    atõ tewit'ao a
    they (genitive) + necklace (emphatic)...

110. **shavá raká ini i**
    clarity + to lie + to embellish...
    nawa weni ini i
    people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

111. –
    –

112. **moka paka oa ki**
    bitter-poisonous + taboca bamboo + flower...

as' iki atõsho
to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (out-
ward)

113. *paka ikã ayavo*
taboca bamboo + homonym + to have (plural)
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
ral)

114. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first. . .

115. *shavá vevo ini i*
clarity + older + to embellish. . .
–

116. *moka paka oa*
bitter-poisonous + taboca bamboo + flower
as' iki atõsho
to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (out-
ward)

117. *weniko ini ki*
to sprout (collective) + auxiliary verb. . .
atõ chinã ratea
they (genitive) + breath-thought + to scare

118. *noa mai tsakasho*
large river + land + upright (outward)

> **wa nipá kawã a**
> that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

119. **moka shono nãko**
bitter-poisonous + *samaúma* tree[193] + sweetness
nãko oso atõsho
sweetness + in place + where (outward)

120. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

121. **shono ikã ayavo**
samaúma tree + homonym + to have (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

122. **moka osho ina**
bitter-poisonous + crane + tail
atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

123. **shavá rakáraká i**
clarity + to lie (twice)...

---

[193]If the luscious *samaúma*-tree is a prototypical dwelling for the *yové*-spirits, while *nãko*-sweetness is their prototypical food. Here the figurative originality of humanity is at its most "circular-spiritual," literally speaking.

sai toa iki a
high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...

124. ***avi ato pari ki***
original + they + first...
noa mató wetsa
large river + high mound + other

125. ***wetsa ivo ini i***
other + owner + to reach...
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

126. –
–

127. ***moka shono oa ki***
bitter-poisonous + *samaúma* tree + flower...
as' iki atõsho
to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (outward)

128. ***mokã vake náwavo***
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

129. ***moka sheshe ina***
bitter-poisonous + *maitaca*-parrot + tail

atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

130. **shavá rakáraká i**
clarity + to lie (twice)...
weniko ini i
to sprout (collective) + auxiliary verb...

131. **avi ato pari ki**
original + they + first...
shavá vevo ini i
clarity + older + to embellish...

132. –
–

133. –
noa mai tsakasho
large river + land + upright (outward)

134. **wa nipá kawã a**
that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...
–

135. **wa nipá kawã a**
that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...
–

136. **moka waki nãko**

bitter-poisonous + *mamoí* tree[194] + sweetness
nãko oso atõsho
sweetness + in place + where (outward)

137. **nawa weni ini i**
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

138. **epe**[195]**ikã ayavo**
jarina palm-tree + homonym + to have (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

139. **ato aya weni a**
they + to exist + to sprout. . .
–

140. **moka panã eshe**
bitter-poisonous + açaí palm-tree + seed
atõ raneao a
they (genitive) + bead (emphatic). . .

---

[194]It is similar to the papaya-tree, bearing similar fruits.

[195]Following the formulaic logic of creation-nomination, one would expect the emergent peoples to be named *waki*. However, this exceptional denomination might not be entirely arbitrary: *epe* is suggestive of alterity. As *Võchĩpa* says, it is a common *mokanawa*-name, largely found among the Mayoruna. Also in opposition to the Marubo, the *jarina* palm-tree is the distinct raw material for roofing among other *mokanawa*, that is, neighbouring Panoans: the Matis.

141. **vevo wekõ ini i**
older + to revolve + to embellish...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

142. **avi ato pari ki**
original + they + first...
shavá vevo ini i
clarity + older + to embellish...

143. **atõ awe shavoya i**
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

144. −
−

145. −
−

146. **noa mai tsakasho**
large river + land + upright (outward)
wa nipá kawã a
that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

147. **moka epe nãko**
bitter-poisonous + *jarina* palm-tree + sweetness
nãko oso atõsho
sweetness + in place + where (outward)

148. ***nawa raká shákama i***
people + to lie + aplenty. . .
moka shawã ina
bitter-poisonous + red macaw + tail

149. ***atõ teneao a***
they (genitive) + feather headdress (emphat-
ic). . .
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice). . .

150. ***atõ awe shavoya i***
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival). . .
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

151. ***epe ikã***[196]***ayavo***
jarina palm-tree + homonym + to have (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

152. ***mokã vake náwavo***
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
ral)
–

153. ***moka epe oa***
bitter-poisonous + *jarina* palm-tree + flower

---

[196]Now *epe* makes sense: the homonymous creational sub-
stance, *epe nãko*, precedes the creation of its nameskes. Did
Ivãpa correct himself, after the onomastic mistake mentioned
in the note above?

as' iki atõsho
to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (out-
ward)

154. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
nawa potopavo i
people + short height (plural). . .

155. *mokã vake náwavo*
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
ral)
nawa yovamavo i
people + audacious (plural). . .

156. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
–

157. *nawa raká shákama i*
people + to lie + aplenty. . .
atõ awe shavoya i
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival). . .

158. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
–

159. *noa mai tsakasho*
large river + land + upright (outward)
wa nipá kawã a

that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

160. **kana isã yora**
yellow macaw + *patauá* palm-tree + body
voto tana irisho
adjacent + along + auxiliary verb (directional, outward)

161. **piniki a avaĩ**
to murmur... + to do (past)
moka shawã shákapa[197]
bitter-poisonous + red macaw + hide

162. **mai verak' ativo**
land + over + to do (nominal, plural)
mai rakáraká i
land + to lie (twice)...

163. **a aki avaĩ**
...thus + to do (past)

---

[197] *Shawã shákapa* is another ambiguous reference to the movements of creation: *shákapa* can be taken for creational substance or ornamental element. Will the emergent peoples have *shawã*-names? Or *shákapa*-made ornaments? The confusion is due to the ambiguity of the "hide of the red macaw": just like *kana isã yora*, the "palm-body of the yellow macaw" in the previous formula, this is not a substance or element, but rather a animal qualification of the creation-ground. The macaw's hide is the murmuring land itself, independent from the created peoples, as the next verse renders clear: *mai verak' ativo / mai rakáraká*, "over the land [the murmurs] are, on the land they lie."

nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

164. –
–

165. **moka shae ina**
bitter-poisonous + anteater + tail
ina papit' 'yavo
tail + dorsal ornament[198] + to have (plural)

166. **nawa weni ini i**
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

167. **moka shae rani**
bitter-poisonous + anteater + down
ato shãpat' iti a
they + to cover in front + auxiliary verb (nominal)...

168. **shavá rakáraká i**
clarity + to lie (twice)...
sai toa iki a
high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...

---

[198] *Papí* is a typical rucksack among Amazonians: baskets or packets supported on the back through a strip of tree bark round the forehead. Among the Marubo, *papiti* may otherwise name weapons (*paka papiti*, a bamboo dagger hung on the back) or of ornaments, indicating their position.

169. ***avi ato pari ki***
     original + they + first...
     shavá vevo ini i
     clarity + older + to embellish...

170. −
     −

171. ***kana isã oa***
     yellow macaw + *patauá* palm-tree + human +
     flower
     as' iki atõsho
     to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (out-
     ward)

172. ***kanã vake náwavo***[199]
     yellow macaw (genitive) + child + people (plu-
     ral)
     nawa weni ini i
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

173. −
     −

174. ***noa mai tsakasho***
     large river + land + upright (outward)

---

[199]This is an unusual means of reference to the chthonic crea-
tures: *kanã vake náwavo* refers a matrilateral section among
the Marubo, whereas all ethnonyms in the present *saiti* refer to
mokã vake náwavo, "other" peoples. But this atypical sequence
of creation just confirms the ambivalence of the *mokanawa*-
qualification: bitter-foreign selves.

wa nipá kawã a
that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

175. **moka vinõ recho**
bitter-poisonous + *buriti* palm-tree + sap
recho avatõsho
sap + where (past, outward)

176. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

177. **moka kana ina**
bitter-poisonous + yellow macaw + tail
atõ teneao a
they (genitive) + feather headdress (emphatic)...

178. **shavá rakáraká i**
clarity + to lie (twice)...
nawa raká shákama i
people + to lie + aplenty...

179. **avi ato pari ki**
original + they + first...
shavá vevo ini i
clarity + older + to embellish...

180. **noa mató wetsa**
large river + high mound + other
wetsa ivo ini i
other + owner + to reach...

181. **vinõ ikã ayavo**
buriti palm-tree + homonym + to have (plural)
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

182. **nawa weni ini i**
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
–

183. –
–

184. **moka vinõ oa**
bitter-poisonous + *buriti* palm-tree + flower
as' iki atõsho
to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (outward)

185. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

186. **nawa yovamavo i**
people + audacious (plural)...

nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

187. *moka txere ina*
bitter-poisonous + parakeet + tail
atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

188. *shavá rakáraká i*
clarity + to lie (twice)...
noa mató wetsanõ
large river + high mound + other (volitional)

189. *sai toa iki a*
high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...
atõ awe shavoya i
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...

190. *nawa raká shákama i*
people + to lie + aplenty...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

191. *ato aya weni a*
they + to exist + to sprout...
moka epe shãko
bitter-poisonous + *jarina* palm-tree + sprout[200]

---

[200]Regardless of the semantic proximity to *weni*, "to sprout,"
shãko and correlated words are recurrent in *saiti*-language. All
denote the sprouting leaves of palm-trees, whose fibres are used
for cordage and ornamentation. However *shãko* has an impor-

192. **atõ init'ao a**
they (genitive) + embellishment[201] (emphatic)...
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

193. **weniko ini i**
to sprout (collective) + auxiliary verb...
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

194. –

---

tant added meaning, as already suggested above: *oni shãko* and *rome shãko* are respectively the spirit-helpers of *ayahuasca* and tobacco, major ingredient in shamanic sessions, everyday companions of most mature man, propitiators of communication with healing spirits and guides in the eschatological labyrinths. The consumption of and communication with these shamanic substances, the dialogue and bonds established with their spiritual essence are fundamental for both disease diagnosis and cure—when the *shãko*-spirits appear in dreams to indicate the therapeutic procedure and rationale—and for a tranquil death. *Shãko* are the beacons and the means to follow the liminal paths between life and death.

[201] Here *ini* as "to embellish" sounds more appropriate, since it assumes the nominal form with the suffix *ti*: the literal meaning of the *init(i)* is thus "embellishment," while the key reference is a typical adornment among Panoans: bands of sprouting palm-leaves round the head, waist and limbs. These ornaments are quite common when natives feast (*sai iki*). In fact, the root *ini* seems to be as relevant in determining the noun *initi* as in its etymological association with *ini iki*, the shamanic counterpart of the mythical *saiti* and the curing *shõti*. *Cf. supra.*

—

195. ***noa mai tsakasho***
     large river + land + upright (outward)
     wa nipá kawã a
     that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

196. ***moka anĩ recho***
     bitter-poisonous + *tachí*-tree[202] + sap
     recho avatõsho
     sap + where (past, outward)

197. ***mokã vake náwavo***
     bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
     nawa weni ini i
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

198. ***atõ awe shavoya i***
     they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...
     nawa raká shakama i
     people + to lie + aplenty...

199. ***noa mató wetsa***
     large river + high mound + other

---

[202] *Kenĩnawa* characterised *anĩ*, a tree known locally as *tachí*, as the usual home of a type of ant whose sting is said to be very painful. Now not only shamanic strength but, as one would expect, human creation associates with pain too—with poisonous *moka*-bitterness.

> *wetsa ivo ini i*
> other + owner + to reach. . .

200. *noa mató wetsanõ*
> large river + high mound + other (volitional)
> –

201. *ato aya weni a*
> they + to exist + to sprout. . .
> *moka kayõ ina*
> bitter-poisonous + certain species of parrot +
> tail

202. *atõ teneao a*
> they (genitive) + feather headdress (emphat-
> ic). . .
> *shavá rakáraká i*
> clarity + to lie (twice). . .

203. *atõ awe shavovo*
> they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)
> *moka kayõ rani*
> bitter-poisonous + certain species of parrot +
> down

204. *atõ soromait' a*[203]
> they (genitive) + headdress. . .

---

[203]Another example of the variety of "poetic symmetry" noted in the conclusion to this study. The usual, currently spoken word is *soromaiti*. However, the last vowel is elided in order to leave room for a non-verbally significant sound, transforming the word into *soromait. . . a*. This transformation is counterbal-

> ***shavá rakáraká i***
> clarity + to lie (twice)...

205. ***sai toa iki a***
     high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...
     –

206. –
     moka iso sheta
     bitter-poisonous + spider monkey[204] (genitive)
     + tooth

207. ***atõ tewit'ao a***
     they (genitive) + necklace (emphatic)...
     shavá rakáraká i
     clarity + to lie (twice)...

208. ***moka shepã sheo***

---

anced by a rhythmic accent on the final syllable, as the musical phrase leads it into a strong beat, the F tonal centre, but sings *a* in the subsequent descending tone. Here again, "the semantic value of the vocal sound is beyond its verbal scope, and hence such value is musical" (*cf. supra*). Just one caveat: what kind of symmetry is this? What is it symmetrical with, if there seems to be no rhymes? It must be noted that the function of symmetrical suffixes is normally assigned to "verbally non-meaningful" vowels. Here it is clear that all ornamental elements following the lines that begin with *atõ...*, in the ornamentation formulae, end with the emphatic suffixed *ao*. Hence, the final -*a* in *soromait'* would be a poetical, shortened version of such verbally meaningful suffixation.

[204]In Brazil *macaco-preto* or *macaco-aranha* (genus *Ateles*).

bitter-poisonous + *palheira* palm-tree + thorn[205]
atõ romosh'ao a
they (genitive) + nostril ornament[206] (emphat-
ic)...

209. ***shavá rakáraká i***
clarity + to lie (twice)...
atõ awe shavovo
they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)

210. –
–

211. ***moka shane vana***
bitter-poisonous + blue bird + language
vana vin' aya
language + to bring (volitional) + to exist

212. ***mokã vake náwavo***
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
ral)
–

213. ***weni ikã ayavo***[207]
to sprout + homonym + to have (plural)

---

[205]Similar to *kanase*, the *sheo* are thorny stems used for fa-
cial decoration. It is the word used to designate metal needles
obtained in modern times.

[206]Similarly to *keo*, the *romoshe* ornaments are stuck on
pierced nostrils, living examples of which are to be found among
the language-related neighbours of the Marubo, notably the
Matis.

[207]This is one of the few cases of lack of coincidence between

> **nawa weni ini i**
> people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

214. **atõ awe shavoya i**
> they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...
> –

215. **noa mai tsakasho**
> large river + land + upright (outward)
> **wa shoko pakea**
> that + many + to fall

216. **moka rome recho**
> bitter-poisonous + tobacco + sap
> **recho avatõsho**
> sap + where (past, outward)

217. **nawa weni ini i**
> people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
> **mokã vake náwavo**
> bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

218. **moka rome pei**
> bitter-poisonous + tobacco + leaf

---

the nomination and creation of the *mokanawa* peoples, possibly due to a long discursive distance between creational substance (*anĩ recho*, in verse 192) and the human name here specified. The linear memory of both singer and listener dissolves after a long list of ornaments interposed in circular formulae. Hence, the created humans have now a generic *weni*-emergent provenance and denomination.

atõ aw'ao a
they (genitive) + sucking roll (emphatic)... [208]

219. *shavá rakáraká i*
clarity + to lie (twice)...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

220. *moka vawa ina*
bitter-poisonous + parrot + tail
atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

221. *shavá rakáraká i*
clarity + to lie (twice)...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

222. *nawa kayapavo i*
people + tall (superlative, plural)...
mokã vake náwavo bitter-poisonous (genitive)
+ child + people (plural)

223. −
−

---

[208]The Marubo are not fond of sucking tobacco rolls placed inside the mouth, except for shamans and healers. This quote is either a shamanic reference, a reminiscence of ancient times, or just another index of alterity: the *awa*-roll of tobacco leaves, *rome pei*, would be an addendum to ornamentation, an announcement of the arrival of the foreign *mokanawa* peoples.

224. ***moka rome oa***
bitter-poisonous + tobacco + flower
as' iki atõsho
to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (out-ward)

225. ***nawa potopavo i***
people + short (superlative, plural)...
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

226. ***rome nawa weni i***[209]
tobacco + people + to sprout
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

227. ***shavá vevo ini i***
clarity + older + to embellish...
ato aya weni a
they + to exist + to sprout...

228. ***moka vawa rena***

---

[209]This is an unusual construction to express the creation-nomination of peoples. It is possible that the introduction of several tobacco-related substances (*recho*-sap, *oa*-flower, *nãko*-sweetness) giving rise to human creation alters here their usual formulaic correspondence with human nomination (... *ikã ayavo*). It is more probable, however, that the unusual "ornamental element" *rome awa*, the "sucking tobacco roll" singled out in verse 218 as an additional marker of alterity (*cf.* note above), leads to such an exceptional form of reference to the emergent *mokanawa* peoples.

bitter-poisonous + parrot + facial down
soromait' 'yavo
headdress + to have (plural)

229. ***nawa weni ini i***
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
–

230. –
–

231. ***moka rome nãko***
bitter-poisonous + tobacco + sweetness
nãko oso atõsho
sweetness + in place + where (outward)

232. ***mokã vake náwavo***
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

233. ***nato ikã ayavo***
core[210] + homonym + to have (plural)
mokã vake náwavo

---

[210]This is another onomastic irregularity in tobacco-induced creation, to which no consistent reason could be provided except for the very exceptional mode of non-coincidental nomination mentioned above. *Võchĩpa* said that *nato* sounds similar to *nãko*, the last tobacco-related substance listed for tobacco-consubstantial creatures. At any rate, nomination after the creational substance, rather than after its animal-arboreal qual-

bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

234. ***nawa weni ini i***
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

235. ***shavá vevo ini i***
clarity + older + to embellish...
–

236. ***moka pĩtxo shãko***
bitter-poisonous + muru-muru palm-tree + sprout
atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

237. ***shavá rakáraká i***
clarity + to lie (twice)...
noa mató wetsanõ
large river + high mound + other (volitional)

238. ***sai toa iki a***
high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

---

ifier, would be an exception to the formulaic canon of the myth-chant. It must be said that *nato* seems to be more suggestive of *chinã*, another fundamental creational substance. Un combination, both result in the essential *yové*-quality of humanity—the thought-breath soul *chinã nato*.

239. −
−

240. *moka mani recho ki*
bitter-poisonous + banana + sap. . .
recho avatõsho
sap + where (past, outward)

241. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first. . .

242. *ato aya weni a*
they + to exist + to sprout. . .
moka kayõ ina
bitter-poisonous + certain species of parrot +
tail

243. *atõ teneao a*
they (genitive) + feather headdress (emphat-
ic). . .
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice). . .

244. *atõ awe shavovo*
they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)
moka kayõ ina
bitter-poisonous + certain species of parrot +
tail

245. ***awẽ ina ĩk'eshe***
     it (genitive) + tail + half-length
     atõ mait'ao a
     they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...

246. ***shavá rakáraká i***
     clarity + to lie (twice)...
     sai toa iki a
     high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...

247. ***mani ikã ayavo***
     banana + homonym + to have (plural)
     nawa weni ini i
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

248. ***avi ato pari ki***
     original + they + first...
     shavá vevo ini i
     clarity + older + to embellish...

249. –
     –

250. ***moka mani oa***
     bitter-poisonous + banana + flower
     as' iki atõsho
     to do (emphatic) + auxiliary verb + where (out-
     ward)

251. ***mokã vake náwavo***
     bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
     ral)

nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

252. *atõ awe shavoya i*
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...
nawa raká shákama i
people + to lie + aplenty...

253. *avi ato pari ki*
original + they + first...
shavá vevo ini i
clarity + older + to embellish...

254. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

255. *noa mai tsakasho*
large river + land + upright (outward)
wa nipá kawã a
that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

256. *awá*[211] *tama yora*
tapir + tree + human

---

[211]Like in all creation-preparation formulae, the exclusive indication is locative rather than ethnonymic. The reference to "tapir" (*awá*) is restricted to the tree itself and is irrespective of the human identity created, as that of the *shoi* peoples quoted a few verses later.

> ***voto tana irisho***
> adjacent + along + auxiliary verb (directional, outward)

257. ***mokã vake náwavo***
     bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
     piniki a avaĩ
     to murmur... + to do (past)

258. ***shoi ikã ayavo***
     personal name[212] + homonym + to have (plural)
     moka shoi kinĩsho
     bitter-poisonous + personal name + hole (genitive, outward)

259. ***kaya ini iki a***
     to leave + to embellish + auxiliary verb...
     ato aya weni a
     they + to exist + to sprout...

260. ***moka pani eshe***
     bitter-poisonous + tucumã palm-tree + seed

---

[212]Here the origin of *shoi*, a current personal name—that of one of *Kenĩnawa*'s sons—is made explicit as a literal "hole." Here in the myth-chant, *shoi* would fall in the same aforementioned exceptional category of names—those that do not form a straight creation-substantial connection between humans and animals and plants, like *weni* and *nato*. With the former, *shoi* shares the chthonic reference. Like the latter, it is an ordinary prepubescent name among the Marubo.

atõ raneao a
they (genitive) + bead (emphatic)...

261. **vevo wekõ ini i**
older + to revolve + to embellish...
moka shoi kinĩsho
bitter-poisonous + personal name + hole (gen-
itive, outward)

262. **kaya ini iki a**
to leave + to embellish + auxiliary verb...
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

263. **shavá vevo ini i**
clarity + older + to embellish...
–

264. –
–

265. **moka epe shãko**
bitter-poisonous + *jarina* palm-tree + sprout
atõ init'ao a
they (genitive) + embellishment (emphatic)...

266. **shavá rakáraká i**
clarity + to lie (twice)...
–

267. –
–

268. **moka tama vimi**
bitter-poisonous + tree + fruit
reoko atõsho
to spread on the ground + where (outward)

269. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa kayapavo i
people + tall (superlative, plural)...

270. **nawa weni ini i**
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
–

271. -
moka kayõ ina
bitter-poisonous + certain species of parrot + tail

272. **atõ teneao a**
they (genitive) + feather headdress (emphatic)...
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

273. **nawa weni ini i**
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
atõ awe shavoya i
they (genitive) + who + woman (adjectival)...

274. ***avi ato pari ki***
original + they + first...
shavá vevo ini i
clarity + older + to embellish...

275. ***moka võto keshá ki***
bitter-poisonous + certain snail + shell...
atõ romosh'ao a
they (genitive) + nostril ornament[213] (emphat-
ic)...

276. ***shavá rakáraká i***
clarity + to lie (twice)...
atõ awe shavovo
they (genitive) + who + woman (plural)

277. ***moka pani vatxi***
bitter-poisonous + *tucumã* palm-tree + skirt
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

278. −
−

279. −
−

---

[213]Now *romoshe* refers to a round concave disk cut out from
a certain snail-shell, an ancient ornament among the Marubo,
popular among the Matis and already portrayed among the
Mayoruna during the Spix-Martius expedition of 1823–31 (*apud*
Melatti, ed. 1981:17).

280. ***noa mai tsakasho***
     large river + land + upright (outward)
     wa nipá kawã a
     that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

281. ***moka kenã***[214] ***vema***
     bitter-poisonous + *pente-de-macaco* tree + surface root
     voto tana irisho
     adjacent + along + auxiliary verb (directional, outward)

282. ***piniki a avaĩ***
     to murmur... + where (past)
     mokã vake náwavo
     bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

283. ***mokañ kenã nãko***
     bitter-poisonous + *pente-de-macaco* tree + sweetness
     nãko oso atõsho
     sweetness + in place + where (outward)

284. ***nawa weni ini i***
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

---

[214]*Kenã*, the soft-wood *pente-de-macaco* tree, is the raw material for its metonymic homonym, the parallel longhouse benches.

kena ikã ayavo
pente-de-macaco tree + homonym + to have
(plural)

285. *mokã vake náwavo*
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb. . .

286. *moka osho ina*
bitter-poisonous + crane + tail
atõ mait'ao a
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic). . .

287. *shavá rakáraká i*
clarity + to lie (twice). . .
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first. . .

288. *shavá vevo ini i*
clarity + older + to embellish. . .
–

289. –
–

290. *mokã vake náwavo*
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa raká shákama i
people + to lie + aplenty. . .

291. **nawa weni ini i**
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
     –

292. **noa mai tsakasho**
     large river + land + upright (outward)
     wa nipá kawã a
     that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

293. **moka panã recho**
     bitter-poisonous + açaí palm-tree + sap
     recho avatõsho
     sap + where (past, outward)

294. **mokã vake návavo**
     bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
     nawa weni ini i
     people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

295. –
     –

296. **ato aya weni a**
     they + to exist + to sprout...
     –

297. –
     moka shawã sheta[215]
     bitter-poisonous + red macaw + tooth

---

[215]Do red macaws have teeth (*shawã sheta*)? *Võchĩpa* cor-

298. **atõ raneao a**
they (genitive) + bead (emphatic)...
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

299. **sai toa iki a**
high-pitched shout + born from + auxiliary verb...
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

300. **shavá vevo ini i**
clarity + older + to embellish...
panã ikã ayavo
açaí palm-tree + homonym + to have (plural)

301. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
nawa weni ini i[216]

---

rected me: the bird's curved beak looks like a tooth, but is material for beads (*rane*) much as the *txere sheta* (parakeet's beak) is material for ankle bands a few verses later. There are sufficient layers of meaning attached to *sheta* to support the figure of speech... or figure of music, I correct: *shawã sheta* is just another item in the mythical-musical "list" of animal teeth making presence in creation events. Under a mythical-musical logic, red macaws' teeth are as meaningful as jaguars,' etc.: the meaning is aesthetic.

[216]*Ivãpa* makes an apparently unmotivated interruption after this verse. *Mokanawa Wenía* was an exceptionally long *saiti* performance, one of the longest, together with *Teté Teka*. The two *saiti* were recorded in a row, in a total of almost three

people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...

302. –
     –

303. ***mokã vake náwavo***
     bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
     aririvi weni i
     to do (directional, exclusive) + to sprout...

304. –
     –

305. ***noa mai tsakasho***
     large river + land + upright (outward)
     wa nipá kawã a
     that + single (downward) + from top to bottom...

306. ***rovo kenã vema***
     japu-bird + *pente-de-macaco* tree + surface root
     voto tana irisho
     adjacent + along + auxiliary verb (directional, outward)

307. ***piniki a avaĩ***
     to murmur... + to do (past)

---

hours of non-stop myth-music. Here *Ivãpa* might have been just recuperating, of thinking about the further development of the myth-chant.

mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

308. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
avi ato pari ki
original + they + first...

309. *shavá vevo ini i*
clarity + older + to embellish...
ato aya weni a
they + to exist + to sprout...

310. –
moka txere ina
bitter-poisonous + parakeet + tail

311. *atõ mait'ao a*
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...
shavá raká ini i
clarity + to lie + to embellish...

312. *moka txere sheta*
bitter-poisonous + parakeet + tooth
tashekiti aya i
ankle band + to have...

313. *nawa weni ini i*
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
–

314. ***ato aya weni a***
they + to exist + to sprout...
mokã isko ina
bitter-poisonous + *japu*-bird + tail

315. ***atõ mait'ao a***
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...
shavá rakáraká i
clarity + to lie (twice)...

316. ***nawa weni ini i***
people + to sprout + auxiliary verb...
mokã vake náwavo
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)

317. ***weni i mashtesho***[217]
to sprout... + to finish (outward)
noa mató wetsa
large river + high mound + other

318. ***wetsa ivo ini i***

---

[217]This line is the one that, as seen before, marks an end to the initial stage of *Mokanawa Wenía*. It leads to a summary of the main movements that, in regular intervals amid human emergence, characterise the events of creation. In a different setting, after emerging from earth and settling in the world—but now around "benches / bridges"—the created peoples will acquire names and language and ornament again. Or rather these cyclical events, which are narrated as each people come into being in the initial stage of the *saiti*, will be placed in succession, in a more linear fashion.

other + owner + to reach. . .
weni i mashtesho
to sprout. . . + to finish (outward)

319. ***moka rono tapãne***
bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + fallen trunk
(locative)
ato setẽ vakĩsho
they + to sit in a row + like so (outward)

320. ***Oã Maya inisho***
flower (genitive) + personal name + to gather
(outward)
Oã Mani akavo[218]
flower (genitive) + personal name + to do (plural)

321. ***moka rono tapã ki***
bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + fallen trunk. . .
tana vakĩ akĩ ro
along + like so + thus. . .

322. ***ato aneane i***
they + to name (twice). . .

---

[218]The *Oã* male-female siblings impart again gender-complementariness to creation, as much as, at other socio-historical levels, leadership has been. Indeed, in the past this might have been even more explicit among the Marubo. Note that a neighbouring Panoan, Korubo group, moving from isolation and conflict with the encroaching nation-state toward intermittent contact, are led by a woman. Also, according to local Brazilians, her name is *Maya*.

> ***mato ivo nawa ro***
> you (plural) + owner + people... [219]

323. ***rono ikã ayavo***
    poisonous snake + homonym + to have (plural)
    ato akiao i
    they + thus (emphatic)...

324. –
    –

325. ***moka no***[220]***tapãne***
    bitter-poisonous + cocoa tree + fallen trunk
    (locative)
    ato setẽ vakĩsho
    they + to sit in a row + like so (outward)

326. ***mokã vake náwavo***
    bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plu-
    ral)
    ato aneane i
    they + to name (twice)...

---

[219]*Oã Mani* and *Oã Maya* enunciate *mato* as a second person
plural to the *mokanawa* humans.

[220]Given the lexical similarity of sound, it is possible that *no*
("cocoa tree") has been mistaken for *vinõ* ("*buriti* or *carandá*
palm-tree"). After all, all other "bridges," "paths" or "benches"
(*tapã*) pertain to an animal or tree mentioned before in the
first, "emergence stage" proper (*rono*, *isã*, *paka*), which here
again tends to correspond to the acquired name (in this case,
there would be a proper correspondence with the line *vinõ ikã
ayavo*, in verse 328 below).

327. –
     mato ivo nawa ro
     you (plural) + owner + people...

328. **vinõ ikã ayavo**
     buriti palm-tree + homonym + to have (plural)
     ato akiao i
     they + thus (emphatic)...

329. –
     –

330. **moka paka tapãne**
     bitter-poisonous + taboca bamboo + fallen trunk
     (locative)
     ato setẽ vakĩsho
     they + to sit in a row + like so (outward)

331. **moka paka tapã ki**
     bitter-poisonous + taboca bamboo + fallen trunk...
     tana vakĩ akĩ ro
     along + like so + thus...

332. **ato aneane i**
     they + to name (twice)...
     –

333. **mato ivo nawa ro**
     you (plural) + owner + people...
     paka ikã ayavo
     taboca bamboo + homonym + to have (plural)

334. **a iki a nã**
. . . to say + . . . thus
ato aneane i
they + to name (twice). . .

335. **mokã vake náwavo**
bitter-poisonous (genitive) + child + people (plural)
Oã Maya inisho
flower (genitive) + personal name + to gather (outward)

336. **Oã Mani akavo**
flower (genitive) + personal name + to do (plural)
ato aneane i
they + to name (twice). . .

337. −
−

338. **moka isã tapãne**
bitter-poisonous + *patauá* palm-tree + fallen trunk (locative)
ato setẽ vakĩsho
they + to sit in a row + like so (outward)

339. **moka isã tapã ki**
bitter-poisonous + *patauá* palm-tree + fallen trunk. . .

tana vakĩ akĩ ro
along + like so + thus. . .

340. *ato aneane i*
they + to name (twice). . .
mato ivo nawa ro
you (plural) + owner + people. . .

341. *mani*[221] *ikã ayavo*
banana + homonym + to have (plural)
ato akiao i
they + thus (emphatic). . .

342. *mato ivo náwavo*
you (plural) + owner + people (plural)
a vana ir'ao[222]
. . . language + to speak[223] (exhortative, emphatic)

343. *mã kamẽ*[224] *neská i*

---

[221]The onomastic formula *isã ikã ayavo* would be more consistent with the naming location (*isã tapã*). As *no* in the note above, it could another involuntary inconsistency, this time inspired by the name of one of the creation-assistants, *Oã Mani*. However, *Venãpa* said that this was intentional and realistic: there is no such personal name *isã*.

[222]The second, summed stage of creation indicated above moves from acquisition of names to acquisition of languages, from this line on.

[223]Or "to embellish"? The overall meaning that the native translation assigns to this line is "you will use the language"; but if language can be translated as a "tool," it might be better equated to an "ornament" in this myth-chant.

[224]The *Oã*-couple are again addressing the emerging peoples.

you (plural) + to speak + likewise. . .
a iki a nã
. . . to say + . . . thus[225]

344. ***moka vi vana***
bitter-poisonous + small anteater + language
vanaki a yosisho
language. . . + . . . to learn (locational provenience)

345. ***moka vi vananõ***
bitter-poisonous + small anteater + language
(volitional)
atõ vana yosĩ i
they (genitive) + language + to teach. . .

346. ***ato akiao i***
they + thus (emphatic). . .
–

347. ***moka shane vana***
bitter-poisonous + blue bird + language
vanaki a yosisho
language. . . + . . . to learn (locational provenience)

348. ***mato ivo náwavo***
you (plural) + owner + people (plural)

Hence the use the *kẽchĩtxo*-language word for the ordinary *iki*,
"to speak, to say": *kamẽ*

[225] As in many other myth-chants, this expression (*a iki a nã*)
functions as quotation marks: *Oã Maya* and *Oã Mani* "this
said" to the *mokanawa* peoples.

a vana ir'ao
...language + auxiliary verb (exhortative, emphatic)

349. *mã kamẽ neská i*
you (plural) + to speak + likewise...
a iki a nã
...to say + ...thus

350. *moka shane vananõ*
bitter-poisonous + blue bird + language (volitional)
atõ vana yosĩ i
they (genitive) + language + to teach...

351. *ato akiao i*
they + thus (emphatic)...
Oã Maya inisho
flower (genitive) + personal name + to gather (outward)

352. *Oã Mani akavo*
flower (genitive) + personal name + to do (plural)
–

353. –
–

354. *mato ivo náwavo*
you (plural) + owner + people (plural)

a vana ir'ao
. . . language + auxiliary verb (exhortative, emphatic)

355. *mã kamẽ neská i*
you (plural) + to speak + likewise. . .
a iki a nã
. . . to say + . . . thus

356. *moka ãta vana*
bitter-poisonous + a small species of parakeet
+ language
vanaki a yosisho
language. . . + . . . to learn (locational provenience)

357. *ato vanañ yosĩ i*
they + language (genitive) + to teach. . .
a akiao i
. . . thus (emphatic). . .

358. −
−

359. *moka mire vana ki*
bitter-poisonous + a small species of parakeet
+ language. . .
vanaki a yosisho
language. . . + . . . to learn (locational provenience)

360. *atõ vana yosĩ i*
they (genitive) + language + to teach. . .
−

361. ***Oã Maya inisho***
     flower (genitive) + personal name + to gather
     (outward)
     Oã Mani akavo
     flower (genitive) + personal name + to do (plu-
     ral)

362. ***atõ vana yosĩ i***
     they (genitive) + language + to know. . .
     –

363. ***ane i mashtesho***
     to name. . . + to finish (outward)[226]
     –

364. ***ato aya weni a***
     they + to exist + to sprout. . .
     moka shane rani

---

[226] *Mashtesho* marks the ending of the summation of the
emerged peoples, as it marked its beginning in verse 317 above.
If the location (on *tapã*-trunk), the nomination (after *rono*,
vinõ, *paka*, *mani*), and the language acquisition (from *vi*,
*shane*â *ãta*, *mire*) of humanity have all been present at this
stage so far, its predominant character has been the differential
"naming" of humans (*ane*), whereas the former, first stage em-
phasised their "emerging" proper (*weni*). Note that ornamen-
tation is absent from the movements that here come to an end.
It shall become present again at the events which follow in this
second stage of *Mokanawa Wenía*, when journeying and feast-
ing celebrate dwelling in the world. Then creation is reversed:
these ornaments, epitomes of the being of humans, promote the
ontological fragmentation that is inherent to human becoming.

bitter-poisonous + blue bird + down

365. ***atõ mait'ao a***
they (genitive) + headdress (emphatic)...
shavá raká ini i
clarity + to lie + to embellish...

366. ***noa kaya tana i***[227]
large river + to leave + along...
sai in' aya
high-pitched shout + auxiliary verb (volitional)
+ to exist

367. −
sai yo ini i
high-pitched shout + to lead + auxiliary verb...

368. ***moka rono tapãne***[228]
bitter-poisonous + poisonous snake + fallen trunk

---

[227]Here starts the journey that best characterises the second stage of the myth-chant. If in other myth-chants of *wenía*-emergence (*cf.* Melatti 1986) such a human wandering is exposed in a prolonged, elaborated form. In *Mokanawa Wenía* it is nothing but a small coda. However, it reproduces here a pattern of existencial transformation and human capability-acquisition, that is, a rite-of-passage that constitutes and ensues creation in the course of many other *saiti*. This amounts to just another testimony of continuity within the mythical-musical repertoire and in shamanic knowledge at large.

[228]*Tapã* is now a bridge across a stream, not a bench for reunion: it is transitory, not sedentary. This semantic shift is in accordance with the final stage of *Mokanawa Wenía*. As I have shown, this concluding part presents the verbal content

(locative)
atõ vake onemain'
they (genitive) + child + to go along (connective)

369. *moka rono tapãne*
bitter + poisonous snake + fallen trunk (locative)
atõ vake senã a
they (genitive) + child + to get a shock. . . [229]

---

of creation in a transformed formulaic form, after the intial "chthonic" phase has been developed at length. Literally, *tapã* is now a fallen tree named *rono*, "viper."

[229]"Like that of an electric eel (a *poraquê*, among locals):" another common theme in other *saiti* of human emergence, such as in that of *Wenía* proper (*cf.* Melatti 1986). The whole event is a partial reversal of chthonic emergence. The same children of creation fall down—in some sort of inverted sprouting. Through their ornaments deposited on the ground, that is, on the riverbed—in modified earth, fertility in an aquatic domain—go back to non-humanity, this time to that of insects, in between animals and trees. In turn, shocks are inversions of sounds, distorted vibrations. The lines that narrate the civilising journey that ensues chthonic creation—"mutual domestication" carrying on in full—proceed in circular transition between original revival and repetition of origins: human beings become what other beings they were. Again, ornaments mediate and synthesise: here and elsewhere, they are that through which beings come to being. Of all symbolic animal or arboreal origins, animals and plants conjoin in a human-ornamental conformation, here and elsewhere: more than conveying a human message, the medium of ornaments is humanity—a chronic middle-ground between chthonic corruption and the synthetic

370. ***wa noa maranõ***
    that + large river + submerse
    txoi ivaĩmainõ
    dive + auxiliary verb (past, connective)

371. −
    −

372. ***moka pani eshe***
    bitter + palm-tree + seed
    atõ raneao a
    they (genitive) + bead (emphatic)...

373. ***menokovaĩ i***
    to break (collective, past)...
    ene kẽko vema
    water[230] + riverbed + surface root[231]

---

symbols of substantial creation.

[230]Here *ene* has the same semantic scope of *waka*, but at a mythical-poetical level: in shamanic language, it means both "water" and "river."

[231]The metaphor is explicit in indicating not only the semantic assimilation of arboreal root to underwater declivity, but also the topological inversion of creation. The ordinary *vema* ("surface root," *sapopema* in Brazil) is tree-roots emerging from earth, whereas *ene kẽko vema* is earthy roots submerging into water. The reversal of the creation order pivots on the tellurian-watery surface, the point of passage, of earthy contiguity (*voto tana irinõ*). Accordingly, shock vibrations in people produce underwater animals through ornamental fragments unmade on earth, in opposition to the reverberating sounds on earth which produce subterranean peoples through animal-arboreal fragments that are to be made into ornaments.

374. ***voto tana irinõ***
adjacent + along + auxiliary verb (directional, volitional)
teivoya
heap (plural, adjective)

375. ***avé anõshorao***
they (comitative) + there (outward)...
ene shako revonõ
water + centipede + to procreate (volitional)

376. ***moka naĩ sheta***
bitter + sloth (genitive) + tooth
atõ tewit'ao a
they (genitive) + necklace (emphatic)...

377. ***menokovaĩ i***
to break (collective, past)...
wa tama shavaya
that + tree + dwelling[232]

378. ***shavá ava iniki***
clarity + upward + auxiliary verb...
–

379. ***moka txitxã shama***
bitter + certain basket[233] + bottom

---

[232]Of course *shavaya* is rather a cosmic layer, a prototypical *yové*-spiritual dwelling (*cf. supra*).

[233]The *txitxã*-basket is made with the fibres of the sprouting leaves of the *buriti* palm-tree, which are detached from the

> **nani ikivaĩsho**
> to deposit + auxiliary verb (past, outward)

380. **teivoya**
heap (plural, adjective)
avé anõshorao
together + there (outward)...

381. **vina revo kawã o**
wasp + to procreate + to appear (past)...
–

382. **moka shawã rena ki**
bitter + red macaw + facial down...
toakovaĩ i
to scatter (collective, past)...

383. **wa tama shavaya**
that + tree + dwelling

---

growing stem, dried under the sun and twisted and spun on
women's thighs so as to make a very strong yarn. As Ama-
zonian palm-trees, the *buriti* leaves grow from a single central
stem that sprouts from the very top of the trunk upward, multi-
plying itself into several leaf stalks. As the small leaves flourish
out from the stem, they bend sideways, forming thus the round
canopy of palms. This "eye" of the palm-trees is precisely the
aforementioned *shãko*, a powerful shamanic principle. Its use
to produce ornaments for festivals, as mentioned above, adds to
this meaning. The *txitxã*-basket also carry these meanings, as
it is an usual polysemic metaphor in spiritual language. It en-
velops one's chinã nato, one's "breathing-thinking core," much
as its weaving represents bodily and mental growth.

> *shavá ava iniki*
> clarity + upward + auxiliary verb. . .

384. *Vopi Vari sheni*[234]
> Dying + Sun + ancestral
> *ano veso kaĩya*
> there + to wake up + to go (past, adjectival). . . [235]

385. *txai tivo*[236] *ikotĩ*

---

[234] *Vopi Vari* is an unfrequent character in other myth-chants, although the qualification *sheni*, "old," is quite usual as a marker of "prototypicality." The most obvious reference to such a "dying sun" is, of course, the west (*nai votĩ ikitõ*, "where the sky bends" *cf. supra*). But this was not a spontaneous indication in this *saiti*-translation. There was otherwise an explicit reference to it as a bodily entity, *yora*, or rather a sun-spirit, *vari yové*: "it's not the sun that heats us!," *Võchĩpa* laughed.

[235] In fact, *vesokaĩya* is just another current name for "village," equivalent to *shavá* or *shavánamã*, whereas *shavaya* is either a generic "human living place" or a cosmic layer. This is an ordinary expression, rather than kẽchĩtxo-language or asãki iki. It seems to relate to *veso*, "to wake up." That *Vopi Vari* "wakes up" would not be just an allegory for the rising of the "Dying Sun." It means that it is in its living grounds, as the next verse confirms.

[236] In mythical-musical usage *tivo* is applied to animals only, as in *yawa tivo* (an expression which translates as the "original white-lipped peccary") or in *txai tivo* (which is translated as a monstrous hawk in another *saiti*). As I have shown, in the latter instance *txai tivo* literally means "big cross-cousin" or "brother-in-law." It is in consequence a "prototypical affine" or "enemy." The immediate translation of *txai tivo* in the myth-chant is nevertheless that of a "large bird of prey," the mythical-musical protagonist. But still it denotes a figurative "longhouse," a "pro-

distance cross-cousin + prototypically large +
external patio
wa nipá kawã a
that + single (downward) + from top to bot-
tom. . .

386. **moka tama mevi**
bitter + tree + branch
meso tana irinõ
tip + along + auxiliary verb (directional, voli-
tional)

387. **moka kamã voshká ki**
bitter + jaguar + head. . .[237]
natẽ ikivaĩsho
impregnated + auxiliary verb (past, outward)

388. **teivoya**
heap (plural, adjective)

---

totypical dwelling" (*cf. supra*). In short, *tivo* must mean "large"
in some "prototypical" sense, to be compared to *nawa* as well. I
can also mean "widely" or "largely" in other *saiti*. Thus, a some-
what forced etymology would dissect it as an amalgamation of
nominal and plural affixes: *ti* + *vo*. Here, however, *txai tivo*
just reinforces the residential denotation that the previous line
of the *saiti* points to. In *kečhiĩtxo*-language, not in *asãki iki*,
the expression *txai tivo* is indeed a metaphor for "longhouse."
The use of the ordinary word *shovo* is forbidden in shamanic
language—hence in *shõti*, *saiti*, and *initi*.

[237] *Voshká* is the *kečhĩtxo*-language equivalent to the ordinrary
mapo, "head"—not in *asãki iki*, "archaic language."

avé anõshorao
together + there (outward)...

389. *kovina revonõ*
several kinds + to procreate (volitional)
inã taise
thus + perhaps

390. −
−

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