NURTURING THE OTHER:
WELLBEING, SOCIAL BODY & TRANSFORMABILITY IN NORTHEASTERN AMAZONIA.

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Tiwimo and Aranta playing *ruwe* flutes with tortoise shell friction drums, in heterophony with an R&B sound system (village of Tëpu, January 2005). Their music makes the feast’s attendants’ heads light, but the musicians’ feet heavily thump on the ground. They feed and domesticate the bodies of the dancers and drinkers, nurturing a feeling of *sasame wehto*, that is, communal, affinal wellbeing.
This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

This dissertation is 78,088 words in length.
ABSTRACT

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This thesis deals with social and historical change and continuity among the Trio, Wayana and Akuriyo of southern Suriname and French Guiana in terms of the body and the construction of the person. It is based on a comparative study in two principal localities on different sides of the international border, where the populations have become concentrated around medical and education providers. My research considers this process of sedentarisation from an indigenous perspective which emphasises the new problems created by life in close physical proximity to non-relatives and potential enemies, and the management of these problems on a daily basis and through ritual celebrations. The thesis shows the importance in this context of the means by which different types of bodies are nurtured: how bodily connections through kin are fed and maintained, and how social distance is preserved or mediated with non-relatives (in the form of co-residential affines, spirits, ‘wild people’, and ‘white people’ such as missionaries, governmental and non-governmental workers). My analysis focuses on the distribution of substances, objects and knowledge practices and how the effects of their influence operate as a ‘social body’ at the levels of the collectivity and the individual person; these objects, substances and knowledge practices are considered as extensions of the person who distributes them, and the social body is formed of the aggregate of these extensions. By focusing on movement and social relations as the interplay between what is visible and what is invisible, this thesis contributes to theoretical debates by grounding them in a contemporary Amazonia.
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A NOTE ON THE ORTHOGRAPHY OF TRIO AND WAYANA

Two Carib languages are referred to in this text. They are spelt following the orthography introduced by missionaries from the Summer Institute of Linguistics from the 1950s onwards. These are the spelling conventions taught in primary schools both in Suriname and French Guiana. As Chapuis pointed out with regard to the case of Wayana (2003b), they are likely to change as the Wayana and the Trio begin to develop them according to their own preferences, as another Carib group, the Kali’na, are currently doing. The present system is nevertheless widely in use today. The spelling of the two languages differs slightly when dealing with very similar sounds, for example: the palatal glide phoneme /j/ is  \( j \) in Trio and  \( y \) in Wayana. Other differences are related to the pronunciation of the language itself: the flap /ɾ/ is represented by the graphemes  \( r \) in Trio and  \( l \) in Wayana (Carlin 2004).

Both languages have a seven vowel system:  

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\( ī \) is a high central vowel pronounced with the tongue high in the mouth and with spread lips. \( ē \) is a mid central vowel and is pronounced like \( a \) in *about* but with spread rather than rounded lips (Carlin 2002). Certain proper names have developed their own conventional spellings, such as ‘Akuriyo’, which have become standardised independently of Trio or Wayana orthography.

Except for proper names, when a non-English word is used in the text in order to document or illustrate, it is italicized, and when otherwise unclear, preceded by the abbreviation indicating the language.
ABBREVIATIONS

Several abbreviations are used for the sake of concision throughout the text, most specifically in the descriptive passages. As to the use of the native languages, unless otherwise clear, each word will be preceded by the letter of the language from which the word is taken.

DTL: Door to Life Gospel Mission
MAF: Missionary Aviation Fellowship
OED: Oxford English Dictionary
RMI: Revenu Minimum d'Insertion
SD: Surinamese Dutch
SR: Sranan Tongo, Creole language in use in Suriname and on the Maroni river
T: Trio
UFM: Unevangelized Fields Mission
W: Wayana
WIM: West Indies Mission
Map 1: Suriname, with the location of principal Amerindian villages and languages. From Carlin & Arends 2002: 36.
Map 2: French Guiana, showing the locations of the officially recognised ethnic groups. From Martres & Larrieu 1993: 7.
Map 3: The Maroni and its major tributaries, showing principal locations mentioned in the text.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION.

On a very quiet evening, in February 2005, in the village of Antecume Pata, a predominantly Wayana village located on an island on the upper reaches of the Maroni river in French Guiana, as we sat on low stools in the open space beneath the family house with the pots of game boiled in manioc juice with chilli-pepper still in front of us after our meal, I asked my host Kulitaikë to tell me about the wayalikule, the wild humans who are said still to live in the hills and marshes further upstream. He gathered his breath and answered with a lengthy description, addressing me and his daughters, who were leaning attentively with their elbows on their knees. He told us that of all the itupon (W: beings of the forest) the most terrible are not the wayalikule but the pianokoto: these are wild semi-human creatures, huge predators who live off raw meat, including human flesh, and who see blood as their manioc beer. With his usual gently wry manner, Kulitaikë revelled in the description of their physical attributes; he described them as tall, big and very hairy, hairy and repulsive – as hairy as a spider monkey, just like white men. This last comment sparked fits of laughter from the women. But, to this, he added that although white people and pianokoto look alike, white people do not live in the forest, and that is why the Trio and Wayana can do business with them.

This anecdote evokes many of the themes which my thesis explores, and touches upon its main line of investigation. I had embarked on fieldwork with the intention of studying Amerindian conceptions of corporeality and change in southern Suriname with particular reference to the relationships with State representatives and NGO officials through the implementation of health-related projects. As it turned out, I soon realised that the line of enquiry did not translate well into the very Amerindian perspective I aimed at deciphering. The translation failed for several meaningful reasons, of which the most fundamental is that the Trio and Wayana interact with other people through a relational system, which is based on kinship, appearance,
practice and levels of communication. From their perspective, the projects implemented in their villages by outside agencies were not necessarily visible as such, in the light of the quality of the relationship with the actors involved. The projects, and their material manifestations such as, for example, a new petrol-generator for the communal house, or the introduction of a new pill in the clinic, were less apparent to them than the social context and the human relations these items signify and express.

Moreover, there are different ways of relating to different peoples which shift and change as part of an ongoing conundrum, and this also came to be a source of fascination for me as I began to appreciate the multiplicity and fluidity of identity in the Guianas. My initial project was designed to analyse the rapport between native Amazonians and ‘external developers’, mostly represented by coastal, city-dwellers. It soon appeared that such a plain binary distinction would not be fruitful: in the villages in which I conducted fieldwork, namely Tëpu and Antecume Pata, there do not live a uniformly self-acknowledged community of Amerindians, but specific cognatic groups, defined at different levels according to context, personal and shared histories, language, and geographical links to places in the landscape. Everyday life in the village attests to these distinctions, and in particular they are often articulated in bodily terms. Similarly, non-Amerindians are not indiscriminately branded as such; they are defined according to the type of relationship and history which link them to other actors. ‘White people’, for example (T: pananakiri; W: palasisi, originally meaning ‘man from the sea’), as a category excludes Brazilians (karaiwa; kalaiwa) and Maroons (mekoro; mekolo), but includes subcategories such as Creoles, ‘Hindustanis’ and Chinese.

From the point of view of co-resident kin, the outside (distant alterity) is managed and engaged with using specific techniques in order to allow the regeneration of the inside (consanguines and commensals). This is what Kulitaikkë meant when he stressed that although white people may appear physically similar to some predatory forest beings, they can be dealt with peacefully and sociably. However, even if they represent a source of external knowledge, which can be negotiated with and

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2 Descendants of African slaves who escaped Dutch plantations in the 17th and 18th century to form autonomous societies in the forest.
3 The name given to people of Indian origin in Suriname.
incorporated into society, white people’s bodies are not considered to be defined and
developed the way a human being ought to be. In other words, although appearance
may not be as significant as practice in the assessment of a person’s potential
sociability, it is nevertheless a combination of both that defines social interaction.

This is why my early attempts at analysing the making and growth of the body
seemed to be hitting the void. I was told that vaccines and pills were good, and
sometimes much better than forest medicines or spirit chants, and mythical narratives
appeared to generate less enthusiasm than newly introduced church hymns. My first
impressions were that the Trio and Wayana approved and sought ‘change’ and happily
adopted items from the city in order to replace their own material culture: pots, baking
plates, manioc beer containers. However, to analyse change as a simple passage from
one form of knowledge being replaced by another does not correspond to the way it is
seen by the Trio and Wayana, as I soon found out. Change has long been
problematised by anthropological research in Amazonia and, most importantly, some
have noted the need to reconcile an understanding of indigenous perspectives and
categories with the contemporary features and historical changes of social life
characterised by interaction with a variety of non-indigenous actors (Albert & Ramos

To present native categories as helplessly disappearing in the face of inexorable
processes of externally-motivated change and the destructive march of the State would
not correspond to native perspectives or, indeed, to any kind of ‘objective’ reality.
This is why this thesis is not about sedentarisation per se although it considers it as an
important aspect of the historical configuration of the contemporary lives of Trio,
Wayana and Akuriyo with whom I conducted fieldwork; the reasons for its
importance and indeed how an idea of ‘importance’ may be itself defined are all
aspects of this thesis. Few anthropologists have engaged in this way with a truly
contemporary Amazonia in which, even in the most remote locations, modern
communication technology, the cash economy or informal business relationships with
government officials play as profound an ontological role as the spirit world, and are
regarded according to the same principles of social relations expressed through
relationship terminology, affinal avoidance and commensality. In other words, to
oppose categories of the ‘traditional’ and the ‘modern’ distorts the reality of everyday
life by separating things which in real life are not incompatible or even necessarily different, but are instead implied in each other in often complementary relationships.

Altogether, my initial interest in the body and transformative processes remains at the core of this thesis, yet with a radically different approach than what was originally envisaged. My argument is based on a comparative study in Amerindian villages in Suriname and French Guiana connected by kinship networks across the border between these countries as well as those of Brazil and Guyana. The process of sedentarisation, which began in the 1950s through various uncoordinated governmental and non-governmental initiatives in the different countries involved, resulted in the formation of a small number of large villages which have largely replaced the previous configuration of numerous small and dispersed settlements. It is in this context that I aim at analysing the ways in which the human and social corporeality of the Trio, Wayana and Akuriyo have changed in recent decades.

I examine how different bodies such as that of the human and co-substantial relative, and that of the Other (including the village-level co-resident, as well as that of the distant affine), are made and interrelate on a daily basis and on a regional scale. My analysis thus considers the primordial role played by objects and substances in the construction of sociality and the control of alterity in everyday life (marked by an ideal of endogamy and spatio-temporal insularity), as well as during communal feasts (which engage a large number of genealogically unrelated persons). This involves considering what distinguishes objects from persons and humans from non-humans: objects and substances are considered as extensions of the self, ways of diffusing influence which I analyse through the concepts of nurture and wellbeing. I found out about how these things take place over great distances, as I followed my host family in their migration across an international border between two villages: Tëpu in southern Suriname and Antecume Pata in southern French Guiana, a movement towards the eastern Guianas which was unexpected as I first embarked on my fieldwork, but which brought considerable comparative scope to my research.
1.1. Presentation of the research context.

The fieldwork on which my thesis is based spanned a period of 18 months, between November 2003 and late February 2005, and with an initial field trip to Guyana in March and April 2003. As I first landed in Suriname in the final months of 2003, I envisaged conducting fieldwork on either side of the Surinamese and Guyanese border, in order to examine Trio and Waiwai life in the villages of Kwamalasamutu and Erepoimo.4 The latter is a recent Waiwai settlement on the Kuyuwini river in southern Guyana into which Wapishana from the bordering savannah further north are currently migrating. Kwamalasamutu is a large Trio village with a population of over 1,000, of which the great majority are Trio, who live alongside other groups including among others Mawayana, Tunayana and Waiwai. I was interested in the new large form of settlements to which different peoples had come to live, often migrating across international borders. However, when I came to organise my first field trip, my initial contact was with Jacob,5 the Medisches Zending6 nurse who has worked for many years in Trio villages. He advised me to go to Tëpu rather than Kwamalasamutu because in his view the latter had more than its fair share of ‘projects’, and I accepted since the Guyanese research permit for which I had applied six months earlier in Georgetown still showed no sign of being processed by the Ministry of Culture. Jacob arranged for me to meet Pikumi, one of the kapitein7 of Tëpu. This development led me to work closely with a mixed Trio and Wayana family in Tëpu and to follow them to Antecume Pata in French Guiana, and one result of this was to expand still further the international scope of my research.

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4 Erepoimo is sometimes referred to on maps and in conversations by its Wapishana name Parabara.
5 Pseudonym.
6 Medisches Zending Suriname, or the Medical Mission of Suriname (Medizep), is an organisation, today funded up to 80% by the Surinamese government, whose objective is the delivery of health care to populations of the interior. Its network spreads across Amerindian and Maroon villages. Its headquarters and hospital, the Diaconessenhuis are in Paramaribo, to which clinically serious cases are flown when necessary. All services it provides are free. Medizep has come to replace the originally non-governmental missionary medical network which was active in Suriname until the war of the interior of the 1980s; however it still retains links with its pastoral origins which are manifested, for example, in its attitudes to Amerindian healing practices and reproductive health (cf. http://www.medischezending.sr/).
7 SD: captain, State acknowledged title of village leader.
1.1.1. The field sites.

The people to whom I refer loosely as the ‘Trio’\(^8\) are in fact composed of different groups which have come together through sedentarisation and intermarriage over several decades. Those who have fully adopted the Trio language (*Tarëno ijomi*) identify themselves as Trio to outsiders although they have several deeper layers of identity which only appear within a local context and under particular circumstances. They are a population of about 2,300 people (1,400 in Suriname and 900 in Brazil, according to figures given by Gallois & Grupioni 2003: 10-3). All of the Trio villages of Suriname are located in the Sipaliwini district on the Tapanahoni, Palumeu and Sipaliwini rivers.

The village of Tëpu (referred to on older maps as Përëroe Tëpoe,\(^9\) ‘frog-rock’), like all of the principal Amerindian villages of the region today, was originally created as a mission station by Protestant evangelical missionaries. The Door to Life Gospel Mission (DTL) created the first of such stations, having obtained a mandate from the Surinamese government to ‘open up’ the interior, beginning in 1960 following the army’s ‘Operation Grasshopper’ to cut airstrips (Conley 2000; Riivière 1969a). DTL’s operation was taken over by West Indies Mission (WIM)\(^10\) in 1962, and Tëpu was founded in the late 1960s by Claude Leavitt of Unevangelized Fields Missions (UFM),\(^11\) who was ‘on loan’ (Conley 2000: 389) to WIM. What would become the highest village on the Tapanahoni and the only predominantly Trio mission-station village on that river grew up around a health post and an airstrip cut in 1971. As in the other mission stations, the health post was provided by Medisches Zending (see above), and was run by missionary nurses from the Dutch Reformed Church. The latter also sent missionary schoolteachers to Tëpu from 1973 until the civil war (see below). The Surinamese government’s tendency to delegate healthcare and schools to

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\(^{8}\) Trio is the English and Dutch name, equivalent to Tiriyó in Portuguese and Tirio in French, given to the people who are known among themselves as *Tarëno*, ‘the people here’; it is a ‘xenonym’ (Carlin 2004: 1), referring to people whose ethnic composition is in fact much more complex than the use of a single term suggests.

\(^{9}\) The older Dutch spelling ‘-oe’ for /u/ is increasingly replaced with the modern spelling ‘-u’; I follow the latter usage (Carlin 2004: 1).

\(^{10}\) Known today as World Team (*cf*. Conley 2000).

\(^{11}\) Unevangelized Fields Missions is an evangelical missionary organisation based in the United States of America, which specialises in establishing mission posts among remote ‘tribal’ peoples. Claude Leavitt also worked for UFM among the Waiwai of Guyana (*cf*. Dowdy 1963; Riivière 1969a).
non-governmental organisations continues to this day, although there has been some degree of secularisation through the involvement of non-religious NGOs such as the Amazon Conservation Team and the Margreet Kauffman Foundation, particularly in the case of education. However there remains considerable contention in these sectors, where religious and secular organisations vie for influence among the local population.

The next village downstream, Palumeu, is populated by Wayana and Trio. Further downstream towards the Maroni river and the border with French Guiana lie some predominantly Wayana villages, and below them begins the territory of the Ndjuka Maroons. Tëpu is a relatively large village, with approximately 330 long-term residents, and has remained demographically stable since the 1970s, apart from a marked recess during the civil war. Half a decade after being granted independence from the Netherlands, a military coup brought Sergeant Major Desi Bouterse to power in 1980, and in 1986 a counter-revolution was launched from Maroon villages in the interior by a force calling itself the Jungle Commando, led by Ronnie Brunswijk, erstwhile personal guard of Bouterse, and backed by the Netherlands and France. The Bouterse government violently repressed the Jungle Commando in the ‘war of the interior’ which spread to Sipaliwini district as government recruiting agents sought to attract Amerindians as soldiers. Many of the Trio fled to Brazil, particularly to the village of Missão on the Paru de Oeste. After the war, during the 1990s, they began to return to Suriname but, as a consequence of the upheaval, an entire generation was substantially deprived of basic education.

This relatively large-scale migration due to conflict took advantage of patterns of movement that had existed for as long as anybody can remember. Both classic monographs and more recent testimonies, including my own observations, concur in showing a high level of communication between villages. In recent years, however, the mode of transport has partly changed as people have begun using air transport (chartering planes or obtaining passage on existing flights) and outboard motors. These modes of transport require access to large amounts of cash, but as in the past

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12 In the main body of this introductory chapter, when referring to individuals, including both historical figures and researchers, I give their first names.
13 Created through a partnership between Franciscan missionaries and the FAB (Brazilian Air Force) in 1959.
each movement between airstrips, city and villages is shaped by networks of relatives who can host and feed the travellers. The radio communication network on either side of the triple border is well developed, and along with the airstrip the short wave radio has historically been the first essential trapping of ‘sedentarisation’. In Tëpu there are several radios, including one public one belonging to the telephone company, one belonging to the clinic, one to the airstrip, and two or three ‘private’ ones belonging to relatively wealthy households. These manifest an avid use of communication technologies as they allow gossip and news from the whole region to travel on the airwaves, and those with their own radios are at a great advantage in being the first to hear news. On the other hand people continue to migrate on foot between Suriname and Brazil: from the headwaters of the Sipaliwini it is a relatively short trek to Missão (two or three days depending on the season). Meanwhile the Wayana of Suriname tend to have closer ties with those of French Guiana than with those of Brazil, because of the greater ease of travel by river, and because of the greater distance between Wayana villages on either side of the watershed that forms the Brazilian border, particularly since villages closer to the headwaters have been abandoned in recent years as people migrated closer to health and education centres.

The Wayana are a population of about 1,600 people (415 in Brazil, 400 in Suriname, 800 in French Guiana) and live in Brazil in both the Terra Indígena Parque de Tumucumaque and the Terra Indígena Rio Paru d’Este. In Suriname and French Guiana, the Wayana live on the Tapanahoni, the Maroni and its affluents the Tampok, the Marouini and the Litani. Antecume Pata was founded in 1967-8 by André Cognat, a Frenchman from near Lyon who had been adopted by a Wayana family in the early 1960s after having been saved by one of its members from drowning in the rapids on a solitary expedition up the Maroni. The village is located on an island in the midst of the rapids at the confluence of the Litani and the Marouini rivers on the upper Maroni.

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14 In Brazil, the Trio share villages with another Carib-speaking group, the Katxuyana, along the rivers Paru de Oeste and Cuxaré in the western part of the Terra Indígena Parque de Tumucumaque, an area of over 3 million ha, which spreads across the states of Pará and Amapá, demarcated in 1997. Some families share the banks of the middle and upper Paru de Leste river with the Apalai and Wayana (Gallois & Grupioni 2003: 10-3).

15 Wayana is the name used both by outsiders and by the Wayana themselves. Literally meaning ‘people’, in the manner of a number of other Amazonian peoples’ self-denominations, it evokes the subjectivist perspective of humanity typical of the region.

16 Almost 1,2 million ha, and also demarcated in 1997, cf. Gallois & Grupioni 2003: 10-3.

17 Cognat 1967; Cognat & Massot 1977.
on the border between Suriname and French Guiana. It is composed of Wayana from the Litani and families of both Wayana and Apalai who fled gold-miners and skin hunters on the Paru de Leste river in Brazil in several waves in the late 1960s and 1970s. It is located within the protected area which, since a 1970 arrêté préfectoral, has applied to the entire southern section of the département (3 million ha), officially restricting access to those granted permission by the departmental authorities.

Although this provides only rudimentary protection and is frequently ignored by less scrupulous visitors, access to the Wayana villages of French Guiana is, at least administratively, subjected to a tighter control than in Suriname and by law does not allow faith-based organisations to operate in indigenous territory. On the other hand, in neither Suriname nor French Guiana are the Amerindian inhabitants granted any form of either collective or individual ownership of the territory on which they live; the sub-and supra soil remain exclusive property of the State (Kambel & MacKay 1999; Martres & Larrieu 1993). In French Guiana, this has given rise to friction between indigenous organisations and the State, which has been compounded in recent years by the proposed revision of the area’s protected status to create a national park. There is considerable pressure upon the park authorities to demarcate large areas as not subject to any kind of human use, including ‘traditional subsistence activities’, and to allow mining in other parts. As in Suriname, any proposals to protect the territories of the ‘interior’ attract heavy lobbying from extractive industrial interests. Moreover, the French constitutional principle that no particular groups should be given special rights is difficult to reconcile with the ideas of collective property and education in the vernacular proposed as solutions for Amerindian peoples.

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18 An arrêté is an administrative act which emanates from a ministry or an administrative authority such as, in this case, the departmental préfecture.
19 The status of protected area was re-established in the south in 1970 following the demographic collapse of the Wayana population in the preceding years, due to the lifting of a previous limited access zone (Territoire de l’Inini, 8 million ha) in 1968 to allow touring agencies to bring tourists to the previously scarcely exposed villages of the upper Maroni.
21 However, ways around these difficulties have been found: the National Park project is partly a way of securing rights of use of land, and the coastal Lokono have acquired titles to some of their lands by demonstrating usage. In certain villages indigenous teaching assistants are employed, although this has largely come about on an ad hoc basis and no formal needs assessment exercises have been conducted (see Puren 2005).
French Guiana, a département of France, has had its main source of revenue in the Centre Spatial Guyanais in Kourou since its creation in 1968. Although the overall population is under 200,000 and mostly located on the coast, there is estimated to be an additional clandestine population of 10,000 Brazilian gold-miners (Mission Parc 2006: 7), mainly attracted by the gold rush which began in the early 1990s on the Maroni; their presence has important social, political and sanitary consequences. Mercury contamination is at high levels among the Wayana population, especially in certain villages such as Kayodé, where tests on a sample group attested of levels up to 3-5 times higher than the European Food and Safety Authority level of intoxication. There is also abundant anecdotal evidence that problems of alcoholism among the Wayana are a direct consequence of social contact with gold-miners. Although it has failed to regulate the informal gold-mining sector, the State plays a more prominent role here than in Suriname, notably with social security in the form of the Revenu Minimum d’Insertion (RMI), introduced in French Guiana in 1988. For the Wayana population of French Guiana, the RMI and family allowances have been available since 1995, with the condition that they be registered as French citizens, and have their villages registered under national administration. Some Kali’na activists call these benefits the ‘poisoned gifts of the French model of integration’ because they encourage individualism and allow the State more easily to avoid designing new ways of providing collective benefits.

There are certainly profound differences in the material wealth and ‘development’ of French Guianese villages compared to those in Suriname. In Tëpu, infrastructure such as water pumps, filters and electricity are either not provided or dysfunctional, whereas in Antecume Pata there is a filtered water system fed into a network of pipes with taps, each household has its own solar panels and there is a central electricity generator connected to all households; houses are also regularly treated with DDT to control malaria. While it may be argued that electricity has little practical value in these settings and its provision may be simply designed to add to the official achievements of local administration, and while it is true that the gold-mining close to

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22 15µg/g for an EFSA level of 4,4 µg/g. World levels are of 2 µg/g. Coastal population levels are of 1,7 µg/g (Cordier & Garel 1999; Fréry et al. 1999). More recent data (2004) with higher intoxication levels on http://guyane.lesverts.fr/article.php3?id_article=110. See also Charlet & Boudou 2005.

23 The RMI is a monthly benefit delivered by the State to French citizens of age 25 and above, on condition that they are not students and are registered as unemployed.

24 ‘Les cadeaux empoisonnés de l’intégration à la française’. On this subject, see Wyngaarde 2005.
Antecume Pata has led to large increases in the incidence of malaria,\(^{25}\) water sanitation has contributed greatly to the prevention of water-borne diseases,\(^{26}\) each dry season in Tëpu brings a wave of gastric infections, from which children and the elderly suffer most. In Antecume Pata, there is much fuller, State funded capacity to carry out regular check-ups and health-related campaigns, there is more focus on prevention and the health service is better equipped. But overall in both places, although sedentarisation has constrained hunters by making them dependent on access to petrol and outboard motors to reach distant locations where game is still abundant, access to hunting and fishing as well as garden products and orchards ensures a sufficiently stable supply throughout the year, even during the rainy season.

People’s diet is not based upon outside foods such as rice and chicken, which are considered luxuries or snacks, disdained by some elderly people, and often treated as short-lived novelties for children to play with. But the effects of particular types of food are determined by their social source rather than their ‘objective’ nature. Those who live in town tend to rapidly decline in health because of their diet and poor living conditions, but attribute this to the distance that separates them from their relatives. They say that they grow thin from lack of nurture, and see this as a normal result of missing one’s kin. My own loss of weight, particularly in the early stages of fieldwork, was interpreted by my hosts in the same way, as manifesting my sadness at my separation from my family; however, soon after my integration within my hosts’ extended network of relatives which spread across the Surinamese-French border, whenever I left Tëpu or Antecume Pata, I was given a large supply of cassava bread: my new ‘relatives’ were worried about me not being looked after properly in the city and growing even thinner as a result.

1.1.2. Research in the field.

When I began fieldwork, I soon realised why so many anthropologists working in Amazonia even recently have focused on gathering the knowledge of older

\(^{25}\) See http://guyane.lesverts.fr/article.php3?id_article=62

\(^{26}\) Although I wish to stress the exceptional degree of maintenance of the infrastructure of Antecume Pata, in comparison with other ‘French’ Wayana villages, especially further downstream on the Maroni river. See http://guyane.lesverts.fr/article.php3?id_article=123.
generations, often privileging a relationship with a few knowledgeable informants.\(^{27}\) The process of my ‘domestication’ into the social landscape of the village was long and gradual and it often appeared that the easiest way of generating a body of interesting ‘field data’ would have been to work with an elderly, knowledgeable person; however, my interest was in contemporary life and shared knowledge practices. I had arrived three years after the death of two men reputed to be the last great repositories of Trio and Wayana ‘traditional culture’ in Tëpu and Antecume Pata, Tëmenta and Kuliyanan respectively. Their fame largely rested on the fact that they had acted as rich and willing sources of knowledge for previous researchers who had come to conduct fieldwork in these villages,\(^{28}\) and who had focused on reconstructing ‘traditional’ Trio or Wayana life.\(^{29}\)

I ended up working predominantly with people who were not outstanding either as ritual experts or as political leaders and, as a result, I came to appreciate how myths and stories of the past are interwoven in the texture of daily life, among ordinary people, and can emerge in passing comments and casual conversation, within a household setting, most notably in the evening and at feasts and drinking parties. Understanding the dynamics of social and historical narratives, absorbing people’s opinions on abstractions such as ‘the future’ or ‘life today’, as well as appreciating the intricacies of their relationships with kin and distant Others, were essential components of my research but, as these questions are not discussed in the abstract by the Trio or Wayana, this could only be achieved through the course of a long period of participant observation. During the initial weeks of fieldwork in the village of Tëpu, even the tiniest form of interaction was hindered by what then appeared to be an insurmountable communication barrier; moreover, I was linked by no kinship ties to local residents, and no ‘stranger’ had previously wanted to live with a family, to eat with them and share their everyday activities; furthermore I was sharply aware that in doing so I might present a burden for my hosts.

\(^{27}\) For example Albert 1985; Basso 1995.


\(^{29}\) Other researchers have also focused on ‘reconstructing’ traditional life, notably Jara 1990 (who worked closely with Onore, an elderly Akuriyo in Tëpu); Rivière 1969a (on the Trio); and Van Velthem 2003 (on the Wayana).
The village of Tëpu has no permanently resident non-Amerindians, and receives less frequent air traffic. One of its attractions for its residents is its tranquillity, as it lacks the tourism facilities of Palumeu and the relatively numerous ‘development projects’ of Kwamalasamutu. Previous outsiders who had come to the village had taken a leading role, given instructions and provided a schedule of work. However, gradually, as I increasingly shared meals and helped with the daily activities of the family of my ‘assistant’ Demas, my status appeared to change: they progressively started to address me as kin, and we eventually shared the same household and social rhythms. This ‘apprenticeship’ took place not only through participation in everyday activities, but also by working on more formal data-gathering exercises such as censuses, recorded interviews and mapping. As a young literate unmarried woman who had until recently resided in Antecume Pata, Demas enjoyed the opportunity to escape the ‘dull round’ of kitchen work, being offered a paid job which involved satisfying the taste for knowledge that her education had given her, and allowing her to operate electronic equipment – an activity which is usually monopolised by men.

My ‘field’ expanded from its initial base in Tëpu, as I began to be more involved with Demas’ family and its ramification of relatives which spreads across borders and between village and coastal life. My schedule was divided into periods of fieldwork in the villages which would last up to 2 months at a time, and two-week periods of rest and research in the coastal cities of Paramaribo, Cayenne and St. Laurent-du-Maroni. These periods of time spent on the coast also involved visiting and helping family members in temporary medical care in Cayenne, trying to obtain identity papers, in short-term employment, or travelling out of curiosity.

During these visits, I found that medical interventions on the human body were experienced on a relational basis. Thus, for instance, when my Trio adoptive mother was sent to the maternity ward in Cayenne to give birth to her fifth child in February 2005, she was wary of the food and the medicines she was given because of their unknown origin, whereas she and other Amerindian patients accepted biomedical interventions in the health posts in the upper Maroni as delivered by known nurses and operated in conjunction with a specific diet and indigenous specialist treatment
(such as the shaman’s). It is because of this relational foundation underpinning the Amerindians’ life, including their experience of medical practices, that I chose to focus on the ways in which people manage sociality both on a daily basis and through communal feasts; the making of a person’s body and its health is intimately affected by its web of interpersonal relations, as has been reported elsewhere. ‘Living well’ equates more to successfully managing the network of influences which circulate between kin and which ties affines. To investigate the body and change one must therefore look not merely to the clinic or the shaman, but to all kinds of social relations. My initial interest in external influence on health and the making of the body thus shifted to a different terrain, as I became aware of the diversity of forms of Other and their graded forms of interaction.

Most of my work was conducted in Trio, with the support of Demas’ trilingualism (Wayana, Trio and French), especially in the first part of my fieldwork. Some conversations also took place in Portuguese or French with younger people, these generally being either Brazilian Trio or French Wayana. Among the Surinamese Trio, particularly those of Tëpu, mastery of the national language and the social codes of the city are less widespread and even in town, as much as possible, people communicate in Trio and remain together. The written word has a great importance of its own for the Trio and Wayana as I discuss in chapter 5. Here I would like to stress only that it has taken on an importance beyond that of learning white people’s technology, but rather than transforming the nature of Amerindian sociality, literacy has become a tool employed in its characteristic processes.

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30 This is only the case when patients are allowed to follow several alternatives (as in French Guiana) and are not encouraged to rely solely on one form of treatment; this is why Trio and Wayana dread being flown away to health posts or treatment centres which are not based in their village.

31 A principle which has already been well summarised by Rivière in the following statement: ‘The individual is seen as being intimately involved in a network of relations which form part of his individuality. Harmony within this network is vital for a person’s physical and spiritual well-being, and vice-versa. Influence […] results from the sharing of common relatedness’ (1981: 4). And which can be found across the region, here with the neighbouring Waiwai: ‘If a man sins, he is poisoned by his sin […] And the poison spreads to all of us’ (Dowdy 1963, transcribing words allegedly preached by Elka, Waiwai leader and Christian convert: 216).

32 At the time of my fieldwork, virtually no linguistic studies had been published on Trio. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I had access to Carlin’s recent grammar (2004). I was also offered support by Cees Koewijin, a retired missionary schoolteacher with extensive knowledge of Trio, who provided me with some wordlists and a ‘primer’ he had produced for medical personnel.

33 These have had a relatively higher exposure to national languages and non-Amerindians.
1.2. The structure of the thesis.

1.2.1. Previous work on the eastern Guianas.

The Trio, Wayana and Akuriyo have inspired a handful of researchers since the 1950s, although, prior to my arrival, no academic anthropologist had carried out fieldwork among the Amerindians of southern Suriname since the civil war. I will here comment on some of the work produced since the second half of the twentieth century and leave aside earlier accounts and historical sources. Of the anthropologists, by far the most important work is that of Peter Rivière, which includes his monograph on the Trio (1969a) as well as several other books and numerous articles. A number of other researchers have worked in Suriname, including the Chilean anthropologist Fabiola Jara, who produced a monograph of ‘salvage ethnography’ (1990) on the Akuriyo, based largely on interviews with one elderly informant. Dutch anthropologist Peter Kloos also published some work on the Akuriyo, containing useful demographic data, but unfortunately tinged by his cultural materialist theoretical predisposition (1977a & b). Karen Boven recently completed her doctoral research on the Wayana (2006), but has participated little in academic debate. On the French Guianese side, the medical doctor and anthropologist Jean Chapuis has collected a considerable amount of material among the Wayana, focusing on conceptions of the body and mythical narratives, although his work engages little with anthropological theory (1998). Daniel Schoepf in French Guiana (1988, 1999) and Lúcia Van Velthem in Brazil (2003) have both produced interesting work on Wayana material culture. Also in Brazil, a group of researchers under the supervision of Dominique Gallois, from the University of São Paulo, have conducted fieldwork in the Brazilian eastern part of the region since the early 1990s, and claim to emphasise historical and supralocal perspectives (Gallois 2005). Among them, Denise Grupioni has worked for the past 15 years with the Brazilian Trio, and Gabriel Barbosa is currently carrying out research among the Wayana (Grupioni 2002; Barbosa 2002).

Several non-anthropologists have also produced relevant material: the geographer Jean Hurault wrote a ‘classic’ ethnography of the Wayana and a history of the

34 On the Trio, there are excellent overviews of older sources in Carlin & Boven 2002; Carlin 2004; Rivière 1969a; and on the Wayana Chapuis & Rivière 2003.
Amerindians of French Guiana (1968, 1972). Protasio Friel, a Franciscan missionary who found a new vocation as an ethnographer among the Brazilian Trio, published several useful studies (1971, 1973), and Cees Koelewijn, a missionary schoolteacher, collected valuable Trio material (2003; Koelewijn & Rivière 1987). Recently, the linguist Eithne Carlin has published a comprehensive Trio grammar whose approach is anthropological in many respects (2004). In the following chapters, I have drawn from nearly all of these authors, and where appropriate I have assessed their conclusions and perspectives against my own.

1.2.2. Themes and research questions.

The themes which I focus upon have not been dealt with before in the Guianas, nor have they been covered in the same way in any other region or field of anthropological enquiry. I address problems present in much of the work listed above, which for example tends to give a homogeneous depiction of the Amerindian, often opposing this category too radically to the non-Amerindian. As I will demonstrate, even for the sake of anthropological argumentation, this is not a fruitful way to think in Amazonia, as it obscures one of the most fundamental features of indigenous ontological engagement with historical processes, through which Amerindians distinguish themselves from one another as much as they distinguish Amerindians from non-Amerindians. Anthropologists who claim to recognise that Amazonian social categories are based on behaviour, process and relationships continue to neglect the logical consequence of this: that a radical categorical distinction cannot be made between Amerindians and white people. This is true even of the latest revisions of the classical styles of Amazonian monographs, which until the late 1980s stressed the importance of salvage ethnography and reconstructing how things used to be.\footnote{Cf. Albert 1985; C. Hugh-Jones 1979; S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Jara 1990; Rivière 1969a.} These revisions\footnote{Cf. Barbosa 2005; Gallois 2005; Szuttman 2005.} aim at emphasising the historical depth of Amazonian societies and their integration within wider regional systems through, for example, the trade of objects or capture of enemies or slaves over long distances, but they tend to narrow their gaze onto the ‘indigenous’, separating it from the ‘modern’ which is presented as monolithically alien. In fact, the long history of manufactured objects acquired through trading networks or direct interaction with white people, and the seemingly
recent expansion of the frontier in Amazonia, are both features of the indigenous world. As I will demonstrate throughout this thesis, to the Trio and Wayana, white people, Maroons and other non-Amerindians are perceived as part of the Amerindian universe inasmuch as they are perceived in terms of Amerindian cosmology.

A problem in the latest theoretical contributions made by Amazonianists remains the separation of historical perspectives from indigenous ontologies and the lack of connection between the level of the ideal or the represented and that of actual daily practice. For instance, although the Trio often stressed to me the essential importance of living well in harmony with affines and kin alike, daily practice demonstrated that this idealised egalitarianism did not necessarily manifest itself in the reality of social interaction. Therefore an analytical style such as Joanna Overing’s ‘moral economy of intimacy’ or the egalitarianism claimed to pervade Guianese Amerindian societies exist only as one dimension of a multifarious reality. There has also been a tendency in the anthropology of ‘classic’ areas such as ‘old Melanesia’ and ‘old Amazonia’ to create a discursive mirror-like effect contrasting the ‘Euro-American’ and the ‘savage’ minds. Although I draw considerable inspiration from Melanesianists such as Alfred Gell and Marilyn Strathern, I have not found such a dichotomy to be of use because it freezes both conceptual models into a scheme upon which history and individual creativity seem to have little effect; in the fluid social landscape of the Guianas there are many Indians and many Others, and these do not necessarily represent two ends of a single continuum which would oppose civilisation at one end and wilderness at the other as Peter Gow (2001) and José Kelly (2003) have suggested.

This thesis analyses contemporary Amerindian sociality in Tëpu and Antecume Pata, and is not aimed at problematising change - as from the Trio and Wayana point of view, there is no problem in change as such. It is not a study of anthropomorphism or any other specific symbolic feature of the Trio and Wayana’s living environment, nor does it purport to be a mere ‘faithful’ exposition of their ideas about the body; it

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37 This is the case of the three ‘analytical styles’ defined by Viveiros de Castro (1996) as the ‘moral economy of intimacy’ (referred to below), the ‘political economy of people’ (Rivière 1984) and the ‘symbolic economy of alterity’ (Viveiros de Castro 1992).


will therefore differ from approaches such as those of Dimitri Karadimas (2005) or Jean Chapuis (1998) respectively. Neither purporting to be a work of medical anthropology ‘proper’, nor a study of the body *strictu sensu*, it is about the management of the person in daily and communal life, and takes the village setting of the Trio and Wayana as the most appropriate starting point. Central to the character of the village is that it brought previously unrelated people to live in relatively close proximity in what today are known as ‘white people’s villages’ (T: *pananakiri ipata*). In this respect, the analysis of conversion by Peter Rivière (1981) was illuminating in its focus on networks of influence. But most important in Rivière’s work has been his stress on the visible and the invisible in the connectedness it establishes between persons. Updating these ideas in the light of the relationality described by Tim Ingold (2000), and inspired by Melanesianists, I gradually began to develop my own framework of thinking, in which social relations, spatial formations and movement, or what I define as ‘diffusion of influence’ are the central systems of understanding.⁴⁰ This led me to explore Gell’s idea of ‘distributed personhood’ (1998). Strathern’s discussion on the control of flows in terms of their circulation and stopping (1994), helped me to develop my understanding of the relationship between the visible and invisible. Combined with this, Nancy Munn’s emphasis of movement and principles of aesthetics of accumulation and what visible bodily states may express symbolically, in her work on ‘fame’ in Gawa (1986), became a significant inspiration to me. It allowed me to consider my data with a fresh focus on movement and the integration of the body into a system of relations which can be expressed visually, through the symbolism of quali-signs.⁴¹

1.2.3. Sedentarisation process and the human body.

Sedentarisation processes and Amerindian perspectives and strategies on the establishment and maintenance of social relations in large-scale settlements represent complex contemporary themes; they have previously been tackled through the prism of ‘contact’ and its cosmologies (Albert & Ramos 2000), as a separate field of ethno-historical analysis (Whitehead 2003), or through a discussion of change and

⁴¹ Quali-signs are ‘certain embodied qualities that are components of a given intersubjective spacetime [...] whose positive or negative value they signify’ (Munn 1986: 16-7).
‘modernity’ among indigenous peoples, emphasising the destructive effects of the former upon the latter (Coimbra et al. 2002). However, apart from Peter Gow (1991, 2001) and Catherine Howard (2000, 2001), and most recently Casey High (2006) and Oiara Bonilla (2005, 2006), few anthropologists have considered the possibility of productive effects and continuity in such processes: the formation of contemporary identity may be attached to contexts of colonial encroachment resulting from the expansion and pressure of wider national society, but such changes are not locally viewed in these terms. My analysis considers movement and flow of personhood and how these have developed as a result of sedentarisation, showing that the processes have remained the same, even if the actors involved have changed.

These processes are analysed with regard to symbolic and temporal spatial construction in the current context of long-term sedentarisation marked by the co-residence of former enemies and the increasing interaction with national society. The Trio and Wayana villages of Suriname represent today the result of decades of active ‘contact’ policy. This was conducted during the 1960s and 1970s by the American Protestant missionaries whose objective it was to concentrate the diverse Amerindian population of the time around large sedentary mission stations. Today’s southern Surinamese villages thus represent a mosaic of cognatic clusters which at once claim distinct identities of substance and a common social identity. There are however forms of interaction between these different groups, which are linked to their respective histories and which are tinged with a sense of social hierarchy expressed in bodily terms. The treatment that the descendants of the Akuriyo hunter-gatherers, who were contacted, ‘captured’, and eventually incorporated into the village of Tëpu by the Trio members of the pastor-led expedition at the beginning of the 1970s, is an illustration of such interactions. Their marginal position based on substance (the

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42 This literature is usually fairly generalised and unspecific, see Andrew Gray 1997, or Robert Jaulin (1970, 1972) for similarly ‘mentalist’ discourses set in the early 1970s. For a more problematised and thorough case-study which emphasises continuity from a ‘before’ to an ‘after’ sedentarisation, see Århem 2001.

43 Aparecida Vilaça has focused increasingly, in the past years, on population aggregation around mission posts, processes of Christianisation and conversion and of Amerindian societies of Lowland South America (1999, 2002b, 2006).

44 According to Gow, the Piro of the Peruvian Amazon did regard their past experience as enslaved rubber-tappers at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries as a time of suffering and devastation, but they also saw it as formative to their kinship and what they were to become as a people (2001: 6-7). More recently, Kelly has analysed interaction between the Yanomamö and doctors from the perspective of Indians and white people (2003).
substance of their bodies is not mixed with that of the Trio and Wayana by marriage) and of social inferiority in the village is deliberately maintained by their Trio ‘guardians’. The analysis of the relations between the Akuriyo and the Trio is a central part of my thesis and contributes to the revision of the portrayal of Amerindian societies, and especially Guianese societies, as being based on principles of social egalitarianism.

The underlying strategic motivations behind the incorporation of distant groups into large sedentary settlements, is understood through the idea of ‘nurturing the Other’, which I develop in the course of the thesis. The Akuriyo are not necessarily familiarised in order to become co-substantial, but rather, are maintained in a state of subjugation and social inferiority by a series of nurturing techniques. An analysis of the body, of its treatment and making through transformation, is thus paired with a study of the substances and things which are part of it, and consequentially, of its history.

The notion of sasame wehto (T), which, as I will argue, could be translated as ‘social wellbeing’, has many aspects, but in the context of ‘nurturing the Other’ it is related to another crucial concept: pacification. The Trio and Wayana did not tell me that they were ‘civilised’, and did not view sedentarisation as a historical process which led them to live a life of ‘civilised’ people; they stressed having become ‘pacified’ or ‘peaceful’. The idea of mixed blood, either by intermarriage or by the literal exchange and consumption of blood, was offered to explain the bonding of people without previous consanguineal ties; as will be discussed in the chapter 2 of this thesis, people consider themselves to be of mixed blood when their children have resulted from exogamous intermarriage, but remain resigned to constantly striving to prevent social entropy, and this is reflected in their personal spatial representations of their living surroundings. Moreover, separation between one group and another is articulated in the same idiom. Their assertion of being less fierce than their ancestors, sometimes referred to as the ‘real people’, prefigures a discussion developed later in the thesis, which explores how a primeval, original design, was first established by

45 This has been the case in recent studies such as Bonilla (2006), Gow (2001) and High (2006).
mythical entities, from which, through consecutive transformations, contemporary people result.

As I set out, it seemed that the Amerindian body had so far been considered above all as an ethnographic object, through native views of conception, fabrication, fluids and growth into a fully socialised human being. The aetiology of illnesses, and the spirit world had been covered in a minute yet often artificially frozen fashion. I did not wish to embark on another ethnographic contribution to the description of local and native ontologies if these were to be so detached from my experience of social life in the field. I had also grown weary of analyses of Western medicines restricted to pills, and how these were considered to be acting on people’s bodies. As other recent anthropological accounts of modern Amazonia have attested, these were often taken willingly and happily. What lacked was the challenging social context in which medical practices were absorbed: how the idea of pollutants in the river was understood and analysed, and the reception of missionaries’ proselytising against the consumption of fermented drinks and stimulants such as tobacco: all these things needed to be thoroughly studied and critically assessed. This presented me with the problem of how to make sense of these apparently scattered elements without formatting them into another frozen representation of a timeless Amazonian ‘people’. I chose to do this by grounding myself in a comparative cross-border, regional and temporal perspective which avoids the representation of villages or peoples as units isolated from one another. The reality of fieldwork in this context provided evidence of the existence of several systems of hierarchy and fragmentations, ramifications and concentric movement. These could be palpably addressed by taking a relational approach, deeply rooted in ethnographic data: focusing on people and objects, practices and making, and movement through space.

1.2.4. Summary of the thesis.

The main body of the thesis is divided into four chapters, which build upon each other. The first two chapters show how Trio and Wayana represent, on a local level, broader spatial perspectives on the geographical region, whereas the final chapters focus more closely on kin relations and the individual body.
The second chapter, which follows the present introduction, is a study of social relations in daily village life, and puts into question the current trend to regard contemporary life as marked by conviviality and social interaction with kin as well as non-relatives. While narratives are here taken as one layer of expression, village configuration and the means by which interaction outside the residential household are made and managed are discussed in order to highlight principles regulating sociality, which remains pervaded by an ideal of endogamy and most importantly a spatial construction of social relations which is ramified centrifugally as a regional network. In order to envisage this, I introduce some ontological principles which contribute to the understanding of the Trio and Wayana’s representation of their daily life, and which are fundamentally different from times of communal celebrations, which I analyse in the following chapter.

At the heart of chapter 3 is an exploration of communal celebrations marked by a large-scale gathering of non-related people into the communal space of the hosting village, such as the village open space or the communal house which the Trio adopted from the neighbouring Waiwai. It examines various forms of communal celebrations from ‘initiation’ ceremonies to New Year feasts. These are characterised by the ingurgitation and regurgitation of manioc beer and a centripetal movement which brings all external influences towards the inner core. To understand them, I introduce here the idea of supra-foods, and analyse communal celebrations in terms of corporeality and movement between inside and outside.

After this analysis of communal feasts, I narrow the focus onto relationships between human bodies. Chapter 4 is a study of the relationships established and maintained today between the Trio and a group of former hunter-gatherers known today as the Akuriyo, who mostly reside in Tëpu, after having been ‘contacted’ and brought there at the instigation of the missionaries active in the area at the time. It presents the history of the contact expeditions which spread over several years from 1968 onwards and culminated in the settlement of the Akuriyo in Tëpu. An analysis follows of the present living conditions of these Akuriyo, who are now undergoing a perpetual education at the hands of their Trio guardians. This relationship is then problematised by analysing how difference between bodies can be understood from a
transformational perspective; it is thus shown that such a view of relations between bodies can be of great potential analytical value.

The reflection initiated in chapter 4 on the relationship between bodies is then developed in more specific terms in the final chapter 5, which recalls the theme of the opening chapter 2, but at the scale of the individual body, rather than the village body. I examine ideas of corporeality as a socialising process by introducing two concepts fundamental to my general argumentation: those of distributed personhood and diffusion of influence. Central to this chapter is a re-visitation of the relationship between persons and objects, and a challenge to the mainstream view that persons and objects in Amazonia belong to different realms of exchange. I offer an alternative perspective on the matter with potential for the study of the body and material culture in contemporary Amazonia and in anthropology as a whole.

Finally, there are several transcriptions of conversations, interviews and formal recordings referred to in the text, which I have included in full in the appendices. Like many anthropologists, I feel I have used only a few aspects of a vast and complex whole and a tiny fraction even of the body of information that I gathered. I hope that in their integral form, these narratives will prove of interest to the reader. The transcription system is not always rigorously consistent, and relied on young assistants; their form is therefore to me a textual artefact reproducing the use of living languages by those who will hopefully take it upon themselves to shape it definitively in a not too distant future.
Mutual greetings between co-residents are a striking feature of Trio life, particularly in the early morning. Short verbal exchanges including the use of address terms between villagers enquire whether one is well awake, feeling well, and where one is going, even when the answer is obvious. For example a person walking towards the river landing just after sunrise, with towel, soap and toothbrush, is asked (often several times) whether he or she is going to bathe. Such exchanges mark introductory encounters renewed each day between people who do not share the same household at night. They are characterised by affability in bodily movement and attitudes, and voiced in a high-toned voice, except when proffered between people who manifest avoidance to various degrees (for instance, marriageable affines such as MBD and FZS); in these cases, greetings are rarer and when they do occur, answers are muffled and gazes avoided. Otherwise, these loud greetings can be heard from afar, and overall suggest a ‘means of reaffirming one’s belonging to the world of the living’ (Erikson 2000: 129, my trans.).

Verbal greetings are among the first things I learnt in Trio, and it was not long after beginning fieldwork in the village of Tëpu, that I noticed that they were regularly accompanied by an additional leitmotif used in their daily addresses or passing comments: that of local residents being ‘happy’ (sasame) and of living in peace with one another. Another greeting, which was mostly used with me, as well as with non-Amerindians linked to the Protestant church, is the following: ‘sasame manan?’ (‘Are you happy?’), to which, invariably, one responds ‘Aha, sasame wae, ěmēpa?’ (‘Yes, I am happy, and yourself?’). As fieldwork progressed, the longer exchanges I had with

46 ‘Ëinta mankho?’: ‘Are you well awake, mother?’; ‘Kure manan?’: ‘Are you well/good?’; ‘Ajia miten, kori?’: ‘where are you going, kori?’ The term kori is a generalised term of address between two un-related women of the same age category.
47 ‘Mëpëe?’: ‘Are you going to wash yourself?’
villagers, especially senior men, regularly returned to this idea of *sasame*, happiness, so as to account for themselves and the villagers of Tëpu: ‘I am happy... here, we are all happy’. The stress seemed to be on asserting a given reality connecting all households settled in the village.

In my conversations in Portuguese with younger men sporting the worldly wisdom gleaned from travels across borders or of city-life, an analogous statement was made, most often in the formula ‘*aqui vivemos em paz*’ (‘here we live in peace’), a statement to which was usually attached a comment on how, in the past, people used to be continuously at war with one another, but that today warfare has ceased, and that the Trio live settled together in peace. Talk of communal contentment in Trio had been translated into comments on the Trio being at peace, showing that the everyday conviviality expressed in *sasame* is equated with historical dynamics of inter-group relations. But the word *sasame* was not only casually uttered in these individual conversations and greetings; it is also used in church sermons, heavily relied upon in church hymns, and shouted out loud during communal feasts characterised by ingurgitation and regurgitation of manioc beer, music and dance. Its constant emergence as much in everyday as in communal life suggests that it represents something of fundamental concern to Trio people. Men use it beyond the reaches of kindred, in official discourses and performances, in places such as public buildings or the village open space (T: *anna*). Men and women rely on it to express feelings of extended sociability in instances in which unrelated people come to gather within the same walls or in the open, in close physical proximity. That is, social distance is minimised, shrunk with the reduction of spatial distance, in order to extend bonds of consanguinity to affines, all enclosed within the enlarged body of the village structure.

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48 I use the two concepts ‘sociality’ and ‘sociability’ following Vilaça (2002a: 362), who in turn was inspired by Strathern (1999). In general terms, in the existing anthropological literature, the analysis of sociality is often associated with the sub-category of sociability (or relatedness), understood here as the social sphere within which an ideal of consubstantiality is produced and preserved.

49 These parallels between a person’s body and a village’s body through times of transformation have been stressed elsewhere in Amazonia (Gow 2001: 172; Henley 2001: 200). I focus here on the village space in a more descriptive manner; analysis of the social body will be then resumed and revisited in chapters 3 & 5.
The word *sasame* and its use in conjunction with a discourse on ‘pacification’ interests me because, even though it is spread along a wider spectrum of usages in the Surinamese Trio villages which resulted from demographic aggregation around mission posts promoting an active policy of cumulative evangelism, its symbolic meaning pertains to a wider process common to other Amazonian populations. The concepts of ‘pacification’ and ‘civilisation’, have been recently revisited by anthropologists mainly through the perception that Amerindians consider themselves today as ‘civilised’, or ‘like civilised’ (Bonilla 2005; Gow 1991; High 2006; Kelly 2003). High and Bonilla also stress the link between having ceased warfare and living in peace with one another, as a result of white people’s agency; they do not merely imply that white people as such brought peace, but, rather, that contemporary Huaorani and Paumari ontologies respectively are based on an understanding of their people having undergone a change from one given social state to another. With a less historical perspective in mind, other Amazonian anthropologists have described and discussed elsewhere how feelings of harmony, conviviality, or communal happiness, together with a stress on ‘living beautifully’ (Ewart 2001) can arguably be constitutive of indigenous Lowland South American sociality. Historical continuity is marked by transformation and defined by a change in the articulation of sociality.

By exploring the ramifications underlying the conventional morality of the idea of happiness or *sasame wehto* (state of social wellbeing), this chapter analyses Trio and also Wayana narratives of transformation involving a ‘previous state’ and a ‘latter state’, and how undergoing this process is what defines them as human in essence. Overall, I address here Trio and Wayana sociality in daily village life in the sedentary

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50 Cumulative evangelism is a strategy of missionary expansion common to Protestant organisations throughout Lowland South America. In northeastern Amazonia, affiliated organisations such as the WIM and UFM, specialised in targeting populations of the interior. The method was first used in southern Guyana among the Waiwai, whose case is relevant here as Waiwai Christians accompanied some of the American missionaries who crossed the border into Suriname to settle and evangelize the Trio (Conley 2000; Howard 2001). See chapter 1 & 4 for additional information.

51 For example McCallum 2001; Overing & Passes 2000; Rival 2002; Santos-Granero 1991.

52 As I will demonstrate in chapter 5, however, ideal states of warlike and peaceful sociality exist as social modes in everyday life as well as in understandings of historical change among the Trio and Wayana.

53 The phrase *sasame wehto*, ‘being happy’, ‘a state of happiness’, can also be used as a noun to refer to a gift. Even though there is also another word in Trio for gift, which is *ekaramato*, *sasame wehto* is used on a regular basis. In this usage it emphasises the feeling of happiness and mutual affection the gift promotes between two persons. I define it as ‘state of social contentment’, understood as ‘being communally content’. It is a particular state, which has been the object of studies, and is formally known among psychologists as ‘in-group biasing effect’ (Mithen 2006: 215).
settlements of southern Suriname and French Guiana; this will lead me to define how ‘daily village life’ can be understood and formally conceptualised (this is the object of my second sub-section). It is however essential to take sedentarisation and the resulting demographic concentration as intimately constitutive of today’s Amerindian village life in northeastern Amazonia. I will analyse the interplay between space and sociality by exploring strategies for the management of spatial and social distance (visible and invisible distance). The first section of this chapter introduces the layout of two villages in terms of everyday social relations among their inhabitants. In the Guiana region, and among the eastern Carib-speaking populations in particular, settlement has often been considered to merge with kinship; with modifications in settlement patterns due to a sedentarisation process initiated throughout the region in the 1960s, the relationship between the two has arguably changed: the distant Other with whom interaction was once scarce now shares the same residential territory. Cognatic groups live huddled together in larger settlements, as opposed to past village configuration, which was characterised by settlements of smaller size and a high mobility rate. It is useful to think of this change in terms of the promotion of conviviality through communication, and the ‘shame’ caused by and leading to the avoidance of such communication. The analysis of the relations between these factors will finally lead me to reflect in more general terms on the underlying meaning of the idea of social pacification as a human transformation in Amerindian cosmology.

2.1. The village layout: spatial and social distance.

‘There. That’s how it was. So I didn’t have any more sisters. My father died because of ėremi.54 My sister died because of ėremi. My uncle died because of ėremi, that’s all. The Trio were terrible poisoners. They used to take the earth you walked on. They took the seeds of sweet peas - that’s the fruit -, or the stone, they also took the red paint from the skin, or they would cut our hair

54 ėremi (T) means incantation, or spirit song, and is also used to refer to the person performing it. There is a whole range of incantations and their knowledge or power is not limited to shamanic practitioners. Their use is multiple, they can be used for beneficial, healing, or evil, harming purposes, but also to change people’s behaviour, or get them to do what the chanter wants. Therefore they range from love charms to killing curses. The most dangerous ėremi are usually known only by a very small group of specialists, and were exclusively employed during nocturnal battles against shamans from other villages. Some are chanted in the air, others are sung on top of a drink, which is then ingested. The connection between spirit and breath is a strong one and relies on words, often using a mediating object such as hair, paint scraped off the skin of the victim-to-be or residues of bodily matter left within footprints.
while we slept. That’s what the Trio used to do; they were poisoners […]. But only the other people poisoned us with ėremi. Only other people poisoned us, not the people from our village’ (Rïime 01/05/2004, lines 106-18, my emphasis).

Describing the days of his youth, well before the coming of the American pastors in the 1960s, Rïime recalls the disappearance of members of his family as a succession of sudden deaths by killing curses. As only shamans can kill from a distance, using spirit helpers, ‘lay’ song (ēremi) curses operate through intermediate physical contact such as with hair or some paint scraped off the skin - they are a form of ‘contagious magic’ (Frazer 1922). Unlike today, houses in the past were open, no mosquito nets shielded the bodies resting in hammocks, and thus physical proximity through co-residency was regarded as a potential threat: any person, human or not, could sneak into the vicinity of the unsuspecting victim and retrieve the fragment necessary to conduct deadly mischief. Rïime elicits a clear distinction between safety as represented by his own village, composed of his relatives, and other villages, from which attacks leading to the loss of his kin originated. His account illustrates the way in which space and kinship are closely associated in Guianese Amerindian representations of their living and lived environment and thus sociality; distance marks a determining factor, since Trio relatedness is often spatially manifested. As Rivière stated in his early monograph on the Trio, ‘[c]oresidence can be as closely binding as the ties of genealogical connexion, and in [the Trio’s] thought they are not truly distinguished’ (1969a: 65).

The distinction between safety as epitomised by one’s own village inhabited by kin, and danger originating in other villages in which non-relatives live is often referred to as the interplay between ‘inside’ and ‘outside’, that is, between consanguinity and alterity (Rivière 1984; Viveiros de Castro 1992), most crucially expressed in marriage rules, classificatory terminology and the use of teknonyms, all these reflecting an ideal of prescriptive endogamous alliances and co-residential affinal avoidance. This is when greeting, and verbal interaction come into play; such communication is a clear expression of a desire to maintain convivial bonds and remain tied to affinal Others. 56 Village life therefore bears the mark of interaction with one another, or, rather, where

55 For Trio version see appendix.
56 This is a general rule across the Amazonian lowlands and elsewhere in the Americas (Monod Becquelin & Erikson 2000).
there is communication between people who are not related, there is village life. But this image gives the impression that, in terms of spatial (that is, visible) distance, each village has physical boundaries that extend in concentric circles towards the least known worlds.

It is precisely this spatial model of Guianese settlement that has caught the attention of researchers who have conducted fieldwork in the region in the past decade or so. Some have reproached the authors of the existing regional models (such as Henley 1996; Overing 1983-84; Rivière 1984) for a ‘monolithic’ use of ethnographic material as well as an analytical perspective which favours an ‘atomistic’ and ‘minimalistic’ portrayal of the region’s indigenous populations (Gallois 2005: 12). To this approach, which relies, it is argued, too much on an image of ‘entrenched’, monadic societies with an endogamous inside and a ‘horror of the outside’ (ibid.), recent publications have aimed at producing representations of the eastern Guianese societies as being interconnected through space and time by ‘networks of sociability’, characterised by an outward engagement towards exogamy by means of exchange: lineages (Grupioni 2005a & b on the Trio); barter (Barbosa 2002, 2005 on the Wayana) and ‘intercommunitarian feasts’ (Sztutman 2000 on the Wayãpi). The criticism focuses on the earlier authors’ supposed emphasis of endogamy and ideal of isolation, which, it is argued, is not reproduced in actual social practices. The image of the network is used to represent what is described as ‘intercommunitarian exchange’ connecting either villages in the case of feasts and barter, or descent groups in the case of marriage alliances. The reliance of authors such as Friel (1970), upon the principle of ‘marital exchange’ between descent groups was already implicitly criticised by Hurault (1972). There are some problems with these recent revisions of Guianese

57 This reading of the classic model of the Guianas is entirely unjustified: Rivière (1984), in its most complete expression, shows that relations with the ‘outside’ are fundamental to social continuity and the reproduction of the ‘inside’.


59 The core argument of Grupioni’s thesis rests on a distinction between ties resulting from co-residence, imoíi, and those based on genealogical connexions, iípí, and that the latter resemble patrilineages (2002, also 2005a & b). I have found no evidence of this during my fieldwork. It is not my objective here to dwell on the existence of prescription in iípí, which is usually employed as a preposition indicating juxtaposition; for further discussion of the term see Carlin (2004: 9, 18) and Rivière (1969a: 64-5).

60 ‘Any two Wayana, taken in separate villages, are almost necessarily distant relatives and call each other uncle, brother, nephew, brother-in-law, etc., by virtue of classificatory relations whose origin has
social models, which resuscitate the idea of descent groups by another name (itipi, (T) ‘continuity’ (Grupioni 2005a & b)), tend to treat supralocal relations as though they were relatively unproblematic, and make no distinction between sociality (the full spectrum of social relations) and sociability (the convivial relations that exist principally between close kin).

What retains my attention however is the interplay between permanence and transformation. In the highly fluid social landscape of the Guianas, villages are constantly modified and vary in composition as people are continually on the move (Rivière 1984: 15), a fleeting visible reality that has been characterised as ‘dynamic’ by Gallois (2005). In this, the focus on the invisible is revealing: ‘[s]ettlements are the visible but ephemeral evidence of an invisible continuity’ (Rivière 1995: 202). This fluidity of the settlements means in turn that relations are constantly made and remade, and this agrees with Carsten & Hugh-Jones’ analytical stress on the interplay between permanence and impermanence characteristic of the processual nature of the ‘house’ (understood as kinship category) in Amazonia and elsewhere (1995: 39): relations are processual, and do not operate at random. On this basis I suggest a conceptual model which fits Trio and Wayana sociality in village life well, based on a relational approach following the imagery proposed by Ingold:

‘places are constituted as nodes in the endless comings and goings of people, each characterised by its particular assemblage of relations, and connected to all the others both socially and physically [...]: persons are conceived as passing along lines of movement and exchanging substance at the places where their respective paths cross or commingle’ (Ingold 2000: 145).

Leaving aside the idea of exchange, and focusing instead on diffusion, or influence, Ingold’s model is an appropriate tool for understanding how social relations within and beyond a settlement are made and maintained, and it agrees in turn with what Rivière has recently written on Trio settlements: that the difference between discontinuous settlements and an invisible ontological continuity may be, albeit with long been forgotten. The Wayana do not consider these genealogical units as two distinct groups; there is only one word in their language, ëuki, to designate the entire kin group. It is clear that in the mind of a Wayana, ëuki represents the collection of individuals to which he has given the name of brother, uncle, aunt, nephew, etc. [...] Ëuki is not grouped materially, corresponds to no definition of a group, and has no rigorous frontier; its limits fade progressively in the distance. One hears from one, “that’s my family”; from another, “that’s also my family”; from yet another, “that’s a bit my family”’ (Hurault 1972: 51-2, my trans.).
care, thought of as a metropolitan grid forming the basis of an invisible network. The stations’ entrances, visible to an observer on the surface, represent the discontinuous settlements, which with time could be shifted to different positions on the invisible grid (1995: 266).

These connections through space are constitutive of relatedness, substance and experience, and therefore what is continuous is movement – that is, as Wagner suggests (1986), not an actual movement through space, but rather, what I define as a diffusion of influence. Diffusion should be understood as the invisible counterpart to distribution, as defined by Melanesianists such as Gell (1998) with reference to distributed personhood. In the highly ambiguous and shifting spirit world of Amazonia, the precise intentionality characterising distribution of objects and visible substances is not always present; only those with specialist knowledge such as shamans can intentionally distribute influence in this invisible realm.61

In contemporary villages, ‘station entrances’, are more fixed in space than in the past; they include the schools, health posts and centres of redistribution of objects, which are now necessary to Amerindian everyday life. They are landmarks rooted in the visible landscape, poles of attraction and centres of possession, redistribution and diffusion of influence. They are places where human movement converges as the centre of multiple and contrasting influences, the focus of objects and knowledge brought from other spaces such as the city and the forest.

2.1.1. Village layout: visible poles on an invisible grid.

The means by which the Door to Life Gospel Mission established its mission posts in Southern Suriname was through the guarantee they gave the Surinamese government of the provision of health care and education to the indigenous populations of the interior (Conley 2000). These two services were supplied with medical and educational personnel attached to the Dutch Reformed Church, working in conjunction with Baptist missionaries who acted as pastors to the local indigenous population. Public buildings, that is places built by outside initiative to cover medical

61 This distinction will be explored further at the level of the person in chapter 5.
and educational purposes, have been traditionally located along or in the vicinity of the airstrip in Tëpu. The communal space of the village, that is the anna, is also within close range of the airstrip, and is occupied by the communal house (paiman), and the Telesur radio post. It is on the margins of the anna that the missionaries originally positioned their own house, although they now live near the airstrip; further up the airstrip is the church, where a sparsely attended service takes place four times a week. Other communal buildings have been erected, mostly through governmental initiatives (the airstrip maintenance building), but also by a conservation organisation (Amazon Conservation Team’s ‘traditional healing’ clinic) and a development fund (the Margreet Kauffman Foundation funded the newly erected school). With his village cultural association, Jaraware, missionary schoolteacher C. Koelewijn has also initiated the creation of a library and classroom, and begun work on a tourist house, which could be used for visitors. Additionally, the ministerial employee Meine\(^{62}\) has built his ‘hunting lodge’ in Tëpu as well as a river landing ‘bar’. In all of these places villagers frequently congregate informally as much to gossip as to use the services they provide.

Meine sets standards of ‘generosity’ through his cultivation of special relationships with certain individuals notably Aiwan who has a ‘shop’ which he stocks using the former’s government flights. Shops, being in reality well stocked domestic homes, are not public gathering places in the same sense as the ‘public’ buildings mentioned above, but people do gather there to see what an individual is buying. The shop owner makes a display of his capacity to accumulate desirable objects such as fishing equipment, soap and other items which have become considered indispensable items for everyday life, and the price and origin of purchased items are discussed when taken home.

The gardens, which encapsulate the extension of a household and its manifest coordination in work, spread alongside the Tapanahoni and its creeks following a general pattern according to which sons-in-law have a garden next to that of their father-in-law. These are also spaces in which people meet beyond the domestic

\(^{62}\) Pseudonym.
sphere, during the periods of clearing and planting when communal labour is organised, as discussed later in this chapter.

In current sedentary settlements, it is now expected from village leaders to use funds provided by the local administration in order properly to maintain ‘public’ buildings. A leader is therefore now expected to demonstrate his ability and generosity by arranging for external workers to construct communal buildings. In the case of the new communal house built in the village of Tëpu, one of the leaders contracted Waiwai builders from Guyana to supervise and lead the construction process. In this respect, house building becomes a major manifestation of a leader’s authority. This is also translated into monetary terms now that the use of money and the importance of a leader’s ability to attract it have become familiar. The visible sophistication of a building built with materials which necessarily come from the city, reflects the diffusion of the leader of his influence on the invisible grid, the temporary manifestation of his power by connections and influence. Meanwhile as he accumulates movable materials such as nails and tools – highly coveted objects to which only a privileged few have access, and even then at a premium because of the remoteness of the villages –, he can distribute his influence by giving or lending objects on an individual basis.

As Schoepf observed in an article on Wayana hospitality (1998), a clear measure of the social cohesion of a Wayana village is the state of its communal house (W: tukusipan), and of the bare space surrounding it, which has to be kept clean and free of grass through regular collective maintenance work organised and supervised by the village leader. Maintaining this communal symbol of a village diligently and effectively can be considered one of the duties and signs of a charismatic and respected leadership.

Villages tend to be named after their founders, who are also usually their leaders, but their increased permanence and size, and their foundation in some cases by missionaries, have made village names and identities more complex. Mentioning aloud the name of the village in which one lives increases the prestige of a leader across the region, and the person who mentions it acknowledges the authority of the founder, thus further dispersing his influence. But the large settlements, called
pananakiri ipata (T: white people’s village) are not considered monolithic villages (pata) so much as clusters of satellite pata around a centre whose focus is the school, health post and church. In the case of Tëpu, which is named after the large rocks on the riverbank, the first missionary there, Claude Leavitt, known locally as ‘Koroni’, is remembered as the founder. In the case of Antecume Pata, the institutions that were to anchor the village, the health post and the school were built and flourished under the leadership and initiative of another white man who in the late 1960s decided to settle among the Wayana and adopt their way of life: André Cognat, known locally as Antecume. In these cases, acknowledgement of the role played by white people, this peculiar category of Others, remains vivid among villagers of both villages. But whereas in the case of the mission posts, there was a successive rotation of white men who regularly settled among the Trio, A. Cognat remains the leader of his eponymous village. As I shall show below, there are further dimensions to contemporary village space, which is subdivided into smaller ‘villages’.

Aerial view of Antecume Pata (Grand Kalimbé 2004: 24). The quality of the strong wooden roofs is very visible, and can be contrasted with the thatched roof of the tukusipan in the centre of the picture, apparent behind the large roof structure of the village’s cultural association Yepe, which is partly covered by green tarmac. The patch of land surrounding the communal house is the main centre of communal activity. The large square open piece of land further to the left is the football pitch. The settlement situated on the other side of the rapids is one of the Apalai areas of Antecume Pata. The satellite village is not yet visible on this photograph, but its present location is in the area in the top right hand corner of the image.
Because of the large size of the populations clustered around mission posts, schools and health posts, each village can no longer be said to be a homogeneous unit in which settlement and kinship reflect each other. Social distance has to be managed where spatial distance would have been given precedence in the past: although people still leave a settlement once a deep rift emerges between residents, the move can be towards a peripheral location which allows sufficient autonomy without breaking all bonds, or result in someone leaving the village to settle elsewhere for a period of time before returning. Political divisions, which in the past would lead to the breaking up of factions to form new villages, today result in the creation of satellites clustered around the centres defined by airstrip, school and clinic. This occurred in Antecume Pata, when an ambitious rival to A. Cognat founded a ‘satellite’ village on the eastern riverbank, which remains dependant for modern amenities upon Antecume Pata. Despite this dependence, the satellite constitutes a separate visible pole or entrance to the invisible network of social relations.

The wide rapids separating Antecume Pata and its new satellite mark more clear and distinct boundaries than the portions of uncultivated forest separating house clusters in Tëpu, but in the latter there nonetheless co-exist what could be metaphorically defined as separate insular entities. The image of satellite villages therefore serves just as well to describe the way in which residents of the Trio village of Southern Suriname define themselves spatially. For instance, Nupi, an elderly Trio, commented to me on the difficulty he was experiencing to live in Tëpu with people he was not related to, as well as the sadness he felt not to be able to reside next to his extended kin whom he left behind in Brazil. He expressed this by repeatedly telling me how his residential unit was separate from the rest of the village:

‘This village Tëpu is like an island. My village Tëpu Tamiren is also like an island within an island […] My daughter Jimiso lives here in my house, her husband is the kapitein [SD: village leader]. He lives here in my place. So, we’re all here in the same family, we’re not mixed, there are no other people who come from Tëpu who live over here. There are only people from Paru and Brazil who live here’ (Nupi 04/05/2004).

Apart from Nupi’s striking analogy between his settlement and an island, his comment on the lack of mixing with Others expresses a desire rather than an actual fact. Whereas in practice younger people would intermarry without strictly following the
ideal endogamous alliances preferred by their grand-parents, Nupi’s stress on the insularity, the enclosedness of his relatives with regard to the rest of the village can also be analysed as an attempt to assert his power as a senior head of household whose son-in-law is one the ‘captains’, or official leaders, of the entire village. The satellite villages can thus be seen as visible poles on the invisible grid of social relations and personal influence, subsidiary to the larger poles of major village centres, but as Nupi’s case shows, these invisible relations are played out in ordinary life at every level, and can perhaps best be seen in the material modes of definition of the domestic and personal sphere.

2.1.2. Domestic life: extending social distance.

Contemporary life is defined by its rootedness within a sedentary lifestyle. Village houses, in their shape and permanence, are a direct manifestation of this. 63 Although the satellites described above are formed largely along the lines of kinship, the inhabitants of a given household nevertheless live permanently near non-relatives because of the constant circulation of people between satellites without any of the formal visiting protocol of pre-sedentary inter-village relations. The result of this is expressed in the changes of architecture and house building styles, differing according to whether they are located in the centre of the communal space or on its margins.

Domestic life in and around the family houses, which now represent the residential units to be found in Tëpu, is characterised by a sense of the sociability which pervaded the village as a whole in the pre-sedentary past. Up to four generations may sleep under the same roof, in a house undivided into rooms. These sleeping places become filled with a great accumulation of objects, which make it a form of eclectic storehouse to which people retire to sleep. When distant relatives come to visit for a period of time, which can extend to several months, they are allocated a space within that room, and the elderly members of the household may move their hammocks to the beams of the house on the ground floor. In either part of the house, the elderly often sleep next to their grandchildren. The stuffy enclosed bulk of these large family

63 In the past, houses were abandoned or destroyed following the death of their builder, who was usually buried underneath them or left in his hammock. Now that missionaries have established the practice of burial in a hammock in a cemetery on the fringe of the village, houses are not abandoned as often.
houses, fabricated by the alignment of wooden planks, with rarely more than one small opening as a window, is a striking feature in the central cluster of the village. More marginal houses on the village periphery, belonging to Trio, Wayana and Akuriyo alike, tend to be more open, often left without walls, as if the fact that these parts of the village are less frequented by non-relatives allowed for a lower level of protection. This interpretation was later confirmed when I witnessed the building of a new house by a young man which was located on the river bank and in relative proximity to other houses, and for which he straight away built walls to separate it from the outside.

![Drawing by Demas (06.2005) depicting social communal life as it used to be in Antecume Pata, an open gathering around the main clearing, surrounded by houses without walls, and characterised by a production and exchange of knowledge through music and story-telling after sunset. This social model is now reduced at the level of the household in which knowledge is transmitted to close kin around the household fire.]

Trio and Wayana create social distance by multiplying opaque layers which block the affinal gaze. Locations of seclusion are recreated at the core of the residential unit: female seclusion at childbirth and during the first menstruation now take place in the home, by isolating the person with layers of mosquito nets, whereas in the past they would take place in specially constructed houses at the village margins or by a creek in the forest. The distance created by opaque physical layers in the form of walls, like clothes and opaque mosquito nets, now enthusiastically adopted, were first encouraged by the Protestant missionaries in order to promote the creation of as many
layers as possible separating bodies and families from each other; the rationale for
doing so is expressed by Dowdy, writing about the same group of missionaries
operating among the Waiwai of southern Guyana:

‘It would take a full generation before family lines were clear and straight and
all brothers and sisters united under one roof with a single set of parents’
(Dowdy 1964: 218).

The encouragement to create a sense of privacy and decency was motivated by an
aversion to the human body and its sexuality. The compartmentalization of kin
groups and severe punishment of adultery\(^\text{64}\) were among the manifest policies of
missionary organisations focusing on ordering through morality. They reflect the
individual missionaries’ own difficulties with a foreign and alienating life in the
bush: the missionaries themselves suffered in the early days from the lack of privacy
in Amerindian village life (Koelewijn, pers. comm.). While their strategic centrality
within the village itself allowed for their watchful eye to be constantly resting upon
the Trio villagers as discussed above, they became the objects of curiosity and
examination on the part of the residents. Some did not prove able to accept the flow
of visitors and passers-by who would observe them constantly. The missionary
schoolteachers whom the Koelewijns originally came to replace were an American
couple who suffered from what they considered constant intrusion. They were so
distressed that they had arranged for an entire wall of planks to surround their house
as an additional barrier to intrusive looks. They thus enclosed themselves in an extra
physical layer of wood, to protect themselves from the inquisitive gazes and gossip
resulting from co-residency in close physical proximity. As the humanity of a non-
related person, especially a stranger who appears to have no relatives in the village
and whose reasons for being there are thus not immediately justified, is determined
greatly by its social behaviour on a daily basis (what he/she eats and how, how
his/her body is made, whether he/she washes regularly, knows how to speak), and
careful observation is thus a necessary determining factor. Ceasing interaction on a
daily basis, the missionaries denied their own humanity as unrelated persons.

\(^{\text{64}}\) Frikel criticises the Protestant missionaries as fiercely punishing allegedly unfaithful women in
public (1971): the women were publicly beaten.
The motivations for the construction of opaque layers are not, however, identical for the missionaries and for local Amerindians: while walls may in both cases be seen as working as a protection from inquisitive looks, for local people they also protect from curses (contagious magic) and perhaps also from shamanic spirit attacks. These enclosed spaces can also create opportunities for seduction and sexual adventures, far from preventing such encounters as the missionaries intended. The mosquito net has allowed a new bawdy motif to emerge in local oral literature and gossip, on the theme of the seduction of a woman in a mosquito net surrounded by her sleeping relatives - a motif which no doubt has its roots in daily common experience. Sneaking into an unrelated household in order to seduce a woman is part of the excitement of breaching the boundaries of an intimate space and challenging the protectiveness of relatives by breaking into their enclosed domestic space. These visits occur at night, a time when spirits can also be attracted by women into human settlements in order to have sex with them, a theme recurrent in Trio mythology.65

This incursion into the sphere of seduction and love games illustrates another dimension of the uses the Trio and Wayana have made of new forms of settlement layout, as resulting from a long-term sedentarisation process. Whereas some forms of layers, regarded as rather inconvenient such as clothing, have been gradually discarded for everyday use among the villagers of Tëpu, others which were introduced for the creation of private spaces such as walls and partitions in houses and for health reasons, such as the opaque mosquito nets, have been maintained as a means to accommodate spatial proximity between residential kin groups. Far from changing the region’s patterns of kinship and family life as the Protestant missionaries intended, the adoption of walls and mosquito nets has been embraced as a means of preserving kinship practices in a new physical setting. Ultimately, as I have described, a village like Tëpu, rather than being a homogenous entity, represents a conglomerate of cognatic clusters bounded by architectural means when located in the centre of the village and in the vicinity of the public buildings, and bounded by distance in the case of satellites further away from the centre. Location, physical structure and social relation thus conspire in the making of sociality in the context of

long-term sedentarisation; and the most appropriate image of this is the invisible grid, as opposed to concentric spheres emanating from a single social centre.  

In the distributed grid of residence, each centre and satellite manifests the ideal of endogamy, but also actively maintains an outward engagement towards exogamous relations through daily interaction with affines, as well as an increased amount of marriage outside prescriptive relations. Satellites, or cognatic clusters, thus revolve around visible poles of attraction which have now become part of Trio and Wayana self-definition (i.e. health post, school). But as well as through these visible ‘stations’, invisible social relations are also manifested in everyday life through hearing and ingesting, in the form of communication and commensality. I will now explore how substance through commensality and communication is transformed by sedentarisation, by considering the spatial projection of kinship which extends beyond the residential unit: kinship paths.

2.2. ‘Kinship paths’, conviviality and communication.

‘Before, people did not have much family, they lived in little villages, they didn’t go to visit other people, they looked after their young daughters, they didn’t live like in this village here [Tépu], they lived near the forest, a little bit in the forest. So, they saw [spirits] all the time, because before we [Wayana] still used to transform ourselves into different beings, and we had almost come to the moment to transform ourselves into real Wayana’ (Kulitaikë 26/01/2004, lines 11-6).  

Kulitaikë’s description of life before sedentarisation and set in a past in which some primordial humanising transformations had not yet occurred, emphasises the fact that settlements were smaller and that people had less ‘family’ - there was less communication between settlements, people did not travel often to visit each other; and it is for him primarily in this sense that the Wayana of the past did not live the way people do today in Tépu. His comments are illuminating in many ways; they emphasise that contemporary Trio and Wayana social life is defined by different forms of social interaction between relatives and with affines, and that what

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66 Cf. Albert & Le Tourneau (n.d.) who articulate the same principle in the context of Yanomami ecological management.
67 See Wayana version in appendix.
characterises the sense of family today is increased communication. This form of
historical transformation is little acknowledged in current anthropological research,
even by the detractors of the ‘classic Guianese model’ in their effort to develop a
regional model based on what I have defined as visible, distributive networks.
However, as Freire observed among the Piaroa in Venezuela, two major changes in
settlement pattern have affected marriage: a concentration of population in villages of
more than 100 persons, and increased communication with distant villages. These
changes resulted in the appearance of two novel forms of marriage practice with most
marriages taking place either between members of the same village, or between two
people belonging to very distant villages (2002: 85). This pattern is echoed by my
own data on the Trio and Wayana, which also shows frequent and increasing
intermarriage between these two linguistic groups.68

Although in the past such marriages also occurred, the practice of uxorilocality
resulted to some degree in the merging of the person coming from outside into the
dominant linguistic group. The offspring of these mixed unions usually grew up
taking on the identity of their co-residents and, although extraneous origins were
remembered, the processes and experiences of everyday life made a person more of a
Trio or Wayana, depending on the village.69 However today things are different due to
a fundamental change in the configuration of social relations of the region through a
radical increase in the means of communication. Increased and diversified forms of
communication have introduced new forms of feeding, nurturing invisible kinship
bonds effaced in the past by spatial distance.

Unlike among other peoples such as those of Melanesia, who perceive their kin
origins as being primordially located in the landscape,70 in the Guianas, and in some
other parts of Amazonia,71 kinship is prior to space and place; places are primordially

68 According to Frikel (1973: 221), Protestant missionaries encouraged intermarriage between Trio and
Wayana.
69 The same logic applies to the groups, linguistic or merely political and residential, which existed
before merging to form these larger entities of Trio and Wayana; I have referred to these elsewhere as
jana.
70 ‘As a locus of personal growth and development […] every such place forms the centre of a sphere of
nurture. Thus the generation of persons within spheres of nurture, and of places in the land, are not
separate processes but one and the same’ (Ingold 2000: 149).
71 But not everywhere: among the Tukanoans, for example, place and lineage are closely associated
(Hugh-Jones, pers. comm.).
located in kinship, and kin relations are accordingly traced in the landscape forming what Gow, based on his Piro ethnography, has called ‘kinship paths’ (1991). Thus, rather than saying ‘kinship is geography’ (Leach 1997: 36), for this region I invert Leach’s formula: geography is kinship. In this section, I will explore how these ‘kinship paths’ connecting persons across a triple border area are maintained and expressed. It will require an exploration of the various aspects of the concept of ‘communication’. This should not be understood here merely as vocal exchange but also as the merging of substance, as intrinsically related to an analysis of the morality of conviviality: sociable communication, in everyday village life, stimulating sasame wehto, affinal wellbeing. Communication favours sasame wehto by extending bonds of consanguinity to non-relatives through processual commensality.

2.2.1. Conviviality and the morality of commensality.

Conviviality (onken, as opposed to euphoric and collective sasame) is epitomised and generated by commensality, by eating together, which in the domestic setting occurs in the form of daily meals shared by close kin. Daily opportunities also exist to allow people from different domestic settings to eat and drink together. Commensality allows the reassertion of a person’s position in the web of kinship connections. As among Melanesian peoples, this equation between food and kinship can be expressed in negative terms: ‘Hunger and loss are thus at the centre of a basic Kaluli symbolic equation; they stand for isolation and abandonment’ (Feld 1982: 28). Nobody must be loose and without bonds, for this is the state of spirits, which are dangerous for precisely this reason, therefore if strangers are proved to have relatives, they are regarded as less dangerous. Among the Trio, loss is associated with looseness, a feeling of not being properly contained within one’s own bodily envelope. Being regularly fed the proper foods allows for the fixing of the person’s souls to its skin, its envelope.

This strong attachment through kinship bonds also becomes apparent when a Trio or Wayana is asked to describe someone else; besides the reluctance people show to refer directly to a person who is absent, they will manage to do so by using various

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72 As Lepri states about the Ese Eja in Bolivia, ‘people are much more likely to voice the beauty of living near their kin than the special relation to the place’ (2005: 707).
strategies to avoid mentioning names or direct relationship terms. One such strategy is the use of teknonyms: with these the person’s substantial relationship is only expressed through a third party.73 Consanguineal relations define a ‘person’ (wítoto), rather than his/her actions or achievements.74 Similarly, memories of the past such as those I have collected in life history narratives (see appendix) move along ‘kinship paths’, which link villages through the migrations of kin: it is these kin relations that provide the thread holding the narrative together, and the geography of the physical environment thus draws its meaning from kinship.

These kinship paths are defined as much by their boundaries as by what they include, and they are bounded by affinal relations. In these, there is a subtle distinction between ‘respect’ and ‘affinal avoidance’. Whereas respect is primarily shown by a son-in-law to his father-in-law, avoidance is characterised by the feeling of shame (piíme), as opposed to conviviality (onken),75 and the desire to establish bonds, associated with communal feasts, tipsiness, sharing and merging of processed substance, euphoria (sasame). Piíme is said to cause relationships to weaken, and it thus increases social distance. Onken by contrast represents an ideal for everyday communal life, underpinned by a ‘high evaluation of a large network of close, harmonious relationships’ (Rivière 2000: 255). Onken is expressed in eating with moderation and talking quietly, apart from laughing which is high-pitched and open. Sasame can thus be thought of as a larger category, which includes onken as its everyday manifestation, but achieves its full expression in the collective euphoria of large communal celebrations. Sasame is overt and strategically sought, whereas onken is tacit and quotidian. Feasts have a centripetal effect which counters the centrifugal tendencies of everyday life, caused by piíme, and feasts instead attract everything to a centre, located in the communal house.76 Daily life is characterised by an emphasis on networks in which each connection involves a tension between onken and piíme, resulting in a diffuse form of sociality which navigates along ‘paths’ as opposed to merging concentrically into a centre.

74 This is distinct from recollections of affinal relations (also distant affines such as pananakiri or mekoro), which are described in terms of exchange and common action. This is the case for instance of trading partnerships or bonds with white people. See chapter 5 for discussion.
75 Rivière (2000) gives a good analysis of Trio ideas on feelings.
76 See chapter 3.
One context in which co-residential affines interact, and in which *sasame* is promoted as a means rather than as an end in itself, is in sessions of communal work: on these occasions, Trio and Wayana who are not directly related convene to work either on a building or in clearing a forest garden (*T*: *tëpitë*). Two forms of nurture, feeding and entertaining, play an essential role in the organisation and completion of this communal work. The sponsor of the work party produces and distributes processed substances, especially manioc beer (*T*: *sakura*), and also sometimes boiled game (*kairi*) with manioc bread. Communal prestation, on a regular basis, is conducted in a jovial atmosphere, with laughter and joking. During work parties people do take breaks, signifying explicitly in their body language that they are tired, that the work is hard. The ‘host’ is expected to be engaging and motivating, answering to all the comments and jokes, and smiling at everyone. Following clearing and planting work in the gardens, clearing and planting work in the gardens, large quantities of manioc beer are distributed to the various participants who spend a long while swinging in their hosts’ daytime hammocks and casually discussing planting, hunting trips to the forest, and news from town. This is considered a time of rest, but also of communal meeting, and no one is expected to hurry back home.

Communal prestation is described as service for which no payment is made but pleasure is provided. The drinking and eating is said only to be in order to make willing (*onken*) affines happy (*sasame*) and thus motivate them to work. It is interesting now to consider how communal work can be defined according to different people’s perspectives. The following quotation well expresses the Trio and Wayana attitude towards work: ‘Muruku is communal work [...] I give them drink; I give them food when they finish the work. Therefore, people end up being happier.’ (Sarina, in Barbosa 2003: 128, my trans.). Barbosa goes on to comment, ‘productivity of individual and collective activities performed by and within the community fundamentally depends on this moral wellbeing, promoted and celebrated by the regular consumption of, among other things, manioc beer’ (*ibid*: 133, my trans.).

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77 Clearing and planting are the responsibility of men or their sons-in-law, and require communal work due to the intense physical effort involved. Once the gardens are planted, looking after them becomes the duty of the close family unit and the responsibility of women.
However, it is unlikely that people work simply because they feel happy; the *sasame* motivation should instead be regarded as disguising the underlying element of exchange through distribution: food and drink are distributed in return for work. This ambivalence is illustrated by what I observed when Kulitaikë embarked on the construction of two new houses for his father-in-law Kïsi, adjacent to the main house. When Kulitaikë decided to give a final drive to the completion of the second house’s roof, he invited several distant affines to help him on the construction for a whole day. He and his wife gave them drink and food, particularly at the end of the day. I can remember entering the space between the houses and seeing all the ‘helpers’ at the table, eating a combination of *kairi* and rice with spicy pumpkin. When I asked Kulitaikë whether he was offering them food to thank them for the participation in the construction of the roof, he said yes, and added, ‘it is like giving them maybe 120 euros’. By adding this information, his aim was presumably to ‘translate’ what he thought made sense to me in terms of social prestation, my references as a white person being money and wage labour. His explanation also expresses a growing preoccupation and infatuation with numbers in general, especially dates and prices, which is due to a sharp increase in their practical importance in the last five to ten years. While Kulitaikë himself had previously shown himself adamant that processed foods such as *kairi*, usually consumed among kin, should not be bought and sold, his ‘translation’ also shows that he himself thought of the commensality of the work party as a form of exchange. It is for this reason that on these occasions the distance between the participants on the invisible web of kinship is not necessarily effaced. Commensality between affines can thus be seen as a mode of distributive exchange, whereas commensality in the domestic setting is characterised by sharing of substance. This does not detract from the fact that as a common and commensal experience work parties (like collective celebrations) generate *sasame* both while they last, and as a pleasant memory in the long term.

The experience of commensality and of times spent together sharing foods is one of profound meaning to the Trio and Wayana. The nurturing factor allows for substance to be shared and a familiarisation to operate, which if supported by appropriate, convivial communication, eases the development of processual bonds, which are made, regularly maintained, and generate a sociable conviviality: the visible bonds of consanguinity are extended to those who are not already linked by them. In the
coming section, I will describe a form of nurturing technique which is facilitated by modern technology, and explore how the latter allows for spatial distance to be actively reduced and consanguineal networks actively maintained by the reliance of introduced communication networks.

2.2.2. Expanding networks: technology and consanguinity.

In this section I will show how specific forms of verbal communication and the movement of people and things amount to a form of nurture that creates conviviality, and can thus be regarded as another form of commensality. This will lead to a consideration of these forms of communication in terms of social and spatial distance, and how recent technological changes have reduced social distance and diminished spatial distance. As I remarked at the beginning of this chapter, greetings and other instances of convivial verbal communication are of basic importance to the Trio and Wayana; communication produces conviviality. This is something intrinsically human and demonstrates the true nature of a person, and something that ‘wild people’, spirit, and strangers alike cannot fully master although they may take on human appearance; communication thus removes doubt about underlying humanity, and as Erikson has noted it has the same effect across Amazonia:

‘To greet someone thus amounts to removing doubt about one’s ontological status, reinserting oneself within the social sphere and, as it were, ridding oneself of any obstacle to a serene relationship between living persons [...] To greet someone also involves reducing the temporal or spatial gap between living persons, and lifting the potential threat implied by the fallacious nature of appearance.’ (Erikson 2000: 133, my trans.)

Humanity is demonstrated by appropriate exchanges of phrases and the use of correct terms of address; this has also been noted among the Yanomami (Kelly 2003). Everyday conviviality has arguably changed since the appearance of missionaries and their active transformation of houses and family configuration. For instance, Frikel (1971) observed that, as a result of 10 years of what he describes as ‘acculturation of the Trio’ in both the Catholic and Protestant missions on both sides of the Surinamese-Brazilian border, conventional avoidance between in-laws was less respected, especially among women. He once asked a woman why she did not avoid her mother-in-law anymore and even spent long hours working with her, to which she
answered that before they used to have shame, which prevented them from speaking to one another, but now they do not have this shame anymore, and it is good to talk and be together.\(^7^8\) In Frikel’s terms ‘shame’ had been dissolved by ‘acculturation’, in a radical transition from a previous situation in which affinal avoidance was a central feature of Trio life; in Trio terms, \(\text{p\i\i\i\m}e\) (shame) was being replaced with \(\text{s\a\a\a\m}\)e. I interpret the reduction of shame, manifested and achieved through talking, working and otherwise communicating among affines, as extending conviviality to a wider social sphere. This extension of conviviality has occurred in similar circumstances among the Wari, who under Protestant missionary influence extended kin terms to affines (Vilaça 2002b). I suggest that this is a generalised phenomenon which accounts for the recent tendency among certain Amazonianists to emphasize conviviality, a tendency described by Taylor as ‘angelic’ (1996: 309); what has been portrayed as a perennial and fundamental feature of Amazonian society in fact took on a radically new character due to recent historical changes.

Terms of address have also transformed as a result of the way people relate to others in larger villages, and are used in strategies to generate further conviviality. Affines are addressed and referred to as ‘brother’ in certain settings; this was a practice first introduced by missionaries and then taken over by native populations with the consequence of erasing the barriers between kin proper and potential affines (Bonilla 2006: 3; Gow 2001: 1; Vilaça 2002b). In Southern Guyana, in both the savannah and forest, among the Wapishana and the Waiwai, I was repeatedly asked whether I was a ‘sister’, meaning a Christian (a sister ‘in the church’) as well as a potential commensal. Among the Trio and Wayana of Tëpu, those who work for Medisches Zending call each other ‘brother’ and ‘sister’ for the same reasons, while unrelated men can call each other \(\text{j\a\h\k\o}\) and unrelated women \(\text{k\o\r}\).\(^7^9\)

In view of the fact that ‘being together’ leads to stronger social ties and a greater degree of kinship, it may be supposed that people living in distant villages remain socially distant. But recent technological changes ensure that conviviality can extend

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\(^{78}\) Frikel does not here mention the Trio word which is used by his female interlocutor to describe the feeling of ‘shame’, or affinal avoidance, which she no longer feels towards her in-laws, but I assume it is \(\text{p\i\i\i\m}\e\).

\(^{79}\) Rivière, following his 1963 field study, found that \(\text{j\a\h\k\o}\) was rapidly increasing in usage, while \(\text{k\o\r}\) was not yet in use; he suggested that the former was due to ‘the large-scale migrations which have recently occurred and have thrown into contact many slightly acquainted Indians’ (1969: 287).
even across a vast region. The distribution of words, people and things along an ever-widening regional network has consequently reinforced, on the invisible grid, nurturing influence between distant relatives with whom little contact would have taken place in the past. Reliance on the modern technology-based communication network has become extensive, mostly with the use of the short wave radio present in every village, satellite telephone (now available in French Guiana), and with air transport which allows written correspondence (which is highly regarded) and the circulation and trade of foodstuffs, live or material objects. People themselves have also become more mobile through air transport and outboard motors, motivated by employment, education, trade or curiosity. This increased mobility leads to the reaffirmation of bonds between spatially distant relatives. There is a new incentive to maintain strong ties with relatives across the triple border area to secure a wider access to nationally specialised products. For instance, *twa twa* birds<sup>80</sup> caught by the Trio on the savannah in Brazil will be sent for sale on the coast in French Guiana via relatives living in Suriname and on the Maroni river.<sup>81</sup> Specialised manufactured objects, such as hooks and sealed containers like *touks* (T: *ton*) from French Guiana are mostly valued for their strength and durability, whereas cartridges and foodstuffs are purchased in Paramaribo (Suriname) for their lower cost and availability. Networks of trade and the circulation of objects therefore follow kinship across international borders.

Spatially distant relatives are relied upon as intermediaries for the circulation of objects, but this practice is not exclusively based on interest and profit; kinship ties are important to the Trio and the Wayana for their own sake. It may seem surprising that even distant relatives are felt to be reliable, but this would be to invert the motivations of the actors concerned: trade and objects to a large extent are considered as means to cultivate social relations. The uselessness of many of the items received from relatives living in the city, and the fact that they tend to accumulate in a disordered manner in the house, scattered on the floor or in the rafters gathering dust, support this interpretation. Moreover the most frequently received items in both

<sup>80</sup> Large-billed seed finch, *Oryzoborus crassirostris*.

<sup>81</sup> *Twa twa* and *picolet* (lesser seed finch, *Oryzoborus angolensis*), birds extremely sought after for their singing, are both endangered species, and used to be found commonly on the coast and south of Suriname. There are still some in the Sipaliwini savannah south of the country but are rare and therefore high in monetary value.
directions between the city and the village, and between villages themselves, are foods: manioc bread and meat from the villages, and wheat bread, rice, sweets and fizzy drinks from the city: these are said to be things that make people happy. Conversely, it is said that people who live away from their kin gradually grow thin and weak from acute loss and the inability of their body to be regenerated by the constant flow of substance linking kin. It is not unusual for someone to say that he is unwell because he misses his relatives, or to express worry about a close relative’s health because of her living far away. All of this reaffirms that communication over long distances, demonstrating a desire to nurture and care for relatives, constitutes and is expressed through commensality.

Communication through radio, letters, parcels with foods thus represents a means of nurturing these distant kin ties, of reducing spatial distance, creating a direct experience of sharing through verbal exchanges, letters and food. In everyday speech, memories of distant relatives are invariably paired with recollections of the gifts and objects they sent or brought with them on their last visit, expressing the morality of the proper conventional behaviour between humans: that of being generous, giving and convivial. Air travel and the short wave radio network have given rise to an increased exchange with spatially distant relatives, reducing their social distance through nurture: a form of commensality of words and often lovingly processed objects enacted through modern communication technology.

Gifts (*sasame wehto*) thus provide a means of manifesting the invisible social connections, which can otherwise be effaced by spatial distance. They are a visible manifestation of belonging to an invisible network of substance: objects extend people’s substance along the invisible grid of sociality. Objects in everyday life often stimulate discussions of historical change, because in many cases they used not to exist. They are at the forefront of Trio and Wayana descriptions of themselves as having undergone a social transformation, a radical break from the past leading to a new way of being. This is characterised, as I have described, as an extension of conviviality stressing communication along kinship paths, which ideally creates *sasame* at the level of a village, a state of social contentment or wellbeing. As I have

82 The powerful sense of loss of people who are separated from their kin is well illustrated in the literature on Amazonia in general (Chapuis 1998; Conklin 2001).
discussed earlier in this chapter, it tends to be related to a transition from a time of war to a time of peace, and it is to this relationship between ‘pacification’ and ‘transformation’ that I now turn.

2.3. Social pacification as human transformation.

I have already mentioned the recent attempt by Grupioni (2002, 2005a & b) to understand the ‘continuity’ of historical groups among the Trio in Brazil in genealogical terms. Her depiction of these as something equating to descent groups distracts attention from the important historical transformations of recent decades which I suggest are fundamental at least to understanding Trio and Akuriyo sociality on the Surinamese side of the border, as well as that of the Wayana in Suriname and French Guiana. The Trio and Wayana do not speak explicitly and spontaneously about being of ‘mixed blood’, but they do retain some sense of genealogical continuity, although as I have mentioned this is not to say that they have corporate groups in any sense. Continuity as I have shown takes the form of kinship paths and commensality, and it is only in these forms that it is manifested in ordinary life.

However, when ideas about connectedness to historical groups (jana) are elicited, people willingly talk about them, although most people claim to know very little, and few know from which group they are ‘descended’; instead they more often describe themselves, and everybody else, as ‘mixed’, using the Sranan word moxi. Knowledgeable, elderly informants also speak of core groups around which the Trio and Wayana are formed: these tend to be the group from which the speaker originated, and therefore vary; nevertheless they probably reflect some degree of historical truth because more elderly and knowledgeable men are likely to have survived in the groups to which other more fragmented sections allied themselves at various stages in the past. Examples of frequently cited core groups include the Pïropï (‘chest’) for the Trio, the Warîkyana for the Katxuyana (Frikel 1970: 40), and the Wayanahle (‘real Wayana’) for the Wayana.83 In each case, the idea is expressed that convention or the ‘proper’ way of doing things has always existed: the ‘true’ Trio or Wayana people of

the past were, like those of the present, those who did things correctly. In other words they had the ‘proper’ (in the etymological sense of ‘own’ as well as ‘correct’) perspective, that is to say, that of the subject: they were ‘our’ ancestors; by contrast, other groups used to be fierce and warlike, and ate uncooked meat; they only learned to live properly when they came to live with, and like, true people. This pattern can be found in the Trio myth entitled ‘The coming of the bee-people’ (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 59-64), which recounts how the Aramajana (sweat bee people) became Trio, through intermarriage with the true Trio, in this case the Pìrëujana (arrow people) (the narrator was a Pìrëujana). The story concludes:

‘This story describes the meeting of the Arama people, the Aramajana. We are not all from one origin. We are of different origins. First were the Pìrëujana. They united with Aramajana, with Aramiso [dove-people] and also with Maraso [eagle-people]. Therefore we are from different origins. This has always been told about the past. It also explains why people don’t like one another. However, in order to unite people drank one another’s blood. Pìrëujana drank blood of Aramajana and did the same with the Aramiso and Maraso, they also drank their blood.84 But the Pìrëujana were the first! They were the first real people long ago!’ (op. cit.: 64)

The reference to drinking blood to cement alliance may seem to suggest that the transformation of other groups such as the Aramajana into ‘proper’ people is simply a question of sharing or mixing bodily substance. But becoming human is primarily a matter of practice; of behaving in a proper, human way: on this subject people refer to ‘not being like dogs’ (Chapuis & Rivière 2003: 581), like spider-monkeys, or like wild people.85 This means abiding by social rules: dogs are known for having incestuous sexual relations, and lacking social restraint or rules. This section will analyse the importance of practice, process, perspective, and transformation in the making of real people, and how this relates to the pacification theme in contemporary discourse and to sasame wehto. The following illustrates how these different factors are enacted:

Ercilio, the young Katxuyana from Missão who had come for the first time to Tëpu with his wife during the December 2004 celebrations, had an ambiguous relationship towards rules governing social life. On our first meeting he sported a distinctive

84 On reciprocal blood drinking in order to seal peaceful interaction with former enemies, see chapter 5, section 5.2.1.
85 The implications of these comparisons will be analysed further in chapter 4.
hairstyle inspired both by the Paramaribo Creole style of shaved back and sides with a ‘mop’ on top, and by ‘Latin’ Brazilian tendencies with the long fringe gelled into a long curving quiff. His face was neatly plucked except for a thin moustache, and carried an air of sophisticated phlegm. As he greeted me directly in Portuguese and by shaking hands in a white people’s fashion, he sighed and complained at how parochial Tëpu was, lacking roads, shops and bars. It seemed to him that even at this time of year characterised by an almost uninterrupted sequence of drinking parties throughout December and January, both in the communal house and around the village, the entertainment on offer was disappointing in comparison to life in Missão.

However, he also expressed admiration for the control exercised by Surinamese Trio. In our conversations on the Trio and Katxuyana, Ercilio frequently compared life on both sides of the border. Once, as we were both drinking manioc beer in the communal house during collective celebrations, he told me with candid resignation:

‘...you see I know I should not be drinking all the time, but I enjoy it so much, I cannot say no, but people here [in Tëpu], they don’t drink as much as we do in Missão. Over there, we are always drinking, fighting, arguing, cheating on each other, we do not control ourselves; but here people do, they know how to control themselves, they don’t drink too much, enough to be happy, to have a good time, but then they stop. People here are constant [repeated with emphasis], they have rules, they have respect [more emphasis], because they are Baptists. They know how to control themselves, not like we Catholics, we are disorderly’.

Ercilio’s emphasis on these two concepts, ‘constancy’ and ‘respect’, shows how contemporary Trio, Katxuyana and Wayana representations of principles of sociality emphasise an understanding of morality based on social conduct and embedded practice. What impressed Ercilio most in the lifestyle of the residents of Tëpu was their abidance by a set of restrictions and rules based on control over the body (prohibitions and restrictions in the consumption of foodstuffs) and regimenting social life. He implied that villagers in Tëpu were more constant because they respected rules about the ingestion of substances, which might affect their social behaviour. His remarks suggested that by following rules about how they treated their bodies, they directly affected its qualities and the social relations transpiring from them; the importance of bodily treatment was clearly shown in his own attention to his appearance, which is typical of Trio and Wayana men of his age. This respect for rules
helps to explain the apparent success of Protestant evangelists in establishing new behavioural regulations. And this was also a comparative point stressed by earlier observers such as Frikel (1971: 77-82), whose observations are here summarised by Hemming:

‘[The Trio] could not understand why the Catholics permitted festivals, dances, mild drinking, and other practices that the Worldwide Evangelical Crusade condemned as evil. So the Indians deduced that ‘the Franciscans, who at that time abstained from intensive catechism, could not be masters of all the secrets of religion, and that the Protestants knew more than they and, therefore, deserved more credit’’ (2003: 392-3). 86

The Protestant missionaries’ focus on strict rules of practice in order to convert the Amerindians had meaningful resonances in turn with the latter’s own (ontologically motivated) attention to regulations and restraint in the moulding of their human and social wellbeing: moulding to achieve a state of hardness and strength through an emphasis on continence and bodily integrity (Vilaça 2005). This tendency to adopt ‘correct’ practices and thus to become human (Vilaça 2006), or to adopt ‘incorrect’ practices and become non-human, or else to adopt human practices incompletely and take on an ambiguous state, is frequently expressed in Amazonian myth in terms of transformation of perspective (Viveiros de Castro 1998).

As my acquaintance with Trio villagers in Têpu became more intimate I soon became aware that the kinds of behaviour breaching social norms in a large sedentary village, as expressed by Ercilio describing life in Missão, were also to be found in Têpu. Stories of the abusive behaviour of husbands to their wives, of petty thefts, and of drunken fights between people regularly filled the background of daily village life, and were frequently gossiped about, especially at night during meal-times, and afterwards, as the members of the household would be quietly swinging in their daytime hammocks, around the communal meal table. There was a notable distinction

86 The following passage from Frikel (1971) in particular, echoes my observations, 35 years later after he wrote: ‘The Indian, of course, notices the differences between the existing types of Missions, the Catholic and the Protestant, and the way in which the system of Christianisation is developed in each. The [Catholic] priests smoke the occasional cigar and, if the opportunity arises, also drink a little beer [...] They encourage the Trio to organise, every so often, a little caxiri or a small party. But some do not lack the terrifying reactions of the Protestant attitudes which on many occasions prevail, as the Indians were taught by the preachers in Suriname that the priests, as well as all Brazilians in general, were all sons of the devil and were most certainly going to hell, as they smoke, drink sakura [...] allow dances and dance themselves at parties’ (op.cit.: 81-2, my trans.)
between the opinions of my host family and those of the missionary schoolteachers in this regard. Whereas my Trio and Wayana hosts considered such disharmonious events to be due to the social compromise implied by a life with non-relatives, the Koelewijns considered these surges of violence to show erosion in the practice of a faithful dedication to Christianity and a corruption of the innocent, childlike forest Indian by Creole culture, younger members of the village being the principle victims.

Though for different reasons, the Trio and Wayana, like the missionaries, therefore associated good moral conduct with abiding by a system which set restrictions on the consumption of some foodstuffs and stimulants. In fact, the question of whether the restrictions were scrupulously followed or not is perhaps less important than the regularity of the openly vocalised expression of these principles, in the form of a leader’s harangues or the elders’ public admonitions at times of communal celebrations. But rather than focusing on the forms taken by the restrictions encouraged by missionary proselytising, I wish to analyse the moral significance given to restraint as an embedded practice, resonant with Amerindian models of sociality. For instance, in the mythical narrative recounting the historical wars between the Wayana and their Maroon neighbours, the Aluku, Kuliyaman describes at length the principles which allowed these archetypal Wayana warriors of the past to claim victory thanks to their outstanding qualities of fierceness and shamanic knowledge. This exceptional strength resulted, he stressed, from the austere and regulated treatment they inflicted upon their bodies, and in particular the foodstuffs they were ingesting. They did not eat indiscriminately, but instead carefully selected foods which contributed to the development and enhancement of their physical capacities and knowledge (Chapuis & Rivière 2003: 525). This change into a more socialised dimension is often symbolically encapsulated by the Wayana word têhmakai, to reveal oneself, by coming out into the broad daylight of the open village clearing (Chapuis 2003). As the ancestors enact this socially charged passage from one state to another by leaving the darkness of the forest creeks, they expose themselves to the open by building villages along rivers, thus demonstrating a willingness to communicate with
others. While telling a myth recalling past migrations, the Wayana Kuliyaman commented:

‘It is only our families which came out in the open, and which became our ancestors to us, Wayana. Upului, Opakwana revealed themselves, Kuwalakwaliyana, Alakwayana, real Wayana, Kumalawai, all have been revealing themselves until the present day. What was their desire? They wanted meat because they were hungry! They had had enough of bad hocco! They did not want awolo anymore, they could not stand opak mosquitoes anymore […] this is why gradually they came out of the forest. They had become fearful and did not want to be killed anymore; “Let’s go, I don’t want to be covered in blood anymore! I do not want blood anymore; I do not want to be like the forefathers anymore!” (Afterwards) our families came up here’ (op. cit.: 578-81, my trans.).

Bodily techniques of the past gave strength and shamanic power, but also fierceness and an inclination towards individualism and warfare. They may therefore not be suitable for communal life with non-relatives. This is why new sets of regulations and rules on the treatment of the body and their direct influence on a person’s social behaviour and a community’s wellbeing have been adopted.

Like the Piro, the Trio and Wayana consider having become ‘civilised’ or pacified to be a transformation for the better:

‘[…] the fact that they have ‘become accustomed’ to such things marks the temporal distance between themselves and the ‘ancient people’, and the ongoing transformations of relations to white people […] These shifts are changes it is true, but they are more importantly transformations, and therein lie their meaning and their meaningfulness’ (Gow 2001: 129).

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87 This point is very salient in a Trio myth which describes the return of some white people (among whom the explorer De Goeje) to the Trio, after a first visit which had prompted a devastating epidemics. Therefore the Trio did not want to see the white people coming back again, and a Trio man is said to have warned de Goeje and his co-travellers that he does not want them to visit the Trio villages located along rivers as they would bring devastation and death with them, and to this refusal he adds as a warning: ‘If you do the same, the Trio won’t live on the rivers anymore, they will return to the forest’ (Koelwijn & Rivière 1987: 281). They would therefore become invisible, fierce and warlike again.

88 *Hocco* (cracidae, *Crax alector*); *awolo* (undetermined); *opak* mosquitoes are a variety that swarm around the forest in clouds.

89 However in the current context of encroaching gold-mining and ensuing social tensions and physical frictions between villagers and mining groups, the language of war and shamanic warfare techniques is returning. This is particularly the case on the Maroni river where Maroon gold-mining leaders are said to use *obeah* magic.
The emphasis on transformation rather than change refers to the fact that the outer layer, the visible body, is altered in order to construct and preserve the integrity of the person. Transformation takes place at the level of the relationship, rather than in the essence of people themselves. Narratives of historical continuity are therefore characterised by a series of transformations expressed at the level of the body. Kulitaikê’s descriptions of the Wayana having undergone several transformations before becoming real Wayana can be understood in this light. These historical transformations are experienced at the level of the person in what has been called ‘extreme parcellarisation’ (Taylor 1998: 317-8, in Henley 2001: 201). This means that a diverse range of social actors may contribute to the construction of the individual person (cf. Leach 2004). The person is the aggregate of social processes, and being human signifies undergoing transformations throughout life, because humanity must be maintained as well as made (Van Velthem 2000; Vilaça 2006).

When the Trio today say that they live in peace with each other in contrast to the times of warfare in the past, they actively engage themselves in socialising and humanising processes. This transformation from their previous selves is, however, never complete: there is a constant interplay between what they are today and what they were in the past, echoing references in myth to their peoples having undergone a series of previous transformations in turn. As I have shown in this section, introduced practices are not followed blindly as the missionaries’ cultural legacy but instead are actively adopted for strategic purposes as expressions of a conventional morality.

2.4. Conclusion: sasame wehto as affinal wellbeing.

‘[I]t is important to underline that the Wari did not mention [the Protestant missionaries] when they talked about conversion. When the Wari remembered with a certain nostalgia the period during which they were ‘believers’, they limited themselves to saying that ‘their rage had subsumed’; there were no arguments with clubs between affines, there was no cheating between spouses, no thefts, in short all that was connected to affinity had disappeared’ (Vilaça 2002b: 62-3, my trans.).

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90 I shall return to this point in chapter 5.
The lived reality of the daily reiteration and application of the rules regulating sociality shows that they are reinterpreted and reinvented to adapt to new circumstances, while retaining their underlying significance. When the Trio talk about the past, their recollections are somewhat more ambiguous than those of the Wari towards the roles of outside influence such as missionary agency in the shaping of their social history. Missionaries are remembered in the early stages of their settling among Trio communities, and their preaching or teaching is often associated with the impetus to move towards these white people’s villages (T: pananakiri ipata). As these different examples illustrate, from an Amerindian point of view, it seems that the knowledge practices brought by the missionaries are thought of as another form of external influence whose channelling could potentially lead to increased social strength. Abiding by the regulations of life in a Protestant mission represents in this light the result of a strategic choice. Bringing new, additional social rules from an external source of knowledge becomes part of the process by which society makes and remakes itself.

I have shown that new visible poles on the invisible grid of social relations do not mean that settlement should be considered as revolving centripetally around these institutions in everyday village life; rather, the latter is characterised by communication along networks of conviviality. These networks are larger than in the past due to communication technology, allowing people, objects and words to travel between distant places, and this spatial expansion of conviviality is experienced by the Trio and Wayana as a transition from war to peace analogous to the transformative processes that make and maintain their humanity. Rival has observed that the Huaorani, who have never moved as much as they do today, nevertheless feel immobile (2002); the Trio and Wayana, by contrast, although they consider themselves to be physically less mobile than in the past (despite the ability of a few to travel very long distances), find themselves more mobile than ever in the invisible world, in which they are able to extend their influence, through conviviality, more widely than ever before.

So far I have been focusing primarily on everyday relationships and the ways in which conviviality is made and maintained in different spatial contexts. However, as I mentioned earlier in the chapter, the network or invisible grid of sociality is effaced on
ceremonial, collective occasions. These occasions emphasise social centres, to which affinal (social and spatially distant) relatives are drawn. I therefore shift the focus in the next chapter to specific forms of communal feasts in Têpu and Antecume Pata at which *sasame wehto* takes on a centripetal character through the consumption of the socialising substance *par excellence*, manioc beer, and the metaphorical merging with affines into a single social body is taken to extreme.
CHAPTER THREE
CORPOREAL IDENTITY: SUBSTANCE AND SOCIAL BODY IN COMMUNAL FEASTS.

The most enduring memory of my very first few days in the village of Tëpu in Southern Suriname is of the rasping sound of grating manioc. It had an irregular rhythm, which followed the women’s movements as they rocked back and forth, a peeled tuber in each hand, leaning over a rectangular metal grater stuck in the middle of a tilted wooden trough resembling a dugout canoe. A thin liquid dribbled out of the end of the trough into another container, leaving behind a thick, sluggish mass. The grating would then be interrupted and the mass carried by hand to an iron cauldron resting on a stove made from an empty petrol barrel. The grating resumed. The bubbling orange mass in the cauldron was stirred to prevent it from burning, sometimes by another woman, who used for the purpose an old canoe paddle that she would then leave inside the cauldron. It was the end of the dry season, and men were nowhere to be seen, apart from some bent old grandfathers moving about and sometimes ejecting high-pitched exclamations before retiring to their hammocks. The long hours of the afternoon were punctuated with the incessant sound of grating, as feminine forms in the shade of their respective cooking houses stretched their upper bodies back and forth, turned the paddle in the fuming mass or rested and chatted nearby in small day-time hammocks. I was struck by such industriousness, which seemed tacitly coordinated. This was bitter manioc processing displayed on the full scale of a quiet, industrious village working as a single body towards the same, almost collective, production.

The fruit of this invisibly orchestrated labour proved to be beer, and this communal industry revealed itself to be unique to times of celebration when each individual kin group came to produce substance, beer in particular, to be consumed collectively. The women of each household, gathered in their respective cooking houses, were busy
making their own specialised version of the drink (T: tēnisen; joki\textsuperscript{91}) with which they would later feed others, relatives and non-relatives alike, during what was to become a six-week long feast. The old men’s cheers were motivated by their approval of the production of so much beer, and their high-pitched exclamations were of a type regarded as suited to times of collective celebration. I had landed in Tëpu during the few quiet days following a previous celebration, and preceding an even larger one, the New Year celebrations of 2004. The men had gone on a collective hunting expedition and were expected to return shortly. In the following days, an initially small gathering around the communal house gradually grew into a large celebration, with several competing sound-systems playing mostly reggae, R&B and poku\textsuperscript{92} together with performers playing Trio flutes and ruwe,\textsuperscript{93} chanting and dancing sometimes uninterruptedly through day and night. These celebrations were interspersed with large-scale communal eating and widespread ingestion and regurgitation of beer.

During the next year and a half, I attended a series of communal celebrations, ranging from local, informal drinking parties to larger, more ritualised gatherings involving several villages. Some were organised by retired missionaries, others for visiting governmental officials, others in honour of a shaman who had attracted peccaries to the village. The marake (W) or ‘stinging’ rituals still practiced by some Wayana are perhaps the fullest expression of Guianese collective celebration. However I never took part in one of these. For the purpose of the present analysis, I shall refer to some stages or aspects of this ceremony based on primary and secondary accounts. Among the Wayana of the Maroni river, there has been a tendency in recent years to revive the marake, as part of a more general attempt to ‘strengthen’ young people and curb the epidemics of teenage suicides which plagues the Wayana villages. My informants regard them as the most significant form of extended ritualised

\textsuperscript{91} Joki is a general term for any kind of drink; tēnisen is a general term for fermented drinks, i.e. manioc beer. There are several terms for different varieties of manioc beer. The beer-making process partly described above is for the production of boiled manioc beer, also referred to as orange manioc beer as it takes its colouring from one kind of sweet potato (napi, \textit{Ipomea batatas}) mixed with the manioc mash to give it a specific flavouring and speed up fermentation. This type is known as kasiri (W: kasili). Other types include sakura (W: hakura), which is made from fresh manioc bread and fermented as a liquid, and umani, which is made from manioc bread fermented in banana leaves (see appendix for a detailed description).

\textsuperscript{92} Poku is Maroon music from the Maroni river. The Trio often use the term to refer to any music from the city.

\textsuperscript{93} Bamboo pan pipes played with a resonator of tortoise shell from either the red-footed tortoise (\textit{Chelonoidis carbonaria}) or the yellow-footed tortoise (\textit{Chelonoidis denticulata}).
sociality among the Wayana and the Apalai. The Trio, who were concentrated in mission stations in Suriname, had already stopped doing these by the time Rivière did his first fieldwork in the early 1960s, but elders and younger people alike retain knowledge of procedures and purposes, and do not question their efficacy in hardening people’s bodies, as well as strengthening sociality. Indeed, some elements of the large celebrations that are now held in Tëpu serve similar purposes. The celebrations therefore vary in purpose, scale and content, but only to a certain extent. They do however share common pivotal elements: they are amphitryonic feasts involving one or several hosts; they entail the production and consumption of specific foodstuffs; finally, their fundamental purpose and existence rests upon the participation of not only proximal but also distant affines. They epitomize the ritualised nurture of the social body through the sharing of and merging with substance.

In the previous chapter, I discussed the enactment of convivial relations within the domestic setting, and the extension of these relations along kinship paths to maintain social proximity over spatial distance. Commensality, in particular the sharing of ‘real foods’ (T: kairi, meat boiled with chilli peppers and manioc juice), eaten with manioc bread, a combination known as ‘real food’, ërepa) and knowledge, within the small household communal space reinforce, through their processual nature and the convivial manner with which they are shared, the invisible bonds of consanguinity. Daily village life is characterised by the sense of belonging to invisible networks through diffusion of sociability; the feasts discussed in this chapter, by contrast, draw together the disparate elements of the invisible grid of social relations, aggregating them in a spatial and social centre: they unite spatial and social relations, attracting people, substances and objects to a single core.

This chapter discusses the often seemingly contradictory ways in which cognatic insularity is temporarily undermined in the villages of both Tëpu and Antecume Pata. My informants told me communal celebrations were important to produce collective euphoria even with people to whom they were not directly related, in order to secure a peaceful communal life in the village. During these celebrations, these very same interlocutors would in turn hug and confront each other, laugh, flirt, and fight. In this setting, I consider how regular communal celebrations or feasts unfold, and how they
allow a temporary undermining of consanguineal boundaries in favour of a merging with village or non-resident affines. I will show that communal celebrations create a state of nurturing liminality which temporarily removes the protective layers physically and socially constraining the daily control of conviviality; a temporary state of ‘communitas’ (Rivière 2000: 255, after Turner 1969) in which extreme togetherness and divisiveness may succeed or confront each other. If these events constitute ‘rites of passage’, they should be seen as such both in Turner’s sense whereby the individual is socially transformed, and in that of Van Gennep (1960), who includes in their definition calendrical rites: for in this context these are one and the same, because the individual and society must be perennially renewed and constructed.

Communal celebrations bring together affines and subvert the ideal of settlement endogamy, enabling them to visibly throw moderation, avoidance and shame (pãime) aside and come into close physical contact. The diffusive tendencies of everyday life which emphasise belonging to kinship paths (residential and non-residential) are thus subverted. It is only during communal feasts which engage the entire village that separate cognatic clusters merge into temporary consanguinity through the production and consumption of manioc beer. The vast quantities in which beer is consumed on these occasions is in stark contrast with the moderation with which it is consumed on everyday occasions, such as the work parties described in chapter 2. Commensality, in the sharing of processed foods, on these ceremonial occasions allows the taming of Others to create familial relations, producing ‘kin out of Others’ (Vilaça 2002a).

These concepts have been discussed with regard to other parts of Amazonia in terms of warfare and former enemies by Fausto (1999, 2002) and Vilaça (2002a), and with regard to the Guianas in terms of collective euphoria by Rivière (2000), but rarely have the impact of sedentarisation or the concentration of populations into a single settlement been brought into the analysis of the subject.\textsuperscript{94} Even the recent attempts by detractors of the classic Guianese model to focus on feasts and the communal consumption of beer have merely described it in functional terms as a means of taming alterity (Barbosa 2002, 2005; Sztutman 2000). The relationship between

\textsuperscript{94} There is one notable exception in Vilaça (2002b), who attempts to draw a systematic analysis of Wari perspectives on Protestant regulations in a mission post.
permanence and impermanence remains neglected in Amazonian studies. In a general account of feasts, Dietler & Hayden argue that the feast ‘allows the strategic reciprocal conversion of economic and symbolic capital toward a wide variety of culturally appropriate goals’ (2001: 13), but I show that this only partially accounts for Guianese communal celebrations. It is important to consider ritual and feasts neither merely as atemporal symbolic systems, nor as mere products of external events and extraneous influences, and instead to integrate aspects of historical continuity and discontinuity.

My approach to integrating continuity and social transformation into an understanding of communal feasts focuses on the manipulation of the invisible world on different scales, from the individual body to the social body. Both are nurtured through the feast: a corporeal group is temporarily constructed by sharing some internal bodily identity (Seeger 1987: 129), but this is equally true for superficially ‘new’ forms of celebration such as the New Year feast, as for ‘traditional’ forms such as the marake. For this reason, I do not distinguish between ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ forms. My analysis addresses the conventional morality of communal celebration, at the core of which lies the fundamental ambiguity of Trio and Wayana personhood in terms of innermost essence: all share the same substance on these occasions. They open up their ordinarily carefully bounded bodies to an indiscriminate diffusion of influence from unrelated co-residents as well as unrelated visitors, through the cascading distribution of beer. The overall effect is of centripetal attraction of all outside influences towards an inner core.

3.1. States and substances that make feasts.

‘The Waiwai say themselves that they only dance in order to drink’ (Fock 1963: 169).

In his study of barter and exchange among the Wayana and Apalai of the Paru river of Brazil, Barbosa discusses instances of communal gatherings in which socialising substances are produced and circulated between people, at times of feasts in particular (2002, 2005). He distinguishes ‘proper’ Wayana and Apalai celebrations, as
epitomised by ‘initiation rituals’, from large-scale drinking feasts with Christian hymn singing held at Christmas and New Year. The former are marked by order and restraint, whereas the latter involve ‘excessive’ drunkenness and lack of moderation, betraying what Barbosa regards as non-indigenous influences (ibid: 167): he presents these feasts as symptoms of acculturation. However, the distinction between these types of celebration is inappropriate: communal feasts, irrespective of the elements that they include, all act to renew the social body using outside influences, and we should not be surprised to find evidence that none of them are the product of ‘acculturation’, although they may exhibit superficial external cultural influences. Moreover, the communal feast part of the marake cycle, as described by other anthropologists (Chapuis 1998; Hurault 1968), is in fact a quite unrestrained event; what Barbosa saw was, by his own admission, a staged representation put on entirely for his benefit; being a fictional version of the real event, it remained in the ‘everyday’ mode described in my chapter 2. The dances of the Trio are identical in many respects to the Waiwai shodewika dance festival before missionary influence had taken its toll, described by Fock (1963); moreover, missionaries have always promoted restraint and moderation rather than excess and theirs has been greater than any other non-Amerindian social influence in the region. The patterns, movements, and organisation of the shodewika share various formal features with the Trio collective dances: the concentric circles, anti-clockwise, of chains of people (women or men), of indiscriminate age, dancing holding hands, each gendered concentric circle swirling inside the previous one around the central pole of the communal house.

Although stinging ceremonies such as the marake are not performed today as much as they used to be in the past, contemporary feasts also bring together performances and social exchanges which strengthen and renew the individual and social body. It is not appropriate to describe this type of process in terms of ‘intercommunitarian’ relations, because it is precisely the social body – the ‘community’ – that is at stake during these events. As I have stressed in chapter 2, the relational focus of the Trio and Wayana of French Guiana and Suriname cuts across villages across the triple border, and often undermines the homogeneity of the settlement in itself to favour distant relatives. Barbosa’s argument is mainly directed at challenging a supposedly
existing portrayal of Guianese societies as insular and ‘atomistic’; and therefore emphasises the outward, ‘exogamous’ sociality of the Wayana and Apalai of northeastern Brazil, relying heavily on an idea of ‘intercommunitarian’ relations. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapter, there is no such thing as a ‘community’ in everyday village life, which is marked by kinship paths and an ideal of endogamy distinguishing affines even within a given village.

The marake, widely known as the Wayana ‘initiation’ ritual, has inspired fascination in anthropologists and explorers which may have contributed to its representation as a somehow fixed ritual which is not affected by change as decades go by. In fact, the marake of today, and as described by early European witnesses, has many features in common with other feasts and rituals, which can best be understood through the individual person’s experience of them. For the individual participant, all these rituals serve to promote the integrity of the person and the cohesion of the extended social group. The production of feasts link the individual participant and his network of relatives, as well as the social body constituted by women as opposed to men, and the social body of the hosting village leaders with their contradicting interests and relations with the guests coming from or connected to social positions of externality: missionaries, distant affines, etc., all of whom are attracted to a common centre. This centre is visually expressed by the movement of processed foodstuffs emanating from it. And the primary means of establishing or creating a relation is commensality, the movement of substances between persons. It is to these foods and their social symbolism that I shall now turn.

3.1.1. Foods and supra-foods.

The importance of beer has been noted throughout Amazonia, and has led some authors to classify it within a category of its own, or with other substances such as tobacco and hallucinogens; due to it being exclusive in patterns of consumption, it has been qualified as a ‘non-food’ (Hugh-Jones 1993), as well as an ‘anti-food’ (Viveiros

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95 Cf. Gallois 2005 for a presentation of the São Paulo research group’s objectives to focus on ‘social networks’ and critical assessment of the legacy of comparative works on the Guianas such as Rivière’s 1984 and Overing’s 1983-4. See chapter 2 above for my discussion of their reappraisal.

de Castro 1992). In the case of the Trio and Wayana, and by extension the Guianas, I suggest that manioc beer would benefit from being referred to instead as a supra-food: the fact that it is regurgitated indeed obliterates its physical alimentary function, but in doing so emphasises its social effect. Even in everyday life the transcendental capacity of manioc products, including bread, to tame otherness is reiterated by their measured use within the household setting, and often paired with proper meals, as foods and drink of cognatic bonding. I will not go into a detailed analysis of the symbolism of different types of beer and associations with various bodily fluids such as semen, breast milk, vaginal fluids, etc., supposedly representing various stages in the ritual construction of the person as other authors have done (Karadimas 2005; Viveiros de Castro 1992). Among the Trio and Wayana the choice of one type of beer or another is largely a question of taste and inclination; more important is the degree of fermentation and acidity, which are both equated with the strength of the social effects of the beer.

The production of manioc beer takes place throughout the year in both Têpu and Antecume Pata. In December and January, the sporadic drinking parties in domestic settings give way to a larger feast which engulfs the whole village. There are no specific hosts as such, as all households contribute in drink and foods. But the village leaders make speeches and shout encouragement, especially encouraging people to be sasame. External specialised guests come from neighbouring villages in order to lead some parts of the feasts in Têpu: most importantly, Pesife, a respected elder, came from Palumeu to every major celebration in which I participated, wearing an elaborate headdress and carrying a rattle, to lead the dancing. An interesting parallel can be drawn here, as these prestigious guests, who are supposed to bring the ritual expertise in terms of dances, and, in the case of Christian pastors, prayers and sermons, are still invited for the extent of their knowledge and reputation. Just as a Kalau chanter would have been invited from another village to chant at night during the marake, today a pastor is invited to lead prayers. Esoterical expert knowledge comes from the outside, albeit in a modified form, as the dances today do not exactly reproduce the complex performances pre-dating missionary activity; nevertheless, relational and organisational principles appear to remain fundamentally similar. The changes that have taken place are thus external, visible, and superficial; the underlying processes remain the same; indeed, these transformations can be seen as having taken place
precisely in order to preserve the invisible essence beneath. This follows precisely the
pattern of transformation I described in the previous chapter, whereby the visible
social body must be constantly modified in order to preserve its innermost humanity
and its subjectival perspective.

Nowadays, celebrations on a large scale, especially among the Trio, are mostly held
around December and January.\textsuperscript{97} It is a time when the rainy season is about to start,
the clearing of new gardens is completed, and planting will soon begin. This lull in
activity coincides with the return of relatives from the coast or from gold-mining sites
in French Guiana. The ensuing celebrations usually reach a peak around Christmas
and New Year, and gradually fade away from mid-January onwards. The length of the
parties is determined by the amount of drink available, as the beer has to be consumed
in its entirety before normal activities resume. In the case of a localised party this
might equate to a whole day, whereas larger celebrations last longer. The way in
which substances are dealt with varies as well: for communal work, beer will usually
be offered sporadically as the people engage in their activity, and the day’s labour is
eventually finalised with a communal meal in the family’s courtyard. The relationship
towards the consumption of manioc beer is different during small- and large-scale
feasts as the latter are marked by the exclusivity of the drink. Nothing else is ingested,
and when people drink they say that although they do not eat, they do not experience
hunger, because their bellies are full. The variety, texture or taste of manioc beer is
appreciated as a sign of the hosting household’s ability to produce well which will in
turn reaffirm its social status. Whereas a mixed Wayana and Trio household will be
regarded as fine producers and attract a significant amount of commensals, an
Akuriyo couple would never be able to host a party by themselves. Akuriyo are still
considered too unskilled to be able to produce proper drink, and their beer would be
regarded with suspicion.\textsuperscript{98}

\textsuperscript{97} The \textit{marake} is undergoing a resurgence in Wayana villages in French Guiana
where missionary influence is less present; they do not spread over several months as they used to and are sometimes
organised during school holidays in order to include pupils studying at boarding schools in cities on the coast.

\textsuperscript{98} Beer, like bread, is made from bitter manioc (\textit{wïi}, \textit{Manihot esculenta}), which contains cyanic acid.
Rumours still circulate today in Tëpu of an Akuriyo woman whose husband died from drinking her
poorly prepared \textit{kasiri} (see chapter 4).
Seduction, domestication and exchange mark these liminal states, in which everything is possible, this being attributed to the communal aspect of the drinking in which everyone shares substance and a growing familiarity. On a different scale are situated foreign imported substances such as strong distilled alcohols (i.e. cheap rum or whisky) and canned beer, which are now drunk at communal feasts. Rather than being shared, they are usually destined for private consumption among small circles of male friends. These drinks and consumption patterns, associated with gold-miners and said to transform people’s behaviour, are frowned upon as representing divisive forms of drinking rather than social aggregation; the specific state of drunkenness which ensues is often considered to be individualistic, fierce (T: ėire) and destructive (like a gold-miner), and therefore opposite to the form of cordial, relaxed and communal tipsiness produced by manioc beer.

Contrary to the latter, these individualising liquors are not regurgitated but entirely absorbed within the drinkers’ bodies. As stressed above, the principal regulator of the length of a drinking party is the amount of beer which is prepared for it; the substance has to be consumed in its entirety, and the end of a feast is usually marked by drinking games in which what is left is forcefully offered to the remaining few gathered in the meeting house, or to some ‘chosen victims’ forced jokingly to stand in a line, drink considerable quantities and regurgitate them to compare their capacity to project the substance. This is only possible as the beer is not to be ingested for long; it has to be regurgitated at regular intervals, a skill at which younger boys in particular are trained from an early age onwards, as a sign of bodily strength. Rowdy, disorderly drunkenness is not sought after but rather a sentiment of jovial tipsiness which eases festive celebrations rather than hindering them by confrontations. Being able to control drunkenness and channel feelings generated by the drink is a sign of maturity, which is tested at regular intervals to promote young people’s proper growth into fully developed adults. This can be witnessed in a systematic, almost orderly manner in

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99 These regurgitating ‘competitions’ or ‘ordeals’ have also been noted among the Wayana by Barbosa (2002) and Chapuis (1998).
100 I use the verb ‘to regurgitate’, as opposed to ‘to vomit’, because it connotes a deliberate and controlled action, instead of a somehow ‘natural’ bodily reaction to an abuse of intoxicating substances. The Oxford English Dictionary’s definition of ‘regurgitation’, which corresponds to my understanding of the process in Tēpu and Antecume Pata, is the following: ‘the fact of re-issuing or being ejected again from a receptacle’. In our case the body can be appropriately considered as a receptacle. ‘Regurgitation’ is also the term used by Schoepf in his description of Wayana daily ‘table manners’ which include a cleansing of the stomach by regurgitation of water before family meals (1979).
Antecume Pata, where these regurgitation competitions are held, and which have well-trained elders confronting younger people (male and female, but the skill is mostly sought after by men). These competitions assess who can project beer the furthest as a sign of bodily control and virility. In Tëpu, whilst regurgitation is still well developed, it does not seem to be the object of such competitions; nevertheless, this use of beer to demonstrate control and virility shows that these drinking celebrations share with the *marake* the effect of the development of these qualities in the individual person.

At the human bodily level, manioc beer is not to be absorbed and integrated, but rather simply incorporated in order to facilitate its regurgitation. The digestive tube becomes a channel which receives and rejects, in and out of the same orifice.\(^\text{101}\) Breath undergoes the same trajectory, which is emphasized at times of celebrations in the form of singing and music. A parallel can also be drawn between the digestive tube and flutes, both of which associate the tubular form with purification and socialisation.\(^\text{102}\) For the duration of a communal feast, the linear time of daily village life, which is marked by the production and inward consumption of foodstuffs, is suspended to allow for the circularity of celebrations in which the outwards rejection of polluting elements retained within the body become a central structuring element. Beer consumed in large quantities in the context of a feast ‘inverts’ the flow of foods down the digestive tube and thus creates the liminal time in which boundaries between cognatic clusters fade away to favour a merging of bodies and substance, a temporarily enlarged consanguinity.

Drinking parties allow for a physical rest and a renewal of the body both male and female, but male in particular as men momentarily interrupt their body’s constant exposure to the highly ambiguous and powerful spirit-world of the forest. This purifying function is also seen as guests, especially for the *marake*, are first met on the margins of the village, usually at the river landing at which their canoe has just

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\(^{101}\) *Cf.* Lévi-Strauss 1985, who compares the theme of the tube in Amerindian mythology, in which inside and outside transform into each other, with a type of tube whose entrance is simultaneously its exit.

\(^{102}\) The rejection via the mouth, as opposed to the anal orifice, strengthens a body by purifying it; regurgitation is very important at several stages of the initiation of young people, before and after stingling for instance. A parallel can be drawn with Rivière’s analysis of tubes and blowguns: ‘Continence is another example of hardness […] Hardness is a male virtue, but it is also, by its constraint and continence, a sterile one and cannot in itself lead to creativity which requires the help of women, incontinence and softness’ (1969b: 162).
moored, by a delegation of women carrying buckets full of drink, which they have to ingest and regurgitate immediately before being allowed to enter the village; this is usually combined with a washing of the outer body before stepping into the communal house.\textsuperscript{103}

The association of drink with bodily and social state can be found across Lowland South America. For example, Gow remarked that, for the Piro of western Amazonia, consumption of beer, or \textit{cashasa}, leads to a similar state of happiness, referred to as \textit{meyiwlu}, which means ‘having a good time, having fun’ (2001: 141):

‘Drunk, people can ‘forget’ their respect and shame, and hence enjoy themselves. When drunk, Piro people can abandon their quiet everyday demeanour, to laugh loudly, joke, flirt, and generally mess about. This is what they call \textit{meyiwlu}, ‘having fun, having a festival’, and it is the product of drunkenness’ (\textit{ibid.}: 165).

The drunkenness that Gow refers to can be likened to the tipsiness which the Trio and Wayana seek when drinking; it is in order to avoid the violence of uncontrolled drunkenness that the beer is regurgitated. But behind this motivation lies a more general one: the regurgitation of the beer emphasises that it is a supra-food, a social food, and serves no physical alimentary purpose. Not being able to stand manioc beer is equated with an incapacity to reject it efficiently and therefore a lack of social aptitude, common for instance among the Akuriyo who are always the first to show signs of drunkenness. But the line between the two states is also an extremely thin one; this state of common forgetfulness is a temporary one shared with un-related peoples against whom underlying suspicions of poisoning can rapidly occur. The atmosphere of the centre of the village, around the \textit{tukusipan}, where the drinkers have repeatedly regurgitated large quantities of beer over a long period palpably manifests the usually invisible social relations aggregated around this enclosed public centre: the remains of the feast, as they fade, echo the return to life dispersed along kinship paths. Feasts thus elaborately merge affines by sharing substance, but also comfort existing cognates in an intricate and highly ambiguous atmosphere; it is charged with \textit{sasame wehto}, with the objective of promoting what I propose calling ‘strong sociality’.

\textsuperscript{103} After the manipulation of the corpse of a person whose sudden death is attributed to a shamanic attack (the \textit{tomai} manipulation in Wayana), the relatives drink and regurgitate manioc beer in abundance before returning to their village, in order to avoid the possibility of contagion from the spirit-matter which caused the death.
3.1.2. Communal feelings as strong sociality.

The promotion of *sasame wehto* through drinking and dancing is consistently presented by knowledgeable elders in an idealised way as the practice of the ancients. In the following extract, Pesoro says that there was no shame (*piïme*, affinal avoidance) in the past because people used to dance:

>'This is what the ancients did for celebrations. Now there is *poku* music, it was for the same purpose that the ancients thought of flutes […] Now the Trio don’t know how to do things like before anymore. Why? No reason, just because they [the American missionaries] told us to stop doing what we used to do. We know everything [all the dances], but we are ashamed to dance. We can’t dance like we used to. Before, we weren’t ashamed, we were happy. People sang and danced. There. But we’ve stopped doing as we used to because we try God. So now, the Trio have forgotten everything that used to happen. They have forgotten the use of *koï* leaves, and also of the *kuwapëi*.¹⁰⁴ That’s how the Trio used to be *sasame*.¹⁰⁵ Then, they took game to dance. So someone went to get it. Then they would fight [have wrestling matches], that’s what they did well. People used to fight. The other people [other Amerindians] also did that. That’s what people before used to do to be *sasame* and what we don’t do any more. We had parties with drink.¹⁰⁶ Now we don’t do as we used to. But before, people used to do that. That’s all’ (Pesoro 03/05/2004: lines 480-542).¹⁰⁷

Two main points come out of Pesoro’s recollections; firstly, collective celebrations are spatially marked by a movement from the outside towards the inside (game, guests), a point to which I shall return later; but most importantly at present, the feeling of *sasame* is related to foodstuffs, beer in particular, and opposed to a feeling of shame (*piïme*, not to be confused with respect for close affines). The following sentence in particular is of relevance: ‘before we [human beings] were without shame (*piïketa*), we were happy’ (*pena ahtao piïketa kure sasame nejan wïtoto*). It refers to feelings generated by communal celebrations involving dances and chants, and in this context shame (or embarrassment) is opposed to contentment. In this beer has an important role to play: as it allows for participants to dance and chant ‘without

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¹⁰⁴ The bark of the *kuwapëi* tree was used to fix the resonating plank the Trio put on the floor the way the Wayana still do today. *Koi* leaves were worn as ornaments during ritual dancing (see drawing below).

¹⁰⁵ *Sasame* means happy, content (for detailed analysis, see chapter 2).

¹⁰⁶ *Iwëewehto mao*, *ijokï enïhto mao*, there is a specific reference to *jokï* which is used to refer to both beer and breast milk, therefore underlining the nurturing quality of the drink shared at communal celebrations.

¹⁰⁷ See appendix for Trio version.
shame’, it creates the necessary feeling of social contentment with which every single participant is impregnated. Pesoro’s claim that *piime* did not exist in the past should not be taken literally. Instead it should be remembered that communal feasts are reenactments of an idealised past, where by definition people were *piiketa*, because *sasame* is associated with the reenactment itself. His narrative is about feasts, and therefore takes on the centripetal character of feasts. The fact that *piime* was a feature of daily life in the past is clear from the life history narratives quoted in the previous chapter.

This relation between drink and happiness was also noted among the Brazilian Wayana by Barbosa, who in the following passage quotes one of his informants:

> ‘When the people attending parties did not drink much, they danced with a lot of shame, they didn’t sing […] To have a lively party you need to have drink, a lot to drink, and a lot of food too’ (Paxinapoty, in 2002: 152, my trans.).

*Sasame* and *piime* are opposed as shame expresses a powerful urge to break existing social bonds; it can lead someone affected by it to abandon his relatives and leave his village to start a new life elsewhere. In an article on Trio emotions, Rivière recounts the story of a man who realised his kin had eaten all the meat he had brought back from a hunt without leaving any for him; struck by the shame of such improper behaviour, he left the village never to be seen again (2000). In a similar vein, I recall the Akuriyo Kuritune lengthily complaining in his hushed voice about the shameful behaviour of my Trio and Wayana host family in Têpu who would inconsiderately gulp down the meat I would sometimes receive or buy from him and share with them. This appalling, un-convivial attitude, Kuritune argued, ought to fill me with shame and thus urge me to break bonds with them, and as a consequence relate exclusively to himself and his own relatives.

*Sasame*, at times of feasts, is associated with music, as I mentioned in the previous section. However, it is also promoted by church songs which are characteristically in a major key, have a regular 2/2 or 2/4 rhythm and consist of short repeated phrases to ease memorisation. The fact that Christian practice can be seen as equivalent to ‘traditional’ practice is illustrated by this: in the early 1960s, Rivière was told that people had stopped dancing because it displeases God, and that since the Trio are now
always *sasame* thanks to being Christian, there is no need for it (1969a: 256-8). But, as Pesoro’s excerpt illustrates, the attitude towards what *sasame* means is rather more ambiguous than a feeling of happiness provided by an often patchy conversion to Christianity by Amerindians. The association of being Christian and therefore socially content also reflects a frequently expressed strategy on the part of the Trio for life in peace with non-relatives in large-scale sedentary settlements: Christian music, like communal feasts, shrinks social distance and reasserts the participants’ humanity.

Conversely, calling on the spirit world through specific chants and incantations (often associated by the missionaries with the ‘satanical’ minor-key\(^{108}\)) is seen from a Trio point of view as attempts to send illness or death or become fierce and aggressive and therefore break the existing balance of social networks within the village. This recalls Rivière’s recent suggestion that while *sasame* can be a state experienced communally as well as individually, it is not clear whether *sasameta* (the opposite state: un-happy) can ever be experienced communally (Rivière 2000: 255): collectivity is *by definition* a positive state, and *vice versa*. This idea of promoting collective happiness through performance of chants and dances is also present among other Amazonian peoples. Seeger describes the *kîn*, or collective euphoria generated and felt by the Gê-speaking Suyá of the Mato Grosso when they perform dance and music, whilst having their bodies adorned and beautified by paint, feathers and beads (1987: 17):

> ‘Singing made men euphoric; listening to their brothers made women euphoric; old people’s clowning indicated their euphoria and made the village euphoric. Singing and dancing for long periods of time was a physiological experience that probably altered perception’ (Seeger 1987: 129).

The euphoria created by well-performed chants on the one hand and clown-like behaviour on the other is extremely similar to the *sasame* feeling expressed and felt communally by the Trio during their feasts. In the case of the Suyá, who do not consume beer during their festivals, Seeger suggests that the prolonged performance itself creates the altered state sought after at times of collective happiness. The relevance of the idea of prolonged alteration of state is significant not only from a physiological but also from a social point of view; the time of festivals is different, as

\(^{108}\) See chapter 4.
if suspended, from daily time, due to the way substances move in and out of the human body. It is also a time of liminal and codified social release. This is what the word *sasame* refers to, as distinct from the daily attribute of conviviality (*onken*) (Rivièrè 2000). In this light, I contrast everyday time, in which ordinary social relations extend along kinship paths, and feast time, in which kinship paths are effaced, affinal distance collapses, and strong sociality prevails.

C. Koelewijn, a proficient Trio speaker, once gave his own interpretation of *sasame*, saying it could most appropriately be translated as ‘glücklich’. The German word reproduced in his mind more appropriately than any English term the idea of inner happiness, contentment and luck. However this translation only conveys an individual feeling; in this it agrees with an evangelical definition of the individuality of the religious experience. It does not account for an Amerindian perspective on social relations and in particular the fact that an individual represents the convergence of social interactions and conviviality representing paths of kinship. The word *sasame* is easier to understand in terms of its etymological link to performance in collective celebration: *sasa* in Trio is the onomatopoeic term for the noise of the beads and shells used to decorate the fringes of women’s bead aprons, which shake and produce a noise when dancing. In a similar association, *ĕmume*, understood as sadness, or longing for kin far away is often used as an excuse to move away from a village to visit distant relatives, ‘the physical symptom of both *ĕmume* and *piīme* is thinness, also associated with weakness and ill-health’ (Rivièrè 2000: 261).

A further technique for the promotion of *sasame wehto* is the heavy dance step, which can be contrasted with the lightness and looseness of an unattached, *piīme* person. Beaudet notes the following of Wayãpi dances:

‘The Wayãpi who dances affirms his weight on earth whereas in the forest he tries to be as light as possible; the forest is not a place where one affirms oneself.’ (1997: 81)

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109 The shells used are from the nuts of the *Thevetia ahouai*, which is said to have alexiteric properties (*i.e.* preventing contagion and an antidote to poison) (www.mnh.si.edu/biodiversity/bdg/medicinal/ MedIndex.pdf). This quality of the plant also recalls the ambiguous nature of relations with affines, whose intentions would always be slightly suspected.
And to this performative heaviness is also associated a profoundly communal feeling, which in turns contrasts with the solitary walks in the forest:

‘[F]or the Wayâpi all dances are associated with collective music; to dance alone is inconceivable.’ (ibid., my trans.)

For the Wayâpi, dancing is heavy, and therefore makes the dancers’ bodies heavy. There is a clear association between heaviness, centripetal movement and sociability. Meanwhile in everyday life when movement takes place along geographical and kin networks, movement is light. A similar association can be found among the Araweté, for whom the feeling of happiness is believed to make people heavy (Viveiros de Castro 1992); this is subtly different from the associations of heaviness with immobility in Melanesian Gawa: there, immobility and heaviness contrast with the movement associated with collective activity (Munn 1986: 91). In Amazonia it has been suggested that ‘anti-foods’ or ‘non-foods’ make people’s bodies light, which may be interpreted as an inversion of the socialising heaviness I describe (Hugh-Jones 1993). However, not all ‘anti-foods’ are socializing like the supra-food of beer. Tobacco and hallucinogens enhance invisible connections instead of effacing them as beer does; a Trio shaman for instance relies on tobacco to communicate with the spirit world, and usually avoids the typically socializing form of excessive beer drinking which characterises feasts: his body needs to be light.

The links between heaviness of the body, communal celebrations and strong sociality are clearly visible in Tëpu and Antecume Pata. The characteristic body of a feasting Wayana or Trio is marked by an enlarged stomach, which in some men reaches impressive proportions. Content drinking men are often seen sitting back on a bench or in a hammock, allowing their protruding stomach to rise upwards; as they laugh with their hands on their bellies, their passive (as if petrified by the heaviness of the drink ingested) and exposed attitude expresses a feeling of forgetful wellbeing sharply distinct from their alert, light and erect posture as hunters on a forest trail. Heaviness is therefore also a sign of peaceful interaction sharply contrasting with representations of archetypal Wayana and Trio ancestors who were renowned for their fierceness and powerful fighting skills; this fierceness was cultivated by strict
shamanic asceticism which made them so light they could move extremely fast and attack their enemies at night without being heard.

However lightness can also be associated with sickness, thinness and instability. The healthy, heavy pose of men at times of celebrations reflects a willingness to engage in a peaceful way of being in which boundaries of suspicion are set aside, and a strong sociality is heavily inscribed on the village landscape. This apparent and transitory homogeneity reflects an attempt to incorporate distant affines into a social body in which their taming will prevent possible future illness-inducing spirit attacks. It can be expressed by fighting and drinking; a boisterous, uncontrolled behaviour in a sense allows for social pressure to be released. This recalls the wrestling matches that Pesoro mentions in his idealised account of the feasts of the past. Genuine fights or arguments do start at drinking parties, between residents, couples, or others.\textsuperscript{110} In this context, an unrelated visitor will have to prove that he is \textit{ëireta} (not fierce) upon arrival.

In this light, I would also suggest that from a bodily perspective, being \textit{sasame} is also about being healthy.\textsuperscript{111} Creating a state of social contentment implies negotiating a harmony within the network of relations which are inextricably tied to each individual, and therefore guarantee the maintenance of a balance of bodily substance between relatives. Moreover, the mere fact of decorating the body creates an initial health, a beauty of the outer layer which fortifies it.\textsuperscript{112} All these different points underline the tensions between the Protestant interpretation of inner contentment which is based on a communion with Jesus and which rejects all forms of earthly pleasures, such as drinking alcohol, and a Trio interpretation which refers to a state of communal contentment with non-related affines, and is based on a sharing of nurturing substances such as beer.

In the context of contemporary sedentary settlements, it is by sharing substance on a large scale that a temporary community is created, which puts consanguinity in the background and celebrates affinity through an artificial familiarity during the time of

\textsuperscript{110} But murder is very rare. Fights usually are petty squabbles rather than bitter feuds.
\textsuperscript{111} See Pesoro, appendix, lines 345-55.
\textsuperscript{112} This association between health and beauty is common in Lowland South America, see Chapuis 1998; Erickson 1998; Ewart 2001; Turner 1980.
collective commensality. Celebrations in their sharing and merging of substances also allow for bodies to be reaffirmed and strengthened, as well as to undergo a purification and pacification. This is particularly the case for young people who are encouraged to demonstrate their physical ability at regurgitation contests; what lies beneath these celebrations is the emphasis of relationships between generations and particularly on young people’s ‘proper’ growth. Ensuring the proper maturation of young people into full-grown adults ultimately promotes the social wellbeing of the entire village and extended networks of relatives. Feasts merge affines as kin and to emphasise this fusion temporarily obliterating affinal divisions, categories which cut across affinity are emphasised or subverted: age and gender. Once again, it is on the level of the body that these categories are enacted through performance, and they manifest the transformative corporeality which renews and unites the humanity of the participants.

3.2. Transformative corporealities.

As stated above, drinking and eating as an alternating exchange between dancers, chanters and attendants/givers creates a feasting environment felt both communally and at the individual bodily level. The movement of substances has effects on persons, thus allowing a transitory transformation of existing boundaries individuating kin groups in order to generate a merging of substance with resident and non-resident Others. But there are other forms of transformation occurring, which involve types of performance witnessed only when this specific liminality is celebrated. This liminality eases the visible emphasis of categories, such as those including people of the same generation or gender. Feasts are also about moulding, strengthening young people’s bodies, but also exploring other bodies, other envelopes though trans-gender, trans-generational and trans-species incarnations.

During large-scale feasts which involve the village as a whole, villagers and hosts alike decorate their bodies, adorn them with beads, shiny hairclips, paint and feather

113 This observation was also made by Rival about the Huaorani eëmë drinking festival during which women of one longhouse will, contrary to their usual daily attitude, become warm and close to women from other longhouses and dance and drink with them (2002: 146).
headdresses, wrap a new kamisa (T, W: red cotton loin-cloth) around their waist (for women) or between their legs (for men); these lengthy preparations, including their contemporary modifications, remain a constant and essential element of feasting persons, minute details which are central to a Trio and Wayana definition of the very essence of feasts, as this passage from Pesoro’s recollections on past celebrations attests:

‘People made strings of beads to put around their arms, but not many. Before, they just used to put cotton around their arms. Then, they also wore feather from the macaw. And also toucan feathers, for decoration. And the little toucan’s feather, that’s what they used to make their headdresses with, for decoration. They put harpy eagle’s down on their hair. They also put harpy eagle’s down under their noses. Then they would also put on the little rattling shells. That’s how the Trio used to make themselves healthy and happy. They used to put macaw feathers through their noses. Also, their earrings were of sapararinpë beetle wings’ (Pesoro 03/05/2004, lines 331-44).

I have quoted here only a small part of a considerably longer description of each individual bodily ornament which used to constitute male and female paraphernalia at times of celebrations. Pesoro’s detailed descriptions which catalogue ornamented body parts one after the other, constantly return to the central affirmation that these ornaments, combining the durability, continuity and external origin of glass beads and feather and beetle wing ornaments with the softness, tameness of female woven cotton and garden-cultivated body dyes, made feasting bodies beautiful, socially content and healthy.

Modification of the external bodily envelope is thus fundamental to the making and maintenance of the social person (cf. Erikson 1996; Turner 1980, 1995). Today, variations on ornamentation reflect a developed taste for beauty products coming from the distant externality that coastal towns represent. Painting motifs are most usually a combination of designs made with red urucu dye (Bixaceae, Bixa orellana), but also lipstick, glitter paint and nail varnish; all these are applied indiscriminately to the skin of both men and women during festive periods, but only to women in everyday life. This embellishment of the outer body is partly a game of seduction, in which young men in particular will be fastidious, sporting new hairstyles and crisp clean clothes as

114 Though this is nothing new: glass beads, mirrors and other ‘trifles’ have been traded across Amazonia since the first arrival of Europeans.
well as an attitude modelled on that of Paramaribo city dwellers. This fastidious grooming is specific to village life, and when in town Amerindians adopt a more sober style, with fewer hairclips, necklaces, beads and glitter. I once took my assistant and ‘little sister’ Demas to town and looked after her there, in order to help her obtain some identity papers. During her stay, her usual rather flamboyant display of clips, earrings and necklaces was toned down in favour of a more sober attire. On the day of her departure for the interior, she adorned herself more than ever with make up and ornaments. This recalls the equation between bodily ornaments, visibility and sociality, as opposed to lack of ornaments, invisibility and asociality, as Erikson observed about the Matis: 115

‘by taking your ornaments off, you become ‘invisible’, hence identical to the asocial maru spirits, the symetrical counterparts of the mariwin ancestral spirits, who function as positive role-models in all moral and aesthetic matters’ (2001: 109).

When men return from a collective hunt, wearing no ornaments, they transform their bodies to join the festivities. They begin dressed in a parody on a forest theme of social ornaments: rough palm leaf hats, mud smeared on their faces and strings of leaves hanging from their heads. While they dance, these are gradually removed and women come to paint them and adorn them with feathers. Their bodies are transformed in order to integrate them into the social body of the feast. The importance of visibility in this liminal time of the feast also has a moral dimension. As among the Matis, social ornaments reproduce and represent ancestral morality. This is felt to have a lasting effect on both the individual and society, and thus to prepare them for interactions with humans and non-humans in ordinary life. The techniques of excess and visibility in feast time nurture techniques of strength, restraint and invisibility needed during exposure to affinity.

115 Munn describes a similar relationship between visibility and bodily techniques in the Gawan pregnancy ritual (1986: 97ff.)
3.2.1. Ascesis: bodily strength and restraint.

'Then my father had me stung with fire ants. 'Pass the stinging ceremony because you're a layabout,' my father said to me, 'Get stung so that you won't be lazy any more, and so that you will be quick', my father said to me. ‘I was stung’, said my father to me. So he stung me, and lots of people were stung like our Wayana relatives' (Rïime 01/05/2004, lines: 6-10).116

In this passage Rïime describes the stinging ordeal that boys had to undergo before beginning to hunt; in other words, this was a ritual preparation of the body for exposure to affinity in the form of animals and spirits, that is, non-human persons. This demonstrates a morality placing high value on restraint and self-discipline as an invisible counterpart to visible bodily strength. It is useful to consider these techniques as ascetic, or as forms of ascesis, in the sense of the ‘practice of self-discipline’, bearing in mind the Greek root meaning of ‘exercise, training’ (OED). This ascesis should be seen in conjunction with the value that I have shown is placed on following rules: in the previous chapter, I discussed Ercilio’s comments on differing levels of ‘respect’ distinguishing the Surinamese Trio from those living in Missão on the other side of the border with Brazil; what appeared to him as a conscious attention to social regulations by residents of Tëpu represented their moral superiority, attributed to their being Protestant rather than Catholic. The restrictions placed upon the populations of Tëpu by the Baptist missionaries were centred on a restraint from specific substances (beer, tobacco, snuff) which the Trio and Wayana translated into alimentary restrictions that coincided well with their own understanding of techniques of human body moulding.

Alimentary regulations are part asceticism, and can be expressed in the form of extreme restrictions imposed upon young people undergoing the stinging ritual for instance, or, to take another example, in a shaman’s daily diet, as both cases are characterised by long periods of fasting and eating prohibitions. These cases might seem to contradict the observation that communal feasts are characterised by excess or ‘abundance’ (Beaudet 1997: 174), but these do in fact nevertheless express the centrality of bodily and thus moral restraint. This is partly because they invert the ascetic principle, and because feasts take place in ceremonial, liminal time they

116 See Trio version in appendix.
reaffirm the values of ordinary time. But it is also because the excess characterising feasts is not unbridled; instead, as I have shown, it must be mediated and controlled, with the appropriate level and type of tipsiness, and carefully cultivated techniques of regurgitation. Abundance is not a form of static accumulation but a circular purifying movement; this recalls the association between movement and collective sociality in Melanesia (Munn 1986). Ceremonial techniques of abundance can therefore be seen as the festive manifestation of the ascetic techniques of the everyday.

Rather than associate extensive beer drinking and vomiting with weakness and overindulgence, as missionaries do when condemning these feasts, the opposite is true: these practices are associated with asceticism and bodily control, especially as this exaggerated pattern of consumption is exclusive and does not allow for the absorption of another foodstuff. This clarifies the role of feasts as the appropriate environment for humanising modification techniques to be applied to young people in order to make them grow into fully developed adults.

The centrality of an ascetic morality in these celebrations is clear in verbal instructions to those undergoing bodily transformation; these are formalised in the Kalau song, sung to young people undergoing initiation:

‘Tëpiem,117 dance with vigour, the stinging mat in the hand […] By taking the marake, you gain strength, you become agile hunters, you become hard-working and unbreakable. Adorned with beads, you are beautiful […] If you do not take the marake well, if you leave the tëpiem shelter, you shall always be frail, you shall have fever. Come forward, turn your feet; dance in a circle, then return to the ehpa board’ (Hurault 1968: 130, my trans.).118

These injunctions were chanted to the dancing tëpiem shortly before the stinging and stick-beating sessions. In a more recent example of a Kalau chant (referred to as the sixth chant) recited by the same informant (Kuliyaman) thirty years later to the ethnomusicologist Hervé Rivière, young people undergoing the stinging are told to respect powerful beings, such as that of the êlukë caterpillar, the plant medicines of the kunawalu jaguar, to behave correctly towards young women and to properly follow alimentary restrictions and regulations. It is thus clearly expressed that only

117 Men and women undergoing the stinging by wasps and ants.
118 Resonating plank, known by the Trio as tëpa.
through ascesis will young people grow into beautiful, strong and healthy adults (2003: 987-94).

Village leaders make similar calls, often through a megaphone, at the communal feasts in Tëpu, although stinging rituals are no longer practised there. In both cases, these repeated calls for proper moral conduct are only made during communal feasts. They belong to the realm of the liminal and the extraordinary. This is in sharp contrast with everyday village life during which Trio and Wayana children are educated tacitly by relying on visual information and setting an example rather than vocalising appropriate behaviour and rules. Parents do not tell their children what to do, the latter are given relative freedom and responsibility almost from birth onwards; the former let them learn by watching their relatives live and interact together on a daily basis. Conviviality (as opposed to social contentment) is therefore ordinarily based on a tacitly understood system of social regulations which are not voiced but enacted.\footnote{Cf. Chapuis 1998; Jara 1990; Overing 1975; Rivière 1969.} Moral injunctions such as those formally uttered during communal celebrations thus represent one of the central socialising events of Trio and Wayana feasts; they allow
young bodies to grow into fully developed and skilled human beings, as opposed to Other, non-human living beings.¹²⁰

As a contemporary illustration of this phenomenon, it is relevant to consider several ritualised events which took place in Tëpu during the New Year parties 2004 and 2005, and which according to Ercilio, my Brazilian Katxuyana informant from Missão, do not happen on a similar scale in his native village. Firstly, there were events referred to by my interlocutor as the *nawëeman* (T), in which young men drape smoked fish and game over the body of their wife’s father during dances, especially during the collective fish-poisoning expeditions of mid-January. The dances I witnessed emphasised age-category, rather than their kinship. The dance pattern was as follows: women and men joined hands to form a chain with men at one end and women at the other, with the men holding or precariously balancing woven food processing tools or receptacles and carrying baskets. Their dancing steps follow a pattern found throughout the Guianas, and well described among the Wayana (Hurault 1968; Schoepf 1998). Schoepf’s interpretation likens it to the movement of the hummingbird, stepping forward, backward, with arms and upper bodies smoothly following the sinuous line rocking back and forth. The dances begin outside the communal house, enter it through the ‘outside’ door (nearer the river), wind around the central pole and exit via the ‘inside’ door (the door open on the village *anna* (T) and out of which game is taken to be cooked). Before entering the house, older men, whose offspring are married, circle the dancers and attempt to pull the woven artefacts from the hands of the male dancers, who laughingly let these tugging hands offset the rhythm of their movements.

A similar dance follows the return of people from large collective fish-poisoning expeditions. These are conducted on the creeks towards the end of the rainy season, when the water is low.¹²¹ Upon their return, the expedition members excitedly return the communal house, escorted from the river landing by a crowd of villagers, and enter via the outside door of the communal house. Their wives and their mothers take

¹²⁰ This appears clear in the language itself; the word for the upbringing of a child in Trio is *arimika*, meaning ‘undoing the spider-monkey’.
¹²¹ The juice containing rotenone is beaten from the Lonchocarpus liana (*ineku* in Trio; *hali hali* in Wayana) and it temporarily paralyses the fish, which in need of air automatically come to the surface. It is then very easy to spear or scoop up the fish in great quantities. These expeditions usually last 24 hours and require an overnight camp.
the fresh fish via the inside door for the immediate preparation of a collective meal, and smoke the surplus. Some fish which has already been smoked on the site of the poisoning is tied onto cotton strings and given by young men to their fathers-in-law who dance in a line holding hands with these ‘necklaces’ dangling around their neck and on their chest.

Parade of young hunters and their wives carrying processing tools, mostly artefacts woven by the men and used in the processing of bitter manioc by the women, are dancing outside and around the communal house (Nawëeman, the collective celebration of brideservice, 01. 2005). A senior man, with his back to the photographer, is pretending to claim the carrying baskets and what they symbolically contain. A young man called Peter is taking a photograph (some say he was named after P. Rivière). In the background on the right, some young men are carrying buckets filled with sakura; one of them is leading the others in the transportation of the beer produced by ‘his’ household (i.e. the women of his family, his wife and other, as discussed below). The person standing behind Peter with a camera in his hand and looking at the beer being brought into the communal house is C. Koelewijn.

On these occasions, with the processing tools produced in the village itself, or the fish and game brought back from the outer world of the forested river creeks, these mediating objects become markers of the symbolic appropriation of the wife’s fathers. As heads of households, they demand from their sons-in-laws the hard-working, unwavering respect for their duties as young men growing into fully developed and responsible adults. The mature men circling the dancers, pulling the woven artefacts (symbolising the productivity of the household), demanding the fish (representing negotiation with the distant forest world), remind their sons-in-law of their obligations towards the household into which they have married.
The ritualised strengthening of young people’s bodies is thus enacted through verbal admonitions and later, when they are married, through ritualised prestations of male products. These performances call invisibly on powerful spirit beings and the individual powers of masters of animals, and are visibly and more concretely enacted through dances involving in-laws and emphasising generation difference. Just as during the *marake*, the beauty of the regular flow of the *maipuri* chants is interspersed with the distracting and circular improvised lines of the *kanawa* chants, collective feasts juxtapose restraint and excess, reflexivity and parody. As much as beer drinking in excess is associated with a certain form of ascetic restraint, similarly, bodily strength and durability is associated with a propensity to deliberately transform. Today’s communal celebrations are a reflection of the finely balanced but also contradictive (or complementary) relationship between excess and ascesis, and the tension in this relationship gives rise to ironic humour in the form of burlesque. The capacity to transform is an integral part of the formation of a corporeal identity through communal feasting. Intentionally changing shape demonstrates and even secures humanity; deliberately mimicking Others makes the Self less breakable, more sociable, and the irony characteristic of humorous mimicry itself demonstrates the intentionality behind it.

3.2.2. Burlesque.

I have shown that the decorations and adornments associated with times of feasts are directly involved in the promotion of physical health and strong social relations, with effects on the individual and collective levels. These beautifying decorations when worn by young people undergoing a strengthening ritual remind them of their roles and duties as socialised beings who intermarry and therefore develop relationships of intimacy with affines. The bodily ornaments and behaviour of young people and of older generations at feasts frequently takes on grotesque characteristics which invariably involve comic imitation or parody: I place these in the category of ‘burlesque’. This section considers humour and the grotesque in these terms, and what they reveal about techniques of strong sociality.

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122 See also Rivière who noted that wearing adornments is perceived by the Trio as a sign of amity (2000).
In the burlesque mode, reminders of rules are once again expressed and enacted through the body. The theme of the transformation of wild animals into humans is typical, as the following episode illustrates: during collective festivities on one occasion, several small caimans were brought back alive, tied to a pole, by men returning from their hunting expeditions. The men’s return from a collective hunt in the middle of a feast is the object of excitedly and openly expressed delight indiscriminately shared by all households, as opposed to the hushed and quiet transportation of the individual catch of a given household in a non-celebratory context, as I have already described. These caiman stimulated particularly acute excitement among the women however. Several socially prominent women simultaneously grabbed the largest caiman, and brandished it victoriously at the head of a procession which quick-marched from the river landing straight to the communal house. As with other collectively produced game and fish, the women brought the caiman inside via the external door of the large building, that is, the door which faces the river landing. In the ensuing confusion of spontaneously formed dancing groups carrying the game wrapped up in fresh palm leaf carrying-baskets, and swirling anti-clock-wise around the central house pole, the caiman could be seen protruding above the multitude of heads dancing around, before it was suddenly taken out of the communal house, via the internal door, which faces the communal open space of the village (T: anna), where the women had prepared an open fire. There, the caiman was laid by the fire, still tied to its pole; women carrying machetes and sticks started dancing around it in a circle while hacking rhythmically at apparently random parts of its living body, soon reducing it to a dismembered and bloodied inanimate puppet (in fact the joints had been particularly targeted as they would be in the ordinary butchering process). The remaining bits and pieces were then roughly cut and roasted on the open fire and eaten there and then by the joyous standing women, young and old. Laughing in a high-pitched voice, the triumphant women finally screamed several times that this was the treatment that a man would have to fear were he to beat his wife.

In this episode, which I witnessed during the celebrations of both 2004 and 2005, the caiman had become the subject of a social metamorphosis which transformed it into an archetypal Trio husband who, through the intermediary of a collective wife was dismembered, roasted and eaten, without manioc bread or pepperpot juice. Women
who had transformed into fierce beings thus ate the caiman wildly, in an asocial manner. This symbolic predation through a transformed medium (the caiman becomes man) represents an example of shape-shifting which demonstrates a dual ability to transform (caiman into man; social women into wild predators), and thus communicates warnings about appropriate daily behaviour using means only allowed during communal feasts. 123

Collective feasts involve many other burlesque forms of transformation involving animals or different categories of people: villagers dressed pets in children’s clothes and paraded them around the village; C. Koelewijn dressed up as a ‘wild Indian’ and was asked to speak in a funny language similar to Trio but not entirely (pers. comm.); the ethnobotanist Mark Plotkin (1993) also experienced, as I did myself, being dressed in kamisa and painted as an Indian before being taken to drink and dance. Young men either cross-dress, or put on policeman’s clothes and pretend to be visiting governmental officials (cf. Barbosa 2002). Young men dress as women using skirts, bras filled with cloth and make-up, and serve beer effeminately; at the same time, old ladies invite young men into a dance around the main pole of the communal house, thus inviting laughter at the incongruity of their ages. These episodes of cross-dressing, which generate peals of high-pitched laughter, occur without any apparent coordination as if on a whim.

Clown-like figures, usually elderly men, become energetic clowns and revel in personifications of animals and foreign peoples alike, mimicking ritual experts in their chants, and pastors and musicians performing church hymns. Even some of the most aged men and women, who usually remain confined to their hammocks and are normally left to themselves on most days become during communal celebrations acting centres of performances and creative derision. Their personifications of others become witty and powerful renditions of the strange movements and languages of strangers (T: panaanakiri), Maroons (mekoro) or wild Indians (wajarikure), but also of mock seductions and forest game.

123 My Dutch informants also witnessed, during these large-scale celebrations, women seizing their husband’s bow and arrows and organising an archery competition which used a large puppet roughly prepared for the occasion, as a target and referring to it as the unfaithful, violent husband (Koelewijn, pers. comm.). Arrows used to be forbidden to be touched by women; even though this is no longer strictly the case, women will seldom be seen holding, carrying or touching bow and arrows),
Dressing white people as Indians is as characteristic of the burlesque mode as mimicking wild animals or forest beings, and in either case stresses the transformative skill of the subject. Meanwhile, the mock fights involving a group of young men are part of the ritual: the men stage bellicosity in a re-enactment of the wrestling matches of their ancestors, and the rowdy form of such fights is a burlesque of the techniques they are expected to develop through asceticism.

These episodes of fancy dress and clowning can be compared to the parodies enacted by the neighbouring Waiwai (Howard 2001), and which enable Waiwai performers to absorb external influences to regenerate their communal identity. Transformation in both cases is a form of appropriation, and in this case, the incorporation of external elements occurs through a responding nurturing domestication.

Bodily transformations and personification games were also reported by earlier observers during the long festivities of the stinging festivals. There were many episodes of burlesque and animal personifications in particular; some games also carried a sexual undertone, such as what was described by Hurault as the événement game in which male adolescents tied to their waist a long woven object representing a large penis which they would brandish in their hands as they chased and tried to poke laughing girls with it (1968: 102). In this collective ritual flirtation, the connotation of social and sexual fertility is clear, and when we take into account the fact that these feasts bring affines from the outside into the village, to incorporate them, it is clear that a concrete, social form of appropriation is also taking place. The personifications of animals or distant strangers can be interpreted as a symbolic incorporation through mimicry, which in turn allows for a regeneration of the collective identity of the village residents. These are the participants’ transformations into animals, or their changing of age, sex, or the reverse transformation of a captured wild animal into a human being. The Trio and Wayana, during their celebrations, manipulate appearances through masquerades and shape-shifting as a means to produce extended sociality in everyday life. A caiman becomes a man, and the women become fierce. Mixed couples, old and young, dance in a farce of incongruity; the clown hops around to the delight of all, an Akuriyo dares to turn extrovert and boldly mimic the white strangers. Mimesis and mimicry are permitted in the liminal time of ritual in order to
reinforce bonds which are otherwise suppressed: this recalls the ‘carnivalesque’ whereby transgression and subversion reinforce the social order (Stallybrass & White 1986). Humour reasserts the ability to transform, into and from wild people and white people: this transformability, as Vilaça has shown (2005), is held as quintessentially human in many Amerindian ontologies.\(^{124}\) The tendency to enact transformations into different kinds of ‘others’ should not be taken as representing them on a continuum from one state to another. The spatial focus is on a centre, and the emphasis with regard to white people, wild people and forest animals is not upon their relative positions on a continuous axis (Kelly 2003) but on their common role as ‘others’ gravitating at a distance around the feast’s communal centre. This once again recalls the Waiwai pawana described by Howard (2001) where the ‘others’ most frequently impersonated in order to absorb them are the ‘wild people’ and ‘white people’. Both others possess powers actively sought after and which in many of their attributes intermingle in practice.

Transformation can thus be considered as a means of expressing morality, releasing pressure and reaffirming the strength of social rules. These are allowed by the state of togetherness into which the participants merge, a transitory state, a passing liminality which allows for boundaries to be crossed in a joyful, playful manner. Through drink, collective contentment and bodily transformations, daily conviviality is reinstated openly and expressed through performance and narrative, to be remembered beyond the feast as daily life resumes. According to Gow, writing on the Piro, drunkenness makes people forgetful (2001). Among the Wayana and Trio of northeastern Amazonia, the contrary is true: beneath the superficial disorder lies a state of heightened sensitivity and perception during which moral messages are transmitted and reminders of social rules are given allowing the regeneration of social understanding and regulations on a daily basis (cf. Schoepf 1999, who comments that manioc beer helps the Wayana to remember). Forgetfulness does however play a part insofar as the aim is to forget resentments and suspicions against potential enemies and transform participants into kin: a generalised nurture tames and regenerates what becomes through this process a homogenous community of people, and humour plays an important role in achieving this. This generalised nurture is spatially organised, as I

\(^{124}\) See chapter four, section 4.2 for a discussion of this shamanic propensity to transform with reference to inter-ethnic relationships.
have already mentioned, and it is now necessary to examine in detail the modalities of this organisation into ‘inside’ and ‘outside’ space.

3.3. Inside and out, outside trapped within: nurture at communal celebrations.

‘In a Wayãpi tune, like in drinking, like in a bead necklace, pleasure is in quantity. And in the Guianese-Amazonian world, repetition […] gives it shape and eroticism. […] Abundance connoted by quantity and repetition […], bodily decorations, music, dance, beer, are the expression and experience of wellbeing’ (Beaudet 1997: 174, my trans.).

In the concluding passage to his ethnomusicological study of Wayãpi feasts, Beaudet asserts his perspective on the role of these celebrations; in order to secure social and human wellbeing, one has to achieve a condition of abundance. This abundance is certainly quantifiable in material terms, but can equally refer to people, as much as to material goods or substances.125 There is also, as I have shown above, a stress on the abundance of movement which concentrically attracts towards the centre of the village, as epitomised by the main pole of the communal house; this abundance of movement, emphasised with heavy dance steps, and the correlated distribution of foods, objects and people, allows for a diffusion of influence to operate at the invisible level. The more one attracts people and feeds them one’s own processed substances, the more nurturing bonds among affines are established, the more control over an extended group of people is exerted by the host/givers.126 This control takes the form of diffusion of influence, through distribution of beer/supra-food and food at feasts, as through that of objects and foods in everyday life; in short, through nurture.

Rather than an even and reciprocal socialisation among non-relatives, there is a correlation between hosting a communal feast, overseeing the consumption of beer and ‘real foods’ (ërepa, as explained above) and reasserting a form of control over the attendants. It is revealing to think in these terms when considering the role of village leaders (eponymous ‘hosts’) during these feasts, which bring together beers produced by different residential households: these leaders are barely seen openly consuming beer inside the communal house although they invite participants to do so, whilst

125 In what Rivière has termed a ‘political economy […] concerned with human resources’ (1984: 91).
126 Viveiros de Castro has interpreted Rivière’s model as a ‘political economy of control’ (1996).
haranguing them with moralising speeches and sometimes prayers. There is also, at the more individual level, an affirmation of empowerment by the producers of the socialising substance of beer over those to whom they feed the drink. Nurture, distribution and consumption of foods can be seen as representing openly an opposition between outside and inside; as the outside becomes incorporated at the very core of the inside, it becomes tamed and nurtured. I have already hinted at these distinctions which are both spatial (in terms of the physical movement of people and foods in and out of the communal house) and symbolic (representing the bodily transformations and transitions between corporeal states); in this final section I will examine these transitions between inside and out in a more systematic manner and reflect on the underlying meaning of the movements which have referents of fierceness and tameness or, in other words, highly unstable and stable states. Rivière’s model tends to associate instability with the outside and stability and harmony with the inside: ‘ritual brings people (often expressing hostility) into the village and produces harmony within’ (Rivière 1984: 86). This model is presented as the ritual counterpart to one corresponding to everyday relations, which contains the possibility of fission and social dispersal. Viveiros de Castro, based on his study of the Araweté and Tupinamba, inverts Rivière’s model, presenting ‘the enemy’ as ‘the centre of a society without centre’ (1992). I suggest that the two models are complementary: ‘the enemy’ is no different from the potential for dissent and fission, and ritual life draws people together precisely to avoid this occurring.

This is illustrated well by occasions on which ‘outsiders’ came to spend time in Têpu: a group of tourists and some governmental officials once came on consecutive flights, on two consecutive days. The tourists - who had come to the village little prepared and unannounced (having failed, due to poor weather, to reach a larger and still more remote village), remained a rather neglected and marginal group of visitors for whom the captain in charge of their ‘entertainment’ failed to motivate people to gather in the communal house to execute some improvised dances with feathers and paint. The governmental officials, on the other hand, who had come loaded with presents and had some specific business connections with some individuals in the village, were given a ‘feast’ the following evening. The usual non-traditional feasting components, such as the large sound-system, had been removed, together with what might be considered unpleasant to an ‘urban’ audience: manioc beer, strings of
smoked fish and game, and ‘improper’ meats such as monkey meat, whose consumption represents, in the eyes of coastal residents, the deep-seated savagery of Amerindians living in the interior. The food was therefore prepared in a coastal fashion, with rice, plantains and beans, and not boiled in peppered manioc juice. After the meal which was preceded by a prayer led by Mosesi, one of the village captains, dances were put on, which my informants laughed at as caricatures; caricatures of their own dances, but also of the Maroon dances referred to as bingi (SR) which were here grossly characterised by an exaggerated shaking of the lower back and the bust and a loud and supposedly rhythmical stampede. Although these were in a ‘burlesque’ mode, they were quite different from the burlesque of the feasts that the Trio and Wayana staged for their own benefit; in fact they were in some respects parodies of burlesque, twice removed from earnestness.

For this specific event, the village residents’ attendance seems to have been motivated by several factors: they were attracted by the prospect of receiving exotic foodstuffs and the amusement of watching the comic parody put on by the dancers, rather than to take part in a sharing of substance. The presence of dancers and a crowd of onlookers was only achieved due to these officials’ business connections in the village and their distribution of foods; the tourists were meanwhile neglected because of their lack of provision of edible goods (their only transactions were based on cash which inevitably ended up in the pockets of a few individuals), and their lack of personal connections with the village. The distinction between the tourists and the visiting governmental officials is thus based on the capacity to give, redistribute foods and to nurture. The governmental officials could attract an audience because their established status as givers motivated the villagers to assemble in the communal house for them. People did not ignore them as unrelated visitors and accepted to be fed by them, to incorporate substances brought by them.

This example differs from the communal feasts I have so far been discussing, but it nevertheless relies on one common principle: there are feeders, and those who are fed.

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127 The Trio and Wayana draw a distinction between mekoro, forest Maroons with whom they have a long history of trading partnerships and wars, and from whom poku music and African-style dancing originates (and who marketed them as ‘cultural products’ for eco-tourists before the Amerindians did) and pamanakiri, white people, who include people of all colours living with their relatives in cities, but exclude Brazilians (T: karaiwe), who are put in a category of their own.
This opposition can therefore be analysed from the perspective of drinking parties (hosts feed and guests receive and provide ritual expertise through specialised performance) and that of the relations with distant external visitors (guests feed and hosts receive and provide the ritual expertise through specialised performance): the latter relationship is an inversion of the former. Government officials have business connections in the village – they are *jipawana* (Trio for trading partners, a specific social category\(^{128}\)). There is sharing of substance insofar as food is shared, but it is not ‘proper’ food (*èrepa*). Crucially, there is no manioc beer, and this corresponds to the lack of actual or potential exchange of women: flirtation and seduction are unthinkable. It is a literally sterile performance, which does not result in the reproduction of corporeal identity. Nevertheless the differences between these two types of formal interaction between inside and outside highlight in relief the essential features: abundance in people rests upon a combination of charisma and wealth, perceived as a given for which attendance and willingness to engage in caricatures of ‘traditional’ dances is given in return, whereas communal feasts are structured by an extended preparation of foodstuffs which is redistributed widely from the centre. In both cases, relations of nurture strongly imply relations of control. Production, reproduction, ‘creativity’ (Rivière 1969b: 162) are thus the essential components of communal celebrations, its generative force, and the core of power negotiations at the heart of the making of sociality.

### 3.3.1. Gendered space.

I have shown the importance of the Trio and Wayana communal house and the village open ground as a space in which transformative processes unravel; I will now show that this space, which articulates the concepts of inside and outside in a concrete way, is highly gendered, and that this in turn reflects the gender connotations of the concepts themselves. The Trio in the past used to lack a communal house, which they themselves consider to be the product of a combination of Waiwai and Wayana influences.\(^{129}\) The socialised space surrounding the communal house and its centre

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\(^{128}\) See chapter 5 for an in-depth analysis of this form of sociality based on personal bonds linking two unrelated individuals.

\(^{129}\) This combination in itself reflects the role played by networks of distant, exogamous sociality on current extended Trio self-definition, as the Waiwai, who came from Guyana with the first missionaries, are considered highly for their early conversion to Christianity, whereas the Wayana, who
symbolically represented by the main pole around which dances are organised, are of
significance for both Trio and Wayana today. The latter’s stinging rituals unfold in
and out of the tukusipan (W), the Trio’s dances and moralising injunctions alternate
between inside and outside their communal house. Within and throughout these
central spaces of communal celebrations, there are some movements which typify the
construction of dual oppositions or rather of multiple continua from one end to the
other corresponding to the oppositions between forest and village; men and women;
alterity and consanguinity. Along this continuum, various transformations occur, as
participants explore the different stages inherent to its gradient levelling. As men
come back with game from the forest, women handle and process the foodstuff to turn
it into substances that will be fed to children and men. The excitement of the game is
doubled with a deployment of gendered confrontation which is allowed to unfold
within this context of tipsy forgetfulness and sometimes under the guise of parody and
the use of a third party (symbolic vectors such as the live caiman), as I described
above.

It is as soon as the men, covered in leaves and impersonating wild animals, return
from the collective hunt by bringing the game to the communal house, dancing and
proceeding around the main pole of the house, that women, following the lead of the
most senior women of the village, squealing with delight in high-pitched voices, run
to their husbands, grab the game, and take it out of the communal house through the
opposite door, in order to cook it on a communal open fire. The communal house’s
ritually charged doors, corresponding to outside and inside, have already been
mentioned several times in this chapter, and they are a part of the gendering of space
at feast time. In the Waiwai communal house is to be found a similar use of the two
entrances that can today be witnessed in Tëpu (Yde 1965: 152). Although Yde could
see no apparent distinction between a ‘men’s door and a women’s door’, he was
looking for one because this is a feature of many Amazonian societies, such as the
Barasana (Hugh-Jones 1979). Moreover, among the Trio and Wayana men bring game
to the village through the ‘outside’ door and transfer it to women while dancing, and
the women then take it out of the ‘inside’ door for cooking: this suggests that the two

represent in very broad terms a population that does not fully embrace the evangelical message, are
respected for their knowledge of ritual and ceremonial procedures.
doors do correspond to men and women in parallel to their correspondence to outside-inside.

Hugh-Jones refers to a gradual familiarity between hosts and guests among the Barasana: progressing from a formal first gathering, the atmosphere little by little takes a jovial and comic turn (1993). Although I did not witness as systematic a progression between groups as that described by Hugh-Jones, in the context of celebrations involving co-residential affines the atmosphere did gradually but distinctly transform from one of avoidance (more than fear or hostility) to joviality and finally into burlesque, laughter at jokes with sexual undertones and clown-like personifications of Others, with such behaviour becoming generalised towards the end of the festivities before gradually dissipating. In an article on Wayana hospitality, Schoepf also stressed that the initial distance and coldness with which unrelated visitors are greeted by the prominent men of a village is gradually replaced by gradual warmth and carefully prepared dances (1998).

In an analysis which resonates with northeastern Amazonian cases, Viveiros de Castro considers nurture in a structural scheme of substances:
‘The equation beer = milk, moreover, evokes the nurturant position of women in relation to men during the ceremony. Mothers often premasticate the food they give their babies (and pet birds) just as they do with beer. [...] The regressive power of beer can be observed in the treatment that dancers undergo as they are passively served a drink masticated by women, as if they were children’ (1992: 131-2).

This ‘regressive power’ of beer has also been observed in the Ecuadorian Amazon by Rival about the Huaorani eëmé drinking festival during which residential households which normally live at a certain social and spatial distance from one another gather at the invitation of one house group for a night of drinking, dancing and chanting. Rival also finds it appropriate to use the language of maternal nursing to describe the relationship between the host and the guest. The former is described as actively feeding the later:

‘A host, by giving to the guest without expecting anything in return, is like a reproductive couple, a nurturing parent, a tree. A guest, on the other hand, is a pure consumer, just like a newborn baby’ (2002: 145).

In the context of the Trio and Wayana communal feasts, my data agrees with the idea suggested by Viveiros de Castro of a ‘regressive power’: Trio and Wayana women also feed participants as though they were children, as I shall describe in the paragraphs below. However this does not imply the lack of reciprocity that Rival describes among the Huaorani; the giving of beer is at least complemented, if not reciprocated, with the multifarious external influences that are drawn to the centre. Nevertheless the maternal, disinterested character of the act of nurture may be separated from the role of nurture itself in a wider scheme. This interpretation may suggest a different meaning to the relationship between the giving host and the receiving guest.

In the case of the Trio and the Wayana, compared to the Huaorani, there exist closer links with a predatory sociality in which socialising strategies are associated with assertions of power. Rather than a transaction within a system of reciprocity, nurture can be seen as a subtle, ambiguous and yet assertive expression of female control which is reflected in the taming substances themselves. Women, and by extension the uxorilocal household, ritually expanded to absorb the entire residential community,
actively and intentionally attract and tame the external influence of men, or others, and simultaneously assert control over them. Men are temporarily ‘trapped’ within the communal house by the women: they remain passively seated whilst being mouth-fed premasticated foods. The inside becomes the pole of attraction of the outside, cooked and transformed inside the communal house like inside a womb. This becomes evident during a time of the feasts in which all the senior women, throwing ‘childlike foods’ like boiled sweets around in a frenzy, reveal their breasts by pulling up their tops or removing (for the few who have some) their bras.

Senior women distributing ‘childlike foods’ (sweets in the picture) which are stored in the centre of the communal house, by the main pole, and dancing from the centre towards the seated audience in the periphery to give the sweets away; they expose their breasts at the same time. After giving away their handful of sweets, they return towards the centre to collect more and dance back again towards the periphery, executing a circular movement.

This episode follows a round of nurturant feeding which has involved these senior women directly feeding popcorn, sweets or peeled sugar cane into the mouths of the passive audience sitting on the circular bench of the communal house. Through feeding, grown-up people become children, regress into a child-like state from which

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130 Note that I am referring to purely symbolic relations of power and control, which have an effect on society as a whole, but have no necessary bearing on supposedly ‘real’ relations of gender domination; these have been laboriously debated in Amazonian anthropology, and are of little relevance to my argument (e.g. see Overing 1986; McCallum 2001).

131 Note that women usually wear no clothing on the upper body; they have put on bras or T-shirts for the occasion, and this allows the performative removal of clothing to take place.
no one escapes; even the leaders undergo this treatment, imposed onto them by the standing and dancing women. This can become even more meaningful if the role of the distant guests (Kalau chanters or pastors), who are invited from a neighbouring village in order to lead specific ritual narratives, is considered: the New Year parties and the Wayana marake both involve reliance on an external ritual expert to lead the ceremonies. External influence is necessary to regenerate collective identity.

The timing of these transformative, regressive actions is structured by the spatial movement of men as they come back from the forest into the communal house. They bring the game they hunted, and impersonate wild animals in successive parades. Hand feeding of the men by the women can thus be equated to an affirmation of their power over the male and un-related participants; through their ritual actions, women become powerful hosts. Rather than gentle domesticating agents, nurturing confirms them as fierce and strong beings.

Diagram representing the movement of the distribution of manioc beer inside the communal house. The beer is located around the central pole of the building.

Feeding socialising substances are processed from the quintessential humanising food that is manioc, but also include children’s foods such as sweets, popcorn and sugar cane, presumably as an extension of the ‘regressive’ characteristic of nurture. Both beer and children’s foods can be used in the controlling domestication by women of men. Fierceness and shamanic strength attributed to the forest and to externality are
thus attracted within the core of the village itself, incorporated (predated) by women through their own metamorphosis as fierce and fearsome beings. Nurture thus amounts to a powerful negotiation and a reestablishment of balance between outside and in, in order to guarantee an appropriate return to daily conviviality. The domestication at stake is thus not to be exclusively associated with a gentle maternal reproductive process for which domestication is a soft tool, but rather as a strong appropriation, almost warlike in intensity, of the source of shamanic strength by women, to which men who let themselves be fed in such conditions, submit themselves. These gendered confrontations carried out under the sign of laughter, derision and parody demonstrate that external influences, so important to internal reproduction, are not exclusively brought back by men into the village, but also actively sought out and attracted by women. Feeding a man at communal celebrations can therefore be associated with hunting an animal in the forest; both have seductive undertones. But this form of appropriation does not only apply to the forest and to the Amerindian world; it can also be channelled from urban poles.

3.3.2. Connections with distant strangers.

One Sunday, people had put on their best clothes, and a celebration was due to begin in the communal house around midday, after church. Some senior women such as Aina had been busy since the day before, supervising the preparation of boiled rice, game in sauce and popcorn, as well as the preparation of the large containers of tea with sugar, and water with Kool Aid artificial flavouring. This was a party hosted by C. Koelewijn to celebrate the opening of the village library and cultural centre referred to as the Jaraware Huïs, as well as the official establishment of a representative committee of villagers chosen to run the village library and cultural fund. C. Koelewijn was also to present and donate copies of his latest work, an annotated transcription and translation of the ex-shaman, ex-village captain and privileged informant Tëmenta to the members of the committee as well as to Tëmenta’s sons, the current captain Mosesi, Aina’s husband Jan and Atinio.

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132 For hunting as seduction, see Taylor 2000.
133 ‘House of Jaraware’. Jaraware is an archetypal Trio hero who, following misadventures, settled in the sky and can be seen today in the constellations as Orion. Missionaries favour him as a figure that can have parallels drawn with the Jesus of Christianity.
134 See Koelewijn 2003.
In the middle of a prayer before the food was to be eaten, Wekïimai the Akuriyo barged into the communal house with a beer ladle in his right hand. His eyes were unfocused and he did not seem steady on his feet, standing in the light of the little doorway, waving the ladle wildly in a desperate attempt to keep his balance. With the oblivious determination of a drunk, he walked straight towards the several large touks located by the central pole of the building. The praying had finished by now and someone was making a speech about the new village library, but not one really listened, all the attention was on Wekïimai’s attempt to get something to drink. As he lifted all of the tubs’ covers, to his dismay finding no beer, he slammed the covers on the floor and started a winding tour of the pots held by individual members of his audience; he finally found some real drink and had more than his fill. But he was soon grabbed by stern-faced men who literally dragged him outside of the communal house. His behaviour was typical of that which he would have adopted at the communal feasts: a poor drunk clown who makes a fool of himself for the pleasure of all. Yet, on this occasion, his conduct was not met by any laughter but only disapproval.

The case of the Akuriyo buffoon Wekïimai who cannot behave himself and stumbles into the communal house totally drunk, waving about a beer ladle, illustrated the uneasy gap existing between separate forms of communal celebration and the implicit understanding (at least by the Trio) of the correlative state in which attendants are expected to find themselves. It is significant that before each communal performance staged for governmental visitors, some elders entrusted with the role of local village deputy leader (SR: basja) walk around the area which falls under their supervision with a loudspeaker to repeatedly hammer forth the message that drinking excessively on this occasion is extremely disapproved of and that attendants ought to control themselves and their families.135 Whereas a similar message of restraint and

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135 This irony of these shifting standards was well illustrated to me in the early months of my fieldwork in Tëpu by the basja (SR) and village elder Supipi whose cookhouse I was then using and who supervised the area in which I was living. An ascetic, incredibly strong great-grandfather whose impressive physique and hard work only matched his serious moralising social behaviour, he was also quick, when sober, at telling young people off for their laziness and lack of control at drinking parties. He would however undergo an impressive transformation under the spell of his own partiality to manioc beer, turning occasionally into a loud, erratic drunk with a penchant for sexual flirtation and brawling. On two occasions I saw him emerge from a night of heavy drinking with a big black-eye, sober and quiet again, and ready to head for his forest garden as if nothing had happened.
moderate consumption is often given by village elders before and during communal feasts, the direct link between C. Koelewijn, or missionaries in general, and an absence of manioc beer is interpreted as an alternative way of celebrating, which involves different performances and the consumption of other substances which, though different, do not prevent the coexistence of several systems for establishing sociable bonds with affinal residents. What is to be highlighted in this episode is the compartmentalisation of certain forms of celebrations, which are not mutually exclusive. This illustrates the importance given to the fact that hybridity, as the bringing together of multifarious external influences, must consist in the coexistence, rather than mixing, of performances; this value placed on heterogeneity is found elsewhere in Amazonia (cf. Salivas 2002 who describes a ‘heterogeneous aesthetic’ among the Jivaro, and Beaudet 1993).

The case of the Akuriyo who cannot control himself during a period of release from social restraint echoes my discussion, in the previous chapter, of the moral use of rules and regulations. Tipsiness generated by drink is a state which has to be felt and expressed collectively and, as in the case of Wekïimai the Akuriyo, is deeply frowned upon and condemned when indulged in by single individual. Moreover the episode illustrates that drunkenness and abandonment is permissible only as a collective state; it cannot be tolerated on an individual basis. This is not only the case of individual drunkenness in Têpu as a result of the influence of missionary activity; in Antecume Pata, drunkenness from strong, commercially produced liquors, which is becoming ever more present on the upper Maroni river as a direct consequence of the presence of garimpeiros, is strongly condemned by village leaders and local shamans as a violent and unacceptably individualistic behaviour; this sort of drunkenness is also seen as self-indulgent and un conducive to collective euphoria.

Because Wekïimai barged drunk into a celebration with Christian connotations, his behaviour was also later condemned by the Koelewijns, who saw the Akuriyo’s inability to restrain himself from drinking fermented drinks as a sign of moral

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136 The heterophony of the Wayana kanawa chants, described by Hurault as a ‘cacophony’ (1968: 91), contrasted with the harmony of the Kalau, demonstrates the intriguing juxtaposition of trends and movements. These ‘acts of collective pleasure’, Beaudet suggests in the case of Wayãpi feasts, are based on an unclassifiable contradictive music, ‘cheerful and grave at the same time […]’ as if hybridity, ‘multiplicity was its nature’ (1997: 15, my trans.).
weakness. But from an Amerindian perspective, the disapproval of drunken behaviour was also meaningful in its own right, even if many attendees viewed it with irony and amusement rather than the sternness of the missionary couple. Trio and Wayana regard such behaviour out of context as a sign of moral weakness too, but in an entirely different way; asceticism, restraint and individual strength (physical and shamanic) are powerfully equated in the Wayana and Trio mindset, and a shaman will never be seen drunk and out of control. This accounts for the ambivalent attitude towards beer: although the Amerindians regard beer itself as a good thing (in contrast to the missionaries), as they do sociable tipsiness, individual drunkenness is unacceptable.

The tension felt by missionaries towards alcohol perfectly illustrates a contradiction of views which cannot be reconciled; during the December 2004 celebrations in Tëpu, the missionary schoolteachers witnessed with increasing discomfort the ever greater quantities of fermented drinks being consumed at the parties. It appears that the consumption of manioc beer had steadily increased since the departure of the last missionary in permanent residence in the early 1990s, and the Koelewijns also attributed the increase to the influence of Brazilian Trio (and by extension, to the Catholic mission). Certainly this renaissance of manioc beer production and consumption shows that the underlying importance of nurturing relationships never changed. Considering that pacification was one of the objectives of the missionaries, it is ironic that the consumption of beer constitutes one of the essential pacifying components necessary to the existence of sedentary settlements such as Tëpu (which were originally planned by missionaries). Pacification for the missionaries had to take place in the mind, through education and abstinence from mind-altering substances; in contrast, pacification for Amerindians takes place in and through the body. The sharing of substance and consequent generation of communal states allows thus for the maintenance of manageable affinal relations between extended families who still have difficulties in living next to people they are not related to. It is highly significant that the making and maintaining of social relations through nurturing processes remains unaltered as a central component of Trio and Wayana sociality, despite missionary attentions. The means deployed may have been reduced in range, but the fundamental principles are followed with increasing and deliberate strength.
This process is visible in festive performances; the music and hymns played with a direct correlation to the church (as well as bodily movements which are here typified by a swaying of the body from right to left with hands clapping and the feet marking the beat, and do not involve any physical contact between the performers) remain separate from music and chants that may be considered ‘native’. In this separation can be seen the emphasis of the generation of hybridity to allow the incorporation of multiple external elements. In this regard, current Trio and Wayana data seems to corroborate Beaudet’s observation about Lowland South American music in general, which suggests the existence of a strong ‘impermeability’ of indigenous sonoral systems to external influences (1993: 531). The external elements are predated and incorporated but as additional entities rather than as exclusive alternatives. Whereas the repertoire as such might have been reduced, there is a strong attachment to the basic principles which are constitutive of communal feasts and the strength of the performance.137

Coexistence and impermeability suggest in more general terms that communal celebrations employ external elements in the regeneration of the residential unit. As opposed to Howard’s (2001) argumentation of the use of ‘Other’ people as absorbed in order to become ‘Same’ and regenerate collective Waiwai identity, in Trio and Wayana communal feasts, Others remain Others; in fact, in both cases, there is a segmentary logic whereby the otherness of incorporated persons may be emphasised or effaced according to circumstances. A distinction is maintained in the long-term by being temporarily set aside, rather than being nullified for good; as Others are necessary for regular social reproduction. In the case of the Trio and Wayana, temporary outside influence are relied upon as a source of knowledge, particularly specialist knowledge, in order to regenerate social relations and social harmony. While changes occur at the individual bodily level, the distinctions between cognatic clusters emerge pacified, but also reinforced. For such a regeneration to be feasible, external influence has to be maintained rather than assimilated and turned into kinship. The temporary merging of affines as time stops during celebrations blurred

137 This was also an observation made by Beaudet on Amazonia as a whole: ‘We will thus note the disappearance or the simplification of some elements of the repertoire, but we shall also, in counterpart, note the demographic vigour of these groups in the actual performance of these chants and dances’ (1993: 531, my trans.).
by the drinking of large quantities of manioc beer, is given prominence on such occasions, instead of the continuity of relations engaged with affines in everyday life structured by consanguineal bonds and kinship paths.

3.4. Conclusion: social body and centripetal movement.

‘The Araweté ceremonial system, in summary, expresses and produces a non-differentiation of the social body […] and places at centre stage a single fundamental opposition: between inside and outside, the socius and its exterior. This exterior prevails; humans nourish the others (Viveiros de Castro 1992: 141).

If Trio and Wayana communal ritual celebrations had to be summarised in one phrase, they could arguably be reduced to the following fundamental principle: ‘humans nourish the others’. The other side of the coin, that the ‘exterior prevails’, is puzzling in Viveiros de Castro’s formula, but it should be taken, according to my analysis, as representing the importance of centripetal movement, drawing multifarious external elements to renew a social centre. On this basic principle which requires hosts and guests, as well as the central role played by the ingesting body, I have discussed the various fundamental stages and underlying implications which lie beneath the surface of drinking and dancing among northeastern Amazonian Amerindians. But whereas Viveiros de Castro’s analysis does not contextualise the ceremonies he describes within a contemporary setting, I have attempted to draw distinct expressions of feasts into the current environment of large-scale sedentarisation, ritual simplification and concentration, and increased exchange with remote external influence. Drawing successive descriptions of ‘traditional’ and ‘non-traditional’ Amerindian ceremonies would have led us to portray the residents of Têpu and Antecume Pata in a rather static, patronising and incorrect light. My analysis avoided such an approach through its focus on the treatment of the body and the merging with substances, rather than on the structural organisation of celebrations. Through these two themes, it was possible to engage in a comparison of several distinct celebrations and to examine the core principles which animate them: nurture and transformative corporealities.
In the first section of this chapter, I took the initial stance that the common ground for all these feasts was that they were amphitryonic, and I then proceeded in discussing the substances themselves, manioc beer in particular, and the way consumption patterns have an effect on the single and communal body. It soon became clear that there are certain social and individual states, which are both prerequisites and a consequence of the sharing of nurturing substances and a display of ritual performances. Large-scale commensality generates a state of social contentment which allows a temporary merging with non-related affines. Our discussion then progressed, in the second section, into a more focused exploration of the idea of transformation and bodily shape-shifting, and an analysis of the ascetic morality underpinning these physical changes expressed and promoted through a treatment of the body unique to times of celebrations. The apparently excessive behaviour so characteristic of these large drinking parties can be regarded as a form of ascetic purification of the individual body through repeated regurgitation and abstinence from ‘real foods’ over extended periods of time. This was particularly the case for young people who all through these celebrations are reminded of their social duties. This dimension of strengthening of bodies through restraint was then contrasted with the combined transformation performed and achieved through burlesque. Burlesque transformations of other people’s bodies allow for symbolic social warnings to be given through laughter and playfulness. The neglect of burlesque in Amazonian studies can be linked to the self-contained portrayal of ritual: burlesque is based on the comic imitation of alterity, particularly non-Amerindian Others; it is in the use of burlesque itself, which I have identified, that continuity can be found.

These transformations then led us in the third section to address more generally relations between inside and outside, particularly the relationship between men and women; I then proceeded to discuss what nurture implies if it is viewed as a form of control exerted over a specific category of people, comparing relations with forest influence with relations with the distant sphere of the city. In the latter case, feeding distant strangers during communal celebrations involved the sharing of foodstuffs, but was expressed in different ways. Distant strangers are symbolically drawn inside the core of the communal space of a village, and through transformative performances
their influences are captured and redirected to creatively reproduce Trio and Wayana collective corporeal identity.

These various celebrations can be considered as socialising strategies in which, during a temporary liminal context of altered state marked by a given behaviour of excess and a language of restraint, there is a merging with non-related affines. Substances take on the characteristics of their consumers and whoever drinks unsociable drinks such as rum becomes dangerous, aggressive like a gold-miner. Manioc beer socialises, mixes, but rum is an external product brought in without the same meaning. Drinking parties in which the generational enhancement and the role of moral guardians as embodied by the older generations have disappeared reflect the symptom of a form of perceived social collapse which has become recently visible on the periphery of villages on the Maroni and the Litani Rivers such as Antecume Pata.

There is potential to explore this general theme of large-scale consumption and celebration further. The external element that the missionaries represent is interesting; whereas NGO workers share the missionaries’ insularity in eating practices, the former do not express open opinions on appropriate consumption behaviour the way the latter do. Except Howard (2001), however, few anthropologists have taken into account other forms of expressive communal performances involving externality. They range today from ‘Bible conferences’ in southern Suriname and Guyana to trans-Amerindian sports competitions (i.e. Jeux Kali’na d’Awala-Yalimapo 16-18.12.2005) in northern French Guiana. Even though these alternative forms of communal gathering do not involve the same production and consumption of processed foodstuffs, they do involve a wide community of non-related peoples who do not usually interact with each other. From an Amerindian perspective, they aim at strategically absorbing external influences and presence in order to reaffirm and regenerate extended social networks.

The centripetal movement of feasts described in this chapter, and the diffused movement described in the last, have so far been described in a way which does not diverge from other portrayals of the body in Amazonia as relatively homogeneous: although humanity must be made and maintained through the body, few have questioned the idea that there should be only one kind of human body. However, the
next chapter will describe sets of differences based on inherent qualities of the body itself and how these inherent qualities may be deliberately nurtured. This is salient in the history of contact expeditions organised by the Protestant missionaries in Tēpu and the present situation of one group of people, the Akuriyo, who were contacted and brought back to settle there under the supervision of the Trio.
‘Learning to live properly’, as ‘real (or proper) people’ do, is an idea which has had some resonance among anthropologists working in Lowland South America over the past three decades. In Amazonia, social norm, or convention, involves both moral and aesthetic value, and enjoys a peculiar status as pertaining to the sphere of the innate, or given, which is shared with other living creatures such as animals, plants, or spirits. But if social norms are a given, the bodily envelope is the result of human agency, and is characterised by a particular instability and propensity to transform (Vilaça 2005). The human body is therefore the product of a lengthy nurturing process to which the ingestion of foodstuffs, ritualised physical modifications or the correct mastery of language and social behaviour represent key components (Kensinger 1995). The body, recent anthropological literature argues, is therefore not considered as a given, but as something subject to changes which can in turn reflect themselves in social behaviour. Mastering a language, showing a willingness to engage in daily activities, and behaving according to social norms, are considered examples of one’s stable, domesticated humanity (McCallum 2001). This socialisation has often been explored in terms of domestication, as a process in which some wild material would be tamed into a familiar being; this implies that social relations may be subject to principles of transformation; the sense of kin can be stretched to integrate people, animals, spirits with whom nurture determines relations. As such, spirits are fed by the shaman, and animals can become kin. This implies that animals hunted in or brought back from the forest become the new intermediaries of a privileged form of relationship with those who either killed them or look after them, by feeding them and bringing them up. Capture can therefore be equated with familiarisation, as Fausto explored with the idea of ‘familiarizing predation’ as a process of integration of affines, in particular through commensality (1999, further developed in 2002).
But how can such abstract concern with flexible classification translate into an analysis of personhood and relations between people? The idea of moulding humanity out of wild material has until now been exclusively used to support the view that there exists in Amazonia, and in the Guianas in particular, an ideal form of egalitarianism, favouring a horizontal redistribution of power within a community, as status is never fixed and must be regularly regenerated (Overing 1986). The importance given to nurturing processes is the result of a focus on close kin, and what is described as a particular attention given by Native Amazonian populations to social harmony and equality (Overing and Passes 2000). This view, described by some as being rather ‘surprisingly angelic’ in its portrayal of Amerindian peoples (cf. Lorrain 2000: 293; Taylor 1996: 206) was particularly challenged by another school of Amazonianists, which, following Viveiros de Castro, tried to bring forward the predatory nature of the establishment of social relationships in Amazonia (Rivière 1984; Viveiros de Castro 1992). From that point of view, the process of the making of humanity within a social group was understood by focusing on a social ontology based on shamanic predation as a relational model according to which consanguinity was determined through the management of affinity. Despite their stress on different aspects of Amerindian social organisation, consanguinity and affinity respectively, these two analytical models, or methodological approaches, present a problem to researchers working in contemporary Amazonian villages: they both conceptualise an idealised Amerindian society from which history and individual agency are absent.

My intention here is to take a larger perspective on the making of persons (T: wiñoto), and test the applicability of these theories to specific historical events. I wish therefore to integrate a reflection on these nurturing processes found to be a common factor throughout Lowland South America, within a grounded context in which outside agents such as missionaries come to play a role. I contrast the nurturing practices between kin, addressed in chapter 2, and between affines, analysed in chapter 3, with a different type of nurture, which is morally more ambiguous, and perhaps, as I suggest, more coercive: that of a particular type of affine, the Other who comes from the forest, the ‘wild one’ (wajarikure). The latter can be described as the marginal person, neither relative, nor affine, but yet potentially human. I aim to consider whether concepts of ‘capture’, ‘wild peoples’, ‘enemies’, are applicable to
long-term sedentarised villages where the principal problem is that of how to live in peace with non-relatives.

In this chapter, I discuss the relationships that the Trio and the Wayana, who today regard themselves as riverine horticulturalists and have led a sedentary village life around mission posts since the early 1960s, have established with the nomadic ‘wild peoples’ of the forest, with a particular reference to those of them whom they ‘contacted’ and settled three decades ago. I will analyse how the sedentarisation of a group of forest-dwelling hunter-gatherers illustrates the general trend in the Guianas, and arguably throughout Lowland South America, towards the nurture of an ambivalent Other in order to channel its transformative capacity. In daily relations with the Akuriyo there are not the same invisible ‘kinship paths’ linking them with other villagers, and even the centripetal effect of feasts does not efface their affinity. Instead, in both everyday and festive life they are hierarchically distinguished and linked to the Trio and Wayana, and I will show that this relationship takes the form of a dual hierarchy: moral inferiority in the visible, social world, and predatory superiority in the invisible, ambiguous world of the forest. Just as women assert a nurturing symbolic social dominance over other villagers through the festive feeding of beer, the Akuriyo are regressed by their dependence upon the nurture of the Trio and Wayana; however, I will show that in this case the relationship is more than symbolic and temporary. The strategies and narratives related to this gradual nurturing process rest upon a system of negative reciprocity, and express themselves around the central categories of foods and human wellbeing. By contrasting witnesses’ and participants’ narratives of the expeditions in question, and contextualising them with field data about the present living conditions of these ‘contacted peoples’, I wish to develop a wider discussion of interethnic relations and the making of transformative historical and ecological paradigms in Amerindian communities experiencing changing living conditions. This will therefore deepen the understanding of sasame wehoto and the contemporary peace prevailing among the Trio and Wayana established in the previous chapters.

138 On the relevance of ‘kinship paths’ in everyday life, see chapter 2; on the centripetal effect of feasts, see chapter 3.
4.1. From wajarikure to Akuriyo, naming the ‘wild people’.

‘[T]here were rumours about Bush Negroes (Djuka) who went fishing and hunting in the Oelemari basin […] who never came back’ (Kloos 1977b: 114).

The Akuriyo, as they are now known, were made up of several families of hunter-gatherers who had intentionally avoided developing bonds with neighbouring Amerindian and Maroon communities from the Maroni river system until the expeditions of the late 1960s. This avoidance in turn was reciprocated by Wayana, Trio, Ndjuka and Boni villagers who, when going deep into the forest and around unknown creeks to hunt, would always be on their guard for signs of the presence of ‘wild peoples’ to whom were attributed ‘fierceness’ (êire) and ambiguous spirit power. Any twig or branch obviously broken by hand, and not by a metal tool such as a machete, would send them rushing away from the suspicious site. Sightings of ‘wild people’ are today still the object of gossip, but were even more so before any of the Akuriyo were engaged with socially. Throughout the 1960s, with the development of French and Surinamese geological and geographical surveys in the border area of French Guiana, Suriname and Brazil, occasional incidents became the object of fantastic accounts (Cognat & Massot 1977).

Both early expedition narratives (Alhbrink 1956; Coudreau 1891, 1893; Crevaux 1879) and contemporary sources (Chapuis & Rivière 2003; Koelewijn & Rivière 1987; Magaña 1982 (in Jara 1990)) use several names when referring to nomadic forest peoples of the region: Wama, Acurias, Oyaricoulets, to name only the most recurrent ones.139 It is difficult to assess to what extent these names can be taken as reliable references to particular corresponding peoples. While earlier sources might refer to actual peoples who at that time were known by or gave themselves these names,140 later accounts or myths collected after the sedentarisation of the early 1970s appear to have adapted to the recent historical events. My field experience suggests

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139 ‘Oyaricoulets’ has often been translated as ‘long ears’ (Cognat & Massot 1977); earlier sources mention ‘wild peoples’ with large ears, for instance: when on the Maroni, Harcourt (17th C) heard of Indians with pierced ears, cheeks, nostrils and lower lips who are said to be ‘of strength and stature far exceeding other Indians, having Bowes and Arrowes four times as bigge: what the Indians also report of the greatnesse of their eares’ (Harris 1928: 86).

140 The name Akuriyo was among those variously used to refer to wild peoples since the earliest European accounts: in the 15th century John Ley was told of people called ‘Acurio’ living in the mountains at the headwaters of the Maroni river (Lorimer 1994).
that in both Tëpu and Antecume Pata, the Akuriyo were known as *wajarikure* (T) before contact and that they were given the name Akuriyo as the result of one of the early and rather limited conversations the expedition members had with the peoples they had just contacted. Some of the people in question who live in Tëpu today do call themselves Akuriyo, and it is also the generic term under which they are addressed and referred to by Trio or Wayana villagers. Within the general category of Akuriyo, there are self-denominated sub-groups, namely: *Turaekare, Akuriekare* and *Pëinjekeekare*, and the word Akuriyo comes from the second of these.\(^{141}\)

However, *wayalikule* (W) is still the name given by Carib-speaking communities of the Guianese interior as well as the coast, such as the Kali’na, to the reputedly murderous peoples from the forest whose spirit power puts them beyond the fringes of humanity, intermingling in substance with cannibalistic spirits (Chapuis 2003). On several occasions senior Kali’na from the sea-fishing village of Awala in French Guiana, who live about 700 km away from the forest in which the *wayalikule* are said to live, described to me how these pale, hairy beings would hide and shoot poisoned arrows at unsuspecting hunters as if the latter were prey. They are described in similar terms to other mythical wild beings of the forest such as the *pianokoto*:\(^{142}\) aggressive, dangerous, cannibalistic human and ape-like figures of the forest, repulsive because of their thick body hair.

Whereas in the past the name ‘Akuriyo’ was occasionally attributed to forest people, it has only become established as the identity of a particular group of people since they have been a constant presence in Trio and Wayana village life. Today, the Trio and Wayana say that, ‘before’, the Akuriyo used to be *wayalikule*, and that their peculiar physical attributes confirm or maintain their ‘wildness’ even though their daily practices have changed since their sedentarisation. When after a few years in Tëpu, the first Akuriyo man decided to pluck his facial hair (including his eyebrows) the way the Trio did, it was considered by the villagers as a breakthrough in his

\(^{141}\) *Kare* can be translated as ‘people’, equivalent to the Trio *jana*. See chapter 2 for discussion. Grupioni (2005) includes the Akuriyo as a Trio *îtîpî*, which is curious considering the history of avoidance between the two groups and the extreme rarity of intermarriage even in mixed villages.

\(^{142}\) Not to be confused with the *Pijanakoto*, one of the historical groups that came together to form the Trio, the *pianokoto* are by definition ‘wild’.
humanising process (Kloos 1977b). As their physical appearance (their ‘clothes’ in shamanic terminology) changed, they became more like ‘proper’ human beings. To the Wayana, Trio and Kali’na who describe themselves as having learnt to live together in peace, the ‘wild’ Indians represent the past, when they themselves mastered the various forms of spirit knowledge of the forest, which they, to differing degrees, gave away in order to live a peaceful, but sedentary life (Chapuis 2003).

By the end of the 1960s, several determining factors had come into play to provide the ideal ground for the organisation of contact expeditions to the ‘wild people’. As some were eventually ‘pacified’ they became known as Akuriyo, a new social group within the village. Before their sedentarisation, the Akuriyo lived in and around a remote area covering about 10,000 km², situated between the headwaters of the Oeremari in the East and the creeks of the Oranje mountain range in the West, in southeastern Suriname. Today, most of the remaining Akuriyo live in the Trio village of Tëpu, on the upper Tapanahoni. They were tracked, displaced from their settlements and sedentarised in 1970-71, after a first contact in 1968. They were brought to the village from which the majority of the senior and ‘trustworthy’ (Report on… 1968: 7) Trio men who took part in these expeditions came, and in which the missionary Claude Leavitt, known as a ‘contact and bush specialist’ within missionary circles, lived and worked. These expeditions were organised at the instigation and with the financial and logistical backing of several American Baptist missions working with the Unevangelized Fields Mission (UFM). This organisation, which specialised in the evangelisation of remote peoples, was charged by the umbrella group West Indies Mission (which had struck a deal with the Surinamese government), to supervise the sedentarisation process of the indigenous communities living in the Surinamese interior from the early 1950s onwards. It coordinated the provision of health care and education, in partnership with, respectively for these two domains, Medisches Zending and the Dutch Reformed Church.

The purpose of the following analysis is to explore, in terms of what I have established about the conviviality permeating everyday life, where social agency is

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143 The pairing of body hair and potential wildness is found among both Trio and Wayana. A proper person, in their view, is one who, since birth, has been moulded into kin, as a baby at birth can potentially grow into something else, a monkey in particular: the Trio word for a mother’s upbringing of a child means ‘to undo the spider monkey’ (arimika).
diffused and distributed, and the centripetal action of festive life, the contrast between
the Trio and Wayana’s representation of their ‘captives’ and the Akuriyo’s own
description of their fate as a minority with a distinctive identity within a larger village.
I consider this contrast by looking into the details of the contact expeditions and their
lasting social and political consequences, and analyse these in terms of bodies,
nurturing techniques and the propensity to transform. In terms of the heterogeneity of
external influences drawn towards the social centre, described in the last chapter, there
is in the missionaries’ involvement in bringing ‘wild people’ to the village a
convergence of two disparate but equally important forms of Other. In everyday life
these wild people are kept at a social distance through the enactment of Trio and
Wayana convivial relations among kin.

4.2. The uses of the idea of nurture.

‘Having conquered their own fear of evil spirits by faith in Jesus-Christ, the
Waiwai became a caring people who brought God’s light to several other
unreached tribes. ‘To search out these other tribes, who were also dying out,
they’d undertake these long and difficult trips over mountains and along rivers,
one time travelling 45 days each way’ says Bob¹⁴⁴ (Maf 2003: 2, my
emphasis).

The contact, nurture and ‘education’ of forest peoples by riverine villagers have been
described in various parts of Lowland South America and elsewhere. Keifenheim
gives an account of contact expeditions involving the Kashinawa in western
Amazonia (1997); these expeditions were apparently organised without outside
support. Asymmetrical trade relationships exist in northwestern Amazonia between
Tukanoans, who are garden people, and the nomadic Maku (Hugh-Jones, pers.
comm.). Historical records of early explorers in eastern Bolivia describe a people
called the Yuki, who used to rely on captured enemies turned into slaves as
intermediary hunters (Viveiros de Castro, pers. comm.).¹⁴⁵ This type of relationship
can also be found outside Lowland South America, and may reflect the often difficult

¹⁴⁴ ‘Bob’ is the UFM missionary Robert Hawkins who first settled among the Waiwai in southern
Guyana in 1949 and lived at the Kanashen mission post for several decades. The conversion of the
Waiwai and their willingness to ‘evangelise’ uncontacted peoples has been heralded by his organisation
as an exemplary success in the conversion of Amazonian peoples (cf. Dowdy 1963; Hemming 2003;
Howard 2001; MAF Lifelink 2003).
¹⁴⁵ This appears still to be the case today (Jabin, pers. comm.)
relationship between hunter-gatherers in general and agriculturalists (Lee and Daly 1999). An example is the unequal relationship established between the Efe (Grinker 1994) and Aka Pygmies (Bahuchet and Guillaume 1982) of Congo and the neighbouring Lese Bantu villagers. These cases involve unstable trading partnerships between ‘civilising’ villagers, and ‘wild’ forest peoples, whom the former tend to fear and despise: ‘Deprived of culture (savages), the Aka are bound to be dominated. The counterpart to this view, which at the same time justifies their domination, is the socialisation of the Aka’ (op. cit.: 194).

Within the Amazonian context, of particular interest to us is the case of the Waiwai. Howard has studied the dynamic absorption by the Waiwai of the ‘unseen tribes’ of the forest in order to reinstate and regenerate their own identity as a group, a practice which, although it appears to have been a constant feature of Waiwai sociality, was at least amplified considerably by missionary intervention (2000, 2001). The case of the Trio and Wayana is geographically and historically related to that of the Waiwai. The latter were the first mission ground for Claude Leavitt who later moved east into Suriname to evangelise the Trio (Dowdy 1963). Senior villagers of Tëpu remember clearly how Koroni, as he was known, came to them with the Bible and some Waiwai Christians who taught them about God.

Two generations later, the Waiwai are still respected by the Trio as a reliable source of knowledge and embedded expertise: their têpitê, or forest gardens, are said to be bigger than their own, and they are rumoured capable of cultivating more varieties of manioc, bananas and sweet potatoes. They know how to build proper communal houses, and are invited to supervise the construction of each new one by the leaders of Tëpu when the need arises. Their craft and ability is regularly praised and stated in hyperbolic terms by the Trio: ‘bigger’, ‘more varied’, ‘better made’, are descriptions often heard in references to what the Waiwai achieve in their ecological management. When talking about the Waiwai, the Trio often use the adjective kurano, which refers not only to aesthetic beauty but also to a sense of inner contentment and social balance, and signifies a relation established between aesthetic beauty and inherent goodness (cf. Ewart 2001). By extension, these various descriptive forms imply that the Waiwai have achieved a higher skill or higher rate of success in enhancing the productivity of the foods and materials they grow and extract. The Trio’s admiration
appears to be inspired by what they regard as the Waiwai’s capacity to control the esoteric and the physical worlds, in other words, the unseen and the seen, to serve their needs. The Waiwai were the ones who brought the Trio Christianity and the corresponding bonds with an apparently unlimited source of power and goods: that of the missionaries. In this regard, the Waiwai are the opposite of the Akuriyo, who two generations after sedentarisation, are still relatively unskilled at managing a garden, cooking bread and making beer, three essential features of a socialising human. And as the Trio were and still are taught by the Waiwai how to live better, the Trio in turn reproduce the same humanising process on the Akuriyo. Kïsi, one of my main informants, would repeatedly tell me: ‘We went to the Akuriyo because they did not know about God or about gardens; they did not know how to live properly’.

I will look at the social processes which unfolded through these events and suggest regarding these forms of nurture as regional interethnic political productions in which outside agents, often overlooked in Amazonian anthropology, acted and were acted upon.

4.3. The contact and incorporation of the Akuriyo.

In Tëpu, the Akuriyo represent a handful of families and childless couples spread throughout the village. While most houses in the village are on stilts and, for some privileged ones, have corrugated iron roofs, the houses the Akuriyo live in are small huts with thatched roofs and rough wooden planks as walls. They are located for the most part near the margins of the clearings, where arrow cane, bushes and fruit trees grow, an area referred to by the Trio as wïrïpëtao, meaning the bushy, uneven area between the village proper (pata) and the forest (itu) (Rivière 1981). This is the area in which rubbish is dumped, including leftover bones or body parts of game and other products of the forest, which may attract the spirits of their former animal selves. 146 For this reason, the wïrïpëtao, a liminal zone between the place of the village and non-place of the forest, is associated with spirits, as its name implies (wïrïpë, ‘spirit’ + tao

146 It is because of the fear of attracting the spirits to its bodily envelope that the body of an animal or fish to be consumed is dismembered and consumed thoroughly, including every single part of its skin. The bones are given to the dogs or stolen by other pets, but some leftovers invariably end up being thrown in the bushes.
Apart from one family, which has its own small rudimentary cookhouse, the Akuriyo rarely manage their own households as autonomous units, but use the cooking space of neighbouring Trio families. The absence of a cookhouse is a determining and revealing fact: game and fish, as well as garden yields, cannot be processed autonomously by the Akuriyo, but are de facto managed and redistributed by Trio, who by doing so secure themselves with a constant source of foods (the Akuriyo are outstanding hunters, better than the Trio and Wayana). This dependence is in turn justified by appeal to the ongoing incapacity of the Akuriyo to be in charge of their own cookhouse. Stories of their failures abound and are centred on their poor cooking and eating practices: for example, it is said that an Akuriyo man died because he drank some beer his wife had made, which was still poisonous because she had not processed the manioc correctly. A group of pananakiri (white people) who came to stay in the village are said to have became seriously ill because they ate some aimara fish sold to them by an Akuriyo who had not smoked it properly. The best joke the Trio think they have about the Akuriyo and which would invariably provoke hoots of laughter is as follows: when the Trio first encountered the Akuriyo they handed them some manioc bread for them to eat. An Akuriyo man, perplexed, not knowing what it was, took the bread, put it on the floor, and sat on it. Other signs of social marginality are to be found in everyday practices highly regarded by the Trio and the Wayana as a sign of humanity: those involved in bodily hygiene. Elderly Akuriyo do not go to the river to bathe and enjoy a good swim before meals in the morning and evening, but rather wash near their house with a gourd dipped in their water container. The Trio complain of the stench the Akuriyo reputedly give off because of their poor hygiene; smell is a strong marker of health and social propriety, and considered to be polluting when inhaled.

147 Postpositions include a distinction between open, human place, the social space, especially of the village (–po, patapo ‘in the village’) and the asocial, non-human space of the forest (–tao, itutao ‘in the forest’). However there are many ramifications according to the type of movement through space a particular being is capable of in a given environment (cf. Carlin 2004).

148 Bitter manioc (Manihot esculenta) (T: wïï), is the main staple food among a large number of Amerindian peoples. It is used for a wide range of products: beer, bread, farine, etc. The lengthy preparation of bitter manioc centres on a detoxification process in order to remove the cyanide acid from the root (cf. appendix for beer recipes).

149 Hoplias aimara.

150 Manioc bread (uru, but also often referred to metonymically by the root’s name wïï) looks like a very large hard biscuit of about 1m50 in diameter (the older the harder), which, when used, is broken into pieces and softened by being soaked in pepperpot juice during a meal, or simply dipped in water to be eaten as a snack.
Marginal yet closely supervised, each Akuriyo household is situated next to that of a prominent Trio family, in general one of which a senior member played a predominant role in the village, either as kapitein (SR: village leader), basja (SR: administrative policing sub-authority) or church elder (referred to as tamu, which also means ‘grand-father’). But this does not in itself explain why some households ‘own’ (T: entume) Akuriyo and some do not. The senior villagers whose house is in charge of an Akuriyo family are those who took part in the expeditions to contact the ‘wild people’ from the forest. Upon arrival in Tëpu in 1970 and 1971, these Akuriyo families were ‘divided up’ between their captors, and ended up forming a subservient class of people whose obligations of service and need for education eventually were, against outsider observers’ expectations, passed on to their children.\textsuperscript{151} Thirty years on, they remain subservient as their difference and inferiority are perpetuated by the idea that the Trio and Wayana have a monopoly on a human, ‘proper’ perspective. As I examine narratives of life before and after sedentarisation and contact, this picture will clearly emerge.

\textbf{4.3.1. The historical facts: interpretations and speculations.}

‘Had not God revealed [the Akuriyo camp] to us, we would still be wandering through the bush in search of the trails’ (Yohner 1970: 13).

The first sighting of some wayalikule in a series which was to lead to their ‘capture’ was made in June 1968 by some Wayana from the village of Anapaikë employed on a Surinamese geographical survey expedition in the Tumuc-Humac mountain range.\textsuperscript{152} It is likely that the survey in question had been organised and financed by the WIM, as a missionary source claims: ‘The Akuriyo were discovered last June largely because the missionaries of the WIM were sending mapping expeditions up the rivers of the mountainous area’ (\textit{Notes from...} n.d.: 1). Anapaikë, referred to by missionaries as the Lawa mission, was the first missionary station in Wayana territory on the Surinamese side of the Maroni river, which constitutes the border between Suriname and French

\textsuperscript{151} Cf. Kloos 1977a who, while acknowledging that the Akuriyo had suffered physically and mentally from their sedentarisation, and were being treated slightly heavy-handedly by the Trio, predicted they would integrate with the Trio within one generation.

\textsuperscript{152} I am referring only to the recent sightings, which are part of the series of events analysed here. As stated above, there were previous sightings and exchanges established with peoples who either called themselves or were called wayalikule over the past century and a half (Alhbrinck 1956; Coudreau 1891, 1893).
Guiana. Anapaikë was the first captain of the village, and as is often the case with Wayana villages, he gave his name to it.\textsuperscript{153} Although missionaries were not allowed to install themselves in French Guiana, their presence and influence began to radiate from the Surinamese side of the river, along which family networks spread. André Cognat (W: Antecume),\textsuperscript{154} a naturalised Wayana who at the time had just founded his own village, known as Antecume Pata, upriver on the Litani, recently told me how, over thirty-five years ago, some men from Anapaikë stopped over in his village on their way downriver from the Tumuc-Humac.\textsuperscript{155} The canoe carrying the men had just arrived at the landing and villagers from Antecume Pata had pressed around them to welcome them, offer them a drink of manioc beer, and hear news from upriver. As A. Cognat himself arrived, he overheard mention of the \textit{wayalikule}, and asked the men whether they had seen any members of this intriguing group. Although one of the travellers answered that they had, over on the Walemapane creek (off the Litani into Surinamese territory), another immediately contradicted him pretending it was a joke, and called on his fellow villagers to continue their journey home to Anapaikë. André later attributed this to them having the intention of selling the information to the missionaries in their village, who, as their internal communications regarding the survey missions attest, had been openly interested and actively collecting information on possible clues as to the location of the ‘wild Indians’.

By 1968, Antecume had been living on and off for six years among the Wayana, and was well used to life ‘in the bush’. He managed to convince three Wayana and Wayâpi friends of his to travel with him upriver to the Walemapane creek to investigate whether there was anything to be seen. After an arduous and unproductive journey into the creek, they saw signs of a trail going into the forest from a fallen tree that was lying across the two banks. They eventually arrived at an Akuriyo camp. My informant clearly remembered how they were terrified by the whole contact

\textsuperscript{153} Cf. chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion on villagers naming and possible connections between village, or the area of a village and its founder or leader. According to the traditional pattern of a village creation for both Trio and Wayana, a village would be founded by a man and his close kin and son-in-laws, and would attract other non-relatives according to his ability as a leader. The settlements would then be referred to by his name. In the case of villages founded by missionaries which, incidentally, are referred to by the Trio as ‘white people’s villages’, names refer to features of the landscape. Within the village itself nevertheless, residents will refer to ‘their village’ within the village, and call it by the name of the leader of the section.

\textsuperscript{154} Following local practice, I shall use these names interchangeably.

\textsuperscript{155} An abridged version of these events can be found in Cognat & Massot 1977.
experience, which contrasted with the self-confident and controlled way in which the Akuriyo reacted to them; he refers to the event in his autobiographical account: ‘In unison […] with a voice shaken by emotion, we repeated “kule pawana, kule pawana”. While we were scared and ill at ease, they were relaxed and perfectly jolly. Smiling at us, they answered “kule, kule”’ (Cognat & Massot 1977: 111, my trans.).

On this first expedition, A. Cognat spent three consecutive days in the camp, leaving it in the evening to sleep nearby, and coming back in the morning. He bartered a considerable amount of the goods he had brought for that purpose and some of his belongings, for instance knives, a machete, his cotton hammock, to collect some Akuriyo objects which fascinated him, such as the stone axes, the tools made of wood and animals teeth, or a hammock made of urawaito (T) fibre (prizes which his companions found absurd and derisory).

As they were approaching Antecume Pata on their way back, they came across two canoes going upriver, in which André recognised some Wayana and the missionary from Anapaikë, together with another American pastor and a Surinamese military official. There were also some Amerindians whom he did not recognise but presumed to be Trio. He described how the Americans stiffened and looked furious when they saw him, but deliberately ignored him and passed by them without stopping. The party in question seems to have been the first expedition mounted during the same month by the missionary Arthur Yohner, who was based in Anapaikë, in coordination with Claude Leavitt who had especially come from Tëpu with a group of ‘reliable’ Trio men. The means deployed by the West Indies Mission in order to actively search for the ‘wild Indians’ testify to the extent to which the UFM and the WIM had secured support for their initiatives, which under the guise of a survey mission - a fairly standard type of expedition organised by the national governments of the time into their unmapped border areas -, also had the objective of actively seeking out ‘uncontacted’ tribes: ‘It [...] was the purpose of these mapping expeditions [...] that they would discover these Indians’ (Notes from...n.d.: 1).

Before their departure from the village, someone had told them that the correct thing to say to the wayalikule was kule pawana, which was believed to mean ‘me good friend of you’. Kure pawana does in fact mean ‘trading partner’ in Akuriyo. A bemused André Cognat told me how over the whole duration of their stay with the Akuriyo, he and his friends would compulsively, ridiculously (“bêtement”) repeat that phrase over and over again, even when walking along the trail to the camp in the forest, for fear of being shot at by an Akuriyo hiding behind a tree.
Some of the objects brought back by A. Cognat from his 1968 trip to the Akuriyo camp on the Walemapane creek and stored in his house in Antecume Pata: two stone axes, one skin tube container with small curare tipped arrows, two expansible bracelets made of sloth’s claws, one comb, one necklace decorated with spider monkey teeth, one peccary mandible used to sharpen arrow tips, two small piercing agouti tooth knives used for making holes. When A. Cognat came back with these ‘wild objects’, he was both laughed at for having been swindled by the wayalikule who struck a bargain by getting machetes and knives and a cotton hammock for nothing, and encouraged to destroy such dangerous objects which could be charged with spirit power and contaminate people in the village.

The contact seems to have operated smoothly for the missionaries’ expedition team. Upon departure after a few days in the camp, they left some Trio men behind with a portable radio, in order to keep track of the movements of the group, that would change camp every 3-4 days, while the missionaries returned to implement and supervise the administrative enclosure of the area: ‘The [Surinamese] government has established a post along [the Litani] river and will not allow people to get into the area. […] Access from French Guiana would have to be through this post’ (ibid.: 2). Logistical support was provided by mission headquarters in Paramaribo: flights were organised with the Missionary Aviation Fellowship (MAF) to fly over the contact areas and drop food supplies in order to give the means to the expedition’s members to remain on site and dedicate as much time as possible to the work involved in
‘looking after’ the Akuriyo. There is clear evidence that there was a tension, if not an open rift, between the American missionaries and André Cognat. Cognat is not mentioned once in the missionaries’ accounts and reports, which nevertheless contain clear signs that the authors wished to remain the only actors involved in the contact and sedentarisation of the Akuriyo. This possessiveness of the missionaries is incidentally very present in casual conversations one may have with them; one often hears phrases such as ‘my Indians’, ‘he [a missionary] built his own village on the Palumeu river’, ‘he got his Indians to do…’. The effect of such possessiveness translates in practice with a projection of the narrators at the forefront of the action, as being the holders of the intellectual initiative and the driving force behind the unfolding of events. In retrospect, history is forged by their action: ‘We [the missionaries, by providing the Akuriyo with the first metal tools] advanced their culture overnight from stone to steel, and revolutionized their way of life’ (Schoen 1968:7).

From Cognat’s perspective, it is obvious that there was animosity towards him because he had adopted a Wayana lifestyle, and he was clear in his rejection of the evangelical proselytising in Wayana territory: ‘In [the eyes of the pastors], I am the atheist, the pagan, the heathen, he who instead of “civilising” the Indians, of westernising them, has chosen to live like them’ (Cognat & Massot 1977: 134). This would explain the missionaries’ apparent readiness to resort to any means available in order to prevent him from returning to the Akuriyo. My Wayana informants confirmed that some time after A. Cognat’s return, a rumour was spread among the villages that the wayalikule would kill him if he went to see them again. The rumour did not fool him, and he soon went on a second journey up the Litani river, accompanied by some other Wayana. The party found a trail easily as by then, there were signs of regular movement by the missionaries and their followers, and they arrived at a different camp than the first time, but in which they recognised some of the people whom they had met before. Upon his arrival André was immediately asked to leave by the Trio who were now staying there, and who had informed Claude Leavitt by radio of the incident. Some Surinamese military officials were going to be

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157 Howard (2001) reports a similar pattern of organisation to support the contact expeditions on which the Waiwai were sent out to ‘their’ wild Indians. As stressed above, these expeditions were also organised by the UFM personnel.
sent upriver to arrest him as he was on Surinamese territory. André Cognat left the camp after two days, and on the Litani river he indeed came across a group of soldiers who had been sent to check on him. He remembers how his determination to return to the Akuriyo and live with them for a longer spell of time then gradually dwindled as he became occupied with other matters in his village.

The missionaries’ expeditions continued sporadically from 1968 to 1971, as more groups were located in the area and successively contacted. It is unclear as to when the project of the displacement of the Akuriyo to the Trio villages was finally decided upon. A few of them had already travelled back and forth, first stopping in Wayana villages, and then being taken by plane to Trio villages on the Tapanahoni and the Sipaliwini rivers. These first Akuriyo would be used on subsequent contact expeditions in order to ease communication, and the establishment of some form of dialogue with newly contacted groups. Some internal missionary reports suggest that the original plan had been to encourage the Akuriyo to settle around the contact area first, even by sending a group of Maroons in, to ‘establish a manioc-producing farm’ (Notes from…n.d.: 1), as it was believed that their presence producing a new staple food and selling goods such as metal tools would eventually attract the Akuriyo to settle in the vicinity. Underlying this idea is one of the key methods in the sedentarisation projects of missions such as the UFM and WIM: creating a dependency, through the focal point of a mission post, upon foodstuffs and goods, which will encourage a nomadic people to come to reside permanently in its vicinity. The foodstuffs in question are grown using swidden horticulturalists, and this reliance on a system of production, from the point of view of American Baptists, served to introduce the Akuriyo to a new way of relating to the production of goods (Hemming 2003; Howard 2001). For instance, the introduction of chickens and improvised farming workshops in order to encourage the breeding of a domestic species for consumption and trading purposes was believed by the UFM missionaries to ease the formation of a spirit of capitalist enterprise, which would eventually challenge and replace the existing indigenous system of exchange and redistribution, which they believed to represent a form of ‘primitive communism’ (Dowdy 1963; Hawkins 1951-53, quoted in Howard 2001).
The initial Akuriyo settlement projects on the Oeremari never came to fruition. It seems that the temporary sedentarisation of the Akuriyo at their contact location gradually degenerated over time, as the surrounding forest was being depleted of its game, the supplies flown in by MAF were not sufficient to satisfy everybody, and tensions started to arise between Akuriyo and Trio, as infectious diseases inevitably spread. There is a gradual change of tone in the missionaries’ accounts from the initial exhilaration to increasingly negative descriptions both of the surrounding landscape and of the Akuriyo, who seem a little less enchanting and more hostile and savage at each encounter. Eventually, only one long-term solution could be envisaged. The Akuriyo were to be brought to existing Trio villages, where from the missionaries’ point of view, they could be introduced more effectively to a sedentary Christian life, and a closer watch could be kept over their progressive change for the better. By 1971, a significant proportion of the Akuriyo had become gravely ill, and their displacement became for the missionaries the only viable solution to what they had by then acknowledged to have become a sanitary emergency (Schoen 1971). Most interestingly, as these ‘contacted peoples’ were physically brought back into the villages by their ‘captors’, they became, from the Trio perspective, a population of captured enemies which could only be neutralised by social incorporation. Incorporating them meant for the Trio keeping control over the forms of power and knowledge the Akuriyo were believed to have. Once the hunter-gatherers had been settled among the Trio, the missionaries considered their duty to have been completed, and apart from strict medical and religious ‘assistance’, they let the matter of the ‘education’ of the new villagers rest in the hands of the Trio.

I shall now turn to various comments and descriptions of the Akuriyo, which show a perceived correlation between their supposed cultural and social ‘savagery’ and their state of health and wellbeing. This analysis will focus on the missionaries’ texts, but will also confront these themes with a Trio account of the same events. It will become apparent that the Akuriyo’s supposedly inferior humanity is, for the missionaries, closely associated with metaphors of mental and physical pathologies.

4.3.2. An anatomy of humanity: pathological tropes as social narratives.
‘Left to themselves, I can see no hope for the Akoerios. They are presently few in number and rapidly approaching extinction. In their situation they are discontent because of the limited food supply, lack of tools and the impossible situation created by such a tiny, dwindling society of not having any selection at all for a suitable mate. This makes the endless wandering in search of food a necessity. Incest is the rule rather than the exception and rivalries abound. In such a society there is no place for the weak, the sick, the handicapped, and the aged, and life is on a plane little higher than the animals they hunt’ (Schoen 1971: 9).

When discussing the case of the contact and sedentarisation of the Akuriyo, it is difficult to avoid speculating over the question of whether they would have been better off left to their nomadic lifestyle rather than having been brought into a permanent village. Any statement arguing one side or the other of this question is inevitably tinged with moral assumptions and social norms tied to any discussion of human wellbeing. Today, the Akuriyo are cornered into a role they are without the means (or perhaps the will) to challenge, as they constantly have to show their gratitude towards the Trio and their inferiority to the Wayana. As such they do not have the means to express views about the matter. When asked directly in public about their wellbeing, they would avoid eye contact, smile shyly and stay uncomfortably silent. But when on their own and relieved from the public eye by the surrounding darkness, certain individuals would whisper lengthy complaints about being bullied by the Trio.

During my conversations about the Akuriyo with the Koelewijns, they would often comment on the current wellbeing of the Akuriyo, and the fact that it is compromised by the constant services they have to provide for the Trio. However, they regarded this as the lesser of two evils: P. Rivière and P. Kloos had both ‘admitted’ that the Akuriyo were nevertheless better off in Tëpu than back on the Oeremari. If the anthropologists themselves had (tacitly or openly) approved of the contact expedition as being better for the Akuriyo in the long term, then their sedentarisation had ‘scientific approval’. Although Rivière never carried out a study of the Akuriyo, Kloos indeed wrote in his publications on the Akuriyo that they would have died out of disease in the forest and were therefore ‘saved’ by being brought to Tëpu (1977a and b). However, Kloos’

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158 This is acknowledged by the economist Dasgupta, who comments on the aggregation problem involved in analysing numerically the various factors which economists may agree determine human wellbeing (‘health, happiness, associational life, various kinds of freedoms to be and to do…’): ‘the requirement that social well-being is a numerical index of states of affairs is in all likelihood over-ambitious’ (Dasgupta 2001: 22).
argument is speculative, and the evidence does not clearly support its basic premise: that the Akuriyo were under severe threat from disease. After all, the only kind of disease that may have threatened them would be new, and therefore imported disease: precisely what their deliberate isolation was intended to avoid. During the years of contact, an emergency situation emerged, which I reconstruct from the missionaries accounts, suggesting that it was the expeditions themselves that created the crisis. However, rather than dwelling on the moral implications of this, I will compare the underlying assumptions of what constituted an ‘emergency’ from the missionaries’, or outsiders’, point of view, to that of the Trio’s description of the Akuriyo’s needs. I will show that both are constructed through ideas of bodily nourishment and the interplay of visible physical attributes and internal, essential qualities.

There is a gradual shift in the missionary accounts from a quite positive early depiction of the Akuriyo in 1968 to a progressively bleaker description of many physical and moral ailments. After his initial 1968 expeditions, Schoen suggested that the search for honey, the only foodstuff that appears to have been scarce, could justify the Akuriyo’s mobility. On the general health of the people he had just established ‘first contact’ with, he added: ‘There are no signs of malnutrition. They are strong and apparently have enough to eat’ (Notes from...n.d.: 6). It is only from 1969 onwards, after the first temporary sedentarisation attempt, that signs of illnesses and physical deterioration appear to have caught the attention of outside observers. The generally miserable state that the Akuriyo were in by 1971 is rendered even more powerfully by the regular contrasting of the Trio as strong, healthy and good. For instance, in the 1970 account by Yohner and the 1971 report of what was by then called an ‘emergency’ expedition by Schoen, the authors use adjectives and phrases which create a dichotomy between benighted Akuriyo and enlightened Trio. The latter are ‘to be highly praised’, ‘humanitarian’, ‘magnificent’; their motivation and devotion are brought forward: ‘these fine Christian Indians’ (Schoen 1971: 8), ‘dedication to the task of evangelising’, (Schoen 1971: 10), or ‘[a]mazing the stamina of the Indians with us! They continue to plod on over mountains, through swamps, despite their heavy packs’ (Yohner 1970: 3).

In fact, like most nomadic forest peoples, the Akuriyo’s migrations were partly motivated by a complex geography of resource locations of many kinds, partly by social and political factors, and partly by inclination and whim (Jara 1990; Rival 2002).
Moreover, the Trio expedition members are referred to in possessive terms: ‘our Trios’, ‘our Indians’ (Yohner 1970:2-3), as if to create the strong sense of an invisible barrier separating the ‘civilised’ party from the ‘wild’ people. The influence they have on the Akuriyo is emphasized especially in their willingness to evangelise: ‘Asonko was the first man to preach the Gospel to Posowarë. What a thrill is ours to see Indians reaching Indians with the message of Christ’ (Yohner 1970: 4); or ‘The influence of Êsoro living amongst them has had a great impact upon them.’ Late into the night I hear the Akurijos singing the Gospel songs. Quite a difference from a former expedition when I heard them chant in the minor key from 7 PM until 2 AM (Yohner 1970: 6), ‘These dedicated Trio Christians will teach and train the Akurijos’ (Yohner 1970: 12).

The Akuriyo on the other hand, enjoy little clemency; for the missionaries, it seems that a nomadic lifestyle is closely related to a form of satanic curse which drives humans into a state of savagery, of beast-like existence, as the introductory quotation illustrated, with its semantic field of animality (for instance: ‘approaching extinction’; ‘mate’; or ‘wandering’). As Leach and Aycock suggested in their structuralist analysis of the Bible, there is a strong correlation in the Scriptures between wildness, animality and evil, and between domestication, pastoral life and inherent goodness (1983). As fundamentalist followers of the Bible (Rivière 1981), the Protestant missionaries who took part in these contact expeditions did let this dichotomy express itself in their writings, in passages in which the Amazonian forest was described in almost viscerally hostile terms. The forest in those descriptions seems to represent the physical, oppressive barrier to the diffusion of what they assumed to be the only acceptable worldview and lifestyle in a battle between good and evil. And as inhabitants of this dense forest, the Akuriyo are not spared the attributes of beast-like existence. They are referred to as ‘creatures of jungle darkness’ (Yohner 1970: 11),

160 Asonko and Êsoro were then already influential Trio men, who have since become senior elders, in the villages of Kwamalasamutu and Tëpu respectively. Posowarë was an Akuriyo leader who was contacted with his family in 1970 on the Oeremari and died after sedentarisation.

161 This reference to the minor and major key is very interesting; it relates to the Baptist’s obsession with uprooting the evil, or satanic, from everyday social life. Music played, or songs sung in the minor key are considered satanic, and therefore ought to be banned, in order to promote music in a major key, which is believed to be quintessentially good. Cf. chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion on the related issue of sasame wehto (T), or state of social contentment.
‘Stone-Age Indians’ (Schoen 1971: 6), who are ‘pallid’, ‘sallow’, ‘dirty’ (ibid), with a ‘[t]errible stench’ (Yohner 1970: 8). Their lack of cleanliness is repeated on several occasions: ‘never seen them bathe’ or ‘dirt stayed on them for days’ (Report from... n.d.: 9, 11). The lack of hygiene is then coupled with lengthy and graphic descriptions of skin conditions and infections, to which the Akuriyo seemed to be oblivious. Wounds or cuts are the occasion for slipping in an illustration of inhuman behaviour. For example, Yohner wrote: ‘[the boy] has three toes missing from his right foot, and burns on his thighs. He told us that his mother got mad at him and burned him. The cut marks on his body are where his father had cut him’ (1970:2).

A party of Trio men on their way with missionary C. Leavitt to contact the Akuriyo (Suriname, 1970). The second man from the right is Asonko, today Granman (SR: Paramount chief) of all Amerindians of Suriname. (Picture from Findlay 1971: 147).

Intellectual, spiritual and emotional sterility are suggested when describing how the Akuriyo respond to the Trio and Americans’ attempts at evangelising them: ‘seemingly uninterested’ (ibid: 7), or ‘[w]e asked, ‘Why are you here upon earth’? He replied, ‘just here to die’. Think of it! ‘just to die’’. (ibid: 6). Sexual immorality in terms of lack of decency and incestuous practices seem to particularly preoccupy the missionaries: ‘The women were most immodest. Their only covering was a small seed apron 7×9 inches’ (ibid: 7), ‘[t]hese [Trio] men abstained but were seriously tempted by particularly one Akuriyo woman who often made herself available’ (Notes from... n.d.: 7), and ‘[s]o Posowarë married his aunt’ (Yohner 1970: 6).

These negatively charged descriptions, as well as demonstrating moral prejudice, are of questionable accuracy; for instance it is unlikely that the missionaries correctly
understood Akuriyo relationship terminology, and an ‘aunt’ could be one of a number of relations in ‘biological kinship’ terms. While it is impossible to make any definite judgment over the physical and pathological information \textit{per se}, I wish, for the sake of comparison, to provide some additional information collected from other sources and from my own understanding of the missionaries’ holistic perspective on health and hygiene. When asked about the state the Akuriyo were in when they met them, A. Cognat and his friend Mimi-Siku from Antecume Pata, told me on separate occasions that the former did not strike them as being visibly ill, actually they appeared quite strong - which, André alone admitted, contributed to the disquiet of himself and his companions.

Furthermore, the Wayana who went to the Akuriyo camp with him repeatedly joked (and still do) about their appearance: while they found that the Akuriyo all had curiously pale skin and wore strange trinkets made of seeds and animal teeth, which are far from looking as nice as proper glass beads, the women were quite attractive, and they did not miss the brief opportunity to flirt with them. There is evidence from my data and that of other anthropologists such as Jean Chapuis who worked with the Wayana a decade before I did, that a strong correlation is drawn between physical strength and health, and beauty or sexual attractiveness, usually the product of fastidious, lengthy grooming (Chapuis 1998). These young men joked about and flirted with the Akuriyo women because they found them genuinely pretty, attractive, therefore also ‘well built’, and seductive, quite far from the repulsive untidiness and savagery presented in the missionaries’ accounts. It was only on their second trip that André Cognat and his friends noticed a lot of coughing and heavy breathing, which is unsurprising, as contact expeditions do always spread viral infections to remote or isolated populations (Hemming 2003). On his first visit, André Cognat did not share their houses at night, but build his own hut with his friends a little further downriver (Cognat & Massot 1977). It is therefore difficult to draw any clear conclusion about the way infections were spread to the Akuriyo.

The final theme which denotes the Akuriyo’s lack of proper humanity in the missionaries’ accounts is the lack of emotional involvement they are depicted as having: ‘Kanaman seemed to be taking the death of his wife real good [\textit{sic}] ’ (Yohner 1970: 8), or:
‘This is the way of the Akoerio. In sickness and disability they have no hope of recovery and withhold food or desert the person so that they will die quickly. There seems to be little or no emotion involved. The aged are reviled since they can no longer provide for themselves and become a burden to the rest of the group’ (Schoen 1971: 7).

This last emphasis on apparent lack of emotions and care for close relatives is a telling aspect of the missionaries’ projection of the Akuriyo before sedentarisation. Although its veracity seems difficult to credit, this image has survived until the present day, upheld as a sign of the Akuriyo’s former ‘barbarity’. P. Kloos, who entitled one of his articles on the latter: ‘The Akuriyo way of death’ (1977b), in an indirect, but perhaps conscious, reference to the comment by Schoen quoted above, seems to have been caught by this apparent lack of emotional commitment:

‘The marital relationship is very weak, and the frequency of divorce is extraordinarily high […] the attachment between individuals is not strong: there is almost no emotional involvement among Akuriyo, whatever the relationship’ (op. cit. 21).

In the article in question, Kloos attempts to provide a culturally materialistic interpretation to the reason why the Akuriyo had no feelings, and were not afflicted by their relatives’ dying. Cultural materialism’s central argument states that access to resources and adaptation to a constraining environment, such as a tropical rain forest, shaped the cultural traits of a given human society (Harris 1979). It attempts to demonstrate that cognitive and behavioural features are fundamentally shaped by material living conditions and survival strategies. From that perspective, the Akuriyo were deprived of feelings as the result of a process of adaptation to the hard and unpredictable nature of their lifestyle. The ideological, as well as political convenience of this argument provides comfort for the rather paternalistic view in favour of some form of external intervention which claims to ‘free’ populations such as hunter-gatherers from their limiting living conditions. It resonates with the missionaries’ emphasis on the lack of emotions and the bestiality of the Akuriyo, which justifies their displacement and relocation.

To conclude, I wish to suggest that the gradual dehumanising portrayal of the Akuriyo is an expression of an attempted justification a posteriori of the displacement
of this nomadic population and their subsequent unplanned and problematic relocation in Trio and Wayana villages by the organisers of the contact expeditions. From an Amerindian perspective, there is evidence that the capture of the Akuriyo was an act of symbolic predation: potential enemies were captured and their shamanic threat subsumed, in order to socially incorporate them. But this act of predation was led by a new category of actors: *pananakiri* (white people). Trio and Wayana themselves would never have had the will or desire to actively and independently contact a group of people whom they feared and scarcely considered to be humans. The contact and symbolic capture of the Akuriyo by the Trio and Wayana might not have taken place were it not for the outside influence of the missionaries. A two-fold incorporation was set up: the Akuriyo were first physically appropriated by the missionaries, then, once they had been relocated to the Trio villages, they were socially appropriated by the Trio and Wayana. In the context of their post-relocation, the Akuriyo’s social existence is dynamically recreated and justified through narrative constructions with different purposes and goals on the part of the various groups involved, with the striking exception of the Akuriyo themselves, whose voice is rarely heard.

The perpetuation of the image of the Akuriyo’s lack of social skill has established a post-contact social framework, inspired by and adapted to both the missionaries’ personal take on the context, and existing Trio and Wayana definitions of, and relationships to, the ‘wild Indians’. I will now turn to how these events are constructed from the Amerindian point of view.

4.4. *From brideservice to transformability: the Akuriyo today.*

‘[Marituikë the Akuriyo] is doubtlessly stronger and faster than we are […] He may plan to destroy us and therefore I will make him my junior. As my junior, he will protect me in due course’ […] To Marituikë [Aturai] said: […] ‘You are good, we won’t bother you any longer. I will give you a wife, we won’t kill you’ (The Story of Aturai, Koelewijn and Rivière 1987: 259).

In her study of the socialising processes the Waiwai make their ‘contacted peoples’ undergo, Howard distinguishes three levels of social interaction through which

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162 Cognat’s own (non-Wayana) curiosity was the motivating force for the contact expeditions he led, but it is unlikely that his expeditions could have led to a similar form of social predation.
education and ultimately integration are achieved: first a prestation of foodstuffs, then of spouses through marital exchange of sisters and later cross-cousins, and finally of knowledge, mainly through the apprenticeship of the Waiwai language, the making of gardens and the Bible (2001). The outsider is thus gradually humanised, first by transforming his/her body through the ingestion of the quintessential civilising food, manioc, then by integrating her/him through kin ties, and teaching what Howard argues are the most ‘civilising’ and the most highly regarded aspects of Waiwai identity: language and Christian practice. The case of the Trio contains both similarities and differences with this scheme. When the Akuriyo were contacted, they too were handed manioc bread together with other garden products. They were also told about the Christian God by the Trio. When they were brought to the Trio village of Tëpu, they were gradually taught about the making of gardens and the processing of its products. They were given the front benches in church and supervised in their attendance at services to ensure they would learn about becoming Christians (Kloos 1977a). Indeed, when the Dutch anthropologist Peter Kloos arrived in Tëpu and asked Tëmenta, one of the village kapitein (SR village leader), if he could work with the Akuriyo, he was asked by the former ‘what he was going to teach (enpa) them’ (ibid.: 20). The term is used by the missionaries to describe their work, as well as their relationship to the Trio. Chapuis relates a similar use in Wayana of the concept of tuwantaniphe (meaning teaching and educating) (1998: 450) which the missionaries adopted to describe most efficiently within a Wayana framework what the purpose of their long-term presence in Amerindian villages was. Both Trio and Wayana terms, implying the idea of nurture, suggest in Trio and Wayana an unequal relationship between two individuals, one often being younger and less experienced than the other.

In his ethnohistorical study of trading networks, Mansutti (1986) has shown that one of the most important trade ‘items’ across large areas of the Guiana region for a long period was people: men who occupied an ambiguous status somewhere between sons-in-law and slaves or servants. In this light the Akuriyo case may not be as much of an anomaly as it may at first sight appear. The work which the Akuriyo perform for their Trio guardians is indeed similar to that performed by men for their wife’s father, and this brideservice is the only institutionalised form of subservience among the Trio or Wayana. It is thus arguable that the Akuriyo owe to their Trio tutors what may be called brideservice without a bride (cf. Hugh-Jones, n.d.): even though absorption of
distant people through marriage appears in mythical and historical narratives (cf. introductory quotation above), in this case the exchange of spouses has very rarely occurred. Two generations later, the Akuriyo remain socially and morally distinct: their knowledge of the Trio language and of the Bible is said to be poor, their gardening skills are regarded as inferior, and their status of social integration has remained little better than it was in the early 1970s. Even if it is inaccurate to compare the Akuriyo to sons-in-law, it is no more useful to compare them to children. They have not become Trio in the same way as an adopted Wayana or Wayãpi child does: even though by the time of their relocation all Akuriyo children had lost at least one of their parents, they were not adopted into Trio families. Given the current relatively high number of exogamous alliances between Trio, Wayana, Apalai and Wayãpi (all garden people) in the area, and the Guianese Amerindian’s relative flexibility as to self-denomination, this fixed marginality imposed on the Akuriyo stands out as an exceptional case. The service I refer to as brideservice without a bride is difficult to quantify and does not appear clearly to an outside observer at first. It is discreet, but resilient. It can be regarded as twofold: occasional service for the village as a whole during feasts, or specific services for the Trio family which educates the Akuriyo household in question during daily village life (this is sometimes extended along ‘kinship paths’ in the ‘lending’ of Akuriyo service).

One day, on the way back to the village from a day’s walk to climb a nearby tepui163 with Kïsi, my Trio host and sixty three year old ‘grand-father’, and Kuritune and Wekïimai, two Akuriyo brothers, who acted as ‘supportive guides’ and occasional hunters along the trail, I asked Kïsi about ‘Lola’ [i.e. Fabiola Jara], the Chilean anthropologist who had come to work in Tëpu for six months in 1985 (cf. Jara 1990). She was the last white person (pananakiri) before me who had embarked on that walk together with the same people, and a rusty empty tin of tuna on top of the hill was shown to me as a sign of her lingering presence. My host talked excitedly about her, how well he knew her, how kind and generous she had been with him. When we arrived back at his house, he walked straight into the open area underneath it, whence he extracted a huge iron cauldron and a white peoples’ fishing rod. ‘There’, he said, ‘here are the nice gifts she gave me’. I expressed my admiration at these objects, and I

163 Tepui are flat hills or mountains which can be found all over the Guiana shield.
did not pay any more attention to the matter, although I wondered why Jara would have made such generous gifts to Kïsi, who was not one of her main informants. Later on, I noticed in Kïsi’s house an old-fashioned hammock woven in *urawai* fibre\textsuperscript{164} made by Onore, the father of Kuritone and Wekïimai. When I realised that Jara’s main informant was Onore himself, I began to see that his sons, and Kuritone in particular, were Kïsi’s helpers and pupils, even though their father had died over a decade ago. I began to suspect that the objects my ‘grand-father’ had shown me had been given by the Chilean anthropologist to Onore as presents or payments for his collaborative work, and somehow claimed from him by Kïsi. My suspicions were reinforced when Kïsi extracted from Kuritone some money which I had just paid him for game.

In terms of the diffusion of influence in the form of objects that I described in chapter 2, we can interpret these circumstances as follows: an Akuriyo appears to have at best an incomplete control of objects, whether received or, even more significantly, made by him or her. This shows that the Trio guardians control not only Akuriyo behaviour in the form of service, but also in the form of the material substance which carries aspects of their very personhood, and thus absorb and incorporate their diffused influence.\textsuperscript{165} The fact that the Trio visibly keep objects emanating from an Akuriyo household shrinks spatial and social distance by maintaining an invisible connection between the two. The example of the old, unusable hammock, made by a man long dead, represents the visible manifestation of a desire to keep a hold over him; the dead’s possessions are usually destroyed and discarded as an expression of grief and mourning and because they are said to attract the deceased’s spirit. The fact that Kïsi did not regard these objects as remotely dangerous (and, on the contrary, bringing a positive influence) contrasts with the fact that A. Cognat was urged by Wayana elders in his village to discard the objects he acquired from ‘wild’ Akuriyo (see above) because of their negative charge and pollution: they feared that the objects would bring disease into the village. The settled Akuriyo’s influence diffused through objects was felt to be under control and tamed, whereas that of ‘wild’ Indians was dangerous.

\textsuperscript{164} Hammocks today are exclusively woven with cotton by women. Fibre hammocks used to be made by men.

\textsuperscript{165} This point is further discussed in chapter 5.
Howard mentions no similar form of service to that which the Trio claim from the Akuriyo as part of the absorption processes she described among the Waiwai (2000, 2001). However, as her work focuses on trading networks, she does refer to the Waiwai’s tendency to attract and incorporate objects as parts of people, and this can be understood as a similar process of diffusion of influence to that which I have described. In the case of the *pananakiri* objects acquired from Jara, Kïsi appropriated them to channel influences from the outside, urban world of white people. But the fact that he also owned an Akuriyo artefact, namely Onore’s hammock, which along with the game he would receive from Kuritune, comes from the forest, demonstrates that the extraction of things and the power they are charged with ultimately endow Kïsi with a hold over two powerful, prestigious domains: the forest and the city. This scheme of twofold circulation of influences, and their multi-layered meanings (who made them, who gave them, what are they made of and what bodily function or process are they associated with), invites once again the image of a pole from which connections between households and between living beings within the village and beyond allow for the circulation of spirit-charged substance and power. I will now explore these claims by examining how narratives of capture and education justify the Trio hold on Akuriyo goods and services.

4.4.1. Incorporation: taming the power of fierceness.

Pëmëi is said to be the last Akuriyo to have been brought out of the forest to Tëpu. He is a very quiet, gentle man married to another Akuriyo, and is the father of a girl of fourteen. When there is a drinking party in the communal house next to where he lives, he can be seen carrying benches and tables into it for the occasion. His extreme reserve would make him a quiet, inconspicuous character barely noticeable in the village, if it were not for his outstanding skill as a hunter and gatherer, and his knowledge of the forest. He is one of the rare Akuriyo to own a gun and is regularly solicited by the Trio to join them on hunting expeditions which are organised throughout the year, and particularly in December. During these occasions, Pëmëi, along with the other Akuriyo, is openly relied upon as a good source of game. The Akuriyo all know how to hunt well and are often said by the Trio never to miss a shot, something which the Trio cannot claim for themselves as confidently as in the past. A Trio hunter will admit today that his arms fail him: he can no longer mark them or
chant ̄ëremi spirit songs to strengthen them and clear his eyes. He is a Christian and cannot be seen to call on spirit power other than that of Jesus, especially since the missionaries’ severe banning of any form of ritual scarification (cutting of the skin being prohibited in the book of Leviticus) and modification of the bodily envelope in order to enhance hunting skills. Most Trio hunters in Têpu have their arms covered in tattoos representing various things from the familiar heart pierced with an arrow, to a lion’s head, to words such as names of people or places meaningful to them, on parts of the arms where before designs charged with specific enhancing powers would have been painted or incised.

In this respect, an Akuriyo is different, as Ercilio once told me; he added, miming with his upper body the action of shooting an arrow, that an Akuriyo knows. He did not just imply that an Akuriyo knows the forest, but that his body knows; his body matter is somehow more connected to the forest. His strength is intrinsic to him, a quality that Trio nurturing techniques have not yet subdued, and his body knows how to hunt. As Vilaça recently pointed out about the Wari’s conception of the body in Amazonia, this shamanic strength is connected to an excess of humanity rather than a lack of it, an ability to transform that is only achieved by highly trained individuals such as shamans (2005) and, I suggest, fierce ‘wild people’. So Pêmêi never misses his prey, and during village celebrations his skill is put at the service of the entire village, to which he hands his game over through the intermediary of a Trio household which will then prepare it and redistribute it. By following this trajectory, it is ensured that the meat diffuses the influence of the Trio who carry out the distribution, rather than that of Pêmêi himself. It is as if during communal celebrations in which Trio exogamic groups merged into a ritualised temporary consanguinity, Pêmêi expressed by these offerings his status as perpetual figurative son-in-law to the collectivity. It is tempting to see in this relationship a paradox of bodily strength and social weakness, and I will now explore this idea further.

Towards the end of my second month in Têpu, I decided to request an interview with Pêmêi, as I wanted to record a first-hand account of the resettlement experience of an Akuriyo, and furthermore the last Akuriyo to have been settled, who might still have vivid memories of life before sedentarisation. When Pêmêi arrived at the house I was staying in, I was waiting for him with Demas, my research assistant. I was sitting
on a wooden bench, Demas next to me, and there was the empty plastic garden chair which I usually offered to the interviewee. After all, this chair belonged to one of the village captains and was one of the kind used to accommodate visiting governmental officials on election campaigns, so a prestigious item, and I believed this was a polite gesture on my behalf. As soon as Pëmëi approached the table, Demas ostentatiously left the bench and accommodated herself in the ‘prestige chair’, leaving Pëmëi to sit on a piece of furniture more suitable to his social status. As a young unmarried woman, Demas would usually show restraint. She would avoid eye contact with male non-relatives, such as the people, mostly men, whom I interviewed in this formal fashion, and pretend not to be too attentive to what was being said, usually by regularly slapping and squashing biting insects on her legs, and talking in a practically inaudible voice. In this instance, I saw her take on a comfortable, self-assured posture, directly interrupting Pëmëi in his account and telling him to talk more, to be more precise, and while doing so looking at him quite directly.

Unintentionally, this interview perfectly illustrated a particular form of social interaction between people of different status, rather than producing a constructed autobiographical narrative as some Trio enjoyed delivering in this formal fashion. Pëmëi’s recollections and reconstruction of how he was brought to the Trio village merely shyly stated that he is happy to live in Tëpu as the Akuriyo were like children, who did not know about gardens or manioc bread, or about Jesus and the church, and needed to be taught properly, even though for a while they did not want to be taught:

‘When we were in our place in the forest, we did not have fruits and garden yields, we could not have real foods, nor make proper meals, we only ate bad meals, and fruits harvested from the forest’ (Pëmëi 12.02.2004: lines 39-42).

He claimed that now Trio and Akuriyo were happy and content (sasame) all together in Tëpu; while the Akuriyo used to fear the Trio, they had by now learnt to live in peace with them, even though they still have much to learn from them.

166 ‘Real food’ (êrepa, refers to the association of meat and manioc bread) for a Trio is a kaïri, consisting of game or fish cooked in water and boiled manioc juice with salt and chilli peppers and eaten with manioc bread (uru).
Pëmëi, exceptional Akuriyo hunter, paraded around the main pole of the meeting house by Aina, an important Trio woman in charge of the preparation and redistribution of the game brought back by some hunting parties during the 2004 December parties. By parading him, she celebrates his skill in killing a huge tapir, part of which sits in the large pot on the table. Pëmëi had handed over his kill to her household. A portion of the raw meat was given by Aina’s husband Jan to the Koelewijns for their own private consumption, as they cook and eat by themselves. In normal Trio practice, it is strictly the role of the hunter or a close relative (his mother or wife) to give away some of his uncooked catch to a non-relative. In this case, Jan gave away the parts of the tapir as if this animal had been his own prey.

The Trio who took part in the contact expeditions were quite open about it when I raised the topic. They would remember the days of their trips into the forest as exciting times, when they were at the peak of their maturity and physical strength. Talking of the past often made them nostalgic: they would associate those events with the time during which they could still be successful hunters and support their families. This association between their success as hunters and their capture of the Akuriyo is often made and supports an interpretation of the contact imagined as a capture of enemies who were brought back as prisoners to the village of their captors. As such, they were regarded as being individually tied to the Trio household of the man who seized them. Two decades after the beginning of a sedentarisation process which brought the Trio and the Wayana to live together in a relative state of peace, an opportunity to perform an act of warfare emerged, which resulted, as it probably would have in the past, in the capture of enemies who were turned into subordinates (peito). The Akuriyo can therefore arguably be considered to be a visible ‘pacified’ version of the wajarikure.
Like a hunter’s prey, the Akuriyo, who were external, marginal people, were brought into the village following a collective expedition, divided between households, and eventually dispersed like the parts of a dismembered animal around different influential parts of the village. The Akuriyo were divided up and distributed along the various Trio kinship networks and paths of reciprocity which constitute the social body of the village. Contrary to what has been suggested for comparable cases elsewhere (Fausto 1999; Vilaça 1999), these captured peoples were not gradually integrated, ‘familiarised’ within their new host community; instead they were merely incorporated by means of this process of distribution. I would like to think, in turn, of the Akuriyo in similar terms as Strathern wrote about the Mt. Hagen spouse, namely as an external body which she envisages as a ‘road’ (1998: 138) that draws a link between the clan into which the spouse has married and the clan she comes from. Similarly, the Akuriyo are in a social situation in which, ‘rather than being fully absorbed by the new [Trio family] body, it [the latter] enclosed or encased [them], like a foreign body’ (op. cit.: 138). In the case of the Akuriyo, each of their invisible connections to the forest thus became encased within a Trio household and within the Trio social body as a whole. In theory, the Akuriyo were absorbed through education as affines, but in practice, they were maintained as distant, marginal people, owing a form of service, but regarded as Others.

This tension between an ideal of integration and a practice of non-integration of the Akuriyo, is salient within Trio discourse itself. When recalling the events of the contact in which he took an active part, Kïsi repeatedly brought forward the idea that he went to save the Akuriyo, not because of illnesses, nor starvation (as missionaries such as Robert Hawkins hinted, see Howard 2001, Maf Lifelink 2003), but because they were not humans, and had to be taught to live properly. The arguments for this were that the Akuriyo did not have gardens, or manioc bread. The garden and its quintessential product, bitter manioc, are a central element both in myth and daily practice, which throughout the Guianas distinguishes proper socialising humans from non-humans:167 ‘[w]e can live without meat, without bread, we die’ says one of the opening lines of a Trio myth transcribed by Rivière (1969a: 42).

167 Howard’s analysis of the absorption process of ‘unseen tribes’ by the Waiwai focuses mainly on the act of ‘taming’ their rawness by integrating in their diet and their daily practices the use of and reliance on bitter manioc (2001).
Together with the lack of this main staple, Trio and Wayana descriptions of life in the forest underline improper eating practices: the Akuriyo almost exclusively lived off meat, and roasted it, often badly, leaving blood in it, instead of boiling it. This equates them with spirit beings from the forest which live off raw meat and drink blood (Chapuis & Rivière 2003). They were described and considered to be the likes of jaguars, one of the favourite transformative states taken by shamans when on the hunt for human soul-matter. This association is one found in other parts of Amazonia, such as among the Araweté (Viveiros de Castro 1992), the Wari (Vilaça 1992) or the Achuar (Descola 1986). A good illustration of the powerful shamanic qualities attributed by the Wayana to these ‘wild people’ is the description André Cognat gives of the welcome he and his friends received upon returning to Antecume Pata from their first visit to the wayalikule. While the whole village was euphoric and curious, the elders such as the shamans and healers warned against spirit pollution in the objects Antecume had brought back, as well as the members of the expeditions themselves. The day after their return, André saw his friend Mimi-Siku being ritually scarified over his entire body to be cleansed from contact with the ‘wild’ forest beings (Cognat & Massot 1977).

The dangerous traits characterising the Akuriyo are conspicuously absent in Kïsi’s account of the ‘capture’ of Irita, an Akuriyo mother and her two children, Sinapo and Mokoko, in which he and the other Trio ambush them as if hunting prey:

‘Then we searched for them, they ran and hid, they went this way and that way, they went running off again. We looked for them on the path, they ran. Sinapo and his mother were frightened of us, and they ran on the path. Mokoko ran alone, she got lost in the forest. During the night she ran and also stayed there in the forest because she was frightened of us. Ésoro waited for her, with the others in the little house: tïh, tïh, tïh. ‘She is coming’, said Ésoro. Panasopa waited for her too; Mokoko was still frightened of us. Then Panasopa and Ésoro hid to catch her. She came back to look for fire, it was almost evening, she was all alone, that’s why Panasopa ran towards her to catch her, but Mokoko ran to the river. Then, Panasopa caught her. ‘No, no, let me go’, said Mokoko. ‘No, we won’t do anything, we won’t hurt you’, I said. But we didn’t know how to speak their language. Their language is different from ours.

169 Sound symbol, which expresses the action of standing around and waiting. In this case it is used on its own and is repeated several times to emphasize to the audience the duration of the action.
(Kisi 21.01.2004: lines 107-25).170

This quotation describes the various stages of a capture, the crudeness of which is delivered sincerely and matter-of-factly. The conversion of the Akuriyo into prey in Kisi’s memory appears to explain the lack of reference to his own fear of them. The discrepancy between narratives of capture and local explanations of the purpose of these captures is clear from the treatment inflicted upon the Akuriyo by the Trio and the Wayana, once the former were sedentarised. It appears that their early settlement in Tëpu proved to be difficult. A sad illustration is the case of the young teenage boy Sinapo ‘caught’ by Kisi who could not adapt to village life in Tëpu, who is reported to have started to behave erratically, flouting social norms. I was told that he would constantly steal food from Trio households, eat uncooked game, or run madly around the village, instead of walking with self-control and discretion as a Trio would. He was eventually found dead by drowning early one morning, not even a year after his arrival in Tëpu.

This account is only one illustration of the hardship experienced by the Akuriyo during their early phase of ‘adaptation’ to permanent village-life. Kloos (1977a & b) estimated the death toll of the Akuriyo in the first two years following sedentarisation at about 25%. The elders seem to have been affected in particular; the author states that all men over 40 died in the course of those first two years. When remembering the early years of the hunter-gatherers’ life in the village, the Koelewijns told me that the Trio had to do the hunting for the Akuriyo who refused to actively feed themselves. Some of them categorically refused to live in the openess of the clearing and under the constant watch of the Trio villagers, and built their huts on the margins, as near as possible to the forest. A few let themselves drift away, never leaving their hammock, refusing to take food, and eventually dying. This trauma of displacement was often hinted at in anecdotal accounts and rumours of abuse and tensions between Akuriyo and Trio. But these were kept quiet, below the surface of apparent calm and jovial harmony which characterises the daily management of social relations between extended families. In this poignant instance, conviviality as a structuring form of

170 See appendix for Trio version.
social relationships shows its Janus face of coercion and silent horizontal control. The social atmosphere is one of apparent congeniality but contains an undercurrent of enforced silence and resignation.

These ‘wild people’ were still considered dangerous until they were fully subdued. Ultimately, this outside, distant group of ‘other people’ (Strathern 1998: 138) can be seen as representing a channelling device connecting the village to the external domain of the forest, which in turn is internalised through the consumption of its game and fruits. The ‘road’ mentioned above is also in this case controlled by a ‘safety net’ which are the Akuriyo themselves for the Trio, who lacking sufficient shamanic expertise to control game themselves, attempt to absorb it by using the Akuriyo as intermediaries.171 As additional hunting tools, the Akuriyo become extensions of the Trio bodies. They are tools which, under the reciprocal relationship of humanising apprenticeship they undergo, pay their educators by enhancing the latter’s hunting efficiency. This association of an Akuriyo as a part of a Trio person involves a relation, which is similar in some respects to the one drawn by other tropical Americanists between the hunter and his dog (Fausto 2002), and by extension, between people and the pets they bring up (Howard 2001).

4.4.2. A pet to familiarize or a people to control?

‘The Trio said to the strangers: ‘Well, that is not a dog. It is not a dog, it is my son! Therefore don’t feed him bad things, only give him good food!’’ (Why dogs are the friends of man, Koelewijn and Rivière 1987: 129-130).

The relations established between humans and their pets has captured the imagination of Amazonianists in recent years, both from a symbolic point of view in terms of the capture and integration of affines (Fausto 1999) or their taming into becoming part of a regenerated collective identity (Howard 2001), and in a structural analysis of how Amerindians relate to the animals they hunt and eat (Descola 1998; Erikson 1996; Hugh-Jones 1996). The pets in question are either the small offspring of a female killed to be consumed (various species of monkeys, tapirs, armadillos, or peccaries), birds caught in the wild to be tamed to speak and sing for entertainment or for sale

171 See concluding chapter 6 for further discussion of this point.
(parrots, parakeets, *twa-twa*), animals not captured but harvested from the forest and transformed through a civilising diet into safe and edible substances (snails, tortoises), or animals introduced by outsiders for utilitarian purposes and re-appropriated by the villagers (dogs, cats, and chickens). The available literature on the subject however, does not seem to draw particular attention to the various indigenous classificatory distinctions, and the corresponding different social relations established between the different types of pets. For instance, the term of address, the relationship to and the type of education given to a dog, differs from those of a talking parrot, or a cat. The way these living beings are regarded, interacted with, their use and purpose, the person in charge of their education and tutelage, their classification as providers of foods, foods themselves, their potential powers and capacities are essential elements in the establishment of a particular set of codes for social interaction.

In the context of the relationship the Trio and the Wayana have with the Akuriyo, a conceivable analogy could be drawn between the latter and dogs. Both are used for hunting, both are ‘educated’, and expected to be subservient and submissive, both carry around the village an air of conspicuous self-effacement, with a lowered neck and eyes riveted to the floor. Both are spatially located on the margins of the village, dogs’ platforms and Akuriyo’s houses are the only residential units which are not turned inwards towards the communal centre of the village grounds but remain by the bushy, uneven area delimiting the village proper (*pata*) from the forest (*itu*) referred to as place of spirit-matter (*wïrïpëtao*) (*cf.* Hurault 1968). And as the Trio encourage the Akuriyo to ‘transform’ their bodily appearance by adopting their style, a dog is similarly moulded and tamed into a humanised being. It is brought up by a grandmother who will thoroughly wash it daily and mould its body to develop its hunting skills: she curls the tail of the dog, she cuts the tip of the ears, she smears the sensory organs with enhancing substances such as chilli peppers, bathes it in the boiled juice of the game animal which it will specialise in hunting, she feeds it ‘real foods’, usually leftovers from an old dish of *kairi* and manioc bread, and calls it ‘my son’ (*jimuku*). The actual form of relationship developed between a dog and a household is more proximal than the one used with Akuriyo helpers, who are never referred to in kin terms. However a dog seems to contain a spiritual power analogous to that of an Akuriyo as his name, the same as a jaguar, suggests (both are *kaikui*). The ruthless treatment it endures on a daily basis from its Trio ‘relatives’, as it is beaten, kicked,
tied up, starved for days before hunts, implies that its inherent potential fierceness has to be powerfully reined in by hard treatment imposed upon it to increase both its submissiveness and its strength. On the other hand, a cat is not educated, nor transformed; it is fondled, teased, often spoilt and it will be allowed to steal food from the communal plate. Its crouching poses as it prepares to pounce on a lizard are a source of amusement, during which an entire household might put a hold to its activities to follow and comment on the hunt.

A great variety of educated pets has also long represented a source of income in cash or goods. Trained animals such as dogs and singing birds are rare commodities, which are sold at high prices, as are wild animals captured in the forest such as snakes, frogs, or rare birds. For this reason, when a good hunter is required, the Akuriyo become a source of income for the Trio as labour. When governmental officials visit Tëpu, often accompanied by entrepreneurs and resellers of bush meat as a luxury item on the coast, their Trio contacts are commissioned to secure large quantities of fresh game on the appointed day of arrival of a governmental flight. Akuriyo hunters such as Kuritune are sent for a meagre pittance on hunting expeditions. The little an Akuriyo might earn from this occasional form of employment can also potentially be claimed by his Trio guardian. However, while dogs and Akuriyo can both constitute a source of income, and the labour of both is used to hunt game as a source of cash, the analogy between the two can hardly be stretched further: a dog can be sold. A dog is an object of human moulding, the result of a lengthy process of transformation; it is literal kin, the extension of the hunter’s body, and is fed by his mother like himself. But the Akuriyo is a ‘wild Indian’ undergoing a never-ending process of becoming human; he is not referred to by any classificatory term, is never physically moulded (although he imitates Trio styles of dress), and is maintained out of the domestic circle, except for the occasional sharing of a communal meal.

From a Trio point of view, an Akuriyo is not a pet, but a marginal, non-marriageable Other, who requires attention towards his/her education, but is also a source of lucrative goods and services, and an ‘object’ of prestige for his owner; but more that the political and economic aspects, the position of the Akuriyo is about creatively attracting and channelling the influence of transformability. This is similar to
Melanesian ceremonial exchange, insofar as, ‘the whole matter might be about politics of clan composition and the economics of creation, it [is] also about reproduction, ensuring the capacity to be productive and revealing the capacity through its effects’ (Strathern 1998: 139). While Fausto argued (1999) that enemies could ultimately be considered as pets, in the production of persons through integration, recent historical developments have also made a strong mark on the making of these forms of social interactions with non-relatives. I have shown that the establishment of social relations between different groups in conjunction with outside (non-Amerindian) agents is leading to the development of hybrid social forms in Lowland South America: the product of historical processes in which engagement with non-Amerindian actors and the connections they provide with new layers of knowledge and influence are more important than they have often been presented by many Amazonianists. The active symbolic negotiation and social appropriation of the Akuriyo by the Trio and the Wayana as a new category of marginal person, who is treated like a son-in-law, nurtured like a pet, but never integrated as kin, demonstrates the limitations of abstract models based on essentialised conceptualisations of Amazonian cosmology. The nurture of the Other does not only serve to turn others into kin, but can also be used to preserve certain forms of alterity: transformative processes of the making of kinship can be defined and delimited in order to achieve the encompassment of alterity and spirit power.

4.5. Conclusion: distributed Akuriyo, nurture as a diffusion of influence.

Bodily strength or instability may, paradoxically, be connected to an excess of humanity rather than a lack of it, an ability to transform that is only achieved by highly trained individuals such as shamans and fierce ‘wild people’.172 The Akuriyo thus cannot be strictly understood as subordinates; their powerful capacities come into their own as soon as they leave the socialised space of the village clearing to enter the other world of the forest. Strong, fierce, transformable, their multifarious state as hybrids reflects the ambiguous perception the Trio and Wayana in turn have of their

172 As Vilaça (2005) recently pointed out about the Wari's conception of the body.
own historical process, as deeply marked within their bodies. The Akuriyo never lose their wildness although it is subdued by their constant childlike submission to nurturing processes. Children too are transformable, their souls being regarded as not yet firmly anchored to their bodies, but are vulnerable because of their inability to control this unstable state. The Akuriyo cannot control their transformability either in a social environment, which is why they need to be controlled by fully social guardians, but in the forest environment this quality becomes an advantage.

In Lowland South American ethnography, the body is often shown to be a place of incessant modification, yet little has been said about differences among Amerindian bodies in a context of sedentarisation. Whereas all bodies are constantly subjected to nurturing techniques, some are attributed different levels of socialization, characterised by varying propensities to transform. The Akuriyo represent for the Trio a further abundance of people to control, a privileged source of game, a display of the Trio’s own extended influence, and a way of benefiting from sources of shamanic power to which they as Christians no longer have direct access. For Amerindians living in a historical context of sedentarisation and evangelization, the transformability of ‘wild people’ can thus become a strategic tool in their sustained management of the social, ecological and cosmological networks to which they belong.

This chapter on the Akuriyo has led me to focus at a more individual level upon the capacity of persons to accumulate objects and qualities, and to develop means of asserting themselves over others, which ultimately allow them to expand their influence along the invisible grid of social relations. Rather than considering this simply in terms of political domination, it has been more revealing to consider how the socialising influence of the Trio relates to the inherent transformability and instability of the Akuriyo. The Trio, despite their extensive and highly sophisticated knowledge of garden and forest plants, are losing grip on the physical capacity to handle movement through the forest, and this change is fundamentally expressed in bodily terms. Their bodies have grown less efficient as a result of their sedentarisation: the heaviness associated with strong sociality carries with it a disadvantage, in that it constitutes a loss of the fluidity, lightness and speed of
movement that characterise forest-dwellers. In this light, I will develop in the next chapter a more detailed discussion of the Amerindian body in northeastern Amazonia.
CHAPTER FIVE
SOCIAL BODIES, OTHER BODIES: DISTRIBUTED PERSONHOOD AND DIFFUSION OF INFLUENCE.

On one of the innumerable evenings which I spent as a participant of a local drinking party in Têpu in southern Suriname, sitting on a low stool, next to my Trio and Wayana ‘relatives’ who made sure I would drink in moderation and not be pestered by unmarried young men, I was asked by the close circle of chattering women about the various places in which one can buy cotton in Paramaribo, about the availability of colours and sizes, the prices at the market stores and shops which specialise in goods for the interior and at which I would restock in preparation for another bout of fieldwork. Although most women in Têpu today mainly use white cotton to weave hammocks and baby slings, the attraction of coloured cotton has encouraged them to create new patterns of stripes and designs which they are always eager to renew and develop. In this, as with other objects coming from outside, such as glass beads, various types of synthetic body paint or glitter, the desire for diversity and novelty seemed inexhaustible. What struck me on that particular evening however was not my female interlocutors’ interest in the goods as such (I frequently discussed this subject with women during both everyday occupations and at drinking parties), but rather the way in which my ‘sister’ Demas’ frequently and admiringly mentioned her Wayana uncle from Antecume Pata during the course of the conversation. Though physically absent, Mimi Siku, as he is widely known, appeared to be associated with and remembered for the very large cotton rolls of new colours which he had brought with him, among other goods, on his last visit to his relatives in Têpu.173

It was not long before I started to notice the pervasive presence of Demas’ uncle in many conversations relating to specific goods which were discussed in my household and between members of the latter and other residents of the village. Every time Mimi Siku’s name emerged, it was implicated in comparisons between the qualities of

173 It is the same Mimi Siku who, as a young man, embarked on an expedition with his friend A. Cognat to find the Akuriyo camp; see chapter 4.
manufactured items on both sides of the border. On his last visit to the village of Tëpu, two years previously, he had brought with him a considerable amount of gifts and goods, all of impressive size, quality and appearance. Objects from French Guiana appeared always more varied in colour or to be more strongly made. What I had first taken for a somewhat nostalgic tendency in my ‘little sister’ Demas to describe the village in which she had grown up on the upper Maroni as rosier due to her longing for it proved in fact to be part of a regular pattern among other people in the village. Mimi Siku emerged as a man well known for the abundance and the quality of the goods surrounding him, and his name was closely associated with these things. And this is of crucial significance: he represents, as I will argue, a man of extended socialisation and influence, whose carefully cultivated visible display manifests the extent of his diffusion of influence on the invisible grid of social relations.174

In this chapter, I will analyse relationships between bodies and across social spheres by taking the viewpoint of the interplay between the seen and the unseen, within a context of long-term sedentarisation and by focusing on the circulation of different bodies, their flow and accumulation, their interaction and decoration, and the way in which some bodies manage this circulation in a way which allows them to be more ‘social’ than others. In this chapter, I introduce a perspective on the social body which is situated at a different level from previous chapters. Whereas I have analysed a social body made of aggregates of persons in both everyday and ritual life, I wish now to sharpen the focus on the human body itself and examine how what I have described in previous chapters of my thesis in terms of movement, kinship paths and centripetal movement are reproduced on a different scale. In this chapter I define a ‘social body’ as a human person whose capacity to visibly accumulate or redistribute wealth allows him (or her) invisibly to diffuse influence. By controlling the movement, or flow, of this wealth, a person visibly manifests the extent of his or her socialisation and therefore his or her innermost humanity. This form of distributed personhood is part of the sedentarisation process as it exists today in southern Suriname and French Guiana, and demonstrates the intricate connections linking people and objects, and how the apparent boundaries between them can prove to be very tenuous, more fluid, dynamic and diffuse than previous methodological approaches have led us to think.

174 See chapter 2 for presentation and analysis of the concepts of the visible and the invisible, of distribution and diffusion.
Hugh-Jones (2006) has recently criticised the widespread tendency to think of Amazonian societies as ‘bride-service’ societies, as opposed to ‘bride-wealth’ societies, in which objects can stand for people. The emphasis on bride-service has led some anthropologists either to favour the control over persons as the main focus of analysis, or to downplay the significance of objects. He adds that a common factor characterising the three ‘analytical styles’ defined by Viveiros de Castro (1996) as ‘the moral economy of intimacy’ (McCallum 2001; Overing & Passes 2000) ‘the symbolic economy of alterity’ (Viveiros de Castro 1992) and the ‘political economy of control’ (Riviére 1984) is to have attributed an important role to the means by which persons (whether human or non-human) are related to and interacted with. The consequences have been a gradual shift of emphasis away from ‘objects’ onto ‘people’ as wealth, and even a denial of the existence of wealth at all (McCallum 1988).

These consequences depend on a radical distinction between objects and people, however; moreover, wealth can be understood in different ways, and it can be manifested as influence. This becomes salient if valued and meaningful objects such as body parts, memories, woven artefacts, money, processed and manufactured foods, or people’s names were all to be considered as wealth, measured according to the kind of flows they allow and the potential connections to ever-widening relations they signify. As Gell (1992: 142) and Strathern (1994) have argued, the naturalistic distinctions between commodities and gifts, and between persons and things, do not necessarily apply: people and things can be included and implicated in each other.

This means that personhood can be distributed through objects, and the accumulation of things contributes to the socialisation of the individual who thereby gains control of their movement. I would like to discuss this idea in the context of my field research in southern Suriname and French Guiana, where the construction of personhood has become associated with social pacification since un-related peoples were brought to live together in peace in the same large village and came to speak of warfare as a thing of the past. As I described in chapter 2, the introduction of modern communication technology such as air transportation and the short wave radio network, along with the attraction of wage labour, has led to movements of people
across greater distances than in the past, and there has been a corresponding increase
in marriages between people originating in very distant villages. It is true that people
trek in the forest much less than they used to, and villages are permanent, and for this
reason people feel more rooted and less mobile. But their personhood travels and their
bodies are connected over greater distances, often following extended kinship paths
which are nurtured more than they were in the past, through extensive communication
by radio, and through the circulation of letters and objects (for example, the sending
by air of food parcels and trade goods). With sedentarism, therefore, the patterns of
their movement and the quality of their mobility have changed in their everyday lives.
And the ways in which this bodily mobility is managed represent strategies for a
person to become socially extended, a processual capacity based on both highly
personal, nurturant relationships and an appropriately measured way of controlling the
flow of objects.

5.1. Extended bodies: personal histories and the circulation of objects.

In an article on human corporeality in Lowland South America, Taylor has argued that
a diverse range of social actors may contribute to the construction of Amerindian
personhood: from one may come a name, from another blood, from another bone,
from others again body ornaments, whilst the faculties of seeing, hearing, and speech
or how to act in a heroic manner may all derive from different sources. She has called
this process ‘extreme sociological parcellarisation’ (1998: 318). While I would agree
with this description of the multiplicity of agents which actively contribute in the
nurturing and moulding of a person into kin and which facilitate his or her growing
into a fully developed human adult, I would add that beyond this multiple reception of
external influences, and just as fundamental, is the deliberate and dynamic
appropriation of other forms of influence, especially from adulthood onwards.
Moreover, the elements which contribute to the fabrication of the person are more
disparate than Taylor appears to suggest: they include not only ancestral substances
and names, but also objects, substance and knowledge encountered and acquired
during the individual’s lifetime, through a wide range of forms of social interaction,
including those with social ‘Others’. In this respect, mastering a ‘strangers’ language’
(T: *pananakiri ijomi*) such as Dutch, possessing French identity papers, or having urban trading partners represent determining constitutive elements of personhood.

Vilaça (1999) has argued that the process of inter-ethnic contact is above all about ‘physiology’, and takes the form of metamorphosis. As discussed above, inter-ethnic relations in contemporary Amazonia can arguably be considered to be about the ways in which Amerindians control transformability, that is the capacity to adopt as vast an array of perspectives as possible without suffering damaging consequences. This transformability in turn allows highly skilled individuals to channel powerful sources of spirit-power and thus to extend themselves. Hugh-Jones (1992: 52) described in similar terms the irresistible attraction that the Barasana felt towards white people’s possessions (clothes, wristwatches etc.), which may not have had the direct ‘practical’ use of goods such as machetes or metal tools. Acquiring some ‘skins’ of the highly transformable beings that white people were to the Barasana would in turn allow them to master this very same transformability.

There are several possible ways of analysing a person’s capacity to extend his or her self along the invisible network. I will focus in this section on what I conceive of as two complementary entries into the subject: objects and persons; or rather what objects and persons which inhabit a person’s everyday environment can tell us of the relations this person has managed to weave in his or her lifetime. As Ingold suggested, quoting Wagner (1986: 21), ‘both plants and people, we could say, ‘issue forth’ along
lines of growth, and both exist as the sum of their trails’ (Ingold 2000: 144): the plant metaphor he uses is equally applicable to objects in general. Moreover, it is more productive in the present discussion to put aside distinctions between objects acquired by barter, trade and exchange; as I will argue, these distinctions do not seem to correspond to an Amerindian perspective on the circulation of things. It is more fruitful to consider the objects by following their relational flow and their use whether on full display or hidden away, whether stored or dismembered and left to rot, as this can provide a more useful insight into the ways in which things come to be connected to certain people, both in ideal representations and in practice.

5.1.1. Visible displays: the social aesthetics of accumulation and redistribution.

In Têpu today the capacity to accumulate and redistribute things is a means of asserting influence over people and extending one’s own socialized personhood by controlling the movement of these things and the invisible connections they provide. Abundance is not accumulation for the sake of saving up for better days. It is about immediacy and visible expression of a state of being. And this can apply to things which have been created, processed, or which result from a given social relationship; foods, woven artefacts, manufactured goods are all set to fit into a specific place, either hung on the houses’ roof beams or stored in containers. As such their spatial ordering within a household becomes a social attribute, as each directly visible or invisible position manifests an ontological order. Displays are known as such and ‘[k]nowledge of this fact confers attributes of visibility on [...] objects that go beyond the concrete action of seeing’ (Van Velthem 2001: 207). Even rotting foods and discarded, dismembered objects participate in this highly social aesthetics. Throughout my stay with them, Kïsi and his relatives would bring large quantities of fruits or vegetables from the gardens some of which would be consumed directly and shared with kin. But the rest of them would be left to rot on full display, in specific locations around the cooking house and the communal space of the household. Similarly, the cooking house would be filled with leftover food which had been prepared, partly consumed, and then left to rot on the shelves or in pots hanging from

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175 Van Velthem (2001: 207) appropriately observes, in an article on Wayana weaving, that finished objects are called tiranmai, which means ‘hung from the central beam’, and are thus connected to their spatial and social location within a Wayana household.
the beam. The last morsels in a pot are rarely eaten, there is always enough to leave to rot. Like the rotten manioc bread, used for the making of new manioc beer, rotten garden yields in the home express the abundance of foods remaining outside people’s bodies. Accumulation and excess is therefore a display of moderation in one’s own consumption, as well as of the capacity to redistribute wealth. It demonstrates the capacity for self-control in the ingestion of foodstuffs, which is essential to the morality of being human.\(^{176}\) Similarly at a drinking party, the regurgitated beer concentrated around the communal house visibly manifests the cooking and taming of affinity into a merging of substance.\(^{177}\) This observation is echoed in Melanesia, where similar positive value is given to abundance:

‘[A] state of abundance [...] entails more than simply an experience of food plenty. It connotes a world in which there is abundance of food remaining external to the body, and in which there is always more than what one requires for one’s own immediate consumption [...] Rotting suggests here not so much spatiotemporal dissolution as an *extension* of spacetime. As the polar opposite of food shortage, the image conveys a transcendence of termination and closure effected by consumption, combined with the sense of having totally satisfied the desire for consumption’ (Munn 1986: 88).

In this, what Munn has described as ‘fame’ is a significant concept which can be adapted to an Amazonian context. In an Amazonian world in which appearances alone can be deceiving, a person is judged by his or her behaviour. The idea of fame evokes the effect of extended influence which arises as people remember someone for his or her generosity, moderation and shared convivial commensality.

Associating a person with moral attributes such as abundance and generosity confirms him or her as a highly socialised person. Kïsi, by the visible display of rotting food, as well as goods from French Guiana obtained from Kulitaikë, his Wayana son-in-law, expresses his abundant accumulated wealth and his extended influence. However his accumulation is qualitatively different from that of Aiwan, the village shopkeeper, for example. The latter, a young Trio man, is frequently accused

\(^{176}\) A similar principle has been observed elsewhere, such as among the Jivaroan Achuar of Ecuador: ‘The Achuar [...] systematically underexploit their actual horticultural resources. By leaving a major part of their production stored in the earth, it becomes an important surplus, always available but, to my knowledge, never actually used’ (Descola 1981: 620).

\(^{177}\) What signifies abundance is expressed in beer which has been regurgitated. It is inconceivable to the Trio and Wayana to leave manioc beer to rot on its own without having passed through the body. Similarly, Journet (1995) notes that the Curripaco have a horror of rotten beer which they consider close to poison. On the special status of food as a ‘supra food’ see chapter 3.
of stinginess; he is regularly seen sporting brand new clothes he has just acquired from town, and refuses to give away any of the goods (manufactured foods, building material or pieces of clothing he sells at an inflated rate) he stores in his house away from the other villagers’ reach. His prices are often privately criticised, and his non-distributive behaviour is frequently the subject of unfavourable gossip, especially among women who are waiting for their husbands to bring game or fish back and who complain of the hunger they feel. My host Kïsi, by showing moderation in attire and food consumption, maintains the flow of influence and regulates its movement, whereas the shopkeeper stops it, by never giving anything away and thus refusing to behave according to rules of convivial social behaviour. As Rivière stated:

‘There is certainly no difficulty in hearing and seeing the importance of giving in Trio society, and the refusal to give is a serious breach of etiquette, just as the failure to be included in a distribution is a clear indication of marginality’ (2000: 257).

The essentially socialising feature of the circulation of objects has also been observed elsewhere in Amazonia, such as among the Barasana (Hugh-Jones 1992: 61), but also in Papua New Guinea, where ‘commodity exchange or barter itself confers value on goods which they would otherwise not possess’ (Gell 1992: 148).

Because of their origin, the relationship they reflect, the particular history of their movement through space, between hands, specific objects carry powerful meaning for those who display them. It is in this sense that Kïsi’s display of the Akuriyo objects he has channelled, as described in the previous chapter 4, take their full meaning. They visibly manifest connections with, and control over, the Akuriyo. They attest to the invisible connection and the capacity of Kïsi as a senior Trio elder with a history of social predation (through his participation in the Akuriyo contact expeditions) to augment his influence. While the objects indirectly obtained from the Chilean anthropologist Jara via the Akuriyo recipient were appropriated by Kïsi in order to channel influences from the urban world of white people, the game he receives from the Akuriyo’s son constitutes non-human influence from the forest. And through the Akuriyo artefact, an elder’s hammock, the influence of its deceased maker is appropriated. This shows the intricate connections linking indicators of personal history, the ornaments of inhabited space carrying the visual impact of one’s
transformational capacities.

Analysing the visual effects of feasts in which items such as foods, or goods are exchanged between parties, Wilson stresses the aesthetic value of the display of the items that circulate:

‘[T]hese displays are all, to some extent, architectural in form, they are constructions that require a considerable investment of labor and that have a conscious aesthetic aim. Their scale and style are intended first and foremost to express and impress [...] While the displays of the moka and the kula do not call for special constructions, their geometrical arrangements of pigs, food, and shells and of people and canoes in formation are all architectonic’ (1988: 85-6).

Human body and social space are architectonic and even more intimately linked than previous studies on the human body’s socialisation in Amazonia have suggested. For instance, in his study of the relations within the health system among the Yanomami of the upper Orinoco basin in Venezuela, Kelly stresses that persons’ bodies encode relationships and become the sites of a perspective on the world, and that as such ‘the body is the site where the relations involved in this production are made visible; so long as bodies are the same, people are kin because they make each other [...] everyday life involves a constant interplay of producing evidence of one’s effects on others. This gives life a performative aspect’ (Kelly 2003: 97). This performance becomes a social aesthetic, a construction of the inhabited space which manifests evidence of a person’s extensive socialisation. In this sense, the way a socialised person fabricates the surrounding social space by filling it with encoded objects which manifest parts of his or her social history reaffirms him or her in the eyes of the other villagers. All this shows that the movement of objects need not be seen in economistic terms, which are not necessarily representative of local values. The visible and stylistic qualities of objects, whether ‘native’ or manufactured, are the product of social relations rather than merely economic factors. The human body’s lived environment becomes the manifestation of his or her very personhood, an interconnected whole. And within this totality, the relational histories one builds with one’s trading partners represent the manifestation of a capacity to handle productions of alterity in their multifaceted forms.

5.1.2. -ipawana: trading partnerships, relational histories.
Trading partnerships (T: -ipawana) represent a formalised way in which a Trio or Wayana person can engage in affinal relations, and are located in a highly ambiguous interface in which nurturing commensality and the language of conviviality intermingle with predatory techniques and mistrust. As trading partners continually domesticate each other, they also adopt a set of practices and appearances corresponding to the levels of social interaction in which they locate their relationship. The trading partners referred to by senior Trio and Wayana men in conversations about the past are Maroons, that is Ndjuka for the Trio in southern Suriname, and Aluku for the Wayana of the Maroni river system. But trading partnerships also frequently exist between Trio and Wayana, and between Amerindians and city-dwellers from Paramaribo or St. Laurent-du-Maroni. They normally bond two unrelated persons who live in remote locations from one another, and quite often across international borders. Each partner has access to a social sphere which remains distant from the other, and thus provides goods of specific utilitarian, but, just as fundamentally, of distributive value. Objects obtained from trading partnerships usually attest to a privileged history of personal bonds in which commensality, shared experience, travels to distant locations such as the city, and the language of fictive kinship (a trading partner is referred to in kinship terms and through commensality physically becomes at least partly ‘like kin’ (T: imoiï-me)) express the importance attributed to the sharing and exchange of each other’s foods, knowledge and affection, which evolve over a lifetime.

On the other hand, more recent forms of trading partnerships, with strangers (T: pananakiri) belonging to non-governmental organisations, ministries, or the local health or education network, show the variability in appearance and form which this relationship can take. And to these variations correspond differences in attitudes, codes of behaviour and expectations in terms of transactions. But, as the importance

178 Although Trio and Wayana from Brazilian villages tend only to have Amerindian trading partners across the border in Suriname or French Guiana (Grupioni on the Trio, pers. comm; Barbosa on the Wayana, pers. comm.), for the senior Trio men in Tëpu, their Maroon trading partner carries a primary importance. This is likely to be due to the exclusively trade-related nature of the relationship with Maroons, with whom, in principle, the exchange of spouses is impossible. Not being marriageable affines, they are free from the dangers associated with the latter.

179 For an analysis of the Wayana memory of trading networks focusing on the kind of objects which circulated on a regional scale, see Dupuy 2006.
given to past wars with the Maroons in Wayana discourse attests, there remains a
fundamental ambiguity in these relationships, in which the social group categories to
which distant trading partners belong remain dangerous alters, whose true, fierce
nature could appear at any time, and to which in turn fierceness would be the
appropriate response. There, once again, nurturing relationships carry with them this
latent predatory, warlike attribute which I have discussed in previous chapters. But
because these objects are obtained from distant others and through a powerful and
calculated relationality, they gain value, a social wealth which radiates onto the person
who possesses it and his circle of resident relatives.

The connection between possession of objects and an idea of social wealth is very
much salient in both everyday conversations\(^\text{180}\) and mythical narratives which
emphasise the things which the Trio did not have in the past, as in this passage
narrated by Tëmenta:

‘It was in the time when the Trio did not have loincloths. They only had
\textit{kuura}\(^\text{181}\) for their clothing. The Trio were very poor indeed, they only had their
penises wrapped in \textit{kuura}. Yes, our forefathers were really very, very poor’
(The beginning of trade with the Bushnegroes, Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 267).

Lack of wealth, ‘to be very poor’ (T: \textit{apëkëma kotuma}), is implicitly connected to
lack of trading relationships, as desirable goods are obtained from trade with
outsiders. The word ‘poor’, \textit{apëkëma}, literally means ‘short-armed’, thus implying a
bodily state in which the capacity to extend oneself has been considerably reduced.
To this, one may add that the very fact that traded, manufactured goods come from
external sources makes them desirable in the first place. In this context, social wealth
is equated to two things: being surrounded by a large number of relatives (-imoiti) and
by an abundance of objects obtained from trading partners (-ipawana). My definition
of wealth is thus of a state of being; it agrees with the definition of Rivière (1984: 93)
of resulting from the successful manipulation of human resources, their incorporation
and retention in a community by its leader and his followers, but I would question

\(^{180}\) For instance, my host Kïsi frequently listed objects that the Trio lacked in the past in sentences such
as the following: ‘Peeena ahtao, kamisa waken, samura waken, sopu waken, arakabusí waken, kartusi
waken, motoru waken...’ etc. ‘In the very distant past, we did not have loincloths, we did not have glass
beads, we did not have soap, we did not have shotguns, we did not have cartridges, we did not have
outboard motors...’ and the enumeration would then go on, usually by pointing at all the possible
objects worn by or surrounding the narrator. See also Pesoro’s account in appendix.

\(^{181}\) Thongs made of woven cotton.
whether it is applicable only to human resources today in terms of actual persons following a leader: in the context of long-term sedentarisation, objects (and the invisible connections they signify and offer) have come to play as significant a role as actual human persons, and this wealth is not strictly the attribute of an ‘official’ village leader in a village in which there are now various types of leaders with different capacities and skills involving literacy, strong talk and esoterical knowledge of various kinds.

This social wealth is manifested in the relationship the Trio and Wayana of southern Suriname have with some of their most contemporary trading partners and the way in which these ipawana’s respective behaviour and the memory of the relationship established with them oscillates between two idealised ways of being which I have already defined in more general terms earlier in this thesis.\footnote{See chapter 2.} It is possible to distinguish between two generic types of trading partners: peaceful and convivial ones and more aggressive and distant ones. The two offer differing sources of power and can allow access to distinct forms of goods, which are equally necessary; with each type, different ways of behaving will be adopted. In the following table, I compare the attributes of the medical nurse Jacob and governmental employee Meine, two pananakiri ipawana to some Trio of Tëpu, and their categorisation from the perspective of bodily envelope, practice and social distance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Jacob</th>
<th>Meine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of person</strong></td>
<td>Pananakiri</td>
<td>Pananakiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Type of service</strong></td>
<td>Generic: transportation with missionary company (MAF), medication, help with money matters.</td>
<td>Generic: transportation with private company (GUM Air), employment, use of facilities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Location</strong></td>
<td>Fotopo (in town) Medizep/epi pakoro-ta (inside the house of Medizep/medicine).</td>
<td>Fotopo Ministeri/ranti pakoro-ta (inside the house of the Ministry/officials).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Meeting</strong></td>
<td>Around a table next to one another in a little hall which is open onto the outside, and</td>
<td>On either side of a large desk, within a closed office, accessed via another closed office (the secretaries’), and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accessibility</strong></td>
<td>through which other people constantly pass.</td>
<td>into which access is restricted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Visibility</strong></td>
<td>Visible from outside (the street).</td>
<td>Invisible from outside.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Attire/ornaments</strong></td>
<td>Nurse’s white gown and Casio watch.</td>
<td>Dark shirts and trousers, gold wristwatch and jewellery.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commensals</strong></td>
<td>Female nurses with pills, hymns and Bible.</td>
<td>Tall men with military gear, guns and rum.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>House in Trio village</strong></td>
<td>Kwamalasamutu:183 open house into which anybody may peer.</td>
<td>Têpu: house guarded when present by bodyguard with gun; drinks bar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Speech</strong></td>
<td>Speaks in Trio. Soft voice, quiet demeanour.</td>
<td>Speaks in Sranan Tongo/Dutch. Low but commanding speech.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table seeks to highlight some physical attributes characterising important *pananakiri* from a Trio/Wayana perspective. Whereas Jacob is easily approachable, Meine manifests his authority through his inaccessibility, created and maintained by physical and social barriers; his powers are not clearly defined and their mysterious nature amplifies their perceived scale. His image as a man surrounded by weapons and strong followers is also more warlike than Jacob’s. The latter is located at a level closer to the sociability of everyday relations, although he is not viewed without considerable ambivalence and ambiguity. Meine, on the other hand, tends to be seen in either clearly positive or clearly negative terms by Trio individuals. However, neither Meine nor Jacob is considered a trading partner in the ideal sense, as commensality and thus sharing of substance and experience is not involved, unlike in the Maroon case. This is why these relationships are more ambiguous as to the nature of the persons concerned, and involve both more formality in the case of Meine, and more negative reciprocity in the case of Jacob, who suffered thefts during his period as a resident nurse in the village of Kwamalasamutu, an experience which left him

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183 Large and predominantly Trio village located on the Sipaliwini river in southwestern Suriname, see chapter 1.
hurt after years of what he considered to be open interaction with and dedication to the Amerindian villagers. I therefore suggest that distance (either spatial or social) and visibility represent essential factors in the qualitative appraisal of individual trading relationships. The significance of these factors has been recorded elsewhere in Amazonia, such as among the Yanomamí who attribute the greatest power to the distant strangers (napê) working in ministerial offices and whom they themselves never see:

‘Napê yai [real powerful napê] find ultimate expression in powerful criollos that lie beyond the Upper Orinoco that can importantly influence Yanomamí lives’ (Kelly 2003: 119).

However, what matter to the Trio and the Wayana are also the perspectival attributes which might determine the nature of the powerful being they interact with. And just as they acknowledge among themselves the existence of two different ideal types of leaders, one ideal being based on peace and the other on war,\(^{184}\) the former being rather more ambiguous and less powerful than the latter, they acknowledge the existence of these ideal states among Others such as the pananakiri; indeed this is consistent with a perspectival view of the universe according to which the societies of Others follow the same organisational principles as human (wïtoto\(^{185}\)) society itself.

This analysis of trading partnerships has led me to highlight the existence of various elements which weigh heavily in the Trio and Wayana appraisal of their relationships with non-related Others, either affines or distant people. The fundamental importance of commensality and shared experience in the determination of a ‘real’ trading partner supports the idea that trade items represent a visible manifestation of the relationship itself and that the convivial exchange of words, foodstuffs, knowledge practices and joint travel to remote locations such as the city represent equally significant manifestations of the capacity for a person to extend his or her influence into socially distant spheres. This demonstrates once again that from a Trio or Wayana perspective trade with white people and Maroons is not an accident of recent history, nor has it been simply fitted into an existing indigenous trade system, but under some

\(^{184}\) For an analysis of the historical importance of these two ideal leaders among the Wayana, see Perrone-Moisés 2006; cf. Basso 1995; Chagnon 1974; Kracke 1978.

\(^{185}\) To stress that a person is really human, the Trio will say wïtoto-rë-rë: ‘really really human being’ (Carlin 2004).
circumstances Maroon or white people can represent a model or a preferred form of relationship in its own right.186

There nevertheless remains a large degree of flexibility and creativity in the management of other forms of trading relationships which can be classified under the same term of –ipawana. These may involve city-dwellers, governmental employees, nurses, whose attributes are assessed and classified by the Trio according to bodily attributes and social practices. Developing these other forms of relationships thus implies a capacity to handle forms of alterity that correspond to differing ideal human types. The objects acquired from particular types of trading partner are attributed distinct socialising attributes. The circumstances under which these objects were obtained and the skills used in dealing with the sources from which they emanate also affect how the objects themselves are perceived: ‘one aspect of the value and significance of manufactured goods lies in the circumstances of their acquisition from White people’ (Hugh-Jones 1992: 43). Although types of object are valued for practical use, they can frequently be obtained from a variety of sources: in the choice of these sources, what matters is the relationship, and the objects are the visible reminders of the value of the relationship, which is further extended by prestations and distributions to other individuals. A person who stores, displays and distributes objects which originate from various types of carefully nurtured relationships with Others visibly manifests his or her extended socialisation and his or her capacity to skilfully master distinct forms of social interaction. This extended socialisation, transformability and the safe management of diverse perspectives all represent qualities which are developed and refined throughout one’s lifetime.

5.1.3. Knowledge, travel and distributed personhood.

186 See ‘Story of eagle’ in appendix, which describes how the mythical Wayana Alatiwo was betrayed by his Wayana trading partner because the latter wanted his wife, and which warns young Wayana men today of fellow Wayana who call them yepe.
‘[W]hen I was ten, I used to go into the forest with my father hunting. And then I went to school. I went to school, and I got out of the habit a bit. I didn’t want to go [hunting anymore], you see. Because there’s only my father who hunted, hunted for me, hunted, and I had lost the habit. And after a while I woke up: ‘What happened to me, I have to get back into it!’ Since then it’s been OK’ (Aiku, 28 years old, village of Antecume Pata, 29/06/04).187

In the quotation above, Aiku, a young man from the village of Antecume Pata on the upper Maroni river, reflects upon his own experience of growing up in a village as a promising and curious child who ‘lost himself’ through the white people’s educational system before realising suddenly how much he had lost of his own Wayana skills and knowledge. He used this example in order to illustrate the difficulties experienced by young schoolchildren today, whose bodies grow untrained from not going into the forest with their fathers, and who often fail to succeed when sent away to the urban centres in order to obtain qualifications, returning empty-handed and with bodies more like those of white people than ‘real’ bodies. This frustration voiced by many is not simply a case of an older generation complaining about the ignorance of the youth. Trio and Wayana ideas about State education and travel in the city can be analysed within a wider ontological framework: the acquisition of skills and knowledge and the capacity to move oneself or parts of one’s self over greater distances are valued in terms of an Amerindian emphasis on transformability.

Distributing oneself is about the capacity to change perspective without losing oneself in the process. Knowledge is necessary to adopt the appropriate perspectives to deal with different environments and social spheres; but because it confines young, impressionable bodies in one location for long periods, school has been accused of ‘fixing’ young people into ‘one sight’, one form of knowledge, which makes them unable to change their perspective.188 As I will explain in further detail below, a highly socialised being manages successfully to balance transformability and interaction with distinct social spheres. For instance, a highly socialised man is a skilled, hardened hunter and weaver; a highly socialised woman is a talented gardener, cook, beer maker and a dedicated nursing mother. Both sexes thus actively nurture an

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187 See full text in appendix.
188 Cf. Tinoco 2006, whose comparative study on the impact of schooling and education among the Wayãpi on either side of the border between Brazil and French Guiana revealed a general, cross-generational disillusion and bitterness on the purpose of education in the current identity construction.
extended network of kin. Additionally, however, they are also sufficiently literate and cunning to attract family pensions and benefits, and the attention of tourists, businessmen and foreign researchers. The latter provide the possibility of travel to ever further reaches, providing opportunities to distribute oneself by disseminating knowledge and craft objects into museum displays, concert halls and libraries.

Travelling to remote locations in order to gather knowledge from distant places and peoples, which will then be brought back to regenerate society, is also a highly valued activity among the Wayana and the Trio. This is the way my role as a student doing fieldwork was understood by one of my informants in Antecume Pata, Mimi Siku:

‘So it is to learn things that you travel for your studies. Why? No reason, it is because your professor has told you ‘Go away to learn for your studies’. So then your professor will hear and know well about how things used to be [a ‘proper’ Wayana way of being]. Maybe you saw a book that said already how things used to be, and that is why you came here. And we are like you, like white people, we can say to someone [a Wayana] ‘Go away to travel and learn about things far away’ [...] So you said ‘Ok’ to your professor ‘I am going away’, and he said ‘Ok’ and he gave you money, because white people cannot pay themselves because people in government check on them [...] if white people don’t learn well about other people, then they have to go to prison [...] if the professor doesn’t learn about other people, then he goes to prison too [...] But when you bring back all your work to the professor, he will say ‘Now you have learnt about the Wayana, and you know the Wayana language’ (Mimi Siku, 09/02/2005).

Mimi Siku’s reconstruction of fieldwork stresses the importance of skills and knowledge which allow a visitor to an unknown social sphere to engage with unrelated Others in a convivial manner. A person absorbs knowledge of far-away places through movement, and this gives him/her prestige upon return, in particular when these journeys imply a cultural event (such as the music festival in Switzerland at which Mimi Siku and other Wayana performed) or the donation of Wayana objects to a museum.

The value placed on objects and knowledge from far away means that the idea of a museum is not entirely strange to a Wayana or a Trio. This struck me when I brought my ‘sister’ and assistant Demas to Paramaribo for a week in order to help her obtain Surinamese identity papers. It was her first journey to a coastal town and far from her
I took her to an exhibition in the museum of Fort Zeelandia on Surinamese archaeological excavations entitled ‘Suriname before Columbus’. As a literate young woman whose village has raised cash in recent years thanks to a cultural association which produced basketry, bows and arrows and other artefacts to sell to tourists and museums, the idea of an exhibition of remote peoples did not strike her as unsettling or strange. The special cases, lights and texts minutely arranged for each object attracted her attention; when flicking through the catalogue of the exhibition, she commented on the positive value of having white people knowing about Indians through books. Their reputation stretched to these museum displays and these printed media. Equally, when, in Antecume Pata, I requested from her uncle Mimi Siku a set of flutes for a museum collection I was putting together, he understood and liked the idea of seeing objects he would make being taken away and exhibited in a distant location under his name. Explicitly, he wanted his nickname or ‘public’ name, which he chose as a young adult, to spread as remotely as possible. Redistribution is not only a function of objects, but objects being part of people, it is as if a person’s materiality were actively diffused; and thus his reputation, his ‘fame’ (Munn 1986) increased.

Mastery of generalised as well as specific forms of knowledge is considered to be a determining factor in the extension of a highly socialised person. External knowledge may come from the spirit-world, the worlds of white people, of Brazilian gold-miners (W: kalaiwa), of forest beings or any other external spheres; the acquisition of this knowledge is necessary to interact within these various spheres and requires a fine-

189 However, insofar as I was already called ‘elder sister’ by Demas at the time, she was not truly separated from her kin.
191 Mimi Siku, the *nom de guerre* (public names are associated with affinal interactions and famed exploits), meaning ‘cat’s piss’ in Wayana (*cf.* Cognat & Massot 1977) has become widely spread on the Internet, in two films (Palud 1994; Pasquin 1997), in researchers’ acknowledgments, in publications and across museum collections in several European countries. Whereas Mimi Siku may appear to be an exceptionally distributed case, this pattern becomes noticeable on a regional scale, especially when one follows the movement of people across borders and between villages. Plant healers, *ëremì* (chanters) and shamans may be requested to travel long distances to attend patients in remote locations, and their reputation precedes them. For instance, the plant healer Ësoro, who resides in the village of Tëpu in southern Suriname, has been flown to Wayana and Apalai villages in French Guiana to attend patients. Similarly, he is one of the privileged informants of the ethnobotanists working for the American NGO Amazon Conservation Team and his name and picture are often reproduced in their literature which circulates widely.
tuning of bodily and intellectual attitudes. Persons who communicate with such relative ease across different spectrums are not social marginals. They often specialise in a particular field, which may change during the course of a lifetime, such as: church knowledge and friendly acquaintances with the Protestant missionaries; a technical knowledge and a strength to deal with gold-miners; or, an extensive knowledge of mythical narratives, crafting skill and a capacity to translate patiently into a foreign language for researchers or development officials. In each case the capacity to adopt the ‘clothes’ of the Other is key. Such diverse knowledge forms have become complementary to shamanism and ecological knowledge. The distinction between white and Amerindian knowledge is now becoming blurred in some respects: in their materiality, and in the ways in which individuals transport and absorb them.

Reading and writing, for example, is not only, as Kelly (2003: 110) shows, a privileged form of interaction between Amerindians and non-Amerindians (recalling the relationship between shamans and their spirit helpers); the former have also appropriated it as a privileged means of intimate exchange of feelings, of affectionate

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192 The necessity of external influence for the regeneration of society has been noted elsewhere in Amazonia (Gow 2001; McCallum 2001).
193 To this we may add that they are thus not like an Akuriyo, whose potential bodily instability has been socially reigned in by the Trio.
194 The fact that a change of perspective is often described in Lowland South America as a change of ‘clothes’ has been discussed at length by Rivière (1969a, 1984, 1994) and more recently by Vilaça (1999). This usage is precisely the one used by the Trio and Wayana in both mythical narratives and everyday discussions.
language between close friends and lovers. Reading and writing are indeed seen as esoteric, as Howard (2000) rightly demonstrated with the Bible among the Waiwai, but this is the case primarily among older generations; younger people have enthusiastically adopted writing as a ‘safe’ visual form of communication which does not require the potentially dangerous use of the voice (which includes the power of breath), permitting intimate discussions in the promiscuous environment of sedentary conviviality.

Moreover, the visual impact of writing as design has been attributed a special importance in its own right: bodies and objects are inscribed with words, and people’s public names in particular, to imbue them with their power. In addition to this, the knowledge of reading and writing allows access to further technology, with myriad implications for the distribution of personhood. Kulitaikê clearly expressed this when he told me of his aspirations for his daughter Demas in terms of her knowledge of the computer, typing-machine, copying-machine and telephone: now (since I had been working with her) she could use a microphone and mini-disc as well. Adopting the Other’s perspective is a difficult process which demands skill, but portions of these external knowledge forms have been willingly incorporated and regenerated within Wayana and Trio life. This recalls the forms of appropriation that ancestors operated in mythical narratives in order to bring to their village ritual chants, dances and bodily decorations imbued with shamanic strength which today still represent central elements of Trio or Wayana way of being. While externality is a constant necessity in order to regenerate society at its very centre, the skills that human beings have to develop today in southern Suriname and French Guiana for this purpose function on the same principle as in mythical times: a skilful mastering of transformability and safe passage from one ‘skin’ or ‘bodily envelope’ to another.

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195 On the adoption of writing as a new form of powerful design for the Piro of the Peruvian Amazon, see Gow 2001: 124-5.
197 The tattooing of the skin of a human person or marking of an object in order to inscribe a pattern, a word or a name is a common practice in today’s Trio and Wayana villages; this point will be further discussed below.
198 See, for instance, the mythical narrative of the Wayana ancestral hero Alalikaman who brought the Marake stinging ceremony and the Kalau male initiation chant from an encounter with the spirit world. Cf. Chapuis & Rivière 2003.
In this section, I have addressed the relations between personhood and objects and shown how people and things, due to the relationships through which they are connected, their personal biographies and the movement through space that they permit, are intimately implied in each other. I have examined these implications by looking in particular at the importance of visual displays in a person’s lived environment which attest to her or his network of valuable extended social relationships. In the following section, I will focus more closely upon the human body in its own right and how it distinguishes itself from and intermingles with Other bodies.

5.2. Social bodies, Other bodies: relations between bodies and across spheres.

‘I love my children and therefore I don’t want to give them to you. Children are not like things, they are not trade goods. Let’s just trade goods, because they are not irreplaceable’ (The beginning of trade with the Bushnegroes, Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 270).

So far in this chapter, I have focused on the close relationships which can commingle persons and objects, the latter being, to varying degrees, closely associated with parts of the former or representing extensions of their personhood. In this light, it is difficult to claim that Amazonian cosmology is characterised by ‘homosubstitution’ rather than ‘heterosubstitution’ (Descola 2001). However, although persons may distribute themselves through objects and the two categories should not be radically distinguished, human persons and things do not merge indiscriminately. The distinction between bodies has frequently been approached in recent Amazonian anthropology in terms of the relationship between humanity and non-humanity (Viveiros de Castro 1992), which may differentiate living beings from one another. The means by which these different persons interact or are engaged with have been discussed in terms of predatory (Descola 1986) or reciprocal relationships (Århem 1996). These styles, which emphasise commensality and nurture, posit a rapprochement of socially differentiated bodies through the sharing and merging of substance (Overing & Passes 2000), and the making of kin out of Others (Vilaça 2002a) such as enemies (Fausto 2002; Taylor 2000), wild people and pets (Howard 2001). More recently, researchers focusing on material culture have analysed the
relationship between persons and the various forms of bodies they make: their offspring, but also the objects which come to inhabit their everyday lives: in the case of women, the cotton hammocks in which they sleep, the strings of beads they adorn themselves with, or the manioc bread they mould and ‘scarify’ for consumption with kin (Van Velthem 2001, 2003).

However, these approaches have not determined how the distinctions of these kinds between persons affect the management of their mutual relationships on a daily basis. In this, the movement of people, their potential for bodily transformation and, most importantly, their ability to control their flow of influence on the invisible network are determining factors. In this section I will discuss the management of variability in bodily form, social practice and the ways in which bodily states facilitate, express and control relationships with Others such as spirits and enemies.

The quotation with which this section opens is taken from the Trio narrative that recounts how Matukuwara, a mythical Trio woman, first established the terms under which trade should be conducted with the Maroons. In the quoted passage, she has just refused her Maroon trading partner her third child. He had initially asked for children instead of trading items, and she had already given him two of her offspring. By deciding to be fierce (ëire) in her opposition to the socially predatory request of the Maroon, she establishes a boundary between what can be traded and what cannot. Besides the fact that in this myth the alliance with the Maroons is achieved by a woman, a point to which I shall return later, two observations can be made. Firstly, although human persons create, mould and design, throughout their lifetime, various types of entity among whom are their children, pets, dogs, artefacts and ‘real foods’ (T: ërepa), a distinction remains between human persons (T: wïtoto) and other entities; only the latter can be traded.199 I have discussed this in the context of the relationship between the Trio guardians and their Akuriyo helpers: the Akuriyo are not considered members of the household and, unlike hunting dogs, are not referred to in classificatory kinship terms, but they cannot be sold or traded, because they are

199 Even when spouses are exchanged, this does not constitute trade. As Rivière has shown (1969), and as I myself have observed, the relationship between brothers and sisters is stronger than that between spouses, and frequently siblings return to live together after the death or divorce of a spouse. This recalls Strathern’s characterisation of Hagener women as ‘in between’, like bridges between wife-givers and -takers (1972).
human. Other entities may be non-human actors, or objects. There are numerous myths describing how certain items of material culture once had intentionality and motive force of their own. Arrows, for example, flew of their own accord at the bidding of the ancients, until they were treated with disrespect, and from then on they vowed to stubbornly remain immobile and rely on the strength and aim of people (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987). Vilaça has taken this and a similar case involving baskets among the Wari, as evidence that objects can have souls and the perspectives of agents with intentionality (2005).

These myths have in common with the story of the origin of trade with the Maroons the fact that they describe the transition from how things used to be to how things are today. Taken together, they show that in primordial, mythical time, objects had perspectives of their own and they and people could be exchanged alike; this situation gave way to one whereby objects were different from people, were inanimate (in both senses), and were no longer exchangeable for people. Objects exist in relation to people who mould them, whereas people are the product of their own moulding, first their kin who bring them up, and then themselves. If I take the example of the comparison between the Akuriyo helpers and dogs once again, I would suggest that transformable beings who can ‘change clothes’ cannot be traded, whereas entities whose perspective has been somehow fixed can. Hunting dogs raised for trade, woven artefacts, Wayana wooden ceremonial disks (W: maluwana) made by untrained young men for sale are not imbued with the inherent transformability of apparently similar items which have been manufactured in order to fit into a specific social and cosmological order within a human settlement. The distinction is determined by the intentionality of the maker, through his or her bodily involvement in the manufacturing process (powerfully charged objects are made from carefully selected material and captured by spirit-chants). They are reproductions of reproductions of...

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200 See chapter 4.

I use the term ‘intentionality’ in order to refer to both the various ‘souls’ (W: omole) and the blood (W: mïwu) of a person which all contribute to his or her life-force and existence as a person. As in some other parts of Amazonia (Taylor 1998; Vilaça 2005), the Trio and Wayana do not demonstrate an interest in determining with precision the origin of bodily substances and the mechanical role they play in the constitution of the human person. See also Chapuis (1998).

202 There are, however, instances of objects being exchangeable for people elsewhere in Amazonia: for example, the Achuar numpa tumash or ‘blood debt’ allows a murderer to compensate the victim’s kin with a shotgun (Descola 1993: 172). But even in this case, the shotgun may well end up being used to take the life of the kin of the person who gave it, and thus serves as the instrument of an exchange of persons.
primeval prototypes on which manufactured objects are based, and each degree of reflection from the original proportionately reduces their perspectival transformability.

The second observation to make about Matukuwara’s words is that they distinguish what is replaceable from what is not. This has partly been explained by the fact that different levels of transformability correspond to different levels of intentionality, these levels being determined by the degree of distance from the prototypic original of a given entity. But also, and just as fundamentally, an entity may be irreplaceable because of the love and affection of close kin. Because all entities, objects and people, are the product of the moulding and design that create new bodies, the difference between the replaceable and the irreplaceable is a matter of emphasis, and this emphasis is determined by perspective: entities of the same kind share the same perspective, and are bound by affection. Nurture, care and commensality are therefore not the sole conditions of human personhood, as some elements of humanity and consanguinity spring from (pro)creation and are therefore given and inalienable. Bodily substances can be more taming than foods, although foods and nurture are more socially ingrained. This raises the question of how the visible and invisible treatment of the body and socially-charged substances relates to the morality of being human.

5.2.1. Ideal states, prototypes and the changing body.

In one of the earliest biomedical studies of the development of medical care in the Wayana villages of the upper reaches of the Maroni river, in southern French Guiana, Dr. Etienne Bois notes that, when collecting blood samples from villagers for analysis, he was requested by the Wayana to give in return a little of his own blood to the head of each family (n.d., early 1960s). From a Wayana perspective, giving blood was part of a ritual exchange with a highly specific meaning. Piercing or cutting the skin in order to obtain the powerful source of strength, and thus life, that blood (W: mïwu) is, and letting a stranger, a potential enemy, take it, is inconceivable. The cutting of skin and drinking of blood is strictly performed between hitherto enemy warriors who have agreed upon an alliance and peaceful interaction through the mixing of their vital substance. By mixing the very origin of their strength, warriors thus give themselves away to each other’s influence. This exchange of blood is a merging of substance
which was frequently referred to by my Trio, Wayana and Katxuyana interlocutors when remembering the end of the wars of the past.

There is, however, a rather ambivalent relationship to the substance, illustrated by the fact that one of the historical groups of the Trio, the Pijanakoto, are said to have been particularly fierce because they used to drink the blood of their enemies: such cannibalistic, predatory ingestion is considered a vitality-enhancing strategy. This in turn explains the attitude of the Wayana to the French doctor’s collecting of blood samples: in order to prevent the doctor from becoming a fierce enemy charged with the Wayana’s own strength, he had to give them his own blood in return for theirs. The mutual drinking of blood seals the end of warfare and the beginning of peaceful interaction: by giving away some of one’s own strength, one exposes oneself to the increased strength of the former enemy. This idea of exposure recalls the process of social pacification as human transformation which I analysed in chapter 2 on sedentary village configuration. The compromise of peaceful life in close physical proximity to non-relatives (and thus potential enemies) is the increased exposure to these ambiguous Others which must to be negotiated with at regular intervals through communal feasts and nurturant manioc-beer.

To the Trio and the Wayana alike, the human body is the locus and visual manifestation of the effects of socialisation. Each treatment of the body indicates the profound intentions of a person, and, for this reason, daily activities such as washing, cooking and eating are performed in parts of the village which are communal, such as the river landing, or in sections of the household which are open to the gaze of neighbours and passers-by. The cookhouse, the hearth and, in broadest terms, the communal space located between the various buildings comprising a household (the domestic anna described in chapter 2) are never sealed off with planks or low roofs, but rather offer a possibility for any villager to determine, at a fair distance, the activities taking place there: manioc processing, weaving, the preparation of game for a family meal, are all activities which are conducted preferably in broad daylight or rarely, in the case of the preparation of game, by a big fire at night time. Therefore, by carefully exposing oneself to social interaction, one demonstrates the innocuous nature of one’s activities: poisons and curses are said to be prepared in the deepest
corners of one’s house. These techniques of visibility recall the external attributes discussed earlier in this chapter.

Individual character and quality of social interaction are also determined by certain treatments of the human body itself: some are said to induce peaceful behaviour and others nurture a certain form of warlike fierceness. These two states of being, or as I define them, ideal states, do not represent two ends of a continuum, but rather two poles of attraction around which a given person can gravitate, not in abstract terms, but depending on selective bodily treatment. Today, on the upper Maroni, it is said that increasing gold-mining activity has led to an increase in talk of warfare, often mingling Wayana shamanic curses with Maroon obeah. There is now frequent mention of hëmit charms, and of Wayana as well as Maroon individuals protected by obeah magic, which is said to make them impervious to bullets. The choice of foods is also a marker of peaceful or bellicose intentions: strong foods such as chilli-pepper and salt are said to have socialising qualities; warriors who wish to cultivate fierceness must not eat them. The wish to eat strong foods is taken to express a social desire for convivial affinal interaction. In this sense, bodily practice corresponds to these two ideal states, providing techniques and markers of each. They are represented in myth as alternating possibilities in the collective experience and identity of the Wayana and the Trio alike, and are often used to describe differences between two ways of life, one marked by warfare and the other by peaceful conviviality between affines.

These two ideal states can be adapted to transformative states in which specific qualities are required for interaction with different types of stranger. For example, travelling to the city to visit a governmental office requires specific bodily preparations, just as entering the forest on a hunting expedition does. To go to a gold mine, a Trio or Wayana will need to wear the clothes worn by gold-miners, such as

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203 See Van Velthem (2001), who corroborates this point by describing the openness of the weaving process by Wayana men, in order to demonstrate the peacefulness of their activities upon return from the forest.

204 Obeah is the term used in the Caribbean Isles and the Guianas to describe the type of sorcery practised by descendants of African slaves, and the spells associated with it. It is used today on the Maroni river; a famous gold-mining enterpriser is attributed a powerful obeah which makes his body unbreakable and bullet-proof.

205 On chilli-peppers, see Chapuis & Rivière 2003: 457.

206 See discussion on the implications of the concept of sasame wehto as affinal wellbeing in chapter 2.
trainers, baggy shorts, sleeve-less net-like t-shirt and a tight nylon hat, and may dye his hair blond, wear gold and have his public nickname tattooed in a visible part of his body. On the other hand, to visit an administrative office, a Trio or Wayana may wear long trousers and a short-sleeved shirt, comb his hair and carry a folder with papers inside. The capacity to transform is experienced therefore in the outer as well as the inner layer of the body, as many mythical accounts of young men becoming the sons-in-law of a powerful spirit recount. This balance between inner and outer body is manifested by the attention paid to the appearance and the feeding of the body. As Gow’s Piro informant Artemio said: ‘‘the things we really need are these, soap and salt. Without salt, our food has no taste. And without soap to wash ourselves, we would stink worse than dogs!’’ To which Gow adds: ‘Significantly, Artemio’s list contained an element for the interior of the body, salt, and one for the exterior, soap’ (Gow 2001: 128).

The inside and the outside of the body are thus equally important in a partial or full transformation from one ideal state to another. Human persons are persons who can adorn themselves, beautify their bodies at times of celebration, but also neutralise themselves, make themselves as bland as possible before entering the other world of the forest to go hunting, and thus removing all human attributes. In Tëpu today, a man will remove his red loincloth and bodily adornments before going into the forest and put on some old white people’s clothes in order to cover his human skin; the white people’s clothes also act as a disguise, because the role associated with them is not that of a hunter. I suggest that transformability is a fundamental feature of human personhood in that a person can willingly and creatively transform his or her corporeality to fit specific social purposes. There are prototypes of bodies (whether human, objects, or other), and their visible reproductions are considered to be less perfect than the archetypal, mythical ones, a relationship which has been discussed by Van Velthem in her work on Wayana weaving:

‘Contemporary human beings and their products are also understood as constituting ‘imitations’ of the original technological actions of primeval supernatural beings. In other words, making woven objects is meaningful in that it has to do with the idea of continuous imitation and updating of primordial

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models [...] Everyday artefacts are conceived as being ‘transformed bodies’ (2001: 206).

However, this vision does not sufficiently render the perspectival approach to Amazonian social relations between bodies of different kind. There is great ambivalence and awe at the capacity that some entities have to achieve degrees of transformability which are extremely efficient and powerful. In this, the caterpillar represents for both the Trio and Wayana the most accomplished transformer, and many a mythical narrative recounts its capacities (Rivière 1994: 260).

For instance, in a myth about ėłukē (generic word for caterpillar) and the power of transformability (Ēłukē kupē akē eitoponpē, ‘The story of the kupē caterpillar’208), after having caught the eye of a young Wayana woman in the forest who admired its beauty aloud, a caterpillar transforms itself into a handsome young man, leaves the forest and enters the young lady’s village with the hope of seducing her. Upon arrival, he is admired by all the young women due to his elaborate feather ornaments, body paint, and the beauty of his body: ‘It was a young man. His body was painted [...] he was handsome’ (Kulitaikē 26/01/2004: lines 50-9). So, he is beautiful and attractive, and turns out to behave like a perfect husband to the young Wayana lady who becomes his wife. But his beautiful attire and social composure eventually end up raising suspicions among the villagers who start to question this constant perfection:

‘So, the young Wayana woman and the caterpillar got together for several months [...] However, his bodily decorations did not go away; they did not get washed away by the rain, they just stayed on his skin’ (Kulitaikē 26/01/2004: lines 77-81).

In other words, unlike a normal person, whose beautifully adorned body would progressively turn back to a ‘normal’ state as everyday activities wear off the paint, the caterpillar husband remains unchanged. This flawless perfection turns out to be what exposes him as a non-human person. He is then eventually rejected as a stranger by the community of villagers. Betrayed by his wife who, against his warnings, watches him transform into a caterpillar in order to gather fruits on top of a tree, he disappears, never to be seen again. In this particular myth, two points emerge: 1) a change of skin implies a change of perspective, but only daily practices (notably

208 See full version in appendix. The term kupē refers to a type of tree (unidentified).
commensality) can lead to complete transformation; 2) Perfection of reproduction freezes the humanity of a person, who in real life is considered to be rather more ambiguous and shifting (the characteristic of humans is that they have the capacity to modify their appearance, their bodily decorations).

So the incompleteness of his transformation into a Wayana man is betrayed by his flawless perfection of appearance, and this is often how spirits, attracted into villages by women, are exposed. The flawlessness of his transformation is also what singles out another caterpillar who tried to turn into a man to have a relationship with a young woman in a Trio myth (T: Wirijepïn iwehponpë, ‘The past story of Wirijepin’, translated as ‘The woman who ran away with her caterpillar boyfriend’, in Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 223-5). In the following passage of this myth, a young Trio woman named Wirijepïn is denying to both her useless husband and her own mother ever having had an affair with a strange man, who, according to her disgruntled husband, ‘looked like a Trio, but was not’ (op. cit.: 223):

‘My husband is talking nonsense. How can someone who is invisible make love with me. Someone you cannot see clearly cannot be a man!’ Wirijepïn said’.

To which her husband retorts:

‘Yes, that is true. That is exactly like I saw him. I did not see him as a man. He looked much better, he looked very handsome. He wore feathers around his arms and a feathercrown on his head. He looked different from any of us’, the man said’ (ibid.).

The distinction between a human being (T: wïtoto) and something that has the appearance of one but is not intrinsically human (wïtoto-me) is very salient within Trio discourse itself. Indeed the suffix –me exists in the Trio language precisely to express this distinction between apparent and true nature of things,209 and is employed in a variety of situations. And this very distinction, which exists between real persons, and non-humans who become ‘like’ real persons, relates to the inherent ambiguity of bodily transformations: perspectival changes are rarely portrayed as a

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209 The suffix has already appeared in this chapter in section 5.1.2., in which I use it to refer to how Trio consider people who, through commensality, become ‘like kin’, imoiti-me. For extensive analysis of the use of the suffix –me, see Carlin 2003.
straightforward passage from a given state of being to another. With the change of ‘clothes’, although the perspective may appear to have changed and spirits or animals appear to a human person to have become fellow humans, the ‘sight’ is often confused, and it is often through commensality and sharing foods with Others that the perspectival change becomes more stable and settled. And yet, as this account of the caterpillar who married Wirijepïn attests, a person who is human in appearance remains singled out when there is something in the daily practices which appears to not correspond to the social norm; in this case, what betrays the caterpillar-spirit is his frozen bodily flawlessness: the transformation was not complete because not creative enough.

This exaggeration of the ideal by impostors is also a theme discussed by Vilaça in an article which draws connections between humanity and the potential for instability (2005). The author tells the story of a young girl who suddenly realises the woman she has gone gathering fruits with in the forest is not her real mother, but a jaguar wearing human clothes; she becomes suspicious because the latter behaves superficially too well as a mother, lavishing excessive, exclusive mothering attention towards her and neglecting the other children left behind in the village. Only then, as the little girl’s suspicion arises, do her eyes start noticing intriguing physical attributes which confirm the non-humanity of the being who was passing for her mother: she has spots on her body, as well as a long tail (op. cit.: 451). This eye-opening realisation through which the little girl has to pass in order to gain ‘true sight’, which in turn enables her to see through appearances, is a fundamental clue to the understanding of the relationship between humanity and transformability: appearances are deceiving and one must always look out for the Other under the clothes of the familiar (cf. Viveiros de Castro n.d.).

Van Velthem has recently suggested that humans are the only ones in whose nature it is to modify (everyday or ritual) bodily painting and thus appearance, ‘the rest are condemned to wearing the same decorations forever’ (2001: 213). However the stories mentioned above show that this is the case only in an ideal world: it is desirable for humans to transform themselves but not for Others to do so, but there are Others who have the same capacity to transform, the same intentionality which enables them to adopt several guises. As I have just demonstrated, the modification of
the outer body shell, by adopting variations based on models but also invention, are qualities that human persons nurture and train. But there remains the question of how interaction between bodies in practice can best be understood, how these passages of perspectives can be represented, particularly in the light of the control of the circulation and diffusion of influence. I will now discuss this circulation in actual bodily terms and according to gender.

5.2.2. Tubes, gender and the circulation of influence.

Until now, I have discussed concepts of humanity in terms of intentionality and transformability; I have explained that I have used the concept of intentionality in order to translate ideas of perspectivism into those of soul-matter and life-giving force. However, I have been inclined not to refer to any idea of ‘soul’ or ‘soul-matter’ within my discussion on the interaction between various types of beings, because the very idea of ‘souls’ appears to render less appropriately Trio and Wayana ideas on the body and its socialisation. As I will discuss in this sub-section, the possession of one or several souls (depending on the entity concerned) is not the only determining factor enabling the mastering of the propensity to transform. Some entities, such as woven artefacts, have remnants of souls, and can be considered fixed, that is not unstable. They do not have intentionality of their own, but as extensions of highly socialised beings, carry the intentionality of their maker, or domesticator. For instance, a Trio or Wayana avoids having any form of contact, either visual or physical, with an object hanging in the house of a shaman.

Once again, some prototypes of archetypal beings may be imbued with specific powers: the highly powerful representations of mythical beings, such as particularly powerful ěłukë and the underwater entity mulokot which are fixed by a skilled ělemlë chanter onto the ceremonial wooden disk (W: maluwana) destined to be attached to the central pole of the village communal house, do carry extensive power in their capacity to ward off spirit attacks from the village. However, I describe this very humanity, which is, as many Amazonianists have emphasised, a status shared between human beings and some other living

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210 As Van Velthem also rightly observes, people avoid ‘seeing’ the woven artefacts of a shaman (2001). In turn, this helps explain the fact that shamans tend to accumulate things more than other people (see Hugh-Jones 1992).
creatures,\textsuperscript{211} as a condition which allows the circulation of some vital substances and influences through the body. Intentionality or transformability are thus intrinsically connected to bodily ‘physiological’ movement, and to bodily orifices (either visible or invisible), which allow circulation. Only a body which combines a flow of influence both beyond and through itself is capable of being properly human. Bodies are made by shutting off some influences and favouring others; and in this sense, are metaphorical tubes (Rivière 1969b), transformational entities activated by breath and the circulation of vital fluids.

Therefore, although Trio and Wayana human beings are said to possess various souls: such as an eye-soul and a skin-soul, as well as a generic soul which rests in the liver, these souls are not the seat of humanity. This is a feature well illustrated in the anthropological literature of Lowland South America, which describes how, among a significant number of Amerindian populations, the spirits of the dead are perceived as disembodied, incomplete, miserable beings which cannot see properly and crave to inhabit another body (Descola 1993). The material things and ‘clothes’ of a dead person are therefore destroyed, the name erased from the memory of the living. In Tëpu and Antecume Pata, the skin of game animals, in which one of the souls rests, is cooked and eaten to ensure that the left-over spirit does not come back to attack the hunter and his kin. But what is left of the dead is deprived of transformability; spirits of the dead can only inhabit existing receptacles (which is why they are feared); humanity is thus a fully embodied condition, as only the ‘clothes’ can provide the perspective. And as such, the clothes interest me here, as little has been said by previous authors about what determines the body’s aptitude as receptacle: I suggest that its transformability derives from its tubular qualities.

Human bodies are archetypal tubes (\textit{cf.} Goldman 2004), with more than one orifice (either visible or invisible), and this allows the flow of influence to be controlled and directed within the body itself. Among the Trio and the Wayana, the control of one’s bodily orifices and the socialising apprenticeship of their highly controlled use is a fundamental feature of the educative process of children and the maturation of children into fully developed adults: through positive encouragement, young children

are taught to urinate and defecate in appropriate places (at the edge of the village for the Trio and in the river for the Wayana). Children also learn to regurgitate manioc beer, and young men develop these regurgitative techniques in competitions, as described in chapter 3. In turn the central importance of foodstuffs and the movement of substances through the body, in and out of either different orifices or the same one, help to explain the stress on an early apprenticeship of language, proper communication and the control of breath being direct visible manifestations of the humanising process. This humanising attribute of the tube is taken to its most exuberant level with the use of flutes during collective feasts.

The necessity for a proper human person to have more than one orifice to allow for a transformative flow of influence to circulate properly is also present in mythical narrative; for example, in their everyday conversations, my Trio host would say that through the many years of interaction he established and developed with his Maroon trading-partner, he ‘educated’ him in many ways, by telling him and showing him how the Trio live well. He also stressed that the Trio have always educated the Maroons. Indeed, there is a myth which describes how a Trio man, in mythical times, ‘saved’ a spirit by piercing first his bottom, then one of his bones, which gave the spirit an anus and allowed it to enter a cycle of transformations which resulted in it becoming a Maroon:

‘Thank you brother’, the revived spirit said again. ‘You have been very generous to me. You made an opening in my bottom. You are a good man.’
(The spirit who became a Bushnegro, Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 266).

The analogies linking tubes, persons and transformative processes have been noted in the anthropological literature of the 1960s and 1970s, but have been little formally revisited since then. Lévi-Stauss recognised the existence in Amazonian myth of the associations of tubes and orifices with transformation and control212 (1985: 216). Rivière drew connections between objects such as hair tubes and flutes as tubular and thus as energy transformers (1969b). C. Hugh-Jones (1979) showed how the processual Barasana house was a macrocosm of the human body, an analysis further developed by S. Hugh-Jones (1995), who shows how the house represents the

212 Bodily control analysed in myth in terms of ‘continence’, see Lévi-Strauss 1964: 143-4.
fundamental flow of things which are transformed within its ‘guts’ and that in turn regenerate the body of the house itself. During Trio and Wayana feasts (analysed above in chapter 3), the socialising substance to be consumed in abundance orchestrates the control over movement and the flow of influence. Affines are indiscriminately drawn into the very centre of the village by the swirling movement of the dancing lines which progressively attract people towards the pole of the communal house, as everything is sucked into the extended body of the communal house, drawn by the female-processed manioc beer located by the central pole. However this oscillates with an outward movement of the dancers and attendants who, having drunk, drift to the margins of the communal house to regurgitate the manioc beer swallowed, allowing the inward movement to be repeated again. With an emptied and renewed inner body, they are attracted back inside, towards the centre. Meanwhile, the regurgitated beer which remains on the outside visibly attests to the socialising movement: it is the visible manifestation of the invisible renewal and regenerative transformation which its consumption and regurgitation enact, recalling the metaphorical collective shedding of skin or menstruation among the Barasana (C. Hugh-Jones 1979: 141-2; Rivière 1994: 260). The same pattern occurs with meat and fish that have been brought to the communal house for collective consumption: it is first brought to the centre by a dancing procession, before being brought to the edge of the house for butchering and cooking, and is returned to the centre to be eaten. This association of the outward movement with bodily fragmentation and inward movement with wholeness echoes and reinforces the same associations on a social level. The attraction to the centre is achieved by nurturing, feminine action and its product, manioc beer, and the communal house can thus be seen as a macrocosmic body which attracts people inside to ‘cook’ them, making them social. This centripetal action, as I will now discuss, is a function of the female body.

Some Amazonianists have interpreted the complementary relationship between inside and outside in terms of a binary opposition to which genders would correlate, thus suggesting that, overall, men deal with the outside and women the inside, that men predate and women domesticate (McCallum 2001; Overing 1986). More recently, Rival has proposed that, among the Huaorani of Ecuador, men are unstable and subject to wildness, while women, due to the firmer attachment of their soul to the body, have a capacity to stabilise men (Rival 2005). Trio and Wayana women have a
capacity to suck in the outside, and that is why they have to remain at the centre of the village; in myth and everyday life, they attract spirits (and knowledge) into the village. Women attract spirits as they attract and ‘cook’ men in the communal house during drinking celebrations. In myth as in everyday life, women have the propensity to attract the spirit world into the socialised space of the village, right into their own womb. The fundamental gender difference is not in terms of spatial spheres, or an opposition between a female, domesticating inside and a male, predatory outside, but rather between two different types of movement: whereas men are centrifugal, women are centripetal. Men physically spread themselves along networks which take them to diverse environments such as the city or the forest, thus exposing their bodies at a distance from the socialised centre of the village. Women, in turn, attract external influence to the core.

By adopting a focus on the circulation of influence, I have shown that the Trio and Wayana can be defined as oscillating between two types of social movement: one which is ramified and aims at extending itself, another which is centripetal and tends to attract the outside towards its very core. Women in myth have sex with spirits, but unlike men they are not drawn into the spirits’ ‘villages’ by wearing new ‘clothes’ and moving into an in-law’s house. Due to the principle of uxorilocality which applies in the spirit world as much as in the human world (since all beings have the same culture from their own perspectives), spirits are attracted into the household of the woman. For this reason it is dangerous for women to go into the forest, particularly when they are menstruating, at which time they must not even bathe in the river. Among the Wayana, women are said to have sex with the culture hero at every full moon, and the children they bear originate partly from the spirit matter left within their body during these encounters (Chapuis 1998).

There are cases in mythical narratives in which women take on the prominent mediatory role when some social relationships with distant strangers need to be established. In these instances, whereas men appear to be frightened and hide with their bow and curare-tipped arrows in the forest, women adopt masculine, predatory attributes such as strong, hard talk and plant medicine used in both seduction and hunting. This is the case in the myth recounting the beginning of trade with the Maroons:
‘The women [Matukuwara and Serewini...] went [into the mekoro village] without weapons or machetes, they went empty-handed. ‘Well, good, good, good, trading-partner, trading-partner’, they said [...] The Bushnegroes were hostile. The women had put plant-charm on their hands. The charm was meant to allure the men [...] Finally Matukuwara took somebody’s hand, saying: ‘Good, trading-partner’ and Serewini did the same... ‘Good, trading-partner, have possessions, have dogs, have bows, have hammocks.’ Then they drank one another’s blood. They made little cuts in their arms and mixed some blood with water. They drank it. The Trio drank Mekoro blood and the Mekoro drank Trio blood. Matukuwara and Serewini were not afraid. They got some food [...] Matukuwara’s talk was strong. She did business like a man. She made a deal with them’ (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 269-70).

Strong, hard talk (T: karime ijomi) is a skill of men of influence such as leaders. But in special instances, in myth but also in ritual (see above, chapter 3) women can adopt the attributes of fierce maleness. On the other hand, men cannot assume the domesticating, taming attitudes of women; during feasts, their female personifications are limited to cross-dressing and distribution of beer. Women manage fierceness more than men manage domesticity. They are capable of greater transformability and passage from one state to another, and attract the power of transformability within the household, within the socialised space of the village, thus stimulating regeneration. Trio and Wayana women therefore, at the individual bodily level, generate a centripetal circulation of influence, which attracts influence to its very core, symbolised by the womb. It is from the womb itself, thus the core, that taming influence is then redistributed, in a fashion similar to the pattern of the distribution and circulation of manioc beer during communal feasts. By the movement their bodies generate and regulate, men and women therefore represent two slightly differing forms of relationship with the outside, but these are once again also attributes which can be adopted when the necessity arises. The control of the flow of influence and the capacity to use the movement within and outside one’s body is a fundamental feature of the humanity of the person.

In this section, I have emphasised that transformability or the changing of bodies should not be conceived in a way which simply and radically divides an invisible soul,

213 This point is also made by Taylor on the Jivaroan Achuar: ‘If women identify themselves as domesticated animals when they wish to soften up their spouses, they can also, to express their anger at a violent brutal or negligent husband, represent themselves in their chants under the guise of a dangerous predator, feline, anaconda, or cannibal spirit; a man, on the other hand, never assumes such a negotiating position towards a woman’ (2000: 315, my trans.).

214 See chapter 3.
or essence, from a visible bodily envelope. Soul(s) are constitutive of the body (a tube with entries and exits), and the two are intimately implied in each other. The seat of the soul is also partially located in bodily fluids and gas (air), and as such it is the use of breath and beating of the heart that stimulates the movement of these fluids and provides the soul with a perspective. As the Wayana say that life is the movement of vital components such as air, blood and water through the body, and that death is characterised by the stopping of this continuous flow, transformability or perspectival oscillation is a nurtured quality based upon and stimulated by social movement.

7.4. Conclusion: Inside and out of the body.

In this chapter, I have taken the human body as a main subject of analysis. I have divided this chapter into two main parts in which I have dealt respectively with distributed personhood and the question of transformability; however these two parts are interconnected, as they both deal with the relationship between bodies of different types, the qualities of a human person, and how the Trio and Wayana conceive of their personhood in terms of distribution, extended sociality and transformability. I introduced the idea of a ‘social body’, a human person whose capacity to extend itself on the invisible grid of social relations by distributing things allows for the diffusion of its influence. A distributed personhood can therefore be conceived of in relation to the various things an individual is surrounded by, produces or exchanges. In this light, I have suggested that the social role played by things (including people’s public names, woven artefacts, knowledge practices, or memories) in relation to persons, is a useful way to conceptualise contemporary Trio and Wayana social relations on a regional scale. This can be applied to the analysis of exchange and trade beyond Amazonia.

The way in which a person constructs and displays his or her inhabited space is a visible manifestation of the social ordering of things and the invisible connections they signify, and the social aesthetics of the lived environment of a person can be

\[215\text{ Cf. Chapuis 1998.}\]
considered to be just as encoded in meanings as bodily ornaments and decorations. Within this framework I have suggested that ‘social wealth’ is characterised by the feeling of being surrounded by an extended web of kin as well as nurturing a number of trading partnerships. From this relational perspective, the idea of wealth has proved effective in the analysis of the current movement of goods, people and knowledge practices across the triple border area of Suriname, French Guiana and Brazil.

In the context of the contemporary process of long-term sedentarisation and increased forms of exchange with distant forms of outsider such as Ministerial employees and NGO workers, I have used the analytical tools described above to understand Trio and Wayana motivations and methods of interaction with distant strangers. I have thus shown that the social distance or ambivalence felt towards a trading partner is not directly proportional to bodily appearance or spatial distance, in contrast to what previous authors have suggested. By looking at trading-partnerships with the Maroons, the archetypal -ipawana whose memory is cherished by older men, I have drawn a scheme through which more recent trading and business relationships with Others such as the pananakiri (urban white people) can be understood. It emerged that these partnerships are based less upon principles of common experience of conviviality and mutual nurture than upon techniques of bodily relationality. This has led me to reflect in more general terms on the ways in which a human body is thought to become skilled and knowledgeable, and how such forms of apprenticeship motivated by communication with the outside can be formally conceptualised from a Trio or Wayana point of view.

Once again, the idea of distributed personhood has proved to translate these principles well: the capacity to develop knowledge by travelling physically to remote locations and learning from the experience of sharing another person’s everyday environment, in a form of embodied experience, is thus paired with the interest in developing a selection of social relationships which will result in the dispersal of a person’s objects, knowledge or public name in remote locations. This capacity for extension, which requires knowledge of how to interact with distant Others, demands a capacity to transform oneself according to the context in which the relationship is established: apprenticeship of external knowledge is nevertheless of ambiguous value as it may carry the risk of ‘fixing’ a person’s perspective. However, as I have
demonstrated, the most successfully ‘extended’ persons are those who have developed the capacity to adopt various perspectives according to social circumstances. Skill and distribution are thus shown to be connected to bodily transformability.

Finally I have focused on the human body itself, by reflecting on the ways in which physical corporeality relates to principles fundamental in a Trio and Wayana ontology of transformability and perspectival oscillation. I started the discussion by taking a different standpoint from the previous subsection and focusing on what distinguishes a human body from other entities. Human persons are attributed qualities of intentionality and transformability which are different from most objects and from other sentient beings. These are determined by the capacity efficiently to change bodily envelope, unlike spirits masquerading as humans who are found out by villagers because their transformation is flawless and manifests a frozen perfection which is not characteristic of everyday life in a village. Reproduction and creativity are the two essential characteristics of human transformations as they enable the regenerative use of existing archetypes but are based on the constant regeneration of the outer body layer. In this light, I reflected on the specificities of the human body itself which allow for the development of the potential to transform: its tubularity is what makes it highly transformable. I have thus argued that it is neither simply the possession of one or several souls, nor the human capacity to live in a socialised environment like a village (as animals and spirits also do from their own points of view), but rather the control of bodily openings which facilitates the circulation of vital fluids and breath necessary to life as a fully developed human being. The emphasis of bodily movement and the circulation of influence throughout as well as beyond the human body led me to examine more closely how this very circulation is articulated in gendered terms. I have shown how women have a centripetal tendency to attract external influence into the core of the village, whereas, on the other hand, men have a tendency to encounter Other bodies outside of the social village setting, in the world of the forest. Male social movement is characterised by ramified extension. There is thus a gendered distinction of the kinds of social movements performed by a human, socialised person.

If we look at movement and the circulation of the flow of influence we can break through existing categories which discriminate unnecessarily between supposed
groups of people or things: categories such as the ‘ethnic group’ or ‘traditional’ versus ‘manufactured’ objects. On the other hand previous literature has failed to engage with more meaningful distinctions such as those between the ideal and the everyday or between prototypes and copies. This final chapter has addressed these problems, and in doing so mirrors chapter 2, which shows social life in terms of a social body: here, conversely, the social body has been shown in terms of social life. Seeing things in these terms makes clear that control of influence cannot solely be the domain of a handful of ritual experts such as shamans, as this preconception of some Amazonianist anthropology necessarily leads to the recreation of Amerindian societies as cut away from history. I have provided analytical tools to understand contemporary phenomena such as the displacement of the quality of a shaman as a privileged social role, the willingness to convert to evangelical Christianity or the enthusiasm for manufactured objects. According to this view, Amerindians no longer appear as the victims of the march of progress, but rather as human beings who shape the world around them.
CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSION.

At a recent conference, when I was asked to explain how shamans entered into my scheme of distributed personhood and diffusion of influence, I answered that I had developed my ideas to try to understand a shamanic universe from which the role of the shaman is often absent, and that where it is present it should be seen in this wider context. In an informal conversation later that day, another Amazonianist anthropologist expressed his surprise that the Trio in Tëpu no longer had any shamans, to which he superciliously added that probably I had not succeeded in ‘finding’ the local shaman. He admitted that he himself had only discovered the shaman of the village in which he was conducting fieldwork little more than a week before leaving the field. His comment highlights the considerable importance which has been attributed in anthropological literature to shamanism as the practice of an individual specialist. However, to focus on such exceptional figures can give the impression that they are the privileged location of a supposed cultural authenticity, whereas they should instead be regarded as one among many possible manifestations of a socially constituted interaction with the invisible world. In chapter 2, I have explained how shamans can be understood in terms of my analytical scheme: only specialised practitioners can intentionally distribute their influence across the invisible grid of social relations by invisible means, and among these the shaman does so in the most efficient way because he has familiars in the spirit world; these invisible pets whom he nurtures can in return carry out his will. This is why I have insisted upon discussing the question in terms of the diffusion and distribution of influence: shamanism, like the other themes discussed in this thesis, must be understood through social relations. People are connected by bonds of substance given and developed by consanguinity, commensality, nurture and creativity, and in these terms a person can diffuse influence with or without intending to.
An example of the latter is the case of a careless animal trader who sold too many live animals of the same species to his contact in the city; when his wife grew ill and died, her death was attributed to retribution following her husband’s predatory excess. Even among specialists who do retain control of their diffusion of influence, there is no clear designation of roles. As I mentioned in chapter 5, there is a renowned and powerful healer in Tëpu, and his practices are understood in terms of ‘shamanic’ cosmology, but he is not referred to as a shaman (T: πïjai). However, this does not prevent him and several other healers like him from being ‘marketed’ as shamans by the ethnobotanical NGO, Amazon Conservation Team (ACT), in its fundraising literature, and this highlights that the application of the term is a subjective matter. If the sociological role of the πïjai has at present moved into the background, and this only in some of the villages which, as I have argued throughout this thesis, are intimately connected by networks of kinship and affinity on an entire regional scale which spans across a triple border area, this attests to the variety of possibilities in the social articulation of village and inter-village life and local contemporary interests. It does not in any way reflect a ‘loss’ in cultural terms; as I have demonstrated, native Amazonian cosmology pervades every aspect of everyday and communal life, and what is visible to us is only a matter of perspective.

I offer these reflections on shamanism to draw attention to the ways in which I hope to have contributed to anthropology through this thesis. My point of view, and my analysis of field data collected in two mixed and sedentary Amerindian villages of the eastern Guianese interior, were inspired, as I have discussed, by a re-visitation of some of the classic themes of Amazonian anthropology as exposed by Rivière (1969a & b, 1994, 1995) and Viveiros de Castro (1992, 1998) among others. However, I searched for ways in which I could reconcile these themes with the contemporary reality of everyday life, and found these in works of anthropology from outside Amazonia such as Munn (1986). The new perspectives on Amazonian material that this afforded me led me to question some of the central tenets of the theory that has sprung from this region, notably in the field of the body and objects, and the relationship between the two.

As this thesis demonstrates, there are many ways in which what I have described as the invisible and what is often referred to as the spirit world can be engaged with. I
have introduced a conceptual model which allows us to analyse the present living
conditions of the Trio and Wayana and Akuriyo and to reflect on their own
perspective on recent historical events. This has involved asking to what extent these
events have changed how their ways of being are perceived and interpreted in their
own terms. In my thesis I have attributed great importance to the sedentarisation
process which has drawn previously scattered and smaller settlements to aggregate
around providers of healthcare and education, a process that has analogues throughout
indigenous Amazonia. In order to integrate a wider reflection on how different
peoples were brought to live together in close physical proximity to former enemies, I
focused on particular historical figures and events, such as locally renowned
missionaries and the contact expeditions to the former hunter gatherers now residing
in Tëpu and referred to as the Akuriyo. I showed in chapter 4 that the Trio came to
view these events as a positive process which they themselves instigated. But I have
also shown that the effects of sedentarisation are of relatively little importance on an
ontological level.

Rather than just consider their point of view as a sign of the ‘dynamism of native
cultures’ in the face of colonial expansion, which would adapt to circumstances out of
their control, I have sought to determine how all these changes have maintained and
nurtured continuity. This was particularly salient in my discussion of village
configuration in chapter 2, in which I made a distinction between social and spatial
distance. What that chapter has demonstrated is the redundancy of a contemporary
Amazonian anthropology which would aim at studying one village or one ‘people’, as
it is clear that there is no such thing as either of these when one becomes aware of the
many permeable frontier zones and demographic interfaces which characterise
Lowland South America today. I would suggest that the same may be said of the past,
though it has tended to be studied in a different mode; however the distinctness of
‘peoples’ and villages portrayed in earlier ethnographies partly reflects the relative
isolation and hostility of local groups, accompanying disease epidemics, which were
more common before the arrival of missionary and State healthcare. 216 By relying on
modern communications technology and an extended communication network, the

216 Classic monographs, by narrowing and clearly defining their fields of enquiry, were able to produce
rigorous analyses within the terms they set out for themselves; moreover, demographic collapse did
indeed lead to a period of increased isolation and decreased communication between peoples (pace
Gallois 2005).
Trio and Wayana today have managed to distribute themselves in space and to augment their access to different kinds of human and social spheres. The historical literature on indigenous trading networks in the Guianas attests to the complexity of such networks which used to spread across huge areas (Butt Colson 1973; Dreyfus 1992; Gallois 2005; Mansutti 1986; Thomas 1972), as is the case with many other indigenous peoples traditionally branded as ‘remote’. But more important to the Trio and Wayana themselves is the use of nurture and changing of ‘clothes’ as means of extending themselves into more distant spheres of alterity than before. These strategies almost certainly underpinned the great trading networks of the past as well. I have developed and discussed such ideas in chapter 5 by describing, among others, the case of Mimi Siku, a Wayana man whom I have qualified as a human of extended socialisation. In this sense we can see that whereas a pijai, strictu sensu, is revered and respected for the experience, knowledge and therefore power which he draws from his travels to distant layers of the cosmos and different worlds such as the underworld, a person of extended socialisation emanates a similar glow resulting from his experience of travel and knowledge of faraway places, and his distribution of his own self into museum galleries in Europe, library shelves, and even Hollywood films.

The comparison I draw here between a shaman and Mimi Siku brings to light one of the most basic points of my thesis: the significance attached to bodily attributes and social practice. Indeed, the bodily idiom present throughout the above chapters has helped me to highlight how the Trio and Wayana perceive the quality of the social relationships they have among themselves and with other people. The study of corporeality through its contemporary metamorphoses is a theme which has received little attention in the anthropology of Lowland South America. Although this field has produced excellent analyses of Amerindian conceptions of the body (particularly since Seeger et al. 1979 and Turner 1980), its fabrication and its relationship with its social environment, few authors have hitherto addressed these rich themes while engaging socio-historical context and the strategies of contemporary transformation which are employed in numerous Amazonian societies.217 I have insisted upon not taking the Amerindian body for granted, either as a monolithic and unchanging entity, or as contrasted with a generic Other indiscriminately made of all the possible non-

217 There are exceptions, to which I have also referred throughout the thesis, such as Vilaça (1999).
Amerindians who inhabit the social landscape of Amazonia today. My chapters 4 and 5 in particular have aimed at demonstrating how, in the northeastern Guianas today, there are different types of human bodies as well as different ways of relating to different Others, but that fundamentally the way a Trio or Wayana will relate to either a Maroon, a Creole coastal dweller or an American NGO worker will be determined by a careful consideration of a range of bodily attributes and social behaviour and knowledge of the personal history of the individual concerned. Therefore the same criteria, such as fierceness and peacefulness, which are used to qualify a human person’s body will be used to define an Amerindian, a white person or a Maroon alike. Moreover these relations are intrinsically processual, as a shared experience of commensality and conviviality confers upon the relationship a quality of ‘kin-like-ness’ (-imoïtï-me) which transcends the dangers associated with affinity. As I was told by my Wayana father and host, one can sometimes trust a Maroon who is a commensal more than a Wayana who is an affine, as the latter may potentially have designs upon one's wife.

I have also tried to demonstrate that social categories remain very much tinged by individual experience and personal creativity, and that this follows the ways in which the Trio and Wayana express in terms of kinship how both what is given and what is processed commingle in a unique and personal manner in the case of any given subject. This means that a white person may become like a son to a Trio man, but will also remain in some respects a white person, while simultaneously this nurturing relationship in turn will make the Trio man in some respects like a white person. Yet the language that prevails is that of kinship and the practices associated with it: nurture and affective bonds. As I have demonstrated, it follows that the way the Trio and Wayana relate to Others does not strictly depend upon physical proximity or coresidence - that is, spatial distance - but social proximity may be cultivated in relationships with distant Others as a means of attracting influence from distant spheres, and also characterises relations with spatially distant relatives living in other villages. I have shown that this contributes to the centrifugal tendency of everyday life (see chapter 2). It also suggests that on a certain level the concentration of populations around mission posts has resulted in the continuation of existing social models rather than a radical re-formation of social practice as was originally planned, for example by the missionaries in charge of the sedentarisation process of the Surinamese interior.
Many Trio and Wayana retain cherished memories of life before the creation of mission stations, and sometimes express a view of their own lives which suggests that it is these memories that define how they continue to see themselves, although at the same time they see the large contemporary villages as a new phase in their collective history. Nauku, the sister of my ‘grand-father’ and host Kísi once explained to me: ‘this village is not our village, this river is not our river. Our place is over there, on the creek in the middle of the forest.’ Even though she had spent most of her life in Têpu, Nauku still regarded her origins in smaller settlements by creeks in the forest as representative of what she really was. Even though she now lives surrounded by her children, grandchildren and other kin in Têpu, she expressed the feeling that there were very few of her kin living with her and that ‘before, we were many’.

Another common Trio and Wayana reflection upon sedentarisation is that it has led to a mixing of previously distinct peoples:

‘We are a mixed people [...]All the different peoples met in Cachorro, and there] first we fought each other; then we got used to each other; and finally we mixed with each other’ (Frikel 1970: 9).

This observation, recorded from a Katxuyana shaman, and which Frikel (1970) decided to use as the opening lines of his ethno-historical study of Katxuyana migrations, reflects what has been observed by many ethnographers of the Central Guianese Amerindians. Somehow, it appears that today’s people have tamed their fierceness; a state of being which, as with other negative attributes of culture and humanity, are traditionally attributed to the neighbouring group and to the dead - that is, to the outside. Although Trio, Wayana and Katxuyana also told me that they had grown peaceful since the arrival of missionaries, my analysis suggests that their comments should be seen as representative of a cyclical phenomenon instead of being taken as a historical sequence and linear development; the latter scheme would correspond only to one aspect of how the Trio and Wayana see themselves today (see chapter 2).218 Everyday life is in fact marked by greater social distance between non-related affines residing in the same village, and a corresponding emphasis upon a

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218 Other authors have written of mixing blood as signs of pacification and change, see e.g. Gow 1991, 2001; Howard 2001.
network of distant relatives. It is in order to avoid discord (curses, poison attacks, fighting, cheating, all behaviours related to the domain of affinity) that villagers organise at frequent intervals small and large scale communal feasts in which by merging substance, particularly the supra-food manioc beer, they mix with each other temporarily (see chapter 3). At these events the social movement in a village is different from that of the everyday mode and is characterised by a centripetal attraction to the village core, physically enacted through dance and the regurgitation of beer. In this sense the growing success and redevelopment of the production and consumption of manioc beer, after a few decades of relative abstinence in the Protestant mission stations of Suriname due to evangelical proselytising, attests to the formidable continuity and creative regeneration of social practices to answer specific needs.

There remains great potential for further research in both the villages of Tëpu and Antecume Pata, but most significantly I would suggest that at the foundation of research on any topic should be placed an understanding of the basic importance of foods, supra-foods and the new ways in which feeding commingles with the cash economy. Over the course of the year and a half I spent in the region, I was able to notice very interesting changes in consumption patterns and perception of foods. These are intimately connected with the proper development of the human body, and are therefore given a special attention which is reflected in what I would loosely describe as a form of conservatism in eating and taste. Even adolescents, who are generally the most eager to embrace new practices, are wary of the ways in which they eat and consume foodstuffs. I would suggest that the ways in which new foods are introduced and either sold or given to affines or kin would constitute an interesting subject for further research, particularly on the upper Maroni river.

A related topic of research on the upper Maroni, which I did not have the opportunity to delve into due to security issues and my gender, is the increasing talk of warfare and recourse to shamanic fighting techniques inspired both by Wayana shamanism and Maroon obeah practice due to increasing tensions resulting from gold-mining activity which today dangerously encroaches on Wayana territory. The direct social and medical manifestations include high levels of mercury intoxication and open confrontation with armed gold-miners and a reduction of availability of new land
for new gardens in areas which are now occupied by gold-miners. Such themes of the ‘frontier’ on the Maroni river or, as the Wayana call it, the ‘wild West’, would benefit from a study grounded in the ideas I have presented here.

Although there are inevitably many areas which I have not been able to cover in this thesis, I have chosen the field of inquiry which I believe to be the most important, from the point of view of the Trio, Wayana and Akuriyo, and in terms of the ethnography of the region and of anthropological theory. By opening up the notion of the body to include the ways in which objects and people can be intimately connected, I have shown that wealth in Amazonia is not just about service or people but also concerns things, although this is because the Amerindian relationship with the object is defined as a relationship between persons. This consideration goes beyond the classic definition of Amazonian societies as typically ‘brideservice’ societies where persons must be substituted for persons. My definition of the body includes the human body, but also those recreated by the hand of the artist and craftsman in woven artefacts and paintings, or by memory and imagination in narratives. It takes into account the existence of gradations in the inherent and processual qualities differentiating Amerindian bodies from one another, and the importance of style and creation, and thus shows the relations between bodies and the strategic motivations defining the modalities of these relations. As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, the most appropriate way of thinking of relations in Amazonia is to look at how persons nurture the Other, whether co-resident affine or distant stranger, and whether it is the transformable Other who dwells in the forest or the heavy and unskilled coastal dweller. Nurture is what allows a person to control flows of influence, in the invisible world. Nurturing the Other is a strategy for the creation of communal or affinal wellbeing; it reins in the inherent transformability of wild people, and generates a capacity to distribute oneself into increasingly different spheres.

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219 See Aiku’s testimony in appendix.
220 Cf. Descola’s distinction between homo- and hetero-substitution (2001) - there is no need to think in terms of substitution or whether objects can ‘stand for’ persons, if one takes a relational approach to how the two are connected in terms of how persons are connected (see chapter 5).
APPENDICES
1. RĪME’S LIFE STORY, AS TOLD BY HIMSELF

Recorded in Tēpu (01/05/04)

1.1. English translation

I came from the river of Saipe Eku
Then I came to the village of Arawata Pakērī
There I was a child but a bit grown up
then I grew a little bit
5 then my father had me stung with fire ants
‘Pass your initiation because you’re a layabout,’ my father said to me
‘Get stung so that you won’t be lazy any more, and so that you will be quick’, my
father said to me.
‘I was stung’, said my father to me.
So he stung me, and lots of people were stung like our
Wayana family.
Then I was in the mīnnē, we were in there; we couldn’t drink water
or cassiri, or eat meat, we ate only little fish
only mīriko which are in the creek, we ate only little fish.
we drank only water that was slightly heated.
That’s what I did.
Then, I missed my mother so much.
My mother had gone to the garden to get manioc with my father.
And my brothers.
20 So he stung me to see my parents in the garden.
I arrived there.
Then, I cried to my mother
‘Oh, but why have you come?’ my father said to me.
‘Why have you come? It’s impossible?’ said my father
25 ‘It’s really impossible to come,’ he said to me.
I said to them, ‘no, I need you’.
‘I need my brothers.’
Afterwards my father brought me back to the mīnnē.
That’s what happened to me over there; afterwards, we washed ourselves
that’s all.
Then, the elders made another village, it was Pono Eku.
We went to Pono Eku.
We went when I had grown up.
30 I was a young man.
Who was I like?
Like Theo’s son.
I was like him in Pono Eku.
Then they stung me again in Pono Eku, with wasps.
That’s how my father had me stung.
Then we washed ourselves.
Then we went hunting.
‘Try to kill and hunt,’ my father said to me.
I killed the spider monkey, and the mēpare
That’s what happened.
Then when I was over there we went to see our grandfather Ariwe. Then, a woman wanted to marry me, it was [someone from] our Wayana family. She was a bit old. Then she came to my village.

Then, she left with us. So, we came together. Then I went down below Pono Eku to the village of Ariwe, it was she who brought me. You don’t know this, there was the village where I was young with her, she was my wife, she wasn’t old but she was a bit older than me, there. I was over there, I made my garden, I hunted, I killed the big tapir and the peccary there. There it is, my daughter. I hope you would like to know how I was before?

Well, then I came to see my mother, and I came back to my mother’s place. Then my wife got pregnant. But how could she get pregnant? Well, my wife died because of the baby. Then my grandfather brought me back to my mother’s place.

‘Go to your mother’s place’, my grandfather said to me. ‘Ok.’ My grandfather had brought me to my family’s place, so I was over there. For a long time I had no wife. I just worked on the garden, I only did it because I had my mother and my sisters. There were a lot of us. How many? There were seven of us. My sister was killed by a falling tree.

The second died by ĕremi, these are the people who poison with ĕremi. There is what I did. That’s what happened. Then another woman wanted to marry me who was on the river that goes by here. ‘Go and marry my daughter’, her family said to me.

It was Makawatpë who wanted me to marry her daughter. ‘No, I cannot be far from my family’, I said to her. I cannot be far from my mother’, I said. ‘No, go and marry her, and take her away’, said the mother of the woman to me. ‘No, I can’t’, I said.

Then another woman wanted me to marry her daughter. ‘No, I can’t marry’, I said again. That’s what happened. Then I came here again, I went to the Maroons. Then I came back from the Maroons.

I returned to the Maroons. Before, there were not many things. There were no hooks, batteries, there were not none, but not many. Only the Maroons brought things, there they are now. There still weren’t many things.

Then I went and married my wife, it was her family that gave her to me. ‘Go and be with her’, said her family to me. I said ‘no, I don’t want to stay here’ ‘No, go and be with her’, said her family. Then I agreed.

‘It’s true I like women’, I said.
Then I married my wife, she was young.
Who was she like?
A bit like her, like the daughter of my son, but she was big, she was already menstruating.

There. That’s how I was here.
I was a bit younger.
Now I’m old.
There. That’s how it was.
So I didn’t have any more sisters.

My father died because of ëremi.
My sister died because of ëremi.
My uncle died because of ëremi, that’s all.
The Trio were terrible poisoners.
They used to take the earth you walked on.
They took the seeds of sweet peas, that’s the fruit,
they also took the red paint for the skin, or they would cut our hair while we slept.
That’s what the Trio used to do, they were poisoners.
When someone attacks someone’s wife

That’s what happened.
That’s it, my daughter, that’s what happened.
That’s it, that’s my story.
I’ve already said I was at Saipe Eku.
My mother washed me in the river of Saipe Eku.

The river was small.
The river was like this [forked].
So I was born on the second river.
Then
My mother took me to Arawata Pakërï.
Then she brought me to Mataware Eku.
That was the river of the elders.
The elders of the village: Nawi-Nawi, Kumupë, Tanare, Sano, Somo,
They were the elders of the village.

There were two people who were chiefs of the village.
That’s what the elders did, they were our grandfathers.
they used to dance the tëpa and wuïme, it was the song like poku
That’s what the old people used to do.
But only the other people [from another village] poisoned us with ëremi.

Only other people poisoned us, not the people from our village.
We didn’t know the ëremi.
Someone knew, but wouldn’t use it.
Then we went to the big river.
It was like this one [the Tapanahoni], it was the Paru.

It has two names, it’s called the Paru and the Okomokï, there.
So we were there.
That’s it.
So we were over there at our place.
I was at Pono Eku to grow up.

When I was small I lived at Arawata Pakëtï.
First of all I lived at Saipe Eku when I was small, but I don’t know how I lived at Saipe Eku.
I only saw when I grew up.
My mother only told me I was born at Saipe.

That’s how it was.
I was born over there.
There, my daughter.
That’s all.

1.2. Trio version

Saïpe Eku poe tiiwëse wî.
Irënpëpëe Arawata Pakëri pata.
Irëpo Wankërë tese wî, weine, mono mesa jiwetu
Wë irë.

Ma irëmao mono mesa weine îrna.
Irëmao pahko jipurujan, epurukë, akunusa manaekan
Akunusata ēwehtome, aipîme ēwehto menkan wîja.
Irë apo wî, iwepurupë wî kan pahko wîja.
Irëme jipuru, tăpiimanton nepuru kimoiitî apo,

Wainjana apo.
Irëmao mînîe tao weim, ainja kînei irëpo; tuna inenîsewa
Tënîsen inenîsewa, tënîn inenîsewa, tëinken api pisi
Rëken, mîroko ipërîtain nërë rëken, ainja oftime,
sokî tuna irë rëken.

Irë apo jiweto ponpë.
Ma, irënpëpëe êmume weine manko pë.
Tîpitëta wui wae kintên manko, pahko marë,
Jakëmiton marë.
Ma irëmao witênne sepata kane tora

Manko ton wepone.
Irëmao têsina manko ja.
Êë, atitome mëne, kan pahko wîja?
Aatîtome mëne? Kuretankan?
Kutuma kureta serënkan wîja?

Owa, êijene wae wîka.
Jakëmiton sewae wîka.
Ma, irëmao jarêpa.
Irë apo jiweto ponpë wî, irëpo, irëmao ainjapa nesuka,
Naka.

Irë apo jiweto ponpë
Irën pépëe, tamutupë tomoja patapa tîrëe Pono Eku rumpë.
Irë pona ainja kintên.
Kîntênpa ainja, kîrimukume tese wî.
Kîrimukumesa.

Aki epo?
Theo muku apo.
Irë apo wî, Pono Ekupo
Ma jipuruja nênkëre pato, irë popato jipurune okomoke.
Irë apo jiřînën kërë pato, pahko.

Irën pépëe ainjapa nesuka.
Ma irëmao êiwaêe ainjatëê, êiwaê.
Ekukënkan pahko
Wïwëne arimë, mëpareton irë apo.
Irë apo nai jemi.
Ma irëmao irëpo ahtao wï ainja kïntën kïtamù runpë
Ariwe pata pona.
Irëmao, wëri japëise, kïnei, kïmoitï wainjana, notipëme nérë,
Japëise irënpëpëe jipata pona tïwëse.
Irëme ainja akërëpëa kïntën
50
Irëmao japëjan.
Irëme wïtën jarë arena.
Éwame nai têrënai kïrmukume jiweto ponnë notipë akërë
Jipïme, notipëme taikere pïjasa notipëme, ire apo.
Irë po wei, jìtupi wëri, téïwa, pai wëwë mono, pëinjeke
Wiwe, irë apo.
Irë nai jemi.
Irë ipono pïse tahken mei, jiweto ponnë tahken?
Irë apo, irëmao manko enepa wëe, wëepa manko ja.
Irëmao jipì netan nêkaìe.
60
Étannë kapïn mënjarën.
Turu jipïthnpë wanei.
Ma irëmao, tamopa jarë.
Tëpa mamaha pankan.
Kone.
65
Jarëpa tamo jimoitirë tappa, irë popa wei.
Ipïthïna wï akërësa.
Tïpïtë pëkërë ken wei, tûre rêken wî tïmamake
Jiwëike, tïwërike.
Tïpïme ainja.
70
Ahtarë?
7 me ainja.
Mëe wëwe wakïnîrë
Mëe eremitao wakïnei, kïrïton kïnekeima.
Irë apo, weïne
75
Irë apo nai irë.
Ma irëme wëri japëise kïnei serë taerë
Jemi apëkënkan éwarë kïmoitï.
Makawatpënpë nérë emike.
Owa mårë jiweiseta wae wikane.
80
Manko pëepa wae mårë jiweisetaike wikane
Owa apëkë, arëkë mëeïnkan.
Owa jïpiïma nenpa wikane.
Ma tiwëre noro nekarama repa témi.
Owa jipï seta wae wikane.
85
Irë apo nai irë.
Ma wëepea serëtae, tanë wïtën mekorota
Irë pëepa wëe.
Wëepïnkërëpa irëja mekorota takan kërëpa.
Mënparë waken pena.
90
Kewei waken, paterei waken ameronë waken, pïjasa
Rëken, mekorë rêken narë irëme serëirërë mënparë
Wa kume.
Irëmao mëe apëtome wija nekaraman imoîtï
Mëe apëkë épïme, kanto.
95
Owa wïka, senpo jiweiseta wae wïka.
Owa apënkënkan
Ma irëmao kone wïka.

201
Aerë wërisewae wïka.
Irëme wapëine mëè jipï, wërimukume.

100
Aki apo?
Mëëe apo, jipapisi apo, kapëewa mono mesa ñimintae.
Irë apo. Sen po weinë wì.
Kirimukumen ñërësa wì.
Meinjarë wae tamutupëme.

105
Irë nai. Irë apo ainja kînei.
Irëme jiwërihton nêkìka.
Pahko wakïnei ërëmitao.
Jiwëri wakïnei ëremitao.
Jetë wakïnei ëremitao, ñëna.

110
Ékeimätë tarëno.
Pununpë itomekan.

115
sen apononpë tome (kalau putupë) tome, ma kîwetapaka
toponpë itomekan, wïsenpë, kîputupënpë akëjan
kiwë karë kîwënikë rënto këren.

120
Irë apo pena tarëno iwehto, ékeimate.
Ipëpë ahtao, tipi pëkënonpë ekeiman.
Irë apo.
Irë nai jemi. Irë apo nai.
Irë apo nai jiweto põnpë.

125
Saïpe ekutæ tênsë wì wïka.
Irëtæ tísukae wì Saïpe Ekutæ.
Tuna pisi pïja.
Serë apo sentæ, sentæ ñëna
Irëtæ tênsë wì.

130
Ma irën pëpëe
Tërrë wì mänkoja Arawata Pakëri pona.
Irënpëpëe Mataware ekuka têrrë wì mänkoja.
Irënpëpëe Pono Eku pona sarëpë.
Tamusan tina.

135
Tìpatakenton: Nawi-Nawi, Kumupë, Tanare, Sano, Somo
Înna tamusan.
Mëesan tamsan tomoron 2 me tìpatakenton namo nai
Pata entuton.
Irë apo ainja itamuton, kïtamukontoko.

140
Namoro tïwaëmëpëton têpa po, wuime, ëremi poku apon.
rë apo këne kïtamukon tokon.
Kapëewa tïwëren têpënt rëken ainjë ekaëima.
Tïwërenëpëin, mërëpon owa?
Éremëna ainja.

145
Tërrë ipëhta, onkene rëkkentë.
Ma irën pëpëe monokao ainjë kïnei.
Serë apon, sen aponokao irë nai parukato.
Parukao 2me eka Okomokë ñëna.
Irëpo ainja nei.

150
Irë apo.
Irë nai irëpo ainja iweto põnpë.
Jantato põnpëton irë Pono Eku.
Arawata Pakëri mure rëkenarë jiweto põnpë
Saïpe Eku pijankëre jiwame irë.
Were rëken monomesa jiwëhtowo.
Serë po ëenurunka manko, senpo ëenunëkë.
Irë apo nai.
Tēnuse wĩ irēpo.
Irēna jemi.
Irè rēken.
2. RECIPES FOR MANIOC BEER.

There are a great many varieties of manioc beer among the Trio and Wayana, with nuances of taste created through different cooking processes and additives (sweet potato, sugar cane, etc.). Its generic name is *kasiri* but this also refers to a particular type of beer. I give here only three of the most common and basic kinds; the recipes given are a synthesis of my own observations and those of Schoepf (1999).

*Kasiri* ‘proper’ is made by grating manioc tubers and placing them directly to simmer for about 7 hours in a wide, hemispherical cauldron. During cooking, a small quantity of chewed manioc bread is added along with about 300g of grated *napi* sweet potato. Once cooked, the mixture is left to cool, then diluted in 3 times its own quantity of cold water in a beer canoe (in the past among the Wayana) or other container (usually a ‘*touk*’ - sealable plastic drums large enough to hold over 100 litres). It is left to ferment for 12-18 hours. It has a beige colour, and is the most common and simple variety to prepare.

*Sakura* is white (or baked) manioc beer. Instead of simply boiling the mash, the women process it in a manner initially similar to bread-making, by squeezing it in a *matapi*, letting the resulting cylindrical cakes dry overnight, then sieving them through a *manare* into a fine powder which is cooked on the baking plate for a brief moment as some *napi* (sweet potato) is scraped onto them. Then the bread is broken into a large container to which water is added, and the mixture is then left to sit for a couple of days. This procedure is regarded as producing finer, more sophisticated, ‘sweeter’ beer than *kasiri*, which is stronger, and more acidic.

*Umani* is made from manioc bread that has been allowed to ferment. Two discs of fresh manioc bread are scraped on both sides with another piece of mouldy bread. The two discs are folded, wrapped in banana leaves and left on a shelf for 8 days. When covered in mould, they have an orange colour. They are then broken up and placed in a pot, to which cold water then warmer water are added. The mixture is stirred, a small amount of chewed bread is added, and it is left for 12-18 hours to ferment. The colour is pinkish, and this variety is the sweetest of all and the most appreciated, although it is made least often.
3. THE NEW RULES OF THE MISSIONARIES, AS TOLD BY PESORO.
(abstract from lines 231 - 525)

Recorded in Tëpu (03. 05.2004).

3.1. English translation

231 Yes, when we were at Paruma.
But it’s true we didn’t use to eat certain types of game.
When we looked after our small children, perhaps we couldn’t eat some wild game
A hunter can’t eat peccary when it has been chased by a dog.

235 In that case the elders said he couldn’t eat it.
Also when a girl begins to menstruate, perhaps at 15 years old.
At what age do you menstruate?
At what age do you menstruate, I don’t know.
Well, when a woman begins to menstruate.

240 Then the elder puts her under the mïnnë\(^{221}\) so that she will be calm.
Sit down, said the elder to the girl.
Then, he gives some cotton to the girl and then she sits down calmly.
You mustn’t see people, the elder would say to her.
Don't look around, he would said.

245 There, the elder can’t allow the woman to eat just any sort of game.
So, when the Americans saw how we were doing things in Paruma,
The American: Hey, what’s she doing?
What’s she doing?
The people: Nothing, she’s being looked after, she’s going to have her periods.

250 The American: Oh really!
But then he didn’t preach to us.
Then, later, when he had learned some of our language,
The American: But anyway, what’s it for?
The people: Nothing, she can’t eat just any old game, or drink water.

255 She can’t eat their game.
The American: Why?
The people: No reason, only someone can’t eat just anything, or else she will be ill.
Once she has had her first periods, she can eat any game she likes.
[Otherwise], she will become bad, said the grandmother.

260 So, when he had learned the words [of our language]
Then, the American said to us:
‘Listen up!
You have to change, it’s not good what you have done’, he said to us.
‘So, change your lives.

265 You have to try God.
You have to talk to God, maybe when your dog is hunting [instead of calling on the Master of Animals].
You’re a miserable lot.
So you have to try speaking to God.

270 Lord Jesus, now I eat the game my dog hunts.

\(^{221}\) The mïnnë is the small hut with a thatched roof reaching the floor and one small entrance, inside which the shaman performs his healing practices. It is often built exclusively for the occasion but maybe reused.
You made the dog, but now I have learned.  
Before I couldn’t eat everything.  
But now I can change. That’s what you must say’, said the American to us.  
Then we agreed.

275  The American: ‘You have to change the way you live.  
You have to change it for your daughter.
You have to change it for your son.  
But you have to try speaking to God,’ he said.  
‘So you have to change the way you live’, he said to us.

280  Even when a woman has not menstruated.  
When she stops menstruating.  
Then she tries to walk.  
Her mother brings her to the river.  
She brings back the pikë…

285  She does that, and also the muru-muru palm leaves.  
[...]  
[...]  
Then her mother brings her back to the river.  
Then her mother tried looking after her daughter.

290  Then she washed her daughter, then it bled a lot.  
Then she pricked her with the pikë.  
That’s what the Trio used to do.  
[...]  
When the American saw how we were, then he told us we had to stop being the way  
we were.  
‘You must stop treating [stinging] yourselves’.  
‘You must change’.  
That is what happened to us, the Trio, in the past.  
It hurt a lot to be treated.

295  Even to be treated on my arm.  
When I hurt myself to be treated to become a strong hunter  
Then I treated myself with the stinging mat.  
Then I became a killer.  
But it really hurt.

300  Then the Americans said to us.  
‘No, you have to stop that.’  
‘You have to ask God to make you a strong hunter.’  
‘Perhaps you are a good hunter thanks to God.’  
‘Calling on spirits is not good for you.’

305  That’s how it used to be.  
[...]  
This is what happens at Christmas.  
How people have fun and are happy.  
If someone goes in the forest to find game.

310  We call him Rëu if someone is going to hunt some game.  
Then, he brings lots of game back to the village.  
So, he makes himself up with colour already prepared.  
People also used to wear face paint to go to a party  
Then he puts colour on his face.

315  He puts it everywhere on his body.  
[...]  
There is also the string of beads around the knee made of cotton  
So it was the women who made that.  
Then she put on rattles like little shells.

320  Then she put then on the knees.
Then he would put on the red dye
Because before there were no [glass] beads.
There was only cotton.
So they put on their necklaces, but there were no beads.

Now, we will have beads, it was the Maroons who brought them first,
People made strings of beads to put around their arms, but not many.
Before, they just used to put cotton around their arms.
Then, they also wore feather from the ara parrot.
And also toucan feathers, for decoration.

And the little toucan’s feather, that's what they used to make
Their headdresses, for decoration.
They also put a harpy eagle's down on their hair.
They also put harpy eagle's down under their noses.
Then they would also put the little rattling shells.

That’s how the Trio used to make themselves healthy and happy.
They used to put ara feathers through their noses.
Also, their earrings were of sapararinpë beetle wings.
That’s all they did, then with slightly bigger beads.

They also had long hair
But they used to make beads.
Then, to put colour and oil in their hair, they put in their hair.

That’s what the Trio did to be happy and healthy
It was men, and women too, who put on their keweju.
The women also had earrings which were round.
Like a little shell, so, they wore these earrings.
Then, they decorated their earrings with beads.

Then, to be happy
The men also made a little hole in their lips to put toucan feathers into.
Then, they put beads on to fix then there.
Those were the Trio’s possessions.

But now, they are no more. There.
Well, it’s true that before the Trio didn’t know what we were.
So, our elders told us what we were.
‘Now someone has died, but he has gone to the place where the spirits gather’.

He’s gone to Tipëriken - I think you know it the place I'm referring to.
Tipëriken is the mount Kasi-Kasima.
Also, there’s Tëperepuku, which is Tëpu Eneto [another mountain].
And also Kunanaman, that’s the big mountain.
When a person dies, his/her spirit goes there.

Then, it was said that the spirit went to the big mountain.
We didn’t know about God in those days, so we said the spirit left.
So, at death, one had to become a shaman, so that one could go somewhere else, said our elders.

So, when the Americans found all that out,
[...
...
....]

But the soul doesn’t die.
So now, you have to try God, and try to take Jesus  
To go to his place in the sky.  
[...]
But if you don't know about Jesus then you don't go to his place  
in the sky.  
That's what happens when you can't try Jesus’, the American said.  
‘One dies, but you shouldn't be sad for someone who has tried Jesus.  
But you should be sad when someone dies who hasn’t tried Jesus  
because he won't go to heaven.

He goes to the great fire, like those who lived over there,  
with the spirits.  
But people who have tried Jesus, they live in the sky with Jesus.  
So now you must try Jesus in preparation for death.  
But you mustn’t be sad for those who have died.

But you must try Jesus so that when you die you go  
to heaven, so when you are sad for those who are dead  
it’s bad.  
You mustn’t be too sad, you can cry still, but not too much  
Perhaps you’ll see him in the sky’, the Americans said.

Well, I thought about it.  
‘Well, it’s true, the spirit of a person leaves the body to go somewhere else’  
the elders said.  
But now, it’s true, God lives in the sky.  
But if I die where do I want to go?

No, perhaps I would like to go to the sky.  
So I’ll have to try Jesus.  
‘Right’, I said, ‘I want to try God’, I said.  
‘But if I’m like bad people  
Then I’ll go to the great fire’, I said.

‘But I don’t know how to get to God’s place’, I said.  
Because they had only told us about how it was for the dead.  
But we didn’t know what God’s place was like before.  
My father was dead, he was the shaman.  
But my mother had told me, ‘your father has gone to the [place of] the human spirits.  
Over there at the place of the human spirits’, she said
I didn’t know whether he was there or not now, as he did not try Jesus.  
This is what the Americans taught us.  
Now I know everything about the Bible.  
There, you see.

This is what our grandfather told us.  
‘This is what I say’, he said.  
‘There it is: the eagle, it’s a spirit’, he said.  
There is a spirit with the eagle’, he said.  
The eagle had a costume, it’s a spirit.

The eagle is like the costume of a spirit  
I think you know the tiiti kane: it’s a little bird.  
And also the popotiri: it’s a bird.  
Also the wiwi kane/ kakui.  
Ah, they tells us about the peccary

Also the iju-ijuwipe, that’s a bird, he sings ‘iju-ijuwipe’ and that means he’s telling us  
to see the peccary.  
That’s how we know all the birds.  
But also the puipuike.  
He isn’t nice, so [when he sings] we say we’re going to get hurt

By a snake.
But if the bird is very nice [good, happy, healthy], it sings ‘jeposisi’.
Then we say it’s nice and we’ll hunt well.
That’s what we used to know [divine] by the birds.
We really thought about the birds before.

*Kuikui, okoikë*, eagle, but not the water spirit, no
We couldn’t touch it.
We said, you mustn’t touch the water spirit.
Not the *wine wine* either, that’s a bird.
That bird sings, ‘*wine-wine*’, it was said that it was

the costume [manifestation] of a water spirit.
It was said that these birds were spirits.
Also, it was thought that the *ékërépukë* were spirits.
Also the rat, it’s said to be a spirit.
Also the *warimë*.

Ah! The *warimë* is a kind of spirit.
It can’t be eaten, we say.
That’s what we thought, we couldn’t eat certain animals.
*Ekërépukë* isn’t edible; it’s said to be a spirit.
Also the *kukui*, the eagle, these are like water spirits.

These birds can’t be eaten.
If we eat them, we might get stomach-ache, we say.
Snakes too, if we eat them, we get a sore belly.
We say.
That’s what we can’t eat.

What did the elders think?
This is what they taught us.
‘You mustn’t eat them’, they said.
‘You mustn’t kill them, otherwise, they’ll hurt you’, they said.
There. But we can eat *oko, ara*.

*toucan, agami, partridge, little partridge, spider monkey, howler monkey, tamarin, said the ancients.*
And also white lipped peccary … collared peccary, tapir, they told us.
‘But we can’t eat jaguar.’
There. ‘It’s not good to eat’, said the ancients.

‘You mustn’t eat it’, they said.
That’s what our grandfathers told us.
So, we knew what went on.
Oh yes! Well, we can’t kill them, or touch them.
When we see the eagle.

‘It’s not for eating’, we say.
Perhaps also the *kalau*, we can’t eat that either.
There. That’s what the ancients didn’t want us to eat as game.
So we could eat neither jaguar, nor *kalau*.
We could eat just fish.

Aïmara is very good to eat.
There.
This is what the ancients did for celebrations.
Now there is *poku* music, it was for the same purpose that the ancients thought of

flutes

They put the *tëpa* (dancing/sounding board) in the ground.
They cut a little wood.
Then they dug the ground next to a tree to put some wood there.
So, they made lots of little holes, to touch them with their feet.
Then, they sang about the game.

The other people ran after the game.
Then played the kura, ‘ku, ku, ku’.
Perhaps they attached it [the dance floor] with tree bark.
I think they attached it perhaps with a bark of kuwapëi, which they got from the forest.

Then, they danced around the kuwapëi.
I think it comes with the pono.
They wore koi leaves.
Then, he arrived in the village.
But the other people were waiting for him and they would make the tëpa.

They tried chanting to the tëpa.
Then they ran and danced with him.
Then the other people arrived before him.
Then they stopped and put their flutes down.
Then, they ran.

So, they touched the tëpa with their feet and sang too.
That’s what the ancients did.
Now the Trio don’t know how to do things like before any more.
Why?
No reason, just because the Americans told us to stop doing what we used to do.

We know everything [all the dances], but we are ashamed to dance.
We can’t dance like we used to.
Before, we weren’t ashamed, we were happy.
They sang and danced. There.
But we’ve stopped doing as we used to because we try God.

So now, the Trio have forgotten everything that used to happen.
They have forgotten the koi leaves, and also the kuwapëi.
That’s how the Trio used to have fun.
Then they took game to dance.
So someone went to get it.

Then they would fight, that’s what they did well.
The people used to fight.
The other people [other, non-Trio, Amerindians] also did that.
That’s what the ancients used to do and what we don’t do any more.
When they had parties [with drink?].

Now we don’t do as we used to
But before, the ancients used to do that.
That’s all.

3.2. Trio version.

Anha, ainja itunta tuwë irë pona.
Kapëewa aerë ainja nënemae.
Mure ainja nenemae, tiwërënmao oko inënëewa ainja.
Tiwërë noro ipakira përëkan kaikui nenmïnpon.

Ma irëmao inënëewa ekënkë.
Ma seken wëri nimuntan tiwërënmao 15 iranta.
Atarë jarë ëmëntati?
Ati jarë ahtao ëmëntati, jiwame?
Irëmao, wëri nimuntan ahtao.
Irëmao, nimïintën, ma onken ekênkan.
Tapanmeken ekênkan.
Irëmao maru ekaraman, irëmao tapanmeken nai.
Èpësewa ekênkan.
Tejukaeken ekênkan.
245
Irë apo wëri enemapon.
Ma, irë enetuwë amerekankan serëpo, Parumapo serë Paruma kentë irë enene.
Amerekan: Pëh, atï rïjan irë kïnka?
Àtï rïjan kïnka?
250
Wïtoto: Owa, munume nai kïnka ainja, nimïnta.
Amerekan: Te.
Kapëëwa, inpono sewa nei.
Ma, irëmëo, ainja ijomì iwarë iwetuwë.
Amerekan: Ma irëmao, atï serënkë?
255
Wïtoto: Owa nèneeman nérë inënëewa, tuna inëni sewa.
Seken totì inënëewa, kïnka ainja.
Amerekan: Àti tòme?
Wïtoto: Owa tiwëërë noro, tiwëërënnmao, wiirëpiëme ipun nehtan èmijë ipun nai.
260
Imunta tuwë nérë nëcewejan amerarë.
Irënai, wiirëpiëme nehtan kïnka notëpëton.
Ma, irë etatuwë ija.
Irëmao, kïnka amerekan ton.
Amerekan: Ma etatëkë kïnka.
265
Irë apota irë, kureta irë.
Irëme ènëmaëwa ekë.
Seken ikukë Kan.
Kanja èturukë, tahken èekë ikaimo nîtën nêmënnjan.
Irëme, munume manae èmë.
270
Àtï irëmpëpë èturukë Kanja.
Pahko meinjarë jekë kaimo wëneeë:
Mëe, kaikui èníripë mërëme munume wae.
Kapëëwa penë tènémëne sentonpë.
Ma meinjarë irë apota wae kakë Kanja kïnka.
275
Wïtoto: Ma irëmao kure kïnka ainja.
Amerekan: Irë inontakë
Seken èemi inënëma poewa ekë.
Seken ènìmuê inënëma poewa ekë.
Kapëëwa serë kasàn èrëkë kure Kanja kïnka.
280
Irëme inontakë serë èvéënëma toponpë kïnka ainja.
Ma seken wëri ahtao munumëa ahtao.
Imunu nëtapurujan ahtao.
Ma irëmpëpë naunjanpa.
Ma nîtën imama narën tunaka.
285
Ma epi narën pikë, pikëke nepinëjënan sentë pisi.
Irë rïjan, ma muru-muru ekotao nonpë.
Muru-muru aretukuru.
Ma seken maru arë.
Ma irëmao narën tunaka.
290
Ma irëmpëpë, niwikan amérarë niwikan.
Ma irëmpëpë, nisukan irëmao munu ijeta nejan.
Ma irëmpëpë naïkan pikëke.
Irë apo nîrïjan, imïntapë iwikan tarëno.
Irë apo nai ainja inïripë.
Irë enetuwë owa kïnka.
Émunu mekeima, naka irë.
Inontakë irë kïnka.
Irë apo ainja iweto ponpë pena tarëno iweto ponpë.
Kutuna wewikanë.

300 Seken nai japëpo.
Tiwërën mao sewikan wëtë jiwetome.
Irëmao waiäe pikëke.
Irëmao wëtëwi.
Kapëewa kutuma.

Irëmao kïnka amerekanton.
_Amerekan_: Owa irë apota.
Kanja epekakë wëtë ëweto kïnka.
Tiwërënmao Kanjanme manaë wëtë.
Kapëewa ëepi kureta naka kïnka.

310 Irë apo ainja inërië pe wapo.
Irë nai meta.
Irë apo nai tiwërënnao meinjarë eke Dicempë.
Eke sasame wehto apo.
Tiwërë noro réupë ahtao

315 Réukan ainja tiwërë noro tënëein wëe nëïtën.
Irëmao tapiëme tënëeinton enejan.
Ma nëë inméhtome menu rijan.
Ma seken nai réupë këntë.
Ma irëmao nëtonojo menuke.

320 Ma nemenuhëtn.
Ma irëmao tïwepatake tome.
Seken nai tïkarutake ëwarë maru irë.
Irëme wëri nikajan epu.
Irënpëpëe nepijerentën.

325 Irëmao nenminjan.
Irënpëpëe nimukan.
Ma seken samura waken tese pena.
Kapëewa maru rëken tikase.
Irëmao ajime nai serë apo kapëewa samura waken.

330 Ma serëmao samura enetuwë tahken mekorota, apëja
nïri irë apo tese wapo pijasa.
Maruke rëken têpëjake tese.
Irënpëpëe imotati enmiëntome kïnoro arokïpë.
Tiwërënnao ipïmi ritome marë kijapoko inmapi

335 rumpë, kirëu enapirunpë, ipotïnpë irëke tïpumari
nïrïjan tïhpïmë irëke kure pëetome iwetome.
Seken marëti nïrïjan amerarë nïrïjan.
Ma seken onahtae marë nenmënjanton tïkorojan.
Irëmao tahken siri pisi nïrïjan.

340 Irë apo tarëno sasame iweto ponpë.
Kïnoro arokïpë pisi tonahtae nïrïjan.
Ma seken ipanasirìme sapararinpë pisi.
Irë nïrïjan, irënpëpëe samura inunu pisi piri.
tëpu pisi irëke nïtépuntën tïpunasirìme.

345 Ma seken nai tïnmeke marë tanë
Kapëewa samura nikajan.
Irëmao, tïmenure inmesoro, irëme nenminjan tïputu pëtao.
Irëmao senpo nejan kïnoro arokïnpëke, ipotïnpëke
ninmasorontën.
Irë apo tarëno sasame iweto ponpë.
Kirë, ma wëri kewejutao marë.
Ma seken nai wëri típana turake mokame.
kuwe piso apo nirijan típanaturanne.

Ma irëmao, samura nirijan ipitükîpë.
Ma irëmao sasame wetome.
Ma seken nitorekan ehpi nitorekan tahken.
kijapoko ipotînpë pisi.
Irëmao toren samura pisi ewame.

Irë apo tarëno imënparëpë.
Kapêewa meinjarë waken. Irë apo.
Kure aerënme péera tese wîtoto wapo pena.
Irëmao, serë aponkan ainja itamu.
Meinjarë wanei nérë kapêewa nîtënpa nérë tanë.

umoerenpë ipata pona entuhtankan.
Tiwêrënmao nîtën éwarë tîpërikên.
Sen nai tîpërikên Kasi-Kasimîn tîpërikê.
Irënpêëetên Têpèerpëku oni Têpu Èneto.
Irënpêëetên oni Kunanaman oni Têpu pi.

Irë pona nîtën.
Ma irënpêëe tên omoerenpë tanë entuhta kînka ainja.
tamu pena.
Irëme ainja iwame tese irëme nîtënpa.
Irëme pïjaime ekëänken, êtë tomepa entu tapa kînka.

ainja itamu.
Ma irë etatuuwë amerekan tomoja.
Ma meinjarë anha éwarënkan.
Kapêewa ipun wanejan.
Kapêewa amore waesewa.

Ma seken nai kîpunkon rêken wanejan.
Kapêewa komorekon wasewa nai.
Irëjanme amore ikarihtëkë meinjarë, Jesu apëhtoke,
êtë tome marë kapuhta Jesu apëkê.
Kapêewa tese êmë aerënme nai komore têewa kaputa.

Jesu napësewa kîmë ahtao kînka.
Wakejae kapêewa monome êmumeta ekë Jesu apëinenpë
tonpë.
Kapêewa Jesu napëpin waiwe tuwë êmume ekë têewa
nehtan kaputa.

Irëmao mahtoimë pona nîhtan irëpo nai Jesu napëpînton
iputa seitên akêrë.
Kapêewa Jesu apëinenpëton ipata Kan pata po kaputao.
Irëme meinjarë Jesu kasan apêkê wawehoma.
Kapêewa êmumeta ekë wawehpë tonpë

Kapêewa Jesu apêkê wawehoma ëtëtome marë
kaputa, irëme êmumë ëweirita wawehpë tonpë
irëmao kureta nai.
Monome êmumeta ekë kure çësinakë pîja kapêewa
ëwë menetae kaputa, kînka amerekanon.
Pë anha, wipunëne.
Anha aerënme omoerenpë ipata tanë entutao
kînka jîtremuton wîkane.
Kapêewa meinjarë aerënme kan pata kaputaorë.
Kapêewa wî wawejae ahtao ajamo wîhtan.
Owa tahken kaputa jitésewae.
Irëjanme Jesu wapejæ.
Ma kure marë jiweise wae.
Kapëewa wirëpëme jiweimahtao.
Irëmao mahtoimë pona wihtae.
Seken Kan pata inenewa wetae wïkane irëpë.
Irë enpapëke ijane wawehtopë.
Kapëewa pëera ainjæ kïnei, ainjæ patapëpo.
Pahko watese pijaimë pahko tese.
Ma kapëewa kïnka mëk: “papa nîtën entuhtapa kïnka”
Tanë omorenë pata pona kïnka.
Jiwame irë tese pëera wî irëpë. Irë apo.
Irëme irë aponpë ainjæ enpane amerekanton.
Meinjarë jiwarë irë.
Irë apo, meta.
Irë apo ainjæ tamurunpë, kînpono.
Ma sen serë apo nai kïnka.
Serë aponæ: pijana nai wirëpë kïnka ainjæ.
Wirëpë pijana awënai wirëpë.
Ipome nai wirëpë.
Wirëpë ipome nai pijana kïnka ainjæ.
Évarë tititë kane nërë senpo.
Ma popotirë kane nërë, popotïriton.
Ma seken wiwiwi kaneton kukui.
Nërë anha pëeinja keponojan kïnka ainjæ.
Ma seken nai iju-ijuwipëkan anha pëeinja enekëkan ainjæ.
Ma irë apo tonoro ainjæ iarë kïnei.
Ma seken puipiuëkë, puipiuëkëkan.
Ma nikarawan tiwërenmao këmïnparë mati kïnka ainjæ.
Këkë këkëtë.
Ma kapëewa tiwërenmao sasame tonoro pisi ahtao jëposisi kan.
Ma anha sasame taken pëeinja kepojati kan ainjæ.
Irë apo ainjæ kînponë tonoropë pena.
Tonoro ainjæ ineponan mame kïnei pena.
Kukui, okoikë, titë kane, ma pijana, ma ëkëimë owa,
ipëta ekë.
Ëkëimë pëta ekë wirëpë tamu kïnka ainjæ.
Ma seken wîne wîne.
Winenkan nërë, nërë nai ëkëimë ipo wirëpë tamu kïnka ainjæ.
Ma namoton wirëpë ipome ainjæ kînene.
Ma seken ëkërëpukëton wirëpë ipo kïnka ainjæ.
Seken aware wirëpë ipo kïnka ainjæ.
Seken warëmë.
Anha! Wariimë mëcë wirëpë ipo kïnka ainjæ.
Tënëpën kïnka ainjæ.
Irë apo ainjæ mëparëtonpë ainjæ iwëtaka matoponpë
Tënëpinton namo ëkërëpukë wirëpë ipo kïnka ainjæ.
Seken kukui, pijana wirëpë ipo kïnka ainjæ.
Irëme tënëpën namoro.
Mënëe ahtao irëmao ëwakuhtën kïnka ainjæ.
Seken ëkëë, irëme nërë ënëtuwë ëwakuhtën kïnka ainjæ.
Irë apo tënëpinton kïnka ainjæ.
Kînponë ainjæ itamu?
Irë apo ainja akamane.
Namoton inënëewa ekë kïnka.
Innëewa ekë marë ëmënparëmn man kïnka.
Irë apo. Kapëewa tënëeinton naï oko, kïnoro,
kijapoko, mami, pëtunë, soro-soroi, arimi, arawata,
tariçi kïnka ainja tamu.
Ma seken pëcinjeke, masiwë, pakira, pai tënëeinton kïnka.
Kapëewa kaikui tënëpïn.
Irë apo. Kureta kïnka.
Inënëewa ekë kïnka.
Irë apo ainja tamurunpë kïnpono.
Irë ainja iwarë kînei.
Te anha! Irëme, nërë ëtë ainja nei.
Tiwërënmao pijana ainja nenee.
Owa tënëpïn kan ainja.
Tiwërënmao kakau owa kan ainja.
Irë apo. Irëme irë ainja akamato ponpë ainja tamuja pen.
Irëme nërë inënëewa naï ainja.
Kure kana tënëeimme.
Tunakaunton, aimara tënëeimme.
Irë apo.
Irë apo ponaitamutupë ton sasame kînei.
Meinjarë naï, serëmao pokë irë apo kînïrï tamutupëton.
Ma tëpa rîne nonotao.
Wewe imikane.
Ma irëmao kînamika irë ekatao wewe imi enmînne.
Irëmao kinotaka, irënpëe irë wëtome ija tipuke.
Irëmao nereminan tofï erenpan.
Tiwërë noro nîtën tënëeim pona.
Ma senjan ah taoo tiwërënmao kurake “ku ku ku” kan.
Tahken wewe pipëke namenjan.
Tiwërënmao wewe pipë tahken kuwapëi pipë enejan.
Irëmao irë i ranme nenejan.
Tiwërënmao tiponoke nejan.
Koi arïke tipoke.
Ma irënpëpëe nejan nituntan
Kapëewa irëpo inmënë têpawën.
Tëremike nikuyan.
Ma irëmao netainkan nirapon.
Irëmao nejan mërë ponotao.
Irëpo nejan tîna nontan.
Irëmao netainkan.
Irëmao têpawën, nereminan.
Irë apo tese pena ainja tamurunpë sasame tese.
Meinjarë irë inkusewa tarëno, serëmao.
Ati tome?
Owa, kanja akama pëke.
Kapëewa têrë piïke tese ainja.
Tirïseta ainja akama pëke.
Pena ah taoo piïketa kurë sasame nejan wïtoto.
Irëke nereminan tiwatoke. Irë apo.
Kapëewa takamae iweke kanja.
Irëme meinjarë tarënoja tînontae irë.
Tiponoke tese koi arïke, seken kuwapëi.
Irë apo sasame wïtoto iweto ponpë
Irënpëpëe tînainka têneień apëjan.
Ma irëmao napëjan.
Irëmao nêeman, irë apo sasame wetoponpë.
Wîtoto nêeman, nêtapëjan neman.
Napëjan, akoron neman, nemanpa ñnna.

Irë apo sasame iweto ponpë.
Iwëewehto mao, ijokë enihto mao.
Meinjarë waken nai irëton.
Kapëewa pena tamutupënpëton inûripë irë.
Irë apo.
4. THE AKURIYO CONTACT, AS TOLD BY KĪSI

Recorded in Tēpu (21/01/04)

4.1. English translation

I went to the Akuriyo’s place.
Like that, that’s it, here in Tēpu.
Why not? it was because, we had Jesus’ help, the church of Jesus.
So I went to the Akuriyo.

How many of us were there - me, Aranta, Ësoro, and his wife we went.
Then the Wayana came: Kanhawali and Haiwë, it was them, they live at Aletani.
Then the white people: the [Surinamese] policeman, Deiskë, he was the policeman.
To Oeremari we went, to Oeremari; afterwards we went into the forest.
It was Koroni who took us, we went with him into the forest, then he took us

to the Wajarikure, and we took some of them.
They had no machetes, no knives, nor pots for cooking game;
they only had clay pots for cooking.
Then, we took them to the boats. We had made a little village at Oeremari;
we lived there for a long time. [with the Akuriyo - in a purpose-built village]

Then, we came back; the Akuriyo came with us,
that is Ëpëlitë, Ëkunkatï, who had two children; we went by plane

to Oeremari.
Then Koroni said to me, ‘we have to look after the Akuriyo.’
They didn’t want any manioc bread; they only ate meat, they didn’t want manioc
bread.

Then the white man said, ‘why do the Akuriyo want to sleep here?’ [they wanted to
go back to the forest, not to come to Tēpu]
‘Listen to me’, I said, ‘Koroni said that we must take care
of the Akuriyo here so that they don’t fall ill, with colds’.

‘So I’ll look after the Akuriyo here’, I said to the white man.
The white man said, ‘Ok. So
tomorrow they will go in the aeroplane.’
I said, ‘Ok’; then the next morning I
went to the airstrip, and the plane arrived to pick up the Akuriyo.

Then the Maroon [the pilot] said, ‘these are the Akuriyo, these are the Wajarikure!’
They didn’t have shorts; they only had a little cloth,
they didn’t have the kamisa either, like that;
My kamisa is of red cloth; they didn’t have that, like that,
but they had a long cloth, just in [homespun] cotton.

Then the plane arrived at Oeremari
to get the Akuriyo, and all of us. Then we went to Alalaparu,
the next morning we left again
leaving the Akuriyo at Alalaparu.
We came back to Tēpu.

That was the first time I went to get the Akuriyo.
Before, they were poor, they didn’t want cassiri, or manioc, that’s all
Now the Akuriyo are not poor.
They have become like us, ‘We went to get napëkë [a kind of potato that the Akuriyo
used to eat]

We went to get atori, which means napëkë,
they had only napëkë, and muru-muru [a fruit], napëkë and just meat.

Me and a few others, we went to kill some game: Haiwë, Haiwë and I we went to kill some game, it was Koroni who said

'we have to kill some game for the Akuriyo'.

Koroni gave us some cartridges. We killed some spider monkeys, hocco, howler monkeys, and other game too.

We brought them back, 'kon', and Koroni distributed them:

'That’s for him, and that’s for him; that’s for him, and that’s for him.'

When it was finished, they didn’t give the game to their families [to cook] as we do; they cooked it for a very long time, from morning to evening then the next day they ate [all the Akuriyo together], they ate, 'onwe, onwe, onwe, onwe'.

They said, 'we can eat’. Then they went into the forest.

When they had eaten some game, then Pirëujana brought back

some game for us. He said, ‘here, tamu, take some of this game’.

I said, ‘no thank you, we still have some game from before.

It’s for you, take it.’ Pirëujana said, ‘Ok’, and he ate it.

It was us who killed the meat for the Akuriyo, they were Pirëujana, Ênuri; before they were over there [in the forest].

That was the first time we went to the Akuriyo’s place;

it made me very happy and good; now I can’t any more because I am too old. Now I don’t go into the forest any more, I have grown too old.

So now it’s ok [for the Akuriyo], so that’s how it is that I went for the first time to the Akuriyo,

now it’s ok because they live here in our place

Well, this is to tell of how I went to the Akuriyo’s place at Oeremari, when I went to Oeremari.

After a few months I went again to Pïrëwumë, [aka] Apetina, I went over there.

We went again to look for Akuriyo, that was the wife of Japëpari [Mokoko],

we went to search. Then we went again to search many people, ‘an’, with Roy, the policemen; it was the policeman who took us. It was us, Makarepïn, wife of Êsoro, Panasepa, it was only ourselves, who are Trio. The Wayana are Kalaipona, and a nurse who was called Yalïhokon, who is dead now

We were all there, we carried on looking but they [Akuriyo] put wood on the path to bar it.

They put wood, ‘tiu’. Then, Roy [Art Yohner] said, ‘we must look more over there’.

Then we looked, but ‘there is no path’ [someone said] there was just a little bit of a path. Tiramu led us - he, [with Pirëujana and Ênuri] had already come here.

we saw only their houses - but they were tiny little houses, 'koh', ‘here, here, here’, there were three;

there was a fire, there was no hammock, they only slept on malaya leaves [like the roof, palm leaves] - 'pon, pon, pon,’ ‘koh’; there were only three people: Sinapo, Mokoko, and her mother.

They had nothing at all; their mother had gone to prepare [gather]

honey for her children - she was like a boy; she went to prepare [gather] it up high,

222 Sound symbol referring to a journey, here by boat.

223 Sound symbol describing the action of eating; it is repeated to show the Akuriyo ate a lot, implying that they were starving, and did not control themselves very well (according to Trio etiquette one is supposed to eat with restraint).
she had made a ladder by herself
perhaps with a stone axe.

Then we waited for them at their place, Tirimu said to us, ‘they might come late, they will come,

they have gone hunting, they have gone to look for fruits and napëkë, but the others they have gone to the mountain [died].’

Then we left Tirimu at their place. He said, ‘I will wait for them here. I will look after them myself.’

We said to him, ‘ok’. Then we made a little village - we made a house for ourselves, that’s all, we were there in the evening. Then during the night we went back again to their place to see them, but they still weren’t there. During the night and the morning, they hadn’t come back yet.

Then it was Tirimu who saw them [they had gone looking for them], he said, ‘they are in a big hollow in a tree trunk’, they had brought fire into the tree trunk. What sort of fire was it? I don’t know.

They had set fire to a long piece of kakaimë wood, an old piece. ‘They have gone for into the forest for a walk’, said Tirimu.

Then we searched for them, they ran and hid, they went this way and that way, they went running off again. We looked for them on the path, they ran.

Sinapo and his mother were frightened of us, and they ran on the path. Mokoko ran alone, she got lost in the forest. During the night she ran and also stayed there in the forest because she was frightened of us. Esoro waited for her, with the others in the little house.

She came back to look for fire, it was almost evening, she was all alone, that’s why Panasopa ran towards her to catch her, but Mokoko ran to the river.

Then, Panasopa caught her. ‘No, no, let me go’, said Mokoko. ‘No, we won’t do anything, we won’t hurt you’, I said.

But we didn’t know how to speak their language. Their language is different from ours.

Tirimu said to her, ‘we won’t hurt you.’ They said ok. We brought them all back, we had already caught the other two.

Then we told Roy. We said to him, ‘they are frightened of white people, and of black people, so the whites and the blacks won’t go with us.’ Roy said, ‘only I will go with you.’ Then we explained to the Akuriyo what we had done, we told them not to be afraid, that [Roy] didn’t want to hurt them, that the whites helped us, they gave us food and other things, ‘there’, we said to them. But Sinapo was really frightened of us, he defecated because he was so afraid of us. Before, Asiwapë went to look for more [the other] Akuriyo, he found a little path with Tirimu, they saw Sinapo who had caught a tortoise, which he was preparing to cook. Tirimu and Asiwapë ran towards him but they only caught his sister Mokoko, who had run away the first time. Sinapo ran on. His mother said, ‘come back’, and Asiwapë and Tirimu said, ‘we won’t hurt you’. Then, he came, ‘kom’. He was quite young. Then they [Asiwapë and Tirimu] went to sleep and the others too. But they didn’t sleep because of the Akuriyo. We got up early in the morning, and we went to join them, and Asiwapë said, ‘we have already caught them. We went into the forest to see them.

‘There they are’, said Asiwapë and Tirimu. Then they brought them back to Roy. Roy gave them the meal; ‘it’s true [Roy isn’t bad], only my children were afraid of
you’, said the mother.

‘The people will fight us, it isn’t good that they come to our place.
The elders say that the people [Trio] used to fight us.
‘they’re going to cut our heads off’, say the elders”, said my son’ [said the mother].
‘No’, we said; Esoro and Panasopa now knew how to speak

the Akuriyo language, and they explained everything. Afterwards they said, ‘ok’.
But Sinapo and Mokoko wanted to leave again, they didn’t want to stay with us.
Then Sinapo sang because he wanted to leave. The next morning, Roy said, ‘let’s go’.

We slept, when we had almost arrived at the canoe; in two days

we arrived at the canoe. We had to bring them straight away to the village,
perhaps they would run away, Roy said. We came back by boat to the little village
that we had made. We slept there; then I stayed with Kuluksai’s husband,
and the others went to Pirëwuimë - he was the healer [Kuluksai’s husband],
we stayed, all the Trio, Roy said to us, ‘I’m going to leave’, he left ‘ken’, he went to

Paramaribo but the others went to Pirëwuimë;

Then Ati gave the injections [at Pirëwuimë], after a few weeks we also went
to Pirëwuimë, ‘ken’ - Roy had said to us that we had to wait there for a few weeks
for the outboard motor: Roy came back with the motor,
and we left. Roy said to us that tomorrow we would leave. ‘Who knows how to use
the motor’, said Roy.

‘I don’t know how to use it’, I said. Then people said, ‘you know how to use it’ (I
learned as I went along)
‘I know how to use it a little’ [Roy said], ‘ok, you, you can try to do it.’ Then I said,
‘ok’.

The next day we left in the morning; it was the same day that the plane arrived.

Then, Roy and the others said, ‘we’re coming back in a few weeks’. We said, ‘ok’
Then we arrived at Pirëwuimë, we arrived in the morning. Then we brought our
things to the airstrip, and after a few minutes the plane arrived,
‘ëp-ëp-ëp’, ‘tum’, ‘tum’ - there were two planes which arrived.

In the first plane went the Akuriyo, and in the second went the Trio. Then we flew
here [to Tëpu]. That’s all I did to search for Akuriyo.
and all the work I did concerning the Akuriyo.
We helped them to know God. Now I don’t work any more.
I don’t go far into the forest any more; I go, but not far, poor me.

I think by myself about God and Jesus Christ
what I have learned of the stories of God,
That’s all my story.
4.2. Trio version.

Akurijo tao, wïtëne.
An, serë poe, Tepoe poe.
Atï tome owa, Jesu po weine, Jesu wapëine.
Ma irëmao wïtëe, Akurijo pona.

5 Atarë ainja, wïrë, Aranta, Èsoro, ipï irë apo ainja kïntën.
Ma kïne Wainjana, Kanhawali, Haiwë namo. Aletani ponokon
Ma pananakiri, sikoutu, Deiskë, nïrënaï sikoutu man.
Uremari tae ainja, Uremari po, irë ainja nïtëe itupo
Koloni ainja arëne irëme itupo ainja nïtëe, ainja napëjae.

10 Wajarikure irëmao ainja nenejæ.
Waken, kasipara waken, waken maja wa, waken ërinëwa
patuwa, nono rïpë rïkë tawa rïpë erime irë kïnei mëesan
Akurijo ton. Irëme ainja nenejæ itupoe nonpë tunaka,
ainja akëresa.

15 Ma irëmao ainja nejae, Akurijo nejan ainja akërë,
Èpëlëtë, Èkunkati ënëmu 2 mano këna, kanawaimë tao
ainja nïtëe Uremari po ainja naunjæ kanawaimë tao.
Irëme kan Koroni mëesanmo, irëme arëkë. Kure ainja nenejæ.
Wui seta kutuma, tënëe më rïkë ënën, wui seta turu
seta, irëmao Kanawaimë nejan Uremari po irëpo pananakiri
kan atëtome mëesan mininë senpo Akurijo kan.
Ma eta wïkane ija, mërën kan wïja itu tao rïkë
mëjan ininëkë kan tïwërën mao otono ëpëinen kan
wïja pakara wïkane ija, irëme irëtaerë wae wïkane ija

20 pakara jomi taerë wïkane ija. Te ma kure irëme
kokoro nïtan kanawaimë nejan
Te anha aerëme, irëme, serë warë wïtëe, kajakanë me
Kanawaimë anatato pona irëpo weine kïnene Akurijo enene.
Mekoro ton, mëekarë Akurijo, Wajarikure kïnka.

25 Waken ikamisa wa, ikamisan naken, sen pisi, sen
nai kamisa me hijamisa, mërë owa, ënnasa, emu
tatanëken tïwë-tïwë tamoi tëeen emukon
inka posa rïkë aköki pisi ipo turu-turu
Ikamisa pija mërëme masa rïkë maru kapipë irë,

30 Irëmao kanawaimë nejan tum serë pona, Uremari
pona ainja waë. Ma irëmao ainjantëe, Araraparu pona.
Araraparu irëpo kajakanëme ainja nejaepa
irë poropa Akurijo ainja ninëe Araraparu poropa.
Irëme ainja nejaepa senpona pa ainjapa kënnata
senpo.

35 Irênaï jitëto ponpë Akurijo nai mëe iwësa pëkëma
pë kutuma ‘wah’, tënësmëi seta, wui seta, irênaï.
Kapëewa senponai meinjarë Akurijo ton senpo aipëme
sen tëne kïmë iweike, ‘Atorï taun karë serë’, Atorï
pona wïtëe kanto, sen nai ‘atori’ irênaï
napëkë pisikë rïkë nai urume,
napëkë pisi, muru-muru ime konne, napëkë oti komo
rëkëna, oti kon ainja niwëe, Haiwë, Haiwë marë ainja
nïtëe orokome Koroni ainja en nojan jakotë tomo ofikon

40 tïwë tatëkë, Akurijo otiëri kure ‘tarara’ arakapusa
arë ekaraman ainja ja. Ainja niwëe arimi, oko,
arawata, tařipi okën pêken ainja nôwêe.
Ainja nenenæ 'kom' iwararêne najakan Koroni,
‘mêe otî, mêe otî, mêe otî, mêe otî’
ma naka êtopæ wa kutuma Akurijo nîjen kokon
kêrêre, nikomanjan, Koko, Kajakanë me nênën.
Akurijo nêewejän: ‘onwe, onwe’, ‘onwe onwe’ kanto
kîtêe wene kanto itutato, titêto konme.
Ma, nêñënto, ainja otî enejan mërê tîwêesse
newan panai mërê Pîrêujana, ‘takê tomo
otîkan popa mëe.’ Owan kan, owa totêke nai ainja
otîko moro mërê tema kure ma irême nênën.
Ainja nopařepê nai mëesan Akurijo nana Pîrêujana,
ma Ênuri irê ponon pêton.
Nêrê nai waporên jîtêto ponnê Akurijota, sasame
jipun, sasame jëwanë, meinjarë owa, ekepe wan
meinjarë takîse takenpa, têwanë akîse irê popa
rê. Irême meinjarë kure, kure nai, irê jîtêto
ponpê Akurijo pona kure senpona iwêetôme
Akurijo ton senpo iweto meken Akurijo kure irê nai
Ma, irê, rêken nai, Akurijo, nêrô pona jîtêto ponnê
Uremari tae. Uremari po jiwehto ponpê irê.
Ma irêmârê sapa witên kërêpa anpona Pîrêwuimë
pona Apetina pona irê pona witêë.
Ainjantëe Tutukiriki tae iwainkêrêpa Akurijo wain
kërêpa ano wae mîkan nana pî Japëpari pî Japëpari pî
wain kërêpa ainja têinkêrê.
Ma, ainja pa têinkêrê atarê, 'an' Roy, sikoutu, sikouto
pa ainja ârênên kërê, ainja wirê Makarepîn répa,
Esoro, 'an' Panasopa, ma âkî, inna ken ainja tarênome.
Ma Wainjana ton, Kalaipana ekepé, ma epi pêkên me
nana ekepi Jarlhokon pê nana injonpê, Waiwei pêkê
irê apò ainjë. Irême irêpo pa ainjë kinei kërê ainjë
pa niwain kërê ainjë pa têikêrê epona timakake napuruwan êçama tapu
rêë. Ma serê apo, 'tu', ma serêporo kekanpun têtëne keratê têne serêpo kînka
Roy. Ma ainja niwae ipupë meinjaken ainjë naipenpêkë.
Waken: ‘eman na, eman na, eman na’, šipakaesa rêken. Tîramu
Tiramunpê, nêrê ainjë narêëe namo tîwêesse senpona
Ma, irêmâo rêken, ainjë neratêë, ipakorô pisì waken
sen serê aporoken ipakorô ‘koh’, ‘senpo, senpo, senpo’, mato,
eke tînna nêrê namo ațina rêken ekeme Malaja 'pon, pon,
pon, pon', ‘koh’ 3 mano rêken, Sinapô, Mokoko imama kon.
Waken âsa pêntëëwa, wanê tîpukaë kawê ija kîrîmekë
tîwêcanusë tîjaraka pûntëë ija atîkepe jiwame wîwîimë,
taken ‘têpu’.
Ma irêmâo rêkene ainjë ninnëjëae irêpo ipakorô po nejanpa toto
kînka Tîramu, nejanpa toto ëiwaeto tîtêë, têrepa wan nàpêkë
pi tato tîtêë irême irêpo ainjë ninëepa Tîramu winnêjëin kan
Tîramu wapë jae toton kan 'Kone' kanpu rêe ainjë tîpakorô
nîriñjë naka irêpo weinë koko, kokopa ainjantëë enepa
waken koko waken ajanai têsëe wankêrêpa toto, nawainan.
Ma irêmâo rêken Tîramu neneti tîtêepa totokan
sen apon wewe mono ipakorô kon irêto tîwëtan mëe kurun mato
têrêe ijane kurun ‘ekano pe?’ jiwame wewe pêkên mano irême tîpomae
ijane ikîpu kakaïmë pê.
Ma nîtên toto kînka irêmâo ainjë narawae tetaïnkaë, tîwê
sapë rëkaeto irëmeto niwena pëkan epo nêsainmanto irëmao netain - tainkan narike Sinapo netainkan imamarë netainkan.
Mokoko tiwërëken tetainkanë irëme nikomanjan koko weinë irëme pakoro pona inmësepa mëjan titëè Ésoro nosimpë injo kurepa nejanë kinka. Panasopa marë nejanpa ‘tih, tih, tih’ kure pëpëmen kan anponai kan waken nariken kan onken ainja kan, mato iwaepa tiwëese waken mërë nikomanjan nërëken irëme mëjan netainkan ija Panasopa netainkan mërë Mokoko topon tuna kaka
Tema kure, kure weinë ainja kînene têpëse ijane ‘tih’ mëe tema kure irëme Roy ja kinka ainja kure
nai tikorojan mekoro setaika ma kure têwëse pitë, wî ainja kure, kure kîrîne, kërepa ekoramanë, atî karama në irë apon mëe kînka ainja ma kure waken narike kînweweka rëken ‘posen, posen, posen’, enari.
Ma irëmao titëè Asiwapë ëtamu irëmaontën niwena pëkati
Tiramu marë eponakenpa kurija imon Sinapo netainkan mëjan ijane ‘netain, tainkanto’ wëri apëjanto ‘onken’ owa warëewa nai ainja mërë netainkan owa ‘okëpa’ warëewa tonai kan tînmukru ruja Sinapoja okë wakirëewa tonai Irëme nejanpa ‘kom’ nërërë têkëni senpe mure, mure
taikeirë.
Ma irëmao rëkene nënijanto mëerërë, ainja nawainae ipë kajakanë ipë enepara ainjantëe ajanai ainja napëi tema kure itupo ainja nîtëe enene pa ‘nërë kae’ mëe ma kure ainja nenejë ‘on’ Roy ja ma
mëe ewese anha ‘aerënne mëesamo rëken nai narike jimunkë kinka’ ‘Wakirë janë wîtoto, nepi kure taie wakirëne komo pena, katoponpë mëe wîtoto pena waritono katopo, pinkëtono katopo’, kan ‘toto kînka’ owa kînka ainja, mëjan ijomi tae kînei mërë nosimpë injo irëmao rëken tema kure
kînepan wëri mëjan epanjewa kîrî titësepa nere-nereminanë nesa pëkëman owa ëmpa, kajakanë ëmpa mërë Roy ainja nenëjëa ipëkërë ainja, ainja nejëjë, ainja nënijëa kanawa pona, ëmpa kîtëtëne kitarëtëne nîtën pa toto mërë Roy, tunatae weinë ainja iwekë kure itupë cëpëtona ponapa.
Ma serë po komannë tînëno nepa wî mërë wîka nana injonpë epi pëkën injonpë nana emi nuvahe ‘Kuluksai injonpë’ nërë èpi pëkëmëne. Ainjapa kînëninpë tarëno menepa ma wîtëepa kînka Roy ‘ken’ kintën pa Pirëwuımë ponapa kîne Ati tîrëne, ikonkae nikonkan Ati, nepinëjan naka senpo pitë manae kînka ainja ‘Ken’
kîntënpana kîne pis kërëpa montoru enesepa.
Ma, irëpopa mîtëti kînka akiînai montoru iwarë?
jîtëto ponpë Akurijo ton pona orokosa jiweto ponpë kan ipëetoma tononpë wiya irëmao meinjarë waken, meinjarë
jitëke wître re're, ikupora meinjarë jiwëpu nëto waken
kipunëne réken wipunëjæ wë kan pona jiwehto Jesu Karaisu
apëto ponnë wîja irëpë wipunëjæ irënai, irêtae réken
165 jijitëto ponpë.
5. A STORY OF CATERPILLAR, AS TOLD BY KULITAIKË

Recorded in Têpu (26/01/04)

5.1. English translation

She was a young girl, perhaps like [Demas’] sister Imanau [about 13 years old]. She saw it [the caterpillar] on the kupë [tree for black paint] in the forest. The kupë was near the village. It was a very fat kupë caterpillar, that’s the fat kind. It’s like the ëpkui [tree] caterpillar.

Oh, what a fat caterpillar’, she said, she often saw the caterpillar. Several caterpillars on a kupë do not leave quickly to find another kupë, not before eating all the leaves.

‘Oh, what a caterpillar!’ [said the young girl]

The young girl was all alone at home, all alone, there was never anyone. Before, people did not have much family, they lived in the little villages, they didn’t go to visit other people, they looked after their young daughters, they didn’t live like in this village here, they lived near the forest, a little bit in the forest. So, they saw them all the time, because before we

[Wayana] still used to transform ourselves into different beings [monkeys, etc…], and We had almost come to the moment to transform ourselves into real Wayana.

So some transformed themselves straight away [into Wayana, when we spoke about them].

So the young girl saw the caterpillar which always comes down to the ground at midday, so it

Came down to the ground, [the caterpillars] came down. During the night, they went up the tree [kupë].

That’s why it remains a caterpillar, perhaps they don’t go

Right to the top, but there are other ones up there. So, perhaps in the evening, at what time? Before, we told the time just with the sun, so Perhaps she saw the caterpillar at five o’clock. It was in the shade, then the caterpillar went up:

‘munìk, munìk, munìk, munìk’, it went.

‘Oh, what a fat caterpillar!’ she said, ‘what a fat caterpillar!’

Perhaps it could become my husband, she said. She wanted the caterpillar to become her husband.

You could just become my husband, she said. She said it like that, she spoke all alone, but the caterpillar had already heard what the young girl said. Then, it was already the evening, perhaps it was like 7 o’clock. So, the caterpillar comes:

‘Tïh!’ there!, it was like a young man.

It was the kupë type of caterpillar: ‘So, what did you say to me?’

‘Oh! Who are you?’ she said. Women say ‘Oh!’ [Ëë] like that. You [women] say ‘Oh!’ like that. ‘Who are you?’ [asks the young girl].
It’s me!’, said the caterpillar, ‘what did you say to me?’
‘What did you say?’
‘Nothing [said the young girl], I didn’t say anything,
What did I say??’
‘Well now, let’s see, you said to me:
‘you could become my husband’
‘Ah, she said, it’s the kupë type of caterpillar’.
‘Tïh!, there, it’s a boy. It’s a young boy, he was painted, he
had colours, that’s his colour, but his colour wasn’t like
before. Kupë has the left leg pahye [colour], on the right leg, it’s kulumuli [a design], the
leaves of kulumuli were of different colours,
the ancients had colours on their legs, their thighs, they also made
a snail [shape] [kuveimë] to the right or to the left, these are the kulumuli leaves,
or they also put some designs
with pasik; there, like that, he was beautiful.
That’s it, afterwards they came together, he was no longer like a caterpillar.
But they had no children; the next day,
he left to go to his place, kupë, because he was a kupë caterpillar,
he came back in the evening. Afterwards, the mother of the
young girl saw that her daughter had a husband.
‘Who was here with you?’’, said her mother.
‘Nobody’, the girl replied.
‘But he was here, I saw him with you’.
said the mother, ‘there is someone
with you, you have a husband’
she said.
‘Yes’, she said.
‘If you want to marry him, there’s no problem’, she said to her daughter -
Before, people said ‘OK’ straight away when a girl wanted to marry and when she had a lover.
‘My mother told me if you want to marry him, there’s no problem’,
that’s what my mother and father said’, said the young girl to the caterpillar.
Afterwards, they came together, it was for a while,
for a few months they were together.
They went hunting together.
But his body paint always stayed on him, it did not
come off in the rain, it stayed there. Because he,
the caterpillar, he was the kupë kind,
which has beautiful colours.
But none of the other people had kupë colours, only he had them
So, there he is!, it was morning, he had slept with her.
So, ‘can we go and pick the fruit
of kupë [pisuku]?’’, he asked his wife.
‘Is it true [that there are some]?’ she asked her husband.
‘Yes, it’s true, there are some over there’, he had
Seen some pisuku.
‘Right, let’s go’.
She thought he was going to climb like the Wayana, who climb
to pick things. They went on foot in the forest to the kupë
It was a very big kupë, it wasn’t possible to climb on
the big branches. The kupë was all alone, it wasn’t
next to other trees.
‘How are you going to climb?’ said the young girl.
‘I’m going to climb myself’.
There, ‘tïh!’, there were lots of kupë fruit, but very high.
‘I’m going to climb’, said the caterpillar.
The young girl tried to climb like him, but did not succeed.
There was no kupê caterpillar in the tree, So he, the caterpillar, he knew how to pick the fruit, because he was a kupê caterpillar.
‘Listen to me!’, he said, ‘go a bit further away, you are too near me, so that you cannot see me’, he said.

‘Why?’, she said.
No reason, just to see me from far away’.
He thought that she wouldn’t want to see him, that she would be afraid.
He didn’t want her to say, ‘Oh! what a big caterpillar!’

So, he said to her ‘go a bit further’
Then, I’ll go away, if I come back, I’ll call: “ëë”.
Then you can come’.
‘Go on, climb’, she said, but it was difficult to climb.

‘I told you I’m going away, so go a bit further away from me,’ he said, ‘it’s less dangerous if we leave each other’.
‘OK’, she said, and she obeyed.
Then, she went away, but not very far. But
she saw what he did when he climbed on the kupê,

the kupê tree is white, what I see over there, it’s all white.
It was a very fat caterpillar, he was very beautiful, like the ëpkui caterpillar.
But the kupê caterpillar is not the same as the ëpkui.
It has different colours,

Like the rasta fish. The kupê caterpillar is a bit shiny.
The ëpkui caterpillar is not like that, it’s all black, and a bit yellow; it’s different from the kupê caterpillar, it’s also a bit blue.
The young girl said: ‘Ah yes, it’s true’, she had understood what was happening, she went a little further away.
she hid behind a tree
Then, he was no longer a man, but had become like
The caterpillar next to the tree trunk.
So, ‘tumpak!, he went up, ‘munïk, munïk, munïk’, he climbed,

he climbed up to the top like a caterpillar,
he didn’t fall.
‘Oh! What a big caterpillar’ – as he had though, she said, ‘what a big caterpillar!’
So, she went home.

He went away often, but this time he didn’t return.
He went back to his own place.
That’s all, his wife went back to the village, she went back home, because she had seen her husband becoming like a caterpillar, that’s all.

‘You’re back’, her mother said to her.
‘Yes, I’m back’, she said.
‘Where is your husband’, her mother asked.
‘I don’t know.
I saw that there was nobody next to the kupê,

I only saw the big caterpillar which was climbing to the top’.
‘Oh, right’.
‘I just left the caterpillar all alone over there.
It’s a caterpillar’.
‘Why did you leave it?’
She told her mother all that the caterpillar had said; ‘he said ‘go a bit further, if I come back, I’ll call you’, she told her mother everything that had happened.

‘Ah right, perhaps it’s a type of caterpillar’, said her mother.

‘Perhaps it was him, the kupë caterpillar, he went to the top to collect [the fruit] he said to me ‘can we go and pick kupë?’, he said that to me.

‘Oh right’, said her mother, ‘it was indeed him [the caterpillar]’.

So he won’t come back, because he was a real caterpillar, it’s certain, he will not come back, you have seen that he is a caterpillar.

That’s all, he never returned to her home. Perhaps a bit later, she waited, she went to see him,

but not any more, there was nobody, there was no caterpillar on the kupë, he had gone away to another [kupë] tree. He didn’t live like before [as a man].

She looked for him, she said, ‘where are you?’, but there was nobody.

That’s the ancients’ story of the kupë caterpillar’.

It was my grandfather who told it to me. Before, a few caterpillars of the kunani [fish poison] kind transformed themselves too, one could not speak to them, or else they would immediately transform themselves into men.

5.2. Wayana version: ÉLUKÉ LENPÉ AKĪ EITOPONPÉ


Kēē, ēlukē ūkai, ēlukē, tēnei hepī mēklē ēlukē, tēnei hepī, òtēpo lola lepmai man sin kupē akīman, alekanma toh pona.

‘Kēē, ēlukē !’

Inēlēhken molo, inēlhēkēn, pēhkēna, Wayanamna. Upak Wayanahta wēla, Waluhma tom ūpīne sike, helē hapon pola, itu ekatau hapon, ituhtau hapon. Masike mēkyakom tēnei eya, lomehek upak tanme kanuk lalīhta wēhe eitoponpē mēyla sike, mēye lahñē iyum me ētīlē lahnhē.

Masike malonkom ūtēnlē tanuktai.

Masike tēnei eya mēklē ūwīptēi, sisi ankomhak tom aptau mēklē mēnīptēya. Lomona mēnētīya tot lomok sin katīp. Moloinē koko aptau kawēna mēnē haunukya tot, mēlē ma eitop mēkya iwi-iwīptē komke masike pēkēna tētīhe mēklē, tanme ēhaunu kunmai mēlahnē tot tatīlīla ēhaunu kēmēi tot. Masike walunak tanme ētkom yulu, yulu ēnehep tēla upak mon sisi tom léken, tanme

5 yulu tom katīp.

Mēlē tametai, moloinē tēhau nukei mēklē: ‘munîk, munîk, munîk, munîk’,224 mîhya ūtēi Kēē, Èlukē atpē!

224 Sound symbol reproducing the way the caterpillar climbs back up the tree.
Élukë ate! Êmnelum manu.

30 Êmnelume pa mëhkë kiya, élukë.
Êmnelumehku lëken, ëkai.
Tïkai lëken lep huwa, mëlë-mëlë tïkai.
łome eya tipanakonai upak,
peto mon walunak tëtihe upak, huwa ehene têla

hapon. Pole kai:
’Tïh’, eluwame.
Kupë akì Élukë: ‘Ta’, mìka tïkai?
Éë, éníkman, tïkai?
Éë, mënke wêliham.

35 Ëë miketëi.
Éníkman?
Élukë: Ëu, tapa mìka?
Tapa mìka?
Huwa, taka lanmamë wai
tah kupa wìka?

Élukë: Ma, mikanmamë.
Êmnelume pa mëhkë.
Êmnelu mehku lëken mìkan mamë.
Mëë, mëkë kapa mëhe, tïkai.

Tïh’ eluwa. Ekuwanma, kùpëyau timilikhe, mëë
imilikut mela tipkële lëhela kùpë hewihne pahiye, hewihne kulumuli ale tiwë-tiwelën kom, tan
Wayana mënïya, tan ëkumpék hewihne hewihne tanne, hei kuweimë tanne hei ëníkpena
kulumuli ale, hewihne emtak ëtkom hei mënëtiya pasik yau pumali ‘tìh’ enepopha kënma.
Maka akëlë tëtihe pom, élukëme kaimëla, maka Tanme têkhe, łome imumuk tela lëken.
Malonme, hawele tawai nai titëmëi, mëlë pëkëna
walunak tumë kêmëi.
An, iye ya tênei.
Éník pane éwakëlë, tïkai?
Huwa, tïkai.

Ma molon mamë neha éwakëlë,
tëkëlënke kapaman
tëkë lënken mamë manai, timnelumke
kapaman tïkai.
Îhí, kai.

Ise aptau apëikë
katop helë upak, ise aptau apëikë, maka.
Ise aptau apëikë mënke mamak,
papak, tïkai.
Maka akëlë tëtihe, têpamhe, tìhwì lepsik
tapsik nunuwë katip, têpamhe.

50 70 Titëi tot pìtëna.
Lomenma imilikut huwa kapëke huwa tëtihe
mëi kalanma. Inëlëme sike ipunme sike
mëkë, élukëlë mëkëlë, kupë akëlë, pëtuku
lunma imilikut.

35 55 75 80

Tan, Wayana kùpë yawëla, mëlë lëken kùpë
yau.
Maa, ‘tìh’, kolepsik tinëkhe sike.
Élukë: Maa, pisusuk hek, ëtípena hek kutu
pëhta, kupëhek kutupëhta tïkai.

85
Ahpela.
Élukö: Ëh, mon man
tinene pona.
Aipa, tïkai
Huwa léken téhaunukhe natot,
tèha léitot ituh tailé mëlé pona, kupë.
Pepta kupë tanon, éhaunuk tèla.
Kupë man huwa talihna wëhlë léken, wewe
tom eka tailëla.
Tahkupa mëhaunukyai, tïkai?

90
Wëhaunukyai kohmë.
‘Tïh’ kupë tumoi, kawëinhak.
Éhaunukyai.
Ahpela, tahkupa, épapë ene këlan mamë
nai têpê – têpëihë mëlé.
Lome mëlé aki fûnna. Mëklë tuwalë inëlëme
sike, akîme sike.
Maa, ipananmak mono napsik pitë ëtëkële
tïkai. Mono napsik pitë ëtëkële, kënei nai,
tïkai.

95
‘Tohmepa?’ tïkai
Huwa, kënei léken, tïkai.
Mëlé elamhak iwesi hela sike
‘këë’, élukë atpë ika hela.
Masike mono napsik pitë ëtëkële, tïkai.

Aptau wëhaunuk yai, imëkënéñhë tîhwë, ‘ëë’,
wiikëilë.
Moloinë mumë këmnëyai.
Itëk hek, éhaunuk têlan mamënai.
Wëhaunuk yai wiikëi masikëmono napsik
pitë ëtëkële. Ahpela tinëlë kuptëimë tohmehpo.
Éë, kai, tîmoihe.
Moloinë tîtëi, mihiyala titëi mon katîp
léken. Lome têneieya mëlé pëk tîkoloke
man kupë épî mín nai Wenyai kupë

100
épî tîkoloke.
Peptanma élukë tanon. Pëtuku lunma ‘ëpkui’ akë katîp
hapon. Lome man tiwëpsik kupë aki. Ëpkui okë man
huwa lëhlë léken seumunëme hapon;
mëlëman kupë akë tîyu – tîyunkë me avë

105
Malëla man ëpkui akë talilime alî tavaman, malëlaman
mëklë tiwë tîyu – tîyunkë siliman nuhpe
mëlé kupë akë.
‘Ahpelalëkai’, ‘sut, sut’ kai mono napsik
léken wëwe otak.

110
Tiwë, Wayana mela têtihe upak molohpo
toma imitan.
Hapë tïkai léken inëlë imitau, maka ‘tumpak’;
‘munik, munik, munik’, têhau nukhe uwanma
êtuhiina.

115
‘Këë, élukë atpë, kai, inekalëme
élukë atpë’ tïkai.
Ma titëi méi tinëmëi méi.
Inëlë titëimë hehnë léken mëklë umë
kënëla tomoi. Iyume titëimëi.

140 Maka pole kaimëi eútëna titëimëi
uwanna umékë méla pole kaimëla eútëna, maka.
'Mumékëmë kapa tikoi iye'.
'Èna, umékëmë.'

145 'Tëpane êmnélum?'
'Këë?'
Huwa neha kupë ekatau élükë atpëlékën
wene kupépék kawëna nitém.
Mëë'.

150 'Élükë atpë neha pepta winëimëimë.
Élükë neha'.
'Tohmepa minë méime?'
Awomitpi tom èhmëlé tëka lëimëi;
kënei nai níka, mìyapsik ëtëk níka, ëmékëmë tìhwëlë

155 ëkëk tìmonyai níka.
'Mëë, inëlë tapek kapa kunehak, kupë akì'.
'Inëlë tanme masike më nëhaunuk kupë
pëtse witéyai níka, kupë kutupëhta níka'.
'Mëë, inëlë kunehak' tìkai.

160 Umékë mëla koman, mipisiptë kohek.
Ahpela umékë mëla tepi siptëi inëlëma tìkai sike: 'këë',
élükë atpë tìkai sike. Maka umékëmë lahle. Tëlaimai
lep ëyà, eñeimëlep tìtëi uvahle akì limna mëlé upak
titëimëi tìwelën pona. Tupike lep ëyà, tëman tìkai

165 lep? 'tën' uvahle imna, upak titëimëi iyume. Huwa
élükë kupë akì eitoponpë tëkalë hamo léken nai mëlé
upak tamusi tom nekalë. Mëlëkom wipanan mai mëhënëyai
tìkai élükë tom mëhamkom kunani akìtom tanuktai
malah kani hela, tinëlë tanuk tai Wayaname tëtihe.
6. INTERVIEW OF AIKU

Recorded in French in Antecume Pata (29/6/2004).

From the beginning, well, when I was about ten years old, I loved nature. I saw that it was a good way of life. When I was eleven, my teacher brought me to the ‘civilised ones’ in Cayenne, it was the first time. I was eleven. It was Édouard Ferrarato. I immediately saw that people live differently from here and I said to myself that the best thing is to live where I was born. That’s to say in the country where I was born, see. I carried on going to school...the sixième was by correspondance, the Cned, it was, I was in a private school, yes, a private college. Then, same for the cinquième, and for the quatrième I went to Maripasoula [town downstream]. I spent a year there and it was a bit different. There was always a bit of wild-west. Street savvy. The people there...well they saw me a bit differently. But that was at the time. That was a while ago, it’s true. At the moment there are a lot of youngsters who go to school, I don’t know what for, just to take drugs, for, I don’t know, burglary, things like that. Before it wasn’t like that. Two or three months later I found some friends with whom I learned to play music, learned songs, it was good.

My father worked there [in Maripasoula] for five, six years and they had a little house, not very big, a bit like that [shows a house], and I lived there with them, and since he wasn’t earning anything, well, he earned a little money, but I didn’t earn anything and I couldn’t help them, and I thought to myself that I had to come back here, to do my troisième, by correspondance, at the Cned.

[...] I stopped [studying] because it’s impossible now because now there’s my eldest son, so it was hard to study, and look after my son. I decided to do the course... to work in the dispensary. That way I could still live near them.

[...] it was the BEP health and social work [diploma].

[...] it was by correspondence too. Almost everything I’ve done has been by correspondence. I started there in 1998. And this year, well, last year, in 2003, I had no contract any more. Because at the beginning I worked for the [village] association, and at the end of August 2003 my contract was finished. Now I just work voluntarily, because there’s no-one else. Of course I earn a little, a little money. The first...this year on the 1st of July I have a meeting with the management of the hospital and everything, to see what they say, er, if I can or...if I can’t, I don’t know.

[...] I had a phone call three days ago. There’s a woman who’s in charge she’s in charge of the medical centres of the whole river, she gave me an appointment for the 1st of July. Because the manager of the hospital is ready to take me on really and properly, but, what I would like to know, well, I’d like to know the salary, see. How much they can give me.

[...] I think I’m going to stay here in the long-term [in Antecume Pata]. Because going to Maripasoula means paying for water, electricity, finding a place, well, lots of things, you see. But it’s true that there’s a nurse who’s going to come here on the 7th of July, and I would still
be an assistant nurse, and he would be the boss. I could maybe be his assistant. And I’m going
to see how it goes, if it goes very badly with him I’ll see what I can do then.

 [...] I told you from the start I wanted to live here. To continue to follow what goes on.
Because that’s my life, see. Because at home everything that happens...I call that an agenda, I
take a thing and every evening I write down everything that happens. Every time perhaps
from time to time, not every day, I go and see an old person, and I ask him how things used to
be. And I write it down, and since my son is a real draughtsman, I tell him to draw it and I do,
how do you say, I write the words. We started a year ago now.

 [...] it’s translated into Wayana, the words, and underneath it’s translated into French.

 [...] Because already... well, I don’t see all the young people, I don’t chat to them ever.
There’s my nephew, see, my two nephews have already gone away, they’re doing their
military service, on the coast, and they’ve said from the start that they don’t want to stay
because their friend has set them an example. Left the country. It would be good to leave the
village, but come back one day, with lots of things in your head. But there are young people
who leave, they leave and we hear lots of things. They go over there and take drugs, they
don’t do anything at all, every time we get...it’s us who get... all the post. There are always
problems, there are absentees, things like that. You see? No, they want to go away because
they think that over there they...how can I put it? They learn a lot of things, it’s true. But when
you’re a bit intelligent you learn lots of things, it’s true. The two...how can I put it? The two
worlds, our tradition, and the French one, right. But then, as soon as they go to school, they
say, ‘oh, the French are rich, I’m going over there, for example. to Maripasoula or elsewhere,
to carry on my studies’, it’s true they study there, and after a while they don’t want to any
more. They go out alone, they see their friends, well, their sort-of friends...not their real
friends, right. They start taking drugs, and then it’s over.

 [...] For the moment in the village it’s OK. Well, I hope it’s ok for years to come. For the
moment it’s ok, although, when there’s a bit of casili, they...they become a bit tipsy. When
someone’s angry, I don’t know, if there’s someone who bothers you, it’s true you’ll
start...fights. But the next day you see each other, you...make your excuses. But there aren’t
fights every day. It happens from time to time.

 [...] I would like it to stay the same always. It’s true that it’s not up to me. At least if they
want to know what happens in the world, it’s good, but you have to know...you have to carry
on knowing how to live in the country we’ve always lived in. That’s what I’d like to do. But
already the future is...in my opinion, eh?, not everyone. It won’t be like this in years to come.
Because there’s André [Cognat], he’s the customary chief. He’s been adopted by...by the
chiefs you see, he tries to stop everything that goes on. The gold prospectors, things like that.
But I’m sure that when he dies perhaps, I don’t know, the young people will go right over
there, they’ll bring over lots of beer, things like that, it will be a real catastrophe.

 [...] The land...the land is for all of us, it’s true, but... the land where we’ve always lived,
it’s... it belongs to the Indians. We’ve always lived there, we’re all... in the place where we’re,
we are still the original inhabitants. Yes, it will have to be protected a bit. Otherwise we won’t
carry on living the way we do now. Drinking for free, avoiding everybody, and living in
harmony. We won’t be able to do that any more.

 [...] The other day when we spoke to André, when he left for Cayenne there, to sort things
out, from the start I don’t know how they lived here, but when I was fifteen or sixteen years
old, I saw that there was an association, all the houses, you see, of shingle, it’s the association
that financed them; almost all the villagers now have a free house; the generator almost all the
people have for free; now at the moment there’s no more association. On the coast or maybe
everywhere in the world there are no more associations, according to what André told me.
Well, that means the government doesn’t...doesn’t pay enough, right. At the moment the village is becoming a bit...with a lot of shit right...there’s the roof that isn’t built yet, because there are fewer workers, see; those who work on cleaning the village, the construction of houses...They get paid for all that, see.

 [...] Sometimes [young people] say, ‘that [being a shaman], that interests me a lot’, but it isn’t true. Then they say, ‘ah, that’s old stuff, I’m not interested, all that I’m interested in is the life of today.’ Life, I don’t know, doing stupid things, I don’t know. It’s true that I wear clothes, but my life is still as I do it. Because I build my house, I collect all the plants, the new plants I collect, I put them in a bag, I write it down, because... [...] I live like that.

 [...] Hunting, fishing, not that. They don’t want to forget because we only live off that. But on the other hand making gardens, they don’t want to do it any more.

 [...] since they get the RMI.

 [...] Because it allows them to buy...buy, buy, buy. In the village they want to buy; yes, in the village if there’s nothing left to buy, what will they do? Normally, we live on agriculture, hunting and fishing. That’s all.

 [...] for example a person who is making a katoli, and when another who doesn’t know how to make one, he says he will buy it from the person who knows. See? We’re losing the habit. If we don’t do things, we lose the habit. Now they stay a bit inactive, see. No, because, because if an old person stops making the katoli, where will they find them then?

 [...] How can I say...they find it tiring, see. It’s true that going into the forest and finding good things for weaving, it’s, looking and looking, it’s true it’s tiring, but if, well, it’s true it’s tiring but if we lose the habit it’s more tiring to look because you don’t know what it’s like any more, you don’t know what the leaves, the plants are like any more, you see?

 [...] In the past the children went into the forest with their parents when they were very small. Really very small, no, because babies are not allowed to go into the forest, they risk having...catching illnesses, being bitten by mosquitoes, having magak worms, but at the age of five, six years, well, not necessarily five, six years, about ten years, they used to go into the forest. I, when I was ten, I used to go into the forest with my father hunting. And then I went to school. I went to school, and I got out of the habit a bit. I didn’t want to go, you see. Because there’s only my father who hunted, hunted for me, hunted, and I had lost the habit. And after a while I woke up. ‘What happened to me, I have to get back into it!’ Up until now, it’s ok.
7. THE STORY OF EAGLE, AS TOLD BY KULITAÏKÉ
Recorded in Tēpu (26/01/04)

7.1. English translation

1. Story of eagle, with an eaglet, and an ambiguous friend.
Both of them were friends. This is a story from the time of the first Wayana.
It wasn’t like today when people tell stories, this is from before in the time told of
in the Kalau. Then, the Kalau was sung by the eagle.

5. He said, ‘because they are our meat other creatures
are afraid of my arrow, someone is afraid of my arrow’.
When he goes hunting meat, the Eagle says that he made a noise like a rifle shot, ‘ton’
‘toh’, he has killed some game, it’s like that, the eagle’s life
in this story. Perhaps in ancient times the people
who transformed themselves into real Wayana could
transform themselves straight away when they had seen something.
When they has heard some eagle cries, they transformed themselves straight away.
When you say ‘yepe, yepe, yepe’, you must be very careful,
the ancients say that you must not say

10. ‘yepe’. Be careful when you say ‘yepe’
If you have a friend, then there is a risk that he might become angry with you, my
grandfather told me
when my grandfather told me the stories of the eagle.
Well, Alatiwo had a friend, but I don’t know the name of his friend.

15. I only know one of the characters (Alatiwo), I don’t know
his friend.
It was Alatiwo who was lost because of his friend.
There was a tree which resembled the silk-cotton tree
and they made a ladder on the big tree

20. Alatiwo said, ‘there is an eaglet’ to his friend.
His friend replied, ‘let’s go and see it’.
They went to see, it was only a little bit grown
It didn’t yet know how to walk – an eaglet doesn’t walk straight away but only after a year
the eaglet stays still until it’s one year old.

25. Only its parents go to get meat.
It’s only its parents who give them their meal.
I didn’t know, it’s Alatiwo who knew.
Alatiwo was left in the tree by his friend. His friend wanted his wife.
It’s him, the friend of Alatiwo, who wants to marry his wife.

30. Well, the people of Kalau didn’t know the friend.
I know the song of Kalau from Kuliyanman.
The people of Kalau only know Alatiwo -
The friend had said to Alatiwo, ‘let’s go and see the eagle’.
Then, they went
together to see the eaglet. She was big. They said they should take her to kill her.

35. The friend said, ‘Let’s go!’
Alatiwo said, ‘OK’.
They climbed the tree, they attached wood
to liana to make a ladder
on the silk cotton tree.

Then, indeed the eaglet was there but it didn’t yet have wings. ‘He can’t walk yet’, they said (the two friends); they said that was it, the real eaglet. ‘The eaglet, it’s a little girl, it’s a baby.’

So, they prepared the wood to make a ladder

on the silk-cotton tree. Then, they made a ladder and it was finished. When it was finished, The friend said ‘go on!’

He told him to climb higher in the tree.

Alatiwo’s friend was angry with him because of his wife [he was plotting something] Then he went higher.

Next to the kumaka, there was a tree up which climbed the friend They had made several ladders with the wood. Then he went up the ladder, when he had finished it. While Alatiwo was in the silk-cotton tree, the friend cut what was holding the ladder in place, and ‘tau tikip’, then the ladder fell to the ground.

Alatiwo then saw the ladder that had fallen and said, ‘mëk’ in the old way of speaking, and ‘mëë, you are angry with me’ he said also, ‘Aah, you wanted to get me stuck in the tree, so you said to me ‘ai, let’s go looking for the eaglet’, but you are angry with me!’

But meanwhile the friend had already gone down from the tree. He had already gone home.

And Alatiwo, who was at the top of the tree, ‘tih’, didn’t know how he was going to come down from the silk-cotton tree. He couldn’t get down, that’s it.

That’s all. The friend of Alatiwo had already gone back to the village. Then, the wife of Alatiwo, his wife was taken by his friend. In fact, before, they were already lovers. Afterwards, the ancients think they got married.

It’s my grandfather who told me that, they were already together before all that happened. There, that’s it.

The friend said, ‘I think he is dead’.

‘How could he get down?’ he said (to himself). ‘If he ever tried to get down, he would fall and die.’

‘He will die. I can therefore get together with his wife’, he said. ‘I love her’. And so there, he got together with her.

They came together, how many months, how many days, how many weeks, they (the ancients) don’t know. He (the friend) didn’t remember how much time Alatiwo had stayed in the tree.

He was still in the top, ‘tihör’ of the tree.

It was the same day that the eagle had just come. The eagle never leaves his baby all alone, except when he goes hunting. Then, he brought the meat of tamarin, of macaque, of howler monkey.

He also brought other monkeys. So, Alatiwo saw him coming, he was afraid of him. He was afraid, because he thought that he was going to be eaten, but he had only come to see the eagle’s baby.

Alatiwo cried, ‘En!’ when he saw the eagle, ‘don’t eat me!’ But the eagle came down a bit lower than him, but the eagle came up towards him saying ‘kilik, kilik’.

The eagle said, ‘no, I’m not going to eat you’.
Who are you?’ he said. ‘Nobody, replied Alatiwo, ‘my friend got me stuck up here’.

‘Oh really’, said the eagle, ‘why?’
‘Ahh, I don’t know. It’s my friend who said to me, ‘let’s go and get the eaglet’.
‘Oh really’.

‘Oh really. OK, that’s OK’, he said, ‘I’ll leave you, but if you want to have revenge, I’ll help you.’
‘If you want to leave you can
But if you don’t want to leave, it doesn’t matter.
You can take care of my daughter.

Take care of my daughter’.
Alatiwo said, ‘OK, because how would I get down?
There’s no ladder, and there is no liana to pass onto the trees nearby, there’s nothing I can use to pass.’

He took care of the daughter, and they married. The eagle gave him eagle clothes
The father made him wings that he could put on like a shirt. Then, he became like an eagle.
because the eagle had given him the costume. He got into his eagle costume.
Then the daughter tried to walk, then, they went to another tree.
He didn’t live like before. She was already adult.

The eagle said to Alatiwo, ‘Huwa’, and gave him the knowledge to hunt like an eagle.
The eagle said, ‘Look, that’s how you hunt game. There’, he said, ‘it’s like that’: ton toh!
That’s how the eagle hunts game, you have never seen him hunting, neither have I I have never seen it, I only know it because the ancients told me.
When he says ‘toh’, the bird that the Wayana call siliu cries:
‘siliu, siliu, siliu, siliu, siliu, siliu’, says the piyokoko (that’s his other name)
it was them calling. When the eagle hunts the hololo, he also makes this song, and when this bird flies too.

When he had finished learning, by then, the daughter of the Eagle had become adult.
When she was small, she was always there, and perhaps a year later she had learned to walk she learned to walk like a person. Then,
‘Right, Alatiwo’, said the eagle, ‘do you want to go to see your friend now?

Do you want to beat him?
‘Yes’, replied Alatiwo, ‘I do want to’.
‘OK’, said the eagle, ‘let’s go. Let’s go and see your friend. We’ll go and see your friend, Alatiwo, so that you can beat him, the one who got you stuck because of your wife’. It’s sung in the Kalau

what Alatiwo did with the eagle: ‘let’s go and see your friend, let’s go and see your friend’, he sings.
‘Let’s go and see your friend so that you can beat him, the one who got you stuck in order to have your wife, let’s go and see your friend’.
That’s how the people of Kalau sang.

I’m repeating what my grandfather told me that he sang when he did the dance of kalau when he was young. The ancient Wayana used to sing about Alatiwo the story of how he got stuck. ‘So, there,’ he said. Let’s go!’, said the Eagle, ‘take your bow’.

‘OK’, said Alatiwo, and they both went to see the friend of Alatiwo. But the bow of the father-in-law wasn’t good the father-in-law’s bow wasn’t desireable for people, only Alatiwo’s one was very good

237
but the bow had no string, so they said
We must make a string and tomorrow ‘ai’ we’ll go
we’ll go and see your friend who got you stuck because he wanted your wife’
he said.
‘OK’, said Alatïwo
He agreed and he said how he would do it and how he would fight,
he though he would hit, but he wouldn’t hit, because the eagle is like a shaman
he fights like a shaman, not with a bow and arrows.
So the Wayana say that the Eagle fights like a shaman.

It was evening.
There, we have to make the string for your bow’, said the eagle.
He made a string for the bow and it was very beautiful.
like the colours of toucan feathers, and like
the colour of huluwi fish. But it wasn’t a normal bow, it was just the eagle had done as
shamans do. The eagle had had an idea like a shaman does.
You mustn’t hold an eagle’s bow, because it can hurt and kill, and might break.
Then, the next morning.
‘Right, let’s go’, said the eagle
Before, the Wayana gathered around the fire early in the morning (at 5am) to tell stories.
Now, they only gather at home
Before, the ancients gathered often.
And even the young boys got up early.
Then they went.
‘Let’s go’, said the eagle.
They didn’t look like eagles, but like Wayana, they came down near the village, and took
off their eagle costumes, to be like Wayana.
‘Right, let’s go!’, they transformed themselves into Wayana.
They arrived early in the morning and the Wayana were there.
His friend didn’t recognise Alatiwo, he saw him but did not know who he was.
He was already married with Alatiwo’s wife.
Well, the wife, who had forgotten Alatiwo, when she saw him arrive in the village,
remembered.
‘Mëë, but my husband is not dead!’ she said.
That’s what the ancients told, ‘tïh’, around the fire
The villagers said, ‘look, some visitors have just arrived in the village
The people who saw them were coming towards them. But there they both were
and they said, ‘there are the visitors’. They didn’t say, ‘there is the eagle’, because they
weren’t like eagles
They were like Wayana. So the ancients said
‘bring the stools’. Alatiwo and the eagle sat down,
but Alatiwo didn’t put down his bow and arrows,
and his curare dipped arrowheads, they also had
tikili lipsik (other arrows), it was Alatiwo who had them.
So, the eagle has several ‘tuvi’ arrows, we call that
‘wilo’, it’s for killing howler monkeys, it
frightens the howler monkey, it’s the arrow that says ‘wilolo’ if it
is fired. Before the ancients used to use
wilo in the village of Kapiwalaimë,
it frightened the howler monkey, we made wilolo.
The ancients didn’t want the father-in-law’s bow
but only Alatiwo’s one.
The friend said ‘You have come’.
(he didn’t recognise him).
‘Yes, I have come’, he said.
‘you have brought a good bow’, said the friend.
‘Yes, I have brought a good bow’.

Can you give me your good bow, friend, I can give you something in exchange for your bow’. If you want, but I hope you don’t want it. It’s a very beautiful bow’. Then, he took the bow, he put it on his shoulder.

‘It’s a very beautiful bow’. You can try to use it’. He gave it to him, he didn’t give a bow to any other people. Why didn’t the others want a bow? Only the friend who had got Alätïwo stuck in the tree wanted to take it.

‘It’s a very good bow, it’s very good’, said the friend. Then, he held the bow, and said, ‘I’m going to try to shoot’. Then, he pulled, he said, ‘how does you make it work?’ Well, Alätïwo gave it to his friend. ‘If you want, you can take it’, said Alätïwo.

‘It’s a very fine bow, I will take it to kill monkeys’, said the friend. Then, he tried shooting with arrows, but these were arrows with many colours. The ancient Wayana didn’t know how to make arrows like the people before them. They didn’t have arrows like the people before them, which had colours. Then, his friend pulled and the bow broke. The bow injured him between the neck and shoulder. It’s like when the eagle hunts game, and carries it off. The bow was broken, it had a point like an arrow it had broken into points like arrowheads. Then the friend of Alätïwo fell and was dying ‘tiïhtï tït’.

Alätïwo said, ‘you have hurt yourself with my bow, but it is uncertain [that it was really the bow’s doing] I won’t come back because you have broken my bow; He left with his father-in-law. ‘Right, let’s go!’, he said to his father-in-law. ‘My bow has been broken by my friend’. The ancient Wayana were not longer his in-laws, because he had married with the daughter of the Eagle, so the people didn’t speak with the eagle. Only Alätïwo spoke with the ancients, he spoke with them through his bow. The arrows and the bow of the father-in-law weren’t attractive and the ancients didn’t want them.

The arrows of Alätïwo had colours, toucan and huluwi feathers, so that his friend would want to take them. They left, they went very far away.

The eagle explained what he had done to the friend of Alätïwo. Then, they left. They put on the eagle costumes... They left Well, Alätïwo had already married the daughter of the eagle. The eagle said, ‘you must look after my daughter, then, she will become your wife’. Then he married her, and they remained married, and that’s the ancients’ story of Eagle. It’s also my grandfather who told that story. It’s he, my grandfather, who sang that, that’s how it is.

My grandfather said, ‘It’s nothing, just that the Wayana who had friends and said ‘yepe, yepe, yepe’ also got stuck in a tree, ‘yepe’, that’s what you say when you’re angry, so you shouldn’t say that,
you shouldn’t say it to your friends.

265 That’s what my grandfather said.
Alatiwo came back alone and said to his mother, ‘I’m not coming back, because I have a wife over there.’
That’s how the Ancients told the story of Alatiwo and what he did to his friend.

270 Alatiwo said, ‘I had a wife, then I got trapped by my friend, then the eagle gave me a bow, but not a real bow, so I hurt my friend. It was my father-in-law who gave me that.
It wasn’t a real bow, it was a ‘piya tayin’ (eagle’s bow, like that of a shaman). But his father-in-law also had a real bow, to kill game;

275 then the ancients told of what happened with Alatiwo.
And the ancients also sang during the Kalau about what Alatiwo did to his friend, and the people of the village also sang the Kalau and told the story of Alatiwo through the song. It’s a beautiful song but I don’t know how to sing it.

280 I used to know a little, but I have forgotten, but it begins: ‘Let’s go and see your friend, let’s go and see your friend, the one with whom you will fight, who wanted your wife’. But it’s difficult to sing at the beginning. I know only a little. It’s like that that my grandfather told me about the Eagle.
Perhaps the Trio don’t speak about those things, perhaps it was the ancient Wayana who began to sing the kalau. They sang about the people who were stuck. They sang

290 also about Alatumle (Kailawa), the people of Kalau sing for Alatumle.
It’s just like that the story of Eagle.
But the people of today say ‘yepe’ to people, but it’s as if in jest.

295 Then they went further away, ‘tenh’, Things were no longer as before.
Then they went into another tree, ‘tenh’, Alatiwo didn’t come back again, after having gone to see his mother

300 He had hurt his friend, because his father-in-law had given him the bow of the Eagle.
The eagle who would become his father-in-law.
To tell the story of the eagle, there were once also the songs of Eagle, but later it was during the Kalau that people sang it. I know these things because Kuliymaman my grandfather told me them. They start to sing with ‘Piya’ And they sang at first like the Eagle, and then, they sing that Alatiwo sings like the Eagle.

310 And the eagle also sings when he hunts his game:
‘I’m hunting my game on the other side of the forest, and on the other side of the mountain’. That’s how he sings. To start with, in Kalau, it tells differently of the two friends. ‘Then, a friend of Alatiwo gets angry with him because he wants to take his wife.
Then, Alatiwo gets angry with his friend.’ It’s the ancients who told of that. ‘I’m not coming back because I have a wife over there’,
Alatïwo said to his mother,

‘because my friend broke my bow’. He was angry with his friend.

It was the Ancients who told of that. Before, they were friends, but they got angry. Then, he got his friend stuck - Then Alatïwo went off with the Eagle. And the eagle gave him an eagle’s bow.

Then he hurt his friend (‘you broke my bow’) But he wasn’t sure (it wasn’t a normal bow, but an eagle’s bow). That’s all.

b. Wayana version


Epe: Ëê, tikai.


Tëhau nuhke tot wëwe têlêi
eyahe sihnat pëk, italam tëtohme sihya
kumaka pëk.
Moloinë molo, ahpela peptame piya mumkë peptame
toma iye katëp. Lome ihpot mau kapon ëti këli
lahnë. Ètanëi lahnë, inënlë lënma Piya ëkëai tot.
Lome tanme wëllë inënlë Piya, mëklë imumku.
Ma, ëtëla lamëi eyahe weve tamnukhe tëhan nukhe
tot miyha weve pona. Moloinë siya ëtëla lamëi
hemele maka. Maka aptau,
Epe: Ma, ‘itëk’ ëkëai.
Itëmna tohme mëklë tënokhe.
Tanne eile hapon ipët pëk.
Moloinë inënlë miyhen titëi akëlep hakënma tanme
mësín katëp. Kumaka talë weve ëtëla lamëi eyahe
weve ahinke, kole tëtihe.
Moloinë epolo miyhen mëklë titëi, maka.
Kumaka pohhe aptau mëlë tipëkë leimëi eya
ipëmëto pono ëtëp ‘tau ëkëip’, opya mëlë epëpato
ponpë.
Alatiwo: Moloinë helëp ëkëai mëi miyhen ‘mëk’ ëkëai
Awomikan Wayana omi aiëlë, ‘mëë’ yeile miyhen
kapaman yepe ëkëai. Ma ëweitohme miyhen kapa
’ai’ piya mumkë kutuluh wata mika, kenem yeile
miyhen ëmë.
Epe: Huwa ënipanakma pin katëp mëklë tiwëp teimëi.
Moloinë titëi mëi.
Alatiwo: Inënlë miyhen lëken molo ‘tië’ kawë tahku
tiwëpëi mëi kaliyona kumaka polo.
Ipëimë lahle, mëlë katëp inënlë, maka.
Molona lëken. Moloinë mëklë titëimëi ëtënë.
Moloinë ipët, ipët pipëk tëtihe. Uhpaklë ëhepëk
tot. Moloinë, tanme têpëhmëi mëhkëtot.
Têpëhmëi mënke tamusi tom eitop hei wipanak
mai mëhnëyai tamo, têpëhmëi ëkëai.
An, maka.
Epe: Moloman inële mënile mëpya, ëkëai.
Tahku miptëi miyà, ëkëai. Ipëëi mëhe aptau
mënïpteimëya, mënëtuh moya,
80 maka mënile mëpya. Masike talala ipëtpëi
wapëhmëi yai, ëkëai. Ise iwesike maka ipëtpëi
têpëhmëi.
Ètakëlëtët têtihe, tapsik nunuwë, ideiyin ënëka.
lëla, wiki, wiki kala tapsik ënëkhe tuwa lëla nunuwë,
nunuwë titëi kapamë mëi inënlë mëklë epëi watpan.
Mëye miyhen mëklë ‘tië’ kumakapo amatau
lome mënlëlë tau tumëkhe Piya. Tîmumku ëninom
talamma mau Piya tinëlpëp hele mënëmëya, oti apëike
titëi. Moloinë tênepey eya, makui, meku, alawata
tiwë. Tiwë lënkem tênepey eya.
Alatiwo: Moloinë imëkëmë lehtan tënei, tëhe lepe
mëklë. Têhelepëi miyhen têpeïi natot lome
imumku. Tîmumku me sîke ipëk mëklë.
‘Èn’ képësi piya ëkëai. Lome upaphak têhapëihe
mëklë mën katëp, lome siya lëken tumëkhe mëklë
‘kilëlik, kilëlik’; ëkëai.
Piya: Huwa ēwapēsila wai ūkai eya.
Enikman ūkai? Huwa ūkai yepe miñen yepliwa.

Piya: Mëë, ūkai. Ėtī pēk ūkai?
Alatiwo: Këë, tuwałēla. Ai, piya mumkē kutu luwhata
Piya: Mëë.
Mëë. Ėë, ipok, ūkai, ēpēkēla wai ūkai lome ētihe lēken ēwaptau kuuwapē tomei.

Itēimēhe ēwaptau.
Lome itēimē hela ēwaptau talala.
Yemsi uwantu nipkē kai.
Yemsi uwantu nipkē.
Alatiwo: Ėë, ūkai lēken mēkēlē tahku siya tahku
siya tiwiptēimē, iptēimēto pom nhle, imna, sihnatēmna
akēlephak wewe, tumhalap katēla.
Moloine mēkēlu tuwanata niphē, mēkēlē akēlē tētīhe.
Maka tuwomaite. Upo tihe ēpē ēhmēlē simisə
katēp lēken lep ēkulephē mēkēlēyta tēyənma sike
piyame tētīhe. Piya upo yak tētīhe.
Malonme, mēkēlē tētā nịmhe mule, tēha
lēıtōt tiwēlēn pona. Mēkēlē tuwanata niphē
‘Huwa’ nai mēnke apēıtōp ūkai ēhmēlē
tēhēm apēıtōp tēkαlē eya.

Piya: Helē katēp nai mēnke apēıtōp ūkai eya, yot
elētopt ūkai. Maa, ūkai, wīkā lēle ‘ton toh’
mēnke Piya kaimotatop ēnene lale manatēi, mawai
ēnene lale mēnke lēken ekalētop wiponakmei, mēlē
‘toh’ ikaṭihevē ēnīk nawomite siľu mēnke Wayana:
’siľu, siľu, siľu, siľu, siľu, siľu, siľu’ menkē ēnīk
pena piyokoko mēkēlē, ma mēnke. Malalē mēnke ēnīk pena
hololo tam ētanāmi lihtau Piya kaimota lihtau mamenkē.
Maka, moloine mēkēlē tuwanata nihpoe ya,
waluhmame ivēti atohpona, tihville molo, ētanām polola
sike tepsik yalā katēp mule ētanāmtopt, kupeinomkam
ētanāmtopt katiplē Wayana katēp. Moloinē,
Piya: ‘Ma, Alatiwo’ ūkai. Alatiwo ēwepe eneimēkē
kaman ūkai. ĖtəmSKIP kaman ūkai.
Alatiwo: Îhē ĖtəmSKIP hennma ūkai.

Piya: Ėē, aipa. Ėwepe hene tale, Alatiwo ūkai.
Ēwepeama hene tale Alatiwo, ētam pota. Ėpēt pēk
ēwe pii watponu. Masike mēlē aile lēken
‘kalau’ tom mēnelemiya mēlē: ‘ēwepeina seneta,
ēwepeama seta’, mēnke.

‘Ēpēt pēkēnē, ēwe pii wat ponulē, ēwepeama seneta’
mēnke mēlē elemlē nanīpya kalau tom.
Mēlē katēp mēnkai mēhnēya tamo kalau me
tuwalihtau mēnke Piya ūkai.
Wayana pēkma mēnke, ēpiwatpitompēk
Piya: Ai, ūkai, sin aile paila ūkai.
Alatiwo: Ėē, kai. Tēhalētōt, hakēne.
lēken to, mēi imnetamu, inēlé.
Lome imnetamu pailau sitplilame hapon,
isanohpol hapon, mēkēlē pailau lēken
pētuku lunma, ‘Paila’.
Lome ewalîmna, masike ewaptîk, anmalë ‘ai’ 
ëwepe hentale, épît pêk ëwepîi patpon 
tïkai.

155
Alatiwo: Ëë, tïkai.
Tïmoihe lëken eya tala nihe, tanîke tïkai,
ïwëtëp tanîke tïkai. Ikaimo tatop tïkai.
Huwa tuhmoi natot ‘toh’ tïkai natoto. Huwa malëla
Piya tayin mëlë mënke Wayana. Piya tayin ikaiho
tataplë. Malonme walunak têtîhe.

Piya: ‘Ma’, pailama ewaptêk, épîlainu, tïkai, 
tëwëptîi eya pëtuku lunnaa paila ‘kuyapok’
mala kalasin me, huluwi milikut katîp imilikut
paila milikut. Mëlë lëken Piya tayin lëken.

160
Ikaimo tatoplë mëlë, ëtamëlën potop.
Moloinë hawele kokopsik.
Piya: Ma, aima.
Wayana mau lamnapo ‘tih’ upak Wayana.
Hemalë mau lamnapo lamna Wayana pakolo
170
yau lëken, eta yau. Malëla upak lamnapo tot
tamusi tom. Malalë hemele imyatatom koko tiwëpîtëi.
Moloinë tëlhalëtöt.
Piya mela tot, Wayana melë, ëmë etpitak satukulun kai.

175
Piya: ‘Ma, aima’ kai. Wayaname tot têtîhe. Kokopsik
upak pole ëtënë, molo Wayana.
Mëlë upak tîtenkapama mêmëi tîpîyc mëklë. Mëlë
pitke, Alatiwo pitpêke.
Ma, tala, tihe, têta, mêtkaî mëi ëwalë, tîmnelum
eneimë tîhwë.
Mëë, ilêmë piła kapame imnelun, tïkai.
Malonmë mëlë ‘tih’ tamusi tom molo lamnapo.
Malonme: Ëë tulakanem tïkai tot tênei eyahe 
ëhemailë tumëkhë tot. Upahken hakënepe hele tula
185
kanem mëlë tïkai tot. Piya mëlë kala, Piyamala
Wayana me têtîhe tumëkhë polele kai, kololo
enepkë, kololo ‘tei, tei’ kai. Pailake têmyahe
huwa paila ëninom tala pilëu
wupsik lëken, tanme kulumuli, tanme tîkîlë,
lïpsik huwa lëken, mëlë Alatiwo winë.
Ma, mëlë winë kolopsik ‘tuvi’ mënke tot
ëtipena pêk ‘wilo’ epelî pêk alawata eleptap
mëlë lome pilëu lëken ‘wilololo’ mënke mëlë
ëte lihtau, imëkëmë lihtau kuwa. Mëlë upak
195
tamusi tom pîleme wenene Kapiwalaimë enîpo
ëwaptau, tamo tamoya tîke. Alawata îêla aptau
eleptop mëlë. Sîtpîlîme hapon mëlë paila mëlë
winën, mëlë winën lëken mëlë pëtuku lunma
Paila aklë hamme, lome mëlë lëken Piya tayin.

200
Epe: Ëë yepe mumëkémë yepe tîkai inëlë 
epe ênîk epe tuwälëlë.
Alatiwo: Ihî umëkëme yepe tîkai.
Epe: Paila pëtuku lunma kënep tîkai.
Alatiwo: Ihî, mëlë pëtuku lunma kohmë Paila.

205
Epe: Ïpailame ekalëkë yepe, këhepe katîsî yepe
Paila pêkë kai.
Alatiwo: Mëlë kohmë, tanme komanai ise, isela.
Epe: Pëtuku lunma, kilik kai satun, mota aië léken sike satun me léken. Këë, pëtuku lunma ahpela, kilik kai.


Alatiwo: Mëlëmena kohnë yepe.


Paila pëtuku lunma sike, mëlë pailau ënapë sila imnetamu pailau sitpiîme hapon apëi pola
tahpile léken. Malë lanma mëlë pëtuku lunma keyapok mataka lasin katip hulwi milikut katip imilikut epola mëkya têta mëtkai mëklëh lenma maka, têhalëi mëitot mononapsik léken t[...][?] tïkai mëi léken tot míya, huwa.

230 Piya: Huwakan mëken iwëtam potop tïkai hemalë Mëtampo masike, ‘ai’.
maka moloinë têhalëimëi tot míya sen ‘hololo’ kai, míya tiwalama linkom pona, tupo kom pona.
Moloinë têhalëi mëitot.

235 Upak mëklë tîpiye piyake, tuwantà núpe eya.
Piya: Uwanta nîpkë tïkai, épîtme uwanta nîpkë tïkai.
Moloinë têpëihe eya mëlë katip Piya eitoponpë
tom mëne kalëi mëhnëya tamo iya mëlë, ma, okihtau léken. Enikpa mëhe piya tohmepa ma nîke.
Mulokopotë: Huwa helë Wayana upak tëhepiî wai tëpekamo ‘yepe, yepe, yepe’ ikat pitom masike
helë ëhetale patop tæpe yepe.
Ëheile eitop haipon. Ëheile eitop katip man
helë ‘yepe’. Étamëlën potop katïp.
Masike yepe kalaikë, epemna elkë, yepe kalaikë mënkai mëhnëya tamo iya.
Alatïwo: Tipïye nai wai helë ñwëtâm potop,
mëi yeptiwané yepe ñpët pëk masike mëi imnetamu me ñwëllëtip titayin ekalëne iya. Moloinë helë paila tapek kumehak helë mëlë Piya tayin kunehak mëlë paila tapek
Paila mëklë winë huwa imnetamu winë mëlë otï kom ñeptop mëlë huwa masike tamusi tomoya tëka leimë mëlë katïp kapa masike mëlë télemina nïpëmëi mëhamaoya Kalau tomoya Piya kaimota topopë. Mëlë ñétoku lumna man elemi.
Lame wai kalau to mënekalë mëhën leken twalëlep
lome ihta-ëhtailë leken lome hek akïmato ponpï mëlë piya elemilë, elemi lihle mëlë, mëlëpsik leken man ioptailë iya, helë leken wai twalë akïmato ponpï lihle huwa. Masike mëlë katïp leken kutamu tom mënëka leiimëhëna helë Piya eitop tala twelénkom mënëkalëya twalëla.
Helë tamo nekalëtpi mëlë katïp Piya humehak. Helë emna elemi topme, emna nukukë mëme kalau tome. Mëha pëk ikaimo tatpï tomplë, ènikpena tom pëk mëham tomplë. Lopo iwesit pitom pëk Alatumle mëha pëk kalau mëha pëk kalau tom mënëlemtë yipanakmei leken. Molona leken man helë ekalëtop Piya ekalëtop. Lome ñu twelén komo ya yepe wikey ñu. Èke tale patop katïp yepe wikey ñu,
Imnetamume ñwëttë lëppi iya.
Tiwë man mëlë elemi helë hek akïmato ponpï
ëta këlëtot ëhepeme. Moloinë isela tëwëtihe
tëpe hela ipët ëktëhwë.
Moloinë maka tëilanopë kaloponpë tom
mëlë Piya eitoponpëtom. Maka moloinë hemele
tëhe kalëi tipeye nai wai, umëkë mêla nai wai
hemele mama tïkai.
Alatiwo: Êpailan apkë lëme kohek yepe tïkai
ipësiptënenma yepe tïkai.
Akîmato ponpi poinë ëhe pemë iweitoponpi
kom poinë têheila nopëmëi. Moloinë tëpiïwai
Moloinë tîtiëmei tepì siptë hepkë têlë.
Lome epë siptëla
Mëklë ya tompe poi imne tamu luya.
Huwa maka neha.
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