

**THE INFLICTION OF DESCENT:
AN OVERVIEW OF THE CAPANAHUA DESCENDANTS'
EXPLANATIONS OF THE GENERATIVE PROCESS**

Łukasz Krokoszyński

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
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The Infliction of Descent:
An Overview of
the Capanahua Descendants'
Explanations of the Generative Process

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University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the Department of Social Anthropology,
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In memory of my Father
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1954-2012

Abstract

This thesis traces the ways of explaining the generative process by the eastern Peruvian descendants of the Capanahua. These predominately Spanish-speaking people tend to emphasize the discontinuity with their ancestors, a little known Panoan-speaking indigenous population of the Western Amazon. Based on ethnographic fieldwork and transcriptions of recorded conversations, this presentation follows and reconstructs a salient frustrative-generative dynamic in a wide range of representations, wherein alterations of self-containment or perceptibility incept the processes of differentiation and discontinuity. These processes guide a local conception of “descent” as infliction.

Implications of this dynamic are examined for the formulations of kinship. The familial relations, explicitly based on notions of consanguinity and filiation – are cast in an ambiguous, if not predominately negative light. Procreation is formulated in predatory, parasitic terms, and shares dynamics with pathogenic causality and aetiology. As such, it does not naturally contribute to reproduction and continuity, but rather frustrates it by introducing difference into the vertical axis. Such results also produce horizontal differences and hierarchies, encoded as the person’s divergent, hidden “descent” in the always “mixed” social life.

This image of the generative process is instrumental to understanding the villagers’ explanations of the acculturative processes. Because representations of acculturation focuses on the idiom of procreation and its frustrative results, it appears as the very function of procreative dynamics. This produces a series of associations between the progeny and sociality, focusing on their inherently “third” or external position and perpetual dividuality of belonging/containing. Such ambiguity might be tamed and everted, to produce cleansing or encompassment that counteracts the divisive continuity of time (qua descent, history, or kinship). In a contemporary context, these formulations are seen reflected in the villagers’ construal of the Peruvian state as the urban environment that is hierarchically closer to the ideal originality and beautiful imperishability than the smaller, isolated unities of rural ancestors.

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Contents

Introduction	1
1. Traces of “the Capanahua”	2
2. On the wane: “the Capanahua” of the Tapiche and Buncuya rivers	4
3. Acculturation and the generative process	9
4. Fieldwork	17
5. Ethnographic theory	21
6. Thesis overview	24
Prologue. The drunken speech	28
1. The drunken speech	31
1.1. Conviviality	32
1.2. “Remembering, they cry”	34
1.3. The language	37
1.4. Speaking “all that they are”	39
1.5. Confrontation	43
1.6. Violence	44
2. The releasing capacity of drunkenness	46
Conclusion	47
Chapter 1. This side, the outside: The social spaces	49
The city of manioc	50
1. Construction and composition of social spaces as clearings	52
1.1. Sadness of the tropics	52
1.2. Spatial dimension (opening)	54
1.3. Temporal dimension (maintaining open)	55
1.4. The qualities of clearings	58
1.5. <i>Su entremedio</i> : Knowing the clearings and knowledge making the clearings	64
2. Approximations of ideal sociality	69
2.1. <i>Alegría</i> : Joy of overcoming obstacles	69
2.2. Faces and faeces: clarity betwixt and between	74
3. Emerging to know the outside	78
3.1. Wild people: “letting themselves be seen”	78
3.2. Children: “thrown out into the world”	81
3.3. This side is the outside	83
Conclusion	84
Chapter 2. The other side, the inside: The contained	87
Surface and content	87

1. Outside of an outside: Behind the worldly surfaces	89
1.1. The cloak of (im)perceptibility	91
1.2. Outside in the inside: appearance and truth of social space	92
1.3. Inside of time: temporal opacity of <i>antiguos'</i> clearings/times	94
2. Insides in an outside: Behind the faces of participants	95
2.1. The heart of the problem: Inside of an outside.....	96
2.2. Troublesome insides	101
2.3. Insides in the insides: Internalizing other beings	106
3. Inside is the other side	111
4. Containing insides in an outside: Social implications	112
4.1. Across surfaces.....	113
4.2. Generative hierarchies: children “inside” the parents	114
4.3. Beautiful equality	115
4.4. Abandonment.....	118
Conclusion.....	119
Chapter 3. Introducing the end: The conditioning frustrations.....	122
1. Giving account.....	122
Origin of manioc	125
2. Explaining <i>ejemplos</i>	126
2.1. Precedent	127
2.2. Conditioning frustration.....	129
2.3. Devolution	130
3. Inceptions in stories	131
3.1. Basic techniques of exemplifying.....	132
3.2. Another technique: insemination	134
3.3. Childhood of the Earthworm’s Son: exemplifying divergence	135
3.4. Adulthood of the Earthworm’s Son: the potential of foreigner and containing divergence	138
4. Inceptions in daily life	139
4.1. Inflicting the future	140
4.2. Aetiology	143
5. Some generative-frustrative patterns	148
5.1. Production of containment	148
5.2. The implanted elements	150
5.3. Reversal of containment	152
5.4. Diminishment.....	153
Conclusion.....	154
Chapter 4. Between the tree trunks: Articulation and taming of infliction	156
1. Procreation and its mortal consequences	157
1.1. The “making” mechanism.....	157

1.2. The results.....	163
1.3. The trajectories of dilution.....	168
2. How not to waste away?.....	172
2.1. The impregnation of <i>troncos</i>	173
2.2. Taming the infliction.....	177
3. The second parents.....	184
Conclusion.....	189
Chapter 5. Whose inside is this outside?: Acculturation.....	191
1. The dying breed: frustrations of the original purity.....	191
1.1. The inseminations.....	193
1.2. The perishing.....	194
1.3. Those that grow: the tender spot of history.....	195
Interlude: <i>Carnaval</i>	201
2. The remains: frustrations of the present purity.....	206
2.1. Technical objections.....	207
2.2. Moral objections.....	210
3. Rescaling descent.....	210
4. <i>Perú</i> : The co-emerged.....	213
4.1. Who have the Capanahua acculturated to?.....	213
4.2. Is there an owner of this outside?.....	217
Conclusion. The <i>ʔinabu</i> , tamed descent, and acculturation.....	225
1. The <i>ʔinabu</i> trouble.....	227
2. <i>Raza</i> as an origin story.....	233
3. The <i>ʔinabu</i> and anthropology.....	234
4. <i>Cholos</i>	238
Bibliography.....	240
Appendix 1. Interlocutors.....	249
Appendix 2. Conversations.....	271
Appendix 3. Kinship terms.....	275
Appendix 4. Orthographic convention.....	285
Appendix 5. Fauna and flora mentioned.....	283
Appendix 6. List of the stories of the <i>antiguos</i>	286
Appendix 7. Original quotes.....	294

Figures

Figure 1. Map of the Capanahua name historical usage.

Figure 2. General location of the Buncuya and Tapiche Rivers on the Lower Ucayali.

Figure 3. Settlements on the Buncuya and Tapiche Rivers.

Figure 4. Limón Cocha with names of the streets.

Figure 5. Insides and outside.

Figure 6. Author's envisioning of opacity between voids.

Figure 7. Spirits (*demonios*, *yushinbu*).

Figure 8. *Brujos*.

Figure 9. Stem and branches.

Figure 10. Men erecting the *húmisha* palm in Limón, 2012.

Figure 11. *Baile bombo* or *música típica*.

Figures 12-14. Schoolchildren's *carnaval* parade in Santa Elena.

Photos of interlocutors (Appendix 1).

Figures 15-16. Kinship diagrams (Appendix 3.1).

Figures 17-18. Kinship positions' replacements (Appendix 3.2).

Introduction

Before, there used to be Capanahua living here – Beder told me when I asked – they... I mean... We, today, live on the land of those Capanahua, but have little to do with them. We have inherited their land. There used to be those who knew the language, but they are gone. As long as the *gringos* used to come, people here would talk to them, and practiced the language [*practicaban idioma*]. But since they stopped coming – people forget. There is no one to teach them how to speak, and there is no one to speak to. (fB0704)

This is a quote from my field notes taken during an initial, short visit to the “Capanahua” villages in April 2007. On the Buncuya River, these are located 2-3 days by boat from the nearest villages and the town of Tamanco at the confluence of the Guanache and the lower Ucayali rivers. At that time, villagers told me that all “the real Capanahua” had moved out or died. The living people who talked with me were not, in any simple sense obvious to themselves, “Capanahua.” Their daily life, language, clothes, occupations, celebrations, and even facial features and skin colour, were not significantly different from other rural inhabitants of eastern Peru.¹ They confirmed that these were the Capanahua *comunidades nativas* [native communities], but maintained that there were no more “Capanahua people” there. For me, those few days on the Buncuya were the culmination of previous, foiled quests for “the Capanahua,” based on the much older tradition of defining, making sense of, and thus “creation” of “the Capanahua” and other people sharing similar spatial (eastern Peru, Amazonia or elsewhere) and historical positions (socio-cultural transformations leading to joining larger societies as “indigenous”). However, this visit was also the beginning of a new quest for an understanding of what it actually meant to “be Capanahua” or to be “someone else already” for the villagers. Here, the vehicle has become the local take on the generative process that we may refer to as “descent” (Rivière 1993). It is such engagement that resulted in this thesis.

¹ When speaking of the “mestizo” in this work, I refer to eastern Peruvians of other than (known) Capanahua descent. Many may have parents or ancestors who spoke other indigenous eastern Peruvian languages.

1. Traces of “the Capanahua”

An overview of the previous unsuccessful quests introduces some basic problems I found with the conventional categories such as “the Capanahua” in the region. Two years previously, in 2005, I participated in an AIDSESP² project aimed at gathering and verifying the reported indications of “uncontacted” people’s presence to the east of the Middle and Lower Ucayali. Visiting the area between the Tacshitea River and Contamana, I found that the local Shipibo-Conibo and mestizo people referred to such isolated people as “the Capanahua” (among other names). The closest that most of those people (or me) got to these “Capanahua” have been their footprints or fleeting encounters.

Over the next few years, I took this quest to the written historical material. The more I looked, the more elusive the historical “Capanahua” became. In the historical sources, the name Capanahua, as well as the ethnonyms that usually accompany it – such as “Remos,” “Mayorunas,” “Amahuacas” or “Sensis” – seemed to refer with random consistency to basically unknown people, emerging for momentary encounters with other riverine populations, and therefore sometimes entering into the written history. Mentions of “the Capanahua” go back to the 17th century, refer to the general area of the Ucayali, and spread to the upper Juruá and Purus rivers or the upper Javari in the 20th century (Fig. 1). Based on this analysis, it appears that even though they were presented as indexing “nations,” “tribes,” or “ethnic groups” in regional histories, these names overall referred to people speaking different languages and inhabiting mutually remote areas over numerous generations. In many cases, they referred to people connected by little more than their distance from the riverine societies or missions and vague, synchronically and diachronically transforming categories with which those societies and historians defined them. They looked no different from those generic labels and fleeting traces used currently on the Ucayali. Between 2005 and 2009, much of my time was devoted to making sense of such complications.³

² *Asociación Interétnica de Desarrollo de la Selva Peruana*, indigenous-led Peruvian NGO.

³ The report from this research is Krokoszyński, Stoińska-Kairska, and Martyniak (2007). The historical work was initiated in connection with the AIDSESP project (Krokoszyński 2006-07) and used in my MA thesis (Krokoszyński 2008) and some other work (Krokoszyński 2007; Krokoszyński and Fleck n.d.; Fleck and Krokoszyński n.d.).

Between the late 19th and early 20th centuries, these “interfluvial” or “marginal”⁴ peoples known under such remote categories were becoming increasingly “visible” to the riverine societies – and thus to national states and literate observers. This coincided with extensive penetrations of the area by rubber workers (themselves often indigenous), who were the ones who “contacted,” “tamed,” or “civilized” these forest people, employing them as labourers, guides, mercenaries and so on. The latter’s perspectives revealed in networks of names, identities, languages and relations have further complicated the historical image of the area. Throughout the latter half of the 20th century, ethnographers and linguists studied this image, and the people who created it. On the one hand, they agreed that many of these people could be classified as members of the larger Panoan linguistic family, whose languages are spoken across a contiguous territory stretching from eastern Peru to western Brazil and northwestern Bolivia.⁵ On the other hand, while recognising a general similarity among various Panoans, anthropologists pointed out complex layers and levels of identifications. Philippe Erikson addressed the continuities of the global similarities alongside the ongoing atomic differentiations, which responded to the relational logic formulated for the Panoans as “constitutive alterity,” describing their reliance on the encompassment or input of social otherness in establishing identities.⁶ The historical articulation of these social attitudes was a mosaic of identities dispersed across social formations on the one hand, and on the other, “mixed” identities within any given community, with apparently porous boundaries.⁷ In such a context, described by

⁴ The Capanahua have been opposed as the “interfluvial” group to the riverine Panoans such as the Shipibo and Conibo or historical Pano and Shetebo according to classical distinctions between mainstream Ucayali and marginal (Steward, Métraux, and Métraux 1948) or interfluvial, “upper reaches” groups (Lathrap 1970; cf. e.g. DeBoer 1986; Myers 1976; 1990). In contrast to earlier classifications (e.g. Loos 1999), David Fleck has recently proposed (2013) to treat Capanahua as a co-dialect of Shipibo-Conibo.

⁵ For the most recent, exhaustive discussion of the linguistic family, see Fleck (2013). For ethnographic syntheses, see Santos Granero and Barclay Rey de Castro (1994; 1998). Philippe Erikson’s publications quoted below signal the Panoan-specific problems.

⁶ “Alterity,” encoded in the virtually universally Panoan category *nawa* has been identified as the “constitutive” element of Panoan social ideologies (Erikson 1986; 1993; 1999; Keifenheim 1990; 1992).

⁷ The Panoan Marubo, as well as closely related Katukina-Pano on the other side of Peruvian-Brazilian border talk of their ‘peoples’ (Port. *povos*) (Lima 2000; Ruedas 2001; Werlang 2001; Welper 2009; Cesarino 2008), emphasizing the mixed character of contemporary social life and relatedness. The same expressions can be found in many examples from the Panoan identifications. Matis (as well as Matses) perceived themselves as a set of named groups, as distinct from each other as from e.g., from Korubo, speaking a separate language (Erikson 1994). Graham Townsley found it extremely difficult to know who, precisely, the Yaminahua were, as they answered to a variety of other *nahua* names (Townsley 1988). Other observers of Panoan social formations have been equally confused. Father Tastevin had difficulties in determining actual *Katukina* identity in the first quarter of the 20th century, describing them as *panos de toda raça*, composed of a variety of groups whose number in all of Tastevin’s publications reached twenty one (in: Lima 1994: 21). Similarly, Marinawa (one of the units called Yaminawa), were “a mixture of a number of tribes that were dying out and got together to form the group that now exists”, with the number of “tribal names” being twenty five (Scott 1963 in: Erikson 1986: 186), and Sharanahua are “composed out of a multitude of subgroups that decided to live together and to acquire or construct something of a common identity” (Déléage 2005: 23–24; cf. Siskind 1973) Other Amazonians seem to perceive their relatedness and sociality in a similar manner. People are classified into *-djapá* groups by the Kanamari, *-madiha* by the Kulina, *-ineri* by the Piro (Calavia Sáez 2002), or *-nawa*, *-xutabo*, *-caifo*, *-kaio* by different Panoans, but is also reminiscent of the way Urubambinos speak of the ‘races’ (*razas*) that compose persons and communities (Gow 1991), or of the set of Cocama surnames (Gow 2003). Córdoba (2006) noticed an overlap of surnames and

Erikson as the “nebulous compact” (Erikson 1993), in the words of editors of the *Guía Etnográfica de la Alta Amazonía*, “it is little appropriate to use the notion of ethnic group as it has been used in other Amazonian contexts” (1994: xx).⁸ The Panoan speakers themselves did not seem to have much interest in these, instead producing locally complicated histories of fissions and fusions, interweaving periods of reformulation and conservatism.⁹ These problems concerned “the Capanahua” too, both as one of the dispersed categories (the widespread exoethnonym), as well as an agglomerate of diverse intra-social categories.

2. On the wane: “the Capanahua” of the Tapiche and Buncuya rivers

Judging by the linguistic, cultural and historical affiliations, the Panoan people of the Tapiche and Buncuya rivers have participated in a larger historical network of relations in the Ucayali-Juruá divide.¹⁰ Between the 19th and 20th centuries, some came to establish more permanent relations with rubber extraction workers, (Brazilian, Peruvian, or both), and came to be associated with an ethnonym traditionally employed by outsiders for the inhabitants of those areas. Since then, the population with the attached “Capanahua” name has occupied the banks of the upper Tapiche, and later the Buncuya rivers (both flowing into the Lower Ucayali). The

the old *maxobo* categories among Chacobo, Bolivian Panoans. In such a plural context, autoidentifications in many cases are designations referring to kinship or humanity (which could be argued to be coextensive).

⁸ This view of Panoan groups coincides with the larger critique of traditional notions of static and bounded groups. Entities, identities and linear continuity were shown to be primarily Euro-American (scholarly) concerns (Wagner 1974), embedded within specific cultural orientations (Wagner 1981). The critique of such a “billiard ball” model of societies (Wolf 1982) was one of the main trends in formative for contemporary Amazonian anthropology (Viveiros de Castro 1996). Challenges to this traditional view began over 30 years ago (Ferguson & Whitehead 1992; Hill 1996; Hornborg 2005; Whitten et al. 1976). Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (in: Monteiro 2012: 31) pointed out that “freezing and isolation of ethnic groups is a social and cognitive phenomenon of post Columbian provenience,” and the attribution of ethnonyms was a result of a “complete misunderstanding of ethnic and political dynamics of the Amerindian *socius*,” based on incompatibility of the “substantivist and national-territorialist” conceptions of society to the relative and relational nature of ethnic, political and social categories of indigenous people. In the Panoan context, recognition of the kaleidoscopic recombinations of identities have further contributed to such a critique, because, according to Fernando Santos Granero and Frederica Barclay, concentrating only on the fluidity of borders themselves produces distortion, because this implicates that despite reformulations, entities “are reproduced as essentially identical, and thus present an impossible continuity. Indeed, even if this can be the case for periods of short or medium duration, it most certainly is not for periods of long duration” (ibid.: xxx).

⁹ These fusions throughout Panoan territories have been taking different forms at different points in time, ranging from violent incorporations of the captives on a large scale, like among the Matses (Romanoff 1984; Matlock 2002; Matos 2009) or the Shipibo-Conibo (e.g. DeBoer 1986; Izaguirre 1922-29; cf. Santos-Granero 2010), to peaceful aggregations of people and groups at different points on the Panoan ethnic and linguistic continuum as exemplified by the Marubo and Katukina (see above), Nukini (Montagner-Melatti 1977; Montagner 2007), Yawanawa (Calavia Sáez 2001), Amahuaca (Dole 1998; Hewlett 2013), Isonahua (Whiton, Greene, and Momsen 1964), etc. Fernando Santos-Granero and Frederica Barclay (1994) proposed a model for intra-Panoan relations with the immediate social level of interactions, or the direct, mundane alliances and scissions.

¹⁰ In Erikson’s proposition, the Panoans were divided into eight principal cultural-linguistic categories, with the Capanahua classified within the “Central Panoans” (*mediens*, *medianos*, *Medianeros*) ensemble, intermediate between the Northern Pano (Mayoruna) and the Juruá-Purus Panoans (Yaminahua, Cashinahua, Amahuaca etc.) – and a missing link in the “Panoan unity” (Erikson 1992; 1993; 1994; 1999; cf. also Lima 2000; Welper 2009). This cluster included the Remo (i.e. population known historically as Remo and more recently as Isonahua and Nukini, cf. Krokoszyński 2007, 2008), Marubo, Katukina-Pano (including the group from the Campinas and Gregorio rivers, and those from the vicinity of Feijó, also known as Shanenaua), Poyanaua, and the historical Sensi (Erikson 1999). Editors of the *Guía Etnográfica* employed the name *Southern Mayoruna* in reference to this formation (Santos-Granero & Barclay 1994: xxiii). Historical, cultural and social continuities with other Panoans and neighbouring families question this classification, showing it to be primarily geographical. Here, too, recent linguistic investigation conducted by Fleck (2013) proves the category problematic, at least linguistically, as languages spoken by these people belong to various subgroups of the Nawa group.

language they spoke received attention from linguists due to the work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (1954-1990s) and more recently, of José Elias-Ulloa.¹¹ Yet, the written record on their history or society is scarce, making the “Capanahua” one of the least described Panoan nuclei.¹²

The detailed discussion of both the earlier sources and those referring to this particular population formed part of my M.A. dissertation (2008). Here, I want to note a remarkably consistent motif in outsiders’ ways of describing “the Capanahua” of the Tapiche over the last century, because it relates to my 2007 visit and is the very focus of this thesis. In an early reference from the 1920s, American Harvey Bassler informed German ethnographer Günter Tessmann that the Capanahua of the Tapiche were “civilized,” and living and working with a non-indigenous employer. Despite their separation from the national population,¹³ they were already “subjected to civilization to such an extent that it can be supposed that they will disappear within a short time”ⁱ (Tessmann 1999: 91).¹⁴ Around ten years later, Latvian geologist Victor Oppenheim described the Tapiche Capanahua as living “in complete liberty and independence of the civilized people. Of all the tribes of the ‘Panos’ race (...), the *Capanauas* left [us] the best impression of vitality,” maintaining their customs despite the “development” caused by contact with “civilization” (1936b; cf. 1936a: 10–11).¹⁵ Still, a decade later, in 1943, a physician originating from Germany, Máxime Kuczynski-Godard spoke of “the abandonment of their proper [way of] life” common to indigenous people on the Ucayali in contacts with bosses. As to the Tapiche Capanahua: “At the beginning, their proper economy was maintained; later, however, already working with different bosses, they abandoned it and degenerated as the other tribes in similar transformation”ⁱⁱ (2004: 123). In the 1950s, when the

¹¹ See: Elias-Ulloa 2004; 2006.

¹² This material is composed of: several brief references or descriptions by missionaries, researchers and other visitors (López 1903-46; 1912; 1922; Izaguirre 1922-29; Kuczynski-Godard 2004; Oppenheim 1936; 1995; Tessmann 1999; Lamb 1985). Work by Eugene E. Loos from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, includes 30 pages of ethnography (Loos 1960), unpublished reports on socio-economical situations (Loos 1972; 1979; nd.a; Loos, Davis, and Wise 1981), and notes on kinship or cultural categories (Loos nd.b; nd.c; nd.d). The Capanahua myths and historical narratives gathered by the SIL personnel (Loos and Loos 1976a; 1976b; nd.a; nd.b; Schoolland 1969; 1975; 1976a), as well as the linguistic publications that contain some information on the Capanahua people (Loos 1963; 1969; Loos and Loos 2003); synthetic lexical entries based on SIL personnel’s firsthand information (Ribeiro and Wise 1978; Thompson 1997; Sparing-Chávez 2005); and publications with some scattered ethnographic or historical information (Dumont and Garcia 1991; Palací and Pascual 2003). A recent socio-economic report for the *lotés* 134 and 158 prepared for Canadian oil company Talisman Energy contains information on the Buncuya inhabitants (Walsh Perú S.A. 2010).

¹³ It is worth mentioning that, based on information from Father López’ diary (López 1903-46), at the time canoe travel from the Ucayali to the upper Tapiche took several weeks. Today, a trip to San Antonio takes 5-7 days (see below).

¹⁴ This and other translations are my own, unless noted otherwise.

¹⁵ This might have been based on the encounter at the highest reaches of the Tapiche described in an unpublished manuscript (1995), where “the Capanahua” are naked, painted and tattooed, living in the forest, and although trading with a *patrón*, avoiding other strangers.

American SIL missionary Eugene Loos started working on the Buncuya River, he found that its inhabitants were “all really Capanahua. And quite vigorously Capanahua. They described their ancestors as being very strong... And brave... (...) But that didn’t last too long. Maybe 15-20 years, then they started going downhill” (ELO1). He explained to me in an email:

On the Buncuya, they kept pretty much to themselves from 1954 to 1970. Then outsiders began to intermarry with Capanahuas, and their children would understand but not use the language. The next generation lost it altogether (...) Acculturation was more advanced on the Tapiche where there was a greater influx of outsiders migrating in. (Feb 20 2009, Loos 2009-14)

This latter observation decided how the Capanahua continued to be described in SIL material:

[The Capanahua] is one of the tribes that assimilate most with national life, so that apart from their language and a few customs, they differ little from the local mestizos. They wear Western clothes, speak Spanish – although sometimes only roughly – build houses in the common [regional] styleⁱⁱⁱ (Loos nd.a)

In 1969, Loos described them as “among the more acculturated. Most of the younger adults are bilinguals (Spanish-Capanahua) with an increasing tendency to prefer Spanish.” (Loos 1969: 3-4). This opinion influenced other connected SIL publications:

Today they [the Capanahua] are integrated [into the national society] (...) – distinguished from the Spanish-speaking peasants mostly by the language (...). The fourth part of the group is proud of their maternal language; the rest wants to abandon it or is indifferent as to its use.^{iv} (Ribeiro and Wise 1978: 97–98)

Until only two or three generations ago, Capanahuas were still living in very primitive conditions. They wore little or no clothing and depended on hard-to-acquire stone implements (...). Today the Capanahuas have almost completely integrated into mestizo culture. They wear western type clothing, use iron tools, metal pots and other utensils obtained by working as labourers. (Sparing-Chávez 2005: 96–97)

The second time I returned to the Ucayali (2007), while still trying to understand the meaning of the stories and traces of the “uncontacted” people, whose ethnonyms changed as I travelled in the region, I was anxious to finally meet the people known as “the Capanahua,” as if there was a group. Yet, as Beder’s opening words show, this seemingly straightforward aim became just as problematic as the previous “quests.” In “the Capanahua” villages I found... that “there were no more Capanahua,” that is, as if there was no “group.” The people living there told me they were merely descendants. Wegmer (in his 20s) said that he did not understand the

Capanahua language, not even a little bit. He was not a Capanahua: if anything, there was a Capanahuillo stream [lit. little Capanahua] nearby, he smirked. The grandfathers used to be Capanahua, but his own father does not speak nor understand the language: “We are from another time already.” Others told me their parents or grandparents came from other parts of Peru, such as Jeberos¹⁶ or Requena, and merely “stayed to die” in this place, some learning to speak Capanahua. Beder (in his late 20s), said that even in the old days, while strangers thought that here, far away, was where the “wild Indians” lived, this was not true. He speculated that his own grandparents were a *cruce* [mixed-blood], as they had “almost blue eyes,” celebrated birthdays, and knew how to read. They would invite mestizos to live with them, and it was such a gathering that it also composed of “the Capanahua.” Later, when the *gringos* (SIL missionaries) came, they made a large longhouse, and shared the languages. The old Capanahua spoke English, and the *gringos* spoke Capanahua. However, since Thelma Schoolland (the last SIL missionary) stopped coming (in 1990s), no one had been able to teach the language to the people and there was no one they could practice it with. Beder also told me that the *alcalde* [mayor] did not help them, and there was no one to organise the people or to assist them, thus disunion reigns. Then, one night, a man in his late 30s came to ask me for medicine. He addressed me as “*wetsan*” (brother in Capanahua). He told me he did not speak Capanahua to anyone, because his companions did not want to converse in the language. Smiling, he said, “the majority can speak it, but they are ashamed, they don’t want to.” Later, I discovered from genealogies that the villagers who talked to me were predominantly descendants of people whom others have identified as “Capanahua.”

Given the description of the 2007 visit, we might wonder what the significance is of this recurring historical motif. How much of it can be attributed to the European and American visitors’ expectations of what “the Capanahua” – living on the isolated Buncuya or at the end of the Tapiche (the longest of the Ucayali’s tributaries) – should be like? How much of it is due to representations of “the Capanahua” persons’ past and present that they offered to these visitors and to themselves, also within certain understanding what “the Capanahua” meant (for example, the “strong

¹⁶ Jeberos is a town and district on the Aipena River, in the Alto Amazonas province, in the Loreto region of Peru. Requena is a town, district and province of Loreto, situated on the Lower Ucayali River, at the mouth of the Tapiche River.

ancestors” or “the real Capanahua” being gone motifs)? Noticeable in those conjunctions is a repeatedly transitive character of consecutive historical moments. The process of “transformation” or loss is not quite finished in any such instantiation of a historical present. It is predicted to be accomplished “within a short time,” only to recur in every generation for another century. In the process, the idea of a more authentic “Capanahua” is projected back in time and deeper underneath the visible surfaces until, for example, only the (half-remembered) language remains in the present. Therefore, descriptions of the continuously elusive Capanahua, consistently hovering on the brink of extinction – pertain to these very ancestors, whom I was told by the villagers themselves during this visit in 2007, were the “real” Capanahua, as opposed to the their “diluted” descendants. While, over the last century, (that is, the history we know from written sources) the process of intersubjective cultural or social change seems to be real enough, the question remains; how did its participants or witnesses make sense of these historical situations? Why would they repeatedly make them transitional, and yet not quite finished? Is this series of encounters indicative of a long history of gradual disappearance of an “ethnic category”? Or is it “too easy an interpretation,” and we might reflect on it following the words of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who, observing the repeatedly reported indifference towards “holy” effigies abandoned among the Caduveo, wrote that “[a] situation which remains stationary for fifty years can only be called, in one sense, normal” (1961: 156)?

On the one hand, it is possible to guess what “being Capanahua” and “not being Capanahua” might have meant to European and American visitors. In descriptions of these encounters, the consecutive generations of “the Capanahua” are said to become less and less like “themselves.” The visitors through reference to the interfluvial habitat, longhouses, painting or possibly tattooing, funeral anthropophagy, signal drums, large feasts, wooden sword-clubs, and language define this process. Instead, the Capanahua become more like “someone else.” They regrettably lose their distinctiveness and become “the same” as anyone else in eastern Peru. My own initial observation about the villagers’ indistinctiveness in 2007 revealed a similar approach. Eugene Loos explicitly identifies the story and its terms in the above quotes: such a particular present bears the traces of the process of “acculturation.” Such history relies on the Europeans’ or Americans’ own perceptions of the categories assumed and consequences imagined for this process: the elusive, disappearing “Capanahua” cease to be “indigenous” or “traditional.”

On the other hand, how the historical “Capanahua” understood such moments themselves will remain unknown. Yet, in the particular instance of such a transformative moment that I observed, I could inquire what sense the people living on the Tapiche and the Buncuya rivers were making of it. While they also used “the Capanahua” category and told the story of disappearing, their approach seemed more radical in its take on the notions of descent or identity, which decide how we understand processes of socio-cultural change. What, then, was the meaning for the villagers of what looks like “acculturation” to Euro-Americans? What did “being someone else already,” “being Capanahua,” and most of all, being “a descendant,” mean for the “acculturated” people themselves?

3. Acculturation and the generative process

Between the 1980s and 1990s, ethnographers started paying attention to the hitherto “invisible” indigenous people of the Amazon, and their subjectivity within their socio-historical positions.¹⁷ Peter Gow’s work with the eastern Peruvian Urubamba River villagers has been particularly instrumental in contributing to a shift in perspectives on “acculturated” people. It directly addressed the very idea of “history,” “transformation” or “acculturation”¹⁸ through ethnographic research with apparently “non-traditional” Amazonian people. The gradual reorientation to which this work contributed allowed for presenting the contemporary, acculturated populations in the Lowlands as continuing their own socio-cultural concerns in contemporary settings. Further, it allows for local explanations regarding historical processes and for understanding how these influence contemporary situations.¹⁹ Indigenous understandings and uses of the state institutions such as native community organisation, schools, or foreign cultural elements in general, were presented as complex expressions of continuity and discontinuity, rather than unambiguous indicators of passive cultural loss, as represented in previous approaches.

¹⁷ E.g. Whitten 1981; Stocks 1978, 1983; Taylor 1981.

¹⁸ See: Gow 1991, 2001, 2003, 2007, 2009; Amoroso, de Lima, and Gow 2011.

¹⁹ This shift coincided with the general trend (Viveiros de Castro 1996) in Amazonian studies to connect ethnographic and historical approaches, which produced several important volumes and ethnographies (see: Overing-Kaplan 1977; Hill 1988; Whitehead 2003; Gow 2001; Fausto & Heckenberger 2007; Vilaça 2010). Importantly, these investigations not only considered the readings of histories by Amerindian people, but also the ways in which Amazonians themselves created their histories. Social or cultural historical transformations in this part of South America were no longer attributed exclusively to the subjectivity and agency of the colonizers, but analyzed from all the perspectives and contributions involved.

In embarking on this project with “acculturated” people such as the Capanahua descendants, I have taken these developments in anthropological perspectives as the starting point. In an endeavour to make sense of what the villagers told me and other people about their historical and social position might therefore amount to their own “theory of acculturation.” In this effort, I join other anthropologists who address the problem of the socio-cultural transformations, acculturation, or interethnic contact in the South American Lowlands from the perspectives of those directly involved.²⁰ Because of the effort to emphasize a creative resilience rather than a passive loss, such attempts usually emphasize the continuities across the thresholds of “change” in these processes. In this case, I take the continuities and agency as given, and indeed illustrate some of the striking continuities implied by the similarities of the villagers’ explanations with those of other, more “traditional” Amazonians. However, I also ask about the Capanahua descendants’ agency in formulating and producing the discontinuities that they conceive in time: either as diagnoses of the inherently devolutionary character of the world, always on the wane, and/or as recognition of their own choices and actions, refusing continuity of what they see as undesirable, and in their own ways. That is, the “subjective” character of their “passivity” in allowing themselves to “be seen” historically.²¹

The obvious problem here is that the Capanahua descendants do not use a category of “acculturation,” which indexes the anthropologist’s or Euro-American’s problem with the flow of history. Instead, Beder, Wegmer and Clomber answered my questions as if I was asking about their relations with parents or grandparents (whom other people called “the Capanahua”), and about their own position as descendants, living in particular places that their ancestors have abandoned. Therefore, their take on “acculturation” revolved around specific formulations of an intergenerational aspect of kinship. Yet, the negative way they spoke about it alluded to something other than “descent” as the unifying principle. While affirming a connection to the

²⁰ Recently interethnic contacts or acculturations have been understood in the ethnographic terms of corporeal-perspectival transformations. This was done either through focus on perspectival changes and the process of “becoming other” (McCallum 1990; Lepri 2003; Calavia Sáez 2004, 2006; Kelly 2005; Costa 2007; Naveira 2007; Oakdale 2008; Santos-Granero 2009; Tola 2009; Vilaça 1999; Vilaça & Wright 2009; Feather 2010; Sarmiento Barletti 2011; Gil & Naveira 2013; Hewlett 2013); or on the processes of establishing new kinship relations or on the knowledge which would make the transformation possible (Gow 1991, 2001); or alternatively as establishing relations in terms of mastery and taming (Rival 1999; Bonilla 2005, 2007; Walker 2013).

²¹ On the complications of speaking about the subjectivity in the “perspectival” context of South American explanations, see (Course 2010).

ancestors, they did not associate it with an unambiguous transmission of identity. Rather, they affirmed they had no identity, were “normal,” and “mixed” – that is, no one and everyone – generic “Peruvians.” Similarly perhaps to the undefined, unmarked normality of acculturated or potentially acculturated *nangami shuar*, a “just-so person” residing in the cultures’ middle ground of “zero states” (Taylor 1996).

Therefore, to imagine what my question about “acculturation” might mean to them, I assumed it would be useful to consider the kinds of relations conceived between the villagers and their ancestors, and to inquire into the assumptions regarding procreation, time and identities that allowed them to make sense of the world in their specific ways. My questions were aimed at addressing how Beder and his fellow villagers represented “the general area of the relationship between generations and the ‘generative process’ (...) that we call ‘descent’” (Rivière 1993: 511, 513). I did not mean to return to the notion of “descent” as a recruitment principle that could define groups or the transmission of goods (based on the ways of imagining African social systems within the anthropological traditions of “descent theory”²²). My interest lay in “uncovering indigenous representations of the relational forms that underlie lived kin relationships” (Taylor 2001: 45). As such, it resulted from the trajectory initiated with the recognition of limitations of such conceptual models in Lowland South America (as earlier in Melanesia²³). Such critical re-evaluation of the anthropological notions of descent and alliance in the mid-1970s for understanding lowland South American societies²⁴ has been a fundamental step towards the individuation of Amazonian studies in anthropology. It has led to attempts at understanding descent and affinity in terms of indigenous Lowland South Americans themselves (Rivière 1993; Viveiros de Castro 1996). In a wider perspective, these investigations might be seen as paralleling anthropological concerns more broadly, by taking interest in the local constructions of “kinship” (Schneider 1980, 1984).

Peter Rivière noted that the development of Amazonian anthropology, guided by the effort to “rid ourselves of the unwanted connotations that cling to descent” (1993: 510) has rendered it speechless in the face of Amazonian relations that involve

²² See: Radcliffe-Brown 1965; Fortes 1969; cf. also Schneider 2011; Scheffler 2001.

²³ See: Wagner 1967.

²⁴ See: Lévi-Strauss 1969; Rivière 1969; Overing Kaplan 1972, 1973, 1975, 1981; Maybury-Lewis 1979; Da Matta 1982.

transmissions between generations. Over two decades after Rivière's observation, talking of specific notions of descent in Amazonia, already difficult because of its critiqued genealogical connotations, became even more difficult. For one, unifying principles transmitted between generations did not appear common in Amazonia, and in either case, not directly associated with procreation. The anthropologists²⁵ who did see Amerindian "descent" as potentially organizing, pointed to the "non-substantial" character of transmissions of "symbolic" values, such as names, souls, and so on which were "acquired" rather than given, transmitted "externally" rather than "internally" unifying, and thus, at least partially transcending procreation.²⁶

Secondly, "consanguinity" came to be associated with produced rather than given or genealogically transmitted similarity. Anthropologists have come to understand commonalities, continuities, or unities of indigenous Amazonians' socialities as produced or "put on" rather than inherited or given. Based on corporeal idioms that defined the Amazonian studies,²⁷ consubstantialities were presented as the result of conscious human activities aimed at reworking or masking the original otherness through care, co-residence, commensality, and conviviality.²⁸ If the idiom of blood as used by Amazonians was considered, it was often analysed within the larger paradigm of relatedness, as constructed by human activities rather than transmitted as "kinship" along with the acts of procreation itself. Production of similarity was thus seen as mediated by relations of the original alterities. Therefore, the idea of "kinship" could be extracted from the procreative process, which appeared not to be connected with the transmission of identities, or constitutive of relatedness. I return to this in the Conclusion.

Largely, Amazonian studies have developed by moving away from notions of descent, based on a given similarity or uniting principle, and instead have built theoretically on the paradigm of alliance and marital exchange in constructivist, Amerindianized views of Lowland ethnographies. Following the foundational move away from "descent" to "alliance" or "affinity," Amazonian studies inherited the

²⁵ See: Hugh-Jones 1993, 2002, 2002; Lea 1986, 1992; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; cf. Lepri 2005; Mancuso 2013.

²⁶ Similarly, in Melanesian kinship, the corporeal focus of processual "relatedness" or "new kinship studies" (e.g. Carsten 1995b, 2001, 2004) has recently been critiqued by demonstrating the lack of "bodily" or "biological" substrate in the area (Bamford 2007; cf. Latour 2004). This reflects on Euro-American biological, genealogical imagery in general (Bamford & Leach 2009), as well as on the idiom of "blood" itself (Carsten 2013) in defining "kinship" (cf. Schneider 1984).

²⁷ See: Seeger et al. 1979; Seeger 1981; Viveiros de Castro 1986, 2002; Vilaça 2005.

²⁸ See: Belaunde 1992; Fausto 2007; Gow 1991; Kidd 1999, 1999; McCallum 2001; Overing & Passes 2000; Santos-Granero 1991; Taylor 2001; Vilaça 2002 etc.

structural language of marital exchanges. In an important essay, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2001) pointed to the somewhat unbounded character of social constructivism in theorizing Amazonian socialities. He proposed some limits by taking the logical consequences of binary structural relations to their conclusion, and identifying affinity and difference as the Wagnerian (1981) given of indigenous Amazonians' relations, which precedes and hierarchically encompasses produced consanguinity and sameness.²⁹ The paradigmatic relation is identified as alterity and associated with horizontal relations of "affinity" in this context. In turn, the vertical, generative relations of filiation, especially between fathers and sons, or mothers and daughters, are placed closer to the pole marked by sameness, which results from processes conceived as cloning, and thus, lean towards identifying "consanguinity" as a non-relation (cf. Taylor 2000, 2001). My argument here is that such understanding may associate the relations created by procreation with an automatic continuity and similarity, as a possible corollary of the conventional anthropological wisdom of "kinship" (Schneider 1984).

Returning to the Buncuya encounter: if difference is a relation, and sameness is the lack of it, what would the implication of Wegmer and others explicitly defining themselves as *not* identical to their ancestors, but rather – diachronically – “someone else already” be? Would we tell them whom they are, based on our expectations and interest in continuity (or descent), thus perceiving them as “acculturated,” yet actually the same: simply as clones or transformations of preceding societies and cultures? “Invisible,” but still exotic “Indians”? We could assume that this difference is the result of the process of “becoming other” that has been helpful in explaining similar situations in other places.³⁰ However, considering that from their own points of view and in a local context, it makes more sense to speak about their “ceasing to be others,” is it possible to consider their explanations of the generative process itself as responsible for a radical discontinuity? In any case, it is not enough to say that Wegmer and others were concentrated on the horizontal, affinal relations, and that descent or filiation did not matter to them. They actually used the demonstrably

²⁹ The argument itself is based on extensive formal analyses determining the logics or diachronic transformations of kinship systems (e.g. Hornborg 1988; Viveiros de Castro 1995; 1996a; Henley 1996; cf. Godelier et al. 1998). This focused on alliance-based variants of Dravidian or Australian systems, as well as on the logical consequences of alterity as the totalizing idiom of kinship, dialectics of affinity and consanguinity and predation in indigenous ontologies (Fausto 1999; Overing 1983; Viveiros de Castro 1986).

³⁰ See: Viveiros de Castro 1992; Vilaça 1999; Kelly 2005; Gil & Naveira 2013.

broken connection with the ancestors as a difference through which to speak about themselves. I argue in this thesis that filiation among the villagers proves more problematic than reproduction or cloning of identity. If procreation produces a “dividual” child, villagers focus on its discontinuative rather than the reproduced or cloned aspect. The problem thus proved quite literally, much “deeper,” and in fact related to the distribution and transposing of dimensions of the “visible” or perceptible, and “invisible,” or concealed and contained, which effect reproduction and other relations. Following such ways of making sense of that “(non-) relation” has literally everted my view of the categories and terms involved, in a manner that shows filiation or descent – based on separation and marked with ambiguously fertile cosmological “difference” (which in this context means discontinuity) – as a kind of relation. Moreover, a relation resulting from the dynamics echoing those of encompassment or incorporations that came to be labelled as “predation” (Viveiros de Castro 1992) or “familiarizing predation” (Fausto 1999), generally reserved by Amazoniansts for relations of affinity (or adoption), but not procreative relations.

Crucial for the present argument is that both poles of the above model of approaching Amazonian relations are impossible or potential. That is, actual, lived filiation never reaches a complete state of de-affinization, and never produces the “consanguineal replica” (Viveiros de Castro 2001) of their parents. It is the “horizon” of consanguinity (Taylor 2001). This is true also of the opposite pole, the pure “hyper-relation” or predation. In other words, the process of reaching either pole always seems to be “almost finished” yet never actually is in real life, which makes it reminiscent of the historical moments of “the Capanahua” being “on the wane.” Such liminal quality is, as this thesis attempts to show, at the heart of the living people’s problem, as I came to understand their representations. This can actually be explained as the curse of unachievability of both poles. It is therefore in this “asymptotic” state of incompleteness, with its tangent in infinity, that I situate my analysis of “descent” as an infliction of the past, which produces ambiguity of the present.³¹

Further, an important consequence for the present case is that, as I will attempt to show, when seen from a local perspective, both perfect “consanguinity,” as

³¹ Cf. Fausto 1999 on the impossibility of neutralizing the pet’s subjectivity.

well as “potential affinity” eludes the actual present life. In the non-ideal, post-mythic conditions, procreation, the generative process, that is, “descent,” is, for the Capanahua descendants most of all, disjunctive: dissimilating rather than uniting because it transmits the partiality of identities or differences. The genitors and descendants are mutually differentiated, discontinuous “others,” and the differences they leave behind complicate the unity of the community. Just as procreation would be conducive to differentiation and hierarchy, overcoming the discontinuity produced by procreation or origins would be the function of marriage, alliance, relations of assimilation, and “equality.” I will argue that for Clomber and his neighbours, the village space, everted, is the external space where affinity and neighbourhood strive for unity and purity. In other words, for clarity from the remains of internal, consanguineal hierarchies and differences that is, the potentially disjunctive “descent” concealed behind people’s appearances. In short, the villagers are trying to establish sameness or continuity that they assume is ultimately unachievable, from the differences or discontinuities that they see as ultimately indelible. Here, ideal consanguinity and ideal affinity would turn out to be very close to each other as ideal pre-differentiation and post-differentiation (both non-discontinuity), both opposed to the dividual realities of procreation and the mixed, “third” status of living people. What this means is that Amerindianization of not only affinity, but also of descent results in the distance between them to appear less obvious. We use a “controlled equivocation” (Viveiros de Castro 2004) when speaking of “affinity,” in a way which actually extends beyond the position suggested by its embeddedness in the language of marital alliances. Thus, we might, perhaps, attempt to understand these specific relations of “descent” or “filiation,” as a vehicle that allows a glimpse into the difficult, obscure side of Amazonian kinship or sociality.

Here, “descent,” and “kinship” created in procreation as defined by the villagers, differs from the anthropologists’ expectations of what it should be, by referring to the discontinuative and disjunctive, and obviated side of the social. That is what I hope the title of this thesis suggests, by connecting “infliction” definitions of the Oxford English Dictionary, to the villagers’ topology and character of “descent” or “kinship”:

inflict: a) To lay on as a stroke, blow, or wound; to impose as something that must be suffered or endured; to cause to be borne; b) To impose something unwelcome; c)

With inverted construction: To afflict, assail, trouble (a person) with something painful or disagreeable.

infliction: a) The action of inflicting (pain, punishment, annoyance, etc.; b) An instance of this; something inflicted, as pain, punishment, etc., or in weaker sense, an annoyance, a nuisance, a 'visitation'.

4.1. Capanahua descendants as the eastern Peruvian villagers

According to Eugene Loos, “the Capanahua” who he worked with between 1954 and the 1980s, were reluctant to be identified with this exonym, because they felt it connoted stranger or “wild Indian” (*nawa*) status. Instead, they preferred to call themselves merely *nuken kaibu*, “our breeds/kin” (Loos 2009-14). Currently, on the Tapiche and Buncuya Rivers, people are sometimes taken aback when they are called Capanahua, especially the extremely rude variant “*Capacho*,” an unequivocally pejorative designation. “The Capanahua” name is used today to refer to “the ancestors” (*antiguos*), and in ordinary situations people would identify as merely their offspring or descendants. Why this should be so actually composes the subject of this thesis. Note that the designation “Capanahua descendants” reflects an important idea about themselves. The word *paisanos* [“of a kind” – lit. countrymen] can be used by themselves (and sometimes, mestizos) for identifying people of similar, Capanahua descent. Those, apart from “the villagers” of Limón Cocha and Berea, are the designations I use in this thesis.

The villagers refer to their vernacular language as *castellano*. It is a variant of Spanish spoken in the Peruvian Amazon (Ramírez 2012), which I refer to as Loreto-Ucayali Spanish (SIL 2015), or “LUS,” throughout this thesis. LUS words appear in *cursive*. In the villages the additional local specific is that it includes a number of Capanahua words or expressions (referring to animals or fish, work, food, or drinking), and some of its grammatical features seem to reflect those in the Capanahua language. My referral to Capanahua words in this work largely reflects the words many of the villagers know and sometimes use. The Capanahua utterances appear with the *underlined cursive* (see Appendix 4 for details of orthographic convention). There are no monolingual speakers of Capanahua in the villages.³² The older generations (over 60s) are usually the most fluent bilingual speakers. Middle-aged villagers have a largely passive knowledge. Most people under 40 have little

³² It has indeed been included in UNESCO’s “Interactive Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger” (Moseley 2010) with the vitality status “severely endangered.”

knowledge of it, and no children speak or understand Capanahua as far as I am aware. On the other hand, apart from talking with people, during our stay in Limón, I attempted to learn some Capanahua by reading texts and translations recorded by SIL. Although I have not become a fluent reader (without the dictionary) or speaker, this nevertheless provided me with enough competence in occasional Capanahua expressions used in daily life, and additional insight on the connections between ideas which may not be evident based on the LUS words alone.

Although the villagers' temporal and social position could be argued to be the point in which the process of "acculturation" converges with the Amazonian ethos of opening up to alterity, or the Panoan "constitutive alterity" (Erikson 1986), I speak of the Capanahua descendants as *Loretanos*, or eastern Peruvians, rather than as the Capanahua, or the Panoans, resisting an attempt to compartmentalize various elements of their lived world. I try to avoid unsubstantiated historical claims as to the provenience of any representations. I focus instead on the way these representations were invested with meaning by the people who used them in the villages during my stay. Further, my hope is that this work will be an opportunity to glimpse what being "indigenous" or "non-indigenous," "traditional" or "non-traditional" means in the specific context where false friends of Euro-American categories function in the much broader eastern Peruvian social imagery. In eastern Peru, the presence of the state may be understood as the composite of agencies and imaginaries of people such as the Capanahua descendants. That is to say, the original inhabitants of the area, engaged in, and reformulating the idea of Peru as a "middle ground" (White 1991), in dialogue with socio-cultural systems or dynamics possibly pre-dating the existence of the modern Peruvian state.

4. Fieldwork

The thesis is the result of fieldwork conducted in eastern Peru over 19 months, between August 2011 and March 2013. I use "we" throughout the thesis when referring to my girlfriend Kinga Kokot and me, as we were there together for the duration of fieldwork. The stay was initiated on the Buncuya River, in Berea, also known as Nuevo Aipena, in the native community (*comunidad nativa*) Aipena, with a population oscillating at around 70 inhabitants. We spent a total of three months (two stays), between October 2011 and January 2012 in Aipena. Later, we moved to *comunidad nativa* Limón Cocha on the Tapiche River, with some 150 or more

permanent inhabitants.³³ We spent a total of 11 months there (two longer stays), between December 2011 and March 2013.

Limón (as the village is normally abbreviated) is situated around 190km from Requena as the bird flies.³⁴ However, the only access is the Tapiche River itself, which is in no hurry to reach the Ucayali River and Requena. The fantastic bends it creates lengthen the distance to around 450km. Hence, in reality, the seemingly moderate distance on the map spells 40-60 hours, or around three to four days of travel downriver. The reverse journey is 50-70 hours upriver from Requena to Limón, which usually takes four-seven days.³⁵ Berea is two-three days (27-29 hours) from the Ucayali River and the town of Tamanco (which connects to Requena and Iquitos by large commercial boats called *lanchas*), first up the Guanache and then the Buncuya Rivers. The reverse route requires around one-two days (19 hours) of travel downriver. The 85km as the bird flies stretches here to over 200km when following the meandering river.³⁶ During long journeys and unplanned delays, we also came to know many mestizo villages, towns and cities. Additionally, I went to the uppermost villages on the Tapiche for a few days in September 2012. In April 2013, I paid a visit to the SIL missionaries Eugene and Betty Loos in Dallas, Texas.

³³ Aipena was inscribed as a “Capanahua native community” by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1980, and received entitlement to the land in 1984. For Limón, this was in 1982 and 1984. The third and so far last native community registered as Capanahua with the land title also originating in that period is Yarina Frontera, inhabited by the descendants of speakers of the Lower Capanahua dialect, known from the SIL publications as Pahlenbaquebo. Four additional Tapiche villages (Palmera, Monte Alegre, Fátima (Nuestra Señora De Fatima), and Nueva Esperanza) were registered by the Peruvian government as Capanahua in 2001, but have not yet received land titles. Finally, in 2010, Victor Raúl on the Buncuya was also registered as a Capanahua native community, and has no land title. Wicungo has recently participated as a “Capanahua native community” in consultation over oil exploration on Lote 164 (Perupetro S.A. 2014). The Map in Fig. 3 situates all of these communities.

³⁴ Requena (population 18,000 in 2007) is situated at the confluence of the Tapiche and Ucayali Rivers, and is the capital of Requena Province (74,041). The latter includes, among others, the Alto Tapiche District (2,106), to which Limón Cocha belongs, and where Santa Elena (1,000) is the capital. The Emilio San Martín District (7,488) has Tamanco (1,000?) as the capital and is where Berea belongs (INEI 2015; INICTEL-UNI 2014; Wikipedia 2015).

³⁵ Times depend on the engine, boat, cargo, and the driver. The standard medium of transportation in the *Selva* [lit. tropical forest, here: eastern part of Peru] is a wooden boat equipped with the long shaft *pequepeque* engine. Their capacity usually ranges between 5.5 to 13 HP, producing an average speed of 6-9 km/h upriver and 13- 16 km/h downriver. Only the wealthier logging bosses or the oil company uses speedboats, which make the travel much faster, because the cost of gasoline increases proportionately to the shortening of the journey. Near Limón Cocha upriver about 2.5 hours lies Nuevo Esperanza (a few remaining houses from the village). From there, about 2.5 hours upriver lies San Antonio (de Fortaleza), and a further 4 hours takes one to Bellavista, which is the uppermost permanently inhabited village on the Tapiche River currently. On the way from Limón Cocha to San Antonio, there are also five *puestos* or *fundos* inhabited by single families. Travelling downriver the closest village to Limón is Fátima, about 1 hour away. Further down the Tapiche are Monte Alegre and Pacasmayo (around 2 hours), then Frontera Yarina (another 4.5 h, with a few houses left from the former village), Wicungo (2 h). From there, it is another 4.5 hours to reach Santa Elena (see Fig. 3).

³⁶ Berea is the farthest extant settlement, and its only neighbour on the whole of Buncuya River is Victor Raúl, located around 2 two hours downriver. From there, a long stretch of the Guanache River flows through uninhabited lowlands to the villages near Tamanco (see Fig. 3).

4.1. Participant observation

During our stay in Berea and Limón, we often joined in communal or individual work, attended feasts and celebrations, public meetings, and visited (*pasear*) and received visitors. In Berea, we lived in a house kindly provided by Clomber. When in Limón, after initially being located in the teachers' house, the villagers built a small house for us on the *Pu'inawa*, or "Shit Street."³⁷ Occasionally, I accompanied the men on hunting, fishing or foraging expeditions, while Kinga joined women at work, or playing football and volleyball. We spent quite a bit of time worrying about food, and participated in the local economy with commodities we brought from town. At the insistence of the villagers, we started accepting money instead of food for the commodities (fishhooks, fishing lines, shotgun shells, candies, oil) we brought, which – I imagine – allowed them to avoid being indebted to us and the expectation of sharing what they caught or hunted with these materials. Once we had achieved a rudimentary level of production (fish from our nets or plants from our little garden), we were occasionally able to feebly join in the food exchange network. With our neighbours, we shared hunger and food, fun, boredom and hard work with machete, mosquito and black fly bites, heat and humidity, small talk, jokes and stories, gossip and frustrations. We talked, watched and were watched; laughed with and were laughed at; got irritated and were the source of irritations. Every night, in a little netbook charged with a solar panel during the day, I took notes based on memos taken throughout the day of conversations, events, expressions, genealogical connections, techniques, practices, and so on.

4.2. Being affected

An important aspect of this experience was composed by facing the very processes and forces that dictate the specific, tense rhythm of village life over long periods. Such problems came to influence the conception of this ethnography. Initially, some of the challenges may have been related to our status as strangers; welcomed with a mixture of attraction and distrust. People made sense of us either as "owners"; the source of goods and money, or as "predators"; extractors of people's faces or fat, of knowledge or language to "sell" in our land. Yet we shared other problems with the villagers. Thus, we were affected by or frustrated with the same

³⁷ It is a playful use of a geographical name from the Lower Ucayali River, Canal de Puinahua. Since Puinahua comes from a Panoan language and signifies literally "faeces-strangers," it was given by the villagers to a street where people would go to relieve themselves before the houses were built.

things that many of our friends were when they said “it’s impossible to live well here” (thefts, accusations, prejudice, avarice, envy, rumours, lies, misunderstandings, helplessness, inability to cooperate, and distrust). Achieving a perpetual, harmonious social domain was commented on explicitly as notoriously thwarted. It took a long time to approach slightly their lightness in face of such problems (“What can you do?!”) (cf. Pollard 2009).

One might say these problems composed the repetitive moments of “being affected” in the very positions that are posited and made sense of by Capanahua descendants, which this thesis strives to approximate. As with the experience that led to the original formulation of this notion by Jeanne Favret-Saada (2012: 104–08), here, too, we have been affected by the dynamics which ultimately connect with sorcery. Experiencing and navigating these tangible predicaments took much of our energy in the villages, and taught me more about the way people make sense than mere conversations could. In the end, these conditions played a tremendous role in shaping my understanding of local terms, dynamics and relations, on which they are based and which they reproduce. For this reason attention is paid to opacities and clearings; internalizations and externalizations; surfaces and contents; “owning” or “containing”; the frustrating and life-producing “thirdness” of things, words, or substances received or extracted.

4.3. *Conversaciones* (recordings)

Another repetitive activity that structured our experience in the villages and defined my work for the people was for me to *conversar* [talk]. I visited people in their homes, while others preferred to visit us and talk while I recorded the conversations. I paid for such conversations with modest amounts of money and/or commodities. These were mostly unstructured or semi-structured interviews. While my questions were not completely irrelevant, they were not very decisive. Most often, they served to begin conversation or to try my turn at using the local ways of making sense. Although I made sure to come back to certain subjects, I did not aim for consistent theories, and instead inquired into personal understandings or interpretations and sometimes confronted them with explanations from other such conversations or daily life. Appendix 1 presents short portraits of those people that most often had enough patience to talk with me during those recorded conversations, and therefore have ended up having a decisive voice in this thesis. They were mostly

middle-aged people (40-60), and less often elders or younger people, whose perspectives in turn largely come from daily interactions rather than recorded interviews.

I thought the only way it was partially possible to understand how people make meaning was to listen to them, although I might have followed the ethnographic advice too extremely to listen carefully and to take what they say seriously. By the end of our stay in Limón, the recordings included 164 conversations. After leaving Peru and before starting to write the thesis, contrary to the advice of my supervisor (and apparently the common practice among my colleagues), I have transcribed and coded (using Nvivo software) 152 conversations (approximately 225 hours), resulting in over 850K words.³⁸ The 10 months spent at this laborious task turned out to be a new and extremely fruitful phase of fieldwork and understanding, which made me even more aware of how little my questions actually mattered, how they were misunderstood, or how they were naïve and intrusive, especially in the beginning. This history of mistakes and misunderstandings was tremendously instructive. Despite my questions, the conversations created an invaluable data set, which evaded simplified generalizations by revealing discussions, individual interpretations or doubts on a variety of subjects. As much as my field notes allow for a different perspective and additional contexts for these conversations, in a few cases (e.g. summary notes that I made immediately after a recorded conversation) I found them less reliable in conveying the nuances of people's expressions than with recordings. Therefore, I had no choice, but to use that material extensively in preparing the thesis. I have used a separate referencing system, directing the reader to Appendix 2, the list of recordings and field notes, and to Appendix 7 with the original quotes (marked throughout the text with Roman numerals). Using the Capanahua descendants' words in a way that other academics reference their colleagues, I hoped to emphasize their importance in shaping the arguments.

5. Ethnographic theory

Importantly, I came to realise that their opinions comment on anthropological opinions. In many ways, the condition for doing this fieldwork has been suspending my academic preparation, rather than using it to understand how my interlocutors

³⁸ Additionally, 34 other recordings documenting public meetings, sermons, etc. Eugene Loos has kindly allowed me to digitalize 41 audio tapes with recordings in Capanahua recorded between 1970s and 1980s. These have not been transcribed.

and neighbours explained the world to themselves and to me with preconceived notions about what “the Amazonians” should be like. I sometimes tried to share what I learned about Amazonians from anthropological writings with them, but their comments on basic premises were often surprising. How could it be, that kinship is produced?, they asked. It was not true that their bodies were highly transformational, or that animals were actually humans – these times belonged to the ancient ones and ended a long time ago. Sometimes they told me these were either “lies” or “just stories.” Similar comments also contributed to the direction of this thesis. My ways of making sense have been “affected” by the villagers’ ways of making sense. I have become more interested in what they had to say about themselves and the subjects discussed by anthropologists. They were perfectly capable of explaining themselves to themselves and to others like me. As I understand it, this is the way that Marcio Goldman (2013) draws from Bronisław Malinowski’s “ethnographic theory” (Malinowski 1935) to present the views on “politics” by members of the Afro-cultural movement in Ilhéus’ (cf. also Da Col and Graeber 2011). Such theory is a mediatory form between the reflecting anthropologist and the people he writes about. Equally, the villagers had something to say about what “acculturation process,” “being Peruvian” or “descendant” is.

Therefore, in this thesis, I attempt to use these affects, or my diminished copies (cf. Ch. 4) of the terms used by the Capanahua descendants to speak about themselves. In other words, it is another experiment with the anthropologist imagining how the terms of the villagers’ social, cultural or historical theories might look like. One implication of this is that these ways of understanding spill out of the original context. In the process, some of my previous understandings of categories used in (Amazonian) anthropology - such as inside and outside, alterity or consanguinity and affinity, continuity and discontinuity or traditional and acculturated (which here are reflections of each other) – are watched as in a prism, folded back, transfigured or inseminated.

Still, as much as that third product between us might be a “theory,” I would hesitate to call their explanations a “theory” not because they are not making and remaking sense, using sets of standard formulations. I hesitate because I imagine that they participate in the processes of constituting meanings, or explaining them to themselves and others (Toren 1990; 1993; Gow 2001) that correlate with the

“elemental affective stances,” “schemes of relating” or “modes of ‘relating to’” (Taylor 2001). Therefore, the result of such conversations and my ways of making sense of theirs, as well as of our experiences, is a dense landscape of connections and disjunctions, hidden similarities and false friends, working misunderstandings and mistaken understandings. I hope that this thesis will partially relay some of the “density” that reflects our experience of these conversations and the layers of our life in the villages.

Unknowing, for the Capanahua descendants, was an important, ambivalent, and therefore potent, element of life: causing trouble, as well as expressing the marvel of the world.³⁹ The ritual of rhetorical co-questioning „*Porqué quizás!?*” [Why on earth!?!], „*Aishta!*” [Well that is the question!], „*Quién sabe!*” [Who knows?!], or the epistemological „*Nooo se puede saber!*” or „*Niii se sabe!*” [One could not know this!] – were the staple of conversations and the fieldwork experience. Villagers’ everyday statements were often situated in constructions contained between „*¿!Como quizás!?*” (corresponding to the Capanahua suffix *-ra*), and/or „*digo yo*” [I’d say], or „*así me dicho*” [that’s what I was told – a LUS equivalent of the Capanahua reportative *ki*]. It is as if the narrators realized that when they repeat what was told to them by others, or report what they have seen, listeners can take it as potential *engaño* [trickery] or *mentira* [lies]. They tended to be explicitly sceptical about the human ability to know or about finding ultimate explanations. For me, this is an expression of a darkly realistic humbleness and suspension of belief in any “theories” or “stories,” and is therefore instructive. Nor do I have any guarantee that they lied less to me than anyone else, but if they did, I assume this was done in their own particular way, and possibly protecting what they deemed must be protected. The important thing is that their “lies” about themselves counterbalance anthropologists’ “lies” about them. For the same reason, I try to avoid speaking about the Capanahua descendants’ “thinking” or “understanding,” because – as they themselves would soberly say – it is ultimately impossible to know what the other person is thinking. Rather, I tend to refer to their “representations” or “ways of speaking/explaining/making sense.” Therefore, without further ado, in Don Jorge’s words: “let us now lie a while” [*ahora vamos a engañarnos un rato*] about how the Capanahua descendants “lied” to each other and to me.

³⁹ Cf. High et al. 2012.

6. Thesis overview

This ethnography explores the connections in the villagers' ways of making sense, between spatial positions of containment created by limitations to perceptibility and knowability on the one hand, and the temporal processes and causality, expressed in spatial terms, on the other. I trace the dynamics whereby the production of opacity conditioning these positions of containment is simultaneously the inception of a temporal process of differentiation and the beginning of discontinuity – that is, new life at the cost of the previous one. I propose that in this context it is possible to approach the problem of conjunction of continuities and discontinuities in relations produced by procreation, and thus understand the specific takes on descent and acculturation.

The thesis is organized in five chapters and initiated with a Prologue. The purpose of the Prologue is to provide the most explicit presentation of the villagers by themselves, through drunken speeches or presentations. They reveal the formulations of identities in specifically conceived sociality. Here, one can appreciate the various layers and problems that are discussed later in this thesis.

Chapter 1 presents one field or perspective, locating it against the opacities of the forest and human bodies. It concentrates on the surface of the communities (villages and their socialities) as knowable entities, exploring the actions and explanations of clearing the spaces/socialities, knowing these, and participating in them, according to some aesthetical and ethical ideals. In this chapter, I characterize the movements that create these spaces and make them knowable as clearing, coming out, or emerging (in a strictly ethnographic sense).

Chapter 2 complements and complicates the perspective on the social space by exploring the internal contents beyond the limiting opacities: other imaginable worlds and people's hearts and minds. Human bodies are also shown as existing within the larger common space of the "outside" and encompassed by it. I show that the additional complications or contents are expected to be found within those additional entities. The chapter therefore investigates the second side, against which the field from the previous chapter is produced. Here, I signal some dynamics of articulation between the two sides or entities containing each other, and the ambiguous character of that constellation. Together, the first two chapters focus on

the “topological” categories of inside and outside.⁴⁰ The following chapters focus mainly on their conjunctions with the temporal, generative and frustrative processes initiated by distorting those spatial categories.

Chapter 3 explores causality as explained by the Capanahua descendants, tracing it from myths to aetiology and omens. This relies on the introduction of differentiating quality, which contributes to the split between the topological fields discussed thus far. The movements of emerging from Ch. 1 and containing in Ch. 2 are shown in a different perspective, within the more general, frustrative-generative dynamics of introducing or implanting. These dynamics suggest the direction of time and some basic conditions of human existence expected by the villagers.

Chapter 4 examines such causative dynamics in human ontogeny, analysing the imagery of procreation and the resulting categories of kinship, relatedness and descent. The imagery is shown to parallel the generative-frustrative dynamic and the devolutionary character of time. Some social strategies are explained through the problems caused by the differentiating sickness of procreation. The presentation shows previous movements of emerging or introducing and containing to be a result of interpenetrations between two entities or spatio-temporal originalities, for which the extracted, introduced and contained element is a third, and can be understood as the relation between them.

Chapter 5 presents the villagers’ explanations of social history on the Tapiche and Buncuya rivers as employing the initial topologies, the processes that create them and the terms that they articulate. These historical narratives are portrayed as operating on the rescaled image of untamed, natural progression of time and descent as outlined earlier, and considering some imaginable solutions and obstacles. These histories portray the processes of “acculturation” and encompassment by the Peruvian state, as much as illustrate the more universal “descent” of the human condition as seen by the villagers.

⁴⁰ Such “topological” orientation of this thesis is the side effect of the search for making the explanations of the generative processes meaningful. I note that a similar language of containing articulating the surfaces has been explored explicitly in Melanesia, in the context of exchanges, most notably in (Strathern 1988; 2013; Mosko 1985; Wagner 2012), in the formulations of gender in Africa (Boddy 1989; Wood 1999), or more generally, in aesthetics by Alfred Gell (Gell 1998). It has to be said at this point, and I hope it will be illustrated in the presentation of those explanations, that the positions which I explore in the separate chapters as “inside” and “outside” are the result of dynamics producing the very opacities and situating of the gaze on either side, rather than set fields. For that reason, they are, characteristically for Amazonia, rather perspectival (e.g. Lima 1996; Viveiros de Castro 2012; Kohn 2007), and fractal (cf. e.g. Kelly 2001; Viveiros de Castro 2001; Costa 2007; Cesarino 2008) in character and rely on the levels of instantiation of surfaces (e.g. Gow 1999; Taylor and Viveiros de Castro 2006).

In the Conclusion, I bring more focus to the “third” quality that is responsible for generating the topologies and processes in the representations of the villagers. I also note its intersections with other ethnographic theories. The Conclusion briefly returns to some implications for the issues that I have pointed out in this introduction.

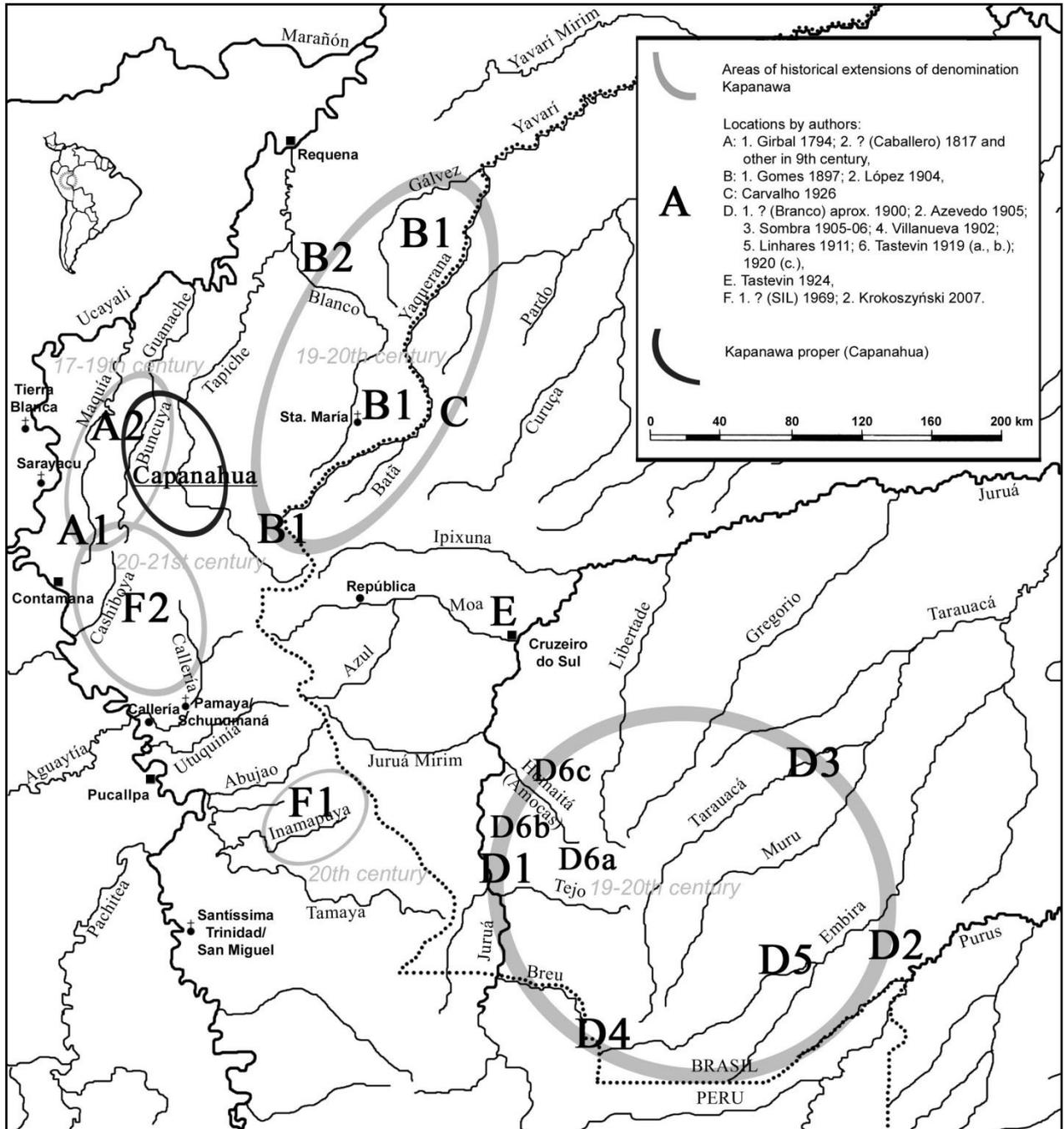


Figure 1. Map of the historical usage of the Capanahua exo-ethnonym (from Krokoszyński 2008).

Prologue

The drunken speech

On an October afternoon in 2012, N. (53) came to buy *trago* [popular sugarcane liquor] – on a merchant boat docked on the river bank of Limón Cocha. Kinga and I had agreed to guard the boat temporarily during the owner’s absence, and so N. stayed to visit and drink liquor. He was already relatively drunk on *masato* [fermented manioc beverage]⁴¹ copiously served at the *minga* [neighbours’ work party] from which he had just arrived. He addressed me in *idioma* [the language], proudly stating: “*Haskari nuken kaibu teeti: siripi. Numi’i, kuin kuini, sina sinayama’i. Numi’i, nashi’i, uxa’i*” [This is how “our relatives” work: just fine. They drink happy, peaceful, and unanimously, nobody gets mad. They drink, bathe and go to sleep].

His greeting evolved into an extensive, almost uninterrupted monologue in Spanish, enriched with Capanahua words or sentences.⁴² N. started by saying with a twinkle in his eye: “*’Áyubu pa’en sta hai! ’Ea ta? ’Áyubu ki!*” [The *’Áyubu*⁴³ is ostensibly drunk! I am the *’Áyubu!*], and then added a Capanahua phrase associated with the *’Áyubu*, which he explained to A. (44), who in the meantime had joined us: “You know how when you try to pick peach palm (*pijuayo*) fruit with a long pole, and you can’t, because it slips away and twists? This is what I am! That is how agile the *’Áyubu* are! You can’t catch me!” He then listed the few men in Limón Cocha who were also *’Áyubu*. “But those here,” continued N., motioning towards the village, “they are *Pechabobakebu*,⁴⁴ *Neabu*,⁴⁵ my mother, my uncles... Yet, it is my father who engendered me (*engendrar*)! My mother, who cast me out into the world (*botar al*

⁴¹ I insert the English translations or short explications in square brackets, and original expressions in round brackets.

⁴² This speech was recorded in my field notes. I have changed the identities in this Prologue, because these speeches might be potentially conflictual, and were spoken while inebriated. Still, the surnames conserve the original differentiation between the local Panoan-sounding surnames and the “noble” surnames, because this is important for understanding the context for some utterances. The Capanahua-sounding fictitious surnames come from names found in old Capanahua historical narratives (e.g. Schoolland 1975).

⁴³ Eponymy of *’áyu* is uncertain, sometimes associated with *’aya*, *maracana* or *shamiro* (possibly white-eyed parakeet), but sometimes with *pijuayo* palm.

⁴⁴ Pechabo is a fictitious version of one of the village surnames.

⁴⁵ From *nea*, pale-winged trumpeter. Some people on the Tapiche suggested that there are two kinds of *trompetero* – one smaller and more gregarious (*nea*), and the other bigger, living in smaller groups (*chinchí*).

mundo) was *Neabu*, but I am *ʔÁyubu!*” A. then asked N.: “So what am I?” N. thought a while: “You are *Naʔinbu!*”⁴⁶ A. laughed: “That’s what my father used to say, but I never knew what to make of it.” “The *ʔÁyubu* is like this: *chah! chah!*” explained N. demonstrating the fighting gestures with the imaginary *winu*.⁴⁷ “And the *Naʔinbu* is like this, lying down,” N. mimicked a scene where the defeated *Naʔinbu*, lying on his back, pushing his leg out to protect himself from the *ʔÁyubu*, “I am the trunk of the *ʔÁyubu*, really-real! (*itrongo de ʔÁyubu! ilegítimo, legítimo!*)” N. triumphed. “I know how things were, how the breed (*generación*) began, who we are and where we are from! I know all of it! *Nuken hui ʔunanaʔi* [I know our language] — better than anyone else here, including my older brother! All the others are *ʔiʔbumabu!* [lit. “are not owners” or “are without owners”?]. I use the word for those who have no knowledge (*conocimiento*), or who do not know anything, do not have a family, and do not have any experience. When I get angry I say: *Tsuan mia taʔ kin?! ʔiʔbuma! ¿Quién eres tu?! ¡No sabes nada!*” [Who do you think you are? You know nothing - in Cap. lit. “you are/have no owner”].

In the narrative reiterations of his legitimacy, N. made a perplexing claim: “My father was well *viracuchazo*, like a *gringo!* He had good knowledge, he was *mestizo!*”⁴⁸ Not my mother, she was a *cholita*, *indita*⁴⁹, but she just threw me out into the world. The others begrudged (*odiaban*) my father, saying that his surname was given to him as a gift (*regalado*) as an *ʔinábu* [slave, adopted child] when his umbilical cord was cut. But no! Not him! He was truly real (*bien legítimo*) Rojas. And he would say: ‘Why should I change my surname?’ Yet others, yes, they are *ʔinábu* — like F. [the protoplast of the García line on the Tapiche], who was kidnapped by the *mestizos* when he was little. They claim they are García, but that’s not who they are! They are neither García nor Rojas [paternal and maternal surnames⁵⁰ of the oldest living generation], they are Parayube Huasinahua! [Panoan-sounding (sur)names]. Their mother was also *ʔinábu*, raised by others. Did you hear how they speak Spanish? They have an accent, right? And me, I speak well, don’t I? That’s because

⁴⁶ From *naʔin*, three-toed sloth.

⁴⁷ *Macana* in Spanish: a long, sword-like weapon made from peach palm wood (Tessmann, 1999: 91). The last known examples were lost some 40 years ago.

⁴⁸ In local Spanish, *gringo* refers to an exotic Caucasian foreigner; *viracucha* is a Caucasian or a person of “elevated” or foreign origin and culture (note the AUG -zo); *mestizo* can mean a person of mixed origin and/or brought up in a Spanish-speaking environment.

⁴⁹ *Cholo*, *Indio* (note DIM -ita) — pejoratively charged designations connoting “hillbillies” or “heathens,” used to mean persons raised and living in a primarily indigenous language and setting.

⁵⁰ In Peru, a person has two surnames, first from the father and second from the mother. Every parent passes on only his or her first (paternal) surname to the child.

they are more *cholo* than me! Only I am real Rojas, I am ahead (*adelante*) of them! Also, of J., G. [N.'s mother's brother's sons] – they are Pechabo Rojas, but me... I am Rojas Pechabo! They are behind me!”

A. asked, “And your father?” “X. Rojas Mocanahua.” “Mother?” “Y. Pechabo Rojas.” To this A. responded spontaneously: “I, too, am – as you say, *ibien legítimo!* My folks united among Herreras! My father was Huasinahua Herrera, and my mother Tello Herrera [sic, actually Herrera Tello].” “Is Tello Cocama⁵¹?” asked N. “*iCocamazo!*” answered A. strongly, intensifying the name with the augmentative suffix.

N. said he knew who his grandfather was, while earlier even his older siblings were not able to tell me. Recalling a name [of a man that others said was not his father's father, as he claimed], N. told us the story of the older man's death: He fell from an elevated *pona* palm floor breaking his neck, resulting in accusations and the subsequent temporary arrest of his uncle. When speaking of the “the old ones,” N. said that they, the *antiguos*, were real, while “us – we are nothing but their branches (*sus ramas*).” This led him to talk of his oldest son: “I have engendered him, he is mine! His mother only cast him out into the world – I made him (*yo le hecho!*)” He told us about how he teaches his son to deal with *paturunu* – *patrón* [*mestizo* employer]. How he urges his son to study at school, learn to read and write, and get ahead (*adelante*), to be *ashuan huni* [more/better man]. To not to feel shame (*tener vergüenza*) like his father who did not know how to read and write. His stepdaughters set an example – out there, in other parts of Peru, writing letters, studying.

With R., N.'s wife, who joined us later on, all three maintained that I spoke “their language” and insisted on speaking to me in Capanahua, which I could only partly follow. Whenever N. and R. switched to Spanish, A. opposed strongly, urging them to go back to speaking *idioma*, even though he too understands it only partially and kept asking for the meaning of particular words or utterances.

All the while they drank *trago* that N. asked me for, and he acknowledged this by telling me “the story of this *trago*” (*cuento dese trago*) in Capanahua. He mentioned how I served him a drink, and how nobody needed to know about this (he

⁵¹ Tupian, an indigenous group from the Ucayali, Marañón and Huallaga Rivers, on the Tapiche often assumed to be “more advanced” and sometimes synonymous with *mestizo*.

assumed I served him *trago* belonging to the *patrón* taken during his absence without paying for it, which was not the case). He told how I served him tobacco (“*siri huni!*” [a good man]); and how good it was to be there, *kuin kuini*, peacefully, unanimously. A. and N. went on to convince me of their great friendship towards me and how they were going to miss me (*pensar, shina shinakin*) when I left to “*miin hema hanin*” [your land/city], even though at this point we still had 4-5 months stay ahead of us. They finally left to look for the boom-box to play *música*.

1. The drunken speech

This speech will reverberate throughout the thesis, either directly or indirectly. Based on some standardized narrative elements or motifs, this and other similar presentations, or drunken speeches, offer an overview of the various dimensions of sociality and identities held by the villagers. One of the most important features demonstrated in these speeches is that they are spoken under the influence of alcohol, and are generally conceived as revealing what is expected to be hidden in daily life. As this thesis unfolds, exploring the world and other people construed as opaque containers of intents, hungers and affiliations, we can appreciate the importance of these demonstrations for the people. They offer valuable, rare glimpses into the multiple levels or layers of truth that are normally contained, concealed, or ignored in sociality, yet always taken into consideration in people’s explanations of human sociality. Here, they are important for this narrative for the same reasons, as they introduce the villagers’ ways of being complex social persons and the sociality in which they participate. With this in mind, I review some of these standardized expressions and motifs, organizing them for explanatory reasons into “modalities.”

The Capanahua descendants tend to associate the drunken speeches with “customs of the ancestors,” specifically with the *pa’en hui* (Sect. 1.4), and occasionally, *wini’i* wailing (Sect. 1.2). My use of the expression is more inclusive. During my fieldwork, what I call drunken speeches would take place on any occasion where alcohol was consumed. Usually middle-aged, (rarely younger) men and women in the situations I witnessed presented these. Any explicit commentary on drunken speech presented it as occurring spontaneously or “naturally” when people drink and the content as the things that drunk people say, and which do not require special skills. To an outsider, however, they show significant consistency. The ordering of presentation from the convivial to conflictive modalities may reflect the chronological

progression in actual speeches, but this is not always the case. The introductory example demonstrates how a drunken speech can actually be laid out – drawing on all or any of the modes and combining them.

1.1. Conviviality

N.'s speech began with the description of the circumstances that led to his inebriation. This mode focuses on the present temporal setting and on the communal dimension. Central themes concern being joyous, peaceful, and creating bonds of friendship. Ch. 1 will take up these dimensions of sociality. The expression *kuin kuini* used by N. refers to the feeling of joy and contentment (*alegrarse, contentarse*) (Loos & Loos 2003), as in contemporary practice, *estar alegre*. The peaceful, harmonious element is also defined through adjectives such as *siripi* [good, right, clear] or *tranquilo* [peacefully], *lindo* [neat], *normal* [in order], and indicates a peaceful interaction based on unanimity. A. told me about his birthday party as exemplary of the right way of drinking and rejoicing: “All the others got drunk and slept, some with vomit all over their faces and clothes... but all perfectly neat (*puro lindo*), no fighting, none whatsoever. No arguments. Nothing, not one little bit! *Puro lindo tranquilo!*” Similarly, P. spoke about another villager: “at least he does not harm anyone, he just walks about talking to himself and singing until his drunkenness passes or he goes to sleep”, and E. said she prefers it when “everyone on a *minga* is merry and content, when no one gets mad (*no se rabia*)”. V. told me “some look to pick a fight (*son líosos*) for no reason. Others bother (*molestan*) you by talking or singing” – he stays away from these, and he drinks tranquilly himself – “there is no harm in somebody getting drunk and going to sleep, this does not bother anyone.”

This ideal is evoked in drunken speech. On another occasion in a drunken speech, N. told us “people are enjoying themselves in a good way, *alegre*, among *kaibu* [relatives]: *sinayama'i* [without getting mad], just like the ancestors – they would come together to *chirini* [dance] all night, drink *masato* and go to sleep the next day”. P. assured me in his drunken speeches that he is *tranquilo*, “not arguing (*discutiendo*) with anyone” – and Z. made sure that he had not offended me (*¿he faltado algo a tu persona?*). A related meaning of *alegría* refers to the joyous uproar of laughter and music, perceptible proof of being together. A boom-box or a stereo is a device for overcoming the *tristeza*, or sadness/silence, and a proper meeting should be enhanced and affirmed by loud music.

Special effort is made to verbally create or confirm the surroundings (*ambiente*) of family and friendship links, joining the participants of the gathering. The zeal in defining the situation is, as will be seen here and in this thesis, indicative of a lurking shadow.⁵² Silence can be interpreted as the refusal of interaction caused by anger (*rabiar*, *sinati*) (cf. Ch. 2). People articulate and acknowledge the situation in a way that is characteristic to the villagers and their Capanahua ancestors. For example, the usual greeting questions the perceptible state of the addressee in the negative, and the response affirms it. The most common example, translated for outsiders as “hello” is “*mu’i yama’in?*” [lit. are you not awake?], with the response “*mu’i ta’ hai*” [lit. I am awake]. However, there are many others in Capanahua narratives, including “*hiweyama’in?*” [are you not living (in your house?)] (Loos & Loos 1980b; Schoolland 1975). In LUS, the habitual greeting questions the activity of the addressee, for example, ‘*tas sentado?* [are you sitting?], and the response is an affirmation, *aquí estoy, sentado* [I am here, sitting].⁵³ In a similar manner, during drunken presentations, speakers verbally affirm what is perceivable. People make merry and simultaneously describe how they drink while working, talking or dancing, elaborating how good it is to be together in peace.

The drunken demonstrations most often refer to:

- working – for example, on a *minga*, working hand in hand. Laughing V. called to me, “Uuh! Suffering (i.e. working) together!” In other situations, which explain current inebriation: “We have been working *lindo*, co-ordinately, with all of our friends!”; N. told me, speaking in Capanahua and gesticulating, that they had been drinking strong *masato* while felling trees – and “[they] all got drunk!”;
- passing time together: “We are sitting here, joined by the bonds (*vínculos*) of friendship!” Drinking *masato* (sharing one bowl and sitting next to each other): “we are here, drinking like humans!”; “We are sitting here, drinking our *masato*, *tranquilo* – you know how it is!” having a conversation (“Here we are, entirely peaceful, having a conversation, recounting – everything in order (*normal*)!”), preferably regarding work; E. was pouring scorn on her

⁵² Peter Rivière noted for the Trio encounters, “hospitality (...) is in fact a prophylactic against witchcraft” (1969: 239).

⁵³ Cf. Erikson 2009.

companions for verbal accusations. “Don’t talk about stealing, cheating – talk like Capanahua, about how to clear a field, how to harvest manioc!”; “When my father was tipsy, he would talk about work, and tell stories from other parts”; or dancing, etc.: “Here we are, in these surroundings (*ambiente*), drinking, smoking and dancing, peacefully, *tranquilo, lindo!*”

Evoking conviviality is also achieved by affirming the relation using proper terms by which people address each other (*tratarse*) (in LUS or Capanahua). When inebriated, I. would call on his “beautiful idea for everyone to live in tranquillity and neatness. One large family! That’s what I go for!” – For this reason, he said, we were also part of the family, and that is why he called me *compadre* [child’s god-father, see Ch. 4]. S. would complain laughingly that Y. (distantly related) always called her *mami* when drunk, but when sober – she does not even bring her one fish. Speakers also praise the valued characteristics of a person they address: *bien bueno conmigo* [so good to me!], *linda gente* or *siri huni* [lit. beautiful folks, connoting generosity and unanimous participation]. They convince the listener of their good intentions and feelings (*estimar* [respect], *amar, querer* [love]).

Expressing sadness at the prospect of future separation is another way of emphasizing the bonds evoked in the present, both in terms of time and of space. For example, long before the time of our departure, during their drunken speeches people would say, “When will we see you again? Never? We are going to be very sad when you leave!” This can also be heard on other occasions, which focus on the passing of time, such as the New Year’s Eve or birthdays. There, amidst the wild *cumbia* music and dancing, drunken speeches accentuate joint participation to explicitly produce and fortify memories in the face of the unpredictability and inevitability of death or separation: “Tomorrow I die, and you will cry when you remember me – how we used to dance and drink together! And at the same time if you die – we will be very, very sad! We don’t know if we’ll make it to next year!”; “We may die tomorrow; we have to be *alegre* now!”; “Don’t you ever forget me!” Z. even ascertained that he would never forget my friend who visited us for a few days – “What’s his name again?”

1.2. “Remembering, they cry”

Eugene Loos mentioned the existence of traditional “tribal chants and [funeral] wails” which by the 1950s was known only by older women (1960: 12–13). In Capanahua this is referred to as *wini’i* [to cry, lament]. When I played a

Sharanahua *fidi*, discussed by Déléage (2007b), to several middle-aged people, they said it was the same as *wini'i* of their parents or grandparents. Today, their wailing is referred to as *hablando-hablando lloran, llorando-hablando, llorar en su idioma* [they cry while talking-talking, crying-talking, crying in their language]. While it refers mostly to funeral wailing, it is also said to have been employed when recalling absent or deceased loved ones. It is easy to recognize in *wini'i* a variant of the “ritual wailing” genre of native South America (e.g. Urban 1988). It seems that here, one occasion for lamenting would be the gatherings where people drank alcohol:

[My aunt's] father (...) was also ... saying... singing... like this. But I didn't understand what he was saying. (...) Like I said, drunk! Drinking, closing his eyes, there he would be, singing in his language, yeap... [chuckles] (...) *Pa'en yuwani*, they would call it, too. *Pa'en yuwani... wini'i* (...) *nuken xenibu wini'i pa'eni* [Speaking drunk, they lament (...) – our ancestors would lament when drunk]. My cousin (...) told me this: “How was it [done], cousin?” – “*Pa'enax... winikani*” (...) All bundled together, just them right there, (...) and they cried like this. There I heard the old C. sing like that – what could he possibly have been saying, the old-timer? I couldn't understand him!

A *borracho* [drunken person] is commonly expected to cry and this is considered a “normal” element of inebriation. Often this emotional outburst is taken as spurious, just as when E. ridiculed the *borracho's* “*mami!*”, or when A. said people only cry at the funeral because they get drunk. Yet, the underlying idea is that *borracho* cries when recalling (*pensar*) his family, and this touches on the central point of drunkenness as outlined by Capanahua descendants. *Alegría* is opposed to *tristeza*, *bená* [sadness], which refers to silence, loneliness and abandonment. It is intrinsically connected with the verb *pensar*, *shinakin* [to think] that describes yearning for someone or something, remembering, homesickness, worrying and being in a state of detachment. While in the convivial mode, lamenting serves to reinforce existing or evoked bonds by envisioning future separation, here actual sadness reinforces estrangement. Remembering deflects from the social setting at hand, causing thoughts to leave for other places, other times, and other people.

Memories and nostalgia can take centre stage in drunken speech. Speakers bemoan their own pitiable state of loneliness, abandonment, and detachment from other members of their family, e.g. “At no time of night or day do I see my father. Any time I look, he's not there. There I am, recollecting, thinking of my dad...” “I have neither father nor mother” is an expression often used, and even older people deplore being orphans. Others lament the dispersion of their family – siblings or children, or

their own status of being “from somewhere else.” Yet others express their sadness at temporal separation, e.g. when a wife leaves temporarily while the husband stays at home and drinks, deploring his loneliness and hunger as well as the fear that she will never come back. Overall, the evoked image is that of an individual’s abandonment and estrangement in the present social space, and of belonging somewhere else (“I have no family here!”). Those affiliations with remote or past places are often supported by revealing names or actual descriptions of people and places to which the *borrachos* claim to belong: “and so, when they [the old ones] were drunk, they recalled... their grandfathers, fathers of grandfathers...” Often the personal knowledge of genealogical ties or origins is actually traced to this modality. The recollections concern the departed loved one’s virtues, harmonious joint activities (hunting, working and conversations) or shared places. Apart from memories connected to family, one of those remote places revisited is the SIL social space on the Buncuya River between the 1950-1980s.

Also disclosed are emotionally charged, painful recollections of sickness and death. The night before *día del tunchi* (All Saints’ Day) N. came to us inebriated, and stating her full name and the names of her father and siblings (although we had known each other for 10 months – cf. section “Claiming ‘all that they are’”), she began a crying soliloquy, replete with gesticulation and dialogues. She told us of her loneliness in this village and recounted her father’s sickness, collapse and death, detailing the caretaking, suffering, and arguments after his death. “I am alone; I have no mother, no father. Just my children and grandchildren, but there is no one to comfort me (*dar consuelo*)...” P., crying, when inebriated, recounted separate stories of the deaths of his aunt, his grandfather, and his baby sister, one after another. Similar stories detailing dying and death are also comparable with the separations (e.g. farewells with the SIL missionaries), or the collapse of community (e.g. the story of the vampire bat plague that destroyed the whole stock of cattle on the Buncuya).

Speakers also reminisce about the transmission of knowledge (language, mythic stories) from close departed people (“*T. Paranahua! (...) mi abuelo! (...) ¡El me contaba muuuchas... pasadas! ¡Cantidades!*” [T. Paranahua! (...) my grandfather! (...) He used to tell me so many stories from the past! A lot!]), and sometimes proceed to the content of the stories themselves (it. Ch. 3). These carry away to even more

remote places and times, especially the curious and terrifying tales of the sad past (*triste pasado*), where the ancestors suffer violence, persecutions and ignorance.

Finally, a speaker may lament his own life mistakes or misfortunes (such as premature deaths in the family) which determined his life path, failed chances at education or work in cities, traumatic memories, or a near-death experience.

Therefore, in this mode, *borrachos* recall their lost connections to other places, other times and persons. Most of all, they remember the departed family members and the social spaces they have passed through during their lives – it could be said that they recall the spaces of conviviality of the past. Inevitably, such reminiscences bring up a very common and important theme of the Capanahua descendants' social representations: passing away and temporal degradation or diffusion (Ch. 3, 4): “He was really-really real Capanahua! When he died, the Mocanahuas ended. We are... nothing but the roots (*raices*)” – Z. told me disdainfully whose own surname is Mocanahua.

1.3. The language

The language of everyday, “sober” communication in the Capanahua descendants' villages is LUS. Yet, it is commonly maintained that everyone in the village actually knows *idioma* (“the language”) of the *antiguos*, but refuses to speak it or admit to understanding it. These commentaries feature a very characteristic mixture of resentment and derision: “They know the language, brother, they can speak it. How else would I hear them speak when they get drunk? And when sober, they don't want to!”; “They don't speak it every day – only once in a while, when they are a bit tipsy – there they remember too!”; “Just listen how this *borrachito* talks! That's how they are: when he's sober, he doesn't want to say a word. And when he's got his booze: Damn! He knows it all too well!”; “That one, when he's all liquored up, he speaks it. And the guy speaks it really well, too!”; “Oh boy, how they would speak it when they had their liquor!”; “They don't want to speak it. Only when you catch them with their *masato* – only then!”

While the actual commonality of language competence seems questionable to me, drunken speeches do favour usage of Capanahua. Inebriation, then, is strongly associated with speaking *idioma*. “[I am drunk, so] I feel like speaking my language! (*¡Tengo ganas de hablar mi idioma!*)” – is a popular expression, and the “urge” is

more often simply enacted, regardless of the actual competence of the speaker and the listeners. This is best illustrated by speeches of those persons who most strongly deny their knowledge and claim to have forgotten it completely while sober. Once such a man struggled to utter: “*buna ka?i!*” While I tried to figure out what happened with the bullet ant (*buna, isula*), his daughter asked her mother: “*buna* what?!” Laughing, the latter responded that she had no idea. Only when the man started gesturing with tears in his eyes, did I understand that he meant *bená* [*pena*, sadness] – that he was going to feel sorry when we left the village.

Drunken speeches seem to privilege languages of other social spaces, and since they are to a large extent monologues – as in the extreme case of P., who “walks around talking to himself” – they can be opaque to listeners. Loos noted that “a grandfather chanted for the group in a dialect not clearly understood by the others, who claimed it was ‘too fast’ for them” (1960: 13), and P. (who is among the most competent speakers) recalled not understanding his uncle’s speeches. Further, he remembered that when his father was inebriated, he sang and spoke in Quechua, which no one else understood: “My father spoke Inca [i.e. Quechua], me – never, I just listened. When he was drunk, he would sit there, all alone, speaking.” Contemporary examples are P.’s use of incomprehensible languages, including an invented dialect of Capanahua, improvised legal-official Spanish and the pretend-Polish which he spoke in his drunkenness, and even L.’s exclusive use of his native Yanesha language while drunk conforms to this pattern.

These other languages may be considered as traces of remote social spaces included in one’s formation and experience. Similarly, for the villagers, Capanahua language is closely associated with the social space of the parents. *Hui* [language] also stands for words and stories, which are always traced to specific persons and the “exact” way that they told them (Ch. 3). “The old ones no longer exist” – is often repeated, thus, there is no one to speak the language to. Therefore, language of the stories and of communication with relatives who are gone is also a matter of memory, a trace of other places, times and conviviality – especially if it is not used in everyday parlance.

1.4. Speaking “all that they are”

The following modality of drunken speech is similar to the previous one in that it relates to places and people outside of the current spatial-temporal setting. In fact,

it may evolve from nostalgic remembrance itself. Yet, while a drunken lament expresses separation, longing and the temporal diffusion of authenticity, this mode actively brings particularity within the confines of the present social space. This aspect involves a boasting affirmation of difference in persons. Instead of projecting authenticity (*legítimo*, connoting seniority and purity) onto the past, the speaker claims it for himself. Speakers announce “all that they are” (*todo lo que [son] ellos*), which is interpreted as their claim of superior authenticity against other participants of the social space, substantiated by origin, affiliation, formation, physical strength, prowess and knowledge. Such an overt demonstration radically opposes the uniformity ideal of conviviality and everyday sociality, where self-restraint and humility are expected. While daily communication postulates relative kinship address terms, drunken speech exposes “absolute,” singular identities (cf. Ch. 4).

This modality corresponds to the Capanahua descendants’ representations of what they explicitly refer to as *pa’en hui*, and in LUS, it is also simply described as *están conversando entre borrachos* [they talk among drunk people]. According to historical sources, their ancestors recognized a speech genre called *pa’en hui* or *pa’en yuwani* [*pa’en* – inebriated; *hui* – language, story, speech, word; *yuwani* – conversation], describing monologic turns that were translated by the Looses as “drunken discourses” (Loos & Loos 1980a: 64). It seems that the privileged setting for the *pa’en hui* described for the ancestors had been drinking gatherings of men described as “all-night drinking fest[s]” (Loos 1960: 7). The speech was interpreted by Loos to be “dedicated to ‘counselling’ the younger generation” (Loos 1960: 7; cf. Loos & Loos 1980a: 64), although the Capanahua descendants tend to present the *pa’en yuwani* of the ancestors by focusing on the partly unintelligible self-assertions or presentations. One might identify these discourses with the “ceremonial dialogues,” “ceremonial greetings” or the “strong talk” described for other South American Lowlanders,⁵⁴ with whom they share themes and standards, despite the fact that none of these seem to be explicitly connected to inebriation. While Loos and the villagers link drunken speech to encounters or gatherings, there is no information as to the relations between people participating in such encounters.

⁵⁴ E.g. Rivière 1969, 1971; Urban 1986; Surrallés 2003.

The most basic formula, reported for both historical, as well as the contemporary presentations, is “*Paʔen sta/ta hai*” [I am drunk], followed by one’s “breed” name (*tribu*, *raza* or *kaibu* – cf. Ch. 4, 5). For example, “When they got drunk, they used to say: “*paʔen sta hai, Neabakebu!*”; “*uuu – paʔen ta hai!*” – He would say – ‘*ʔÁyu! ʔÁyubu!*’ “My uncle used to say ‘I am Neabu’ when he was drunk” “my father-in-law used to say: ‘*Paʔen ta hai! ʔÁyu – ʔÁyubu! Neaʔin bake*” [*ʔÁyubu*, son of the *Neabu* woman]. It is a violent, expressive shout, occasionally accompanied by a pounding of the chest with the hand or fist. In the case of *Neabu*, speakers can imitate trumpeter’s calls (*chuu!* *chuu!* *chiish!* *shshff!* *tushshsh!*), and one man recalled seeing his grandfather imitate the bird’s walk. Today, apart from (or instead of) the above, a full name and surname may be given, sometimes along with the names of parents or grandparents, including situations where people know each other and their relations, so that a man can yell his full name and surname even to his brother.

However, normally such affiliations are considered boisterous or sometimes rebel identity claims outside drunken speech. First, the speaker can be interpreted to arrogate an originality by taking on a “strong” name, the potential beginning of a new “breed.” Such names are said to be either made up by the speaker for himself, or sometimes improvised on the spot, to support his skills, strength, or authenticity claims. Both the past and present claims are slightly ridiculed by the villagers, e.g. “He [my uncle] used to say that he was *Binunʔibu*, *Mananʔibu*⁵⁵, *Neabu*. How? Which one in the end!? [laugh]”; “They used to say those [names] [laughs]. They say it in jest (*De broma hablan ese*), (...) – like that drunkard J.: don’t you know when he’s drunk he says: ‘I am *Mashin Kunibu!*⁵⁶?... I mean, they invent those names themselves, to speak them there.”

Such rampant, wilful self-naming of the ancestors, inventing “strong” fighting names (invoking the eponymic animal’s strength or agility), is often used to explain the emergence of the different *tribus* [breeds]:

⁵⁵ From *binu* [*aguaje* or moriche palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*)] and *ʔibu* [owner of], and *manan* [hill, highland] and *ʔibu*. These names are said to have been used only by one man, but no one today could explain their status. Note that both have the suffix – *ʔibu*, thus denoting claim for ownership and originality (cf. Ch. 4, 5). While the precise *aguaje* palm reference is opaque to me, the highlands as habitat seem to have had significance for the *antiguos*’ identity.

⁵⁶ From *mashin* [beach] and *kuni* [knifefish] (order *Gymnotiformes*) and *-bu* [generic].

My father said that sometimes, they would take on names of animals (...) for example, Sloth-Indians (*Pelejo-aucas*): [sloth] is really strong. Has a lot of strength. Because of this they say they are *Na'inbakebu* – nobody can beat him! [laughs] (...) They took on names, nicknames. These are the meanings [*significaciones*] of *Na'inbakebu*, *Neabakebu* – that is where their meaning comes from.

In one unique explanation, the origin of the *tribu* name is traced to a mischievous boy, “naughty, playful, running around like a monkey!” Such replacement of the usual image of the drunken contest with a mischievous boy shows the mocking attitude towards the names of *tribus* and the wilful drunken boasting. In the story, the urchin would shout: “I am The Squirrel (*Kapabu*)!!!” The sardonic response from the adults was: “Oh, very well, then, *Kapabu* it is, the Squirrel!” Thus, *Kapabu* was his name and eventually, according to this one interpretation, this came to designate all the ancient Capanahua [from *kapa* – squirrel, and *nawa* – strangers, foreign group, (in contemporary use: the mestizos)].

For the Capanahua descendants, this aspect of *pa'en hui* is often the source of information on ascending generations' affiliations to what Eugene Loos referred as “patrilineal clans” (1960; Loos & Loos 2003).⁵⁷ These affiliations are generally traced through the father, although both lines are sometimes affirmed (as in N.'s speech) – and on occasion the focus can shift to the mother's side. They are composed of an animal or plant eponym and suffix *-bu* [denoting a generic class or 3rd person plural] or *-bakebu* [offspring of]. The Spanish equivalents are composed of the eponym and the *-auca*⁵⁸ suffix, e.g. *pelejo-aucas*, *trompetero-aucas*. They are referred to variously as *tribus* or *tribadas* [lit. tribes], as well as *razas*, *generaciones* and *descendencia* [lit. races, breeds, descent]. They are presented today as original separate groups said to have made up the Capanahua social formation in the past, and/or as origin categories of the ancestors. Sometimes they are said to be the surnames (*apellidos*) of the *antiguos*, and they in fact parallel contemporary forms, so that one or more local surnames are associated with a given *-bakebu* category.

⁵⁷ Between the different publications of SIL, transcribed narratives and my own fieldwork, the number of such patrilineal names ranges from 7-17 for upper Capanahua and 2-5 for Lower Capanahua. For the Upper Tapiche/Buncuya dialect, I counted seven most commonly mentioned: Neabu (with possibly several separate patrilineal lines, some occasionally alternatively called Chinchibu), Na'inbu, 'Áyubu, Kapabu, Xawanbu, Binabu, Muebu. Four possibly extinct, mentioned in SIL narratives or stories told to me: Kumabu, Iskubu, Xanebu, Kanabu; and two uncertain (possibly alternative names): Waninbu (possibly alternative to 'Áyubu) and Xeis 'i'sabu (possibly Muebu). Tentatively, there are four historical surnames with possibly similar status (like Binabu surname): Yuchiyuba, Yukabu, Kaman, Bakiyuba. For the Lower Tapiche dialect, on which I have little information two are mentioned most often: Neabu and Pa'enbu; of unknown status (possibly alternative names or segments): 'Inubu (sometimes for Pa'enbu), 'Tsanneabu, Bi'i huni (the latter two were also associated with Neabu).

⁵⁸ *Auca* in Loreto Spanish comes from Quechua language, where it refers to “barbarians, heathens.” Here, it is rarely used other than in this suffix form, which is locally meant as “an isolated group of savages (*indios*).”

Eugene Loos said (2009-14) that in the 30 years of his experience with the Capanahua, the “[*-bakebu*] distinctions [did not] play much [of a] role in daily life as far as [he] could discern.” Daily sociality focuses on the present and obviates the past, as the conviviality section suggests. Drunken speech does the reverse, by drawing such outside identities from the past and revealing them in the present. Some 30 years since the departure of the SIL missionary, they are still are not very important in daily sociality, but people (generally middle-aged) do maintain a memory of them as things from the past – very often referring precisely to what the “old people” were saying in their *paʔen yuwani*. It is this very association with the past that seems important. These affiliations seem to actually be transmitted as already partial identities of the past. Rather than categories of living people or “descent groups,” they are seen as the traces of ancestors hidden in people, as *ramas* [“branches”] in Capanahua descendants’ expression. Therefore, claiming to be the “real” representative of one’s rightful *raza* is questionable. This is because the drunken speaker positions himself at the very core, as the *tronco* [“tree trunk,” connoting centeredness] by assuming the identity of his father or grandfathers.⁵⁹ Such claims to being authentic can therefore be ridiculed – for example, a man who is reported to have soberly called himself in a public situation a “real, proper Capanahua,” is now mockingly nicknamed *Capanahua*, and his son – *Capanahuillo* [lesser/smaller Capanahua]. I take on the issue of *raza* in general, as well as the tree and trunk imagery and patrilinearity in Ch. 4.

Another type of claim usurps foreign identities. It parallels the previous examples in that it capitalizes links to remote places or times as sources of authenticity or strength. N.’s father’s association with the *mestizo* is emphasized through his language and surname. The villagers say that it was common practice in previous generations to adopt the names and surnames of the non-Capanahua godparents, or to consciously, wilfully take up the *viracucha* surnames. Others claim that their ancestors were actually *gringo*-like Brazilians or Peruvians, or not “from here” like everybody else. This is spoken of as an act of “ignoring” (*negar, ignorar*) one’s own *raza* by assuming a new identity in order to appear as “someone more” (*gente más*). In either case, the actual lines of descent are assumed to be ultimately unknown in the present, being connections which are beyond the experiential

⁵⁹ It might be reflected by switching from variation ʔÁyubakebu [ʔÁyu’s offspring] to ʔÁyubu [the very ʔÁyu].

knowledge of people. Therefore, all identity affirmations are received more or less sceptically and may be contested. Indeed, the backstage of Capanahua descendants' social lives, the majority of the existing surnames are suspected of being inauthentic: *cambiado*, *robado*, *regalado* [changed, stolen, or received as a gift], etc. I return to such claims and their negotiations in Ch. 5.

Apart from the very names or descent, saying “all that they are” also includes self-assertive boasting of knowledge, capacities or qualities (ultimately, as I will show, these are connected with the name and “descent”). Strength or agility in fighting, endurance, competence in work (measured in field size or possessions), hunting prowess, superior sorcery skills, as well as honesty, generosity, knowledge of *raza* origins and the ancestors' language. He may also emphasize privileged connections to remote places as a sign of “getting ahead” (*adelantar*). These may include his relatives living or working in cities, fluency in Spanish, *mestizo* habits or diet, education (with a *viracucha* teacher), overall worldliness achieved through travels to other rivers or countries (cf. Ch. 1 on knowing places), meetings with strangers such as ornithologists, oil workers, traders, municipal officials, etc. In the process, other members of the community are downplayed as less authentic, more backwards (*atrasado*, *cholo*), or less knowledgeable (either as Capanahua or *mestizo*). Sober people denigrate, mock and contest such self-assertions.

It is worth noticing here that the claims to Capanahua and *mestizo* domains do not seem to cancel each other out as demonstrated in N.'s presentation, where claiming to be the truest core of *ʔAyubu* goes along with being a real *viracucha*. Similarly, in the same example, knowledge of the past original domains does seem to contradict the knowledge of the *mestizo* cities. I return to this in Ch. 4 and 5. Here, I will point out that both of these assertions link to strong purities, and claim hierarchic primacy.

1.5. Confrontation

Another common motif of drunken demonstrations reveals the conflictive potential of people's composition is captured by the sentence: “We are looking at each other like enemies!” which I heard in the initial stages of making acquaintances. This contrasts dramatically with “sitting joined by the bonds of friendship” of the convivial modality. In the villages, silence and withdrawal from social participation is read as a possible indication of “thinking other things” (*pensar otra cosa*), which describes

misunderstanding, jealousy, upset, or having a disparate agenda that disturbs social harmony and unanimity (Ch 2 discusses the internal contents of persons). This can be addressed openly as: “Are you mad?” (*¿’Tas rabiando?*), or “Why are you mad?” (*¿Porqué estás rabiando?*), “Are you thinking of harm?” (*Masa shinakin?*), or “Do you know sorcery?” (*Min kushunti unanain?*), “Perhaps you are trying me?” (*¿de repente me estás probando?*). A popular greeting aims to prevent discord: *Sinayamawe!* [Don’t be mad!].

However, a *borracho* makes open requests and pesters others; he can be described as an *exilón* “an impertinent, notorious demander” [from *exigir*, demand]. While his nagging can lead to the collapse of personal business (such as selling cigarettes or *trago*), the refusal of alcohol or tobacco to a drunken sorcerer is extremely dangerous, because it constitutes sufficient grounds for a sorcery attack.

The revealing nature of drunkenness can lead to the unveiling of daily conflicts, either directly to the person concerned, or to a third party. In daily life, disputes tend to be neutralized, whereas in those moments of drunken revelations I would learn about the discords that exist between the villagers themselves. People recalled past wrongdoings (thefts, rumours, debts) or conflicts, and produced new accusations. An observation by Loos (1960: 4) indicates a case of incest denied by the offender in daily life that was brought up in the drunken feasts seems to be related. Similarly, I often learned of people’s qualms towards Kinga and myself – ranging from serious charges to bemoaning us for not visiting their house.

1.6. Violence

Violence is the extreme illustration of the ruinous potential recognized in people and sometimes revealed by drunken demonstrations. Claiming “all that they are” supremacy borders on confrontation, and, as seen above, is expressed in terms of superior fighting skills, evoking the old days of the *macana* sword-club fighting, as in N.’s demonstration.

The speaker builds up his case to a point where he demonstrates the ultimate proof of the vaunted strength, skill or endurance. An example may be found in the behaviour of a drunken uncle who reportedly used to scratch the palm floor with his bare fingernails: “I am Tarzán!” he would say as his fingers split and bled. Another *antiguo* is remembered for bringing out his *macana* whenever he was inebriated. He would insist on demonstrating with his impressive weapon: “That’s how you fight!” –

jumping up, dodging and ducking, he would swing his two meter sword-club (*macana*) very close to the observer's head, saying: "Don't worry, with *Cha'i* [his nickname] everything is measured!" Yet another uncle used to wield his *macana*, hitting house-poles as a demonstration (*muestra*) of "how [he] used to fight."

These solo displays by the remembered, remaining old ones seem to have roots in the actual fighting that the ancestral Capanahua practiced during inter-community drinking feasts, where invitations were communicated with signal drums. These fights are a constant motif in stories about the ancestors. For the villagers, they epitomize the untamed, "sad past" of the savage *antiguos*. It is often explained that the reason for such fights is a "winner-takes-all" gamble for women, or as validating the claims for individual superiority. Heads were split open, yet the injured would stand up again, resisting the pain. In another mode of violent encounter reported for the ancestors, a man was said to bring out the wrongs suffered from another man. The wrongdoer was expected to wait to receive either a blow with a *macana* or a cut with a *wushati* [*huaca* – small curved knife] (cf. Loos 1960: 18–19).

I did not hear of cases of persons being killed within the past couple of generations, and the older sources suggest these were contests rather than deadly violence. Eugene Loos (1960: 18) recorded a description by a man who may have witnessed such duels in his childhood. They are presented as "displays of strength" and "valor in the face of pain" during meetings between "clans" – thus, they would only turn into actual skirmishes if someone became seriously hurt. Manuel Cordova's recollection of the Capanahua feasts from the 1920s (Lamb 1985: 58–59)⁶⁰ tells of a sham or mock battle" where "it always seemed that someone surely would be killed, but no one received as much as a scratch," and "shouting, groaning, weeping melee of drunkenness (...) sounded fierce but (...) no one [sic] really got hurt." Rather, they were "a display of defensive skill and personal agility accompanied by the loud clatter of the striking clubs and wild shouts of the men" (ibid.).

Still, in contemporary representations, people were regularly killed in these fights. They are presented as dreadful acts of violence by the untamed, messed-up old

⁶⁰ Robert Carneiro (1980), among others, have questioned the veracity of information in Bruce Lamb's earlier book. As Lamb demonstrated in his response to Carneiro (1981), he was very well read in the written sources from the area. Yet, the data he provides on the Capanahua of the Tapiche are accurate in historical facts that cannot be found in the sources I know. I have no reason to disbelieve that they come from someone who had known the upper Tapiche at the described time.

ones (*los viejos fregados*). In one story illustrating the fierceness of the “old Capanahua,” while working in a field, a man’s ear was cut off with a machete during an erupting fight. The inebriated companions brought herbs to dress the wound, reattached the ear and continued to drink *masato*, only to find out the next day that the ear had been placed on backwards. Drunken men threatened the lives of outsiders married to or working with the Capanahua who recounted situations where they felt their lives were threatened. Currently, any acts of violence I was told about or witnessed were much more about spontaneous confrontational eruptions rather than such formal displays of strength.

2. The releasing capacity of drunkenness

It would not be possible to understand the full meaning of *pa'en hui* without accounting for how drunkenness in general is construed by the Capanahua and their descendants. A *borracho* is an object of ridicule, scorn, derision as well as critique, worry and fear. At best, they are hilarious, annoying (e.g. smelly) or mischievous. At worst these are – unpredictable, violent and dangerous to themselves and others. That a drunken man is capable of hurting his own family is a common admission: wife, brothers or even parents (two cases of death are connected, though indirectly, with the inebriated fight between a father and his sons). E. once handed me a glass of *trago* saying: “Careful with that, it makes us fight our family. You could end up beating your woman. Dangerous!” Drunken people are expected to cry, sing, and to talk loudly and for the most part, incoherently.

The habitual discourse on drunkenness demonstrates an attribute that shines a particular light on the drunken speech. A *borracho* is expected to let go easily: of his money (in a drinking binge, for example, he can spend everything he has earned while working for months), of his belongings (often this is an opportunity to acquire a good quality object at a rock-bottom price) – and most importantly – his secrets.

Drunkenness is habitually represented as leading to the display of hidden information that would otherwise remain obscured as secretive or shameful in daily life. In stories of the ancient people, *antiguos*, drunken talk is blamed for the loss of special powers. In one example, a man is said to arrive in the sky world accidentally. There, from a man who presents himself as his brother-in-law (called *Wishmabu*, Star man, see Ch. 2. 3), he receives the tools that clear a field without the owner’s effort. He is warned never to disclose where the tools come from. Yet, during a

manioc beer feast back on earth, envious companions try to find out the secret of his success. Finally, with increasing inebriation, he boasts: “I have this and this because of my brother-in-law (...) I am the quickest at making fields! I have what no one has!” (VPBo3). Consequently, the tools lose their special power. If it were not for the drunken man’s talking, people would not need to work nowadays. In another story, a forest demon grants luck for hunting, under the condition that the latter is never spoken of. However, the jealous companions intentionally get the hunter drunk to draw out his secret. Ch. 3 overviews some common characteristics of myths and the ruinous potential of such disobedient actions.

Further, in contemporary life, inebriety is an opportunity to gain information that a person may be reluctant to “let out” (*soltar*) otherwise, like language, *ejemplos* [here: myths], stories of the old days, *descendencia* (origins) and his biography, for example of his experience with learning sorcery, or finding the village of isolated Remo Indians in the forest, etc. This can be used as a strategy – in an attempt to entice the visiting, restrained Marubo Indians to talk, the man accused of embezzling community funds admitting, or a sorcerer acknowledging his skills. Often it was seriously suggested that I got people inebriated for an interview, so they would tell me all they know.⁶¹

Conclusion

Drunken speeches reflect the unsolvable tensions and contradictions that I think define the tone of social life in the villages of the Capanahua descendants. Specifically, the main object of convivial sociality is creating overtly harmonious social spaces by overcoming differences (cf. Overing and Passes 2000). Yet, the difference – epitomized by descent – is inescapable. More than that – although in day-to-day village life, attempts are made to contain or obscure dissonances, they effectively paralyze any attempts at achieving unanimity and the ideal of a harmonious life, ultimately producing the feeling of unsolvable conflicts, which is often overtly expressed as “we don’t know how to live well” (*no sabemos vivir bien*) (cf. Santos-Granero 2000).

⁶¹ I have never used the method with premeditation, although several people insisted on being interviewed while slightly inebriated. This sometimes resulted in the drunken speech, where my questions mattered even less than usual. In any case, it may be interesting to note that my questions and interest in histories of the *antiguos* often evoked the very themes of various modalities of the drunken speech.

In drunken speech the conjuring of the ancestors as “strangers” from the perspective of modern, daily sociality, could be seen as an “act of alterity” (Course 2009: 306), making this kind of speech comparable to other Lowland South American genres of speech which invite the voice of the “other” (Oakdale 2002, 2005; cf. Délage 2007). *Pa'en hui* proper, in which the subjects revolve around such ideas of descent as alterity – is almost the exact opposite of conviviality, made up by the ideals of everyday social life. In the shift between these two modes of drunken speech, merrymaking turns into sadness; unanimity into confrontation; unity into particularity; extraversion into introversion; conversation into shouting monologues; dancing into fighting; family or friends into enemies. The fact that inebriety is assumed to be leading to the revelations of secret information is crucial. It shows that descent here is categorized along with other powerful secrets or shameful differences as an obscured aspect of communal life. Thus, the disparity between the content of convivial drunken speech (communal life) and *pa'en hui* proper (descent, particularity) could be read as one between the perceptible and the concealed. This positioning of descent, alongside difference and particularity, reflected in drunken speech also allows a preliminary glimpse of the Capanahua descendants’ specific Amerindian notion of descent. These dynamics of presenting themselves to themselves, through the struggling of perspectives of community and descent, unity and divergence, gives a specific tone to the Capanahua descendants’ sociality.

Chapter 1.

This side, the outside: The social spaces

In this chapter, I explore the Capanahua descendants' ways of speaking about the social spaces and participation within social spaces. Examining the aesthetic and ethical qualities ideally expected by villagers to be associated with such spaces, I point to the reiteration of idioms invoking harmonious clarity. Analyzing representations of these spaces, I show them to be conceived and explained as the result of labour associated with clearing, removing obstacles and differences, conducive to creating an open and egalitarian milieu of conviviality. This chapter examines the salience of ways of making meaning out of shared space for the Capanahua descendants' conceptualizations of social phenomena. It starts with an abstracted image of sociality in the instruction for successful manioc cultivation, which could be seen as the description of the ideal human social space, and of a way of handling the generative process and mixture. Throughout the chapter, I trace composite elements of that image, refracted at various scales of social representations. First, I explore the physical conditions for existence of social spaces such as villages in the area, and the desirable aesthetic qualities of openness in such conditions (Sect. 1). In the following section (2) I move on to show how similarly formed concerns shape the idioms describing social interactions and the creation of equality – as the absence of obstacles to perceptibility and communication. I also address the way in which communities are conceived, based on such conditions and ideals of coexistence, as functions of knowledge and perceptibility. Finally, (Sect. 3), I look into how explanations and representations of participation in such social spaces, along with the other qualities discussed earlier in this chapter, contribute to understanding these as explicitly “external.”

I should note that the greatest difficulty in presenting this chapter lies in the fact that its subject is constituted by, and constitutive of, the themes or representations contained in the following chapter. Rather than understanding these as entirely separate and static categories, I propose that their relational topologies could be seen as resulting from a dynamic in the Capanahua descendants' contextual,

positioned ways of producing meaning (not incidentally, from the generative or causative processes they postulate – the details of this germinating and differentiating dynamic will be discussed in Ch. 4). Because these two chapters address mutually constituting perspectives, which provide meaning to each other, it is unavoidable that they should partially overlap. It should, however, be taken into consideration that in this chapter, I consistently focus on one “side” of products of a larger dynamic. More specifically, I adopt the perspectives conceived as an “outside,” or “clarity” in relation to other dimensions, while the following chapter presents the points of view “internal” in relation to these (or other) perspectives.

The city of manioc

Our friend, Daniel Huaninche from Limón Cocha, once gave me an elaborate description of how manioc should be planted and grown (DHR07).^v He was evidently fascinated with the process of reproduction that he recognized for this domesticated, staple crop. He found it extraordinary because this is the only plant known to him to be propagated in two parallel ways. One is by stem cuttings, with the help of people, and the other, by seed, and therefore, on its own.⁶² In the beginning, “you make the [field on a] *purma*,⁶³ a clear-cut.” After the field is cleared, manioc planted from seed “emerges [*salir*] first, because the seeds are already there, in the ground. These are those seeds that fell [before].” This happens, since “they say manioc waits to grow until a field is ready to plant.” Daniel spoke of manioc (as of many other plants and animals) as a person, using the pronoun *él* [he]. “He” is eager to grow, but is holding back. What “he” wants is company. This is as Daniel’s father told him: “he is waiting for his companions before he starts growing.” The human owner of the field needs to plant his own manioc cuttings right away, just after the long and laborious process of clear-cutting (*rozar*) is completed with the burning (*quemar*) of the slashed and sun-dried vegetation. As soon as possible, “on the second day, you plant your own stem cuttings as well.”

What’s the rush? “You have to plant them evenly, son!” – so that it “will now grow equally with [those from] the seeds.” It is only “when all [the field] is planted:

⁶² Laura Rival’s (2001) overview of Makushi manioc cultivation points to a similar distinction of cloned, domesticated plants from seed. She mentions the fascinating resiliency of the manioc seeds “waiting to grow,” possibly for up to fifty years. This endurance of the reproductive potential of the seed might prove interesting to think through the inherent, indelible ambiguity of the “*inabu* position,” central to the generative process, and responsible for the “asymptotic” character of taming or handling difference, to which I will return in the chapters to come (3 and 4).

⁶³ *Purma* (LUS): secondary forest, a former field/clearing that has overgrown and replenished when fallow.

ibruto! [swear], they all rise, they rise *alegre* [lit. “happy,” but see below]! [ŁK: At the same time?] Same time! Gives well!” The assumption is that it is beneficial for the growth of the plants to be together, at even height and evenly distributed, “so that it looks like their city. [Then] it is a city (*ciudad*). Growing nicely (*lindo*) – and they are *alegre!*” It is a cleared and harmoniously organized space, with enough room for each plant: “All their ‘eyes’ [*ojos*] are well cleaned down below (...) you need to give them air. Don’t ya know he’s hot because of the weeds!?” The ones that grow imperfect are taken out and discarded, “so that [the good ones] grow better.” Then, at the right time, their own seeds start to appear, “And the seeds start to emerge (*salir*) and grow. Up high. His seeds like this, some small, some big.” Finally, when the stems are cut, they need to be handled well (*bonito*), or the mistreated stem will be offended and will not want (*querer*) to grow, saying: “Why is he [the owner] dropping me – he doesn’t want (*querer*) me!” This is because, while the roots end up on dishes as *inguirí*, in bowls as *masato*, or in the large sacks as *fariña*,⁶⁴ the final destination of manioc stems is to be cut to smaller pieces and planted in another, new field.

It will become clearer as this thesis progresses that this description and Daniel’s father’s instructions on cultivating manioc compose a powerful example of social imagery. Although Daniel was speaking about the manioc growth, the following sections will show that we might see this image as the Capanahua descendants’ general recipe for a perfect sociality, applicable to different scales of coexistence in communal spaces. Equally, it may serve as an instruction for “growing” people, which in itself is significant, because management of the generative and differentiating processes or production of children appears to be one of the principal problems of social life for the villagers. Before discussing the temporal dimensions in later chapters, here I will initiate the exploration of social topologies. In the sections that follow, I take up some of the “spatial” themes composing the “city of manioc” image, comparing this with salient, common representations associated with the existence of social spaces (section 1) and sociality contained within them (section 2). This exploration will allow introducing the first perspective on topology, evoked by such ways of making meanings through the conceptions of movements between the

⁶⁴ Sweet manioc, *yuca* is used by Capanahua descendants as part of the daily diet, as *su inguirí* (LUS for staple accompanying a meal of fish or meat). It is sometimes replaced by green cooking plantains; in work and social gatherings – such as *masato*, or manioc beer in various stages of fermentation; and to produce *fariña*, or coarse manioc flour, the selling of which provided the villagers of Limón Cocha (to lesser extent Berea) with monetary or commodity income at the time of our stay.

distinguished spheres (section 3), and will prove responsible for the title of this chapter.

1. Construction and composition of social spaces as clearings

As Daniel said, first one needs to make a field. This seemingly trite fact, only mentioned in passing, is crucial. I therefore propose to look first into some of the ways in which the tropical forest is represented by the villagers, and then at the manner in which it is used as a negative background against which inhabited spatiotemporal spaces are created. I will then present some desired, ideal qualities expected of physical social spaces that build on this context. Finally, I will explore the “personal” aspect of such spaces, which seems to be intrinsic to the villagers’ ways of knowing and making sense of social formations. This discussion aims to provide a practical and topological context for understanding the Capanahua descendants’ ways of making sense of sociality that I will analyse in the subsequent section.

1.1. Sadness of the tropics

Aipena is the name associated with one of the biggest or at least most famous social groupings of “the Capanahua” in the 20th century, known beyond the Buncuya and Tapiche rivers. This is where the SIL established its base of operations in the 1950s, where the bilingual school was started, the airstrip opened, cattle owned by the Capanahua, etc. It lent the name to the Buncuya River’s *comunidad nativa* in the 1980s, and is even used today when people refer to Berea – its humble successor and home to the contemporary *comuneros* of Aipena Native Community – as Nuevo Aipena [New Aipena]. In reminiscences of those who have passed through, the times of Aipena loom as the golden years of cohesion and prosperity, a bustling centre of sociality. Yet paradoxically, the story associated with the provenance of its name⁶⁵ reveals another extreme that lays the basis for the presentation to follow. According to Don Guillermo:

For example,⁶⁶ this name of Aipena – it wasn’t invented by the one who lived there, its founder. Instead, there was a *shiringa* [rubber tree] worker – there used to be lots of *shiringueros* roaming about here before. And each camp [on the river] had some

⁶⁵ The story ignores the older and larger namesake town and a river in San Martín region in northern Peru (cf. Introduction). The orthography of Aipena in documents differs. So, while the early documents prepared for inscription of the community at the Ministry of Agriculture (Romaina Guelle and Huaninche Romaina 1972) give the name as “Hay Pena,” in evident reference to this story – in the actual inscription and the title of property, the name already figures as Aipena (Ministerio de Agricultura 1984).

⁶⁶ The word *ejemplo* carries, among others, the meaning of „a story” (see Ch. 3).

5 or 6 workers. From there: another camp, and another, and another. In the last one, there was one man who worked all by himself (...). And another one downriver. Only one person worked *shiringa* in this camp. One day, he descended from his camp. “I’ll go and visit my fellow worker.” (...) He reached the other’s camp. There, the other *shiringuero* was sitting. So the man who descended said: “Hey, brother, what’s going on?” – “*Puucha* [swear], here I am – sitting down with sadness.” “Why are you sad?” “Oh, well... I am lonesome.” “Well then, this camp of yours will now be named “*Hay Pena*” [there is sadness]! [laughs].^{vi} (GHR01)

The story by Don Guillermo’s nephew, *Profesor* Humberto, published by SIL is very similar, but here, it is the lonesome man who takes up the initiative: “Being sad over not having anyone to talk to, I come”^{vii} (SIL 1995: 59). In either case, the story tells of desolation in the forest. This feeling of being cut off in the dense forest is shared by the loggers who sometimes spend months living in shacks (*tambos*) in the remote, provisionally cleared forest camps, far away from their families, living in Peco’s words, a “*triste* [sad] life: wet, lonesome, hungry” (fT1205 VRH). Getting lost in the dark forest is also a traumatic experience for the lonely hunters, especially when night falls:

I didn’t know what direction I’d come from anymore. Everything was well ugly! (...) Thorny thickets! (...) I cut my way through and came out to a better part, but I didn’t know... It got dark and it rained. I was fucked. And I wasn’t able to come back. It was night already. The one who goes astray is sad indeed. I sat at the foot of a tree. The concentration of mosquitoes there!!! (...) and while they were eating me alive, I thought to myself: “*iPuucha carajo!* [swear] I will never get out!” When the rain fell, I cried. It got cold. When dawn broke [I thought]: “How on earth am I going to get out? Which way am I going to go?”^{viii} (RPH01)

Without the trails made by humans, *monte* [forest] can be treacherous. Because it is common knowledge, people are said only ever to stray from the paths accidentally, most often deceived by the *shapingo*⁶⁷ – the *dueño* [owner] or *rey* [king] of the forest. Therefore, from the nuisance of the mosquito stings through the pain of insect bites, thorn scratches and nettle burns, the discomfort of the cold and wet, to the serious dangers posed by demons, venomous snakes or predatory animals (the jaguars) – the deep forest is said to be harsh on people, if not hostile. Peco, summing up his own experience and that of others lost in the forest, said, “*El monte es bien jodido, cho*” [The forest is really messed up, man] (fT1204 VRH). The usual descriptions of the forest are therefore: *triste* [sad, silent], *silencio* [silent, with no

⁶⁷ Also called *shapshico*, *yashingo* (*shapingo*) demons, and in Capanahua possibly *ni’in yushin* [forest demons], which inhabit the dark regions of the forest. These are variants of names attributed to these forest beings in eastern Peru along with *chullachaqui* (cf. Regan 1993. For encounters with such spirits cf. also Déléage 2005 among Panoans, and Taylor 1993 for the Jivaroan people).

human voice], *oscuro* [dark, with no clearings and visibility], *feo* [ugly, here – dense vegetation], *da miedo* [fearful]. This is all the makings of desolation, and as I will show, the very opposite of *alegre* social ideal.

Although this statement may seem banal, the fact is easy to overlook because of its magnitude. It seems so obvious to people that it usually goes without saying. Yet, the tropical forest has a ubiquitous presence in the life of Capanahua descendants. Its dense, exuberant vegetation and magnitude dictate the realities of living spaces. Before I move on to the Capanahua descendants' representations of the relation between forest and inhabited spaces, it may be helpful to picture the geographical position of the villages. When looking at the satellite photos, we realize the immensity of the tropical forest tightly enveloping the few, sparsely distributed human settlements. There are no roads in this part of the country, so travel is only possible on the rivers. Seen from a boat or the village, the riverbanks compose a wall of dense vegetation, occasionally cut through by a sequestered house or two, a hunting lodge, a lonesome *chacra*. To a European like me, the distances, or rather the time it takes to travel are staggering, given they are measured in days (see Introduction).

1.2. Spatial dimension (opening)

Common knowledge among the Capanahua descendants is that in such an environment, open space represents limited value, because it needs to be created by human labour. Clear-cutting the forest is needed for establishing fields, gardens or pastures, and most importantly, for creating settlements. It is therefore quite natural that the typical historical narratives also demonstrate that the act of clearing the space is synonymous with the founding of a village^{ix}: “they have already been making their *chacras*, setting up their houses to live in. At this point Cesar Machado [a mestizo employer, *patrón*] arrived so that they could live, by making their *caserío* [village]” (RPR01). Persons who are said to be the first to work at clear-cutting a particular place are referred to as *fundadores*, founders. They are “the first who came to open it wide” (MVO1), those who “came, and with their axes: *tac! tac!* (...) cleared it and planted manioc” (fT1204 EHB) – they “made the first fields there, in Limón Cocha” (RPR07). The same goes for clearing a new space in an existing settlement, as

Clever told me when Juaneco was the municipal representative (*agente municipal*⁶⁸), he had kept the community, even the main port, well cleared (*librado*). Before that, Limón was woods (*bosque*) and it was Juaneco who made people work to clear the land, *lindo* (fT1203 CPB). A path or a route is also a part of social space that needs to be opened against the forest.^x

The existence of any cleared space – slashed and burned from the thick tropical forest vegetation that jealously keeps its hold on the land – is associated with the initiative and effort of specific, named persons:

Don Elías -- (...) He founded this pueblo. And Don Leopoldo, Don Jorge – they founded it all. They say it was monte, with only three little houses. And so they made it be. More people came – making their *caserío*. In the middle (*campo*) – all the *quiruma* [plant stumps] cut! Aha, made their *campo* [central plaza]. And from there, they formed a *caserío*. Like that. (...) Aha – the founders, those who lived before. (DHR07)^{xi}

Thus, just like the orderly streets and houses, or short-term crops (principally sweet manioc and plantains, but also some corn or rice) belong to the spaces of living people, as are the abundant, large fruit trees near the houses. The specific persons who planted the trees are remembered through them, so that in Limón Cocha, the domesticated fruit trees (*pijuayo*, *zapote*, etc.) growing around the village are commonly said to have been planted by don Elías, the most senior inhabitant (or his contemporaneous *antiguos*).

1.3. Temporal dimension (maintaining open)

The relation between the inhabited space and the forest is also articulated temporally. The quickly reverting tropical vegetation is a factor that constantly threatens the open space. Significantly, the word *monte* stands not only for the forest itself, but also for unkempt space. It is not enough to open the space once; the existence of any clearing is a matter of continuous effort over time. The practice of maintaining the clear space is described by using the verb *cultivar* or *ʔurúkin*. This refers to the labour of clearing the already opened space of village or field from weeds and shrubs, so that unlike the standard Spanish or English equivalent, it describes the cultivation of an open space, rather than the cultivation of plants. It is the staple of daily life, and *cultivar* is the kind of work that Capanahua descendants do most

⁶⁸ This is one of the main offices at the village-level authorities. *Agente*'s main duties include coordinating the maintenance of the village space.

often, both in their fields, and in the village. Just how serious a matter it is could be illustrated by the fact that every month, the authorities of Limón conduct *patio* controls to check if the houses have their surroundings cleared of weeds. Owners of the unkempt spaces are punished with several hours of imprisonment (*calabozo*).⁶⁹ Communal village space in turn is regularly cleared in weekly communal work (*obra communal*), in which all men are required to participate, and the absentees are similarly punished. When the villagers say, as they customarily do, that to live is to suffer – one of its meanings refers to the fact that to keep any inhabited space open, people must put in continuous effort.⁷⁰ To live, it is therefore necessary to continually open and maintain new spaces, so the encroaching *monte* makes people suffer, inducing the continuous, recurrent toil. However, the temporal dimension of clearings is related not only to their dependence on reiterated work, but also to the fact that they are ultimately finite. How is this temporal boundedness of cleared spaces expressed by *paisanos* in practical terms?

Firstly, because of the tropical forest soil's finite productivity, the field clearings are recognized as ultimately temporary. It usually yields two crops before its productivity diminishes and has to lie fallow for at least 3-5 years. During this time, it is necessary to find and clear new plots. It is easiest to cut the old *purma* [fallow] down, but the field may also have to be opened directly in the *monte alto* [primary forest], which involves much more toiling labour and if possible (in bigger, older villages), it is normally avoided. Similarly, the temporal limit of the inhabited clearings is also understood, at least in historical accounts of locations or migrations, as having been related to the availability of game animals in a given area.⁷¹ Some people suggested the abundance of game in a new place as influencing decisions about the abandonment of the old and establishment of the new settlement. The constantly transforming meandering of the river is recognized as another temporal limit to the open spaces. An example is the village of Nuevo Esperanza, where the river has slowly taken over a large part of the land. In Limon, people showed me the

⁶⁹A wooden closet, sufficient to contain a person, but narrow enough to prevent anything other than a standing position.

⁷⁰ One of the most frequent uses of the verb *sufrir* [lit. "to suffer"] in LUS refers to *trabajar* [to work] and can be translated as "to make an effort." It can refer to arduous work, giving birth, enduring pain, or the necessity of taking action that is, propelled to do something against one's will. The Capanahua equivalent is *teeti*, and the opposite, *teema*, means "easy."

⁷¹Both the productivity of the soil and the availability of forest resources, i.e. game, had been discussed in relation to social or cultural life and histories of Amazonia's inhabitants (cf. Meggers 1954, and in the Panoan context, Romanoff 1976; Calixto Méndez 1985; 1986).

opposite bank of the Tapiche River as the extent of the former reach of the village, 20-30 years ago.

Secondly, in the historical representations, the habitation sites are said to have been changed often before the existence of larger, more permanent villages with established structures such as schools or a church and modern organization. The opportunity to be close to relatives, or powerful an organizer or employer, is given as a positive factor influencing the move. In recent personal stories and decisions – most often it is the functioning school and teachers that are identified by the villagers as holding the most attraction, and people’s motives for changing location are very often phrased as “*por educación de sus hijos*” [because of the education of one’s children]. In such stories, as in contemporary representations, a particular clearing is associated with the people who have created, organized, animated or lived there. This connection between the village space, its sociality, and particular people will return in the following sections. Here, it is important to note that the absence of a person who has organised or animated the village, such as knowledgeable authorities, is often quoted as the reason for the dispersion of historical villages. When these particular people pass away or leave, or when the teachers or missionaries stop coming, the social space collapses and the clearing overgrows. Similarly, people passing away are often cited as the reason for the living abandoning old clearings. The locally comprehensible emotional reaction to the death of a loved one is the abandonment of the space where the departed lived and worked, in order to “forget” the grief and rage (*olvidar pena*) caused by familiar sights and memories.⁷²

In either case, all the cleared, that is, social spaces have an “expiry date,” a fact on which the villagers often reflect. There are many more names of forgone villages and settlements in people’s memories than extant ones. Indeed, on the upper Tapiche and Buncuya, most the contemporary villages could not trace their continuous existence for more than 40-50 years, and the older ones (San Antonio or Monte Alegre) are in a state of collapse and depopulated. An overgrown *campo* [village plaza] or an empty, overgrown, falling house is sad image of dying, abandonment or neglect.^{xii} Deserted fields or villages are quickly reclaimed by the forest and covered by secondary vegetation in the process of *remontar* [lit. “reverting back to *monte*”].

⁷² Conrad Feather (2007) wrote about the Panoan Nahua’s movements conceived as instruments for forgetting the pain of loss.

They become *purmas*, but *paisanos* still invariably associate their existence with human activity, and indeed are linked to specific people, living or deceased. Within the close vicinity of the village, these spaces are recognizable to people as “the *purma* of so and so” – the traces of memory in the invasive forest. Also in a painful way: Doña Ashuca did not want to go to the field where the *pijuayos* planted by her recently deceased son-in-law grew.⁷³ More broadly, they can also mark bygone villages. Geysen’s words illustrate this: “It used to be well populated, that Aipena. Everything was cleared, open space (*bien libre*). Mhmm... Now? Tremendous *purmas!*”^{xiii} (GHF01). Similarly, areas of older secondary vegetation found deeper in the forest are interpreted as the *purmas* left after socialities from the past, invariably attributed to the unknown *antiguos*.⁷⁴

In this context, clearing the space is serious, because here, similarly as for the Trio, it “is not merely performing an essential agricultural activity, since these acts symbolize for [them] a far greater battle (...) since they stand physically between the village and forest, and metaphorically between life and death”(Rivière 1969:vii). It is not only the fact that an overgrown clearing could easily hide deadly poisonous vipers, as is often argued in the villages. It is, on another level, the universally human, tragic banality of the process of emerging from non-existence (the dark forest) into being (bright space) only to revert again to not being (opaqueness) that is emphasized in Capanahua descendants’ social imagery and often gives it a particular, nostalgic tone. We have already glimpsed this in the drunken speeches (Prologue). As Ronal’s grandmother used to tell him, “the day I die, the earth [*tierra*] [will] press me down. In vain I weed it [*cultivar*], work it, wanting to clear it. I am of the earth, and into earth I will revert,’ – my grandmother used to say”^{xiv} (RPH06).

1.4. The qualities of clearings

In this section, I move on from this context of creating and maintaining cultivated, inhabited, social spaces, as diagnosed by the *paisanos*, to consider their ways of speaking about the produced, desired qualities of such spaces. This brief overview has two aims. One is to elucidate the villagers’ ways of representing “space” or “space-time,” which builds on the context of the open spaces, as described in the

⁷³ This association of cultivated plants with memory and the deceased ancestors is shared with other Amerindians in the Lowlands (e.g. Erikson 1999; Rival 2002).

⁷⁴ They are usually associated with the presence of *ojé* or *barabasco* trees, at the foot of which pieces of pottery or even entire pots are found.

previous section. Secondly, in the following sections, this presentation should prove helpful in understanding the imagery and qualities attributed to sociality, and further connect these seemingly disjointed qualities.

1.4.1. Openness

In LUS, the specific vocabulary referring to inhabited spaces include *puesto* [homestead] or *fundo* [estate, farm] in the case of one or a few houses; *pueblo*, *caserío* and occasionally, *comunidad* [community], for a village with more houses and spatial organization, such as a plaza and streets; and finally, *ciudad* [city]. The more abstract reference to inhabited place or even village in various contexts and domains might simply be “open, clear space” for example: *el libre* [free, open space], *el despejo* [clearing], *el claro*, *la claridad* [clarity, brightness], *limpio* [clean], or *el campo* [an open plaza/football pitch in the middle of the village, around which the houses are constructed].

Further, Capanahua descendants tend to associate any clearing or open space with social life, sometimes belonging to “the other side,” that is, another world (Ch. 3). For example:

In the *poza* [pool, a profound part of a river] of Maipuco [right tributary of Tapiche, upriver from Limón Cocha] there is also an owner, Javico saw him once (...) This kind lives there, inside. They like to travel. (...) They travel on highways (*carreteras*). People say that this Tapiche is well open (*bien libre*), well beautiful (*bien lindo*) on the inside. They travel through there to other villages (*pueblos*), other pools – there they have their villages (*caseríos*). (...) The alligator is their speedboat, their taxi. (fT1301 DHR)

The Capanahua language is more explicit about the character of spaces of human habitation such as “clearings.” Although the dictionary translates the word *hemá* exclusively as “city” (*ciudad*) (Loos & Loos 2003: 184), in what I have witnessed, as well as in the historical texts, it seems to refer to village or any residential concentration of persons, so that “*nuken hema hanin*” (fT1301) means “in our village” (cf. Schoolland 1975: 118–19, 207). Additionally, the word succeeding *hemá* in the dictionary is *heman* (or *heman'i'ti*) which refers to the patio (Loos & Loos 2003: 184). This is the space surrounding the house on the outside, which according to the village aesthetics, should always be weeded and swept of any trace of vegetation so that only the bare, bright sand is left (as mentioned above, the obligation is quite literal). Since both refer to the “cleared, open space,” we could say

that the Capanahua word for “inhabited place” does indeed convey the meaning of an open, cleared space around the house or between the houses.⁷⁵

1.4.2. Bright space-time

While staying with Capanahua descendants, I knew about the homonymy of the word *nete*, referring to “light” or “day,” “world” and “birthplace” in the language of the *antiguos* (Loos & Loos 2003: 240).⁷⁶ When I brought this subject up, it made Doña Germe laugh:

(ŁK: What does *nete* mean?) ...Day (ŁK: but birthplace as well?) ...Mhm! -- (ŁK: The same word?) -- Aha -- there you go – “day” -- you... where you live. --- These are specialized words (*palabras tecnicas*)! [laughing hard].^{xv} (GSR05)

Yet, even though finding this connection through LUS struck her as funny (the way many of the bizarre, “ignorant” ways of the *antiguos* that I had been asking about, or my weird questions have), she still confirmed the connection between the day (light) and the place. The connection, both in contemporary speech and in the older Capanahua texts is actually often made in practice. Light is the visual aspect of a clear-cut, and likely refers to the image of sunlight filling the open space, contrasted with the sombreness of the forest. Preferably, the villages are located on arenous soil, which is very light in colour. The whitish sand of the patio around the house – the bare clean *heman* – reflects the strong tropical light, producing the impression of radiant light. The villagers can describe the open space as “shining” (*brilloso*) or “illuminated” (*iluminado*). Similarly, when the petrol presented by wealthy, powerful benefactors, such as a mayor (*alcalde*) or logging *patrón* runs out in Limón Cocha, the electricity generator cannot run, and the village is left without electric light in the evenings, it is said to be *triste*, sad – opposing it to illuminated space as *alegre* [happy, joyful]. (I return to this quality in subsequent sections).

While space and light are habitually connected when using LUS (note that *claro*, “clear” or “bright” is closely related), the Panoan languages are more explicit. *Xabati* or “to shine, light up” (Loos & Loos 2003: 375), is in the Capanahua texts

⁷⁵ The editors of the dictionary of Shipibo-Conibo acknowledge this overlap as the closest linguistic relative of Capanahua. They explain that *jema* [in the spelling used in this thesis: *hema*] “suggests an open and cleared space, in which it is possible for community to exist” (Loriot, Lauriault, and Day 1993: 221 my translation). Their definition of the noun *jema* [*hema*] (*jemán* being only its grammatical case) includes: a deforested place; street in a native community, open patio; village (*caserío*), community or a village (*pueblo*) with authorities; town (*pueblo*) or city (ibid.).

⁷⁶ Again, very illustratively, Shipibo-Conibo noun *nete* refers to: a. day; b world; c country; d. life (*vida*), environment (*ambiente*) (Loriot, Lauriault, and Day 1993: 287).

often associated with the “shining” of clearings.^{xvi} The verb itself comes from the noun *xabá* glossed as: a. light; b. dawn, daybreak (Loos & Loos 2003: 374). Furthermore, because of the obvious association with “light,” *nete* can refer to “day.” Yet it can also point to the temporal dimension of the spaces. For example, Omecho listened when I invited him to talk about the *antiguos*, as well as contemporary times. “*Nea neten!*” he said. “What?” I asked. “These times” (*Esos tiempos*), he explained, and wrote it down on a piece of paper: “*Neha neten [Ne’a neten] [sic, Nea neten] - en ese tiempo*”. *Neten* means time, *tiempo*, he said (fT1204). This may well be the equivalent of Spanish “*en esos días*” [in those days], but it does correspond to the other meanings.⁷⁷

1.4.3. Shiny and lasting: towards an ideal beauty

This short analysis of terminology confirms the association of the open, bright and shining with inhabited social space. Such qualities of an open space are also the aesthetic and ethic touchstone more generally, which have implications for conceptions of sociality to which I return later. The adjectives *lindo* [pretty or good] and Capanahua equivalent *sirí* [good, pretty], or *siripi* [do something well, being good] often refer to an area or surface which is smooth, cleared, and thus, shiny or brilliant.^{xvii} The verb *siríakin* [lit. „making *sirí*”] is “to make smooth, brilliant” (Loos & Loos 2003: 330–31). In other words, smooth (and bright or shiny) implies good, right, and pretty. The LUS equivalent of *xabati*, discussed above, is *brillar* [to shine], which can refer to the shining surface of, e.g. coffin, coffee can, bald spot on someone’s head, glossy trousers, otter fur, anaconda skin, brilliant phlegm of witchcraft (*yachai*), golden tooth, an old, polished bow, or shiny presents for the wild backwards people (*indios*). Capanahua descendants usually find smooth and bright or shiny aesthetically pleasing. Doña Ermisha admired the clay pots made by Kinga as smooth and shiny (*brilloso*). When I wove a rail around the open part of our house from thin raw rods, my field notes describe how, for some days people came to tell me it was nice, and they wanted to learn how to make something similar. However, invariably, they added that it would actually have been very pretty (*lindo*) had it been

⁷⁷ Once again, the Shipibo-Conibo dictionary explicitly confirms these connections. It refers to the same word, *shabá* [*xaba*] as “open space” (*espacio libre*) (Loriot, Lauriault, and Day 1993: 392), with *jéma shabá* [*héma xabá*] designating the village “main place (*plaza*)” (*ibid.* 222). Furthermore, the Marubo, eastern neighbours of the Capanahua, closely related linguistically, use the same word, *shava*, to speak of “village” (Port. *morada*) (Cesarino 2008; Welper 2009: 178–79, 182) or “time-place” (Port. *tempo-lugar*) (Welper 2009: 178–79, 182). While in the Capanahua dictionary, the verb *xabajaquín* [*xabaaquín*] [lit. “making *xabá*”] is said to mean “to light up” (Loos and Loos 2003: 375), the Shipibo-Conibo dictionary equivalent, *shabáati* [*xabáati*] stands for the act of deforesting (e.g. terrain), or clearing the thickets (Loriot, Lauriault, and Day 1993: 392).

stripped so that the shiny, smooth inner wood was displayed instead of the coarse, irregular surface and the drab colour of the bark. Equally often, they advised me that “truly beautiful” would have been painted in bright colours (fT1203 , 1204). The drawings created by children who visited our house demonstrate this point clearly enough. While drawing their own houses – not always painted and less so in extravagant colours – were all emblazoned with imaginary walls in lively colours. Although teaming with a variety of vegetation, overall, the actual forest is not colourful, but rather dim and monotone. A few colourful animal or plant species, such as parrots, snakes, or jaguars, are duly noted by the Capanahua descendants. Therefore, introducing smooth shiny surfaces and brilliant, bright colours into the social space is consistent with the insistence of a vivid differentiation of social spaces from the background of monotone forest vegetation.⁷⁸

On this aesthetic (and ethical, as I will argue later) trajectory of clearing as conducive to beautiful brightness, apparently shared with other eastern Peruvians, city space and the material it comes from is close to ideal. In LUS, “the noble material” (*material noble*) is an expression that designates concrete, bricks, shiny smooth sheet metal roofing, glass, colourful paint, and the ultimate: glazed tiles. Here, what is important in discussing these representations of spaces as they intersect with temporality is that apart from their shiny, bright clarity, there is another feature that makes it “noble.” For the *paisanos*, who are always preoccupied with decay and passing, this material seems never to spoil. Hence the clear, organized space of a city, when covered with *material noble* is unlikely to become overgrown quickly. It is opposed to the drab and perishable, poor (*humilde*) materials such as wood, leaves, or bark, extracted from the *monte*, which Capanahua descendants use to make their houses. That city space, then, is more “ahead” (*adelante*) on the scale determined by openness, clarity and durability (it does not require repetitive, laborious work to keep it open and bright). Its “nobility” determined by an increased level of clarity and durability corresponds to the “true” or

⁷⁸ Another feature of the Capanahua descendants’ representations of space bears a close connection between the space as a place, the space as the air that fills it, and the smell. The idea of surrounding “air” or, precisely, “space” (*espacio* or *aire*, also *ambiente*), returns in many spheres in ways of making meaning, but discussing it here in any detail would be beyond the limitations of this work. *Oloroso* (fragrant) is an important, positive social quality brought about by plants or commercial perfumes. *Agua florida* or *alcanflor* are commercially produced, perfumed waters used in healing, while the “smell” of the spirits produces illness. Similarly, the agreeable smell of *piripiri* herbs is used to tame the *indios* by introducing them into a space of peacefulness and sociality (see below). The heavenly realm is marked by the fragrance of unearthly flowers, which feed innocent souls. Spirits in general are said to feed on smells alone and to exist in the “air.” Conrad Feather (2010) talks of “smellscapes” in relation to the Nahuas’ sensitivity to smells and their importance in their perceptions of the world (cf. also Overing 2006).

“real” qualities attributed to the city dwellers and their knowledge/origins. I will return to this in Ch. 2, when interpreting the expression *kuin kuini* as conveying “knowledge,” and in Ch. 4, to locate “nobility” in a much broader, temporal context of descent.

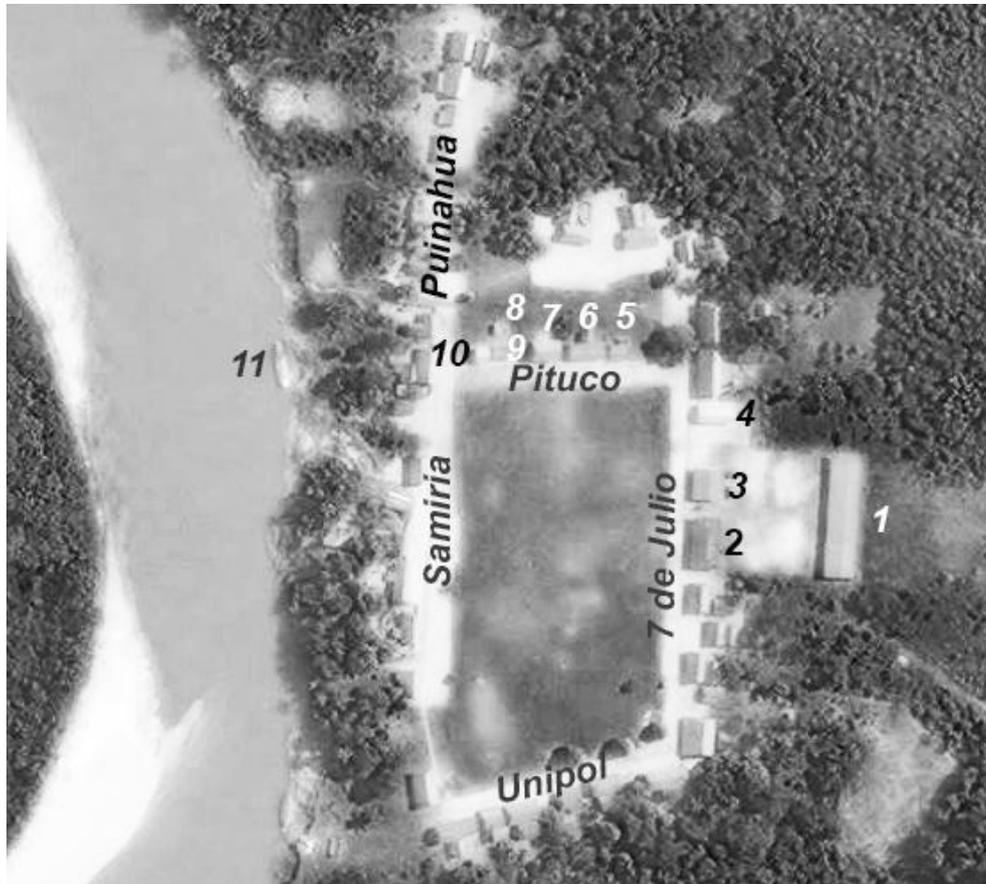


Figure 4. Limón Cocha with street names. The numbers indicate communal buildings: 1. *Colegio* [high school and elementary school]; 2. *Local communal* [communal meetinghouse]; 3. *Jardín* [kindergarten]; 4. *Iglesia “Díos te llama”* [the church named “God loves you”]; 5. *Casa de la iglesia* [house for visiting missionaries]; 6. *Casa de profesores* [the teachers’ house]; 7. *Casa de patrón* [house of the locally invested logging patrón, which stands locked and empty]; 8. *Cuarto del teniente* [the deputy’s office] and *calabozo* [the “cell”]; 9. *Juéz de Paz* [office of the “Peace Judge” for the whole of the upper Tapiche]; 10. *Botiquín communal* [medicine store]; 11. *El bote de comerciantes* [the merchant’s boat, purchasing fariña and selling an assortment of merchandise, from hair oil to TVs]. (Image: Bing 2013, Microsoft)

Ultimately, ideal clarity is not found on this earth. The heavenly realm seen during clinical death, which many people say they have experienced – and arguably reflecting the ideal social conditions – is described as a concrete-like smooth surface⁷⁹ of the shiny road, decorated with colourful flowers, which emanate other-

⁷⁹ The concrete surfaces of sidewalks in Loreto’s cities are polished to be ideally smooth, making them dangerously slippery when the rain falls.

worldly perfumes (RPH05; GHR05). Indeed, descriptions of the heavens evoke an image of an ideal city, which I heard most explicitly formulated in sermons sprouted by visiting Shipibo missionaries. I will return to the subject of heavenly transparency, cities and clarity later on (see Ch. 5).

In summary, I would note that these qualities of space seem to correspond to the status of inhabited spaces as described earlier in this section, and thus to be constructed on the foundational movement of clearing. The ideal aesthetics of social space for the villagers could be interpreted as conceived against opacity, forest vegetation, perishability, dullness, and darkness. The direction in which the trajectory of such clearing aesthetics leads to are the large, cleared and organized human settlements. Cities come close to ideal, but its ultimate realization is beyond this world, where it is liberated from the inescapable perishability of space that characterizes the conditions known on this earth by the villagers and many other rural eastern Peruvians.

1.5. *Su entremedio*: Knowing the clearings and knowledge making the clearings

Therefore, in considering the ways in which the Capanahua descendants speak of inhabited spaces it is finally necessary to expand on the already mentioned association of such spaces with the persons who create or participate in it. They have the faces, so to speak, of individual persons who live, participate and can be known within them at a particular time. Villagers recall precisely who lived in any village at a specific time when they visited, and the places are defined most often through the people who open or live in them. Thus, the place can be identified by those peoples' generalized names –so on the example of the surname Chumo such a place might be referred to as: “*donde los Chumos*” [where the Chumos], “*puesto de José* [the point of José [Chumo], head of family],” and spoken of as “*puro Chumos* [purely Chumos],” etc.

In light of the above characterisations of physical aspects of settlements by the villagers – revolving around their openness and luminosity – one of the most important “functions” of the opened, organized spaces is that they enable perceptibility, and are conducive to knowability. Therefore, within their space, those

specific people are experientially perceptible to each other and to visitors. The verb *conocer*/*ʔunanaʔi* [to know, be familiar with] refers to experience and perception.⁸⁰ Although visibility is an important dimension enabled by the clearings, it is not enough to create the desired clarity, knowability and flows between subjects. I will argue in the next section, that actual knowability in the villagers' ways of speaking is a function of multi-dimensional removal of obstacles to perception, including hearing, smelling, touching, or kinaesthesia of joint activities, such as work, consumption, sharing and other social interactions as described below.⁸¹ In fact, partial perceptibility of any kind (i.e., making sound without being seen, being seen but not talking, hearing but not understanding, etc.) is an attribute of relations with demons (*tunchi/yushin*) or enemies (Ch. 2). When Doña Celina related the behaviour of a young Matses brought by the SIL missionary (while the memories of raids and kidnappings of his “*paisanos*” were still very fresh), she used the common expression for lack of normally expected sociality, sometimes taken as a sign of conflict: “*mirar nomás*” [just looking] ^{xviii} (CNS01). As Celso said about the time before we got a chance to talk: “we are looking at each other like enemies.”

Apart from the persons themselves, one more aspect in the villagers' ways of speaking about such social composition of such spaces is both knowable and simultaneously composes them. It is the knowledge and “customs” that these people live by which provide character to their inhabited spaces. These particular ways are referred to as *su costumbre* [their habit, custom], *su forma/manera (de vivir)* [their ways (of living)] or simply *así vivían/viven ellos* or *haskari hiweti* [this is how they live/their living]. They can be thought of as integral to the space created by particular people – as a general atmosphere (*ambiente*) or their surroundings (*su entremedio*). Just as the people who enact them, they are subject to knowing (*conocer* or *saber*, *ʔunanaʔi*) or accustoming (*costumbrarse*), both by the participants, and by the people who come to live with them. Here, the process of learning these ways (*aprender*) is consistently represented as imitating (*imitar*) or copying (*copiar*) from “example”

⁸⁰ For example, responding to a claim by one of the families that their mother came from Contamana [a town on the Ucayali], Doña Luzmila said they “don't know (*conocer*) Contamana and none of their kinsmen knows Contamana. They are... natural (*natural de*) Buncuyans!”⁸⁰ (LCO01). Similarly, the Capanahua counterpart *ʔunanaʔi* in the expression *xaba ʔunanaʔi* [lit. to know the light/dawn] could be translated as “the time when someone perceived/experienced dawn” (cf. Loos and Loos 1976b: 54–55; 2003: 374; Schoolland 1975: 265). Also suggestive is Daniel's proposition that the human tooth knows (*conoce*) the hot peppers and salt which it bites, and this is why it transmits the “poison” of the peppers, so that if the teeth bite another person's finger it will cause swelling (DHR08).

⁸¹ It is common to hear people say about their ascendant kin: “I don't even know my father, when I was little, he died. I have grown without knowing my father (...) I know only my grandmother, other than that, I don't know anyone [of my ascendant family]” (ESH03). Additionally, *conocer* can also be used in relation to a sexual encounter.

(*ejemplo*) (cf. Ch. 3). According to Don Romer, “it all really depends on the *costumbre* of the other inhabitants (*vivientes*), so that you get used (*costumbrandose*) to how they live. And you want to be [like them]”^{xix} (RPR08). Ideally then, the process of familiarizing (we could say “acculturation”) should lead to the state of external uniformity (*igual nomás*) within the space, the conviviality ideal, envisioned in Daniel’s description of the *alegre* evenness of the growing manioc (I will discuss conviviality of *alegría* in Sect. 2). On another occasion, he told me about those Capanahua descendants who move to the mestizo places or cities:

some... know Capanahua, those who go and mingle anywhere. Those who are known to be Capanahua. But... they make themselves mestizo when they go over there, to the city. (...) (ŁK: How do they make themselves mestizo?) Well, just like that... talk purely... purely castellano [LUS]: you don’t talk in your... dialect anymore, in your Capanahua – you don’t speak it anymore, because those over there do not understand it. They don’t. (...) *Nawa* already, he talks purely *castellano*. (ŁK: And changes his surname (cf. Ch. 5)?) He does. He changes to another. He takes up other surname, and doesn’t want this Capanahua surname. He doesn’t want to be Huaninche anymore, and assumes something different. Like this. Lots of them – leave: “He already changed his surname, is not Huaninche Chumo anymore!” (...). Changes. Why oh why does he change it?^{xx} (DHR17)

This quote signals some particular ways or *costumbre*. In the Capanahua descendants’ representations of historical, mythical or contemporary socialities-clearings, these particular ways of living include the language and the manner of talking, laughing etc.^{xxi}; address terms (*tratarse*) and attitudes - especially marriage rules (*conocer familia*); names and surnames to be known by within the space; the ways of producing a harmonious social life. Also inseparable is a specific diet, such as inclusion or exclusion of hot peppers, frogs, salt, sweets, bread, *gaseosa*, beer, or “the pills” (often thought to be eaten by the *gringos* to quell hunger). Indeed, we would often be asked if we knew how to eat particular local food: *¿Sabes comer...?* [Do you know how to eat...?], and people would admit that they “did not know” how to eat certain things. For example, crepes or scrambled eggs which we occasionally prepared, how to use certain tools or the lack of certain skills, such as preparing documents, setting the time on a watch, applying medicine, and so on. It is perhaps related that such categories of knowing or the capacity to know that define specific kinds of social existence – are also used to refer to an existential quality in general, so that a thing can be said to *no sabe podrir*, “does not know how to spoil.”

Importantly, the space/sociality is also characterized by specific kinds of apparatus or instruments, such as bows and arrows, clay pots, signal drums, clothes,

axes, watches, perfumes, telephones or computers; as well as particular “know-how” related to producing or procuring those things, growing plants or animals, hunting, earning money, curing, writing, organizing people, creating a village, etc. The space is also created by the structures existing in the village: paved, cleared and named streets, street lamps, as well as structures such as the communal house (*local communal*) where village meetings take place, a well-kept football pitch, and most directly related to organizing knowledge: schools. These structures are spoken of as accomplishments or assets of the village, elevating its status as “well organized” (*bien organizado*) (Fig. 4). This allows, I note, for interpreting these as manifestations of the organizational skills of the people who create the village space, or perhaps their capacity to ascertain investment of knowledge or resources from the remote sponsors or caretakers of the village (expressed as *saber andar*, that is, to know how to walk [the offices]). Today, the mayor or municipality of the administrative district or logging and oil companies primarily occupies that latter figure.

I would suggest that the uniting, organising collections of knowledge that contain and organize participants could therefore productively be understood as ways or instruments (if not “containers”, to anticipate the topological developments of the remaining chapters) for being perceptible and living together. That is, through all these provisions that make up a “cultural” substrate of representations of social spaces, persons can make themselves perceptible and knowable, and thus, strive for an *alegre* ideal sociality (as discussed below). They allow creating aesthetically satisfying spaces, which enable their perceptual availability in a similar way to the physical clearings. It is now crucially important to note the usual and expected provenience of such knowledge/instruments for the villagers.⁸²

Apart from the people who participate and grow within a particular space, consistently mentioned are also those who found, organize or sponsor it. Just as the knowledge and activity of the owner of the field – who plants the stems evenly, equidistant, and keeps the space between the individual plants clear – makes the *alegre* city of manioc possible, so is the founder, organizer or sponsor responsible for the existence and the thriving of inhabited space. Firstly, the skills and work of the founder of a clearing enable the physical existence of the space and literal

⁸² Cf. “intersubjective visual availability” (Gow 1999: 238).

perceptibility within. Secondly, “good thoughts/ideas” (*pensamiento*, *ideas* or *shina*), like the mestizos’, *gringos*’ or Shipibo’s organizational and administrative skills, translated onto the village space, as well as the sponsor’s caring provision (*servir*) of resources (gasoline, commodities for feasts, medicine, and more durable, like the structures mentioned above) – all enable organized, durable and harmonious structures in which to live. They (or their instruments/knowledge) also infuse unanimity inside of people, because such a leading figure convinces (*convencer*), teaches (*enseñar*), explains (*explicar*), advises (*consejar*), animates (*animar*) and unites (*unir*). Such role of the founder, organizer, sponsor or animator is important for understanding ways of making sense of social spaces by the Capanahua descendants and the topologies that these meanings evoke. It can be seen as paralleling the mythic figure of *Neteanika* [lit. *Nete*-maker], the reluctant original giver of the knowledge of manioc planting to the *antiguos*. That, in turn, reminds of the Shipibo-Conibo personage of *Inka*, who upon returning “will improve our *nete* [lives (*vidas*)/ environment (*ambiente*)]” (Loriot, Lauriault, and Day 1993: 287).⁸³ In other words, it echoes the representations of owners or masters among other Amazonians.⁸⁴

It is therefore significant that such instruments/knowledge is often accompanied by possessives, signalling the value, as being “proper to,” as much as they are “property of.” Just as those elements that compose contemporary Capanahua descendants’ villages and living realities (e.g., cultivation of manioc or maize, sex or birth, stinginess, organization of the village, the custom of *minga* communal work, or LUS or Capanahua language) are conceived in old stories as received, stolen, inflicted, or gained from foreign figures or places. This includes the ancestors (see Ch. 2, 3) – so villagers seem to assume that knowledge extracted from them by foreign figures has similar constitutive value elsewhere. This could give specific meaning to local expressions such as “to have language/ ideas” (*tener idioma/ideas*).^{xxii} For example, they were rightfully convinced, of the profitability of *idioma* [the Capanahua language] for the *mestizo* teachers. According to Capanahua descendants, but sometimes quite explicitly by the *profesores* themselves the attempts at learning it were motivated by the opportunity to gain better-paid, bilingual teaching posts

⁸³ See: Harner 1974; Calavia Sáez 2000.

⁸⁴ Cf. discussion in Fausto 2008, 2012.

when claiming knowledge of an indigenous language. Further, this is how they explain the *gringos'* interest in learning the language, like the SIL or other linguists, and they assumed this was my intention as well. They argue that teaching the Capanahua language far away, to other *gringos* – whom they assume to be extremely interested in learning it – is highly profitable. Similarly, when Kinga helped an older woman with the arduous work of hammock weaving, some villagers advised Doña Ermisha not to teach her the technique. The argument being that we would use this knowledge for profit “in our land.” I can only imagine that the money we would make would not match the value they imagined it would. Facing this more or less continuous assumption about our presence was one of the greatest challenges for fieldwork and our stay with the villagers.

2. Approximations of ideal sociality

Here, I explore the ways of making sense of sociality. I do this by examining representations of the “space” contained between people: the etiquette or ethics shaped by similar, “clearing” trajectories in constructing meanings. I turn to another element in Daniel’s city of manioc image and concentrate on how the aesthetics of space are related to the state he defined as *alegre*, that is, “happy/joyous.” Here, it can serve as a vehicle for considering the locally conceived makings of sociality. First, by reviewing some uses of the term, I trace the way that such a state is conceived against other qualities or states. I will then look at the actions or work that Capanahua descendants postulate as constitutive of an ideal state of sociality. As I do this, I note that their postulated trajectories parallel those that construct clearings and aesthetic clarity, and the expressions used to describe ideal sociality correspond or share with the aesthetics of spaces or surfaces, as identified in the previous section.

2.1. Alegría: Joy of overcoming obstacles

As I argued in the Prologue, the LUS term *alegre/alegría* and its Capanahua equivalent *kuin kuini* could be taken as the leading theme of convivial or merrymaking modality in drunken speeches. Here, I explore some of the meanings these receive in broader usage. Examples found throughout the texts recorded by SIL show that the use of the term *kuin kuini*, translated in Capanahua dictionary as *alegrarse* [rejoicing] or *contentarse* [feeling satisfied] (Loos & Loos 2003: 138) generally conforms to those of *alegre* (happy, merry, joyful) in LUS which I documented in the villages. For expository reasons, below I point out two main sets of

use: one describing an affective reaction, and the other, a prolonged state of existence. Then, I proceed to probe their significance in the context of sociality: social gatherings or feasts and the state of social space.

Firstly, the emotional reaction described as *kuin kuini* in SIL texts may be caused, for example, by the return of one's brother^{xxiii} (Loos & Loos 2003: 138); a man who survived the flood is happy^{xxiv} to find people he can talk to (Schoolland 1975: 210,215). As well as Herod rejoicing upon meeting Jesus, whom he had wanted to meet for a long time^{xxv} (Loos & Loos 1978: 152). The situations which Capanahua descendants said during my fieldwork to produce spontaneous joy (*alegría*) are mainly related to people: either to the moment (or anticipation) of an encounter where relatives are rejoined, or finding new people and establishing relations as spouses, workers, children or helpers. Furthermore, if the narrator of a myth tells us that the cannibal woman *Yawish* is "content" because she had just devoured a child^{xxvi} (Schoolland 1975: 210,215), then likewise, receiving or finding meat or food in general was the second most often given reason that Capanahua descendants associated with feeling *alegre*. Receiving things or knowledge, and ultimately, accomplishing one's aim or being victorious follows closely. This shows that for the Capanahua and their descendants alike, what is said to make living beings "happy," (*alegre*) is company and food most of all. For this discussion, it is essential to note that common to this usage of *alegre* is the reference to the disposition at the moment of fulfilment of longing, hunger or desire. In other words, it could be seen as the state of relief from desire itself (e.g. of company or food) or removing the obstacles on the way to fulfilling it, such as distance, longing, unknowing, distrust, concealment of game, etc.

Secondly, the other use of *alegre* and *kuin kuini* that I distinguish here is a continuous state of being rather than a spontaneous, temporary relief or fulfilment. It can describe a particular situation or a state of quotidian existence in particular surroundings. If the above identified reasons for rejoicing are considered, it comes as no surprise that for the villagers, such an existence is associated almost exclusively with being in company, and opposed to being alone, which is synonymous with being sad (*triste*). Using it this way, Capanahua descendants most often indicated a quotidian state of satiated, contented and harmonious coexistence of people. For example, *alegría* may simply refer to being with one's family, especially as opposed to

living alone^{xxvii} (VPB03). The state may mean a tranquil life – satiated and trouble free. For example, a woman, wailing at the funeral or wake of her deceased husband may tell him to give the living family “more *alegría*,” characterized as a safe life without tragedies, and/or without the insidious company of his *yushin* [spirit of the deceased]. She might also remind him to send game animals towards the living: “Just as you wanted to eat [while you were alive], we too want to eat!”^{xxviii} (DHR03). Other examples connect *alegría* as the state of harmonious being with sharing. Doña Germe told me: “living together, united, *alegre*. The way it says in the Bible – the life of Christ, how they used to live before. Christ [was] *alegre* with everyone, and that is what ‘good thoughts’ are meant to say. To share with one another”^{xxix} (GSR01). What Doña Elsa told me about the SIL missionary Eugene Loos when he visited various Capanahua homesteads on the Buncuya River, suggests just what is being shared:

He would stay until late. He ate, drank. They would give him the leg of *hunu* [collared peccary] *nami* [meat]. *Alegre!* They would take him to the field to fetch bananas, for *señora* Beti [Loos]. *Kankan. Hawen tasa, kankan* [Pineapple, their basket, pineapple] (...) full baskets!^{xxx} (EFN03)

Overall, then, *alegre* as quality of existence describes a state of being between persons in which the obstacles to perceptibility between them are overcome and the flow of food or goods between people is unhindered. Thus, goods are made available or externalized through sharing, and the needs are fulfilled, or rather, the differentiation in their fulfillment is neutralized. It is worth noting that meeting people often means receiving food (or having other desires or needs fulfilled). The state of satisfied being with others thus implies joint eating or being served food, to the point where *alegría* caused by food is often parallel, if not synonymous with that caused by company. Being “fat” (*gordo*) might be a sign of health, that is, satisfied by being with people in a given place: we were sometimes told in a bragging tone that by living in Limón, at no time were we destined to end up *gordo*.

Further, just as the bird which lives contently, singing while it eats^{xxxi} (Loos & Loos 2003: 307), so – as noted in the Prologue – *alegre* between people also implies raucous laughter, music, and conversations during social gatherings. For a lonely man who is *triste* [sad], in silence – the radio creates the impression of having company^{xxxii} (BRS20). This image leads us back to where we began with the drunken speech, or the way Capanahua descendants use *alegre* in connection with feasting, also paralleled by another Capanahua usage of *kuin kuini*.^{xxxiii} These feasts epitomize

the *alegre* state because they combine the spontaneous joy of emerging into an encounter, satiation and the harmonious presence of joint activities in one space. These are the high points of sociality. In fact, it is these spaces and times of *alegría*, which are the stuff of memories. For example, Don Romer expressed the following reasoning by the *antiguos* for not wanting to have their photos taken: “When I am dead and gone, [the people who knew me] will see only my photograph, *’en yushin* [my spirit]. They will feel much sorrow [thinking of]: ‘when we used to be *alegre*, when we used to be together, drinking manioc beer and dancing!’ They will miss me a lot”^{xxxiv} (RPR03). Similarly, Daniel explained why he does not celebrate his birthday anymore: “It’s because I don’t get to see my dad anymore! When he was alive, that is what I would do, *alegre*: drink! Eat!”^{xxxv} (DHR14).

Villagers affirm it is much more difficult to acquire a steady state of satisfaction as part of daily village sociality than spontaneous fulfilment or feasting. This is especially evident when *alegre* is used to describe the state of an inhabited space. It requires effort, which is attributed to knowledge and the care of specific people. This is apparently what Doña Elsa meant when she told me that Berea used to be *alegre* when her son was alive (and was the evangelical “animator”) because people cooperated in maintaining the church. It was precisely Doña Elsa’s son who “thought” about the building and other village affairs, and he animated people to bring leaves or palm bark to fix the church. Now that he has passed away, Berea is *triste* [sad]: there is no church [which collapsed] and there is no one who “cares” about the village (fB1111 EFN). Reaching farther in the history of Buncuya, Don Guillermo described the harmonious and organized time of the old Aipena in his adolescence, and diagnosed the source thus:

Before, there were many houses, and it was all pretty and organized. We all lived united. Everything they [the adults – *antiguos*] did, they would do together, the feasts, together, united, all at once. They would dance there, all of them, *tranquilo*, *alegre*. (...) They were organized because the mestizos were the authorities, like *teniente*, *agente*. And at the time when the *antiguos* existed, there were also *teniente gobernador* who were mestizo. That is why: the mestizos had them organize a bit... Got rid of their time of... their surroundings (*ambiente*), their form of living. That’s it. Meaning... [they made them] modernize. That’s the reason^{xxxvi} (GHR02).

At this point, the important feature to note is that when *paisanos* praise *alegre* sociality as harmonious coexistence, they connect it to a state of space, a surrounding that is organized by specific knowledge, again, connected to particular persons who

share, or externalize, the “good thoughts.” These may be imparted in instructions (*consejo*), such as “brother-in-law, do not be mad with me, live contently (*kuin kuinni*[sic])!”^{xxxvii} (Loos & Loos 2003: 152). Doña Elena said that her mother instructed her: “[fighting and arguing with family] is no good, no way to live. One has to live *alegre*: loving one’s siblings, cousins, aunts”^{xxxviii} (ESH03). These examples of *alegría* also link to the “personal” side of the social space and “containing” knowledge (*saber, ideas, conocer*) of the “thoughtful” figure that I mentioned in the previous section and which facilitates sociality. Thus, ideal sociality is the participants’ mutual perception, flow of goods, and overall conflict-free, united coexistence. One might appreciate the connotations of luminosity and openness or smoothness (against shadows and obstacles, or problems) of *kuin kuini* in this context. The dictionary images of the little birds “rejoicing” contentedly when the sun blazes^{xxxix} (Loos & Loos 2003: 138), or the worm moving completely “joyously” and freely, before it is touched on the head and then it cringes^{xl} (Loos & Loos 2003: 311).

In summary, I propose that all these various uses of *alegre/kuin kuini* have in common that they result from actions or causal movements on trajectories pointing toward clearance, removal of obstacles or differences, most evocatively illustrated in the intersections of representations of sociality and space, where perfect sociality is coextensive with perfect space. This short overview of the ways in which the villagers construe *alegre/kuin kuini* reveals that it encompasses the terms and ideas associated with convivial, ethical sociality (some of which, as I suggested before, are also aesthetic categories). Beauty (*lindo*), peacefulness (*tranquilo*), generosity (*bueno*) and equality or normality (*igual nomás, normal*) is widely used to evoke an ideal state of being between people cohabiting in a given place. Such an image of ideal state is presented particularly as an introduction for strangers or newcomers, or the officially declared condition of the village or homestead. For example, Don Macshu asked my visiting friend Maciej, if he saw “the people [here] *siripi hiwetain* [living in a good/ pretty manner]?” (fT1301). These terms are used to declare or emphasize the harmonious social coexistence on a daily basis, for example, in courteous exchanges mentioned in the Prologue, such as “*aquí estamos, tranquilo nomás,*” or “*todo lindo tranquilo.*” The reverse is living “ugly,” *feo*: disorganised, fighting, stingy (concealing), and overgrown.

2.2. Faces and faeces: clarity betwixt and between

The last conclusions raise an essential problem. If joyful sociality is construed as resulting from the effort of clearing, what is simultaneously construed by such action is the opacity against which perceptibility is produced at the interpersonal level? What is sociality presumed to be cleared against?

As we saw, the terms used to speak about the aesthetics of spaces and sociality overlap or converge. Just as clearings are opened against the forest, and openness or brightness is accomplished against a sombre background, so the social dimension seems to be conceived as achieved against obstacles to clarity a product of similar work as in the open space of clearings. Noticing these parallels allows for seeing sociality as if it were a space – “betweenness” or *entremedio* is created between any two persons in a third, containing space (clearing and/or its instruments of perceptibility). Being defined through perceptibility or knowability, creates another topological distinction, opposing such sociality/space to the internal dimensions of persons, by default concealed behind their appearances or “faces.” We have glimpsed this in the unveiling layers of drunken speech (Prologue). Briefly put, Capanahua descendants say that only the person’s face is truly perceivable and knowable, while the heart, containing feelings/thoughts, desires and intensions are imperceptible directly and ultimately opaque. I will develop this construction of inside concealed by appearances in Ch. 2, and will attempt to make sense of similar dynamics at various levels of the villagers’ explanations in the rest of this thesis. Here, I will only note that internal content might potentially be dangerous, but unavoidable for a living human being (as the desire for food or company, helpers in the work/suffering of life). This is mentioned here to propose that it is precisely this concern with the possibility (threat) of (divergent) containment, which will be discussed in the next chapter that provides the direction or trajectory to the formulations of sociality as opening, revealing, externalising or emerging.

Therefore, as much as the descriptions of sociality, as analysed in previous sections, focuses on the external (interpersonal) space of perceptibility, the local demands of knowability, require more than superficial visual input of external appearances of persons. What, then, are the actions that might fulfil the heightened requirements for knowability mentioned before, where “merely looking” is deemed insufficient? These solutions conceived by the villagers echo Peter Rivière’s (1969:

239) observation on the strategies of Trio sociality, where the lurking shadow is the fear of cursers, and “hospitality (...) is in fact a prophylactic against witchcraft”:

They do not like visiting strange villages because of this, and when they go to an unknown village, they say on arrival, ‘I am not a curser, I am good, look at my baggage. Now you be good and do not curse me.’ When visitors come to their village, they give them food and drink, and are open and laughing because the only safeguard against being cursed is openness and expression of good intent - a description of behaviour which closely matches the overture of ceremonial dialogues. (Rivière 1969: 238)

I begin to argue, and will continue to do so throughout this thesis, in the case of villagers’ sociality, the level of such ambiguous opacity can be instantiated at different levels. It does not limit itself to relations between villages, but in fact, can be found at the interpersonal level. The manifestations of sociality focus primarily on the effort of emerging or externalizing, construed as opening “the baggage,” which, as I will continue to argue in the following chapters, is also one’s internal (personal or bodily) content, such as intentions. They appear in this context as attempts to extend the perceptibility beyond the opaque surfaces, or to open the containing, concealing appearances of its participants. This seems to prove the existence of the inside itself, and thus, being a living human, and at the same time, the harmoniousness of that inside with the outside and other persons, or absence of dangerous divergences within.

Common knowledge has it that spirits (*demonios*, *yushin*) aliment on the smell or air alone. In one story, consuming food proves deadly for spirits.⁸⁵ Therefore, guests who drink manioc beer and eat the food served by the host can be understood as demonstrating having hunger and the insides to accommodate and process food. They could be understood in this context to be proving themselves human of the villagers’ kind, desirable neighbours. Spirit helpers do not allow a sorcerer to drink alcohol or eat certain foods (see Ch. 2). Further, from this perspective, vomiting – as in Daniel’s description of the *alegre* feast (see Prologue), or that of people more or less ostensibly vomiting during drinking feasts or on *mingas* – could also be proof of having inside processes. More illustratively, explicit, common statements such as “*permiso, voy hacer agua para seguir conversando*” [I am going to urinate so we can

⁸⁵ The visiting human convinces the *pu'inkimabu* [the “no-anus-ones”] to consume the food that they normally smell. Because they have no anus, the food gathers in their stomachs, causing unbearable pain. The man, trying to fix the problem, adds the missing body cavity with a sharpened stick, which makes the hosts die one after another, until they ask the man to leave, lest they be finished altogether (GHR05).

continue talking] or “*voy a pu’i*” [I am going to defecate] are courteous ways of saying goodbye or excusing oneself in public or in meetings which we have witnessed numerous times. Eugene Loos provides an interesting example for the Capanahua in the past⁸⁶:

It was at one of these [night-long] meetings that old Carlos got up and stood directly in front of me saying “Son, I have to urinate.” I had seen the men just go to the edge of the floor and relieve themselves, so I supposed that I was sitting (on a log that was) in his favorite spot. Seeing my discomfiture and understanding that I didn’t know how to respond, Manuel sitting next to me whispered, “Just tell him to go right ahead and do it.” It seemed risky to me, but I followed his advice. Whereupon Carlos sort of said “thank you,” (at least that’s how I took whatever he used for words), and when he left into the darkness, Manuel counselled me, “When he gets back, be sure to ask him if everything came out OK. And you do this each time he goes to urinate, defecate, or take a bath.” (Loos 2009-14)

At the same time that they prove possession of an inside itself, those manifestations reveal it to be the same (*conforme* or *igual nomás*) as in other persons – also implying unanimity and good intentions. The inside content is thus conjured to reveal itself.⁸⁷ Again, sorcerer’s powerful phlegm is said to be contained in his throat or stomach, and Don Benigno once recalled how others warned him always to serve alcohol when asked by a presumed sorcerer, to make him to vomit or lose the evil substance. Similarly, sweating, smelling or even working can be seen as the proof of having internal functions which parallel those of others, because sweating is said to be produced by salty food (not eaten by the *indios*), and spirits or *gringos* are generally assumed not to work at all. Drunkenness itself can be thought of as such a manifestation, because through the particle *s-*, indicating visible evidence (Loos & Loos 2003: 320), the standard drunken speech formula “*pa’en sta hai*” announces: “(I am) ostensibly drunk!” as proof of being the Capanahua descendants’ kind of human. Finally, when social hierarchies start looming between persons, one may propose rhetorically “to cut oneself open to see what colour our blood is!” which is a common expression.

⁸⁶ For a similar practice among other Panoans, the Chacobo, see Erikson 2009. Also consider the behaviour of a protagonist at a drunken feast in a Capanahua story, who seems to continue the conversation and reveals his coveted secret as he goes out to defecate (Loos and Loos 1976a: 168–169).

⁸⁷ Illustratively, in one of the genre of stories about different animals tricking the jaguar – told to the SIL missionaries in 1960s and 70s (three versions of “Hotsa” in (Loos and Loos nd.a), and one in (Schoolland 1975), and to me in 2012 (RPH04) – the rabbit avoids being eaten by the jaguar by claiming he is a jaguar. The feline challenges him to prove their sameness by showing his hand, giving a jaguar cry, and then: “*Hisnun, pu’iwe, ka’isen*” [Let’s see what you shit, then!], or even “*’ea... ’ean mia ’i’kun shinannun pu’inunwe, chahin*” [So that you make me think (this is) true, let’s shit together, brother-in-law!] (Loos and Loos nd.a).

Similarly, the *copera/copero* [the host who serves manioc beer] often challenges the internal disposition of the guest, who, like me, may be unable to drink a third bowl of the thick liquid in a row, by asking flatly: “¿Estás despreciando mi *masato*?” [Are you despising my manioc beer?]. As I have mentioned in the Prologue, “¿Estás rabiando?” or “¿Estás triste?” similarly compel externalization of internal intentions and participation. The ideal state of sociality is presented as free from internally produced anger (*rabiar*, *sinakin*?) and “thinking other things” (*pensar otra cosa*) – harm or sadness (*masá shinakin*), envy (*envidia*) or stinginess (*mezquinar*). Instead, people explicitly declare their friendship (*amistad*) and care (*querer*) for each other. Similarly, generosity is referred to as removing an obstacle to the flow and visibility. “Opening one’s hand” [*abrir su mano*], is the expression for generosity, and “releasing their pay” [*soltar/tirar sueldo*] refers to inviting people for drinks on payday. A generous person is said to be *siri huni/a’ibu* or *bueno*, because generosity manifests openness, good thoughts and intentions.

In the external dimension, as we have seen, the convivial modality of drunken speech which epitomizes *alegría* formulations values the overt, externally perceivable, joint activities (or presence), which create a shared, safe space of cooperation and coexistence, perceptible surroundings, referred to as *ambiente* [atmosphere] or *entremedio* [the space between, surrounding]. Such an ideal state of sociality is considered harmonious. Drunken speeches explain that such space is free from fighting, arguing (*hacer problemas*, *peñar*) or troublemaking (*ser lioso*), offending (*faltar*), bothering or doing harm to anyone (*molestar*). There are no obstacles between persons, such as separation created by great distances and death. The interpersonal space is clear (*libre*) and people in it are peaceful and united, perceiving each other as equals [*igual nomás*]. They work, drink, count stories, listen to music, watch *películas* [music videos], dance, pass time, call each other “friends” or “family,” declare love and care (again, *querer*) for each other, etc.

Thus, when Daniel said the manioc stems are growing *alegre*, he likely means to say they are more or less even in height, equally spaced, and therefore satisfied. No one stem is in a hierarchically different position, which might cause envy and the desire to be somewhere else or be “something more.” In the case of people, the inescapable minimal differences can be contained and tamed in a third, wider space enveloping them in sociality organized by other persons’ “good thoughts.” Ch. 2 is

meant to elucidate such ideas of enveloping. Here, suffice it to say, Daniel’s manioc stems grow *alegre*, because someone thought about the stems and knew how to organize the space to be smooth and clear, just like a “city” as described before.⁸⁸

3. Emerging to know the outside

This final section traces some representations of the movements towards the social spaces as I have come to present them so far, first in the “emerging” stories, then in association with children, and closes with some linguistic categories that conclude constitution of the social space as “an outside.”

3.1. Wild people: “letting themselves be seen”

Having started with the story of Aipena, this chapter will close with the story of another historically important gathering of “the Capanahua,” whose name is the opposite to that of the Buncuya village. A few people told me about the time when the *antiguos* became civilised. It has been reported that *nawa* outsiders (the Shipibo-Conibo and members of other groups working for *patrones*) finally stopped raiding the *antiguos*. Instead, they sought out *antiguos* in the forest between the Tapiche and Buncuya rivers, proposing that the ancestors “tame themselves” (*rae’i*, *amanzarse*) and become friends. They agreed, and “emerged”⁸⁹ on the banks of the Tapiche, where they began to make fields. This is how they stopped killing each other and instead united and came to live peacefully. Several people told me that because of this gathering,^{xli} the village where they emerged from the forest was called *Monte Alegre*,⁹⁰ “the rejoicing forest,” a name we can now appreciate more fully.

The *antiguos* themselves commemorated the event using the name *Rae ba’i* [the path of taming/friendship] (Schoolland 1975: 296), for a location near the village. If the verb *rae’i* or *rae’ati* stands for “getting used to” (Sp. *acostumbrar*, LUS also *costumbrar*) in the process of getting to know or learning (*’axe’i*) (Loos & Loos 2003: 297), then it also demonstrates the consistently emphasized understanding of this and other similar events of “contact” with *indios* or *antiguos*. Thus, it conveys the

⁸⁸ The themes of *alegría* and convivial sociality respond to the constructions of “living well”, conviviality or wellbeing described for other Amazonian socialites (e.g. Overing & Passes 2000; cf. Gordon 2014).

⁸⁹ I use the term “emerge” ethnographically, with the literal sense of coming out (*salir*, *tseketi*) from an entity or concealment into another entity or space rather than a philosophical category.

⁹⁰ Based on Manuel Huaninche’s narrative (Schoolland 1975) and other sources, I estimate that this or similar events may have taken place at the beginning of the 20th century. Considering the name is associated with various locations in Brazil, and the presence of Brazilians on the Tapiche was highly marked at this time, including the family which in subsequent years owned this place, the Nogueiras – it seems that this may be an example of a imaginative and illustrative explanation of the name for the Spanish speaking generations.

essence of the process, which is referred to as *amanzar* [taming], *conquistar* [conquering], or *civilizar* [civilizing] in LUS.⁹¹ Such models of contact posit a movement from asocial opacity and hiding in the forest to clarity and perceptibility in an open space. Thus, it is conceived as emerging (*salir*, *tseketi*): “they emerge (...) into the clear” (JPS01), or “they [*antiguos*], too, allowed themselves to be seen”^{xlii} (CBR01). Such stories are often told with a particular interest by Capanahua descendants, and the image of the sudden, mass emergence reflects their ideas associated with the “clearings” (*manera de vivir*, *costumbre*), and participating within them, which has been the focus of this chapter. Thus they arrive at a final, important point, which is the qualification of the social space as “the outside.”

Whereas, for Capanahua descendants, this instance of externalizing or emerging into clarity is essential for social participation of the *indios*, it builds on the ideas relating to participating in social life more generally. Around the time (April 2012) when the attention of villagers of Limón Cocha was captured by the expedition of the evangelical missionaries in search of the isolated Remoaucas, and the possibility of bringing new neighbours to the village,⁹² Doña Blanca commented in an exemplary way: “*Indio?* One can civilize them by going [and] (...) taming them with clothes and candy”^{xliii} (BHR01). These two elements, clothes and candy, staples of such stories, could be seen as symptomatic of the preoccupation with reaching “the other side” of participation in social life: they become seen (outside) but they also cease to be fierce (inside). Firstly, *indio* neophytes are said to want to look and be perceived as everyone else in a given social space, so they adopt its things and clothes.^{xliv} Although they go to the forest to hunt naked – in the village they accept the clothing of the space, receive the surnames and try to speak the language. It is as though they donned another, external layer of perceptibility to participate in the new clarity.⁹³ Secondly, the process of taming is presented as aiming to influence their attitudes, or “insides,” which can be initiated with the incense of enchanting plants (*piripiri*), or the use of chemical substances (*química*) added to food served to the

⁹¹ Here, it is worthwhile noting that the verbal form of *nete*, (discussed earlier as space/light/time) i.e. *neteti*, means “to quiet, calm oneself down” (Loos and Loos 2003: 240), invoking the image of creating common space by calming down - the *tranquilo* ideal of sociality.

⁹² These are the supposed isolated neighbours of Limón Cocha on the Maipuco River and in the Sierra del Divisor. Older villager, Don Elías, maintained that he visited them in the past, and others claim they used to find traces of their presence while exploring the source of this little river.

⁹³This, as well as the previous discussion echo the social representations to the “perspectival quality” of the Lowlands’ Amerindian cosmologies (cf. Introduction).

indios. Candy always accompanies the initial contact to “sweeten” their attitudes, previously sharpened by a supposed diet of fierce “hot peppers.”^{xlv} Further, in a popular expression, they “learn to eat salt,” which distinguishes people inhabiting open spaces (*civilizados*) from the *indios*. It is also “explained” to the *indios* that one needs to live peacefully, without fighting and killing other people.

Their emergence into a particular clearing/sociality is presented as learning (*aprender*) or getting to know (*conocer*) its appearances, things, people, and diet, which leads to eliminating fear and enmity. This becoming accustomed, or the production of new desires, binds them to this domain, so that over time, they are said to no longer desire the lives they led in the past. Thus, they become “humans” and cease to be *indios* or *indígenas*. Doña Julia explained:

Once they get to know the person [who tamed them], they emerge, brother. Into the clearing, to know... the boat... (...) they make the decision, they get to know everything, and they don't want to go back any more, they have become accustomed already. All they want then is this. (...) Clothes, whatever one has [here], that's all they want for themselves too.^{xlvi} (JPS01)

In sum, in this process of literal “acculturation,” the *indios* emerge into the external, peaceful perceptibility, by experiencing and getting used to people and tools, and they are interpenetrated by the ideas, diet or sexual relations. Ultimately, having sex can be seen as proving humanity and reality of alliance, as with the *curaca* who establishes relations with the *indios*.^{xlvii} Indeed, the process of *conquista* often refers to the process of engendering children (Ch. 5). It is the ultimate point in the logic of emergence and new sociality, which seals their move and initiates new breeds, descendants in new outsides.

Here, the open space of sociality on the main rivers (“mestizo”) is consistently presented as explicitly external, *afuera* [outside]. For example, in the taming of the *antiguos*, “Juan Hidalgo and another man have put them in the clearing already - outside”^{xlviii} (ECHO1). At other times, the “outside” status is implied by the process of emerging (*salir*) from the forest which is associated with obscurity, isolation and ignorance. Further, they emerge into the space of the external, knowledgeable and wealthy “conqueror,” who provides, “raises” (*criar*) and teaches the neophytes. The features which so far have resurfaced in passing, such as the cleared outside, interpersonal space for interactions, or the movements of externalizing inner content,

etc., all suggest that the idea of “the outside” is firmly connected with inhabited space. Perhaps it is not accidental that the LUS term for the deep forest is its opposition to *el centro* [the centre]. As the previous sections suggest, the external status of social space is not limited to *indio* stories, but these stories illustrate the general basics of sociality.

3.2. Children: “thrown out into the world”

There is another movement, which implies the external status of the social space. The Capanahua word *kaini* can be glossed as either “be born” or “come out/emerge” (Loos & Loos 2003: 111). While it is opportune in this context that the Spanish expression *dar a luz* [give light] would refer to birth, the Capanahua descendants take it further, making it into *botar al mundo* [being thrown into the world], *salir a la claridad* [exit to clarity] or *salir al aire* [exit into air]. To be born is to *conocer* [know]: *claridad del día* [clarity of the day] or *luz del día* [light of the day].^{xlix} Evidently, these expressions build on the general idea of clearings, completing the scope of *nete* meanings (as world or day – see above) as “the birthplace.” This important movement of emergence also marks the living space as external – this time, again to persons.

The movement of emergence itself is formative of the person. On various occasions during our conversations, Daniel emphasized the transformative role of the “air” or “clarity” in the process:

At the moment of birth: *plunc!* - *itk!* – he grows with the air: now he [is] a big baby. His body, his head, everything becomes big. Fat. *Aja(...)* *iPloc!* He emerges into clarity, and becomes big in no time. (...) (ŁK: So while inside the mother’s belly, he already has a *yushin* [soul]?) He doesn’t. When he comes out: only then does he have *yushin*. Inside he doesn’t have *yushin*”¹ (DHR19)

While this image was not widely shared by others, I understand it as Daniel’s description of the baby first becoming visible to other people in the social space. Here, coming out conditions the creation of the outer layer of personal opacity. It is a differentiation of inside and outside with regards to facing other people, or being “wrapped” in their gaze.⁹⁴ With time, babies’ initially soft bodies are said to “harden,”

⁹⁴ Cf. Walker 2013. I return to this in Ch. 2, 3.

which can mean that they acquire an outer, opaque layer (I will return to this in Ch. 2).⁹⁵

In the process of bringing up, little children are said to learn to desire the particular food of the social space, speak, and how to address others in locally specific ways (*tratarse* - usage of the terms of address).⁹⁶ Yet, there is more to the position of little children, because we could understand them as the ultimate product of sociality, the confirmation of proper social life in the given place. They epitomize the externalizing ideal of sociality as the positive content which literally emerges between the participants: “something that your children give you – they have always given you *alegría!*”^{li} (BSR01). Furthermore, progeny are not passive receivers of sociality or knowledge, because in many ways, they dictate it. I will be returning to show this active and often ambiguous role from various viewpoints in the following chapters. Here, I say this because much of what decides the character and existence of this space revolves around children, as in Daniel’s description of the growing manioc plants. The life decisions of adults are often said to be made with children as the focus. One of the most common explanations cited for migrations is “for the sake of educating one’s children” (*por educación de sus hijos*). Thus movement is to places where school is available. Providing for children instigates that they *buscan mitayo* [lit. “look for food,” that is hunt or fish], earn money to satisfy their “needs” for such things as clothes, notebooks, pens, soap, etc, and to enable the improvement of their children’s lives, so that they “get ahead” (*sobresalir*) by gaining a good education and a future (*futuro*). It is often explicitly said that little children are the owners of valuable objects bought by parents: the motor, the television, DVD player, etc. They are also the focus of the often tecnonymic terms⁹⁷ used between adults in the village. The bond of *compadrazgo* (God parents) (Ch. 4) establishes an even relation between the parents in respect to the uneven relations of adults to children. Life and the characteristics of social space therefore are dictated by the generation of persons – siblings, cousins or *promoción* (peers at school or another institution, such as the army) – who are born into the given space. Children truly belong to and create this social space (authenticity is signalled by the category *nacido-crecido* [born and

⁹⁵ Cf. Gow 1999, 2001.

⁹⁶ Cf. Gow 1997.

⁹⁷ This widely found practice in the Amazon can be seen in the Marubo onomastics (Cesarino 2008; Welper 2009), but cf. also Overing Kaplan (1972).

raised] – like mestizos who are truly of the open city spaces). They have a different status than their parents (because of the nature of settlements, as mentioned earlier, they tend to be from “other places”); to whom they gradually become “outside.” In a way, they embody social space/sociality, folding over their genitors and taking over as the faces of emerging, living sociality.

3.3. This side is the outside

Finally, the external position of social spaces is further confirmed in language: while the social space is “this side” – it is the “outside” located between people, houses and forest walls.

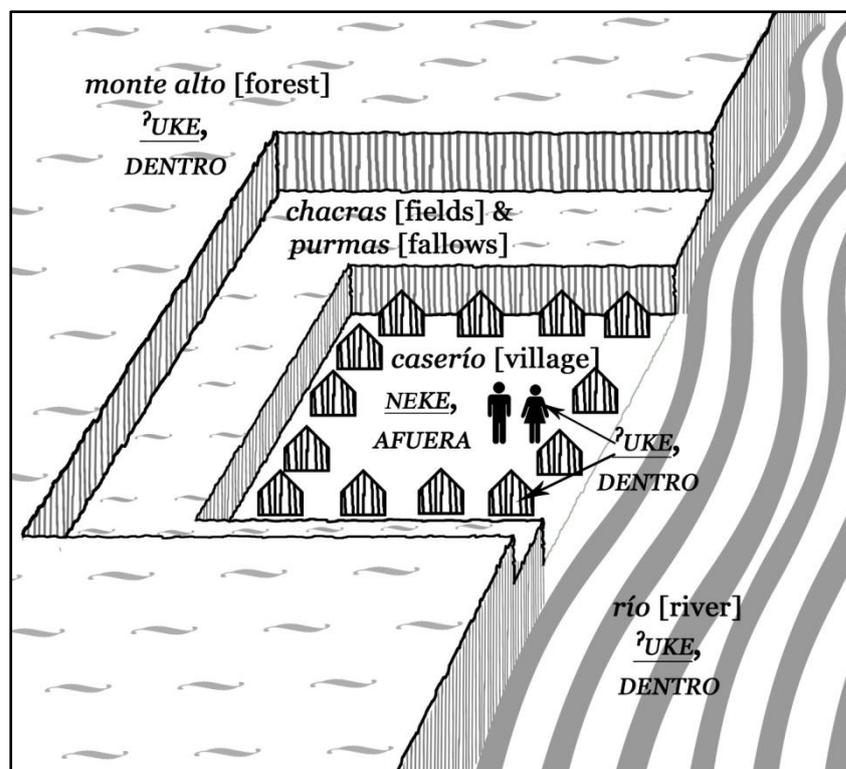


Figure 5. Insides and outside.

Firstly, to denote radical difference in existential position, as between mutually opaque dimensions, the Capanahua descendants might say *en otro mundo* [in another world]. They might also express the position as their ancestors had [*?uke* – there, on the other side], *en otro lado*, opposed to *este lado* [*neke*, this side].^{lii} In a radical sense, “this side,” refers to “this world,” the inhabited and perceptible domain, as opposed to the invisible world. Still, while for the persons situated within a particular social space, it is referred to as *aquí/acá* [*nenu* or *neke*, here], persons with whom Capanahua descendants live in the same space are often said to be *en mi lado*

[by my side], as *mis vecinos* or *'en henabu* [neighbours]. These deixis are opposed to *porái/por ahí* [there], or *en otro parte* [in other parts], or by a change in possessive: *en su lado* [by his side] (see Ch 2 for complementary perspective on the “other side”).

Simultaneously, however, often used expressions for social unity reflect the image of a given space as “united, but divided,” “each one in their house/division,” (or reflecting the same idea, variations of the expression “same *raza*, other name”).^{liii} They demonstrate the conception of separation between components or participants in any common space,⁹⁸ which corresponds to another quality encoded by the reduplication of *kuin kuini*: distribution (I discuss this term in Ch. 2). If we remember that *heman* (or *heman'i'ti*) stands for a patio, or the open space around and between houses, then its Amahuaca (another Panoan language) cognate term cuts through to the centre of the problem, with *júma* [*héma*]⁹⁹ being glossed as *caserío*, *pueblo*, and the adverb *júmannáqui* [*hémannáki*] as *afuera* [the outside]^{liv} (Hyde 1980: 46). This usage for “outside” in general is exemplified in the Capanahua dictionary as well^{lv} (Loos & Loos 2003: 306). Therefore, from this sociological perspective, the village space is not an “inside,” but rather an “outside.” I have traced its association with the representations that oppose the clear/social space to the forest, to individual houses, and to the persons who are placed within. Additionally, the two themes noted above suggest how the movements of emerging – one from the “inside” of the forest, and the other from “insides” of persons – contextually create the open space of clearings as the “outside” (*afuera*) (Fig. 5). The process can therefore be thought to parallel the externalizing of the internal content, which creates the ideal *kuin kuini* sociality.

Conclusion

Here I have explored the villagers’ representations related to the contexts, composites, aesthetics and ethics of sociality. I propose that what connects them is their construal as fields of openness or clarity, which enable multi-dimensional perceptibility conducive to knowability and familiarity. IN examining these representations, I noted how they are formulated as the outcomes of work or movements with shared trajectories (opening, externalising, emerging), which

⁹⁸ This is reminiscent of, for example, the idea of coexisting difference as ideal for living well for the remote Xikrin-Mebêngôkre, according to Cesar Gordon (2014).

⁹⁹ Spelling in the square brackets corresponds to the spelling in this thesis.

position clarity as an external field against the internal dimensions of the forest background, houses and persons.

It is important that the knowledge or regulations for handling interactions between persons (approximating what we might call social regulations or culture) from this vantage point could be interpreted as instruments for perceptibility/knowability. Such external characteristics are emphasized by the connection of such organizing knowledge with foreign or foreign-influenced (educated, knowledgeable) figures who provide them, and thus “contain” and “tame” the composite differences of the participants.

This perspective has two important implications here. Firstly, the status of the village space and sociality is connected to safety, as the sanctuary of human interactions and is opposed to the danger, strangers, spirits and uncertainty. This is in keeping with formulations in other South American Lowland socialites (cf. seminal use in Rivière 1969). The difference from this localized point of view is that for the villagers themselves, it is the “outside” rather than “inside” that they attempt to create. It should become an “inside” only in relation to other “insides,” or another “outsides” through the rescaling of this dynamic. I will develop this discussion in the following chapters.¹⁰⁰

The possibility of rescaling this perspective allows for noticing another important implication. As suggested, the villagers’ formulation of ontogeny is premised on the external quality of sociality or culture, and the idea that persons emerge into them and learn the “social” knowledge of clearing or overcoming differences from an “outside.” As such, it contains a dynamic, which anticipates processes conceived by anthropologists as “acculturation,” while for people like the Capanahua it is “sociality.” Their application on scale larger, historical social processes is demonstrated by the constructions of the stories of “conquest.” It would be justified to use this for thinking about contemporary participation of eastern

¹⁰⁰ In South American Lowlands ethnographies, the language of inside and outside is usually employed in a social context, but sometimes this relates more to the ethnographer’s (external) notion of what an interior and exterior of the society is. Such use may sometimes contribute to the apparent paradoxes, wherein the “interior/domestic” of the society is associated with “exterior/alterity.” The present case identifies the “exterior” right in the centre of the formulations of what sociality is. As I have mentioned, these “topological” relations of containment should in fact sound familiar to Amazonianists, as they permeate the ethnographic material, and are connected with the perspectival quality of Lowlanders’ explanations of the world (cf. Introduction). This will become clearer in the next chapter. It is also worth noting that strikingly similar topological connections, along with the language of emerging and hydraulic flows can be found, for example, in Inka representations from the Andes (Allen 2002, 2014, 2015). Note also that the language of “this side” is used in the Northern Ge formulations of kinship (Coelho de Souza 2001).

Peruvians such as these villagers in the Peruvian state. This theme correlates with the previous suggestion, that I pick up on in Ch. 5.

This chapter introduces certain elements of a dynamic that helps outline the generative process as construed by the *paisanos*. It addresses the constructions of the perceptible in this dynamic. The next chapter approaches the constructions of concealed spheres.

Chapter 2.

The other side, the inside: The contained

While the first chapter dealt with the work on perceptibility, this chapter complements it by addressing the “asymptotic” quality of that work, and the ultimate imperceptibilities and unknowabilities in Capanahua descendants’ sociality. Here, I focus on what the villagers construe as the content (insides) of that outside, while the chapters that follow trace the way it is explained to have got there. I begin with the first impressions from encounters with the Capanahua descendants, which help to introduce the problem. In Section 1, I explore a larger perspective on what the clearings of the human socialites are, by outlining representations of “the other side” in popular stories. Section 2 returns to investigate positions construed on “this side” of village sociality, and identifies several ways of containing in human participants, or the positions of the “insides” that elude perceptibility of sociality. Consideration of some general implications of these categories follows in Section 3. The final section relates the findings of this chapter to the sociality as discussed in Ch. 1.

Surface and content

After initial conversations on what I mistakenly thought were easier topics, such as the life stories of persons and villages or stories about *antiguos*, the themes of recorded conversations in Nuevo Aipena (Berea) on the Buncuya River switched to more “complex” issues. It was then that Don Guillermo told me for the first time that “the body is like waste... like the peel of a plantain. The spirit is the real (*legítimo*) plantain”^{lvi} (GHR03). A few days later, he also told me about the sky, the domain of the dead:

I sometimes say [think] that the other world... that world is not far, they say. And in the story [about the visit to the world of the owner of animals], too... the problem is that our sin makes us see it as far away. It is only our forehead/front (*frente*) which makes us far from heaven. And that world is near, very near^{lvii} (GHR05).

At the time, I thought these were interesting ideas, which I did not fully understand, but as similar conversations continued after we moved to Limón, I came to think about them as focusing substantial problems of the Capanahua descendants’

world. What strikes me now is that the themes recorded in my earliest field notes from Berea, two months before that conversation, show a recurring preoccupation of the villagers with the surfaces or appearances on one hand, and on the other, the concealment of the contents and belongings behind them. Within a few weeks in November 2011 (fB1111; fU1111) these notes describe, for example, a football match in a neighbouring village, where the players wore matching, spectacular uniforms, which they received from the district mayor. At the same time, someone broke into our house, and rumbled through our bags. Another note reports that Julio, who I talked with a lot at that time, told me that the custom of this place was “*minga, masato, peleas*” [working party, manioc beer, fights], supporting his assertion with examples of fighting in families, ignorance, and the incompetence of previous village authorities. All of this, he concluded, gave Nuevo Aipena a “bad image” (*mal imagen*). In another conversation, he revealed that the goal-keeper at the match, whom I had not met before, was of Capanahua descent as well, only that “they want to hide their Capanahua descent (*descendencia*).” I asked why and he said it was out of shame or embarrassment (*recelo, vergüenza*). On the next page, a note records a practice of concealment and secrecy, which I came to notice regularly: “Doña Saida brought us manioc wrapped in a sweater, which she unpacked when she arrived at our house.” On the next page, I mention accusations against the then *apu* (president, *jefe*) of the village. It was said that he concealed his income from the villagers and generally lacked transparency (*transparencia*) in his proceedings. On yet another page, the notes record our journey to Iquitos (Loreto’s capital) with Julio. When the ferry stopped at one of the villages on the lower Ucayali, he said “this too, is a *comunidad*.” “*Nativa?*” I asked. “Not anymore,” he answered, and went on to explain that it used to be, but “now, it ‘changed its mind,’ and is already *mestizo*.”^{lviii} He went on to reveal the “truth” about the area with a representative mix of complaint and contempt: “Brother, all of these communities, all of them – used to be *indígenas*, but they cease to be. They changed their minds.”

Most strikingly, during that same journey Julio told me the story about his uncle killing his own father (and Julio’s grandfather) with sorcery. The motive, Julio said, was the envy of the old man’s resourcefulness and belongings (boat, motor, shotgun, chainsaw) and the son “taking his father’s good advice the wrong way”. Aghast, I responded that I had not been aware that the man knew harmful sorcery; he seemed very nice and had always been kind to me. Julio then said, “Sometimes, you

can see the face, but you can't see this," and pointed to his chest. Later, his mother, Doña Elsa, described living in the vicinity of her sorcerer brother as being in "the shadow of the evil heart" (*asombra del mal corazón*), conveying a stark contrast with the light of good sociality described in Ch. 1. This is the heart of the problem, so to say.¹⁰¹

While this selection is representative of the field notes from both villages during the entire stay, what is significant now is that these notes are the first impressions, taken two months into fieldwork, before any conversations with Don Guillermo. This was before I started to realise how his words hinted at important problems for the villagers. Later on, I came to notice these more consciously, and they eventually came to dominate my developing understanding of villagers' experience of the world, as demonstrated in this thesis. At this point, my attempts to comprehend them led me to think, firstly, that the Capanahua descendants tend to speak and act in the world as if they assumed its inherent feature or natural tendency was concealment by various surfaces. It would imply the notion of harbouring internal contents of different complexity and scale behind these surfaces. If social space is presented as "this side," (*este lado, neke*) as shown in the previous chapter, then what is its "other side" (*otro lado, ʔuke*)? What do the villagers imagine is behind these surfaces that so preoccupies their thinking?

1. Outside of an outside: Behind the worldly surfaces

For the *paisanos*, all social spaces, including those in a different world, may be referred to simply as *porái* (*por ahí*) [there], *otro pueblo* [other village], or *otra parte, wetsanku* [other place].^{lix} There is an important difference, however, between those social domains, which are accessible through the usual routes, and those, which remain normally inaccessible for most people. Expression of "the other side" (*otro lado, ʔuke*) or the "other world" (*otro mundo, wetsa nete*), which opposes "this side" (*este lado, neke*) is usually limited to normally concealed domains. In daily contexts, the formula *otro lado* is used to indicate the other side of an obstacle or divide such as river, mountain, or of a surface when pierced.^{lx} In the Capanahua texts, opposition *ʔuke/neke* corresponds to spatial categories in LUS. The dictionary glosses *ʔuke* as

¹⁰¹ On a related note, a large part of other events and conversations recorded in my notes, have in common the theme of flow of goods. That is, receiving or "not giving": in reference to the district mayor, the oil company working with the village, the accusations against the *apu*, or how the children are going to miss Kinga and me as the givers of fishhooks, fishing lines and candy.

“behind” or “beyond,” and shows its use for indicating the opposing side or edge^{lxi} (Loos & Loos 2003: 165). Specific uses in the dictionary or Capanahua texts recorded by SIL show it in the function of deixis in relation to a surface or container, as “from the depths” of water, a hole, a building or an area.^{lxiii}

In order to understand what these categories convey, I think it is firstly worth considering that while perceptibility within clearings, as discussed in the previous chapter, is heightened, any two clearings are mutually opaque. Currently, people prefer to travel by boat with a motor, which in the last decades has become more widely available and affordable. Most travel takes place on the rivers (*ríos*) or streams (*quebradas*). On the Buncuya, where the population has decreased in recent decades, the scattered nuclear family posts mentioned in SIL documents before the 1980s have disappeared along with the *carretera*, an open route which used to connect them. Even the path between Limón Cocha and Berea, remembered as existing since the foundation of Limón in 1980s, is supposedly overgrown and rarely used, despite personal ties between the members of these two communities. Some people say they would prefer the time-consuming journey descending to the Ucayali and back up on the other river, that is, “*por la vuelta*” [the roundabout way]. However, sometime before this, such routes, including the handsome, praised *carretera*, used to connect clearings on the Buncuya across some 10 km, and paths that led from there to different locations on the Tapiche (20-30 km). It is said that land routes were preferred by the *antiguos*, who were most agile in moving through the forest. In such land communication, it is necessary to exit from (*salir de*) one clearing, past the thickness of overgrown *purmas*, and “enter” (*entrar*) into the darkness of *monte alto*, the “inside” or “centre.” Eventually, one emerges (*salir en*) at another clearing, which can thus be read as “the other side” of the forest opacity. For example, ancestors of the Neabu from Frontera Yarina, the so-called Pahenbaquebo, who in the past had inhabited the Punga River and Río Blanco, used the term *ʔUkenetebubu* to refer to the “Capanahua” sociality of the upper Tapiche (VPB01). Because they were separated by the watershed, a larger stretch of forest and apparently hostile relations, this term may be read as “the kind [-*bu-*] (of persons[-*bu*]) from the cleared place [-*nete-*] on the other side [*ʔuke-*].” The contemporary language of the “other sides” and “clearings” in Capanahua and LUS seems therefore to have originated with the spatial realities of the *antiguos*.

Still, while many clearings are easy to get to, and are mediated by usual routes, others belong to the worlds that are normally unavailable and imperceptible. In the Capanahua descendants' view of their surroundings, they are closely neighbored by various opaque domains, which are hidden by physical features of the landscape. This view combining the myths of the *antiguos* and stories of visitors from different places is based on indirect information of often-questioned credibility. For all their confusing information and explicit ultimate unknowability, some elements of these various, often conflicting speculations are very similar. They illustrate the ways in which the villagers organize and present knowledge about the world. There is no space here to discuss these theories in detail, so below I stress some common features, which I suggest can be understood as more universal building blocks of the Capanahua descendants' representations – most of all, the relation between the perceptible and imperceptible, but salient, spheres.

1.1. The cloak of (im)perceptibility

Any reported knowledge about the other sides is connected to stories of penetrations through what can be described as the limits of perceptibility, or surfaces of imperceptibility. They therefore describe passing through opaque surfaces in puzzling ways. Entering such realms is compared to entering through the thin, but opaque material of the mosquito net used by rural eastern Peruvians when sleeping (BRSo7; DHR16). Such a thin membrane separates the sides of (im)perceptibility. Thus, when limits between the sides are penetrated, they are construed as a discontinuity in perceptibility. Once Doña Germe asked me if it was true that there was darkness where the earth ended. When I returned to this in an interview, Doña Germe said that this was what her father told her – that is where the sun rises, as if it was hanging, like a bell – “I don't know where he heard this... my father's story...”^{lxiii} (GSRo6). Most often, this opacity emphasizes the proximity of the other side, and links to Don Guillermo telling me about the celestial domain being surprisingly close. Victor described the passageway to the world on the other side, as a pitch black hole in the ground in the forest, “just like closing your eyes”^{lxiv} (VPBo6). This impression is significant, because in other similar stories, the travellers are accompanied by guides from the “other side,” and advised to close their eyes briefly, so that when told, they open them again, and are already “on the other side.” Another way of getting to the skies or other worlds is simply to “die” (*morir*): that is, for Capanahua

descendants, to close one's eyes and have the spirit leave the body at the moment of dying, as if falling asleep or losing consciousness.

The surfaces of the sky, water or the darkness of holes act as cloaks to the other sides. For example, versions of the *Wishmabu* ["star man"] or *Kanamari*¹⁰² story (Appendix 6.61) relate an accidental visit to the celestial world, apparently the paradigmatic "other side" for the Capanahua across SIL texts (cf. Thompson 1997). A man travels by river to plug the hole through which pestilent black flies are emerging onto this world. He ends up either tripping and falling, or entering below the surface of the water where it meets the sky – in either case, finding himself "on the other side" of the surface (*otro lado*, *ʔuke*), or "in another world/land" (*wetsa nete/mai*). Later in the story, his host invites him to peer down through a little window in the ground. It is "down there, inside" (*naman, chichu*), as the narrator confirms (Loos & Loos 1976a: 140) – that he sees his family astonishingly close. If the sky in these stories is close, (the window in the star-man's ground opens just above this world), it used to be closer still and was lifted up according to other stories of *antiguos* (Loos & Loos 1976a: 12, 44). When I asked Daniel why we do not see the celestial world of heaven, hell and the dead, which we talked about at length, he answered that the blue surface is the outer layer (*capa*) of *el Cielo*^{lxv} (DHR21). Other stories speak of visits below the surface of the water, and Capanahua descendants sometimes talk about the water people/demons, the *yacurunas* living under the water superficies. The *shapingo*¹⁰³, or forest demons, people say, live behind holes in the ground - dark but clear outside - or within tree hollows (DHR24). Doña Germe recalled a story where a man in his dream went to the domain of the *madre del carnaval* [Mother of carnival] on the other side, accessed through the hole leading to the *curuhuinsi* ants' nest (GSR07).

1.2. Outside in the inside: appearance and truth of social space

Furthermore, what can be found behind such curtains in every case seems disappointingly "normal." Yet it is precisely this discovery that interests the villagers the most. The narrators consistently stress essential sameness of the social

¹⁰²This intriguing usage of the name indicates a connection of the Capanahua ancestors with the people from the East, in the Javari River basin in Brazil. This is an ethnonym of a Brazilian group. For the Marubo, eastern neighbours of the Capanahua, separating them from the Kanamari group, Kanamari is a powerful being from the sky (Cesarino 2008). Philippe Erikson also suggests historical relations between Matís and the Kanamari or Katukina (Erikson 2007).

¹⁰³ The words combine alternative names *shapshico* and *yashingo*, widely spread throughout eastern Peru (see above).

perceptibility on the other side: visitors find that “the beyond” is “just the same” as this side (*igual nomás, nekebi keska*)! Its inhabitants look and behave “just as on this side,” living alongside neighbours and feasting. Their space is “just as good,” *bueno, siri*.^{lxvi} Recalling Ch. 1, it means that the other side is equally cleared, and therefore, essentially social. Thus, the surfaces in the surrounding world are assumed and expected to conceal other social domains - other “clearings/worlds” (*nete*). Because of this similarity, one can talk (*conversar*) to the inhabitants and establish relations such as the flow of goods or knowledge. They are a “different kind of ourselves,” or *nukebu* (Loos & Loos 1976a: 114).

Yet, these are but opaque social appearances, and the qualification of *kind* is most important. In versions of a story about an *antiguo* or a *brujo*, who visited the underwater people, narrators, always amused, explain how people there used aquatic animals or fish as tools that people know on the side. Hence, the alligator (*lagarto*) was their motorboat, or their taxi (fT1301 DHR), *boa* was their hammock, *taricaya* turtle – a seat; *anguilla* fish – sword club; *charapa* turtle – mortar; *lápiz-challo* fish – pen; and stingray (*raya*) was their hat (GHR05). In another example, again in the *Wishmabu* story, a house on the other side of heaven resounds with music and *pa'en hui* shouts with their internal, descent affiliations (*neabu!*) just as on this side: the *alegría* of a feast. Yet, when the man from this world enters the house, he encounters silence. He can only see little flies circling around the beer pot of a foul-smelling beverage. Thus, although it sounds like a regular feast and looks like manioc beer; it is of a different kind. They belong to people he can hear, but not see. In fact, he is later informed that they are dead people, invisible to the humans from this side. Theirs is an “other kind of masato” (ORB01). Similarly, people wonder what the *masato* (DHR21) or the tobacco of the forest demons, for example, might be made of (DHR28; GHR04), and participants of some otherworldly socialities aliment themselves with the smell of food alone, as the “no-anus-ones” (see Ch. 1). As common knowledge has it, the *tunchi*, especially pure spirits of little children, or angels, feed on the smell of flowers. Their hungers, or internal composition, are of a different kind.

Such concealed “natures” of social appearances of both the “instruments” (see Ch. 1) and participants of the other side’s socialities are often connected with a mismatch between the appearances similar to this side and the knowledge-skills or

capacities, which are divergent. In many stories, their efficacy is much higher, and this difference constitutes their “power” (*poder, miraculo*). An axe which fells trees by itself; a mysterious container which holds fire and clears the field; a dish which refills itself; an owner-figure who gives away manioc for free; the ability to produce ready-made tools solely by felling a *pijuayo* palm tree; or instantaneously drying the lake to gather all the fish just by shooting an arrow, etc. The stories of relations with the “beyond” often have the visiting people receive or take some of the tools or knowledge-skills-capacity away with them. The layered, concealed character of their true efficacy is established upon crossing back to this side, and secrecy is the condition of maintaining it. If it happens to be explained, this efficacy is usually connected to imperceptible, or contained helpers, an added presence, the “soul” or “spirits,” a relation of adoption or “borrowing” (see Sect. 2). Their original owners’ instructions in such cases are as follows: “Do not look inside!” “Do not utter my name!” “Do not say where you got it from!” “Do not look back!” “Do not shout out in amazement!” The cost of revealing their provenance, and thus the internal, true nature, is the loss of power. Similarly, knowledge or tools for performing certain arcane activities (sorcery, love magic, planting, etc.) may generally be referred to as “*sus secretos*” [their secrets] in LUS, and their power lies in the concealment from the outside.

1.3. Inside of time: temporal opacity of *antiguos*’ clearings/times

It is remarkable that the Capanahua descendants use similar language to speak of their *antiguos*. There are no stories of “entering” those domains. Yet, what is spoken of by Capanahua descendants as the “bits and pieces” (*partes-partes*) of knowledge about their domains and *costumbre* was transmitted through persons who have known others who have “been” there. I return to examine these in more detail in Ch. 3, and what is important in this context is the relation of these worlds or perceptibilities to the contemporary “outside.” Rather than assuming a continuity with their ancestors, villagers position themselves as unable to imagine their ways of living and understanding. Such “*anticos*”¹⁰⁴ lived just like the contemporary *indios*, “inside the forest” (*dentro del monte, en centro*) in their own clearings, and avoided being seen by anyone (“*no se dejaban ver*”). They not “know” how to live in modern villages, their “village” being a big longhouse (*maloca*). Their tools had lower efficacy

¹⁰⁴ An informal, diminutive and slightly derogatory way of referring to the “*antiguos*.”

and were more fallible than contemporary tools. “Their axe” was actually a stone, “their cooking utensils” were made of clay, their “bed” was a hammock, and “their LUS (*castellano*)” was Capanahua. They went about naked, married little girls and their own siblings, and ate their own kind – this was their “*alegría*.” On the other hand, they are also attributed with some heightened capacities or knowledge, such as strength, stamina or “purity” which is attributed to the absence of salt, or big animals like tapir in their diet (see Ch. 4, 5), familiarity with plants, and moving through the forest without paths.

The *costumbre* related in those stories about stories is presented as incomprehensible, opaque and sometimes repulsive or laughable and bizarre, just like alligator as the speedboat. This information is often interspaced with exclamations of bafflement: *icómo quizás (vivían)!* [How they have they lived!]. If I brought up elements that I found in historical or ethnographic sources, such as certain categories, explanations, or practices, e.g. addressing family,¹⁰⁵ - they appeared opaque, amusing or confusing to the villagers. There is, as I often heard, no one left to know and explain them. Therefore, although I have not heard of ancient spaces and times being explicitly referred to as “the other side,” it would make sense to compare the opposition between their opaque, contained clearings/times and contemporary milieu to that between the latter and worlds on “the other side.” In fact, *antiguos* are said to belong to a different time, *otro tiempo*, and, as I suggested in Ch. 1, “world-space” and “time” can in Capanahua both be expressed using the same word: *nete*. Therefore, for Capanahua descendants, their ancestors – often including their own parents – appear as people from essentially another social time/world.¹⁰⁶

2. Insides in an outside: Behind the faces of participants

In this section, I shift focus from relations between “outsides” to the surfaces and the contents hidden from external sociality at the level of interpersonal

¹⁰⁵ An examination of the cultural contents of these stories might be of interest to Panoanists, but unfortunately lays outside the bounds of this argument. I would not be able to reconstruct their ethnography.

¹⁰⁶ When looking over the Capanahua dictionary an interesting linguistic feature is revealed (Loos & Loos 2003: 297). The prefix *raʔ*-indicating action or quality refers to the body or bark. It creates a number of words involving wrapping, enveloping, including “clothing” or “covering.” While this ‘resonates with the explanations of the body as a shell, it has a tantalising connection to the formulation of temporal categories which relies on the conceptual link between time and space or perceptibility. The word *raʔma* is composed by *raʔ*- [of surface] + *-ma* [negation] and means “now” ‘literally, surface-less, not covered, or not opaque. Therefore, *raʔmabima* with an additional negation [*-ma-*] means “not exactly now,” that is, “later.” *Raʔmamama* would be “not not-now” –or “not not not-opaque,” that is, ancient or a long time ago. In addition, this, in turn, could be made into *raʔmamama raʔmabi* with *-bi* [emphasis?] – Or “not not-uncovered uncovered indeed,” which stands for “right now.”

interactions within any “outside.” I concentrate on the positions or conditions where internal difference is postulated. Some difference is inherent to all the living, and connected with the necessity to work, reproduce and eat. This is important, because here we face the asymptotic limit between perceptibility/sociality, and imperceptibility/traces of generative processes. In Ch. 3, I discuss the mythic origins and some details of this condition. Here, I focus on its consequences for perceptibility at the level of human bodies.

More specifically, the example of the “heart/mind” and its containment offers a chance of imagining how the villagers construe the opacity that articulates inside (imperceptibility) and the outside (perceptibility) dimensions at the level of the human form. Further examples demonstrate the increasingly troubling complications of the ordinary corporeal topologies by introductions of subsequent levels or distortions of internal containment of willing, hungry forms: from the foetus, through perverse desires, to powerful helpers.

2.1. The heart of the problem: Inside of an outside

Generally, whenever the location or source of blood, spirit, ideas, feelings and desires is speculated, *paisanos* point to the heart (*corazón*, *huinti*). One of the most important contents habitually attributed to the heart is *querer* (*keeni*), which describes wanting, love, desire, or will. In a popular expression, they explicitly attribute appetites to their hearts’ desiring specific food or things. Longings for the themes, which are most, appreciated in spontaneous joy (*alegría*): other people, food, goods and knowledge (Ch. 1) are habitually presented as inherent to the condition of living humans:

Who is dead is dead. Does not want anything. Those who want are us. (...) What we want, look: we want our money, some sugar, your rice to drink *mingado*¹⁰⁷ – all of this we want, the dead do not want anything! Nothing-nothing, not even to eat: already *yushin* [“spirit,” see below] (...) the dead do not want anything. The only ones who want are us. Once we are dead, we will not want anything either. Not anymore: “What will I buy my clothes, my pants with?”^{lxvii} (DHR10)

As I will show, it is possible to connect thoughts to the heart/mind space. *Pensar*, literally “thinking,” refers to a stirring of the mind, caused by worry, the state of separation (Prologue), or the frustration of desire. It is used synonymously with

¹⁰⁷ Rice cooked with milk and sugar (all bought commodities).

being sad, stressed or preoccupied – wanting to be somewhere else, having something else. Further, the socially preferred state is “not thinking” at all, equal to being empty of the presence of such non-exteriorized content, the eventless “just the same” (*igual nomás*), or *tranquilo* (Prologue, Ch. 1). Then communicational interactions where misunderstandings or conflicts occur can be described using the expression “*pensar otra cosa*” or “*pensar cosas disparates*” [to think other/divergent things]. It parallels “merely looking” (*mirar nomás*) (Ch. 1), that is, not externalizing one’s intent, being silent. This silence, in turn, may be interpreted as hostility or “getting mad” (*rabiar*, *sinati*) (see Prologue). Most often, villagers associated *pensar* with harmful content, and significantly, rarely talked about the “good” thinking introduced or springing up within the heart. Any such stirring therefore causes the internal dimension of persons to become externally opaque.^{lxviii} Therefore, if spoken about, these harnessed thoughts/feelings tend to be presented as ambiguous, potentially harmful content. Villagers say that evil spirits enter the heart of ordinary healthy persons (“*entran nuestro corazón espíritus malos*”^{lxix}) and make them do or want certain things.^{lxx} The appearance of intentions, ideas, feelings, desires, is thus compared to, or explained as, penetration or influence. This may be the reason why, when I asked how many spirits are contained in a person’s body, Doña Ermisha answered impatiently: *¡ichara!* [perhaps a lot!] (fT1208). These examples mean that thoughts/spirits can be imagined to be contained within the body/heart. They also have another implication: inside is a (containing) space.

It is worth dwelling a while on these representations, because the presence of such desire/thought content is correlated with existentially crucial differentiation into external and internal spaces which articulates the opacity of the human body itself. For those who are more fluent in Capanahua, such internally differentiated content, thought-feelings (*shinan*) is more accurately contained within “*teká*,” whose LUS equivalent is “*mente*,” mind. Capanahua descendants locate this within the heart and/or brain (*seso*), and the Capanahua dictionary (2003: 346) tells us that *teká* is “heart, mind.” On the other hand, the word for heart in Capanahua, *huinti*, shares the root with the verb *huinai* [to breathe, pulse]. It is not hard to imagine its connection to the verb *hui’i* [to speak of, mention], and finally *hui* [language]. A link between the mouth and the heart, tied at the centre of the chest and breathing air is thus imaginable.^{lxxi} A sorcerer also works with his breath (blowing smoke, air or shooting darts) and voice (songs or curses) after swallowing his helpers with *yachai* [potent

phlegm] that are lodged inside his throat (I return to the sorcerer's containment below). Such connections evoke an idea of the internal "space/air" of the heart.¹⁰⁸

It is important to note, firstly, that what emerges from these characterisations of inner content is that the thought-feelings, rather than objects, might be considered as "voids." Such "content" is hunger or desire, which can only be accomplished at the cost of other beings, beginning with one's mother. According to *paisanos*, the very presence of bad thoughts or desires is enough to produce what they call "sin" (*pecado*, *ʔuʔchá*), which is always qualified as harm, guilt "against" someone. In a story by Amelia Romaina from 1969 (Loos & Loos nd.b), the word *ʔuʔcha* is used once as "sin" that people commit against their owner (God) by disobeying the rules of his place-time (*ʔEn Papaki ʔuʔchayamanawe!* [Do not cause harm to (i.e. sin against) my Papa!]), and the second time as "harm" that he delivers to the people (*Nuke ʔuʔchayamawe, Papan!* [Do not harm us, Papa!]) through sending floods in punishment (*Diusen kastikani* [God's punishment]). Therefore, sin and punishment are presented as harm and revenge, or retribution.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, when the baby demands milk from its mother and does not let her rest, or when the child does not obey her – it "sins" against the mother, causing her to in turn "sin" against the child by getting annoyed.^{lxxiii} Inner space would be completely clear and thus, nullified, only if there was no such vacuum (that is, the persons were "filled/satisfied" – compare with the meanings of *alegre* in the previous chapter), or if the condition for their existence, life, was extinguished. Clarity here is as asymptotic as the clarity of external space, because recurring desire is, as indicated above, a basic condition of living on earth. The idiom of "already not wanting anything" (*ya no quiere nada ya*) is synonymous with grave illness, anticipating death.

Secondly, the position of containing a single void element, the basic elemental hunger, in which the heart/body becomes opaque, constitutes the body and the person. It might be plausible to infer that "mind" (*teká*) is understood in this context as the internal, externally opaque dimension of the "heart." Further it would be followed by the presence of other active, wanting forms, such as additional

¹⁰⁸ Cesarino (2008) connects the idea of *peitopensar*, "chest-thinking" as the internal space of the person's body, and *maloca*, the longhouse. The association of blood with spirits, soul or intellect can be found in other Amazonian representations (e.g. Carneiro Da Cunha 1978, Overing 2006, Costa 2007).

¹⁰⁹ Dictionary defines *ʔuʔchá* as sin, guilt (*pecado, culpa*) and *ʔuʔchakin* as cause harm (*hacer daño; perjudicar*) (Loos & Loos 2003: 163).

thought/feelings/spirits within its space. Just as the people who open a space or those invited by the founders create their “outside” in the forest’s “inside” and strive to keep it clear (Ch. 1), and as the “other side” of holes or surfaces (Sect. 1) contains the “outside” spaces. Such containing elicits further problems, which I I set out below. For now, I focus on the first hunger and differentiation which is diagnosed as the basic condition of human being. Just as hunger or desire is inseparable from human existence, to live is to want, and that is, to “sin.” The expected progress of life as suffering is the inescapable strain of sinning (*viviendo en la tierra pecando*), which can be understood as wanting and expecting from others, and refusing or guarding from others. Thinking other things/sinning might be understood as disjunctive attitudes or desires concerning others, a difference between the external state of affairs and personal expectations. It can be said to be a continuous gathering of such “sin” between one’s desires and expectations and their fulfilment by others, and vice versa. In other words, differentiating inside from the outside, owned and coveted, in a processes similar to Gregory Bateson’s (1935) schismogenesis, whereby inside and outside stimulate each other to progressively differentiate into increasingly separate opposed spheres. Here, this differentiation is articulated in the volume of opacity between them, which is what a body is: a wrapping or container of desire, which is the result and cause of desire.

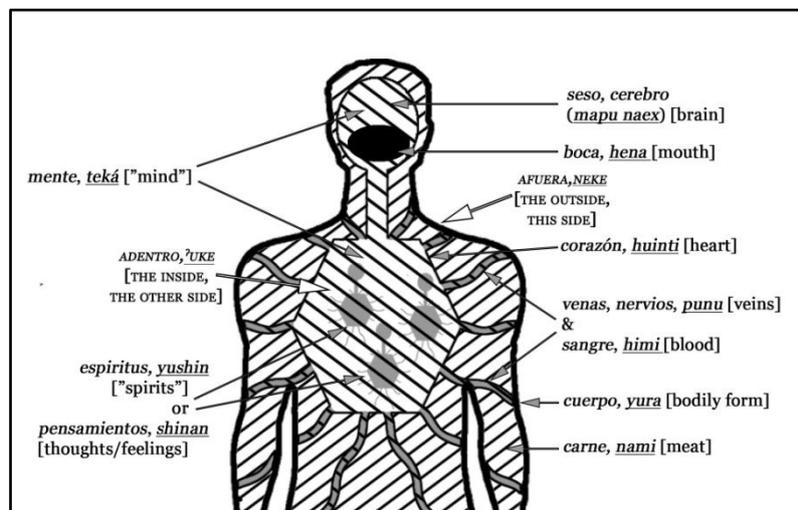


Figure 6. The author’s vision of opacity between voids.

This is how I explain Don Guillermo pointing to the “sin” as separating living humans from the ideal world of heaven, constituting “our front,” or “faces” that is, opaque bodies. The process of accumulation and differentiation “hardens” the bodies

(cf. strengthening of the baby's body in Ch. 3), gathering what from the external perspective of other worlds or *Díos*, appears as filth or garbage. On the other hand, enclosing the mind/heart-space voids, which demand to be filled at the cost of others, creates “naturally” increasing mutual opacity between persons.

In the next chapter, I look into how such a state comes to be explained as having been constituted and reconstituted in time as an infectious infliction. It begins to illuminate the predicament guiding the insistence of sociality on transparency, to which I return in the last section of this chapter. Here, I restate that in *kuin kuini* sociality, attempts are made to demonstrate the clarity of such internal space. Extreme, excessive desire can be represented as dangerous and uncontrollable voraciousness which is ridiculed: in mischievous children, *Inchinka* the demon in stories of *antiguos* (who swallows *masato* along with the pots), or jaguars – whose large, open mouth provides the metaphor for the unwanted appearance of a person photographed with their mouth open in laughter or worse, while eating. Being stingy or envious would also be a corollary of excessive desire. A frightening release of divergent, dangerous contents/voids of ordinary people is imagined in several contexts. Drunkenness or violent drunken speech was presented as strong and potentially dangerous, bringing forth internal difference (Prologue). Another scary context is death, and the older the person is, the more voluminous and dangerous the released hungers, sins and grudges. We experienced this when Don Elías passed away at noon. Because such “spirit” attacks or harasses only people who are alone, the news went around all of the houses and all of the fields where people worked. Within an hour or two, all the inhabitants were back in the village, huddling together in groups, as if looking for shelter during when it rains. Then, because of the same explicitly stated fear, they all went to accompany the dead body at the all-night vigil (*velorio*) (fT1205). Possibly the most deeply frightening context is the idea of *brujería*, as acting on precisely such accumulated evil of harm and thwarted desires. The standard motive attributed to sorcery (either on the part of *brujo* himself or his clients) is “envy” (*envidia* or *venganza*), a violent form of desire. The expression for cursed illness or misfortune is *mal de gente* – “the evil of people.” Below, I will continue with the frightening distortions of the already complicated human condition, until we get to cursers or sorcerers.

2.2. Troublesome insides

First, this discussion brings me to the introductory metaphor of the plantain peel, which exemplifies quite standardized ways of representing the body. The usual image is that of a vegetable or fruit peel, shell (*carapa*, *xaká*), shirt (*camisa*), or clothes (*ropa*). If the state of death is permanent (see below), this container is left behind as useless (*bagazo*) and worthless (*no vale nada*), to rot and turn into earth again. This would be similar in Capanahua, where the prefix *xah-* refers to the body as an empty container, so that *xa'kin'u* may describe the inside of a suitcase as “the cavity of the body” (Loos & Loos 2003: 375–76).^{lxxiii} For the human body, Don Baudilio explained:

(ŁK: But they say when you are asleep, the spirit leaves to walk somewhere else?)
That's what they say, brother. It leaves, but how could this be...? One doesn't feel this. But they say our spirit leaves. Lots of people say that it leaves to roam in the world. How could this be...? And when it returns (...), once it re-enters, that is, into your shell – that's *en xakati* [my casing], in our language you say *xaká*, a shell, they say. Like this one [pointing to a coconut shell lying on the ground] – this one here – covered, see? That's it. It is comparable to... what your body is. But this one here, what you cover [with], is left empty there [inside]. This is how it enters... our *yushin* (ŁK: And it stays inside?) Inside indeed, brother.^{lxxiv} (BSR01)

Significantly, these explanations are associated with contexts where externalization of the living human being's spirit, that is, desire and volition, is assumed to take place in her/his sleep, dreaming, loss of consciousness, or the moment of death. Let us now proceed to explore what the spirit is said to be by using several examples of trouble with contents and containers.

2.2.1. Detached content

In the first set of examples, I suggest that the relation spirit-body becomes subject to expression in a state or process wherein manifestation or influence is spatially detached from its originating body-container. Something is said to have a spirit because it affects others without changing place, directly making the work or being fully present.

For an ordinary person, the process of externalizing one's spirit from the body is undesirable and potentially harmful. This is implicit in the idea of the detrimental effect of missing someone (*pensar* and *tristeza*) construed as being partly elsewhere (Prologue). Also, having one's spirit lured and detached during sleep in order for it to be attacked, hurt or killed by the sorcerer initiates illness and can result in death.

Furthermore, being suddenly frightened causes the spirit to leave the owner's body, and is a condition called *susto* [fright], which needs to be treated.¹⁰⁹ Newborns are especially endangered because their bodies are said to be soft and permeable. Thus, their spirits slip out easily and become prone to kidnapping (e.g. by the *yushin* of the earth, or by the "owner" of the *pona* palm, which is used to make the floors in houses) or wanderings (e.g. following its father who leaves for the forest).¹¹⁰

On the other hand, *brujos* and a variety of animals, plants, or persons with "strong" characteristics (e.g. nocturnal, or especially loud, big, noisy or sleepy) can *cutipar*, that is, penetrate and influence another living form with their own strong particularities. Such efficacy is an indication of "having a spirit." This happens through smell, tobacco smoke, blowing, voice, curse, look, touch, ingestion, proximity, or the "helpers" or "workers" – for example, through quietly flying invisible darts and spines (*yachai*) blown forth by the sorcerer,¹¹¹ or other objects and animals that he commands to penetrate or bite his victim with their teeth (vipers, peccaries, etc.) (I return to this in Ch. 3). Again, because of their soft body-containers, newborns are particularly vulnerable. Further, spirits of the dead (*tunchi*) are said to be air (*aire*) for humans. These can only be perceived as displaced manifestations, or remainders without the actual body-container: smell (or aerial presence, causing sickness, *malaire* or *choque del aire* [bad air or air-blast] in living people), sound (one can hear them touching things), or partial appearance (in the shadows or with their face turned downwards). Although they can see people, in waking life people cannot fully see or hear them, as they are said to be looking in from "the other side" (darkness, forest or through the cracks in the house wall), and their voices are at best a mumble. This idea seems to be the reason why photos and voice recordings or transmissions are often, with amusement, referred to as *yushin* or *demonios*, and the act of recording the image or voice as *sacando yushin* [taking out the spirit].

2.2.2. Mismatched content

In another set of examples, reference is made to spirit when the internal composition is said to be mismatched with its body-container. It is related to either

¹¹⁰ In contrast, the powerful sorcerer's body becomes hard and impenetrable, that is why hard wood trees are powerful *brujos*, and powerful *brujos* have bodies-containers as "hard as steel."

¹¹¹ The gesture describing *brujeria* is a short blow made through a ring created between the fingers.

putting on another body-container, internalizing other influences or qualities, and/or developing irregular and socially aberrant desires and behaviour.

Firstly, “doing demons” (*haciendo demonio*) refers to the activity of persons who put on the masks and clothes of the forest demons during carnival (Ch. 5). In the same way, the souls of the dead that reach heaven are made to wear new “clothes” and become new persons. In this case it refers rather to stripping away the sinful, aged peel to reveal a young, healthy and purged presence. Another fate awaits evil or incestuous persons (mostly in reference to *antiguos*), who may be made to leave the grave and wear the shirt (*camisa*) of the jaguar. This change also happens if the blanket wrapped around the buried body is *floriado-floriado* [covered in spotted or flowery designs] reminiscent of jaguar fur. Such a post-mortem condition is called “doing a jaguar” (*haciendo tigre, ?inu?*), and results in prolonged suffering in this other form. These always hungry, thin and bad smelling people-jaguars (*huni ?inu*) kill domesticated animals and sometimes attack people, until a second death at the hands of their former neighbours ends their misery. It is worth noting that the animal skin (sometimes implying shape generally, with its designs, feathers, fur, claws etc.) is normally referred to as *camisa* [shirt] or *carapa* [peel]¹¹² and, as in the case of the human body, is differentiated from *carne* (meat, muscles).

Some living humans are “accompanied” by spirits. This state is also called *con demonio, endemoniado*. This means that their internal content is discordant with the outer appearance of their human bodies and this is the fate of incestuous persons. Their spirits are said to leave their bodies during sleep in the form of a monstrous animal, such as the horse-like *mula* [lit. mule], which, borrowing the owner’s head, grazes on weeds and farts fire. This condition is similar to that of the people-jaguars, and to the *brujos*, whose spirit, detached from its purged body, is said to be able to travel long distances at night in the form of birds or bats in order to kill, cure, or steal more knowledge-skills from other sorcerers. Such detachable and aberrant internal contents (*demonio-demonio* or *puro demonios*) could be related to perverted desires and behaviours identified above: incest or cannibalism developed or invited on the inside (more about sorcerers below). Also comparable is the condition of a person who is nearing death. It is said to have its spirit leave the body during sleep and either

¹¹² Although there is no generalized assumption that the animals are also human or see themselves as humans. Only a few species are considered *demonios*.

walk about whistling as the spirit of the dead (*tunchi*) and visit places which the person passed through in her life (*recogiendo paso*), or visit and eat with the dead relatives. Daniel's beloved father had done so before his death, and did not want to eat after waking up, announcing that he had already eaten with his deceased family "on the other side."

Similarly, some beings from the "other side" are capable of detaching themselves from or concealing their original bodily containers by putting on another layer-clothes-appearance which come to form the presence of persons on "this side" (the process is described as *formarse*, *presentarse*, or *apersonarse*). In other words, they are "doing humans" (*haciendo gente*). As Don Jorge told me in the context of such occurrences, commonplace in stories of the *antiguos*: "Way in the past, all kinds [of species] would do this... Not people, but they say its people. Well! But... it goes out there: not people!"^{lxxvi} (JRR03). The river dolphin *brujos* are said to be capable of this, occasionally showing up at a party in the form of a tall *gringo*. Similarly, the *shapingo* supposedly emerge as family members or friends to kidnap our kind of humans, or use voices of people and animals to lure them astray. Therefore, it is initially impossible to know the actual nature of the person met in the forest or an arriving stranger. The dictionary records a description of the forest demons: "[they] are like humans, but are not; [we] do not know their house, we just see" (2003: 401–2, my translation)(compare with aspects of knowing in Ch. 1). Another example is that of persons, tools or knowledge from otherworldly domains which have a divergent or higher efficacy than their "ordinary" appearance.

Therefore, a person (or being) acting strangely or in discord with her appearance can be qualified as "*demonio*." For example, I heard exasperated parents scorn particularly misbehaving children: "You are like a *demonio*!" The dictionary defines *yushini* (with *-ni* adjectival suffix) as a person who does not look for a partner (Loos & Loos 2003: 402) that is, as acting aberrantly. Similarly, unsettled Doña Germe told us one day about Ronal shooting a *choro* monkey that had wandered onto his *chacra*. Along with the aberrant behaviour of visiting human spaces, the unusually long agony of the animal (still breathing while having its fur singed) that she witnessed, was to her an indication that this was not a true animal, but a *demonio*, and as such she would not hear of eating its meat^{lxxvii} (GSR11).

Therefore, such changes are conceived as putting on a new skin-container (“body”) or appearance, or internally diverging from one’s own – rather than a gradual transformation of one’s actual body. The ubiquitous grammatical category marked by the suffix *-ska* in Capanahua and the temporal adverb *ya* in LUS, both meaning “already,” mark such changes, as shown in several examples so far. Because of the assumed intransformability, it is most often used sarcastically in the context of people (“they are *viracucha/mestizo* already”), as when dressing up or pretending, yet underneath remaining what they actually are and where they come from. As it is, the outer human body, the Capanahua descendants uniformly claim, is no more transformable than the coconut shell that Don Baudilio showed me. This theme returns in later chapters.

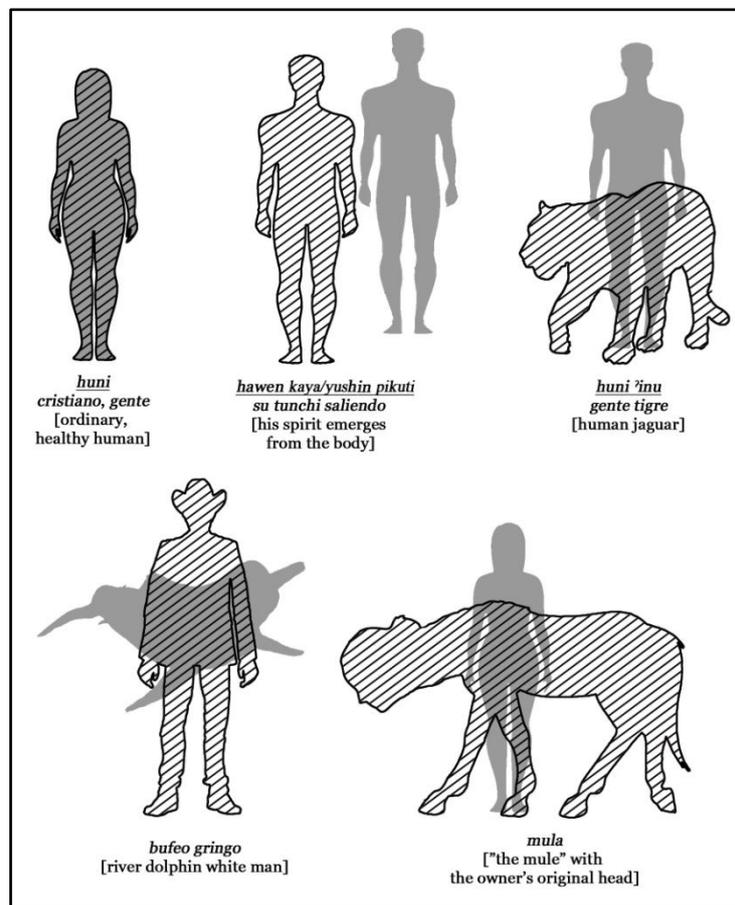


Figure 7. Some variants of the relation between form and content – spirits (*demonios*, *yushinbu*).

In summary, for the villagers, a “spirit” seems to be defined through a heightened difference between the container and its expected content. It is created by surplus, remainder, divergence, displacement, etc. – much like a shadow, which is another meaning attributed to *yushin* in the dictionary (2003: 401–2). On one hand,

therefore, it seems somewhat problematic for the *paisanos*, both ontologically and sociologically, to say that an ordinary person, alive and well, has a spirit - which is tantamount to saying he/she is harbouring significant, asocial divergence.¹¹³ On the other hand, I argued that internal differentiation and desires are the basic condition of living. Therefore it is possible to understand “spirit” as a radical differentiation related to such displacements or perversity of the inherent desire, which is openly dangerous to the surrounding people.

2.3. Insides in the insides: Internalizing other beings

Let us now set focus on the status of persons containing other hungry and wilful beings – first mothers and then sorcerers – and closely examine such alterations of internal content.

2.3.1. The swollen belly

In his drunken speech, N. mentioned that a woman’s part in conception is to drop the baby into this world (Prologue). Indeed, habitually her role is said – by both men and women – to be that of a container and caretaker. This is because a pregnant woman holds in her “guts” (*tripa*, *puku*) or *placenta* (*xama*) the “worm” (*gusano*) or “seed” (*semilla*) externalized into her by a man with his blood/semen. The foetus illustrates how that contained creature influences the hunger, which internally diversifies and makes life difficult for the owner of the belly. They say: “[it’s] dreadful! It wants to eat *ungurahui*, and if you don’t oblige it falls out”^{lxxviii} (DHRo6). The ambivalent position of the foetus is comparable to that of other hungry beings within. Such as another “worm,” the tapeworm, to other guests within the bodies of an ordinary person or a sorcerer (see below). The tapeworm gets annoyed when the owner drinks alcohol and “bites” his intestines.^{lxxix} Daniel made an explicit parallel

¹¹³ There is no agreement as to how many souls or spirits leave the body at death, and their number seems to depend on the often conflicting theories of post-mortem destinies or manifestations. Usually, the Capanahua descendants told me that there are two spirits – one goes to heaven to be cleansed, or hell, to be punished, and another is left to roam the world as the *tunchi* remainders; or that the bad stays to roam the earth, and the good goes to heaven. Daniel, who had been poked by a spirit when he sat on a grave and later communicated with him in his dream, told me there is one more spirit, which stays with the buried corpse. In turn, Don Benigno, probably based on his understanding of Bible teachings, after speculations about other souls eventually concluded that there must be one soul, which either goes to heaven or roams the earth. Doña Germe argued that there is but one soul, as she saw in a proselytizing evangelical movie, where one soul rose from the body and stood next to the dead protagonist, Eduardo. Interestingly, in Eugene Loos’ notes (Loos nd.d) I found the mention, if I understand the note correctly, of (at least) 3 kinds of spirits in people. These are distinguished by the linguists’ unknown Capanahua-speaking interlocutor: 1) *beru yushin* [eye spirit], “*beru naex chichu hiwetai*” [inhabits the inside of the eye]; 2) “*anita’ma yushin, xaun yushin*” [small spirit, the bone spirit]; 3) “*ani yushi, ha’an nun hiwetai*” [a big spirit, through it we inhabit/live] or “*one we talk with, mapu huni*[?]” These distinctions would clearly connect with the explanations of other Panoans (cf. Cesarino 2008, Déléage 2005, Townsley 1988, Villar 2004 etc.).

with other situations regarding the of containment of human bodies, referring to the pestering hunger:

Her baby wants to eat something else. Wants to eat bread, wants to eat another thing, they say. It asks from inside. Because the little one wants to eat. So that's how our spirit (*kaya*) is too – it also wants to eat, our body does. Mhm, just as with the little one and the pregnant woman. It wants to eat the fruit of the *ungurahui*, *aguaje* palms: “Let's go and cut them down!” (...) When [the mother's] blood is weak, [the baby] beats (*pega*) the mother – makes her skiiiiinny!^{1xxx} (DHR19)

Here too, the internal diversification by containing space or content is opposed to the “outside” like the potentially harmful *yushin* content in swollen trees, large animals, or the football (Ch. 3). The puffed belly of a woman is considered dangerous. It may influence (*cutipar*) a sick person and make him/her worse, causing the imitation of her own swelling (DHR20). This, Daniel explained, is because the pregnant woman “contains a lot of blood” (DHR23).¹¹⁴

2.3.2. Trees and sorcerers

In other places or times there are said to have been widely known strong, practicing sorcerers, but there were none in the two villages where we lived. A few men, mostly married-in outsiders, were approached for minor curing, or to diagnose sorcery. What did exist, however, were the accusations and the tangible fear of sorcery. The acutely felt position of potential victims – eloquently described as “the shadow of the evil heart” by Doña Elsa – makes sorcery highly relevant and equally interesting as terrifying to people. Sickness or misfortune are habitually attributed to the supposed concealed evil practice of such men, or to services of professional sorcerers elsewhere, often commissioned by fellow community members. Therefore, although the theories on sorcery are based on other people's stories, and conceded ignorance is the demonstration of one's innocence (*cómo quizás!*), Capanahua descendants quite uniformly share them.¹¹⁵ I will return to the workings of this surreptitious influencing in the next chapter, and mention here several aspects relating to the opaque and containing “bodily” forms.

Firstly, as various people told me, all the plants have spirit owners (*dueños*). They can be spoken of as persons, with the equivalents of a human body parts: the

¹¹⁴ I will elucidate the imagery of procreation further in Ch. 4.

¹¹⁵ As far as I can tell, they are also shared, as many other ideas, by local *mestizos*. The system bears the general traits of the eastern Peruvian riverine shamanism (cf. e.g. Regan 1993).

tree base is a bum, roots are feet, and in the case of *ayahuma*, the fruits are the head(s). Importantly, the resin flowing in the tree is “his blood” (*su sangre*, *himi*),^{lxxxix} and in Capanahua, the trunk may be referred as *yura*, or “body” (Loos & Loos 2003: 94).^{lxxxii} Some of these, especially the large, swollen trees such as *pucalupuna*, or those that are hard or spiny, such as *huicungo*, as well as those with a strong fragrance, like *ajosacha*, are said to possess higher knowledge-skills for influencing or penetrating. That is, they are considered as sorcerers (*brujos*, *yubwe*).

Secondly, what follows from this is that the tree can be a subject of relation and quench the adept’s desire for knowledge-skills. Establishing such a relation of *aprendizaje* [lit. learning, actually comparable to transfusion or downloading] is what becoming a sorcerer means. Anybody can try, although women are said to not be usually accepted by the trees as “students” (DHR16). The adept pierces the tree in order to access “the blood” inside (“heart”) or strips the bark itself. While doing this, he is “*consejando*,” that is, explaining his intentions and expressing his wish to be taught. He also leaves some tobacco as a gift. Then, in accordance with the idiom generally describing the process of becoming a sorcerer, he “takes in the tree/plant” (*tomando palos/plantas/vegetales*) in the form of fermented resin, bark tea, colourful worms that breed in the concoction, etc. This puts him in direct communication with the tree owner, who can also be referred to as *su madre* [its mother] or *su yushin* [its spirit], etc. In a dream, the owner presents him/herself in human form, and strikes up a conversation, “just like anyone else.” In a standard exchange, the applicant declares his needs when offered the choice between skills for curing (*curar*) or for killing (*venganza*). If the owner likes (*querer*) the adept, he/she may decide to “teach” him. It is said that sometimes the adept may need to fight and “dominate” (*dominar*) the owner.

Initially the bestowing of knowledge begins with the student swallowing an object, such as a dart, spine or phlegm from a *brujo* (tree or human). This is accompanied by instructions for the waking life. Most importantly, they include *dieta*, or specific restrictions for the flow of this-worldly substances. The diet is limited to small animals or fish with a little blood (grilled, never boiled - and with no salt), and avoidance concerns menstruating women, sexual penetration, or the warmth of fire (the tree owners are cold and do not like warmth). This process is construed as cleansing: the *brujo* plants are also called purgatives (*purgas*), and the

sorcerer – *purgero*. These cleanse the body, and remove associations (*sucio*, dirt) of this-worldly transferences. The aim of this purifying seems to be to prepare an internal space for the *crías* [pets, familiars, helpers, or spirits] from the tree to be introduced in the applicants' inside. The subsequent taking in of the substances, which are vehicles for the *crías*, is described in terms of knowledge (*saber*) and learning (*aprender*), so much so that “to know” is a popular euphemism for sorcery skills.¹¹⁶ Importantly, as the result of this procedure, the *brujo* achieves a state of being “with a demon” (*con demonio*).

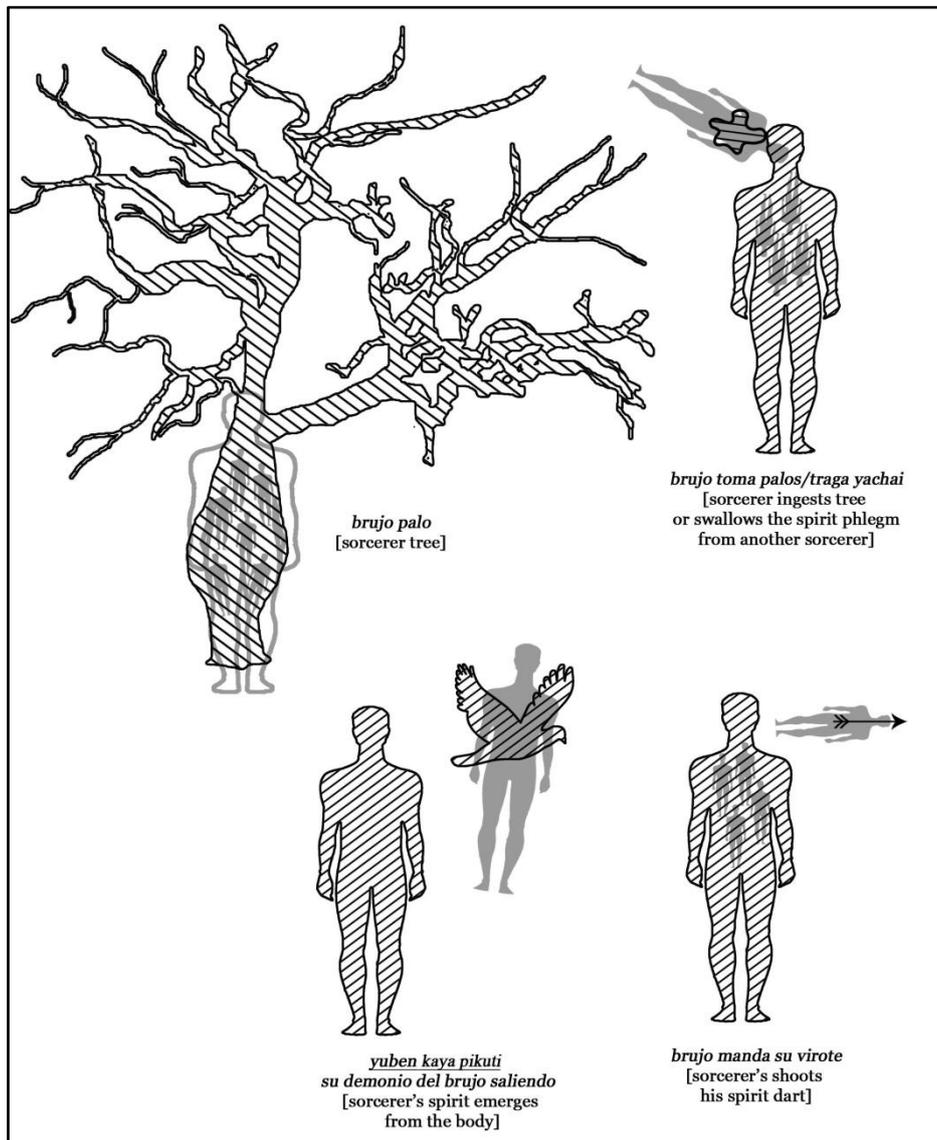


Figure 8. *Brujos*.

¹¹⁶ Similarly, *curioso* [curious one] is a person who “knows a little” about the trees and plants, and is able to cure minor maladies.

The adept takes in the resin of the tree, thus incorporating its blood, its qualities. As the process of “learning” progresses, the pupil receives all of the blood-knowledge into his body. At the same time, the teaching tree dries out, having transferred all of its content into the adept. Thus the human now contains and becomes the owner of those skills-capacities: a *brujo*, or the *yushman* *’apu*, “chief of (his) spirits.” The eyes of some of the most powerful *brujos*, who have ingested large amounts of the plants, may change to red, the same colour as the seeds of the *huairuru* sorcerer tree. Another way of containment refers to internalizing the *yachai* or *virote*, which is said to be the sorcery substance or darts, swallowed and lodged in his throat or stomach. The word *yachai* can also be used interchangeably with *crías* [pets, familiars] or *demonios* [demons, spirits], which are hosted within the sorcerer’s body, serve him and do his bidding.¹¹⁷ That is, so long as he provides them tobacco smoke (or space inside), and blood or souls of human victims which they can feast on. A running joke when a smoker is running out of tobacco is that he has to keep smoking, lest all of his *virote* falls out of his body (*va salir mi virote*). Grimmer is the common idea that in the absence of victims, *brujo*’s helpers proceed to consume their host’s body. It is these demons which force him to kill people: “he/his pets want to eat” (*él/su cría quiere comer*), as the usual commentary explains.

It is worth pointing out some important elements of this relation. Firstly, working qualities (“children”) are externalized from within the trees, and then internalized or adopted within the purged, cleared internally human bodily form of the *brujo* (like the cleared outsides of social spaces of host people). Secondly, the hierarchical relation of receiving sorcery skills is a transfusion between containers.¹¹⁸ Thirdly, it is also one of replacement, or reversal, as the sorcerer’s status of owner folds back on the original tree and its extensions within the sorcerer’s body, and the original tree dries out. In the process, the *brujo* comes to host the tree’s gift/parts/children, and in turn is threatened by their hungers. This dynamic will be reflected in the generative processes which are discussed in Ch. 3 and 4.

¹¹⁷ What such demons are is not clear in these theories. It is, however, reminiscent of the image from one myth, where a boy glimpsed into the nature of the powerful squirrel man’s (*kapabu berunan*) capacities, because he saw a multitude of squirrels of all kinds, helping their “owner” to plant maize (Appendix 6.40). The description of a powerful *brujo* in the Capanahua dictionary (2003: 398) is *yushman* *’apu* [lit. leader of spirits], “one who commands spirits”.

¹¹⁸ It can also be transmitted or stolen between *brujos*. This also flies to penetrate victims’ bodies, who become the receivers, yet in a passive position, as containers who have their contents (again, blood or souls), consumed by predator *brujo*.

Normally, these complex, divergent internal contents are concealed from other people behind the *brujo*'s "face," that is, the opaque human appearance. It was again in this context that I heard for the second time the expression used by Julio. Doña Germe told me about the usual suspect of sorcery in Limón, a friendly and hospitable man in my view: "(LK: and he seems really nice, doesn't he?) He does seem nice... But you can't see... inside of him. (...) you can see the face, but not the heart" ^{lxxxiii} (GSR01). Considering the previously described, containing-differentiating nature of living humans, we should understand the sorcerer's condition as only an extreme demonstration of the common imagery associated with human life and bodies. What Doña Elsa told me about her brother refers to the extreme alteration of his internal content, so that he ceased to be a human, and became a *demonio* himself, whose hunger diverges so radically that it forces him to devour his own family.

3. The other side inside

The above examples outline two general sources of opacity that I noted in Capanahua descendants' representations of the social space: one (Sect. 1) at the level of domains, that is beyond the bounds of the inhabited space, and the other at the level of bodies, beneath the external surface of the participants creating this space (Sect. 2). It seems to me that their significance for understanding the language of sociality presented in the previous chapter is fundamental.

For one, they could be seen as providing a literal background for its imagery and topology. It conditions the qualification of the social space as this side or the outside, against the surrounding opacity of the forest and the participating opaque elements, be it bodies, houses or instruments. The single, common external social space is opposed both to its opaque background, as well as to the multiple, private internal contents.

Furthermore, as we saw, both domains and bodies (as well as other objects in the social space, such as houses, community buildings, tools, bags, etc.) are also presented not only as opaquely surfaced, but importantly, containing. The assumption of containing is based on the external manifestations: swelling, depth, sizeableness (indicating internal space); sound, warmth, movement (indicating internal life); or heightened efficacy of work providing subsistence, wellbeing, influence on others, protection. They are attributed to added assistance from

imperceptible, contained agents related to knowledge, skills or capacities (*saber*, *poder*), blood (*sangre*), spirits or helpers (*crías*, *demonios*, etc.). These agents are said to belong to the container that they inhabit and can emerge from it to roam or work. Containing and controlling the values or forms is equivalent to being the owner (*dueño*, *¿bu*) or “Mother” (*Madre*), as in the case of the imperceptible masters of animals. Valuable objects or tools also seem to be imagined as “contained” by the owner, under his protection, control, or in his house, bags, hiding places, hand or, metaphorically, inside of his body. Thus, when Blanca told me the previously mentioned story of Julio’s infamous sorcerer uncle killing his own father, she explained it with the habitual expression that the sorcerer “wants to eat” other people, his family. Remarkably, she illustrated this with gestures representing the act of drawing out from her chest, adding that the killer extracted (*sacado*) the chainsaw, the shotgun and the boat engine from the victim (fT1203). Similarly, we were asked to “open our hands” (*abrir mano*) to release the wealth that people imagined we possessed.

I have demonstrated such widely attributed physiognomy of containment as I argued, is connected to internal differences that set their owners/containers – persons – apart from each other by producing internal diversity and external opacity. For this reason, the “inside” is also the “other” side, disjunctive from the social “outside” in terms of moral disposition. Hence, paralleling the previous chapter, it could be said that for the Capanahua descendants, the spheres construed as “the inside” are “the other side.” I need to note that I have not heard anyone referring explicitly to the inside of bodies as “the other side” in the way that domains are. Still, the practice of ascribing “different thoughts,” “different desires,” “different blood/origin” etc. to the internal dimension separated by opaque surface, the “face” of persons - justifies discussing both general types of opacity as variants of similar reasoning.

4. Containing insides in an outside: Social implications

In the social dimension, as demonstrated by problems recorded in my initial field notes that open this chapter, the very possibility of containing and owning divergent content, actual or suspected, influences all relations conceived and enacted between persons or other potential containers. The imperceptible contents of other people’s minds, pockets or domains are unknowable. They are sources of anxiety, and

external surfaces or appearances are the object of suspicion and speculation as illusions or trickery (*engaño*). The challenge for coexistence of such opaque containers is the handling of their contents and the flows between them. I start this section with a general reflexion on what the physiognomies of containment imply about making sense of connections between people. Then, I move to the position of children, who were said to epitomize the social space in the previous chapter. From there, I bring focus to what this chapter tells us about the villagers' formulations of sociality described in the previous chapter.

4.1. Across surfaces

One especially important implication of such ontological arrangement concerns the nature of relations between containers. As we saw, the examples above represent in a similar manner the acts of giving and receiving, feeding and swallowing, teaching and learning, wanting and satisfying. They might be understood in specific Capanahua descendants' context as externalizing and internalizing across the opaque surfaces. They result in often secretive containing, and establish lasting links. Thus, in the otherworldly domains, visitors receive food, and importantly, gifts whose efficacy (channelling the connection with their original owners) is conditioned by internalization and concealment (Sect. 1). From the *antiguos*, the next generations receive stories of the old times and of the beginnings. They are transmitted personally, along with shelter and food from their grandparents or parents. Similarly, *brujo's* body internalizes *crías* or knowledge extracted with the blood from the tree owner (Sect. 2). It may also be noted that the prohibitions of the *brujo's* *dieta* are aimed at stopping transferences between bodily containers from the sorcerer's earthly domain, or at nullifying the desires that drive these transferences. Thus, for ordinary human bodily containers, traces of these transferences and desires create a bounding association with the original domain (*nete* as birthplace) and its other participants.¹¹⁹ As we saw, this "filth" in fact creates the external opacity, which is the "front" or "sin," and differentiates persons from each other and from other domains. Therefore, in a world made up of containers, the flows and transferences of internal contents-belongings between them condition the persons' existence and coexistence. This is the best candidate for what we may call "social relations." The timing, quality,

¹¹⁹ It is the transference or flow of goods that leaves a link between those involved, comparable to the memory of being cared for and fed (Gow 1991, cf. also Fausto 2007, Costa 2013).

quantity and trajectories of these flows determine the kinds of positions of containment/owning - or “kinship” between persons. I will develop this in the following chapters, and consider here how this adds another aspect to the children’s position within the social space.

4.2. Generative hierarchies: children “inside” the parents

The previous chapter depicted the progeny as embodying the social space as the “outside.” But some aspects of the “emerged” children’s relations with their parents or caretakers can be understood through parallels with the positions of other living, willing and hungry forms in someone’s containment. Therefore, although I will be discussing the positions of the “contained” (*ʔinabu*) in the later chapters, mentioning here some implications of such relation will allow a complementary perspective on children’s status in social spaces.

Firstly, they are habitually said to be *en su poder de* [in the power of] parents, and the expression *criar*, to raise, applies equally to children as to familiars or animals, whose position is that of *crías*, pets. The relation is based on unidirectional flows of substances (blood, milk, food), belongings (clothing, tools) or services (shelter, protection, care). It is thus inherently hierarchical and contrasts with the social ideal of egalitarian neighbouring and the generational groups mentioned in previous chapter. In fact, having children can be seen as responsible for the differences and separation between households, thus putting the adults in the position of having to accommodate the desires of their hungry and wilful living beings, just like the divergent contents of their hearts.

Secondly, such containing is, like all forms of mastery construed by Amazonians as an ambivalent relation (Fausto 1999), and the indelible subjectivity (desire) of the contained being presents a recurring problem. Thus, parents usually find themselves unable to influence or control their children, just as any other people, and refuse to be ultimately responsible: “what can you do” (*¿que se puede hacer?*). Much of the mischief (most notably theft of food, fruits, etc.) going on in village daily life is attributed to the *muchachos traviosos* [mischievous, naughty children] and their uncontrollable wilfulness and unstoppable voraciousness. Indeed, the usual explanation is that children are *travieso* “*por instinto*” [by instinct] (the way *indios* may be said to be unpredictable), and often said to be *ninkayusma*, they do not know how to “listen,” that is, obey (*hacer caso*). Therefore, it is not accidental that – with

their divergent needs and wills – they should be called *demonios* in exasperation. I often heard parents expressing expectations that schoolteachers are responsible for containing – sometimes through violent punishments as in the old days – and complaining that such methods are no longer allowed in Peruvian schools. School, in any case, is seen as playing a cardinal role in taming, disciplining or formatting the “*muchachos*” into the space on which they emerge.

Finally, this means that the fact that children define the social space, as mentioned in the previous chapter, takes on an ambivalent twist. In the most illustrative example, the intractable wilfulness of “*los que crecen*” [lit. those who grow] is commonly said to determine the character of the social space, so that, for example, their lack of desire (*querer*) is given as one of the popular reasons for the language shift.¹²⁰ Much remains to be said in the remaining chapters about the relations between parents and children, and their folding back on the original inhabitants of the social space – the previous generations – and more generally, such contained, or *ʔinabu* positions. Here, I return to the idea of ideal sociality with these developments in mind.

4.3. Beautiful equality

The ideal of social clarity discussed in Ch. 1 can now be understood as one possible response to the recurring opacity and internal differentiation inherent to life. It should be noted that invoking the *kuin kuini* ideal, the villagers postulate equality across participating bodily containers through balanced, even externalization and internalization of contents. It is the ideal of neighbouring: parallel containers, optimally equal within and without.

Optimally, absolute clarity – as complete elimination of opacity – would amount to elimination of bodily form and hungers that constitute it. In Don Guillermo’s words, it would be the removal of “the front” that separates people from the heavens. As the villagers repeat, it is only permanently possible for those who have abandoned their earthly forms and find themselves invited by the side of “our owner” (*nuestro dueño*, *nuken ʔibu*) or “father” (*papa*) *Díos*. In his heavenly realm, they experience a continuous satisfaction (*alegría*) by this “Bearded One” (*Barbón*) who provides everything. This state can therefore be understood as a lack of

¹²⁰ Cf. Kulick 1992.

differentiation into an outside and inside, a liberation from the condition of container or a wanting being,^{lxxxiv} because the needs are being satisfied instantaneously, or even before they arise.^{lxxxv} Instead, for living humans, achieving such Amazonian ideals of “land without evil”¹²¹ is doubtful, although it is sometimes imagined that there are such *puros* [pure ones] on this earth. For example, the *Hermanos* [Brethren] or *mestizo* evangelicals, who live in the cities, and keep themselves “apart” from problems and temptations (see Ch. 5). As we learned from questions asked about “our land” – the far-away *gringos* are theorized as not working and still having everything, and as free from the problems infesting ordinary villagers’ lives. Those ideas redirect the focus to the literal meaning of *kuin kuini*.

First, *kuin*, glossed as “true, real” (*verdadero*) (Loos & Loos 2003: 138), seems to be interchangeable with “good” or “proper.”¹²² To illustrate this: Don Benigno never missed the opportunity to poke fun at his interpretation of a name assumed by another Peruvian population of Panoan descent. “They say a Cashinahua is now ashamed when others say he is Cashinahua. ‘Better change it – he says – let it be *Huni Kuin!*’ [laughs hard] ‘The Good People’ already (*gente buena ya!*)! He’s no longer Cashinahua!” (BRS03). On another occasion, he explained: “they are just like us, and now they want to be *huni kuin*, or the “real mestizos” (*mestizos legítimos!*)” (BRS14). The (city) mestizos are sometimes said to be “pure,” connoting, I propose, the exemption from concealed difference, such as indigenous language or recognizable descent. Further, in local terms of authenticity as mentioned before, they are not from “somewhere else,” but are “born and raised” in what villagers see as highly cleared, durable cities. In another example, “*Huni kuin ka’en siri shinanya,*” [lit. The true people are obviously those with good thoughts]¹²³ (Loos & Loos 2003: 138), the association between *kuin* sociality and harmonious organization is revealed, because as shown, the latter can be seen as a projection of “good thoughts/knowledge” (Ch. 1). I noted the “nobility” of urban spaces in Ch. 1, and will

¹²¹ The *tierra sin mal* myth or ideal (Regan 1993; cf. Villar & Combès 2014) was familiar to a man of Cocama descent settled in Limón Cocha. He was just as sceptic about the possibility of achieving it by humans on earth as Capanahua descendants are convinced of indispensability of opacity, sin and difference.

¹²² For example, *mai kuin* is “*tierra buena*” (Loos & Loos: 195) or “good soil.” According to Kensinger, for the related, Panoan Cashinahua, *kuin* category designates “real, true, known, familiar, actual, primary” (1994: 84). There is no room to recount the extensive analysis by Kenneth Kensinger or Barbara Keifenheim and P. Deshayes (2003). I will briefly return to the idea of authenticity and truth in the next chapter.

¹²³ Translated, interestingly, as “Mature persons are the true humans” (*Las personas maduras son gente verdadera*).

return to the attribution of synonymy with the “real” quality in the context of descent in Ch. 4 and Ch. 5.

For most ordinary living humans, the solution for social life needs to consider the bodily condition of opacity and containment. We might therefore consider additional propositions of translation. The term *kuin kuini* is created by the reduplication of *kuin*.¹²⁴ This grammatical feature in Capanahua and LUS can denote emphasis, yet it can also point to a state of scattered distribution; intermittent activity; an emergent or intermediate quality; or smell.^{lxxxvi} In this sense, *kuin kuini* might define a “really real” or “really clean/pure” sociality, but it might as well refer to intermittent clarity both on the inside and outside of persons-containers, or to the harmoniously neighbouring clarities of containers. In other words, it may correspond to the image of “united but separate” (*juntos pero separados*) which the Capanahua descendants often use to describe peaceful social coexistence. It would mean a coexistence of minimised opacities and open, explicit content achieved through actions and representations of externalizing, or of opening the opacities, described in Ch. 1. The “clarity” here would be invoked as “thinking nothing,” “needing nothing,” or “being nothing” (“else”) – the same (*igual nomás*), between a person’s external and internal dimensions, as well as across persons. This signifies neither wanting anything (from others), nor being stingy (*malo*, lit. “bad”) nor concealing something (from others).

Yet, a condition for such existence or the disjunctive unity, is a third space, the clearing and composites of social space discussed in Ch. 1. As with children and their peers, this equality is only made possible by reference to encompassing, generative hierarchy that would take the problems related to recurring desires and divergences off the level of peers, or co-containees, and allow them to coexist peacefully: joined but separate. It would make them equal through a shared, hierarchical relation to another entity, enveloping the diverse “natures,” as between – returning to Daniel’s image of the manioc city – the stem cuttings brought from other fields, and between those wildly seeded and those planted by owners. Thus in human terms this can be understood as: between people of different origins, that is, descent or “blood.” This third space needs to be guaranteed by someone else, from another position,

¹²⁴ With *-ni* adjective suffix (Loos and Loos 2003: 241).

hierarchically higher, so the knowledge and conditions should come from elsewhere. It may come from old knowledgeable people, but their knowledge, creating the spaces of *antiguos* with their stone axes and forest skills, is gone, and even the old ones “don’t know” (Sect. 1), or are stingy or ashamed of such knowledge (cf. Ch. 5). The contemporary externality is made through children, in other spaces, and requires other means and “cloaks of perceptibility.” The villagers explicitly expect that a flow of *apoyo* [help] to be provided by the people who originate the knowledge organising contemporary spaces, the municipality or the government, as I mentioned in Ch. 1.

4.4. Abandonment

From this perspective, participants in a given sociality have an internal position towards their “outside,” which is someone’s “internal” sphere, as a pen (*cerco*) or a house might be, by the virtue of providing the “good thoughts” organizing the village space and resources to create and maintain its structures thus enabling perceptibility/sociality. Therefore, because of the complicating, internally differentiating and desiring condition of human being depicted in the sections above, they are, in relation to this space and knowledge, like the wilful children towards their caretakers. They “sin against” it, that is, its provider, God; or break the laws of the community, against the authorities that create them. If the organizing knowledge is too weak, or lacking, they find themselves “abandoned” (*abandonados*) or “forgotten” (*olvidados*) and “sin against” each other, by desire, envy or fighting.

This is not so much an anarchistic opposition to the state, but a dark view of a human capacity to live truly united, and the fear of the opaque capacities of fellow humans. It was common during our stay to hear people complain about the quality of life with their neighbours in the village. With a sense of helplessness – referring to life on “this earth,” but also specifically to their own village – they would say publically or privately that it is impossible to live well in their community. They pointed to the painful problems created by internal contents and opacity: the lack of unity, unanimity, cooperation, organization or generosity, and the prevalence of gossip, stinginess, lies, conflicts, thefts, jealousies. In extreme cases, it was the covert release of the “evil of people” (sorcery) against one’s neighbours. Accordingly, the people’s criticism (*crítica*) is regularly complained about by the authorities, and actually given as the reason why many reject the *cargo* (authority function). On the other hand,

villagers complain about the supposed corruption and lack of sharing by those who function as authorities.

When people were especially hurt, they would say they will leave this place and this bad life. While some actually do, others prefer to settle apart from the main village with their nuclear families, in their own *puestos*, or next to their fields – the way they remember their *antiguos* lived.¹²⁵ Then, they are close enough to send their children to school, participate in *mingas*, visit on Sundays or join in celebrations, but separate enough not to experience the problems of daily coexistence. They explicitly say that they do not accustom ((*a*)*costumbrarse*) well to the village life, that they want to avoid problems and live quietly, raising their animals. Again, we could understand acknowledging and accepting the distance as another solution for living united but also separate.

Thus, when at a community reunion, the president (*apu*) of the village explicitly diagnosed: “We do not know how to live well!” (*No sabemos vivir bien*), he was repeating an expression we often heard in the village. He then asked the gathered villagers, echoing Julio’s concern stated at the beginning of this chapter, “What image (*imagen*) [of the village] will *hermano Lucas* take to his land?” The image I hope to convey is the human plea to other humans, searching for answers to humanly universal problems, rather than portrayal of the “bad” qualities of life in Limón or Berea. That the villagers are shown here to be deeply lodged within the condition, which they themselves diagnose as human existence. They oppose this to a remote, everlasting ideal of faraway places or heaven, and present themselves as utterly humanly imperfect and complex.

Conclusion

This chapter confronted the leading theme from the previous chapter, producing perceptibility, against the ideas associated with the “internal” dimension of opaque forms and the dynamics that produce them. It demonstrated their trajectories to be quite the reverse of the human work on social spaces. I argued that for the living beings, as known by the Capanahua descendants, it is impossible eliminate opacity and internal containment completely. I have identified an important aspect for

¹²⁵ The historical, genealogical-geographical data I have gathered confirms the preference for one or two-family settlements along the river, and the existence of larger communities (Berea, Limón Cocha, or historical Monte Alegre or San Antonio) as attributed to external organization of mestizo employers or SIL missionaries.

understanding opacity as the ultimately void nature hidden behind and producing such opacities. Hungers, desires and wills are articulations of that void, and their kinds and levels determine the “internal” nature of humans and other beings. I have suggested those ideas to be related to the language of containing/owning, which produces the impression that one of the important metaphors for organizing the world by the villagers is that of containers, and the quality or “nature” of their contents or hungers.

The aim of this chapter was to situate in a broader context the conceptual work behind sociality’s ideal perceptibility presented in the first chapter. Considering the implications of such ontological ordering, I suggested, most importantly, that internal containing of voids is inherent to the human condition and produces ordinary social problems. Yet, it is conceivable, for the villagers, to live in an “external space” where the inherent and recurring differences, or “internal contents,” can in turn be contained in a larger, “third” sphere of non-differentiation that organizes and enables coexistence of divergent elements: a containment of joined-separate elements. As in Daniel’s opening image of manioc cultivation, based on the aesthetics/ethics of social spaces, an “outside” sociality is made out as a way of handling the “insides” or differences, allowing an encompassing, uniting quality.

An important implication concerns the position of contained elements, whose ambivalent position I have outlined in various contexts. I have suggested, and will continue to develop the related ideas in this thesis, that this ambivalence concerns the progeny. While children epitomize such transcendence of social space as an “outside” (in Ch. 1), considering the dynamizing constellations of positions of containment in this chapter, I have pointed out that they can also be seen as the “inside” which eventually folds back onto previous generations. That, as will be argued, is a profound point and hints at the mediatory role of progeny, between inside and outside, alternating generations, or father and mother, etc. The following chapters will attempt to develop this trope by considering the temporal existence of these topologies and their relation to the generative processes.

Finally, in a related dimension, I have suggested that the villagers occupy an “internal” position in relation to a larger, organizing, and transcending knowledge that comes from elsewhere, and belongs to someone else, because the knowledge and conditions that create it are always attributed to specific original providers, or

“owners.” Thus, while for Capanahua descendants, sociality of neighbours (*alegría*) encourages equality and sameness, then, as the examples of this chapter show, and as I will continue to argue in the later chapters, disparity in quality and quantity of contents-belongings is indispensable for living and reproducing. It determines the kinds of relations or transferences, established between persons, and results in the ubiquity of differences and hierarchies. If the relation between parents and children is conceived of as one between containers (givers) and containees (receivers), then it is marked by a fundamental, explicitly acknowledged unevenness and hierarchy. Because such hierarchical relations of transference in specific conditions define “real kin” for Capanahua descendants, what we may call kinship is opposed to what we could call village sociality, which is defined by equality (as neighbouring). It is this process of procreation and production of hierarchy, reflecting the more general ideas of causality that is addressed in the next chapters.

Chapter 3.

Introducing the end: The conditioning frustrations

This chapter is devoted to analyzing the nature and terms of the generative or causative processes in the Capanahua descendants' formulations. The key category in this chapter is *ejemplar*. The initial two sections present alternative analytical viewpoints on its meaning, firstly as telling or giving account, and secondly as incepting. The first introduces such tellings and the way villagers treat these and the second outlines the commentaries that accompany retellings, making sense of these as accounts of inceptions. Further, some general features of the Capanahua descendants' ways of making sense of originating or causality emerge. These are contextualized in section 4, which exits the sphere of narratives and outlines some parallels in explanations of daily life. Section 5 offers general conclusions about the characteristics of time and generative processes that emerge from all these explanations, and relates them to topologies presented in the previous chapters. As a whole, this presentation lays out some basic dynamics that prove helpful in approaching the imagery of generative processes in persons that is the subject of Chapter 4.

1. Giving account

Wetsa hui xeni, wetsa ehempuru [(That's) another old story,¹²⁶ another example], Amelia Romaina explained to one of the SIL missionaries in 1969 (Loos & Loos nd.a) as she began to tell another of the many stories they recorded together. In 2012, Don Benigno, who is the husband of Amelia's granddaughter, explained the nature of the *wini'i* lament in the recording of a Sharanahua woman that I played for him (see Prologue):

She cries recalling the past. What had taken place, her fathers, mothers... One stays behind to make an example (*ejemplo*) of it all. This is it, "exemplifying" (*ejemplando*) the ancient ones^{lxxxvii} (BRS15)

¹²⁶ *Hui* also stands for speech, word, language. In general, we might say "ways of speaking" (cf. the connection with the heart in Ch. 2).

This first use of *ejemplo/ehempuru* is closer to the meaning in Medieval Spanish or English *exemplum*: “a moralizing tale, parable or illustrative story” (Oxford English Dictionary). Like its Capanahua counterpart *hui*, it can be used for a particular story: *Wishmabu ehempuru* [story of the star man], *xakú ehempuru* [story of the earthworm], *Xa'eya 'inu hui* [story of anteater and jaguar] etc. More broadly, these stories belong to a genre of narratives spoken of as *yuwan xeni* [talk of old], *xeniban hui* [stories of (our) ancient ones]. Such stories are also called *cuentos* [stories] or *historias* [histories] of the *antiguos* [the ancient ones] in LUS. The New Testament (Loos & Loos 1978) in Capanahua also received the title *Nuken 'I'baan Hui* – “The Stories of Our Owner.”

These are accounts of the old people, referring to what, as argued in Ch. 2, could be understood as the other “worlds” (time-places) that existed before the existence and experience of the listeners. Such accounts are introduced to the present by those who have “known” them in the same sense as described in Ch.1, or by people who “knew” such persons. These are usually attributed to a specific person from earlier generations, who imparted them to the narrator. The older the person, the more he or she is expected to know about the *antiguo* domains. Doña Anita illustrated this when she told us that when she admits to not knowing much of the past, her daughter says: “You have got old in vain if you don’t know anything!”^{lxxxviii} It is, because – she explained – her own grandmother used to tell her stories, but “not all of it” (ACH01). Similarly, Don Romer, who had never met his grandfather, would say: “Why is it that the old one does not exist anymore, the old-timer, my grandpa, so that he could explain to me how the *antiguos* were – of the pasts (*pasados*), of his times”^{lxxxix} (RPR07). Thus the stories refer to:

The aaaancient ones, what they... When we are not (yet existing) – like this, what they have done, how they lived. Like we live today – how they lived before! Aha. What they did. Like that, so that’s why what’s-her-name... grandma Ermelinda used to tell those.^{xc} (JRR03)

The stories might reach the “ancient ancestors” (*antiguos-antiguos*), living in the remote past, before grandfathers and their grandfathers, and are then comparable to myths told by other Amazonians and Panoans. Their protagonists can be described as *primera generación* [first breed], and in the biblical stories, as *'epa kuin* “first

fathers” [lit. “real fathers,” also FFF].^{xci} However, “exemplifying”¹²⁷ may also speak about the “ancient ones” (*antiguos*) whom the narrators or their parents knew, and the old ones may also be counting their own experiences. All of these remote times related by the old people are assumed to be closer to the “beginnings” (*principio*) or “origins” (*generación*).

Capanahua descendants understand that the stories were imparted from such remote “worlds,” and were meant to be passed on, even forcefully:

“Listen to what I’m telling you!” – [my dad] would tell me in the evenings. I was a little girl so would drowse off: [demonstrates how her dad would hit her lightly] “Listen to me!” – He would tell me. “Listen or I will not tell you anything. So that you may recount it when one day you have your own kids” – he would tell me. He would frighten me in this way. “I am listening, *papi!*” – I would say (lying!) [laughs].^{xcii} (GSR04)

As I noted in Ch. 2, the times of the “old ones” belong to an obscure, bizarre dimension, and this lowered trust seems to reflect the assumption about their ultimate unknowability. Because these are experientially removed, villagers questioned the veracity of the stories. When I inquired about the perspectival details of the stories, which Don Guillermo had just finished telling me, he explained:

Those are stories! What happened to fishermen (*fizgeros*) or hunters (*cazadores*) or *ajuaisis*, aha [laughs]. (...) Are they true (*cierto*) or just stories?... Like with the Incas,¹²⁸ the legends (*leyendas*) – it must be similar. I don’t really (know) myself.^{xciii} (GHR05)

Indeed, stories of *antiguos* are often said to be “just stories” (*cuentos nomás*), for example; “my mother used to tell this [story] – I don’t know if it’s true (*cierto*) – as it’s a story (*cuento*)”^{xciv} (AFC01). The extract of conversation with Doña Germe, who had earlier asked me several questions about the world far away, including its limits (cf. Ch. 2), illustrates this attitude further:

(ŁK: Why did you ask me if there were any people on the moon?) (...) Well, wondering... is it true that the *científicos* [scientists] go there. (...) (ŁK: Do you think that this used to be a man who lived with his sister?) whoooooooknows... (ŁK: was it made like this?) ——— How?! — But in the Bible it says that God created the moon, the sun... Mhm... well, this [the Moon myth] would be a story... (ŁK: just a story then?) I think so... (ŁK: So what the Bible says would be more true?) Well, I

¹²⁷ It needs to be remembered that this use of the word is an attempt to translate the villagers’ conceptions, and is not borrowed from philosophy.

¹²⁸ “Inca” in this context refers most likely to the school curriculum and Peruvian common knowledge, rather than to the use of this name in Panoan myths (see above). In the latter context, the only mention of the Inca name is to be found in connection with the manioc miser (Appendix 6.49) in Victor’s version from the Frontera Lower Capanahua cluster, and in Emiliano Freire’s version in (Loos & Loos 1976a).

don't know. What do you think? (...) If Bible says that God has created everything: moon, sun, stars, the earth... Mhm – how could it be made out of (*formar de*) a man? – That's what makes me think sometimes. (ŁK: So the stories may be wrong?) I think so.... – (ŁK: why were the [old ones] telling them then?) I don't know... That's why I say: it's a story! That one is. A... nothing but a STORY!^{xcv} (GSRo6)

As such, these stories could be treated as “shenanigans” (*engaños*). When I came by to listen to the stories promised by Don Jorge, he greeted me saying blithely: “Ok, let's lie [*engañarnos*] for a while!”^{x cvi} (JRR05) referring to the stories for which he said earlier, the younger generations had ridiculed the old, tattooed grandma Ermelinda as the “demon things” (*cosas de demonio*). Thus, when Don Benigno told me he was glad to be reminded about these stories, it was precisely because they were amusing: “I do like to laugh remembering how my mother would tell me how they [*antiguos*] used to have sex [showing his joints] – (see Ch. 4, Appendix 6.55) [laughs]. She would make me laugh (...): ‘How could they be doing that here, mum?’.” His mother was also apparently at a loss, and would respond: “Well, the *antiguos*...” – as if this already explained a lot – “They would do it there.” She also commented “*Hawera nuken xenibu hapa'unishki, ihun* [How indeed could our ancestors have been doing this like that, son...].” In any case, “That is what my mother used to tell me” – added Don Benigno as is usual with reported speech, especially such stories – it was “what (...) her mother used to tell to my mum.”^{x cvii} (BRS09).

Notwithstanding the doubts and scepticism, such stories are expected to speak of origins. As one of the now *antiguos*, Emiliano Freire, explained to Loos in 1955, they take place when “the people and the earth were still fresh/new” and there were no diseases.^{x cviii} They can be described as *matian huibu* [the stories from the ahead/first times] (Loos & Loos nd.b). It will be easier to proceed to this idea with one “example” in mind that will be especially helpful here, because apart from offering a first glance into mythology, it introduces the imagery of the stems and branches that will play an important role as the argument advances.

Origin of manioc

Among the stories most often recorded by both SIL as well as myself is one that can be referred to as “the one who was stingy with his manioc” (*yu'a yuwashiti*) or “the creator/maker of the day” (*neteanika* [lit. “the one who makes the world” – see Ch. 2 for meanings of *nete*]). The story's outline, largely consistent across versions, deals with the relation between an owner of a manioc field (the creator, *Neteanika*)

and a group of *antiguos* living next to him. They are under his care, and whenever they need it, he provides them with manioc (sometimes also other staples, and in Victor's Lower Capanahua version, additionally, metal axes). Yet, the *antiguos* cease to be satisfied. They develop the desire to plant on their own and to have what their hitherto provider figure has. If the creator is called "the stingy one," it is because he refuses to share the effective way of planting manioc with his wards. A condensed version told by Doña Eloisa (c. 75),¹²⁹ went like this:

There used to be this one. He had his things only to himself. The people did not [have anything]. So they would go and ask that he give them, like this - like one eats manioc. He would give to them. So, they would do that and then one man said: [for myself!]. He himself wanted to plant his field. He went to break off a branch of manioc. There were wasps [Wilma (c. 50) chuckles], vipers, all kinds of animals, *isula* [bullet ants], aall of these stung the man. Bit him. *Jergón* [pit viper], wasps... He snatched one little branch of manioc. He went away running. The wasps following behind him! With all of that, he left it, inserting it into a rotten tree trunk. There he left his stalk of manioc. And there goes the owner, furious - why, he says, did he touch it!? He wants to be shown it, they say. He wants to be taken to where the manioc stalk was put [Wilma chuckles]. They go to look: tremendously thick. It looks like a *lupuna* tree. Its branches - on all sides. Then he taught [the thief] how he was going to do it - every branch had its name. In doing that, he left for the sky, too. With his whole house. There it arises. Mhm. He took off. And that's why we plant manioc. Mhm. (ŁK: And what was the name of this owner?) Whoo knows! They didn't say his name.¹³⁰ What [kind of] people might he have been!?^{xcix} (ECHO1)

In a move of resignation or anger, the owner gives in - the only attitude that Capanahua descendants seem to consider possible towards someone's intrusive nagging. When taken to where the thief planted the stem, he teaches the thief the manioc cultivars kinds/names, as well as how to plant and harvest the crop. Having done so, the owner orders a large quantity of manioc beer from his wife and begins to drink day and night, pounding on a drum, feasting. Every day, his house on poles is elevated until it is no longer seen, and presumably ends up in heaven (Appendix 6.49). The story ends here - as the Capanahua descendants say.

2. Explaining *ejemplos*

Before they finish, however, a commentary is usually added which relates the story to the present condition. This section is devoted to these commentaries. It is

¹²⁹ She told it hurriedly in LUS to a slightly confused stranger, a Polish man whom she saw for the second time in her life, and who came asking about her grandparents and parents.

¹³⁰ Repeating the story his stepmother Doña Hilda Chumo told him, Daniel associated the figure with *Díos* (God) or *Jesús*, and the protagonist who steals the manioc is *Adán*, while *Eva* is Jesus' wife. Victor Panarua, the Neabu of the Lower Capanahua (i.e., Pahenbaquebo), recalled that his paternal grandfather calling the figure "*Inka*." Interestingly, Don Benigno associated this figure with another ancient figure living in the sky domain, *Wishmabu* (Star man).

also here that the second use of *ejemplo* becomes important, and allows insight into what the villagers expect these stories to be (accounts of origins for elements of the present world, regardless of their admitted veracity), and how they make them meaningful. At the same time, they introduce some basic ideas about the villagers' constructions of causality. In this section, I outline several characteristics of such explanations of the stories of *antiguos*, and will turn to their instantiations in other spheres later in this chapter. I show that the *ejemplos* as stories are made to talk about the actions seen as making *ejemplo* or *ejemplar*, which have lasting consequences for the future.

Here, it should be noted that stories recorded by the Looses and Thelma Schoolland between the 1950s and 1970s with previous generations of the villagers are accompanied by strikingly similar commentaries. This may suggest that interpretations are transmitted along with the stories. While the extent of related representations in contemporary applications to various stories testifies to their vitality, it is impossible to locate them in the broader context of Capanahua representations from 50 years ago. Therefore, by reaching out to these old comments, I can only read them through contemporary contexts, just as the Capanahua descendants are doing.

2.1. Precedent

Consider how Don Benigno and Don Romer, at different places and times, explained to me why Jesus died on the cross:

Making an example, so that... we suffered (for) the sin. He pays [*pagar*] [us] for the sin with his death, it says in the Scripture. So that we, [his] "children," later pay [for] this sin.^c (BRS19)

"Dirt of the earth! The day you die, you will turn into the dirt of the earth. (...) To the hole in the ground, you shall return. The grave!" – said Jesus Christ to Adam [who has just eaten the forbidden fruit]. Therefore, it is that they bury us. Because he left the example, dying on the cross at Calvary, only because of our sin^{ci} (RPR07)

The illustrative force of this example lies, I believe, in the difference between the way Christ's death tends to be interpreted in other parts of the world, and the interpretation provided by these two men, which, in turn, is similar to the way stories of *antiguos* are presented and interpreted by the Capanahua descendants. Firstly, for Christians elsewhere, the cross of Calvary stands for the sacrifice, which cleansed

humans from primordial sin. Here,¹³¹ suffering and death are endured by the annoyed, departing Jesus in order to impart continuous reproduction of this state in humans, as punishment or harm “repaid” for their ancestors’ disobedience. Secondly, the use of *ejemplo*, which underlies this interpretation, echoes more broadly in the villagers’ ways of explaining the processes of generating. This broadness makes it important as a guide to contemporary representations of causality.

In such commentaries, the original occurrence of a feature is referred to as *ejemplo*, and the producer’s innovative action, *ejemplar*. It is closer to the several aspects of English “example,” according to OED:

3. A signal instance of punishment intended to have a deterrent effect; a warning, caution; a person whose fate serves as a deterrent to others. (...) 6a. A person’s action or conduct regarded as an object of imitation (...); b. In generalized sense: Action or conduct that induces imitation; hence, ‘influence that disposes to imitation’ (...). A pattern, design to be copied.

Here, both uses of *ejemplo* converge: *ejemplos* give account of the acts of “making *ejemplos*.” Commentaries interpret the stories as origin accounts of specific features of the world, tracing them to their very source. Sometimes, when talking about some object, people would tell me: “this one too, has its story” (*ese también tiene su cuento*). Therefore, protagonists are interpreted as the originators, a described event as the cause, and the presently existing feature, as the effect. The present thus owes a specific attribute to its single, original author/event; it is “because of” (*por, kupa*) them that it exists. It permanently alters the previous state, conditioning the present. Consequences of that original event are present and felt by contemporary people. The feature is thus a trace of the original event and its producer in the present. It is, as Moises told me apropos the Moon story, a *recuerdo* [memento], or *herencia* [heritage], and significantly, *castigo* [punishment] of its producer:

He stayed on the moon, until now. That’s why it has that stain. And from then on his punishment is: that every moon [month] a woman menstruates. All because of this [incident in the story]. (...) (In what way perhaps,) [The moon] they say, has imparted his memento on [the woman], leaving her pregnant: so that every month she... For all the women! He left his heritage, the punishment.^{cii} (MHC01)

¹³¹ All the villagers declare themselves Christians. Christian content today comes from evangelical church sermons, reading the Bible, or the LUS mestizo tradition, or “folk religion” (Regan 1993: 13). The protagonists (Adam and Eve, Noah, and Jesus or God) or entire stories directly or loosely associated with the Bible are presented in accordance with the general way of constructing other stories or explanations of the *antiguos*. This use has not been recorded in the published SIL material, save for a few mentions of *Dios* in the apparently more “local” stories.

2.2. Conditioning frustration

The *ejemplo* precedent may be formulated as conditioning and frustrating. It is formulated as conditioning because an event/protagonist is pointed to as establishing a feature of the contemporary world: “if it were not for [the precedent], there would not be [the feature].” It is frustrating because the event prevents continuity of a previous or potential condition: “it would have been [a condition], had it not been frustrated by [the precedent].” Usually, *ejemplo* is associated with a harmful outcome, working in a differentiating way similar to the instantiation of internal contents in the previous chapter. This is already evident in the reversal of the way other Christians interpret their Messiah’s death, suggested in the above comment regarding the Moon story, and indeed most prominent in other similar comments to the different origin stories.

The villagers’ readings of the manioc theft story are equally illustrative. First, it needs to be kept in mind that manioc is vital to the Capanahua descendants as a staple crop. Additionally, for the past 30 years, on the Tapiche (in Limón Cocha), the fermented and roasted manioc which is the *fariña* (manioc flour), buys clothes, children’s school utensils, DVD players, etc. One might therefore think that the story is read as a heroic acquisition of an important, life-sustaining plant. Yet, if the story was told with commentary, narrators focused not on the acquisition of an asset itself, but instead on the cost of suffering that this acquisition inflicted: the heavy labour associated with cultivating manioc, juxtaposed with the potential of living peacefully – to each his own, joined in the owner’s care, but separate (cf. Ch. 1 and 2):

He [the owner] took off, leaving us. Because of that we are like this, look: suffering, weeding... taking the manioc out, carrying it to drop in the water, roasting. If it wasn’t for this, it wouldn’t have been this way. With only his power: there’s your *fariña*. There’s your... the whole of your field, already done! He would give it in this form, all done. To everyone his own field: [here] field, [here] field. But this one [field] you (...) don’t have to look after it at all. All with his power. And again the manioc will be there [after harvesting] – it’s not going to end, ever! Never-never is it going to end. Like this, like this – it’s going to be living [continue regrowing].^{ciii} (DHR07)

Even the laconic commentary in Doña Eloisa’s extract of the story is to such an effect: “And that’s why we plant manioc.” Further, the story is also often read as the origin of thievery:

In those times there used to be no wicked people. (But) as they stole that manioc stalk... because of this they steal today. Aha, he had set an example (*ejemplado*), the thief.^{civ} (BRS13)

2.3. Devolution

It is such ambiguous, causative-frustrative character or rather the focus on ruinous, frustrative consequences of the altering incidents associated with the processes of generating, that I find common in the villagers' commentaries on the stories. While *ejemplo* can be either conditioning or frustrating, the features it is most often interpreted to condition are burdensome if not harmful, and the elements interpreted as frustrated by it tend to be advantageous. I suggest that all the stories susceptible to construal as accounts of origins tend to be employed by the narrators and listeners to answer the questions embedded in their views of the present world. Therefore, the originating elements that these comments focus on echo the very problems that Ch. 2 suggests be diagnosed as inherent to life by the Capanahua descendants. On the whole, they are made to explain the unnaturally broken nature of the world on this side.

I have already mentioned that the Capanahua descendants tend to characterize life on this earth as suffering (see Ch. 1 and 2), so it should not be surprising that the features for which their comments most often hypothesize origins are human misery and finiteness. Suffering, as noted in Ch. 1, is in fact equivalent to "labour." The comments therefore make the stories explain various dimensions of the contemporary condition marked by necessity – in the often-repeated expression – of "suffering to have" (*a tener sufriendolo* (AFCO1)). This includes not only being forced by the living conditions to work on the field and produce one's food or tools, make the effort to travel, etc., but also to suffer the labours of childbearing, birth and childcare. Overall, these features diagnose the contemporary predicament as the responsibility for the labour of reproduction (either of plants, goods, people or united communities), related to the finiteness of the earthly condition (death, overgrowing, breaking of tools, etc.) and recurring hunger, problems or conflicts.

Even if the conditional interpretation refers to the origin of a useful element or an asset, it does not escape ambiguity. The downside is the price paid for it. Acquisition of manioc is one example. It could be compared with the comments on the story of the squirrel lad (*Kapabu*) (Appendix 6.40), who re-introduces maize to the starving people. The side effect is that upon receiving it, they cast away packages

filled with clay. They had been carrying them long distances to eat. This dropping is explained as giving origin to the hills which make travelling on land tiresome on the upper Tapiche and Buncuya. In yet another story, a human woman receives the knowledge of a plant from a mouse woman. It enables her to deliver children, and thus evade the services of the *endemoniado* *Nawishnika* midwife, whose method consists of tearing the women's belly open, extracting the baby, and consuming the patient who passed away in the process (Appendix 6.47). Yet it is also the reason for the curse of "giving birth through their arses." Although it becomes possible to deliver children without dying in the process, the downside is one's own labour and suffering associated with it.

The previous or possible states before the precedent are juxtaposed to the contemporary world. Therefore, there is no suffering or work, either on the field, or in bearing children. To reverse the previous expression, they illustrate a state of "having without suffering," where there is no need to reproduce anything, no hungers, no internal voids/contents, because someone is already taking care of us.

If such questions testify to the Capanahua descendants' concerns with the present world, they also suggest a general diagnosis of the flow of time on this earth from an ideal to one increasingly flawed. It is marked by devolution as a consequence and echo of the original frustration by *ejemplo*. It is worth noting how this opposition between the ideal past or potential future reflects, in a temporal and causal dimension, the concern with opposition between the social ideal of the outside and the inside incapacity to "live well." Therefore, *ejemplo* could be understood as morally ambivalent, if not negative, and the result could be called, as Moises showed, "a punishment." The protagonists are hardly interpreted as heroes who have made life possible for people. It is precisely because of them that humans suffer.

3. Inceptions in stories

In search of the villagers' ways of representing causality in the generative processes, I review some elements of those stories that tend to be accompanied by comments on inceptions.¹³² I look at their content through the above comments, which I assume suggest the way in which they might be of any interest for the

¹³² There are other thematically distinguishable types of stories told by the Capanahua and their descendants. The most salient themes/genres are: animals outsmarting each other; "historical" stories involving the kidnapping of wives; ghost/demon stories or people who turn out to be animals or/and cannibals; adventures with *yashingo*, the ineffective hunters, and so on.

descendants of the Capanahua within the broader context of specific, local representations of the trajectories of time and images of creation-destruction involved in generative processes. Therefore, approaching the stories as describing critical moments of *ejemplar*, I focus on the specific terms and conditions (events, entities and relations) that allow the villagers to see these as accounts of inceptions. What kinds of stories respond to such commentaries? How do they make sense in the wider lived world of the Capanahua descendants?

3.1. Basic techniques of exemplifying

Firstly, I present some common ways of imaging inception, or *ejemplar*, which I identify as teaching and learning, embodying exemplification and compulsive mimesis, and naming the future, or cursing. The next sub-section introduces another “technique” of producing a similar effect in stories, which is central to developing the argument.

One of these techniques is illustrated in the story of how people learned to have sex (Appendix 6.55). It explains, to the amusement of listeners (Sect. 1), that at the time, men ejaculated by copulating with the closed armpits, elbows or behind the knees of the women. They did not penetrate vaginas, because, as Don Benigno repeated after his mother, they took it for an open ulcer (*sipiwan, llaga, uta* [*Lupus vulgaris*]).^{cv} Women gathered the sperm released in this manner in gourd shells, which they, as external caretakers, hung high, initially close to the ceiling. Then, as the foetus was growing and forming inside, the container was gradually lowered. After 9 months, it would brake and the child would emerge and receive the mother’s milk. It is in this context that one man discovers the brown capuchin monkeys (generally associated with mischief, *travesura*), copulating through the vagina (see Ch. 4). On his return home, he tells his wife¹³³ about his discovery and they try it out. This goes well and soon all the women want to try it. Thus, the new way was “taught” and is still imitated today. Yet, this “teaching” is contextualized, for example, by a sorcerer’s “learning,” which relies on “downloading” substantial contents (“blood”) with specific qualities (Ch. 2) and subsequent bodily practices; or by “knowing” place-times and “learning” them, “getting used” or “tamed” into them – all based on the premise of interpenetration (Ch.1). Such context bridges the distance to another way

¹³³ In one of Amelia’s versions it is the earthworm’s son who tells this to his grandmother, but there the story stops (Loos & Loos 1976b).

of “exemplifying.” In other stories, widespread and enduring features such as being stingy or envious, and stealing, are instantiated by a first, single act, in a similar way to the manioc theft story.

More illustratively, a young man was publically disgraced when his close female relative (in various versions, sister, (parallel) cousin, or a niece) revealed her discovery that he had surreptitiously impregnated her. In the story, he decides to leave the earth and become the moon. Before climbing to the world above, he swallows a bowl of achiote soup, so that he can spray the blood coloured diarrhoea on the world that he leaves behind. In this way, through an embodying exemplification, the man who became the Moon inflicts menstruation – the memento or punishment (see above) – which encumbers all the women left behind in this world (Appendix 6.58). Christ’s death on the cross for Don Benigno and Romer is similar, in that it inflicts the compulsive mimesis of suffering and death into the condition of the humans left behind.

The hybrid child of an earthworm (xakú bake) uses a different, but conceptually related technique, to which I devote more attention below. The wives of his mother’s brothers, having found *conta* or *shapaja* (*xebun/ xebun nuwe*) palm fruits in the forest, insist on consuming these on the spot and ignore the boy’s hurrying. Finally, growing impatient, he shouts towards the women: “There goes a troop of monkeys!” Whereupon his aunts let out monkey cries, and transform into white capuchins and squirrel monkeys. For this reason these species bear designs said to be tattooed on the *antiguo* women’s faces. What Moon accomplished by physically instantiating the condition left behind him, the earthworm’s son does by the power of voice, language or naming or in other words, by naming their future state – cursing (*maldecir*). *Jesus* (qua *Neteanika*) does something similar: “In that way he cursed us (*maldecido*): “Thus you will live, making your fields, stealing, betraying!”^{cvi} (DHR07); likewise, *Nawishnika*: “Thus you will live! Delivering your children through your arses!¹³⁴ Thus you will multiply, he said, talking-talking! And left!”^{cvi} (RPH02).

¹³⁴ *Culo*, *pu'inki* - rather than *chishpi*, vagina.

3.2. Another technique: insemination

The novelty of *ejemplar* is juxtaposed to previous states of place-times where these features were not “known.” Their newness implies difference, and the introduced element is connected in virtually all cases with the input into a lived space from a foreign or divergent figure. This is significant, and opens the way for seeing *ejemplar* as moments in which difference is introduced. As I mentioned, these can be compared to the appearance of contents/voids which incept internal differentiation described in Ch. 2. Furthermore, the above images of exemplifying difference can be understood – in the broader contexts for local formulations of learning or knowing as interpenetrations – as paralleling one more “technique of exemplifying” as imparting content or quality: inseminating.

From this perspective, another kind of story told by the villagers and their ancestors is closely related to those stories which trace the origins of the world’s features or blemishes. Yet, their substantial difference may assist in ushering a perspective proposed below: in these stories, the frustrative action is taken before imparting can take place. These are the stories of clandestine sexual relations with animals: a woman having an affair with a boa (Appendix 6.53), another with a tapir (6.3), and another with a giant earthworm (6.62), as well as a man with a sloth (6.47), a deer (6.12), or a tapir (6.4.). With one momentous exemption, all these relations are discovered early enough to kill the animal and prevent insemination, or at least the birth of a hybrid child. These liaisons are brutally laid bare in the stories: the heads of the sloth and the boa are hurled before the devastated lovers, who are ridiculed by their families and the narrators. My point is that these stories could be seen as examples of frustrated introductions of significant difference – in other words, frustrated actions of *ejemplar*.¹³⁵ This becomes especially evident once we are familiarized with the only hybrid child to survive, the son of an earthworm (*xakú bake*) (Appendix 6.62). This one exception produces events, which transform a regular story of human-animal liaison into a story of conditioning frustration (“originating”). It also becomes important for my argument on the nature of the

¹³⁵ It may be noted that the stories of undesired insemination tend to refer to animals, and not, for example, celestial beings. Also consider that *xakú* is from another, concealed domain – the underground – so may have a status other than regular animals, and thus explain the eventual turn of the story. Further, all of the animals portrayed in such stories of liaisons are reported to have been harmful when eaten, and thus excluded from the diet by the *antiguos*.

generative process, as I understood it among the villagers. The next two sub-sections are largely driven by the retelling of that story and its wider implications.

3.3. Childhood of the Earthworm's son: exemplifying divergence

Sequences from the earthworm's boy's life make it into one of the longest stories told by the villagers' ancestors, and the "fullest" version has been recorded by SIL (Loos & Loos 1976b). Here, preventive action is taken, and the animal father is found and killed by the woman's mother. Alas, it is too late. The woman gives birth to a multitude of little earthworms, and the last one to come out is in human baby form. Another attempt is made to get rid of the anomalous, "demon" (see Ch. 2) child: it is thrown out into the bush. However, this attempt, too, is thwarted. The woman's mother takes pity on the infant when she hears it addressing her as grandmother and she picks it up. The baby boy grows extraordinarily fast, and soon his skills are revealed when he dries out a lake to allow the fish to be collected. Yet they soon turn against members of his mother's family who ignore or mistreat him. I have already mentioned how he cursed the aunts into monkeys. He does the same to his grandmother and his grandfather, producing a tapir and a deer. Growing up, *xakú bake*, or *hijo de gusano*, wanders off, and uses his skill to produce a future by naming (cursing). He creates various lines of named descent groups suffixed as *-bu* [kinds] or *-bakebu* [lit. children – descendants] which narrators listed as their contemporary *kaibu*,¹³⁶ or *paisanos* (see Prologue and Ch. 5). This can be seen as a similarly mischievous act, producing lasting differences in humans: the gift or infliction of diverse descent.

We can see that in this early stage of the story, the boy's actions seem to explain why animal inseminations have been so vehemently prevented in the other cases. Here, the successful hybrid insemination initially wreaks havoc. The boy is presented as a wilful, easily irritable child, whose "mismatched content" or heightened efficacy (*poder*, power) produces serious damage. Although externally he appears as "one of us" (*nuke kuin*) to his mother's kin, yet, being a child of a radical stranger he is actually a potentially dangerous foreigner himself, whose diverse capacities (content) harm members of the "outside" that he emerged onto, and who at least partially took care of him.

¹³⁶ Lists vary depending on the narrators and the breeds they were familiar with.

This opposition to the outside, here inflicted by insemination by a foreigner, parallels other situations described in the stories. There, this original “outside” being thwarted is explicitly associated with an owner figure, either in the form of a single domain (e.g. *Neteanika*’s or *Nawishnika*’s), or in the form of support through a gift “internally” and secretly linked to his hyper-efficacy (*Kapabu*, *Wishmabu*, *dueño de animales*). The frustrating point, however ambiguous the owner figure, consists of an act of disobedience towards the owner’s instruction or established rules. Numerous examples of such divergence leading to rupture have already been mentioned. In *Neteanika*’s story it was the theft of manioc (Appendix 6.49), and in Jesus’ (God’s) garden, the disobedience of the prohibition of eating the fruit (6.6). Similarly, it was finding an alternative way to give birth against the rules established by the horrific stellar midwife *Nawishnika* (6.48), or ignoring the hurrying of the earthworm’s boy and, later in his story (see below), disobeying his instructions regarding the handling of his gifts (6.62). It was also the refusal to go along with the Moon’s intention of having children with his relative (6.58). In earlier chapters, I mentioned revealing the origin of hyper-efficient tools in the story of the Star man (6.61), and so on. The list goes on, and posits internal contents/voids – desire, envy, ambition and claims to have and produce by one’s own, curiosity, pride, lack of self-control, etc. – as the reasons for opposition.

Thus, seen from the perspective of his mother’s receiving social space, the young Earthworm’s son’s mischief might be taken as representative of the “sin/harm” (Ch. 2) of a will divergent from the containing figure or space, a seed of disharmony which harms the pure place-time or the connection to the sponsor through his gift. As Germán explained, there is always *un borracho*, a drunk, who speaks “unnecessary things” (ERSo1)(6.40), or as Celso said, “there is always a jealous one” (CBRo2)(6.61), etc. There is always something, which prevents people from following the rules established in the external space that hosts them (adj. *ninkayusma*, lit. “unable to listen, abide by” – cf. children’s position in Ch. 2). Although the owner is not killed in these other stories, as in corresponding motifs of stories told by other

traditions¹³⁷ – he is offended or disappointed, and ultimately he/she always goes away.

In some cases, the departing owner leaves the element alienated from him- or herself, but causes an alteration or void that gives it the form of a punishment (*castigo*). It becomes an invalid remainder, harmful rather than useful, causing pain and suffering rather than maintaining life and nurturing wellbeing. A reminder of what could have been the very image and memento of reasons for the human condition of imperfection and finiteness. That state of desperate desolation caused by this disobedience is movingly described in Doña Florentina Romaina's (Don Romer's mother) story. After the Star man (*Wishmabu*) withdraws his power/helpers from the tools provided to his earthly friend:

“This is how he [the Star] did it...” – [the man] said while he marked the boundary of his desired field. He struck with the [previously self-working] axe, but nothing happened [the spirits helpers of the Star did not come to work]. Nothing happened anymore. Nothing was done, there was no field. His manioc stalks dried up. So he marked the limits by himself and began felling the trees, but the [wondrous, stone] axe broke. Aha. It broke. With his own strength he then cleared a little space, but it came out ugly [cf. Ch. 1], and when he planted some manioc stems, they grew small and unhealthy. [To make holes] for planting, he used the wooden lever [that he received from the Star], but when he put it in the ground, it broke as well. That was the punishment (*kastikani*) of the Star [man]. He already needed to suffer to plant. We have to do it in the same way now. We too have to work hard to make a field. Just like he did. It ends there, brother. Here [the story] stops.^{civiii} (Loos & Loos 1976a: 171–72)

Overall, the human divergence, in representations mentioned in Ch. 2 – the inability to live well – is portrayed both as a reason why these stories usually go wrong for the people, and as the cause of the present state, or “example” internalized by later generations, the *chini bakebu* [lit. children that follow behind, “the youngest/last children,” that is, descendants]. *Ejemplo* in such stories could be presented or understood as either the *antiguos*' embodying exemplification, their “sin” against the owner, which is imitated by descendants – or as the owner's returned harm, his “sin” against the people, that is, his vengeance or punishment.¹³⁸ Alteration of the world is associated with separation or differentiation between the

¹³⁷ The stories discussed here are often versions of the stories told by other Panoans, such as Shipibo, Yaminahua, Cashinahua, Chacobo (e.g. D'Ans 1975; Bardales Rodríguez 2008; Calavia Sáez 2000; Córdoba 2005). In some of these versions, ancestors kill the owner, or “Inca” figures to take their belongings.

¹³⁸ Compare definition of sin as “harm” and “returned-harm” or vengeance in Ch. 2. The abandonment by the Star man in Florentina Romaina's 1974 story is diagnosed with the expression “*Wishin kastikana*” – “punished by the Star” (Loos & Loos 1976a: 172).

past or potential states (domains) connected to powerful “owners” with its present or future wards (participants of the domain).

3.4. Adulthood of the Earthworm’s son: the potential of foreigner and containing divergence

This presentation of stories of conditioning frustration, or “originating,” approximates a profound feature of the villagers’ representations, a switch of perspectives on the social space across time (I elucidate this in Sect. 5.3.). The illustrative force of the earthworm’s son’s story lies precisely in transiting through that switch.

Before this, it should be mentioned that in these stories, the original owners provide their hierarchically dependent wards with living place-times or ways (“domains”) where they receive anything they need, thus keeping them full and satisfied (*alegre*, opposed to hungry). The need to reproduce does not affect the wards. This is because the owner figure produces them, and guarantees their immortality (Appendix 6.49) or in a drastic way takes care of birth, without any effort on their part (6.48). Other “sponsors” provide tools, which do not require labour to produce effects: the miraculous instruments that clear the fields with the owner’s power, and skills to effortlessly find animals, etc.

Returning to the story of the *xakú bake*, the earthworm’s son, observe that however harmful he may have seemed initially, he was also powerful in a beneficial way. Firstly, by becoming hyper-independent and hyper-efficient in extremely short time. Early on in his life he was capable of providing food for his mother’s family by using his divergent capacities/knowledge. This presents the earthworm’s son in a different light, that of a powerful provider, similar to other mythical owners. From this perspective, it is the older, wilful family members who frustrated his benevolent attempts. Such as the aunts that would not obey his hurrying, the uncle that was especially hostile towards him and refused to eat the fish he caught. This positive aspect of the boy’s capacities becomes increasingly important as the story progresses, and the boy becomes a young man – perhaps signalling a change in his disposition. His last act mentioned above, calling into existence diverse, named *kaibus*, could be considered transitional, as it forms people instead of transforming existing people into animals. In any case, after these events, in the advanced stages of the story, he attempts to bestow onto his uncles some special gifts. Here, the ill-disposed uncle

fails to follow his counterintuitive instructions on how to handle these gifts: catching the falling palm tree, avoiding opening a container with hidden contents, holding a big, cold vegetable in the chill of the night. In this manner, the bad uncle ruins the miraculous gifts: the self-producing tools of the hard *pijuayo* palm, tame prey, wives for all men. His failure exemplifies the frustrating conditions known to this day: the bad disposition of some people, labouring to produce tools, timid animals that hide in the forest, or the difficult lot of wifeless men. We could say he frustrates the potential of a self-supporting, suffering-free domain provided by the son of the earthworm.

From this perspective, *xakú bake* shares frustration by disobedient, envious, wilful people with other potential owners, whose emergence we witness in the stories. For example the *Kapabu*, or the squirrel lad, who brought people maize and his capacity to work the fields without labouring (Appendix 6.40), the star man (6.61), or the star woman, who intended to make children from cotton and her human husband's semen (6.60). The establishment by the Moon of a lasting, lustrous, clean domain in the sky only tainted (literally) by human opposition suggests his was also a failed attempt to create a better, unending domain (see Ch. 4). While we meet other mythical owners, such as *Neteanika* or *Nawishnika*, as already established, the earthworm's son's story along with the other examples of emerging owners, shows that while frustrating the old space, the introduction of difference can eventually be positive and conducive to a new, better domain. I propose that this possibility conditions the villagers' openness to powerful difference, or the hope that another owner will come to reverse the condition of abandonment, suffering, and division resulting from failures of previous domains.

Meanwhile, in Sect. 5 below, I address some general implications of these "examples" for understanding local formulations of causality and the generative process. As I argued, the *ejemplar* dynamic is a powerful tool for explaining and constructing stories, as can be seen in the example of Jesus' story. But if stories are "just stories," how does their causality relate to other dimensions of villagers' lives?

4. Inceptions in daily life

In this section, I briefly explore a handful of contexts, which invite the villagers to envisage causality in daily life. They illustrate the standards of explanation or commentary on alterations of a spatial-temporal state or "conditioning frustration" in

contemporary realities. Here two main sets of examples concern the ways of influencing the future (4.1.), and human bodies (4.2.). The parallels between these representations and *ejemplar* suggest some features that will allow, in the final section, to situate those formulations in topological categories as discussed in previous chapters, and in the end, venture to generally characterise the processes of causality or generation.

4.1. Inflicting the future

4.1.1. *Maldecir*: “to name harm”

Daniel told me how he remembered the death of Don Elías’ father. This was “because of ‘the evil of people’ (*mal de gente*) [sorcery]. Harm [i.e. sorcery] was inflicted on him because of his plantains. There used to be one trader (the brother of a famous sorcerer from downriver), to whom the old man wanted to sell good plantain bunches for 8 or 10 soles. The *regatón* (trader) however, wanted to pay only four soles, so the old man said, “Well, in that case, I’m taking them home with me, upriver. I can at least make *chapo*¹³⁹ out of them when they ripen.” As he was leaving, the trader shouted behind him: “For the rest of your life you will eat ripe plantains!” Sometime later, when the old man was travelling with his wife and two grandchildren, their canoe capsized and all the passengers were drowned. This, in Daniel’s story, was the result of the *regatón*’s curse (fT1204).

In fact, cursing (see Sect. 3.1.), or *maldecir*, *ruakin* (Loos & Loos 2003: 317), is commonly associated with situations where *brujo* is offended. It is most often caused by someone’s refusal to share something, especially alcohol. Doña Elsa told me about the event that caused her son’s death. He had refused to present another bottle of liquor to the owner of the evil heart that, as she said (Ch. 2) casts shadow over the Buncuya:

Right into his face he [sorcerer] told him this; because of a bottle of *trago*. (...) “That’s how I will see you all your life – that you may live selling! You will believe!” [The sorcerer] laughed when he said this (...) “You think yourself [more] because you’re selling one [bottle] of *trago*... (...) And my son told him: “You’d better kill me! I am not afraid to die, what does it matter to me if I die! – he told him – Neither are you made of iron, so I’ll tell you as well: ‘You’re going to live!’ Even better for me if you kill me, [I will be] dead and peaceful (*tranquilo*). Not like you, suffering and sinning on this earth!”^{cix} (EFN01)

¹³⁹ Sweet plantains that have been cooked and mashed.

Julia recounted how her mother-in-law found herself in a similar situation. They had been feasting in Aipena after a good *minga*, having pulled out a new beautiful canoe from the forest where it had been made. An *ucayalino* arrived, who was reputed to be a *brujo*, and whose eyes had already turned red. He asked the woman to sell him her pet monkey. “*Ay, señor* – she told him – I can’t, I am raising this monkey!” After a while he said “Grandma! Sell me your canoe!” “*Ay, señor* – she answered again – I can’t sell you my canoe because I need to go fishing, and travel with my children...” “Ah, ok, then – said the *ucayalino* – So they will bury you in your canoe!”¹⁴⁰ – then he left. Soon afterwards, Doña Rosa had an accident and passed away after weeks of agony (fT1301).

4.1.2. *Mal agüero*: “to show harm”

Mal agüeros, translatable as “bad omens,” sometimes called *señas*, signs, and in Capanahua expressed with an intransitive verb *ruati* (Loos & Loos 2003: 317), represent a broad spectrum of images. Although Don Benigno told me that his father produced *mal agüero* by saying he is making a new house to die in, it is usually associated with the behaviour of animals, or with natural phenomena. Some refer to weather, others to future events in people’s lives. Most often, they spell death or diseases.

A telling example is an inconspicuous incident that took place when Doñas Ermisha and Estefita came to our house. As we were talking, they noticed a dog had dug a hole on the patio in front of our house. It was the work of Pintada, a bitch who chose to live and rear her pups under the platform of our house. The two ladies became very upset and scolded us: “Why haven’t you chased her away?! She was making *mal agüero*!” When I asked what kind of an omen this was, Doña Ermisha answered “*Huni mawani!* [person dying!] Don’t you see? She’s digging the earth: wants (*quiere*) a grave to be dug!” (fT1212). Now, I thought it was interesting that chasing away the dog might prevent the future it produces, just as killing the omen bird, or washing one’s open eyes after a bad, portentous dream might, as I later learned (compare these frustrated omens with failed hybrid inseminations in myths, Sect. 3.2). When I talked about it with people, some did, others did not agree that a *mal agüero* could be frustrated or reversed. What is more important for causality in

¹⁴⁰ The canoe is often synonymous with *ataud*, the coffin. In stories I heard, old canoes are said to have been used for burials instead of coffins, and Loos (1960: 13) mentions this practice in the 1950s.

the villages is that a single event initiates the movement that grows into a harmful future. It does so by physically “exemplifying” the effect (cf. Sect. 3.1.).

There are further examples of incepting of harm, such as: any animal or insect entering the mosquito net; the call of the *ataudero* bird which sounds like a nail being struck while making a coffin. Similarly, a dog howling at night “exemplifies” the human cries at a funeral; the eyes of a corpse opening at the funeral wake mark the dead’s “wanting to” take a companion, etc. According to Doña Germe:

I hear people say that when the *vacamuchacho* [smooth billed ani] sings: *kuinkuinkuinkuin* – it’s making *mal agüero*. When it shouts like this, it is for people dying. (...) When you kill it: someone in your family will die. *Huancahui* [laughing falcon] also makes *mal agüero*. When the dog digs at your patio, that too. All kinds of things... (...) When the dog cries, howling alone, that’s a bad sign. For people dying. (ŁK: And when you dream?) When you dream of an airplane coming and landing here, that’s because someone from here will die. If you see it passing high, you will hear news that someone has died in another place. If a tooth comes out in your dream, when it hurts (...) this means a member of your family will die. If it does not hurt then others will die. (ŁK: When you dream of pulling your canoe?) Yes, that too means you will see a coffin. They say.^{cx} (GSR10)

Other non-standardized *mal agüeros* were identified when unusual events happened, for example, when roosters crowed in the middle of the night (fT1212), or when a sick dog entered a boat on which the mestizo traders live, the dog was recognized by them as a bad omen and chased away (fT1302). It is the uncommonness of these events that gives them a *demonio* quality. Indeed, what upset Doña Germe as a *yushin* quality when a pair of monkeys entered a human field (Ch. 2) was unsettling for Daniel because he read it as an omen of death, *mal agüero* (fT1302).

It is important to note here that this imagery focuses on movements of inserting (often literal perforation, penetration, digging) of difference into the living space: a mosquito net, a field, the ground, etc. It parallels the imagery of *picar* (piercing) in sorcery – as the penetration of surface and the introduction of a foreign element into the victim’s body (Ch. 2). It is therefore not only the abstract idea of implanting a seed of the future in an uneventful, easy presence, but often literally initiating a movement of internalizing by implanting sickness, death and other misfortunes. Although I cannot argue this here, I would also suggest that because of the nature of voice or language in the villagers’ representations, *maldecir* is based on a similar premise.

In fact, *mal agüero* and *maldecir* can be used synonymously. Recall that the man who became the moon, when getting upset, drinks and shits blood-coloured liquid to initiate menstruation in women. Doña Germe described this act precisely as *maldecir*: “[the Moon] went up farting [achiote], my dad told me. This was so that women have their period. (...) he went away... cursing (*maldiciendo*) the women”^{cxii} (GSR05). Yet another manner of expressing the Moon’s *ejemplo* leads us to other ways of referring to origins of (usually harmful) features. In Pedro Tomás version: “*iSsshac!* – shitting blood: ‘This way, every new moon, every month, you’re going to live like this!’ – [he had] *shinguriado* like this, see”^{cxiii} (PFS02). Celso (CBR02)^{cxiii} and Don Benigno (BRS13)^{cxiv} used the same expression. The LUS verbs *shingurear*,¹⁴¹ *cutipar*,¹⁴² or *chuntear*, are used by Capanahua descendants, as well as other eastern Peruvians, to describe an act of contaminating or influencing. This can be understood as defining the basics of their aetiology.

4.2. Aetiology

4.2.1. *Shinguriar*

Shinguriar is generally used in reference to inhibiting an ability. For example, if *tamshi* vines are not pulled down with one strong movement, the plant will *shingurear* the person and thus he will not be allowed to collect them in this particular place anymore (fT1301). The same might happen when a bunch of *pijuayo* palm fruit is not picked with one pull (fT1302). When the *boa* is not killed with one blow of a machete, the blade is dulled and *boa* gets away (DHR20).^{cxv} In other situations, impediments can refer to walking, as when someone is *shinguriado* by *shapingo* forest demons (DHR17);^{cxvi} success with other women – by one’s ex-wife (fT1212); or the growing of fruits – if fruit is picked small and green, the example is set and the fruit continues to grow small and green. Doña Germe jokingly told me about the level of drunkenness at a party at the other end of the village: “They are already well *shinguriados!*” (fT1212) – in this case, influenced and impeded by *trago*.

¹⁴¹In a LUS vocabulary list: *shingurear*: “make ineffectual or ruin someone’s luck” (Aucayacu 2015).

¹⁴² According to Jaime Regan (2011: 156), the verb *cutipar* comes from Quichua: to deliver, to return, and to interchange. In another LUS web list, *cutipar* is glossed as “to infect; to pass the physical or behavioural characteristics of an animal to a person” (Wikcionario 2015).

4.2.2. *Cutipar*

In some cases synonymous with *shinguriar*,^{cxvii} the verb *cutipar* usually refers to initiating a trajectory of differentiation within the other entity which follows or copies the originator's property.¹⁴³ Examples of this commonplace infliction are too numerous to describe in any detail here. Mostly, it causes post-partum restrictions,¹⁴⁴ because newborns, whose bodies, as “shells” or containers, are too soft to prevent an entry of other qualities within them, are especially prone to such imparting (see also Ch. 2).^{cxviii} In adults, this can happen in critical moments, most of all, when suffering from snakebites or other open wounds (but also during the initiating sorcerer's “diet”). At these vulnerable times, an adult can be *cutipado* by the presence or the gaze of a pregnant woman (the quality of her swollen belly may contaminate the wound^{cxix}), men who have recently had sex (the state described as *maldormido*,^{cxx} which no one was able to explain, and which I connect with the act of penetration), or drunk people. The gaze or sight of some beings, such as jaguar,^{cxxi} or *yacurunas* (water people) can also *cutipar* or *shinguriar*. It is said that noise has a harmful influence on the sick.^{cxxii} The smell of faeces could *cutipar* the wound (causing rotting and bad smells) (DHR23). To contextualize further, manioc beer is processed by women chewing – and therefore the addition of saliva (i.e. process of *endulzar*, sweetening) – is called *masato cutipado*. Also, Don Pablo said jokingly that the hen with unusually short legs that walked about his patio has been *cutipado* by the only little man we all knew (fT1208).

Similarly, affliction by *malaire* (lit. “evil air”) or the state of being *airado* (“aired through”) operates on the same premise: permeation by the “wind,” draught of evil, cold air or the smell of the invisible spirit of a deceased person, *tunchi*. This is sometimes described by using the verb *shingurear* (DHR20).

The distinctions between the above terms are not very rigid. In all cases, I understood them as paralleling *ejemplar* in describing ways of influencing another entity's fate by implanting a differentiating content, similar to *maldecir* or *mal agüero*, or in fact, “the thoughts/feelings” and so on in Ch.2. It is therefore interesting to note another way of describing this influence, which connects with *ejemplar* as “paying” or “vengeance” (Sect. 3).

¹⁴³ Cf. *senankin*, “infect with a quality” (for example, laziness) (Loos & Loos 2003: 323).

¹⁴⁴ Cf. Rivière 1974; Menget 1979; Taylor 1996; Rival 1998; Vilaça 2002.

In 1960, E. Loos quoted an explanation of a Capanahua person: “If we don’t see any other reason for [disease] we blame it on the spirit of the deer or tapir and call it ‘deer disease’ or ‘tapir disease.’” He explained that people he knew on the Buncuya often attributed disease “to the presence of one of these foreign spirits within the body of the sick person, especially if no outward cause can be observed” (Loos 1960: 14). Recently, he (2009-14) informed me that these afflictions would literally be called “diseases” in Capanahua: e.g. *ʔawapan ʔisin* [lit. disease caused by tapir]. Yet, Doña Ermisha used a more simple way of expressing the cause of a baby’s illness: “*shinun kupini*.” Doña Germe explained this expression as “the capuchin monkey *cutipa*” (GSR06),^{cxiii} thus, literally, “[state] owed to the capuchin monkey.” This likely refers to an adverb *kupi*, “because of,” which might also express gratitude in Capanahua or in LUS as used by the villagers: “*Mia kupi taʔ ʔen piʔ*” [because of you I am eating] (Loos & Loos 1976a: 78).¹⁴⁵ But it could also come from the verb *kupikin*, “to avenge, return, reciprocate, correspond” (Loos & Loos 2003: 141), which is not limited to vengeance, but expresses a more general idea of exchange or transmission of a property. It is indeed a Capanahua equivalent for expressing the idea of *ejemplar* or causing (*por*). Here, that would be a “property” of the capuchin monkey’s fidgetiness introduced into the baby’s body.

4.2.3. *Curar*

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning some examples of how people attempt to harness a similar process of imparting. Such action can be called *curar* [lit. curing]. As a poignant example, Daniel told me about a particular communal work party working on a cut-through on the river that would shorten the trips made upriver in the flood season. According to Daniel, some time before that day, Ronal went upriver and drew a line on the land separating two fragments of the river, using the claw of a giant armadillo (*yacunturu*). When the party arrived on the chosen day, it turned out that this procedure did not bring a result. There was still work to do, so everyone grabbed a shovel or machete. Some said that the proper way to do this would be to repeat the procedure three times. Then, as Daniel explained, “the *yacunturu*” would begin to dig and work. The effect would augment – the line would get wider, water

¹⁴⁵ Or *Mia kupi taʔ ʔen hiwetai* [“Gracias a ti, ahora voy a vivir,” lit. “Because of you I am alive” (Loos & Loos 1976a: 52), or *Mia kupi taʔ ʔen piʔ* [“*Muchas gracias*,” lit. “I eat because of you”] (ibid.: 78-79). A common expression in Spanish used by Capanahua descendants is: “*Por tí estoy comiendo/fumando* etc.” - e.g., “You were going to die, (...) and I have cured you,” she said. ‘Yes, thank you, I told her. I am alive because of you,’ I said” (DHR19).

would flow in and the edges would start to crumble inwards, eventually creating a passage (fT1212). I understood that a detached property (that is, *yushin*), of *yacunturu* – which is the animal’s capacity to dig with highly efficient claws – would with this incepting or planting procedure be applied to the line and would work on augmenting it, like the wondrous tools of the powerful mythic owner figures, or like the bodily exemplifying, *mal agüero* or *cutipar* infections.

There are many other similar ways of transmitting or introducing desired properties. Daniel told me that if a pregnant woman roasts plantains, the fruit “know” the sex of the foetus. If it is a girl, the plantains signal this by splitting the peel. If one prefers a boy, then a small stick can be put inside the split to imitate a little penis. Another way of influencing the sex of the future foetus is for the woman to eat the roasted penis of aráu turtle (DHR20).^{cxxiv} The tears of caiman or vulture, animals said to have clear (*lindo*) eyes, are considered a cure for conjunctiva degeneration in the eye. In the procedure, one catches the animal, and then pricks its eye with a needle, so that a tear flows. This is then dropped into the patient’s eye, and the animal is set free. As the default state of clarity of the eye returns, so too does the eye of the patient (fT1210). The condition is also cured by using the urine of a newborn boy,^{cxxv} Don Benigno heard on the radio. In yet another example, a hunter chews hot *ají charapita* peppers, so that additional pain is inflicted when the pellet he shoots hits the game animal. Even if it is only wounded, the pain will prevent the animal from fleeing (fT1209).

For similar reasons, my *comadre* Meri asked me to clip my godson’s first long fingernails. The purpose, I learned, was to convey the properties she and her family perceived in me, to my little *ajihado* (see Ch. 4). The same is achieved by his first haircut. As Doña Germe (Meri’s mother) told me at this occasion: “They say it is so that he will be like the one who is cutting, if he is a hard-worker, [the child] will be the same – or if he’s a learner, the same”^{cxxvi} (GSR11). Likewise, powdered claws, blood or the fat of the giant anteater, southern tamandu, or giant armadillo – animals said to possess extraordinary strength and strong claws, are given to little children to ingest or are rubbed into their bodies during the new moon, so that they develop strength. The same goes for the black agouti or squirrel teeth (rubbed on the teeth) or chambira palm fibers (tied around the ankles), and other such treatments.^{cxxvii} My *comadre* laughed as she told me that when another woman heard her worrying that

little Lucas was losing his hair, she asked: “Well, why did you take that kind of a *padrino*?” – referring to my shiny scalp (fT1212).

4.2.4. Implanting knowledge

Examples of this kind are numerous. They demonstrate that Capanahua descendants use similar premises to explain the origins of diseases and their cures or preventive measures (4.2.), as well as misfortunes and ways of implanting future states (4.1).

Further, in most cases, the implanting does not seem to be intentionally malignant, but instead is attributed to the “strength” of the originator’s characteristics or the weakness of the affected person’s blood (*sangre débil*). At the same time, the fact that something is able to *cutipar* or *shinguriar* is a reason to say that it has a *yushin* or *dueño* [owner], as some of its quality “exits” in the container (Ch. 2). Daniel would therefore say that a thing has a *yushin* because it is able to implant its quality into something else. For instance a football has a *yushin* because it *cutipa* newborns, causing their bellies to swell (DHR20), and peach (*pijuayo*) palm has an “owner” because it *shingurea* the person who is not skilful in picking the fruit with the first pull (fT1302). Similarly with the giant armadillo’s detached property working on the line drawn by Ronal.

The ability to intentionally implant or infect sickness as described above is the distinctive attribute of a *brujo*, be it a human, tree or animal such as the river dolphin. It is what an aspiring sorcerer aims to master. In fact, the harm made by a sorcerer can also be described as effected through *shinguriar*,^{cxviii} or *chuntear*.^{cxix} One morning Don Benigno found out that someone cut the very bottoms of the coconuts hanging on his little tree, drank the milk and left the empty shells on the tree as if they were intact. While he laughed at the audacity, Don Benigno was also upset. Too bad, he told me, that the *purga* (knowledgeable plants) does not “like” him (i.e. the owners of trees refused to visit him in dreams when he “drank them” [their concoctions, or “raisin/blood”] as a cure) and therefore he cannot become a *brujo*. He would *shinguriar* the tree so that whoever touched the coconut would end up with their hands paralysed in an upward position. He would then tell them: “So, did you plant these coconuts?!” (fT1212). For non-specialists, the only thing left to do when revenge is required is to approach a *brujo*, either in human or tree form. I mentioned before that the human *brujo*’s service can be contracted. Similarly, one can address

the tree *brujo*: leave a piece of someone's clothing in a hole made in the *pucalupuna* (sorcerer) tree and cover it again so that the bark can heal. A gift of tobacco and a short explication to the owner of the tree is in order. As a result, the owner of the clothes takes on the swollen quality of the sorcerer tree and dies in agony with a swollen belly. In every case, *brujería* consists of imparting a differentiating element or quality, that could be said to rely on a mastery of "knowledge" of such implanting (cf. "knowing" as synonym for sorcery skills in Ch. 2).

5. Some generative-frustrative patterns

The aim of this chapter has been to present examples that illustrate the nature and terms of the generative or causative processes. This overview demonstrates that the dynamics of *ejemplar* (Sect. 1-3) are closely connected conceptually with those of implanting (Sect. 4), and indeed use the same "techniques." This discussion could be extended to representations of causality in historical accounts, such as the "example" of *minga* drinking introduced from the Buncuya that afflicts Limón, or the "example" of stinginess "taught" by the mestizos. It could also be identified in daily life, as when being in a certain state or not is said to be "because of" someone or an event, or when sickness of a sick dog is referred to as God's *castigoto* the animal, and so on. In general, I would argue, these formulations by the villagers share a reliance on the imagery of the transferences of certain pathogenic elements. This presumes the containing quality of the entities and results in specific dynamics, which can be understood in relation to, and further explain, the topological categories discussed in previous chapters. The points below draw out some of these implications.

5.1. Production of containment

It is important to summarize those examples of implanting that are at the centre of the causal imagery. As seen, the process of the introduction of difference, insemination, exemplifying and implanting can be understood in terms of the introduction of a pathogenic property/element into another entity. Such language operates on the assumption that surfaces are penetrated and internal fields are created behind them. This is the act of penetration between entities, which entails the transference of properties, sometimes through substances, across surfaces.

It occurs across the examples of this chapter, when the entity is still "fresh" – that is, not yet hardened on the outside, thus permeable. This would be the case for

children, especially newborns (see also Ch. 2). It may also correspond with the way the condition of the world is presented in stories of the *antiguos*, as the time when “the people and the earth were still new (*be'natian*).” Many prescriptions for *curar* (of children, dogs, tools, etc.) also emphasize the need that they be undertaken during the phase of a new moon.¹⁴⁶ In all these cases, it is a state of permeability and thus exposure to the introduction of foreign elements. Internalization also happens when the entity is open, for example, when people have open wounds, especially snakebites. Introduction may also take place through regular routes of internalization: consuming, smelling, inhaling, listening, seeing, touching. The introducer may also teach, plant, inseminate, shoot, feed, cut open, extract, permeate, curse, point, look or be perceived, blow, spit or shit, etc. Foreign agents enter into a guarded field of manioc, or when little animals like the squirrel or mouse enter houses to become the teaching “owners” of knowledge, or when animals enter mosquito nets, or human spaces, such as the *choro* monkey mentioned before.

These dynamics are actively used by the specialists in such infliction, the sorcerers, and to some extent by other people, in producing or avoiding it. In every case, the critical importance of moments of penetration means that the manner in which it is accomplished also influences or incepts the outcomes. Therefore, one needs to bathe before planting pineapple, so that the fruits will grow clean and/or juicy (fT1204; fT1202). Seeds of the peach palm should be planted after being scraped smooth so that the tree that grows has little spines on its stem, or they might be painted with achiote, so that the fruits will be red. Similarly, if a baby is conceived when parents are drunk, it is said to come out “ugly” or deformed. The mother is advised not to walk outside at night because the spirits of the dead might *cutipar* the breasts with which she feeds the baby (DHR06). An interesting reverse example from a story is where the *antiguos* get together to eat their dead and all present are warned to close their ears so as not to hear the crack of a skull being opened, that, I suspect, would cause harm to their own heads^{xxxx} (DHR19).

In the receiver, these processes of penetration produce an internalization of a content, resulting in an internal differentiation, swelling, mimesis of the introduced

¹⁴⁶ Thus there is a connection between the newness of the moon and the state of the rest of the world. One way of interpreting this is that new (*luna verde*[green] or *nueva* [new], or *lune be'nati* [moon new]) is soft (*suave*), as the babies' bodies-containers are said to be. The other is that it is “open” – I heard, for example, that an increase in rainfall accompanies the position of the moon wherein the “open” side points downwards.

element, an inception of alteration from the original state of non-differentiation, which is not only ambivalent but, as the examples show, usually ruinous. As mentioned before (Ch. 2), the appearance of the internal containment of difference, or “sin” articulates as the opacity of human externality, the body. This would further explain the representations of concealed containing that lie at the heart of preoccupations in Ch. 1 and 2, where internal containing is opposed to external unity, and containing radical difference, beyond the normal human voids, is dangerous.

With the idea of penetrations as potentially ruinous, and yet defining the human condition, we can return to the words of Don Romer, and appreciate the ominous significance of orifices as gates for such infections in the parting curse of Jesus Christ:

“Why have you eaten from the forbidden tree!? From this tree that is the most prohibited! Oh, yes, you have blemished the earth (...)” – to the woman he said – “Eva, from now on [*adelante*, ahead] you, too, will suffer. Your husband will command you to wash the clothes, to cook and carry water. To do everything in the house and to raise children. And when you give birth, you will feel lots of pain (...). You are going to suffer greatly. And so you, Adam, who is of the hole in the ground (...) The day you die, you will turn into the dirt of the earth. You have five senses – he said – through a hole you breath, through a hole you urinate and through a hole you shit. And to the hole in the earth you will return. The grave.” – said Jesus Christ to Adam. And thus they bury us. Because he left an example, dying on the cross of Calvary, just for our sin.^{cxxxii} (RPR07)

5.2. The implanted elements

The last observations in section 4 are crucially important for identifying the transferred “elements.” The basic assumption that *brujo* masters the “knowledge” of implanting can be opened further, because the process itself of acquiring such sorcery “knowledge” consists of implanting it (as a substance/quality) within an aspiring sorcerer (Ch. 2). “Knowledge” in this context is a quality or characteristic that may be transferred or imparted. We could infer that it is this “knowledge” itself (blown darts, spirit helpers and the substance are all glossed as *yachai*) that is being implanted into the unprepared recipients, and which proceeds to consume them. It is also such quality/characteristic/knowledge that is implanted in the other cases discussed in section 4, furthering the significance of voice or words in cursing as carrying “knowledge.” This observation could be extended to the discussion of *ejemplar* (Sect. 1-3) as implanting qualities that have not been “known” before and thus condition frustrations-origins, or “secrets” or “instruments” conditioning the power of efficacy (Ch. 2). Further, if we consider that interpenetrations have in Ch. 1 been shown as

constitutive of “knowing” between persons or place-times, “knowledge,” with its substantial-qualitative connotations revealed here, comes to stand as one of the most important existential categories in the villagers’ explanations. It could act as a lens to look at the instruments of perceptibility or sociality contained in or composing specific place-times (Ch. 1). Further, if the quality of a being is its “knowledge,” it would concede more substance to daily expressions such as *no sabe podrir* [doesn’t know how to spoil] (Ch. 1), etc. Generally, then, from this perspective, the world would appear to be composed of containers of such “knowledge” (qualities), and relations between them to be the function of flows of such “knowledge” (substance), with the needs or voids they create constituting them as separate, differentiated containers, or owners (Ch. 2). In this context, referring to a “quality” as “property” validly plays with the genitive connotation.

Furthermore, from the viewpoint created in this chapter, at the cosmic-temporal level, such “knowledge” or specific quality of being could be seen as the being’s particular punishment, *castigo*, inflicted by another “owner” in the past. A mangy dog can be said to be *castigado* by God because of his “sins,” as Doña Germe once did. More generally – the human condition, menstruations, “suffering to have” – are the results of such “punishments.” Thus, for the villagers, admitting to possessing a specialized “knowledge” is also ambiguous, just as having a separate “spirit” or divergent “inside” (Ch. 2). The reverse is being *tranquilo nomás*, *normal* for the outside – not differentiated, not being a “radical” container and not “knowing” too much of the other domains (Ch. 1) (although it needs to be remembered that some containing is natural).

This view, finally, allows us to notice how the homonymy of *ejemplar* as telling and making “*ejemplo*” collapses into a synonymy. If we consider old people’s stories to be words from other, imperceptible place-times, we could actually think of the acts of telling those stories as implanting the specialized, diverse “knowledge,” that is, “inseminating” new places or generations of people with the specific kind of passed knowledge. Following this thought, I would note that in Capanahua, these stories are called *hui*, synonymous with “the language.” The villagers’ ideas about the language construe it as “words” (*hui, palabras*), understood as the “names” (*nombres, hane*) of specific things, and the names of groups of people or persons that can be referred to as their “words/language.” From this perspective, talking to children in the language,

telling them old stories or bestowing names¹⁴⁷ can be understood as the parallel activities of bestowing, introducing, “uploading” that would echo the kinds of non-substantial, containing or uniting heritage or “descent” in the form of names, souls or prerogatives, in other parts of Amazonia.¹⁴⁸ Interestingly, more explicit connection between these stories of origin and descent is made in the expressions to “know/tell origin/descent” (*contar/conocer generación/decendencia*), where the latter are as much stories, as referring to a category/name and the genealogical connections (Ch. 4). In as much as it can be seen as a form of reproduction, such transmission or implanting of “knowledge” (as “words”) also parallels other such processes of transference (as “properties”). In fact, the connection of language, *hui* with heart and blood (Ch. 2), leads to the next chapter, where I explore the connection between an idea of “blood” and (sur)names. Here, I will note that stories, language, or words of the *antiguos* – as other kinds of “descent” – are expected by the villagers to be fading and forgotten in present spaces, while new stories, names and languages appear from other “foreign” place-times. In any case, possessing another (different) language, just as knowledge or spirit, is internally complicating and shameful in the outside. It is an infliction of the past or the origins.

5.3. Reversal of containment

There are further implications of this imagery that are essential for the discussion of generative process in persons and between generations that I develop over the next chapters. The first is replacing.

Firstly, refining the idea of the inceptive production of containment in the presented “examples,” I suggest that it consists of a transference of the level of containment, that is, of the very status of “owner.” The “original” constellation includes co-contained, neighbouring bodies, joined but separate, as in the image of *alegría* sociality (Ch. 1 and 2). Their coexistence is mediated or “contained” by a transcending, external entity. They are either being fed, contained and provided for by the external sponsor or “owner,” or reproduced through an external “container” such as the shell in the story of the origin of sex (Appendix 6.55). This “third” entity focuses or mediates the relations or exchanges and frees the wards from mutual

¹⁴⁷ Among other Panoans, alternative generations reproduce by bestowing names and creating relations of replacement, *xutabu* (cf. McCallum 2001, Townsley 1988). I return to this relation and surnames in the next chapter.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Introduction.

interpenetrations and “suffering.” Therefore, the critical move of stealing or inseminating consists of changing the level of containment or “owning” to the level of persons, which forces mutual relations between participants. They now become responsible for maintaining manioc, or for their internally contained foetuses, and “suffer” the labour and woes of owner/container. In other words, former containees develop internal voids and are directed towards each other to fill them, developing relations of containment (pregnancy), producing more containment (children).

Furthermore, this idea can be further fine-tuned if we notice that this transference is also essentially a switch of containing positions. I have signalled it apropos the difference of perspectives on children as either inside or outside of the social spaces of their parents (Ch. 1 and 2). It is a crucial moment/place, where the perspective on the social space is everted. As I noted in the “adult” phase of the earthworm’s son’s story, it can be seen as portraying a transition from a wilful child of a potentially disastrous foreign descent, containing the radical stranger “inside,” to a potential benevolent “external” owner. This is where the folding back between the contained and containees (i.e. generations) or the switch of inside and outside perspectives takes place. In this new position, *xakú bake* attempts to become the creator, sponsor of an “outside” for his maternal family, and to contain their divergence. In other examples, transference of the level of containment can similarly be seen as such switch. The wards take over the space, and come to contain the remains of the original owners, such as the knowledge of manioc cultivation, for example. This is where younger generations come to contain older ones alongside their own children, who are also the “seeds” that these predecessors left. I will return to the reversal of containment between the old and young in the in Ch. 5, and the replacing will become clearer in the next chapter’s discussion of kinship imagery.

The parallels of relations between inside and outside with those between the figure of the owner (*dueño*, *ʔbu*) and the wards, or containees should by now be obvious.

5.4. Diminishment

Finally, for the villagers the last implication of causality and temporality in these formulations of “originating” is diminishing. Although the claimants to ownership in the stories eventually succeed in all cases – the “property” that they receive or stay with is already broken, less efficient, a reminder of what it used to be

by the power of its original owner. The annoyed owner's "parting gifts" are drained of their self-perpetuating power: the earth domain exerts self-reliance, manioc cultivation and human reproduction require hard and painful work. As Doña Florentina's image of snapping instruments powerfully illustrates, they become mortal. As much as their transmission could be seen as the transition of ownership to the claimants, the new owning positions are already faulty. The frustration and diminishment of the original owners by their containees is "exemplified," and thus reproduced – as "punishment" or "memento" – when these claimants themselves become (always lesser) owners/containers/parents. Humans are themselves compelled, by whichever original frustration, to reproduce this very frustration again and again, and are ultimately incapable of living perfectly well and clear on this earth (Ch. 2). Therefore, that originally created void or diminishment (abandonment by the authentic owner) is replicated and enhanced with every consecutive switch, thus reproducing the original loss. This means that the switch between domains and perspectives involves their "natural," increasing diminishment. This, I suggest, is responsible for the "devolutionary" tendency of the villagers' interpretations (Sect. 2.3.) of the expected, given the flow of time in general. Every next generation is conceived of as the small fragment of stem broken off by the manioc thief from the original manioc plant's stem (see Ch. 4).

Conclusion

The previous section summarizes the presentation of this chapter. In general, it shows that the dynamics of *ejemplar*, synonymous with causality and generative-frustrative processes, can be made meaningful in terms of movements of penetrating and introducing differentiating elements, parallel to the movements responsible for distortions of health at the level of the human body. Therefore, as much as causality of *ejemplar* can be thought of in terms of inseminations (Sect. 3), it can also be compared to curses and/or pathogenic infections (Sect. 4). The next chapter shows that these two parallels meet in the Capanahua descendants' explanations of procreation. Here, I conclude by saying that the villagers diagnose the present human condition, with its perishability, recurring voids and the necessity to labour and reproduce in pain – in short, the suffering in life – as the "unnaturally natural" condition of the world. In other words, it is an infliction, the sickness or curse transmitted by (or rather, "as") the generative process itself. With such nature of the

world, reproduction itself, as much as it is a generative or originating process, is essentially pathogenic, “conditioning frustration” – it is an inception of the end. From this viewpoint, time is a devolutionary story of death and perishing.

These general characteristics of the generative processes, causality and temporality can now be checked against, and elaborated, in the imagery of human generative process, the production of children and its traces as “descent” in the following chapter.

Chapter 4.

Between the tree trunks: Articulation and taming of infliction

The focus in this chapter, shifts from the general formulations of the frustrative-generative dynamic itself presented so far, to the terms and idioms expressing it in the human generative process. I trace the consequences of this dynamic for human reproduction and formulations of descent and kinship (Sect. 1). Here the perspective is located in the mediatory and transitory position of the pathogenic-generative “third” element, articulated first between the formative entities or originalities, at the level of human bodies in procreation, and then at the “group” level in broader reproduction. It relies on the identification of the devolutionary pattern illustrated in the imagery of the tree trunk and the branches, which results in wide reaching hierarchic explanations of kinship and sociality. Having identified these formulations, I examine their relevance for ways of participating in sociality. I approach one ideal strategy conceived by the villagers as possibly capable of harnessing that process by taming its products (Sect. 2). That strategy shows the necessity to assume a larger temporal or cross-generational perspective, transcending the relations directly involved in marriage and procreation, in order to tame the destructive aspects of the process embodied in children. I also signal another solution to the problem in the last section.

In the example of the drunken speech that opens this thesis, N. invoked identities that he associated with the acts of procreation by his parents. His surname was Rojas and *ʔÁyubu* because his father “engendered” him, and he was a Pehchabo or *Neabu* because his mother “dropped him into this world.” He also mentioned that his father was denigrated by others as the supposed recipient of the “noble” surname from a foreigner as his godson. Yet, for N., he was the very “tree trunk,” “knowledgeable” (cf. Ch. 3) *ʔÁyubu* and a legitimate *viracucha*. It placed him “ahead” (*adelante*) of his cousins, whose surname order is Pehchabo Rojas, with the noble name “behind” (*atrás*), making them and some others, *ʔinabu* [pets or slaves] or *cholos* [peons] in relation to himself. This introduction is representative of the way of

tracing and speaking about identities. This chapter approaches the meaning of such statements.

1. Procreation and its mortal consequences

Here, I concentrate on how the above, standard ways of defining identity (as name or surname), and “real kinship” (*familia legítima*) through “blood” or “birth” operate on idioms of procreation used by the villagers. When I asked about how these expressions related to the imagery of conception, the matter was not unequivocally formulated, and people used several ways of explaining and discussing these representations. I argue that their ultimately problematic, discussed character forms an important feature, based on the underlying, inherent problem of a procreative dynamic that corresponds to other infections discussed in previous chapter and containments mentioned in Ch. 2.

This section is devoted to reviewing some of the most common ideas on this range, as well as to kinship/identity categories, which tend to be associated and debated alongside. Starting with the procreative mechanism, I look at the specific formulations of the inseminating dynamic and its terms, and then proceed to consider some of their consequences for people’s identities. In a larger perspective, this section addresses the articulation of the generative-frustrative relation resulting from interpenetration at the level of persons.

1.1. The “making” mechanism

The villagers associate conception with sexual intercourse, and this singular act is normally deemed sufficient for conception.¹⁴⁹ In LUS, this is described as *hacer relaciones* [making relations] or simply *hacer* [making], *relacionar* [relationing], as well as *convivir* [live with] or *darle* [give her] (cf. transferences as “relations” in Ch. 2). It is also expressed in the violence-based idioms of *usar* [use], *violar* [violate], *chocar por ahí* [smash there]. In Capanahua, having intercourse is described by the verbs *chutakin*, to have sex; *?a?kin*, which is a multivalent verb, also used for consuming food or drink, creating or making, saying, piercing, shooting, killing, etc. (Loos & Loos 2003: 147); the use of another complex verb *i?kin* also connotes a state of being/living (with) (Loos & Loos 2003: 156). The imagery that this vocabulary

¹⁴⁹ People sometimes added, laughing, that continued lovemaking with a pregnant woman is inadvisable, as the continuous poking of the foetus by the penis may result in the baby developing a deformed head. This is contrary to other Amazonians’ idea that repeated sexual relations are necessary to form the baby (cf. Beckerman & Valentine 2002).

already evokes relies on the transference associated with penetration. Its construal appears to be another instantiation of exemplifying, infecting, cursing, or inseminating discussed in the previous chapters. The following presentation confirms this, and I return to draw out its implications for understanding kinship in the villages before moving to the next section.

1.1.1. The infliction

The act of conception is described by the verb *engendrar* [engender], and *bakeati* [to make offspring] in Capanahua. Another idiom occasionally used is *merani* [to find], reflected in LUS *encontrar* [encounter]. In either case, it is commonly associated with the male, and the temporally primary role of the father.^{cxxxii} The real (*legítimo*) father is the one who engendered the child, that is, placed it in the mother's womb. In Capanahua, men can be referred to descriptively as the “makers of offspring,” *bakeanika[?]bu*¹⁵⁰ (Loos & Loos 2003: 68).

Specific explanations of conception conform to the imagery revealed in the above vocabulary of transference. Overall, it is described as the placement of an element extracted from the man's body within the body of the woman. Identifications of this element vary. However, after hearing spontaneous expressions similar to the one made by Daniel: “[his real father] only placed him, with his larvae, his egg”^{cxxxiii} (DHR21), I began to notice that many of the representations of conception reverted to the imagery borrowed from a dynamic of parasitic infection. In Don Baudilio's words:

(ŁK: How did your dad explain it to you – what happens when they have sex, what makes the baby?) (...) He would tell me: for your child to form, you drop your worm. (...) And this already becomes... it grows, as a human, a human being grows, from this worm (...) (ŁK: is it like *xakú*? [worm, cf. Ch. 2, 3]) *Xakú*, yeah, that's it. Exactly. This is what a human being drops, the man. (...) If you drop two inside [of the woman]: two grow. If your drop one, one. That's what my dad used to say. *Haa ta nun kaicha[?]i* [that is how we multiply/reproduce], he would say. (ŁK: So the mother does nothing?) Noothing, she only keeps it in her belly, that's it. There it grows, the *xakú* that you gave her.^{cxxxiv} (BSR01)

Therefore, the popular explanation makes sense of the pathogenic-generative element as, quite explicitly, a parasite. The father implants (*poner* [place], *botar* [drop], etc.): a worm, larvae or an egg [*gusano*, *shinguito*, or *huevo*] inside the woman's body. Some people consistently identified this element as *microbio*

¹⁵⁰ From *bake*, child; *-a-*, to make; *-nika-*, nominalizer describing actions or states which are habitual; *-[?]a[?]bu*, a set of entities “being referred to as.”

[microbe] (BRS18; RPR06) (which in other situations might be associated with dirt that causes sickness), or *célula* [cell]:

(LK: So how is a baby made?) The baby appears from a cell, from a cell of a man (LK: What's a *célula* [cell]?) It's the microbe that a man has... (...) [the baby] is made in *relación* [sex]. There's a number of these microbes, (...) but there is one that is going to stay. (...) From this one the little creature forms (...). The microbe is like a little worm/larvae, it goes on growing. First, its eyes [grow], then its body (...).^{cxxxv} (GSR02)

Still others questioned these identifications: Ronal laughed when I asked him about the term *gusanito* (RPH05), and Don Benigno did not seem to recall his parents talking about the larvae or *microbio* (BRS18).

Secondly, the most literal identification of the introduced element, “semen” (*semen*, *huru*),^{cxxxvi} which may also be referred to as the “father’s milk” (*leche del padre*), and most importantly, as “blood” (*sangre*)^{cxxxvii}. In fact, the villagers may speculate that semen, just as mother’s milk, is quite literally “blood,” as I demonstrate below.

Situating “blood” alongside the other formulations of the introduced element, parasitic infection, facilitates understanding the position of blood in the categories it produces, which has profound consequences for the dynamics of tracing and postulating descent. This is elucidated in the following sections. Here, in simple terms, the genitor’s blood is understood as an extracted element, which assumes a foreign, often ambivalent status within the host body, as does the worm or larvae. For one, this is claimed whenever people spontaneously declare that it is the father who engenders children, while the mother “merely” contains and releases the baby, as asserted by N. in his speech. Secondly, it is often mentioned that the offspring possesses predominantly, if not exclusively (this is debated), the blood of the father. Don Benigno initially told me about a specific way of formulating a certain relatedness category by his Capanahua speaking parents, and his elderly, mostly Capanahua speaking aunt living in Limón, and Doña Olga, later confirmed this (ORBo2). This category, *?en himi* [my blood] related, according to these initial conversations, exclusively to the patrilineal kin:

I don't have my mom's blood. Only dad's (...). I am the milk of my father, the milk that we are, blood of the real father. For example, you are the milk of your father, right? A real *himi* of your dad. Of the mom: no, not so much. Mom drops us into the

world, into the light of day. (...) But our dad has engendered us and we are... we carry [his] blood. Milk of your father, that's what it says.^{cxxxviii} (BRS11)

Here, the separateness of introduced blood is the most explicit, and seems to be grounded in the idea that a man's contribution has exclusive role in the creation of the foetus. Even more exclusively, for Don Benigno, *?en himi* referred only to his adjacent generations, so that father, sons and daughters were his *himi*, but not his grandfather or grandchildren (BRS11; BRS13).

1.1.2. The host

Complementary descriptions of the woman's role in conception and procreation concentrate on containing, quite explicitly comparable to a "nest." This is how Don Benigno explained the Capanahua idiom *bakeatibu*, which I found in the dictionary (2003: 68): "because we can enter into... well, inside of them, that's why it says *?a?ki bakeatibu* [lit. inside of those in which one makes children¹⁵¹] (ŁK: So a woman is just like a nest?) [laughs] That's it! Of course" (BRS12).^{cxxxix} As related in the story of the *antiguos* mentioned in Ch. 3, the bad example of the mischievous brown capuchin monkeys led to the transferral of the container status to the women's bodies (Appendix 6.55). Thus, again, when people say today that the mother contributes space within her own body, but not the blood, the imagery parallels that of the men's "milk" stored in gourd containers by the women in the times of the *antiguos*.

Moreover, there is a further idiom of containment in both LUS and Capanahua, which produces another category of relatedness and evokes an important image. While the villagers may distinguish umbilical cord (*umbliego*) from placenta (*placenta*) in some situations, they tend to refer to them jointly with the same term for intestines, *tripa*.^{cxl} The corresponding Capanahua idiom is *xama*, used for both the placenta and umbilical cord, and similarly, also interchangeable with *puku*, the intestines.¹⁵²

¹⁵¹ From *?a?ki*, towards/of; *bakeati*, a nest [lit. *bake* children; *-a-* to make; *-ti-* nominalizer], and *-bu*, plural or generic.

¹⁵² E. Loos' notes (Loos nd.d) differentiate *xama* as placenta from *hawen puku*, the umbilical cord (or intestine). I note the conceptual connection between the generative and gestational system reflected in *Nawishnika*'s curse for women – to give birth through their *pu'inki* or *culo* (anus, rather than *chishpi*, *vagina*) (see Ch. 3) – but I am not able to explain it at this point. Interestingly, *xama* has been used for the base around which a basket is "weaved," but I have not heard explicit connections being made between the two processes.

This idiom provides ways of speaking about relations between siblings. For example, when Daniel defined a connection with a “real” sister as based on having been born *igual* (the same [way]), he was making use of a category referring to the successive births between siblings: “we have the same *umbliego* - you can be a piece of my *umbliego*, then another, and another”^{cxli} (DHR27).¹⁵³ More specifically, a sibling born directly after the ego could be referred to as “his piece of intestine” (*hawaen puku teke, su pedazo de tripa/umbliego*), or simply “his piece” (*su pedazo*), and the ego may be said to be “a piece”¹⁵⁴ of the directly preceding sibling.^{cxlii} As with the “blood,” this category only applies to adjacent positions. Here, the ubiquitous temporal hierarchy of front and behind or before and after (cf. devolution in Ch. 3), is found by the villagers even between twins, as suggested by Don Benigno’s musing:

First, one comes out. The other stays behind there, inside. After a while, the other comes out. Like that (ŁK: Is that *puku teke*?) Well, I’d say not, because they come out the same... [But] the one who comes first, the older one has the other one as his *puku teke*, right? Like that. They come out, but not together at the same time. First one comes on the path, then the other comes behind.^{cxliii} (BRS12)

Such “intestine” also stands for the reproductive-containing organ per se. A barren woman may be said to have her *umbliego malogrado* [spoiled]. By counting knots on an umbilical cord one can also find out how many more babies the woman could still bear, which is associated with the number of “eggs” in her ovaries. The latter is explicitly compared to ovaries of birds or turtles (*huevera, puxen*), and Don Benigno described this as an “intestine.” What these representations evoke, therefore, is an image of a string of containments by the mother. The status of the “real” mother is associated with the woman who has contained the child in her intestine and released it to the world.

Yet, there is more. While the father’s role as the inceptor, or “maker,” is “active,” it seems to be construed as essentially “passive,” while that of the mother as the “recipient,” is quite “active” – it is she who suffers the labour associated with caring for the baby. Therefore, while the father’s role is compared to dropping the semen, “like a rooster,” according to Doña Luzmila (LCO01), the mother is attending to the demands of the foetus, and then to those of the baby after birth. In Daniel’s suggestive illustration, while the mother gets up at night to attend to the sick baby,

¹⁵³ Note that a sibling of the same sex is simply “another,” *wetsa*.

¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, the idiom of “part (of a whole)” is used by some northern Ge people in Brazil to refer to one’s kin (Coelho de Souza 2001).

the father remains in his bed and complains that he cannot sleep because of the crying^{cxliv} (DHR14). Most of all, the mother's containment is related to feeding. Thus, while the primary condition for recognizing the status of a "real" mother is having contained and dropped the baby into the world, in addition she [mother] has fed it. Once a woman becomes pregnant (*embarazada*, *preñada*, *tu'uya* [with a belly]), she is "screwed" (*jodida*).^{cxlv} Don Benigno often said pregnancy is a frightening state because of the potential complications or death resulting from difficult births. The mother also needs to feed the hungry, demanding being inside of her. This epitomizes the ambivalence attributed to all such contained living forms (cf. Ch. 2, especially the angry foetus). Although it is agreed that the foetus receives alimentation from the mother, the invisible mechanism of nurturing the child is a source of speculations.^{cxlvi} Some say that the child actually eats while the mother eats, and her *cría's* demands explain the mother's cravings (cf. Ch. 2). In any case, the word *críar* (rearing) for villagers is often synonymous with feeding.^{cxlvii}

This leads to an important issue, since the grounds for the mother's "right" (*derecho*) to the child are sometimes argued based on an understanding that she has not merely carried and raised, but she has also transmitted her blood into the child. This contradicts the above agnatic definition. When I talked to others, especially women, about the idea of exclusiveness of the father's blood in a child, they were sceptical of such an extreme unilateral transmission of "blood," which I understood to be associated with the Capanahua *antiguos*. Doña Luzmila and Germe reacted strongly:

...but to me that's between the man and woman – it [the baby] has the same blood, of the two. Mhm... Because there is no way that it's only from the man (...). It would be a different thing if the baby were to be born of you alone. Then it would have your [blood] only!^{cxlviii} (GSR07)

What!? Who lied to you saying it does not carry the blood [of the mother]! It does, of the two! (...) I say that it does carry [blood] of both [parents]... (...) Well, it is right that the man engenders, but the mother rears it!^{cxlix} (LCO01)

Here the transference of the mother's internal content, blood, to the baby is construed as rearing, which means feeding. It might be speculated, as I mentioned earlier, that a man's semen is literally blood, just as with the mother's milk. This was explained to me by Don Benigno himself, and confirmed by others (GSR02; GSR06)^{cl}:

(ŁK: How is it that they say semen and mother’s milk are blood if they are white?) It doesn’t have another colour, the same. It’s the same (ŁK: But milk is white) Yes, white, but if you add some lime juice, it becomes blood. The mother’s milk is white, as from a cow (...) normally it stays white, but add some acid, and it changes colour. It ends up red^{cli} (BRS09).

“If you don’t believe, go on and (...) squeeze some mother’s milk into a bowl (...) Then (...) pour lime juice [into it].” There it is: blood, they say. Already blood (...) Many people told me this, many times: so you could see for yourself, do this, they would tell me”^{clii} (BRS12)

From this perspective, the “real” mother is not only a container, she also introduces her blood into the baby through feeding. It is important to note here that while the moment of contribution of the mother’s blood is subject to differing interpretations (either still in the “intestine,” or “outside” with the mother’s milk), no one questioned the inceptive primacy of the father’s contribution. The mother’s contribution, when acknowledged, comes at a later point. Indeed, when I went back to Don Benigno, he admitted that a child contains the father’s blood, and that of the mother comes “behind” as “second” (*atrás, segundo*). Therefore, whether the father’s blood is exclusive or not, in the temporal hierarchy it ends up earlier, “in front,” and therefore, is primary (*adelante, primero*).¹⁵⁵ Moreover, symmetrically, it should be mentioned that men also come to “contain” in the sense of “raising” (feeding and sheltering) the child, but to a lesser extent. This role could also be attributed to stepfathers, adoptive fathers, godfathers and possibly fathers-in-law as “secondary” recipients. I will discuss this point later.

1.2. The results

The villagers use some social and kinship categories that can be understood in relation to the above formulations of procreation. First, I present some parallels of the language of parenting with the language of belonging, and then overview several categories based on this basic imagery of procreative relations more broadly, construed as traces left by the procreative processes in persons.

1.2.1. “Belonging”

In other spheres, the representations of relations establishing parenthood could be formulated as ownership. This is most explicit when these relations are

¹⁵⁵ Note that *bebu* in Capanahua stands for both “male” and “in front” or “first” (Loos & Loos 2003: 71). The connection is not purely linguistic. On our way to the field, Doña Ashuca once told me: “you go ahead, because you are a male.” Gender relations were often formulated as “in front” for men – “behind” for women, either by the Capanahua descendants themselves, or visiting strangers, such as the Shipibo missionaries.

spoken of in terms of the “right” (*derecho*) of the parent to the children, or having them “in (their) power” (*en su poder*) (cf. Ch. 2), and when the genitive language uses the generative idioms, where “mother” or “father” are synonyms for “owners.”¹⁵⁶ Yet, the very formulation of a position of containing other’s innermost substance or having others contain one’s own – is where the villagers’ generative language meets genitive language. Firstly, as pointed out several times in this thesis, there are the convergences between owning and containing. Such “motherly,” patterns of owning postulate containing elements of others. Here, I add that the idiom of “*nacido crecido*” [born and raised] as mentioned in reference to children’s outside (Ch. 1), could express the notion of “belonging to a land.” This is perhaps similar to *mananyura* [lit. “the body” of the ridge or highland] which is the idiom used for the original land where a group of *antiguos* lived (see Sect. 2). Secondly, owning of the “fatherly” kind may be identified in relations where an entity is merely marked, rather than contained.¹⁵⁷ One could, for example take a note of the fact that a hunter who shoots an animal without killing it may speak of it as belonging to him or as “owing”. The Capanahua descendants use a further popular idiom of belonging to a place, “having one’s intestine buried” [*tripa enterrado*] which refers to the practice of burying the placenta after birth. This might be read as owning the land by virtue of having a part of oneself in it. In such imagery, implanted in another body/form is one’s “element” – blood, semen, pellet or placenta.¹⁵⁸ In either case, parenthood seems to be about such permanent, primary markers.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ It is worth noting that the Cashinahua term for parents is *ibu* (D’Ans 1983), although the Capanahua descendants do not explicitly refer to parents as *dueños*, or *ibu*, owners.

¹⁵⁷ Notice that neither is this modality strictly gendered. Women who opposed the purely “containing” vision of the mother’s contribution claim implementation of the internal element, even if at a later stage.

¹⁵⁸ These considerations parallel the formulations of killer-victim (i.e. master-pet) relations in other Lowland contexts (e.g. Viveiros de Castro 1992; Fausto 1999; Villar 2004) and especially its relation to reproduction among Jivaroans (Taylor 1993b). Particularly striking in this context is the imagery of parasitic insemination found in the explanations of human procreation and the killing of enemies discussed by Dmitri Karadimas for the Miraña, Witoto and Andoke. Here, the foetus, originally implanted as a “soul” or “worm/larvae,” is conceived of as a cannibal being, hungry for the mother’s blood. Killing was explained in terms similar to insemination, and indeed leading to reproduction. These dynamics were formulated in terms of the “game of genders” (*le jeu des genres*) (Karadimas 2003: 510), which translate to the language used in this thesis as positions of containing.

¹⁵⁹ I have not been able to discuss the representations of masters of natural resources (cf. Ch. 5) and devote much space for explicit discussion of “owning,” although they can come to be seen as an underlying idea in this work. I hope to elucidate the theme on another occasion. Here, I will merely note that I have observed two ways of conceiving such ownership, either as *madre*, “mother” or as *dueño*, “owner.” In the usages I noted, one pattern describes a little insect, for example, controlling a larger entity, as the woodworm *madre*, of the tree trunk. In the other, the owner is a container, as the bee’s nest is an owner, *madre*, of the multitude of insects inside. It was not entirely gendered however, and as will be argued below, men can also “contain” that is, have under their care. Once, we watched an action movie, which portrayed a prison rebellion when Balán, Doña Germe’s son, referred to the ultra-masculine leader of the prisoners as the “mother” (*madre*). Further, it is never quite possible to tell if the contained element, the sorcerer’s helpers, for example, is owned by the sorcerer, or if the sorcerer is owned by them (cf. Fausto 1999). These eversible patterns or perspectives, as shown, can be used to think about the position of the children (or parents) as either an “inside” or “outside” (Ch. 1 and 2, 3 and 5).

One can notice connections between the language of “owning” and “knowing” from other dimensions that also apply to parenting. In Ch. 3, I suggested the closeness of the formulations of “knowledge” with “substance/qualities” (and by extension, stories or names) and their interpenetrations or transferences. In Capanahua, *ʔunan* can be translated as “getting to know.” The fact that it also describes the act of making markings or cuttings on a tree to mark one’s ownership of the tree (in logging) (*ʔunantiakin*) (Loos & Loos 2003: 324), or that it can be used in describing an adopted child as *ʔunan bake*, points to a correspondence with the LUS verb *reconocer*, “recognise as one’s own,” used especially with reference to adopted children (who, by the way, are bestowed with the step-father’s surname, cf. also Sect. 3). *Conocer* could also refer to having had sex or having visited (the inside of) some domain etc. (see Ch. 1). *Conocer familia* refers to recognising and respecting one’s own kin (thus avoiding incest), which is connected to recognising one’s origins through the mother and father, as opposed to “ignoring” (*ignorar*, see Ch. 5). From here, it is possible to recall N.’s expression of “ownerlessness” *ʔʔbumabu* (Prologue) as being ignorant of one’s origins. The overarching idea in these parallels could, it seems, usefully be thought of in terms of the above patterns of containing, that is, parenting/owning.

1.2.2. The descending remnants

This presentation now approaches a vantage point from which the significance of surnames and (group) names as such “markers” of kinship and belonging can be appreciated.¹⁶⁰ Links with parents, which I have been presenting thus far through “blood” – as an internal element transmitted across bodies – are also associated with onomastics. There is a notable overlap between the above ways of presenting generative relations and the Peruvian onomastics.¹⁶¹ Firstly, the use of both the paternal and maternal surname reflects the acknowledgment of bilateral contribution, and the women, especially, were dismayed by the fact that Polish (or other Euro-American) onomastics exclude the mother’s contribution. Secondly, having – or “signing” (*firmar*, in the local idiom) with two surnames is also

¹⁶⁰ The connection between *yushin*, blood and knowledge is most salient in brujería. It could be compared to the transmission of “names” as “souls” among the other Panoans, e.g. Yaminahua (Townsend 1988), and therefore, to the kinds of apparently “symbolic” descent recognised in the Lowlands (cf. Introduction). In the previous chapter, I noted the connection between knowledge, names, stories and the heart that breathes and pumps the blood, the substance passed on with procreation.

¹⁶¹ There are some tentative indications that the *antiguos* Capanahua might have been identifying themselves through similar combinations of surname-like, coupled markers corresponding to the *kaibu* or the identities of breeds (cf. Prologue, Ch. 5).

remarkably compatible with the temporal hierarchy of these contributions. Therefore, the villagers explain that the father's surname is "at front/ahead" while the mother's "stays behind" as the second. Notice, for example, how N. (above and in the Prologue) uses that order to make hierarchical claims in reference to his cross cousins.

Thus, "blood" (as a mark of parental contribution), and surnames are intrinsically linked and seem to be understood or explained through each other. Indeed, often, when asking about "blood," I would hear responses that dealt with surnames, and vice versa.

This connection is explicit in what is possibly, the most important category attributed to procreative relations: "having" or "being" a *raza* [lit. "race"]. It is defined either in terms of blood (*sangre*), or the surname (*apellido*, eg. Ríos) and the name of the *antiguos*' "breeds" (*generación*, *tribu*, cf. Prologue, Ch. 5). Although used alternatively with *sangre* [blood], *raza* is not quite literally associated with blood as the bodily fluid (and in this context, this holds true for the above, exclusive *himi* or *sangre* [blood] category). Such literal connection, it was negated whenever I asked about it. People would either tell me that we all have the same red human blood – or contrarily, that it is never quite the same, because, for example, it changes from person to person or from generation to generation (cf. explanation of *¿en himi* discontinuity between alternating generations and persons). Furthermore, as we will see below, *raza* seems to be broader and more transcending than the narrow category of immediate, intergenerational blood transference (kin) in *himi* or *sangre*, even though the idiom of blood can sometimes be used interchangeably.

Only when it is passed on directly, through the procreative relations, do villagers recognize *raza* as "legitimate." Not incidentally, perhaps, it relies on the imagery of breeding: *raza* is said to *nacer* [be born], *salir* [emerge from], *aprecer* [appear], *levantar* [raise from],¹⁶² *aumentar* [multiply/augment]. Similarly, the interchangeable expression, *generación*, corresponds not to a "generation" as a single horizontal step in descent from the ancestors, but refers to the consequence of the generative act of producing offspring, which vertically transcends these descent steps. In the words of Don Guillermo, *generación* is:

¹⁶² Cf. Marubo *wenía*, rising or emerging of peoples (Werlang 2001, Cesarino 2008, Welper 2009).

Living with all those that have multiplied, you could say, from one father. One father that has multiplied right there, his children too. Our... the children of our children: a complete *generación* already [laughs]. (GHR02)

(ŁK: is it a body, a soul or...?) It's not a body... It's from the body: those that form, the children that keep on being born. And they grow up and they get their wives, husbands: and so one's *generación* multiplies. (GHR03)

Generación is what is born from a child's child. (...) Child of a child that is born: those are *generaciones* already. They go on, getting bigger. As it says in the Bible: descendants^{cliii} (GHR06)

In Capanahua, a similar idiom used to categorise people into “breeds,” designated through the *tribu* names (see Prologue and Ch. 5), such as *ʔáyu(bake)bu*, which were formed with the literally defining people as the “progeny/descendants of.” For themselves, the products of this “generation” were *hawen/nuken/ʔen kaibu* [their/our/my breed], and indicated shared origin or birth (“emergence,” cf. Ch. 1).¹⁶³ In LUS, *kaibu* is equivalent to the term *paisanos* [lit. countrymen]. Both *kaibu* and *paisano* might refer to particular *generación*, a particular *-bakebu* category or a surname on more exclusive levels.¹⁶⁴ More broadly, the people of various formative “breeds,” that came to be subsumed by foreigners as the “Capanahua,” according to the SIL sources, preferred to refer to this set of “generations” collectively as *nuken kaibu*. Similarly, the villagers use the category *nuestros paisanos/pais* to refer to an extended set of people with the same origin, the Tapiche-Buncuya area, and parents speaking the “same” language.¹⁶⁵ Today, when the Capanahua descendants (or local *mestizo*) say that a person is a “*paisano*,” it points to the generative ties to people who have been known to outsiders as the Capanahua. In other words, it overlaps with what can also be referred to as *generación/raza/sangre capanahua* in people, just as other people can be of *raza remoauca, campa, cocama, brasilera, polaca*, etc. In this

¹⁶³ A series of cognates sharing the root *kai-*: *kaibu, kaibuʔi, kaibuakin, kaichi, kaiákin, kaipaʔiʔunaʔi* – refers to being abundant, to multiplying population or to spreading; *kaiini* – to emerge from, to be born; and suffix *-bu* denotes generic/plural.

¹⁶⁴ It is important to note that sharing the surname with no actual known procreative connection is not sufficient to classify people as *paisano*. In such cases, they refer to each other as “*parientes*” and the nominal description of this relation is “*parentesco*.” As Don Benigno (BRS20) said of his remote cousin: “not so legitimate [a family]. Almost like just a *pariente* [sharing surname/remote family]. *Parentesco* [lit. kinship].” (“*no tan legítimo -- casi como pariente nomás -- Pariente, parentesco. -- Si fuera Ríos -- ahí: mi legítma mi familia -- Pero somos raza -- este - -sangre capanahua*”). In Spanish, these terms denote “relatives,” but on the Tapiche they tend to mean precisely the reverse. A non-related person is also said to be *un particular* or *gente particular*, with the meaning of individual(s) apart (also an idiom of *aparte*).

¹⁶⁵ Yet, based on a similar idea of remains of a more remote common origin/language, the isolated Remoaucas can also be called *nuestros paisanos*, and are assumed to share origins and language with people who have been “civilized as the Capanahua,” (*civilizado en Capanahua*), despite the fact that these people of the inaccessible headwaters are said to refuse to be “tamed/civilized.” Similarly, the more remote groups who are found to speak related, Panoan languages – like the Isconahua or Sharanahua, whose recordings I played to several people – are also said to be of a *misma raza, paisanos* or even “*Capanahua*,” speaking “the same” language. This corresponds with how other Panoans seem to be building an idea of a global origin. For example, two Marubo men who visited the Tapiche River with Father Mariano Gagnon in 1963 identified Capanahua as their own people (Isidro Salvador 1986; Welper 2009; Ruedas pers. comm.). It is worth adding that *raza, kaibu* or *su paisano* can refer to a species or subspecies of animals.

case, it does not usually imply that these people are, e.g., *Cocama*. In fact, I had the impression that it might sometimes be considered rather rude to explicitly talk of someone as being, e.g. “*Cocama*,” and it is most often offensive to call someone else “a *Capanahua*.” Rather, *raza* marks the persons’ specific connections to their progenitors and ancestors, through some knowledge of a particular language (*idioma*), “custom” (*costumbre*), but it is also encoded in the surname. Therefore, I understand *raza* to refer to originating from specific persons and places, and connecting people as “kin” by virtue of sharing the same trajectory of emerging or producing offspring. This idea would overarch categories such as *raza*, *generación*, *apellido*, and *kaibu* or *paisano*. *Sangre*, as with the other categories, refers to different levels of origins, from the immediate transference relations of parenthood or siblinghood (as in Don Benigno’s first definition) to larger groups. In every case, it is based on the specific idiom of procreation and origins, and is closest to what might be understood as “descent,” yet, embedded in particular kinds of trajectories, which I draw out in the next section.

1.3. The trajectories of dilution

With this wider perspective on the consequences of procreation, I can return to reflect on the implicit nature of the generative relations and their results for the villagers. This, by extension, allows for approaching an idea of what kinship relations are in such context, and how they, along with other features of the world, are expected to exist in time.

1.3.1 Procreation as sickness

First, let me return to the “making” mechanism itself. The imagery of a parasitic implanting is profoundly significant. It construes procreation as a distortion of essentially the same kind that in other contexts was diagnosed as sickness. The parallel with the processes of *cutipar*, *shinguriar*, *embrujar*, and the generative-frustrative dynamics of *ejemplar* from the previous chapter should be obvious. By opposition, “health” would consist of the self-contained state, lack of internal voids or compositeness. Curing, or *curar* (Ch.3) consists of the extraction of the contained element or strengthening the body or its surface against penetrations, by internalizing a harder, more durable or resistant, purer content. This leads the discussion again past the idea of clarity and durability conducive to indivisibility that is opposed to containment, as illustrated in Ch. 1 and 2. In parallel, that state is also

reminiscent of the mythic owners' original, pure and suffering-free domains (Ch. 3). The process of procreation is therefore conditioned by the harm done to a person, who assumes in relation to the product, a status of formerly original self-contained purity (abstracted from her/his previous dilution, or minor containment, such as natural human hunger etc.). Procreation reproduces the eternal void, the sickness or vengeance of the original owners, which consists of repeating their fate (Ch. 3).

1.3.2. The descent: offshoots

This means two things for the villagers' approach to the "generative process." Firstly, procreation is a process which is essentially destructive to the parents. It diminishes them by extracting their elements or consuming them (if "only" by making them suffer or "sin," see Ch. 2). Secondly, this means that the product is, in essence, the difference between their health before and after procreation, a broken off "piece," the worm, or blood of the parent. Like the "gifts" cut off from the original owners' presence, the remnants are merely a memento, meagre replacements of the parents. These are diagnoses that I have mentioned in this thesis, and are explicit to the villagers. They are firmly rooted in the same reasoning that devolutionary explanations in Ch. 3. In fact, these two implications are powerfully illustrated in the image introduced in the previous chapter, which is explicitly used in reference to the progression of descent, or intergenerational relations: *tronco* (tree trunk) and *ramas* (branches).¹⁶⁶

Recall the thief in the manioc story breaking off a little piece of the stalk, only as much as he could hold in his fist. Now that stolen piece of the original is implanted in an old and rotten, fallen tree trunk. It still grows to become an



Figure 9. Stem and branches with the fading authenticity. Image based on the manioc stem-cutting and its offshoots.

¹⁶⁶ The imagery of a tree trunk and the branches seems to be quite widely spread in the South American Lowlands. It first caught my attention in Delvaire Montagner's report (2007) from the Moa River. The headwaters of the Moa River adjoin the Tapiche River and have a history closely connected with the Tapiche, both through the Panoan inhabitants living between these rivers, and through later Peruvian-Brazilian interconnections. People on the Moa river, descendants of the Panoan Nukini and "Nawa" spoke of descent as referring to the *troncos velhos*, old tree trunks, the "real Nawa" who were gone, and the descendants who were only their *sementes*, the seeds. José Maurício Arruti analysed similar imagery for the remote Brazilian Pankararu (Arruti 1999). Peter Rivière (1969: 64) in turn mentions the idiom of branches or tributaries in the Trio ways of referring to offspring. Much closer, Luiz Antonio Costa (2007) describes similar imagery of the tree trunks or main rivers and leaders, opposed to tributaries and followers for the Kanamari. For the villagers, the main river is also a "mother" (*madre*) of the tributaries.

enormous tree, but gives out separate, smaller branches. It is these branches that the people will be breaking off and planting. They will not grow miraculously as the original had. The branches are also qualified with particular names, unlike the unmarked original, the “real” stem of the Creator. This branching out from the stem can be seen as a metarepresentation of the generative-frustrative process depicted in the previous chapter: division of the individual, original and pure trunk (*tronco*) into pieces or offshoots (*ramas*) which are its mortal and weaker copies, bound to further reproduce the original’s division.

Every such “insemination” by extraction diminishes the trunk, and similarly, every copy extracted becomes more diminished (Fig. 9).¹⁶⁷ The previously signalled, temporal hierarchy of authenticity or purity evoked in the villagers’ explanations values the past as, real (*kuin*, *legítimo*), first (*los primeros*, *fundadores*), in front (*adelantar*), at the head (*encabezar*, *matian* [*ma-* head; *tian* period]) or at the source (*cabeceras*). That which comes afterwards is always lesser, weaker, smaller such as the *chini bake* (“the last (behind) children”) the very last ones (*los últimos* or *huinshos*), from the other day (*del otro día nomás*). In general, therefore, authenticity is attributed by the villagers to whichever was older, and thus experientially closer to an “original,” and it is expected to diminish in the extracted elements – not only between the original and its splits, but also between these. That is why older people are expected to “know” more about the origins (Ch. 3), why parents are originals in relation to children, and why older siblings are assumed to be more knowledgeable or “real,” having extracted more from the original. In the common expressions, descendants living today are what the villagers call “merely children” (*hijos nomás*), *lo que crece* [what grows]. They are the “branches” (*ramas*), “seeds” (*semillas*), “offshoots” (*mallqui*) of the original *troncos*, the genitors. Celso described his relation to his grandfather, the “original” Baquinahua, as “roots” (*raices*), which would signal that the quintessence of this image is the opposition of original singularity to a multitude of lesser and weaker extractions or protrusions. They are opposed to the “real” ones, the parents and ancestors (*tronco*, *sepa* [core]). Consequently, if the ancestors were “Capanahua,” then those who live today are merely their differentiated, lesser descendants. Recalling the problem of the vanishing group in the Introduction, and how those ancestors themselves talked

¹⁶⁷ In a related image, the more children she bears, the weaker and more destroyed (“old”) the mother is considered.

about their ancestors as “strong”, against their own weaker condition, the past *tronco* authenticity becomes elusive and relative for all generations.

Additionally, the opposition to Don Benigno’s first definition can perhaps be treated as both an indication of the problem with reproduction, and as the problem itself. It is the additional contribution that further contributes to the alteration of the extracted piece. Therefore, the problem with a child is that – as Doña Germe noted soberly – it is always the product of two (either through contribution or containment) and is neither one completely.

1.3.3. The kinship: counting losses

The most significant implication therefore is that the process articulates the devolutionary logic presented as organizing villagers’ explanations of causality, origins and what we could understand as the flow time in general. The process of procreation therefore has very little to do with the “re-production” of parents, because they are at best diminished copies, and at worst their nemesis. A perfect copy or clone is an asymptote, simply impossible to achieve in procreation (which can be for good or for bad, depending on which way they are headed – see below and Ch. 5). The process is also uneasily generative, because it is basically ambivalent – destructive or frustrative as much as generative.

In the context of increasing devolution, competing interpretations and discussions of the degree and timing of the parents’ contribution mentioned above point to a profoundly significant concern: who split (contributed) into whom and in what order. If the idiom here is that of “blood,” which stands for kinship for many people in the world, and in different ways,¹⁶⁸ what matters on the Tapiche and Buncuya Rivers are the sequences in which that finite substance, standing for primal, universal unity and associated with “knowledge” or capacity, has been passed on. They indicate the resulting degrees of its dilution or soiling – or, in reverse, measure proximity to a pre-procreative original, which exists in varying levels across living people. I believe that these sequences or trajectories are what lines of *raza* indicate, as the specific “marks” of “emergence” in different order and thus, differentiated degrees of “purity” or “originality” remaining from the formative, generative splits (*generación*).

¹⁶⁸ E.g. Carsten 2013.

In other words, with the uncontrolled flow of time or procreation, the “real” kinship (*familia legítima*) here is traced through the trajectories of dilution from postulated original purity existing before these relations have been established by procreative, ineliminably diminishing acts. At the relative level, “authenticity” of relations between kin is established by sequences of adjacent procreative positions, that is, diminishing, experiential proximities to (or containments of) the original before procreation. If measured in relation to the parent as the original or *tronco* (with the differentiation between sequence and levels of contribution between the parents themselves, where the father is “anatomically” split first), the first child is the closest and has the most experiential “knowledge/quality” of the original. Thus, in subsequent children these are increasingly diminished, and adjacent siblings have similar degrees of dilution (or originality).

The dynamic of the trunk and the branches, and the inherently perverted, differentiating and devolutionary flow of time permeate the villagers’ representations at different spheres. It is important that they articulate the pathogenic-generative character of procreation as the germ of mortality, and help to understand the specific formulations of kinship and descent. If uncontrolled, procreation leads to more differentiation, dilution and ultimately to perishing. The villagers explicitly imagine certain social strategies as directed at controlling such frustrative-generative dynamics of kinship (*paque no pierda*). I will now proceed to propose how they, and the ways of explaining participation in sociality presented so far could be understood as responding to these preoccupations. I start with those attributed to the *antiguos*, and then move on to signal another alternative, which will lead toward Ch. 5.

2. How not to waste away?

This deadly result of procreation through others is, I think, what the villages had in mind when they told me a particular story of the *antiguos*. It poses a locally important question embedded in what has been said here so far. The young man who became the moon is said to sneak into his sister’s (or parallel cousin, sometimes identified as niece) hammock at night and have sex with her while she slept. She became pregnant and decided to find out who did this to her. One night when he approached her, she smeared non-washable *jagua* or *huito* paint onto his face. In the daylight she discovered that it was her close relative. The boy was so humiliated, ashamed or angered by the revealed difference (of interests) that he was unable to

continue living at home. Various versions of his monologue,^{cliv} articulate this predicament particularly well. Consider what follows by the elderly Don Jorge, and another by Victor:

[She] says: “It was him!” *Hen!* He no longer wanted to show up [at home]. Shucks, he says... *Put’ carajo!* [swearing], he thought of all kinds of crap. He wanted to become... the bole (*shungo*)... what you use to make a house [post], see. “[But then] that can be made into a house! *Ha!* It perishes too!” So now, he was thinking of all kinds of boles, I guess. But no. So now... “The... stone? - but it’s used to sharpen blades [i.e. wears down]! Mm... Shucks!” He thought of everything! Finally, he thought: “Ok, here it is: I’ll become the moon. There is no moon yet,” he says. “That’s how I’ll mess them [women] up”^{clv} (JRR03)

“It’s you, brother, isn’t it?” – she told him – “It’s you!” He didn’t say a word, they say. Ashamed, he was already thinking/worrying, they say, *amigo Lucas*: “What can I turn myself into? I’ll make myself an electric eel!” Thinking, thinking: “[But] someone might kill me... What else – they say he was saying – can I become? I’ll become a boa... [but] someone might kill me then as well! What can I become?” – they say he says. “Let’s see, what’s not [here or] there?” he says, thinking he says, the man does. “What can I become?” – and then he remembers, they say – “*Aaaan!* There is no moon, he says. I’ll become the moon! Done, dammit! I’m going to become the moon”^{clvi} (VPB03)

In this section, I present some solutions generally attributed to the *antiguos* as a strategy of “*paque no pierda su raza*” [so that their breed does not perish],¹⁶⁹ by keeping the *truncos* as “pure” as humanly possible, thus “reproducing” in the sense of actually issuing copies. In one idealized image, the breeds are perfectly impermeable, and thus imperishable. In the other, the dynamic itself is contained by literally taming its products, and thus transcending the procreative problem in the kinship and marital systems. I outline some of its guiding moves according to the dynamics presented so far on the example of the forgotten ideal kinship system.

2.1. The impregnation of *truncos*

Although what Eugene Loos called the “patrilineal clans” were not in his times “identified with a particular locality” (1960: 1), the idea of the original separateness of breeds, *tribus/razas* (cf. Prologue, Ch. 5), indeed seems to belong to the historical representations of the Capanahua people that he worked with. In a recorded conversation (1973) with Loos, Celso’s grandfather Ernesto spontaneously pointed to the lands (*mai*) of his own *kaibu*, the *Neabakebu*, and “other” named groups in the

¹⁶⁹ Perishability can be formulated as *terminar* [terminate], *dañar* [deteriorate], *manchar* [blemish] *raza* – or in Capanahua, *hawaen kaibu keyuyama’i* [their breed does not exhaust itself]. I heard the mestizo talking about “staining their *raza*” by marrying people with lower surnames, and of the *antiguos* Capanahua as guarding their *raza* in a similar way to the Capanahua descendants.

area of the Buncuya and the Tapiche.^{clvii} Similarly, in a historical narrative from 1972 (Schoolland 1975: 256–301), Don Guillermo’s father, Manuel Huaninche referred to part of the Buncuya land as belonging to his *kaibu*, the *Na’inbakebu*, and others to their neighbours, *Neabakebu*, as well as *Xanebu* (ibid.: 292), using the expression I mentioned before (Sect. 1.2.), *nuken mananyura* [lit. our legitimate highland¹⁷⁰]) (ibid.: 257). The episode from the earthworm’s son’s story, in which the boy establishes names-breeds at separate locations is consistent with this imagery. In 2007, Doña Germe’s father-in-law, the elderly Manuel Vásquez patiently responded to my questions, indicating past locations of some *kaibu* he knew or speculated about, possibly echoing the similar mappings of his older relatives (MVP01) (Krokoszyński 2008: 38–39). She later added a future, post-mortem perspective to this image recalling:¹⁷¹

You know how it sounds before the rain... (...) When someone died, and it sounded over here, my, dad would tell me: “That’s where the Neabu live! - he’d say – [motioning towards a part of the sky]. [So] thaaat’s where the Neabu live!” [Then] someone else died: “Binabu!” – he’d tell me [motioning to] where the sound came from. “They live there!” (...) “They live there, and the Neabu live here.” (ŁK: So everyone goes to a different place in the sky [after death]?) Different, perhaps... Whatever it was that my dad was thinking!... I’d say so...^{clviii} (GSR07)

Today, people invoke this trope by referring to historical or contemporary small groups, living in isolated locations as *puro ellos* [only them], *entre ellos nomás* [among themselves]. Different levels of exclusiveness can be invoked here, from a generic name (e.g. “*puro Capanahuas*”), through specific breeds (e.g. “*puro Neabus*”), to surnames (e.g. “*puro Chumos*”) (cf. Ch.1). In each case, it points to a physical division into social spaces associated with singular, named breeds. Consider Américo’s explanation:

[they were] other nations (*paises*), they would not mix! (...) Only [e.g.] *pisabakebu*¹⁷² lived here. From another *generación*. Over there: *pa’ebakebu*. Another *generación* over there. They would not mix! *Neabu* [lived] apart. (...) They have different names. But they did not mix: like Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia: these do not mix.^{clix} (ARO1)

¹⁷⁰ *-yura* as suffix generally marking emphasis. It is glossed as “positive” (Loos nd.c) or “a lot” (Loos & Loos 2003: 401). It should be added, perhaps, that *yura* as a noun means “body,” and the intransitive verb *yuraʔi* is glossed as “to coagulate.” Cf. *mananʔibu* claim in the Prologue. Note also that in Amahuaca, *manaa* refers to a “village” (Woodside 1980: 45).

¹⁷¹ I expect the sound may refer to rolling thunder before the rain.

¹⁷² In the past, *Pisabu* was a name with which Américo’s family from the Punga or Frontera Yarina called the people to the east of the Tapiche – probably the Matses.

Such separation between breeds coexists, not accidentally, with other qualities commonly attributed to the *antiguos* across many conversations. Most importantly, the *antiguos* are said to have been physically stronger and more resistant (*kushi, fuerte*) than their descendants. It is often noted that ancestors in remote times worked much harder, “suffering” without the use of modern metal tools, and yet, they left behind large fields that were cleared better than those of today. The older generations are remembered as working alone, in contrast to the group work on a *minga* by the descendants. The ancient people are said to have lived long and healthy lives, and they did not eat salt or cooked food (roasting it instead), unlike contemporary people (Don Benigno, for example, associated the contemporary weakness of people with eating too much salt – which the *antiguos* did not use). The ancient ones did not let anyone in or let anyone take anything from them. They are described as *bravos*, fierce, warlike – and most agile and resistant when fighting. A common motif concerns the club fights with terrible blows to the head or slashes inflicted with the *wushati* blades (cf. fighting in the Prologue), which contemporary people cannot imagine withstanding and they laugh at the idea in awe. The *antiguos* would fall down but not perish.^{clx} Rather, they would get up with blood flowing down their faces. Thanks to their knowledge of healing plants, these horrendous wounds would heal within a week. They fought for women or to try (*probar*) their valour and endurance. Similar representations were passed on in the times of Loos’ and indeed seem to have influenced his presentation of the Capanahua past.^{clxi} As he notes explicitly, the Capanahua used to speak about how strong and brave their ancestors were (ELO1), and the elderly would complain about the degradation of the young, mid-20th century generations (Loos 1960). As noted in the Introduction, similar discourses describe the past and younger generations. The villagers repeatedly told me how their fathers and uncles were fierce and hardworking, because, as Don Benigno would say, *antiguo era incansable*, [the old ones were tiresome].

There is a meaningful parallel of such imagery of separation and strength. Recall that an aspiring *brujo* produces a state of internal purity by cleansing himself of all influences and excludes all potentially harmful elements or situations from his “diet” (Ch. 2). I suggest further that this is also the quintessence of the *antiguos*’ state as the result of their absolute isolation, and they are indeed sometimes thought to have known sorcery because of their way of life. In both cases, toughening of the body by purifying and insulating it from the introduction of foreign elements through

relations (interpenetrations) – is the condition for imperviability from unwanted influences, blows or penetrations, and thus, invincibility. This is necessary for survival as a *brujo*, and also explains representations of the ancestors. A trope that connects these two spheres further is, in fact, the “tree trunk” as the ideal, impenetrable “body” – both are called *yura*, *cuerpo*, with its *himi*, *sangre*, as “blood/resin” (cf. Ch.2 on anthropomorphic character of trees). An important insight into this explicit connection is provided by Don Baudilio’s interpretation of a certain expression, or an identity claim, attributed to his paternal uncles and ancestors (cf. drunken claims in the Prologue):

Binun’i’bu are the... (...) *sepa de aguaje* [bole of moriche palm]! They used to be really strong/resistant (*fuerte*) in the past. (...) They used to fight – and there was nothing [others] could do to him, that’s why he often said: (...) “*‘Ea ta binun’i’bu ki! Hawentiabi Neabu ‘a’ka’, keyu’ipaunishki.*” *Haska’a’ ki nuken...* [“I am the owner of aguaje! The Neabu have never been killed, finished” That’s what our...] (...) fathers used to say in the past”^{clxii} (BSR01)

That portrayal of the “owner/bole of the moriche” is important for the imagery of descent in terms of *tronco* and *ramas*, as I argued earlier. Villagers say that the ancestors themselves were the *sepa*, or *tronco*, conveying the idea of the tree trunk as original, self-contained, separated purity and strength, connected with impregnability.

One more, important way in which the *antiguos* are said to have guarded their originality and guaranteed the imperishability of their *raza*, is the prevention of foreign introductions or inseminations. By invoking the expression of “living only among themselves” the villagers often point to another important constatation about the separateness of breeds: the postulated extreme endogamy of the *antiguos*. Don Romer gave me a hypothetical example, using the common Capanahua surnames:

They did not want the Chumos to penetrate, and neither were they going [near the Chumos], because they in turn did not want the Huaninches to penetrate. Like this. So [they would agree]: “You are from the Tapiche, we are from the Buncuya. And so I will be here, and you, go away!” [laughing] They wouldn’t allow!^{clxiii} (RPR01)

In a popular explanation, the ancestors were stingy with their daughters or sisters [*mezquinando hijas/hermanas*]. Continuing Don Romer’s explanation:

They didn’t want people from far away coming in. They didn’t want their daughters to go far away! (...) The man [son-in-law] will always be homesick, it’s not his land. He wants to leave, with his wife. So that’s why they did it in the past [multiplied here]. That is how Manuel Huaninche explained it to me.^{clxiv} (RPR01)

In other words, fearing for the continuity of their *raza* multiplications, the *antiguos* decided to marry only their own breed (*raza*). Many people today are not sure what the actual marriage prescriptions were, and describe the *antiguos* with some amusement as generally marrying kin:

That's how they used to live, my dad said. They lived with their family, even their sisters! (...) They didn't know anything, not even who their family was (...) With their fathers, sisters.^{clxv} (GSR11)

The reason why Don Romer laughed in the quote above is that such isolation almost invariably implies incestuous relations. In the local idiom, it is compared to the behaviour of monkeys, especially the violently territorial and noisy red howlers (*coto mono*, *ru'u*).¹⁷³ It is sometimes attributed, with contempt, not only to the *antiguos*, but also to some *mestizo* families from downriver, wherever the paternal and maternal surnames are the same,^{clxvi} or to other cases of known incest in the area. Most of all, it is connected with the savage, untamed, xenophobic, stingy and sometimes fiercely protective or predatory pole of sociality: the *indios*, both historical (as one's ancestors) and contemporary (as other groups or the people said to be avoiding contact and hiding in the headwaters).

I would note that such a strategy of absolute closing off corresponds to the behaviour of the man who became the moon. The strong link presented so far between procreation through others and mortality or perishability suggests that what is represented as the Moon's search for imperishability is connected with his visits to the female relative in the first place. Such a union would accomplish a complete self-contained reproduction without frustrating the mediation of difference. What became impossible for him on earth, he accomplished in the sky, where he took all his other female relatives apart from the one who resisted him and blemished the potential purity, thus causing the later generations to procreate in pain and lose the precious blood. He, in turn, went to live apart in an imperishable space (we might say, similar to the pure city dwellers, as discussed in Sect. 3).

2.2. Taming the infliction

Back on earth, the Moon's extreme is not an accepted option in the attempt to save *raza* from perishing. Another solution imagined for reproduction approaches a

¹⁷³ I learned that one of the most secure ways of eliciting bawdy laughter are jokes involving monkeys, especially the red howler. Monkeys are said to "ignore" kinship relations and have sex with the closest members of the family.

more nuanced and recent view of the ancestors' strategies against procreation. I propose that it is delimited by the pole of the Moon's incest on the one hand, and on the other, by stories of radically foreign animal inseminations (Ch. 3). The strategy tricks the infliction by literally containing, or taming, its products. First, let me outline some imagery of this solution drawn by the villagers today. Later, I will reach for historical information recorded by the SIL.

Américo recalled what his father, "Lower Capanahua," used to tell him:

There [in Frontera] they were all family, pure family (...). That's what my father used to tell me. (...) "Well, son, [you're] wanting to make out with pure family, right? That's no good. Now, son: all of those here are your family. (...) Let's see, we have to take your sister, and we're going to make an exchange there." They would (...) arrive at the house of his friend. Talk between fathers, and women with women^{clxvii} (ARO1)

Likewise, on another occasion Don Romer qualified his previous image of radical separation between the hypothetical Huaninches and Chumos:

[so that the daughter would not be taken far away] the uncle hands his child over to a nephew or niece. (...) It's his nephew too, but has a different surname. It's the same *raza*, the same *generación* though (...). [Yet,] with the same surname, Huaninche Huaninche: no. It's got to be mixed a little (*mezcladito*). Chumo Huaninche or Huaninche Chumo, that's where the *generación* multiplies, and multiplies the village/group (*pueblo*).^{clxviii} (RPR01)

He drew another hypothetical situation for the recent *antiguos*, which makes an important point:

They didn't want to change the *raza* (...) didn't want to mix the *generación*, to have others come from afar, so instead [they'd] make themselves unite. So (...) I hand over my daughter to my nephew. The other hands over his son to his niece. That's how it used to be before. In the past, you could say they were marrying between cousins. There it multiplied, the same *raza*. It would not change. And it kept on multiplying. Like this. (...) Another daughter, and another son, so [he would say]: "Dang, *cha'in!* Give me your... *min bake 'inawe, cha'in* [give me your child, brother-in-law]!" "Ok, *'en pi'ashan* [my nephew]!" And he handed her over to him. (RPR01)

The "exchange" or "handing over" in these representations takes place between neighbouring "lands" or "villages." In Manuel Huaninche's story in Schoolland's 1975 collection, the *Na'inbakebu* arrive at the village of the neighbouring *Neabakebu*, whom they mutually address as their *kukabu*, *cha'ibu*, *pi'ashabu* (see below). I assume that the term *henabu*, or *henayurabu* with which he defines their relation

points to these kinds of allies, who have exchanged sons or daughters.¹⁷⁴ The two meanings glossed for *henabu* in the dictionary, “neighbour” and “family member,” were confirmed by the villagers. They point to the relations which do not annul simultaneous separation, and indicates a co-habitation (containment) within a shared space. Conserving the separate containment of their breeds or names, these affines are thus “joined, but separate” (Ch. 2).

2.2.1. The Capanahua kinship

Now, it will be useful to reach to the marital practices and kinship terms used by the coexisting *kaibu* during the initial decades of the SIL missionary work (1950-70s). The ideal solution to perishability among the mid-20th century Capanahua is very similar to the one imagined for them by their descendants. The main source for this presentation can only be a term paper authored by Eugene Loos, entitled “Capanahua Patrilineality and Matrilocality” (Loos 1960), and some additional short presentations.

First of all, based on his experience between 1955-58, Eugene Loos listed names of only four patrilineal and exogamous “clans,” translating their *-bakebu* suffix as “sons of” (see Sect. 1). According to Loos, these had a “unifying function within the tribe but beyond that seem[ed] no longer to have much importance” (ibid.: 1). Between 2009 and 2013, he also informed me that the only situations where he heard these affiliations mentioned were negotiations of marriage arrangements. For example, a man might discuss marrying the sister of the other one, arguing that “he was a *binabakebu* – but the girl was not. So his logic was that the two clans are not incompatible – they are compatible. And so, they should be allowed to marry”^{clxix} (ELO3). In another text, Loos wrote: “(...) in cases where persons were strangers and it was difficult to trace kinship relations, they used patrilineal lineage – the “clan” – to arrive at marital arrangements”^{clxx} (1972: 2–3).¹⁷⁵ It should be taken into consideration here is that most of such patrilineal and exogamous affiliations with Panoan names by the 1950s had been overlaid with Peruvian surnames. Yet, these ways of marking descent seem to have been quite congruous, as I noted for

¹⁷⁴ Probably related to the Cashinahua *nabu*, where it refers to people addressed with the Cashinahua kinship/relatedness terms. It is translated as *parientes*, relatives, by Marcel D’Ans (1983) and *nabu kuin* as “actual relations” by Cecilia McCallum (2001). *Enabu* in the latter’s explanation translates to “my relatives” and describes “a group of persons with whom one should live” (ibid.: 32).

¹⁷⁵ Translations of the texts written in Spanish are mine.

contemporary surnames. Indeed, many of these modern surnames can be traced back to older *kaibu* names even today. Sometimes the villagers refer to them as the “real/original” (*legítimos, verdaderos*) surnames.¹⁷⁶ As we saw above, for Capanahua descendants, these (sur)names correspond to patrilineal, exogamous *generaciones* or *razas*, i.e. “breeds,” just like they might have for their ancestors. It might therefore be said that their relevance for exogamous marriage arrangements, like with the contemporary surnames, is what would actually make them rather significant, although it might also be imagined that kinship terminology itself would be helpful in arranging the usual marriages.

Furthermore, in this and other manuscripts, Eugene Loos presented patrilineality as coexisting with matrilocality.^{clxxi} In such an ideal or preferred arrangement, the newly married couple reside with or near the wife’s parents (1960: 4). This relation between “the patriarch” and his “helpers” is here one of the most explicit axes for social organization. Ideally the Capanahua settlements would be composed of extended family groups living under the influence of the patriarch who gathered, most of all, his sons-in-law through his daughters, and also sometimes kept his sons with their wives (Loos nd.a: 2). The lower generations in his place were “subject to the patriarch’s call” (1960: 8).¹⁷⁷ This meant that a young man, after marrying his cross-cousin:

need[ed] to live with his wife in the house of his father-in-law, and he [was] obliged to serve his father-in-law until death took one or other. After many years, the son-in-law could build his own house, but generally a short distance from that of his father-in-law.^{clxxii} (Loos nd.a: 2)

[He] always served his father-in-law in the production of fields, canoes, signal drums, or houses, and satisfied his needs of meat and fish. (...) The relation between father-in-law and son-in-law was therefore important for the family because acquisition of skilful sons-in-law signified an economic help valuable for the head of the family.^{clxxiii} (Loos 1972: 2–3)

It should be noted that existence of such a settlement would therefore be attributed to the father(s)-in-law and his helpers (sons-in-law and sons), who have opened the clearing, built a large house and invited other people (cf. founding in Ch.

¹⁷⁶ For example, many middle aged villagers are aware that the Huaninchas were *Na’inbakebu*, that the Ríos, Pizarros or Vásquez’ trace from *Ayubu*, that the Chumos, Baquinahuas, Freires or Panaruas are descendants of possibly different “branches” of *Neabu*, Romainas of *Muebu*, some Ríos of *Binabu*, Solisbancos from *Kapabu*, etc.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. “political economy of persons” (Rivière 1983; Ruedas 2001; cf also Turner 2003).

1). Sons-in-law and lower generations would be subject to such founders-owner(s), and would quite literally be contained within their house or the cleared space.¹⁷⁸

In representations of the past, men might also gain prestige by capturing boys or girls in raids, and incorporating them into life on par with other adults^{clxxiv} (Loos 1972: 2–3). The captives just mentioned, as well as someone’s “helpers” or “workers,” adopted children or pets, all share a similar position towards a controlling, sheltering figure. In LUS, these positions would be referred to by Capanahua descendants as *cría* [pet], *cholo* [peon] or even *esclavo* [slave], most literally pointing to the functional aspect of this position: an obligation to work for (and therefore be dependent on) someone else (cf. M’s speech in the Prologue). In Capanahua, these wards are referred to as *?inabu*. The same word – *?ina(bu)* – also refers to DH or marriageable (i.e. “deliverable”) ZS of a woman (see below).

2.2.2. The positions of containing

Here son-in-law embodies a crucial relational position, triggering the dangerous process of procreation between two entities. He plays the role of the pathogenic-generative transitory element at the level of social arrangement. Taming him means taming the very process and achieving the aim: *paque no pierda la raza*. Here, patrilinearity marks the *?inabu* son-in-law as belonging (having originated) “elsewhere,” and only “emerged/entered” in another space. Matrilocality establishes secondary containment, or “owning” over him by the process explicitly described as taming. This allows for an experiment in positioning the mid-20th century Capanahua kinship terminology between what I tentatively suggested might have been called “neighbours” (*henabu* or *henayura*), or in the terms of this chapter, the *truncos* (Appendix 3. 1). Several of the comments that follow below accompany those charts, and are a continuation of this experiment, proposing a reading of these constellations in terms used by the villagers.

1. “Extracted inside.” Patrilineality, for example, might be understood through the idea of separate internal contributions. In fact, the idea of the internal containment of the male progenitor’s element, “blood” or surname (or *kaibu*

¹⁷⁸ Until early 20th century settlements were composed of large houses with roofs reaching the ground, supposedly separated in quarters. Don Guillermo recalled that in the 1950-60s, his father’s 25-metre long house on the Buncuya, although of a contemporary construction (with elevated roof and with a floor platform), contained quarters for various nuclear families of his sons-in-law and sons.

affiliation) as more authentic, becomes useful in making sense of a basic distinction in this terminology: the relatedness of marriageable cousins. We might wonder if in an ideal arrangement – where FB (who shares internal content, “blood,” with F) inseminates MZ – it would be this male, dominant contribution (proximity to an original split) that establishes descended sameness of internal content in FB and MZ’s children, making them parallel cousins. Rather, that is, than the relation of closeness between the secondary contributions of M and her Z. And, reversely, MB (not sharing the content of F), who ideally inseminates FZ, would produce a batch of cross-cousins containing the alter’s contribution. The “bloods” of male originators, even though coexisting, remain contained in separate series, or using the imagery introduced earlier, in “*troncos*.” Siblings could be understood as a set composed of a number of mutual, yet diminishing replicas defined by their position and content. Qualifier *wetsa* [lit. another] implies “the other in a series,” so “my *wetsa*” is my same sex sibling or parallel cousin, literally “the other in ego series” and, e.g. my father’s *wetsa* is “the other in F series.”

2. “Hosting outside.” We might understand matrilocality as hosting “other content.” Matrilineal relatives could generally, be conceived in this context as assuming containing positions in relation to ego and his/her patrilineal relatives. Firstly, the mothers provide containment for the fathers’ inseminations, and children. Secondly, for the WM, their DH are *?ina(bu)*, perhaps “the received ones,”¹⁷⁹ and for the WF, they are *?ikunin(bu)*, possibly “the embraced ones.”¹⁸⁰ Indeed, from a larger perspective, the products of the WF’s work; such as cleared space, built house and engendered daughters, could be understood as their “inside,” which for the introduced, substantially other Fs constitutes a surrounding, an “outside” which hosts and “embraces” them. WM and WF could then be understood as becoming secondary owners, the recipients of the “blood” from the original *tronco*, subject to their call to work. These *henabu* are co-habitants, neighbours, a specific kind of matrilineal “family” – the containing, uniting “others.”

¹⁷⁹ Additional linguistic expertise could determine whether it is actually conceivable that it is related to the verb *?inankin* [to give, hand over], which Don Romer used in a quote above describing a conversation between future in-laws (“*min bake ?inawe*”), and which would make the noun convey the meaning of “the given one” or “a gift-person.”

¹⁸⁰ Possibly a cognate of the verb *?ikukin*, “to embrace,” as in taming a newly captured pet (Loos & Loos 2003: 154), or tentatively, *?iku?i* “to enter” (ibid.: 155).

3. “Returning insides.” Alternating generations could be understood as the actual reproduction. An act of introducing the S/F as *?inabu* into the domain of the MF/MM can be conceived as penetration. The FF/FM could be understood as “inseminating” the MF/MM space in a familiar parasitic imagery. The F/S are bound to the MF/MM and not expected to return to their own parents. It is the SS who return, like a debt, to the “original” domains. FF/FM receive their SS as “the other in ego series,” with the same levels of internal contributions. The mutual terms by which they address each other are either “younger/older sibling” or *xu'ta*, “namesakes” or replacements (*xu'ta'i*, “to replace” (Loos & Loos 2003: 391)).¹⁸¹ Such exchange would create a localized “ego series,” or a group of “siblings,” the *tronco*. Between these generations, the “F/S series” is only a transitional, mediating, “larvae” form meant to be implanted in another “body/place.”

4. Folding back of generations. At the same time, another kind of replacement takes place on the other side. Because of the different destinies of the F/S in respect to FF/ego/SS, their own reproduction of a localized “ego series,” would take place in a different place-time than that of their parents. Simply put, Ss would be external to their parents, and parasitically internal to their WF/WMs. The F/Ss fold back on the WFs and take over their domain, yet carrying its “larvae,” WBSs. All these ‘series’ would exist alternated by the results of similar reproduction of their alternating in-laws, and the containment of *?inabu*, for whom they are the “outside.” This means the alternating outsides are created at the cost of, or in the hollowed trunks of the previous domains, while at the same time, they are bound to contain the “seeds” of their renewal.

It should be added that these strategies are sometimes said to have focused on managing the children, which allowed the parents to establish alliances with chosen neighbours through exchanges of the *?inabu* positions. The conjunction of genitive and generative language in parenthood (Sect. 1) thus appears even less accidental. In the Capanahua descendants’ descriptions (as well as those recorded by Loos, eg. 1972: 2), children would be handed over or “promised” even before birth to the chosen neighbours in order to establish or seal alliances early enough so that the progeny would have little say. In the strategy described above, this would take the

¹⁸¹ The “replacements” or “namesakes” in other Panoan kinship systems actually receive the names from alternating generations (D’Ans 1983, Townsley 1988). Compare this transmission with that of the “knowledge/stories/names” mentioned in Ch. 3.

form of marriage arrangements, when the children were delivered to their in-laws, or to an adult husband for rearing. Overall, such exchange of implantations would lead to four combinations of positions of containing or of reproduction of identity: the batch of the parents intersected by that of the siblings-in-law, opposed to the batch of the parents-in-law intersected with that of the siblings, who might further be differentiated by sex.¹⁸² It would continue by replacing the same positions and contents (Appendix 3.2). The arrangement would guarantee that the raza would not perish by diluting or adding new contributions of blood.¹⁸³

3. The second parents

Here, I propose to briefly look at another, for some – as indicated in N.’s introduction – somewhat controversial proposition of reproduction, which skips the procreative process entirely and contributes to “curing” the breed with stronger implementations: the co-parenting, or *compadrazgo*.

To introduce that “strength,” however, I first return to the ways of conceiving authenticity of kinship and descent. Apart from the relative level mentioned earlier, and to which the above strategies of the *antiguos* could be said to conserve, the logic seems to exist at an absolute, or cosmic level. Similarly, *kuin/legítimo* “authenticity” would in this case be measured in people or social places by the sequences of diminishing, experiential proximities to an ideal, undiluted original. That is, before or apart from the process of differentiation of breeds. The least accumulation of distorting splits in relation to that remote original, the more “real,” “noble,” or strong a given offshoot is. Therefore, the “real” father (*?epa/papa kuin*) in the above terminology is FFF. As identified in the Bible or stories of *antiguos* (cf. Ch. 3), the term refers to the original/first “generation” – the “real,” original parents, from whom all living descendants are merely diminished branches.

This means that the breeds themselves could also be differentiated by the levels of dilution (or remains) from an imagined original. Therefore, it is possible to imagine the pockets of greater original, pure authenticity or clarity. Their lesser

¹⁸² Among other Panoans, most notably the Cashinahua or the Marubo, these categories are reified as named sections.

¹⁸³ The villagers and their ancestors share, with a significant difference, a similar predicament as the Iqwaye of Papua New Guinea as understood by Jadran Mimica, for whom the “cosmogonic self-creation was the process whereby the original totality, the oneness, begot a multiplicity of differentiae. The counting system, like human procreation, is the reverse process (...) [-] unification of the multiplicities as ones and twos into oneness” (1988: 95). Here, in turn, the procreation reproduces the original split, rather than reversing it, and it is the social process of reproducing identities or “acculturating” attempts to reverse it.

dilution is associated, I propose, with the knowledge or capacity to live socially in large, united groups. This view would explain some intriguing features mentioned so far. Thus, cities, with their “*material noble*,” are more resistant to the perishing process (Ch. 1) and – handled by the organizing “good thoughts” (Ch. 2) – are resistible to the splits and differentiation which dilute an original unity and “health.” This may be why the city dwellers are often assumed to be *huni kuin* (cf. Ch. 2), or people who are “real,” “authentic,” “noble,” “good,” or “more” (*mestizos legítimos, gente noble/buena/más*). They embody the purer, less perishable spaces. level of “descent” purity is marked by surnames – non-local, that is, “truly” Peruvian and universal. They are called “noble,” “good” (*buenos*), “elevated” (*elevados*), etc. These last names are multiplied, and thus, I understand, ubiquitous or famous (*famoso, reconocido, de renombre*)¹⁸⁴ on the valued regional, national, and especially “international” scale – therefore, imperishable. They are opposed to local, low (*bajos*) or humble (*humildes*) surnames of indigenous origin, which mark the histories of differentiations into separate breeds of the rural “generations” (splits). These may be assumed to result from “sinful” (Ch. 2), antisocial isolation, or conflicts-procreations and heightened dilution, with the wild people, the *indios* – guarding their own, weaker pockets of purity in the way described in Sect. 2 – at the extreme. City dwellers, in turn, are represented as being better at being separate (*aparte*) from these sins and diluting social dynamics of differentiation thanks to the organized, lawful, well-thought-out spaces.¹⁸⁵ They are *más adelante* [more ahead] or *desarrollados* [developped].¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Similar to the way that mythical by now, ancient, strong, hard working men would be “famous” (*famosos*) men/leaders – *kakanika* or *kakái’bu* (BRS17) (Loos 2009-14). Some of the surnames inherited from the *antiguos* were in fact explained to me as coming from such “strong” men, whose names became imperishable by multiplying, likewise with the “tribal” names associated with “strong” and “invincible” animals or plants (cf. Prologue).

¹⁸⁵ Peter Gow (1993) has described the medial position that the Urubamba people see for themselves between the “*gringos*” or the cities and the wild people (*indios*) of the forest. Cecilia McCallum observed similar imagery among the Cashinahua (2001: 70-75), noticing also the temporal dimension of such axis (cf. Ch. 5). Similar positioning could also be identified among the Bolivian Ese Ejja, leading to the somewhat surprising affirmations: “we are not the real people” (Lepri 2003), as opposed to city dwellers. The hierarchies of nobleness and beauty are quite strikingly similar to the revolving hierarchies identified for the Kayapo by Terrence Turner (2003). These distinctions are based on the distribution of the social values of beauty and order, associated, among other things, with the “beautiful” names (I have noted the local connections between good and beautiful in Ch. 1) and completeness of the process of social reproduction. Gow (2003) has written about the value and hierarchies of elevated or noble surnames between the Lower Ucayali and the Marañón rivers, among the descendants of the Cocama. Taken together, the social hierarchies on the Lower Ucayali (or perhaps eastern Peru) might be seen as resulting from recycling of a finite quality that I have been referring to here as “originality” or “authenticity,” defined by closeness to social self-containment and purity or harmony. As such, it would find a surprising reflection in the cycles of violent exchanges of the finite social (identity) resources driving the head-hunting vendettas among the Jivaroans (e.g. Taylor 1994) or in the Northwest Amazon (e.g. Karadimas 2003). Indeed, there are some traces of this imagery of similar exchanges, head or trophy (teeth) hunting on the Tapiche (VPBo6) and the Moa (Montagner-Melatti 1977; cf. Erikson 1986).

¹⁸⁶ What I came to understand as “pockets of authenticity” apparently echoes the theme of the mythical discourse of the Kanamari in Luiz Costa’s description (2005). There, original mythical Jaguars are fragmented by the ancient people (cf. splitting of the troncos), and their diluting remains exists dispersed across humanity in *bolsas*, or “sacks” of Jaguaricity. Furthermore, we

There is one important consequence of these differences. Mixing the “good” content with *humilde* results in elevation of the latter, as *arreglar* [to repair], *enderezar* [straighten out] *amejorar* [improve] la *raza* or surname – as much as it is to the detriment of the former: e.g. *basurear* [to trash] *raza*. Such a strategy has also been attributed to the *antiguos* as an attempt to add “better,” purer content, in the form of blood/names/knowledge.

Here, I present a strategy which, according to the villagers and their neighbours, has in the past been used to achieve this result. Apart from the actual marriages, it provided a slanted contribution to descent, which adds to the inextinguishable disputes on the “originality” of contributions to descent and surnames. This strategy also involves using children in establishing relations between co-owners (donors and receivers). The Capanahua term of address used mutually by the recipient and the affected child in such a relation was *panun*.¹⁸⁷ In LUS, this relationship is referred to as *compadrazgo*.

In Daniel’s words, at the moment of birth: “*taah*, here comes the placenta... and one has to go and look for a *compadre* (...) And you bring an *izanita*.¹⁸⁸ With this you pinch it like that and *trah!* – cut it with scissors: the *umbliego*. Now, you tie it up and done!”^{clxxv} (DHR06). This procedure of cutting the umbilical cord establishes a relation which in LUS connects the godchild (*ahijado*, *ahijada*) to the godparents (*padrino*, *madrina*), and equally, if not more importantly, the two sets of parents as “co-parents” (*compadre*, *comadre*). Resulting from this procedure are firstly, demonstrations of mutual respect (*respeto*): in mutual address (*tratamiento*) the above terms (often in shortened or diminutive form *cumpa*, *comadrита*, *compadrito*) replace personal names (or previous terms of address, denoting courtesy forms or more remote kinship connections). Secondly, *compadres* are expected to treat each other as family, by supporting each other and by sharing food or goods.^{clxxvi} Importantly, one general consequence of this relation is an expectation or a

could compare it to “the image of the cultural history of mankind” that Erwin Frank (1994) recorded among the Uni, which is “characterized by a progressive ‘involution’ of the prevailing majority of human groups as the consequence of the loss of the ‘essential knowledge’ (ibid.: 179) associated with the “truth” received by ancient people from Bari, the Sun. Here, “the real people,” could be located at the top of a pyramid, and below, further down to the base composed by individuals and groups always more “involved” (ibid.: 198). Such spreading and diluting also rather suggestively refers to the trunk and branches image.

¹⁸⁷ Apart from its apparent role in connecting parents and recipients as “co-owners,” the similarity to the other kind of alliance may indeed be indicated by the fact that the same term, *panu*, is used by the Marubo to refer to a position that in Capanahua is *tsaben*, or the sister-in-law (Welper 2009). Interestingly, the term *panu* is also used further up the Ucayali, in the Piro language, for the brother-in-law (Gow 1997).

¹⁸⁸ *Izana* (-ia diminutive) is the tip of the stem of the wild cane flower.

possibility that the child would be handed over in order to be raised, maintained, or supported by its godparent. It is, for example, common to hear that *padrinos* living in remote towns maintain their *ahijados* during their education. Such a containing role places *padrinos* next to *padrastra/madrastra* (adoptive or step-parents), to an employer (*patrón*)¹⁸⁹ or to the father-in-law.

Yet, there is an important difference between the position of parents-in-law in the previous strategy and that of the *padrinos*. Because of the difference in conditions, scale and timing of the introduction and containing, it might be seen as the reverse of that of the father-in-law. It establishes a link of proximity, that is, “family,” between the godparents and godchildren. This precludes marriageability between the close relatives of the transference. Doña Elsa was indignant in pointing out that certain marriage was not only between an aunt and her nephew, but also between a man and his *padrino*’s daughter: “doubly family!”^{clxxvii} When I asked if this is a “real” family, Don Guillermo told me: “you could say that this is a second family. For example, your godson is like your son, because you have touched his blood. So he can address you as the godfather – as his second father”^{clxxviii} (GHR05). And Daniel added: “this *compadre* touches your blood, of your child: he is your real *compadre*, you cannot ignore him”^{clxxix} (DHR10). The legitimacy of this first *compadrazgo* is thus attributed to the act of critical penetration, wherein by opening the surface (cutting of the cord), the godparent touches the blood of the child/father (cf. Ch. 3). Therefore, *compadrazgo* could be likened to *curar*, which employs the penetration to the benefit or strengthening of the future person. Indeed, as with the cutting of fingernails, this act transmits qualities between *padrino* and his *ahijado*. This connection with blood may indeed be accompanied by an act of naming the child by the parents-in-law. Even more illustratively, in some historical cases, the child might have received the full name and surname of its *padrino*. Today, when, as the Capanahua descendants note, the process of registering the surnames is stricter, this is more likely to result in passing the first name of the godparent. That is, for example, how Don Benigno received his name, and why my *ahijado* living in Limón is named Lucas. Significantly, therefore, the assumed identity of blood and name might contribute to the godfather being called “the tree trunk,” *tronco*, of his godson, as was

¹⁸⁹ The latter is in fact similarly understood as a secondary recipient, a caretaker, because in the Ucayali conditions, he maintains his workers while taking them to remote places in order to work in extraction of whatever is currently being negotiated (logs, furs, meat or rubber in more distant past) (cf. also Ch. 5).

said of little Lucas when we went out to visit the neighbouring village: “*va (a) seguir su tronco*” [(he, little Lucas) is going to follow his tree trunk (the original Lucas)].

From this perspective, the positions of introducing and containing are not only fundamentally different from those with the parents-in-law, but could also be understood as everting the positions established by parenthood. Taking into account the *padrino*'s internal contribution might place the original parents in the position of mere containers or caretakers of the child who is internally marked as belonging to someone else. That such reversal is both conceivable and highly problematic for the Capanahua descendants is indicated by the inextinguishable controversies in competing interpretations of descent or “belonging,” as exemplified by N.'s introduction involving *padrino*. I will return to this “slanted” contribution in Ch. 5, as it plays a significant part in stories of origins to the Capanahua descendants current positions.

Here, I would note that it requires loosening the original “theories” of owning/parenthood presented in the first section, which may lead to what villagers call “ignoring” (*ignorar*) one's primary, that is, legitimate, family links encoded in parental surnames and blood. From the perspective of the above formulations of relatedness, I would propose that while the procedure places *compadrazgo* alongside the acts of insemination and feeding by the mother, what differentiates these relations and their “legitimacy” is their temporal sequence. The father remains the most “legitimate” because of his firstness, and is followed by the mother, and then the *padrinos* cutting the *umbliego*, or *padrinos* created by other situations, such as baptism (ritual of naming, called *agua de socorro* as well as an official Catholic or Evangelic baptism), or even as a witness at an official marriage ceremony. Indeed, *compadrazgo* is spoken about as an added, widened family, “*paque haga doble... familia ya*” [to double the family already doubled] (DHR10). Therefore, the motive for the procedure, according to the Capanahua descendants, is to add connections to the “family”: “they look for someone to cut, like you have, and that one becomes my *compadre*. And thus we have (...) broadened the family, gathered in a group (*agrupado*), and broadened the friendship (*amistad*)”^{clxxx} (GHR05). It is therefore preferable that the person chosen for a *compadre* is not closely related to the child. This preference is reflected in Don Benigno's wondering about a family living apart from others: “how... among themselves, perhaps, they cut the umbilical cord?”^{clxxxi}

(BRS15), which sounds like the isolationist tendencies attributed to *indios*. The preferred godparent is therefore from at least a more distant family, or unrelated, as migrants to the village. Visiting strangers such as traders, missionaries or in fact, the irregular *gringos polacos* such as ourselves, are also favoured.

Conclusion

The overarching thought in this chapter has been to culminate, in the discussion of the process of procreation and categories resulting from it, the topological categories of containing and the generative-frustrative dynamics. After outlining the explanations of the process of procreation, its consequences and the broader implications for understanding specific formulations of kinship, I turned to a broader, social expression. I suggested that these formulations have significant implications for the villagers' ways of conceiving participation in social spaces and substantial consequences for the way their societies exist. I proposed that the transferred and contained element, which constitutes a specific, pathogenic and formative relation between the entities – such as the *ʔinabu* thirdness between two “tree trunks” or bodies – articulates the generative-frustrative process itself, and therefore taming this is tantamount to taming the curse of procreation/perishing. The examples of social strategies conceived by the villagers might effectively be seen as reflecting the concern with the diluting character of procreation and with differing levels of originality or purity in people and breeds. From this perspective, the Capanahua descendants' sociality could be understood as taming “time,” which means, following their explanations, the loss, mortality, procreation, and descent.

An example of the Capanahua kinship terminology and arrangement of exchanges and replacements seems to be aimed at precisely harnessing the pathogenic consequences of direct procreation, so that the actual reproduction might take place across generations, in grandchildren. This would contain the circuit against loss or the introduction of the foreign content. By recovering the missing, extracted content, the arrangement conserves the level of originality of the *tronco* content. Against the Moon's curse, the blood is not, in the end, spilled and wasted, but instead contained and returned by the tamed, befriended others. I point out here that the explanation attributed to the ancient people eating the corpses of the deceased, “*por no desperdiciar*” [so they wouldn't go to waste] (Ch. 5) assumes an additional dimension in this context and returns explicitly the relevance of the

predatory (here, containing) logic known in other Amazonians' ways of making sense. By containing the very process, or sickness and by taming the potentially pathogenic *'inabu* like pets, the solution transcends the procreative problem. Outside and inside fold back symmetrically and impregnate their precious levels of originality by vendettas of "insemination-killings." It should be remembered however, that, subject to the temporal processes themselves, this strategy, marked as "ancient," has also a failed confrontation with the frustrative-generative force of the stronger procreative infliction.

The latter is hinted at in the next strategy. While in the previous strategy, the extracted child is a mediatory phase for reproduction which transcends procreative relations, and conserved the received level of strength, originality and beauty of the social spaces, in the second presented strategy, a godchild is already the result. Here, reproduction is postulated by skipping the procreation altogether, ideally yielding a perfect *xu'ta* replacement. At the same time, one's own children, no longer passed on to separate affines, are implanted with the status of a befriended stranger.¹⁹⁰ Because the new contribution is often deliberately chosen to be "stronger" or "noble," here it is the "humble" parents who become the *'inabu* in their own spaces, pregnant with a stronger, even more original and beautiful future. Here, it could be understood that it is they who become "secondary" parents in relation to the "stronger" ones. While similar folding back, which has reappeared throughout this thesis, also takes place in the previous strategy, here the transitory moves of marriage and procreation are shifted and rescaled. Again, thinking about these strategies, the *'inabu* position and the folding back of outsides will guide Ch. 5 through a wider socio-historical context of "acculturation" from the vantage point of the villagers' representations towards the end of this contribution.

¹⁹⁰ Don Benigno, importantly in this perspective if somewhat jokingly, calls his little daughter Lurdes – *ahijada* of Doña Lurdes – by the nickname of a wealthy trader: "*Brashica*" (note the connection to Brazil which is generally considered "stronger" than Peru). I will return to this when gathering some notes on the *'inabu* in the Conclusion.

Chapter 5.

Whose inside is this outside?: Acculturation

By way of closure, here I propose an additional perspective. I suggested in the last chapter that the specific, frustrative-generative formulations of kinship and descent shape explanations and ways of participating in sociality, and therefore, diagnoses of history and ways of creating it. I have explicitly not addressed this so far, because the examples provided by the villagers were themselves both illustrating as explaining it best by talking about other subjects. This chapter brings this theme into relief by explicitly addressing the origins of modern social spaces and the Capanahua descendants' position within them. This seems significant, because it enables us to look for their vision of the history which for outside observers spells "acculturation."

What follows is a handful of historical images presented by the Capanahua descendants, sampling some of the frustrations delimiting polarized (and yet surprisingly close) ideals of past (Sect. 1) and future (Sect.2) purity. In my view, it is these ideals, or rather their very thwarting, that serve the *paisanos* to position themselves historically. As in the formulations of kinship and sociality, the position of the transferred, potentially thwarting element as the third, transitory agent plays a significant, discussed and wrestled role. It focuses on the problem of authenticity and originality: who emerged from where, and in what order?

1. The dying breed: frustrations of the original purity

Frustrations of the originating singularity/non-differentiation ideal by inseminations or killing (death) serve the Capanahua descendants as one reference point for identifying their contemporary situation. Humans are bound to reproduce in a dangerous way through containing and having oneself contained in others (Ch. 4). Therefore, while the identity associated with an origin, *or raza*, cannot change during most of the person's life, and is an indelible remainder of progenitors in their offspring, it is possible, even unavoidable, across the temporal and physical limits between generations thus, conception and death. It dilutes, by mixing, in offspring,

while the originating original perishes away. This, in fact, provides a general guidance to the villagers' readings of history.

Guarding the *raza*, either by impregnating the “containers” and staying away, or by establishing a perpetual vendetta of inseminations between allies or neighbours (*henabu* “family”) or *trancos*, is presented as aimed at preserving the specific, finite originality (Ch. 4). Yet, such equilibrium is both fraught with the “sin” of closing off and opposing to other people (Ch. 2), and ultimately fragile, because in the end, as the Moon speeches point out, everything perishes by the force of the frustrative-generative process (Ch. 3, 4). It is no wonder that in historical narratives, older people are usually cast in the roles of the staunchest opposers of novelties. They are represented not only as guarding against foreign inseminations, but also, the introductions of any tools or foods from “outside” their dominions. Américo told me about an absolute, ancient leader, who in his father's stories, was ordered to kill a *sabio* [a knowledgeable/skillful man] who learned – by “talk[ing] to God perhaps” (fT1208) – how to procure metal tools. Similarly, in stories about conquest of the *indios* which are widely told in the area, one of the most common motifs concerns the opposition of the stingy “*viejos bravos*” [savage old ones] to contact with strangers, and their eagerness to kill anyone who approached. According to the attributed phrase which is re-utilized across similar stories: “I am not an old macaw that can be tamed!” This approach is in fact most often contrasted with the less radical, more curious and open attitudes attributed to the younger generations.¹⁹¹

When asking about “the Capanahua,” during the initial conversations with the inhabitants of Berea, Victor Raúl or Limón, I heard recurring diagnoses: the authentic “tree trunks” or “boles” that were the *antiguos* Capanahua are gone (*ya no hay ya*); the living people are merely their “branches,” “new breeds” (*nuevas generaciones*), while the old *razas* perish (*pierden*) – despite there being plenty of children in the villages. This is where this thesis was germinated (cf. Introduction). Explanations attributed to these diagnoses revolved around two or three main causes of the authentic ideal's frustration: foreign inseminations, the perishing of the

¹⁹¹ It is also reminiscent of representations of other Panoan and Amazonian people (Marubo, Yaminahua, Piro etc.). Isolation is connected with strength, purity and a divided, warrior past. It is not necessarily associated with the idea of civilization as “acculturation” to the “the Whites.” The Marubo (Ruedas 2001, Welper 2009) speak similarly of their ancestors as originally isolated and warlike, and “civilized” or “tamed” by an influential Panoan leader in the headwaters. The time-place where they have united (cf. Monte Alegre image in Ch. 1) is now the example of ideal union, authenticity and knowledge, and is connected to the divide (in mythical terms, crossing the river) between the wild old ones and the new generations (Cesarino 2008).

knowledgeable, more original people, and the insubordination of the new “generations.”

1.1. The inseminations

Most of all, foreign inseminations or introduced foreign elements diversify or blemish the original *raza*, as in the stories of mythic owners. While they can be the beginning of new alliances, they frustrate the ideal, original separateness. Historical processes which led to the formation of the set of *kaibu* known to outsiders as the “Capanahua” in the 20th century is sometimes explained by the Capanahua descendants as the result of overcoming such previous isolations. It is the effect of a process described with the synonymous verbs of “taming,” “civilizing,” or “conquering,” just as acquiring sons-in-law or allies. It could be imagined that previously isolated diverse “tribes” (*tribus*) have tamed each other or “civilized in Capanahua” (BHR01). Further it is often said that the process was made possible by unifying, foreign employers (at the beginning of the 20th century):

There was no more fighting, they already lived peacefully (*tranquilo*). The Huaninches (...) Pizarros and Freires. All addressed each other as *primo*, [that is] *cha'i* [brother-in-law/cross cousin]. Already they were handing over their daughters, to the Freires, to Pizarros. For example, to me they gave the granddaughter of Manuel [Huaninche].^{clxxxiii} (RPR01)

This is important, because it shows the relations between *kaibus*/families could be understood as their mutual “emerging” process, similar to that which leads to “civilizing” alongside new others. For example, whatever the original *raza* Capanahua may have been in the past (being the result of such “civilizing” between previous strangers), its loss can be associated with the “others,” like the *mestizo*, who came from “various places” to “*hacer raza*” [make *raza* – i.e. sire children]. In Blanca’s words:

Just like they come to live here [now]. Like you can live here, but you’re a *mestizo*, not our *paisano*. There: mixing! You can have a woman here. (...) The surname can mix, if you have a child (...). With the boy: the surname does not die. If you have a girl: the man’s surname dies. (...) There’s a lot of that here. That’s why some are Jiménez, Velas, Rengifos, Hidalgos... those are other peoples, from outside. He has a wife, that’s where he multiplies.^{clxxxiii} (BHR01)

It was sometimes claimed (by both the Capanahua descendants and related mestizos themselves) that, throughout history, newcomers had “conquered” (*conquistar*) the local families (“Capanahua”) by producing children with their women, or *sacando la vuelta* [lit. stealing the turn] from the husbands, thus

parasitically placing their own offspring under the rooves or mosquito nets of the rightful husbands. Again, the same representations of insemination or sex are made to play the decisive function in stories about taming or “conquering” wild *indios*, often against the opposition of the old people. In fact, Eugene Loos seems to have accepted such local diagnosis when he maintained that the Capanahua were “strong” (that is, separate?) as a socio-cultural group... until the *mestizo* or “Spanish-speaking Cocama” workers started to marry the Capanahua daughters in the 1970s (ELO1). Continuing the purity of *raza* in this broadening context is especially difficult, as suggested by Don Benigno’s layering of problems:

(LK: Why does it say, (e.g. *¿Áyu*)-*bakebu*?) That’s already children of this *generación*, of *¿Áyubakebu*. Of this *raza indígena*, the *¿Áyubakebu*. It’s this kind (*clase*) of people. (...) So, like I’m telling you, *generación* continues on, does not perish (...). If you don’t multiply (*augmentas*), it terminates there, dies, ends, it does not continue. But, if you have multiplied children [sons? (*hijos*)], they keep on emerging... Yet, they differentiate as well... But, like I’m telling you: if I reunite with my cousin, engender children (*hijos*): then it does not terminate, it continues. Now, if I grab another, already from a different *generación* – then it will not advance, does not continue. Instead, it perishes, it’s perishing. For example, I crossbreed (*me cruzo*) with a *mestizo* – it does not multiply there anymore. It dies there.^{clxxxiv} (BRS04)

1.2. The perishing

Let us now move on to the second most common explanation for the disappearing *raza* Capanahua. It is that the old, “real” representatives have passed away, often without having multiplied enough. The sentence “*los viejos ya no hay ya*” [there are no old ones anymore] was repeated frequently to me over my stay.^{clxxxv} It is they who are assumed to have known the “authentic” stories, language and the old ways:

(LK: Who might these Capanahua [i.e. Kapabu breed] be?) These Capanahuas no longer exist. There are... but only their children. They are no more... (...) Those who used to know the histories, they don’t exist anymore.^{clxxxvi} (LCO01);

Now we are the new ones, as they say. From the other day that is all. And we don’t know the histories. (...) My uncles and my father have died. Like they say, we are the new ones, newly created... (BSR01)

An implicit common idea that often accompanies such statements is that contemporary children are but diluted, lesser versions of their parents. Therefore, there are “merely” descendants who are left. In fact, this seems to be the significance of a popular figurative expression, that I introduced in Ch. 4, which compares the descendants to the branches (*ramas*), roots (*raíces*) or offshoots (*retoños*) – or

indeed, *generación*, *razas* – against the “tree trunks” or “boles” of the *antiguos*. For example: “(ŁK: Does it mean there is no real Neabu?) No any more, [those living] are just the branches (LCO01).”^{clxxxvii} This attitude in practice is revealed by Don Jorge’s answers to my questions about the surnames and ancestors of Limón’s inhabitants:

These Sachivo are others [than Chumo]. But they... Well, they are not the *antiguos*, [they are] just like us here. (...) There were (...) three Sachivo [brothers]. They are the ones who have their children here, all of these. (ŁK: Where was their father from?) Where from indeed!... From there, nowhere else. [They were those] who grew there. On their land, here, upriver on the Capanahua [stream], at the source. There, just like *indios*! But they... came here to the river. There they, too, got used. There they had their women, and a whole lot of children. And here, in turn, they make [are] their children. They make [are] all of these, all of them. These kids [offspring] here, they are all kids [offspring]. (...) Their father(s) have died, but there was only the children [offspring] living here. (...) The Pizarros, they too have grown here, like these kids now. But their father(s), the one(s) who raised them: all of them have died! There is no one. Only the children are left. (...) It’s not like it used to be. Everyone is... over there, gone to the cities (...), some live like this [here]^{clxxxviii} (JRR02)

1.3. Those that grow: the tender spot of history

Finally, there is a third possible and frequent explanation as to why there seems to be no more “Capanahua.” I often heard that in reality, “everyone” in these villages is of Capanahua descent, only they are ashamed to admit it (“*tienen vergüenza*” or “*no quieren ser ya*” [don’t want to be anymore – e.g. Capanahua], or “*son ignorantes*” [they ignore – their parents, origins]).

This final explanation requires an explicit introduction of those agents who keep appearing or who have been implicitly present throughout the previous chapters. In the perspective drawn by the Capanahua descendants, the fate of *raza* is ultimately dependent on the adjacent generations. It boils down to that unpredictable, loose cannon, inherently wilful and instinctively disobedient partial stranger. It is an altered copy meant to ascertain the fuller circle of reproduction, a continuity of *generación* (Ch. 4): the *muchachos* [the kids/offspring]. As I suggested, the production and control of offspring is the central, and at the same time, highly vulnerable, point of sociality. They could be understood as the “the third element” used for exchanges in the dynamics of inseminations or introductions between *troncos*, and thus, a guarantee of a preconceived future for the parents or grandparents: a mediating, transitory phase also between the past and future originalities. They are the tender spot of history. For one, their production has been one explanation for the loss of “original” *raza* of the progenitors, as they may be

kidnapped or impregnated by strangers. That is why sheltering and controlling the offspring was important for the old ones.

But the offspring or the younger generations themselves also constitute, unfortunately for the old ones, the decisive agents of the Capanahua descendants' histories. As inherently *traviesos*, heady and wilful, the young people may slip out of the control of the older generations, and become disobedient or run away, "ignoring" that they belong to their original "owners," the progenitors. This leads to the demise of the old ones' dominions. This is perhaps the most important infliction of reproduction and descent. Below I have gathered some vignettes that illustrate this problem in *paisanos*' histories. The first few illustrate the young ones' search for new sources of strength or purity, and then, their outright rejection of the old dominions, often based in just such new affiliations.

Recall how in the Prologue, the origin of the *Kapabu* name, through an act of a naughty child was explained, and how "breed" or *tribu* names can also be seen as "surnames" that the "fighting men" of the past have claimed for themselves, invoking the strength, valour or agility of animals or plants, in order to ascertain their own invincibility, and thus imperishability and impregnability (cf. also Ch. 4, and the explanation of the "owner of moriche palm" claim). Similar identities could be attributed to the ruinous, diversifying activity of the earthworm's child in the stories of the *antiguos* (Ch. 3). These identities, the *tribus*, can therefore also be referred to as "*ramas*" (OPH01; LCO01), thus implying another, remote original non-differentiation, which can refer to different levels of encompassment. Indeed, the Capanahua descendants often mention that it is merely such names that set people apart, yet they belong to essentially the same *raza* and speak the same language (cf. Ch. 4):

That's how they gave themselves names. 'I'm going to be this!' – they said. So that's why they are Xanebu, Binabu, Xawanbu... all of these. These were their names. But not because they really were different groups, the same – all have the same language. It's only how they took on their names. Their *tribadas* (...) That's how they took up names in their lands, in the forest.^{elxxxix} (RPR01)

What is important here is that the origins of the separate identities are associated with violence or conflict (cf. Prologue). I would note that they also result from discontinuity, and perhaps disobedience towards their originators, because the

wilful self-naming, that is, introduction of difference as personal identity of its founders, frustrates previous non-differentiation.

Now, in a leap towards a different source and remote times, consider the following note from an unpublished diary of Father López¹⁹² after a meeting with a group of Capanahua near today's San Antonio de Fortaleza in 1907 (where the Sachivo and Ríos eventually “emerged from” to form Limón Cocha in the 1970-80s – see Fig. 3):

On the 15th [of December] all of them [local Capanahua] came to visit me, bringing five children to baptise. On the 16th the *curaca* [chief] came with his family, bringing four more. On the 17th he came back with another three children to baptize. (...) Finally, one Capanahua, aged about 20, came up to me and asked for a baptism. Recognising the extraordinary grace that God wanted to bestow on him, I administered the sacrament. Immediately, in front of all of his *paisanos*, and especially his grandfather the *curaca*, who all tried to dissuade him. He asked to come with with me downriver. He talked to the *patrón* to whom he owed around 200 soles, and who yielded to his wish, so it was no inconvenience for me to receive him. He prepared his things (...) and around 2 pm, filled with joy, we went downriver (...).^{exc} (López 1903-09: 108–9)

As I hinted in Ch. 4, it is common to hear, both from the villagers as well as from other inhabitants of the area, that the surnames used by the Capanahua descendants over the last few generations originate from their godfathers (*padrinos*), employers (*patrones*) or adoptive fathers (*padrastras*). For example, according to Don Baudilio's version of the origin of names of Limón:

These surnames... they were pulled from... the *patrones* who worked with them. (...) In the past they were truly... how would you say it... alphabets! They didn't know what surname they had (...) They lived only to live! (...) The *patrón* would gather all of them (...), a Brazilian (...) – he pulled them together: “Ok, what's your name?” “No, I don't know what my surname might be.” “Oh, and you?” “I don't know either.” (...) “Ok, then: You're going to be Rodríguez. You are going to be Peso... You: Sachivo.” He got hold of my father: “You're Sachivo, all right?” “Yes, ok.” (...) And so, they were left the surnames. The *patrón* gave the surname to everyone, to his workers. (BSR01)

In many cases, such changes are attributed to actions of the heady youngsters claiming foreign, “noble” (*noble*) or “elevated” (*elevado*) surnames (cf. Ch. 4) – and (therefore) “slanted” stories of foreign descent – while “ignoring” their parents. For some, the discontinuity and new affiliation is traced to having spent time (*andar*) with the mestizo/*viracucha* strangers, working away from their home villages. The

¹⁹² Father Agustín López Pardo is considered the founder of Requena, and his monument stands in the middle of the city square (Salvador 1972; Río Sadornil 1991).

readiness to engage in such a relation (and to abandon “the old ones”) has been captured in the diary entry above. During the several decades that followed, López recorded in passing some young Capanahua men who accompanied mestizo employers in other parts of the Tapiche or the Ucayali. For those who came back, having learned new languages¹⁹³ and consequently visited new places, this experience is sometimes given as the reason for “forgetting” their language or stories.^{cxci} This is true of some elderly villagers in Limón in the recent past or nowadays. Don Jorge himself admitted to me that he had forgotten the language after living for so many years in “the cities.” Today, too, many people claim to have been raised in towns and cities, or with foreign employers, as an explanation of their lesser “knowledge” (thus, belonging) of the *antiguos*.

On the other hand, such changes can also be attributed to the voluntary actions of the parents themselves, perhaps with similar motivations. In any case, this would illustrate the associative potential of *compadrazgo* discussed in the previous chapter. One remote example may be found in the story of the *curaca* bringing children to be baptized as told by Father López. Don Romer described further how such a decision to change may arise:

(ŁK: How was it done, when they were small?) Small, when they are very young – then it stays. This is my surname now. They themselves give the name: “Leandro Torres.” (...) One called Torres baptised him. He wanted it himself: the belly of the pregnant woman, the mother. He asked for it as his *ahijado*. No matter if it be a boy or a girl. And Leandro was born, so then they named him Leandro. (...) [The *padrino*] would lay claim on him as the real father [after the real father died], that’s why lots of people wanted a *padrino*. So the *padrino* gave this surname (...), the whole name and surname. And that’s why he’s not Pizarro any more, but Leandro Torres. (...) (ŁK: And it didn’t bother the parents that the child will not carry their surname?) No, to the contrary. They wanted him even more, because he would give them clothes, and all they needed. Because of the *ahijado*. (...) [The child grows up] with the mother and father, not so much with the *padrino*. And his other brothers. But he is already left with that surname, he grows up with it. They are brothers and recognize each other as such, but the surname is different. As if from a different father.^{cxcii} (RPR08)

As I mentioned, seeking new, stronger affiliations could be connected with the attitudes directly rejecting the *antiguos*. Some examples of why and how the younger generations reject the past could make this clearer. In the past generations of the “Capanahua,” some people are remembered as recommending to “throw away the

¹⁹³ For example, I was told that N.’s father had *criado* [grown up] or had been *andando* [wandering] with mestizos, and learned Quechua.

antiguo.” Often, this would concern the violence or differentiation linked with isolationism attributed to their own *xenibu* [ancestors]. For example, Doña Joba told me that her grandmother said of herself that she was “no longer *indio*,” and she did not want to pass on stories from the past: “It’s good that you were not Capanahua, child. (...) Campa descendants (*hijo de Campa*) would go for them, finishing off the Capanahua”^{exciii} (ACo2).¹⁹⁴ According to Don Albino, Joba’s husband: “Even back then [1960s-70s, when he came from north-eastern Peru], the Capanahuas did not want to speak their language. It already seemed ugly to them: ‘We are no longer *indios*, we too, are now mestizos’ – they would say [laughs]”^{exciv} (ACo1). In fact, Doña Joba’s father is remembered by him as saying: “It’s enough that the old ones know [the language, but cf. Ch. 3] – he would say. The children don’t have to be like this. Because they should have a higher education, (...) so they could be taught”^{exciv} (ACo2). For this reason parents, or the old ones, did not want their children to learn the language, as is sometimes claimed across today’s generations.

Furthermore, it is worth comparing this approach with the way in which Victor related how the “old ones” insisted on consuming the corpses of their deceased relatives,¹⁹⁵ while the younger generation, represented by his grandfather, refused to comply:

My grandfather said that his grandfathers wanted to eat people! People that died. So [they] wouldn’t go to waste, they wanted to eat them – (...) the old ones wanted to eat (...). My grandfather would say: ‘Why should we? Have we come here to eat people? No. We have to bury!’ And he would bury the dead: done! My grandfather was young! (...) The *antiguos* wanted to eat.^{excvi} (VPBo1)

In a similar, more recent image which addresses another element of the *antiguos*’ conservatism and their insistence on “not perishing/wasting” (Ch. 4) was related to me by Doña Germe and Don Benigno from their own experience. They both admitted to opposing their parents or uncles in their refusal to marry their closest cousins in the context of a broadened sociality:¹⁹⁶

Our cousin is *beneati* [marriageable for a woman], they say. [Is] our... “husband.” “You can marry your cousin” – my dad would tell me. “Ha! Watch me!” – I would tell him [laughs]. I was just a kid but I knew how to think. How am I going to

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Similar images of violence are common in today’s representations of that remote past, and similarly in Manuel’s Huaninche’s account (Schoolland 1975).

¹⁹⁵ Some historical sources (e.g. Oppenheim 1936a) suggest the practice of funerary anthropophagy for the ancestors of the Capanahua.

¹⁹⁶ It should also be mentioned that they both married other, less closely related Capanahua descendants. Both originated from the Tapiche, and they both married people from the Buncuya River.

marry my family, I would say. How would I address my kin? (...) “*Min beneyura*” [your real/trunk/body husband], he would say. (...) I remember how X would say to my dad: “You’re going to give me your daughter, uncle.” I raged and cried when they spoke like that [laughs]. I didn’t like my kin to be speaking like that. And I opposed them to the end! I didn’t want to hear about it! And until today I address him as *ñaña* [brother], not even *primo* [cousin]! I treat them as my brothers. (GSRo8)

“The *raza* is already perishing – my dad said. – You want to make the *nawa* [mestizos] multiply! (...) You want to make the Cocama multiply!” – he’d say [laughs]. (GSR11)^{cxvii}

So my uncle wanted me to marry his daughter. And I didn’t want to! Uuuh, the uncle was mischievous, he’d grab you – [laughing] (...) I would [take off] [laughs]. (...) “*ʔAʔki... min ʔaibu betan ʔuxawe, ihun!*” [In her... Sleep with your woman, there she is, son]! (...) They would do this to me at every drinking occasion! (...) Damn, in the morning I would be ashamed, sleeping with my cousin! (...) I did not want that: “That would be bad, dammit! But my uncle wants to give me his daughter. Like they say, so that the *raza* would not perish. To multiply there.” I did not want that. My mom didn’t know, I would be mischievous somewhere else. Young, 14 years old. (...) And the aunt was the same (...): “*ʔʔkunin, raʔe hutaŋwe! Min ʔaibu!*” [Come tame yourself (cf. Ch. 2 on civilizing), son-in-law, it’s your wife!] “No, aunt – I’d say – I don’t know how to work, how will I provide (*servir*) for her?” (BRSo4)

Because she was my cousin, I didn’t want to. I told [my uncle]: “Nnoo, I’m afraid.” “Why would you be? Huh? Is she other people? But that’s your *ʔaibu!* [wife] (...) He would grab my hand like this: “Come! Sleep with my daughter!” (BRSo8)

I didn’t even think about... that... my *raza* is going to waste away, right? Being with them, my children would have multiplied [i.e. producing grandchildren] (...) and my blood would not perish.^{cxviii} (BRSo11)

Similarly, Doña Germe recalled how, even more recently, her brother-in-law – who worked with the SIL on the Capanahua dictionary – would advise her against making pottery as the thing “of the *antiguos*”: “‘Having the opportunity to buy pots, you’re going to be making them out of dirt? That’s what the *antiguos* used to do (...). When they couldn’t buy any!’”^{cxix} (GSRo4).

Finally, consider these two vignettes on the offspring’s radical attitude towards their living ancestors. First, according to Don Rogelio’s observation about the attitudes towards those who preferred to speak the Capanahua language:

All of them have perished. Even worse now. When someone speaks – they are ashamed! When the old women spoke it, their children, grandchildren said: “No-no-no-no! Don’t speak, grandma, they are listening, the *mozos* (mestizos)! (...) They are going to treat us like we’re *cholos!*” [laughs hard]. So [the language] is ending. They never want to speak now.^{cc} (RBS01)

The second, more extreme example was presented by Don Jorge. It concerned Doña Shabi, who was one of the last women remembered (by people 50 and older) to have tattoos on her face, similar to those inherited by the monkeys in the earthworm's son's story in Ch. 3. According to Don Jorge, these tattoos made them "like a jaguar! Ugly!" (JRR04). Shabi is commonly mentioned as one of the "authentic" *antiguos*, and as the ancestress of many contemporary people of Capanahua descent. Don Jorge told me a grisly version of her death:

She was grandmother of X [from a breed left on the Tapiche by the Brazilian traders – and she lived in his house] (...). [He would say to her:] "Because of you, some *viracuchas* tell us: 'Look, you are *indio*! Why do you live like this?' [That's what] they tell us! Because of you!" [There was] a ladder, the house was up high, elevated. And there, when the old one was [going to?] wash herself, he pushed her off there: "*Carajo!* [swearing], you old one, what are you doing here!?" – and he pushed her. She fell... boom! Dead. That's how she ended. (...) There's no more Shabi today.^{cci} (JRR02)

I would add that such attitudes could be seen as illustrating again (cf. Ch. 1 and 2 on position of children, Ch. 3 on the shift in the earthworm's son's story, and the replacing in the kinship system in Ch. 4), the folding back of generations, a switch of perspectives, whereby the offspring becomes more "ahead" in relation to the social "outside" than their living ancestors (cf. also Ch. 4 on the contribution of stronger, "ahead" element to the children). The positions of containing reverse, as the old ones find themselves living in spaces belonging to, and determined by, the younger generations.¹⁹⁷ In other words, the position of the last old ones becomes comparable to that of other *inabu*, as the bearers – or worse still, visible markers – of difference within a social space which aspires to clarity and harmony.

INTERLUDE

Carnaval

One day in February, when the coming celebrations enter conversations, Daniel tells me that *carnaval* is not a holy day (*día rojo*). It is just a feast of the demons (*demonios*), he explains with slight derision. But the demons are happy when *carnaval* approaches. They are there in their forest, sleeping in the cold, or in their holes. Drinking their manioc beer, whatever it may be made from... (fT1302). On another occasions, he explained:

¹⁹⁷ I heard the verb *criar*, to rear/feed, used by a mestizo woman in reference to her old mother, who had to be cared for and carried when she was very old.

They live in the forest, same as us here. That's where their village is. Children, girls, dogs, all of these. Their animals, peccaries, all. (ŁK: Do they have their house and clothes?) They do... No, in hole in a tree. They live there. There they are inside of that darkness. (...) they are from there.^{ccii} (DHR03)

[in] hole in the ground. (...) Like you find in the forest sometimes. A huge one, see. Well – cleaned – the darkest inside! But nice (*lindo*), cleared! Perhaps [they] sleep inside there.^{cciii} (DHR24)

Because they live deep in the forest, in darkness and isolation, these beings occupy a place in Capanahua descendants' representations that is closely related, or even synonymous with that of the *yashingos*, who kidnap people in the forest or make them lose their way. These, in turn, might be associated by the villagers with the stories of figure(s) who control(s) the animals and may keep them contained in pens (*cercos*) – the “owner of animals” (*dueño de animales*) or “king of the forest” (*rey del monte*).^{cciv}

The carnival is initiated each year by the demons, and they are happy in anticipation for the infectious feasts which mark the carnival. This is the only time each year that they have a chance to “come out” (*salir*) socially. Or at least it is their spirit/quality/knowledge that “comes out.” It is the centripetal party sociality which captures people along the way, and is referred to as the “mother of carnival” (*madre de carnaval*). Indeed, according to the stories told by the *antiguos*, it was rather dangerous in the past to venture out into the forest at the time of carnival. Lonely travellers would find the parties moving through the land, and if they were unlucky, they would be pulled in:

One man went to the forest on the day of the carnival. (...) The day they put up the *húmisha* [central palm, see below]. (...) He kills a collared peccary (...). Coming home (...), he hears the sound of a drum ahead of him. He hears it behind him. So he (...) makes a little cross from sticks (...). [But the devils] heed nothing, and keep on coming, coming... *tran!* [they arrive]. [Because he hid in a hole:] “Hey, friend, what are you doing in there? – Let's go and celebrate the *carnaval* feast!” So he comes out. He comes out and goes with them. And he looks around: there was no forest anymore! A beautiful road! Well cleared! Then – they say he was a flute player – so they gave him a flute. There was a bombo drum, *bruuto* [swear] the people kept coming. All kinds: youngsters and adults, drinking. Some drunk. They kept on coming, and he went along with his flute. They were going to drink *masato*, *trago*.^{ccv} (RPH01)

In other stories, feasting parties would move through settlements in the forest, bringing with them the cleared social space.^{ccvi} Yet, still today, when carnival time comes around, that space spreads to all the communities on this side of clarity, in the human world. The old people said that in the past spirits would actually come out

(*salir*) alongside the villagers, who pay a fee and register to get dressed up and emerge with the demons. On that February day, when I bring up what others told me, Daniel said that it is true; they used to come, but they do not come as much these days. They have become more timid, and more and more of the forest.

On that same occasion, Ronal stops by our place when I talk with Daniel. They check with each other about whether there was any news of demons coming out this year. One asks the other if their obligations have been fulfilled (*cumplido su año*). *Naada* [Nope]! –they both answer – they agree they don't feel like it anymore (fT1302).

Although participation is admittedly “entertainment,” once a person comes out into the *carnaval* demon sociality, he (less frequently she) is obliged to participate 12 times (i.e., years) before being freed from this obligation. This is reminiscent of handing oneself over to the containing, employing figures such as *kuka* or *patrones*. If one does not fulfil this obligation, the mother of carnival will “accompany” (*compañar*) the noncompliant, and pester him, in an effort to claim his soul (*alma*)^{cevii} (DHR28). Sickness befalls as a result of the infliction of debt to another sociality. Daniel explained this several times before:

The *carnaval* is approaching, so they make you dream. *Bruto* [swear], hearing the dancing. Beautiful girls. Their faces well painted up/made up. Come! – they pull me to dance. They paint me, playing! *Ta!* I wake up: “Dang, it was a dream...” I look in the mirror: nothing. Clean (*lindo*). But in your dream they paint you! (DHR03); *Bruuto*, how it made me dream. (...) The devil of the forest comes to take you in your dream. (...) the girls, beautiful girls, their faces all red [painted with wild achiote]: They pull you in your dream, to dance. That's because you didn't get dressed up and come out. (...) If you don't come out, you become sick. It accompanies you.^{ceviii} (DHR02)

Therefore,

you come out dressed up (...). *Uuuh*, it's the same all over the world, right? In your country, do they do this as well? (...) Here, they do this every year. (...) The [village] authorities ask what the villagers say: “Are we going to erect the palm or not?” (...) So they chip in: *masato*, one *lata* [c. 19 liters] each. (BRS22)

Then,

[At the] time of the *carnaval* they put up the palm. They arrive with the flute and the bombo drum. They erect [the palm] with the drum, the music. And they decorate the palm with scarves until it is heavy, lots of things to dress it up. (BRS17)

As to the central palm, the *húmisha/úmisha*:

[They make it] out of the walking palm (*cashapona*). They cut it down (...) Bring it to the communal building (...) There they plait its leaves (...) tie it up [in a loop]. There [horizontally] they place a stick and it's ready: things are tied to it. Everything, well dressed up! Well loaded! Everything. And at the very top, the flag. Red and white, Peruvian. (...) That's because we are Peruvians.^{ccix} (DHR22)

I “collaborated” [contributed] bleach, dishwashing paste (*ace*) and soap (...) Some offered up turtles (*motelo*), some wrapped meat (...) manioc or plantains (*inguri*), cookies, bread, *zapote* fruits, (...) sweets, the soda (*gaseosa*) – that doesn't break.^{ccx} (DHR02)

“They will have to celebrate the feast all night, all day. At 5 pm they are going to drink by the palm. (...) *Aja*, painting [each other] with mud or paint”^{ccxi} (BRS17).
And the next afternoon:

Around that time they cut the *húmisha/úmisha* [i.e. the palm] down: *po, po: blon!* There they defeat that *húmisha: Uuuh*. Then they carry it to the water. The feast ends there. (...) [When it falls,] everybody piles up on it, grabbing. A fight!”^{ccxii} (DHR02)

The participants swarm around while the palm is still standing at the centre, dancing in the *pandilla* style to the sound of the bombo drum and flute music (*baile bombo*). Twice during the night and then again at noon the following day, they intermingle with the visible “children” of the mother of carnival. For people, these are the *demonios* [demons], *diablos* [devils], *tunchi* [spirits], i.e. *yushin* (Ch. 2), and:

And [all] that devil has is his foreman (*capataz*), that is, their boss. One more devil who is the ooldest! (Julia: They say he's the *apu* [indigenous leader]. He commands them all. He enters first. He comes limping, with his cane^{ccxiii} (RPH01). [It is] the owner of the *yushin* (demons), of all of them (...). The foreman emerges ahead, and his *crías* fall behind. (...) He leads in front, like a *matero*¹⁹⁸ (...). An old one, white beard.^{ccxiv} (...) [The foreman, their] father. And we [the other dressed-up], [his] children.^{ccxv} (DHR22)

To explain simply, demons are the difference between what is seen around the palm and who the participants actually are. Firstly, they are the difference in number between villagers who declared to “come out” (*salir*) to the dancing space dressed-up, and the number of visible demons. That difference is created by the authentic members of the demon domain: “those are devils already (...). That's how it used to be before: they have more [dancers] than [people] coming out. (...) [That's what] my dad told tell me”^{ccxvi} (GSR07).

¹⁹⁸ In logging, *matero* is a worker who enters the forest searching and marking trees for felling by the teams who come afterwards.

Secondly, demons are the difference between the outer appearance of the participants and their actual selves, because they are mostly made up of villagers serving under the mother of the carnival's command. They imitate (*imitan*) or copy (*comparar*) the devils. Demons are the masks, clothes, greenery and the personas (youngsters, girls or old men) of the forest sociality seen by the other people. They tightly cover the villagers, so that their own "body doesn't show up"^{ccxvii} (DHR22). While the dressed-up people are said to remain human, they are "*con demonio*" [with a demon]. Back on this side, the clothes and masks they wore in service of the *carnaval* are "*puro demonio*" and after the party, should either be thrown away, or washed off with bleach (removing the smell/air/spirit – cf. Ch. 2).^{ccxviii} Dancers only wear them for short periods during the feast, and prolonged contact with the divergent quality in clothes or masks causes sickness – a weakening paleness resulting from "being accompanied" by the demon for too long.

The insistence of the mother of *carnaval* partying on the external surface is illustrated further by the practice of *jugar carnaval* [playing carnival] in which everyone can be painted or soiled (*ensuciar*) by anyone else with whatever is at hand: mud, paint, oil, even faeces, without the possibility of complaint. In a popular expression: *Carnaval manda nadies no demanda* [There's no complaining when the carnival ordains]. That general hold over its participants, especially those who serve the mother of *carnaval*, was expressed by Ronal: "You have to obey [and come out], by force – don't you know it's the devil's feast?" (RPH01).

It is worthwhile noting how several elements of the party rely on the language of owning/parenting. For example, the invisible, non-personified *madre de carnaval* is a multitude, or an organizing, centripetal principle of an "outside," holding (i.e., containing) the aggregate of participants together. Also, the *capataz* who comes first is the oldest and is followed by his younger fellows, who are less or lower in hierarchy or his "*crías*." And finally, the image of the centripetal palm tree loaded with goods, which is cut down and "defeated" in the culmination of the feast, and its possessions are distributed amongst the participants – strikes me as illustrating the quintessence of the relation between wards and a domain owner such as the mythical owners or, more metaphorically, as the father-in-law (Ch. 3, 4).

Importantly, this constellation also provides an imagery of the positions available to the participants. In relation to the centripetal (containing) force or "the

mother,” these *demonios* are defined as its *crías*, that is, *ʔinabu*. Villagers do not become entirely true children of the *carnaval*’s owner. Underneath the masquerade – that is, in an inside created by this altered surface in relation to the partying outside – dancers continue to be dressed-up humans. We could actually consider that while they represent or wear the appearances of the *carnaval*’s offspring, their inner humanity gives them the status of composite, internally divergent, demons for this sociality. Yet villagers’ obligations, the debt to *carnaval*’s owner, also penetrate them as an element of that otherworldly sociality. This element can potentially affect their health and “accompany” villagers.

The image of a moving clearing, as a sociality on which participants come out, are covered with an external surface of either clothes or paint, and thus become subject to the rules and the command of its sponsor or owner – has come to help me make sense of the way Capanahua descendants spoke about participation in social spaces. I came to understand the social spaces or domains in which people live, wear their clothes, their appearance, submit to their rules or habits (*costumbre*) as their instruments of perceptibility (Ch. 1). This imagery inspired me to look more closely into the *paisanos*’ ways of positing the difference between this side (outside), the other side (inside) and at the mediating, third position of *ʔinabu*, are the themes that “owned” this thesis. I see it as an illustration of Capanahua descendants’ theory of sociality. What is important in the context of this particular interlude is that although the imagery refers to a forest sociality, it might be relevant to the Capanahua descendants’ particular position in relation to the social spaces they inhabit, in this case, Eastern Peru or the *Selva*. I return to this below.

2. The remains: frustrations of the present purity

Meanwhile, let me return to the frustrations of ideals, this time with a focus on the other side of the descent trajectory. Note that the ways in which the Capanahua descendants explain their identity changes, such as those described as thwarting the older *razas*, revolve around the individuals’ yearning to establish themselves in improved, clearer or less differentiated positions. This would be expressed in an abbreviated way as “*quieren ser más*” [they want to be more] or “*no quieren ser...*” [they do not want to be (what they have been)]. It holds equally true for the self-naming of the “fighting men of the past,” which originates in the proliferation of *kaibu* kinds. Here, it is explained as claiming improved strength or endurance for a

new breed, a purity of the *tronco*. The Capanahua descendants similarly explain other people's affiliations with the *nawa* strangers and the appropriation of their "noble" surnames and status, as mentioned in Ch. 4. Yet many people have significant objections to such moves, either of a technical (or "ontological"), or moral kind.

2.1. Technical objections

Most importantly, starting off in an imperfect, rigid world, such transitions are ultimately doomed to be frustrated. That is a solid boundary of the other, future ideal of clarity (apart from the purity of the originating *tronco* in Sect. 1). The one fact which most effectively frustrates attempts to "be more" in the Capanahua descendants representations is that the *raza* is imperishable and ineradicable. This confused me at first, considering the fragility of *raza* and the efforts attributed to the *antiguos* who tried to save it. However, in this context, *raza* might be understood as referring to that fraction of the original that is passed on, like the gift-curse of the original owners. Consider the different reflections on this ineradicability by Doña Germe and Doña Elsa:

(ŁK: I thought that maybe the Capanahua wanted to become mestizos.) Noo. What we are... we can never be more. We cannot change what we are. (ŁK: And doesn't it matter that people here speak Spanish, wear their clothes and live in their way?) No. Well, yes, but, the *raza* does not perish. It does not perish, not ever. One can speak Spanish, but the people know who we are. They know what *raza* we have. (ŁK: So despite everything being the same as with mestizos, people here are a different *raza*?) Mhm (ŁK: So what accounts for this?) (...) Because they are *raza... indígena* [indigenous]. That's the kind of *raza* we have. From way back. We have the *raza* Capanahua. That does not perish – not ever! (ŁK: So where is it? In your body?) In... well, it's nowhere, it's just one's *raza*. (ŁK: So it's not blood?) No, we all have the same blood. (ŁK: So it's just that descent (*descendencia*)?) Mhm, we are the descendants of the Capanahua, those that existed before.^{ccxix} (GSR02)

By ignoring [my surname/*raza*] – what do I become? I am not going to make myself more... better. Because my face (*caracter*) does not do (...). It doesn't allow for being *viracucha*, to equal myself to them. They are *viracucha*, and not *cholos* like us. It would not do, brother. Nor does my surname allow for it. What would it be for if I were to become a *viracucha* (ŁK: But you could change your surname) ...But my face won't do. And my colour, seeing I'm so dark (*negrusha*) (Celina [Doña Elsa's daughter]: Not like the brother – his skin is all white like the *cunchi's* [small catfish] belly) [all laugh].^{ccxx} (EFNO3)

We can now see the affirmations that *raza* cannot be "denied" (*negar*) and should not be "ignored" (*ignorar*) appear precisely in the context of such attempted changes. With the dry sarcastic humour typical of the villagers, which often characterises these revelations, Doña Olga summed up someone's claim of descending from the San Martín Region (indicating a remote, noble mestizo identity):

“San Martín of Buncuya? [chuckles] They want to be *viracucha*, *gringos* like you! They are from the Buncuya river!” (fT1210). Similarly, Don Romer summarized the surname changes in past generations: “They have changed their surnames hoping to grow/become more. In the end: the *generación* remains the same!” (RPR06). Providing an important indication of what such an elevated ideal might be, someone once told me of similar contemporary claims to foreign descent: “[Even if they had] the surname Ollanta [President of Peru], they are [still] from here.”^{ccxxi} In such a context, Doña Elsa expressed a rather common attitude to such changes:

That’s why I’m saying: those from the past were... ignorant! The ancient folks, ignorants (*ignorantes*)! Like I sometimes say of my father, laughing, about what you said¹⁹⁹ – that he doesn’t want to be a *Capacho* [extremely derogatory version of Capanahua] see! [laughs].^{ccxxii} (EFN03)

These changes are often traced back to the “true” (*verdadero*) surname that was “negated” (*negar*), or parents that were “ignored” (*ignorar*). In Ch. 4, I mentioned that those “original” surnames can be identified as *kaibu* names. However, these are ultimately also said to be “made up” to differentiate from previous origins (see above). In either case, there is often only a shadow marking the status of their contemporary identity as “not true” and secondary:

His godfather gave him his surname. (...) And his mother was the same! They were not X. The godfather of her father was X. (...) He gave him this surname (...) (LK: What was their surname before that?) What might it have been!? I don’t know (...) but this wasn’t their true surname.^{ccxxiii} (GSR10)

Such assumptions result in a proliferation of suspicions affecting a large part of historical and contemporary identities. The surnames (of others) are hushedly revealed to be “presented” (*regalados*), “bought” (*comprados*), “stolen” (*robados*), “changed” (*cambiados*), or “straightened up” (*enderazados*),²⁰⁰ etc. This is a result of *compadrazgo*, employment, adoption, individual claims, or intentional concealment. For this reason, affirmations of authenticity are sometimes put forth before any actual accusations, as in the case of N.’s introductory speech in defence of the legitimacy of his surname.

¹⁹⁹ When I met Doña Elsa’s father in 2007, he told me that he was not Capanahua and his parents were from other parts of Peru.

²⁰⁰ The practice of “straightening up” surnames, e.g. from Solisbanco to Solisban or Solis; or from Chumo, a surname associated with an the Upper Tapiche Capanahua, to surnames that are more likely to be found downriver, such as Chumbe or even to the “Chinese” surname Chung. Cf. Ch. 4.

It is the ultimate intransformability of “true” origins that Daniel (DHR27) seems to have meant when he told me I could not become a (real) Capanahua. Although I could be a “Capanahua” while being in Limón, or when speaking the language – I would still be a white man when going to other places, while Daniel and others would be “Capanahua” wherever they went.^{ccxxiv} This is a praised attitude to one’s *raza*, in the expression “not being ashamed and being the same (or speaking the same language) wherever one goes” (“*En donde me voy, soy igual nomás,*” “*En cualquier parte que me voy, yo estoy hablanndo mi castellano... mi idioma,*” or simply “*Por donde también!*”). I understand that I was a white/Polish *raza* in a “Capanahua” outside. On the other hand, the villagers occasionally speak of themselves to others as *sepa* “Capanahua,” but that is a synechdochic formulation to which I return in the Conclusion. Recognizing their remoteness from the original ideal, villagers usually treat such claims to pure identity amongst themselves sceptically (cf. the case of a “Capanahua” and “Capanahuillo” in the Prologue).

As recalled from N.’s speech, in the social dimension, *ʔinabu*, from pet or son-in-law, becomes rescaled to mean *cholos*, or peons, workers, and sometimes is an equivalent of *indios*.²⁰¹ It relies on judging the hierarchical level of containing undesirable difference traced to more diluted, lower descent. Or, conversely, on the marking by contrast the degree of claimants’ absorption and belonging to a more prestigious, “pure” outside or descent. The former marks “backwardness” (*atrás*), and may suggest a position of submission to the latter, which is “ahead” (*adelante*). Consider this part of a drunken speech by a man who will be left anonymous:

Those Y. – they are more *cholo* than us, brother. (...) Their surname is good. (...) Me, yes, I am X, it’s my legitimate surname, I have not changed it, I am of the X. But those? They changed their surname! How does he sound to you when he speaks? (ŁK: well, he does have some...) Some remainder (*dejo*) [i.e. accent]! And me, how do I sound to you, brother? (...) No, they have a lot of remainder! A lot! (...) they can speak the [Capanahua] language well, but they don’t want to speak it! They are not Capanahua, wannabe *viracucha*! Just imagine! [laughs hard]. (...) They are from here, truly (*legítimo*) – more than us! “What is a *cholo* worth, an X!” – they insult us like that. Being more, see! [laughs] (...) They think themselves more. Their surname is good, but... (...) (ŁK: And are you not ashamed of being Capanahua?) What the fuck would I be ashamed of!? This is how God created me. Going any place I speak my *castellano* – my... [Capanahua]. (...) Look at me, brother. How would I make a *mestizo*? Nor does my manner say I’m a *mestizo*: I don’t have the *mestizo* way of walking, of laughing. Of speaking. No, right? (...)

²⁰¹ Working on a different project some years before, I found out that the Shipibo use the word *ʔinabu* to refer to uncontacted people.

That's why I'm saying – how the fuck would I become a *mestizo*? They know who I am!^{ccxxv}

2.2. Moral objections

I was told on numerous occasions that the *antiguos* made similar distinctions between families, and considered other *kaibus* more *cholo*, their *ʔinabu*. The actual context of these historical hierarchies lies beyond the limitations of this thesis, but such examples as above, or in N.'s speech in the Prologue, show that similar hierarchies echo today among the villagers, as seen above. Here, we touch on the delicate, moral obstacles to such claims. Don Benigno's reflections on such differentiating is illustrative of its moral impropriety in an outside that values unity and equality:

Like I said, we shouldn't talk in terms of *cholo*. Because here, none of us is *cholo* of a *patrón*. And, like I said, *cholo* is a servant of another person. (...) An obedient *cholo*. Taking commands. Like an adopted child/servant. (...) Aha, *nuken* [our] *ʔina*, *ʔinabu* (...) We can't think that I have a better surname, or [surname that is] less (...) (ŁK: But *cholo* can say *indio*?) Yes, like I hear them talking – when people are drunk – “He is less than me, I have a better surname” ...and that makes him more... But what is his surname worth, right? (...) Some say this surname won't do. What matters is our education, our demeanour (*presencia*)... But in the end, like I say: we are all the same. Having education or not, in our hearts: we are all good, or some have a good, some have a bad heart, right? You ask a favour, he doesn't do it...^{ccxxvi} (BRS18)

3. Rescaling descent

This position of *ʔinabu* brings me to an important aspect of the representations of history. Its meaning ranges from the “adopted child,” or “pet,” to that of the “son-in-law,” and from there, in one more move, to the “slave” or “*indio/cholo*” as wider social positions. My suggestion is that this rescaling is not limited to the particular term, but also refers to the relational dynamics in which it serves as a central catalyst, which can similarly be rescaled. Indeed, the process of “taming” (*raʔeʔi*, *amanzar*), which describes the process of acquiring *ʔinabu* sons-in-law or pets, also describes “civilizing,” (*civilizar*) (see Ch. 1). Similar to its other instantiations, the process results from the movements of “emerging from/onto” (*pikuti*, *salir afuera*) or “letting oneself be seen” (*dejarse ver*). It would not be unreasonable to assume that with such rescaling, problems of one level parallel those of others. And indeed, issues similar to those discussed for formulations of such an introduced element at the levels of body or in marriage arrangements (Ch. 2, 3, 4) can be identified on representations of the social and historical level. Here, too, the introduction of such “third element” –

inflicted by the compulsiveness of reproduction (also social, through alterity) – disrupts the self-contained state of the two separate, original social purities. This differentiates the receiving “internal” space into a containing “externality” for their wards. These, as the offspring, or “branches” of an originally undifferentiated space (“tree trunk”), become the tamed servants: *cholos* or “slaves” in the receiving space. At the level of adopted child, pet, or son-in-law, *ʔinabu* conserve their status and can never become an unquestionable “true” descendant. Similarly, the *cholos* as “branches” of other domains or *troncos*, have trouble becoming entirely “true” citizens of their hosting “outside” (cf. problems of “inside content” for the clarity of the “outside” in Ch. 1, 2). The recognition of “true” and “secondary” surnames evidences that.

I would suggest that such breaking of the original purity and frustration in achieving the absolute new purity constitute the most important problem for the villagers in human sociality in general. In their particular case – as I suggested in the above collection of reference points through which they define their current position – such frustration frames their presentations of themselves between the ideal domains of past and future self-contained clarity, and proper belonging, non-differentiated into inside and outside by the “guests.” From one of these domains they, or rather their *razas*, are said to have emerged (or have been extracted). The other is that into which they have been received, and wherein they understand their own participation as starting from ignorance and acquiring competence (Ch. 1). From this perspective, it would be possible to think about their way of referencing and describing social and historical relations as a rescaling of the familiar exchange dynamic with the “guest” or *ʔinabu* position as crucial.

Here it is also worth considering that for living people, both domains are “ahead” – one as the “first generations” and the other as the “real people,” whose legitimacy, I argued in Ch. 4, also comes from the “original” purity. How, then are we to understand *desarrollo*, development, that describes the move to the “outside”? I would suggest that it must involve a sort of circularity or complementarity (ultimately similar to the exchanges between original *troncos* as elicited by Capanahua kinship terminology). The move to know the outside would mean shedding the ignorance and difference acquired throughout the generations of “generations” living on earth, suffering and differentiating away from the original. It would mean to recover from a

“sickness” of descent. This positioning would place the present people in the middle between spatial extremes, and simultaneously, at a “vertical” temporal scale between past and present extremes of connected originality and purity, as in the alternating generations of the *antiguos*’ arrangement.

Transplanting these historical representations into a sort of middle ground, I would suggest that the processes formulated as “emerging” or “coming out” to clarity correspond to the processes called “acculturation” in the Lowlands. However, because of its contexts, which I have been tracing in this dissertation, the middle ground quickly turns out to be a working misunderstanding (Sahlins 1985), because there is a significant difference in what Capanahua descendants and outsiders, including anthropologists, might see as problematic in such histories. I suppose that in general, the latter might tend to formulate the problem as the loss of a particular identity and uniqueness of tradition, assuming that it leads to becoming identical with all the other mestizo in the Peruvian *selva*, either in a process of intermixing or of assimilation into the “Western culture.” Yet the villagers speak of difference as, in essence, pestiferous in its indispensability. It is actually the quintessence of problems which frustrate purity and tranquillity between people, and as such it is shameful. The Capanahua descendants’ problem with “acculturation” might therefore be twofold. On the one hand, it is a loss of the original, mythical purity by the *antiguos*. On the other hand, the ultimate incompleteness of the process of re-unification, precisely because of the internally reproduced difference carried by descent.

It is possible to view such rescaling of categories as correlated, for example, with the historical process of widening the consanguine categories, such as “brothers,” onto former affines, or cross-cousins. In the examples above such process is well demonstrated.²⁰² At the same time, widening of the “inside/origin” category might imply that the affines “outside/destiny” category is also shifted elsewhere, as we saw with the new kinds of inseminations, consensual or not.²⁰³ Let me therefore finish by glimpsing at the neighbours of the Capanahua descendants, or other “villagers” in eastern Peru.

²⁰² Paul Henley speaks of hawaiinization of kinship terminology (Henley 1996).

²⁰³ Graham Townsley (1988) proposed that the moiety marked as “outsiders” has been projected on the mestizo society by the Yaminahua.

4. *Perú*: The co-emerged

4.1. Who have the Capanahua acculturated into?

When speaking of “acculturation,” anthropologists tend to focus on groups which are in the process of becoming “acculturated” and the continuities or transformations. Significantly less attention is paid to those to who they actually acculturate into (Gow 2009), as if there was only one final option, a vaguely hinted “national” or “Euro-American” milieu. Ethnographers tend to pass by those people “in between” on the way to do fieldwork with the “named” groups, just as before when they passed by the “invisible Indians” (Stocks 1978). However, confronted with the problem of distinguishing “Capanahua” from “mestizo” elements, I would like to learn in the future, who the Capanahua have acculturated into.

Everyone in the villages, as elsewhere, occasionally gives in to the temptation of positioning themselves hierarchically, either as of more authentic descendant, possessing more knowledge, education, or even as an older sibling. Yet, as Don Benigno noted in a quote above, speaking of others in terms of such inherent differences, especially as *inabu* or *cholos*, placing oneself in a hierarchically higher position, is not proper in outside sociality. It is so particularly because the villagers consider all people to eventually share essentially the same condition. Firstly, blood is the same in all humans, and the Capanahua descendants might rhetorically challenge to find this out by cutting oneself and comparing the colour of the blood. Secondly, there is an important, and perhaps related, assumption about the human condition in general, which might be deduced from their representations. It is that participation in society – an outside – wherever it may be, which requires taming of one’s difference, the dimming of one’s *raza*. And it also means that all people share a similar frustration in the attempt to become “purer” and taming such internal difference. As I heard often from some villagers, the inability to live harmoniously (Ch. 1, 2) does not only inflict Limón or Berea, but generally concerns the world on this side.

For people living in eastern Peru – whose situation the villagers know best – there is a specific instantiation of this larger problem. In some cases, as we saw, mestizos may be spoken of as the “pure ones” (*los puros*) (Ch. 4), which would signify their “authenticity” in the Peruvian domain. However, knowing the places and people downriver, many *paisanos* ultimately also realize that these, as any other, constitute

only claims to clarity. Recall how, at the beginning of Ch. 2, Julio spoke about the mestizo villages on the Ucayali. Or how Don Benigno poked fun at the claim to what he assumed was a pure mestizo identity (*huni kuin*) of the Cashinahua. These opinions are in fact indicative of the way citizens of the Peruvian *selva*, if not of Peru in general, are spoken of by many Capanahua descendants:

(ŁK: Does *cholo* say the same as *indio*?) Mhm yes. (ŁK: So what does *indio* say?) *Indio* are those that come [here sometimes], the *primos*, the Mayorunas [i.e. Matses]. That's what I understand by *indio*. But, arriving at the truth: we are all *indios*. We are all *indígenas*.^{ccxxvii} (GSR05)

"We have all emerged from... We are all *indios*, we have all emerged from *indio*, formed ourselves" – that's how I used to mess with mestizos (ŁK: That they are also...) Yes, from an *indio* woman [and the Spaniards].^{ccxxviii} (GHR03)

"Look at the times of the Inca empire, who were the Incas: they were the *indios* of Peru. That's why we, Peruvians, are *indios*. Every one of us is of the Peruvian *raza*. You can't say no to that! It may be that (...) you are Vásquez, I am Pizarro: but I will not deny! I am from the *raza*, what I am, I know. I recognize: that I am from an *indio* woman"^{ccxxix} (RPR05)

Therefore, despite the attitude of some downriver people, who might like to see villagers such as the "Capanahua," that is, as strangers or backwards *indígenas*, *indios* or in the most pejorative designations, *Capachos*, they do not consider themselves *cholos* or *inabu* of anyone, more than any other eastern Peruvians, and perhaps all other people. The Peruvian flag put on the *húmisha* has been flying over their lands for many generations. Don Romer's grandfather (and Ronal's great-grandfather) is said to have flown the red and white colours over his settlement in the highest inhabited reaches of the Buncuya river even before the arrival of SIL missionaries in the 1950s. It was named República for this reason, and the grandfather, Tomás Pizarro, is said to have charged visitors for entering or passing through his land (GHR04). Similarly, Don Jorge recalls his grandfather's stories about the time when Requena was still a small settlement, and therefore was one of those who "founded" it in the early 20th century. These ancestors were thus no less Peruvian than anyone else, and this is even more so in the case of contemporary generations. The *paisanos'* *raza* happens to stem from the so-called Capanahua or their "branches," or, local families – that is, particular lines of descent.

A perspective on who, in turn, the downriver people actually are – especially inhabitants of the biggest local town Requena, at the mouth of Tapiche River, capital

of the Requena Province – is best explained in the words of Ronal, Don Jorge and Don Mariano:

They [the former Capanahua breeds] have dispersed. Some live here, as well as those that have gone to the cities. Damn, they are already changed (*diferentes*): because in Requena there are... a myriad... the majority are Capanahua! That's why some say that Requena is the land of the Capanahua. The Capanahua live everywhere [there]! (ŁK: But changed?) Changed surname... That is, their women have gotten in with the mestizos, so they already carry different surnames. So their children have different surnames, of the mestizos already. (ŁK: Are they still Capanahua?) Still Capanahua! For example, those X. that were here, working logs: damn, those who understand the Capanahua language (*dialecto*) well. Damn, they laugh: “*Puucha carajo!* [swearing] – that's how my mum used to talk! – he says – And now we live in the city (*ciudad*) – we have already left [the language] behind.” I mean, the accent they have, the rhythm of talking, they have abandoned it. It's not the same anymore^{ccxxx} (RPH04)

This one, too, is Chumo! His grandma was that Shabi: these are the Chumos. But... not anymore. It's terminated. But... there are the offspring. Downriver, even... even in Lima there's Chumo! Those who go there – girls, youngsters, all of that. *Uuuuh!* A whole city (*pueblo*)! In Requena: Chumo, Chumo, Chumo, Chumo. *Qué bruto!* In Iquitos, everyone: Chumo! That never ever perishes!^{ccxxxi} (JRR02)

If you go to Requena: a multitude of Huaninche. But these are already great-grandchildren. Even I don't know them. But they... don't want to erase Huaninche (ŁK: Are they Capanahua?) Capanahua... but... they don't want to speak it much. I mean, they are not fluent in their own language living among the mestizos. And that's why they can't speak: but they are *razas!*^{ccxxiii} (MHR02)

That would mean, at least from the perspective of Limón and Berea, that eventually everyone – in the Peruvian *selva* at least, perhaps even in the whole of Peru, or the world– shares their own problem of containing divergent descent and layering of sociality, and any hierarchy might only refer to the seniority of emergence: from the isolated people who still refuse to emerge from the river sources, through those who conserve traces of their origins in language or remote locations, to those who have managed throughout generations to clear themselves of such remainders and live in urban areas. Consequently, all Peruvians, if not all people, have “emerged” into the outside just as the Capanahua descendants. If there can be some that are said to be “more” “pure” or “noble” – and so less divergent, with language and rural *raza* – then this can only be said merely by comparison to someone else in a different position. The absolute purity or authenticity is in this view ultimately impossible, because the combinatory, mixed, dividual condition of humans articulates the asymptote that prevents people from achieving either side of the formative clarity and originality, and is the essence of production and replication of human life.

In the above interlude, I meant to show how the imagery of *carnaval* – sociality worn by humans emerging to feast according to rules of the absorbing centripetal principle – is compatible with the Capanahua descendants representations of sociality. But there is one important fact that might indicate that *paisanos*' diagnoses of their own position are shared with other (eastern) Peruvians: the *húmisha* is erected, surrounded by the emerging dressed-up people, and it falls at their hands every year across “the whole world,” as Don Benigno said. Here, this means in all parts of the Peruvian *selva*. The *carnaval* celebrations might represent (eastern) Peruvians' participation in their state.

The question is, does the compatibility of categories used by contemporary, “acculturated” villagers to speak about space, time and sociality in order to read their ancestors' ideal terminology (shared with other “traditional” Panoans) indicate the ineradicable remainder of the *antiguos* in Capanahua descendants' ways of formulating explanations? Or are contemporary ways of explaining into which *paisanos* have “acculturated” (and epitomized in the *húmisha*) so compatible with those of their “traditional” ancestors? In the end, I find myself unable to answer which of the contemporary representations discussed throughout this thesis come from the Panoan ancestors of Capanahua or their descendants, and which from eastern Peruvian mestizos. They show apparent continuities and mutual transformations with both, but what is important in the villages is that they ultimately work as a fairly consistent way of explaining the world for Capanahua descendants.

I definitely do not mean to say that this imagery of the *carnaval*, or this thesis shows the villagers as “wearing” “contemporariness” as “acculturation,” while being “original” Others underneath, the real Amazonians. Rather, I hope that, supported by the discussion in this thesis, it illustrates the formulation of the universal contemporariness of the human social condition in participating in sociality generally, with its ineliminable complexity embodied in the *inabu* thirdness.

Yet, the villagers' perspectives on their fellow eastern Peruvians from downriver, with whom they share the LUS language, the *húmisha carnaval*, and as far as I could learn, a broad range of other representations, might point to an important truth. It is their common descent, or a common position towards the outside they all participate in. This, I would guess, is not limited to “blood,” “*raza*,” or

other versions of obscured “descent,” but, importantly for anthropologists, refers to ideas about human participation in society. In accordance with this view, the double compatibility of their representations with those of their ancestors and with those of the contemporary eastern Peruvian “exterior” might also be conceived in a manner proposed by Anne-Christine Taylor for relations between the social categories of *mansos* and *aucas* in Ecuador. In these “mutually implicating cultures”:

in terms of what is usually defined as ‘culture,’ the two groups in fact share a great deal of common ground, a kind of ‘zero degree’ of habitus, the commonality of which goes largely unperceived: it is salient neither for the Indians nor for ethnographers. This invisible backdrop of similar body techniques, work habits, mythic narratives, diets, ways of using and understanding language, and manners of interacting is what allows Quechua and Jivaroans to move in and out of each others’ societies with such facility. Conversely, the differences between *auca* and ‘domestic’ cultures are rooted in sharply contrasted ways of contextualizing and elaborating, in a few restricted domains, the same cultural stuff and the same sorts of knowledge. (...) The permeability between *auca* and *manso* identities clearly involves shared premises concerning the relational forms that underlie these kinds of personhood. (...) At issue in these distinct ways of framing identities is a hidden but decisive modulation in the relation to alterity constitutive of Self. (Taylor 2007: 158)²⁰⁴

4.2. Is there an owner of this outside?

In any case, if such rescaling of “inside” and “outside” were actually an acceptable perspective on the Capanahua descendants position, there is still one question that I would hesitate to answer, as the villagers themselves seem to. While it is rather clear who fulfils the receiving role in kinship and marriage arrangement, that is, whose “inside” composes the containing space of the *?inabu* (the host body, adoptive parent or father-in-law), it is unclear whose inside the villagers currently occupy as their outsides in the social and historical dimension. Although other Peruvians increasingly become affines, they largely turn out to be, at best, senior “co-emergents.” The villagers agree that there is no owner of Limón Cocha or Berea. However, there are a set of remote figures whose decisions affect the villages from afar. At the most direct level, it is the authorities who represent the state at the level of villages, and are largely responsible for regulating external aspects of village life (to the extent that inspection of houses became problematic when an order was sent from Santa Elena to search the houses after a larger robbery). Further away, there is the municipality (*municipalidad*), headed by the district mayor (*alcalde*), that

²⁰⁴ Here, we might perhaps consider that even in the most “traditional” Panoan kinship/relatedness terminology, and the groups organized by it, it would be hard to find Panoans who do not conceive of reproduction as the interweaving of distinct identities, including the endogamous Cashinahua, who postulate separateness of their constitutive sections.

occasionally provides material support the Tapiche villages expect (Ch. 1). Finally, in remote Lima, there is the president who is the highest imaginable Peruvian, as indicated in the sarcastic comment on the presidential surname. He is recognized as a source of regulations (*Ley de Presidente, Ley de Ollanta*) which govern the externality of the villages.

Yet, for the villagers, the ultimate, real owner is not reachable in this domain, just as the mother of *carnaval* is an aggregating but invisible presence. It is God (*Díos*), Our Father or Owner (*nuestro Papa, nuestro Dueño*), who created and then left the earth as the *Neteanika*. It is he who watches this domain from the sky and takes down notes and names in the “Book of Life” (*Libro de la Vida*). It is in his domain, villagers say, that when we die, we will achieve the state which is impossible in the corrupted (*corrupto*) state of the world with our composite bodies, when reproduction and hunger cease. That will be the ultimate clearing of the remains of original punishment that inflicted reproduction. It will happen not in particular villages associated with non-differentiated *kaibus*, which Doña Germe’s father pointed to in the sky, but rather the large, heavenly cities of God spoken of by the Shipibo missionaries, who learn from *gringos*. The Capanahua descendants would agree with them that we live in the “intermediate times” (*tiempos pasajeros*) between the original purity and the final rejection of the past differentiation and the sin producing our “fronts,” or bodies in the ultimate owner’s domain. I could only mention here that the phenomenon of religious fervour sweeping through the cities and villages of contemporary eastern Peruvian *selva* is, in the context of continuities theorized by the Capanahua descendants, truly deserving of our attention:

That’s how they are over there, Lucas, the [Evangelical] ‘brothers.’ They are true believers (*creyentes*). The things they did in the past, they have already abandoned. To follow the Lord. (...) Only them in their churches there. In the city [Pucallpa]: “Whatever [wrong] they may do to you: do not go there, leave them aside. (...) Then God is with you, looking at you. He’s in your heart, making you do the good work (...). He comes to your mind, to your desire, your *yushin* is... beautifully/purely (*lindo*) with the Lord! It’s not... thinking about doing bad.” There’s lots of people who practise this. We should... leave it all, they say... So many things to be... learned from that book...^{cxxxiii} (BRS19)

In the end, we could see the villagers of Limón and Berea, like many other eastern Peruvians, as the “progeny” or “descendants” passed between their ancient ancestors and the receivers, such as the president of Peru or God. In historical terms, they are neither their pure ancestors nor the pure ultimate heavenly beings,

whomever that position might be projected onto. They are the new breeds with potentially equal rights to both *troncos*. Like in N.'s introductory speech, they are of the father and of the mother, of the ʔÁyubu and *viracucha*. Capanahua and Peruvian. They are “of mixed blood” indeed.



Figure 10. Men erecting the *húmisha* palm in Limón, 2012 (photo by Ł. Krokoszyński).



Figure 11. *Baile bombo* or *música típica*: During a football match, Don Romer Pizarro Romaina (left) playing the bombo drum, and an unknown man plays the flute. Victor Raúl, Buncuya River, 2011 (photo by Ł. Krokoszyński).



Figure 12. Schoolchildren's *carnaval* parade in Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 2012. The green-painted boy with cruches probably represents the forest demon, *yashingo* (photo by Ł. Krokoszyński).



Figure 13. “And [all] that devil has its foreman (*capataz*), that is, their boss. One more devil who is the ooldest! (Julia: They say he’s the *apu* [president]. He commands them all. He enters first. He comes limping, with his cane.” Schoolchildren’s *carnaval* parade in Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 2012 (photo by Ł. Krokoszyński).



Figure 14, 15. Schoolchildren's *carnaval* parade in Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 2012. Above: The tourists. Below: *mingueros*, or the agricultural workers (photo by Ł. Krokoszyński).

Conclusion

The *ʔinabu*, tamed descent, and acculturation

Z rodziną wychodzi się dobrze tylko na zdjęciu

[“With the family one only looks good in a photo” – a Polish saying]

This thesis was intended to think through and follow the lead of the representations of the generative process and their contexts among the people I refer to here as the Capanahua descendants or the villagers, and who call themselves *nuestros paisanos*. As such, it was driven by the indispensable and causative position of the “third element” which in turn drives the dynamic of those representations. The narrative traced that dynamic in the reverse order to the temporal and causal direction of the generative process, so as to elucidate its articulation between the formative entities and through processes on different levels. My presentation moved from an understanding of space and its products as the “outside,” towards understandings of the spaces as contained, and then towards the process that produces such differentiation. In other words, it moved from that “third element” (children, contemporary social space) “owning” or containing the places, towards being “owned” or contained by the places (parents and their perspective on the social space). Further, the narrative followed from this “thirdness” to the processes that form it (procreation and interpenetrations of social spaces), and finally, to the entities existing separately before it was formed (parents and past, ideally separate social spaces).

The leading problem has been to grasp the dynamics that produce these distinctions. Between Ch. 1 and 2, I showed how, thinking through these representations, light and space can be seen as creating the “outside” of the social space, as much as they do the “inside” expected of them. The dynamic is in fact not unlike, to use the meaningful categories of the villagers themselves, of the light (associated with social space, as *nete* joining light, space and time), producing

shadow (associated with the imperceptible, and thus asocial, internal or back content, the *yushin*, *demonios* – or kinship). Here, the presence of the “inside” was presented as inherently problematic for the “outside,” existing at the cost of the bright space, as a void. This articulation can be seen as creating the “layers” of sociality that have been introduced in a cross-section of the Prologue. In Ch. 2 and 3, I examined the constellations and dynamics that result in the very opacity that casts such “shadows,” as insides or hungers, and their layering. I presented such opacity as the thirdness or separation/relation articulating between inside and outside in the form of the “bodily containers” and the contained “children.” I associated this with the movements conceived as penetrations of previously self-contained spaces, and the resulting extractions or implementations that create the voids, that is, the composite character of entities containing life. These movements, I suggested, construe the flow of time as passing on of debilitating, diluting curse or infection, which entails further, branching out complications or differentiations for the villagers.

Ch. 4 fully articulated both the topologies and the process of implanting and devolution. Here, the process of differentiation between inside and outside, initiating the diluting sickness, was identified as an encompassing function of the relation between two original entities that come to interpenetrate, introducing or extracting elements of each other in the process of insemination. This creates the third form, the child, which is thus the very articulation of processes and topologies discussed before. The process, I argued, is also embedded in an absolute perspective on the flow of time, which construes consistent dilution of previous original(s), and the temporal hierarchy of authenticity which governs the representations of kinship. I suggested that the process of procreation as a cosmic, mortal sickness can be seen as the negative motivation for social solutions and the very formulations of the role of sociality. I argued that in these formulations, descent is an always partial and potentially diverging trace in persons, rather than a uniting principle. In other words, it is a latent, dormant insemination of difference which needs to be tamed by the actions of outside sociality.

In Ch. 5, such dynamics of frustrative-generative processes of procreation and sociality aimed at containing it was indicated at the level of social-historical representations. Here, the process of socio-cultural change that could be called acculturation, was thought of in terms of the villagers’ formulations of descent,

“originality” and the inherent devolutionary process creating hierarchy and encompassments. I suggested that for the people involved, the results of such acculturation could ultimately be seen as the reverse of expected devolution by introducing a more real, or authentic, orthodox clarity and purity, or light, which, in turn, casts the past as the shadow.²⁰⁵ This, in the above formulations, is the expected role of sociality. In this locally created perspective, acculturation (like children who literally embody it) might be seen as much the effect or cause for devolution and loss, as the potential solution to taming these “natural” and inherited processes of “descent.” The process is represented as clearing and strengthening the unifying or “containing” quality of social life rather than diluting it. In other words, containing previous differences (as *Perú* space), as much as containing seeds for their reproduction (as “Capanahua” descent).

1. The ?*inabu* trouble

In this context, the “containee,” ?*inabu* (*cría*) that I came to refer to as the “third,” mediatory position, can be seen as the key category. As Ch. 4 revealed most strongly, the ?*inabu*-like positions not only participate in the relation between the contained and containee, but rather, articulate a relation between two original entities: between separate *troncos*, *yura*, as “bodies” or “domains,” and could be understood as the social relation itself.²⁰⁶ Throughout this thesis I have pointed to the spatial and temporal conjunctions implicit in the villagers’ categories. Among the most important consequences of that conjuncture is that the second generation, children, occupy a doubly mediating role in the larger procreative (i.e. temporal) perspective. One is contained between “spatio-temporal” entities, their parents and their “domains.” The other is contained between their parents or ancestors and their own children and descendants. ?*Inabu* is thus as much a spatial, as a temporal, and eversible position, that is, a social relation, between entities in (interconnected) temporal and spatial dimensions. This is where descent and alliance intersect and reproduce each other.

?*Inabu* thus articulate the generative-destructive dynamic in bodies and children, inside and outside. They are the literal “embodiment,” in the form of opaque

²⁰⁵ This formulation seems to echo with Victor Cova’s recent proposition (2014) of the “technologies of incorporation of the future” based on his ethnography of the Shuar and American evangelical missionaries.

²⁰⁶ Strathern 1988.

bodies or children, of the distortion to self-containment of pre-procreative original entities. Diminishing one side, they burden the other by conditioning its compositeness as the “outside.” This fate they later reproduce themselves as containers, in which the new and previous clearings or containers will become contained as diversifying differences conducive to further branching out. Their own inherently composite nature, doubly belonging and doubly (eversibly) contained spatially and temporally, contributes to ineliminable ambiguity. That is why taming and containing such positions – which I proposed were among the most important functions expected of the current outside sociality – was tantamount to controlling the very process of procreation and perishing, conducive to reproduction against procreation. The asymptotic quality of one’s offspring is enough to position them as mediatory strangers, subject to social relations, and this is where the folding back of generations, or switch in containment, everts the spatio-temporal perspective. *?Inabu*, containee (pet), is a potential *?ibu*, container (owner); its “other side” is *?ibu*.

To close, let me review and refine some features revealed when thinking about this position. Among its most salient examples were, in Ch. 1: the people and children emerging into and gathered in an “outside” of social spaces; the manioc plants in a field; wild people (*indios*) extracted from the forest and contained in open spaces. In Ch. 2: the hosted demon helpers; thoughts/feelings and hungers contained in persons; foetuses and tapeworm; the self-working (that is, containing “helpers”) instruments or secrets from the other worlds. In Ch. 3: the earthworm’s son and other wards of the mythic owners; the manioc cultigens; the parting gifts of the mythic owners or actions of ancient humans, as the very “examples” to follow, including procreation itself; the pathogenic implantations in sicknesses; omens and words in influencing the future; the stories and knowledge of the old people. In Ch. 4: the “blood,” “worm,” or foetus in procreation; *raza* markings in descent and surnames within people; the sons-in-law or captives in the social spaces of marriage arrangements; the godchild in *compadrazgo*. In Ch. 5: the old people in the new spaces; people as demons participating in the carnival sociality; people in the God’s or State domain.

The cost of being contained

In these examples, one can notice first, the cost of being contained and the initial status of an *?inabu* “helper.” For the Capanahua descendants, the adopted or

stepchildren are assumed to have a status of “slaves” made to work by the adoptive parents, their containing, sheltering owners. This was the preoccupation of Rolando, a mestizo²⁰⁷ who was in the process of divorcing a local girl. He came to ask for our advice, and worried about the fate of his children at the hands of a future partner of his wife. He was preoccupied that they would become “slaves” (*esclavos*) of the other man. Don Romer spoke in a similar way about ill-treatment by adoptive fathers, and Don Benigno about inconsiderate employers and their *cholos*, workers. I have pointed out the position of sons-in-law as the helpers of the father-in-law and compared this relation to that between sorcerer and his *crías*.

The cost of containing

Secondly, containing incurs a cost to the container, and the role of the introduced element is always ambivalent, as is evident in the stories the Capanahua descendants tell of the *antiguos*, like the manioc thief in the *Neteanika* story. When the containing roles evert, taking a part of the original, singular trunk of manioc as its branches is atoned with the suffering-work of replanting at the hands of its new owners. Likewise, when the *brujo* transfers the tree blood into his body, the original owner tree dries out and dies. Yet, the containing sorcerer himself is now under threat of being either abandoned or killed and eaten by his guest demons. Similarly, the establishment of a “group of siblings” at the cost of the previous domain would be atoned by the reproduction of the situation and the return of descendants of the previous domain. Daughters’ foreign husbands and their children would overtake the domain. Similarly with the cost of containing opposition by the earthworm’s son.

In daily life, such internal content can also sometimes be formulated in terms of blood or *instinto* (e.g. *del indio*), which for the Capanahua descendants can serve as an explanation of wilful, violent or asocial behaviour or unwillingness to cooperate harmoniously. They often express helplessness towards the lack of cohesion or unanimity, “*Así son ellos*” [That’s the way they are], or “*No sabemos vivir bien*” [we don’t know how to live well] (Ch. 2), which may refer to this divergent, inherent element.

²⁰⁷ I am purposefully using this example, because Rolando is not a Capanahua descendant, and comes from Requena instead. This is an opportunity to point to the significant co-participation in utilizing representations I am discussing here between the Capanahua descendants and other local people.

Diminished

Extracted from the original, the transferred element is always merely a diminished part of the first owner. The image of the tree trunk and the branches illustrates this point eloquently. It is merely an extract from the original owner's possession/body, contained in others, who have power over it. As such, a partial element of the owner is not equal to the original. That can also be exemplified by the gifts of the mythic owners, where the process of extraction or abandonment by its "soul" or owner, blemishes and lessens the original capacity while initiating degradation and dilution.

Inextinguishable

No matter how small or diminished it is to the "donor," the extract conserves the origin trace, and is, like the wild manioc seed, potentially inseminating or dangerous. For the recipients, it stands synecdochically as the original, and preserves a link to the original. I like to think that the example of the "chicken named Dorca" captures this adequately. A woman from a neighbouring village (Fátima), presented one small black chicken to Daniel. Because Daniel did not have his own flock, the bird was fed and sheltered by Doña Ermisha, while being recognized as "Daniel's black chicken." Yet, I noticed that when Daniel inquired about his protégé, he and Doña Ermisha jokingly referred to the chicken as "Dorca," which is the name of its original owner from Fátima (DHR12).²⁰⁸ To me this image epitomizes the idea of *ʔinabu* as extracted from the original owner's possession/body. In the Prologue, I presented some claims to originality based on such connections. Others with one or more "foreign" parent, grandparent and so on, have the status of children of foreigners, as "*raza Campa*" or "*raza Cocama*," (also see A.' response to N. in the Prologue). But similarly, some ancestors rumoured to have been "caught" among the *Mayu* (possibly Matses) *indios* some 3 generations ago, are said to have been *mayubake*, "children of the *Mayu*," and this still casts a shadow on their contemporary descendants as those of *Mayu* origin.

Like the curses of the mythic owners, such inheritance is irreversible. Initially, I expected to find the formulations similar to these described for other Amazonians, relating to producing and altering of kinship or/as bodies, for example, through

²⁰⁸ Similarly, a chicken whose leg had been bitten off by a gold tegu (*iguano*) remained for Doña Ermisha the "*Iguano*" (fT1211).

commensality or cohabitation (cf. Introduction). Yet, people consistently denied that possibility whenever I approached the subject, as they did in other contexts (Ch.4, 5). A representative example comes from a conversation with Doña Germe:

(ŁK: Some say that if a person is not your family, but you live with them a lot of the time, then they turn into your kin (*familia*), their body or blood changes) hmmm... (ŁK: No?) No. That's a lie. (ŁK: So another can't become your real family?) Other people can address you as family because they have this respect (*estimación*), not because they really are your family. Mhm. (ŁK: And if you raise a child when it's very little, you give it your milk (...) so that it can become your real kin?) your family, because you have raised it. Mhm. Not because it is your real family (...) (ŁK: So its body, blood can't change?) No. Its blood is already made.^{cxxxiv} (GSR10)

Here, therefore, the only possibility for such production of relatedness was consistently confirmed to be when a child is adopted at a very early age, before “knowing its family,” which I would connect with the permeability of an infant (cf. *curar* and *cutipar* in Ch. 3). Yet, even in this case, it remains legitimate only because of being raised (*criado, de crianza*), and the adoptive parent does not become as “*legítimo*” as the original progenitors. She or he remains a secondary recipient, parent of an adopted, “recognised” child born of others, a *criado* (in Capanahua, *ʔunan bake*, recognized child, or *ʔinabu*). For this reason, an adopted child cannot be transformed into a fully legitimate child more than a domesticated animal can. It continues to contain foreign origin, whether encoded in “blood,” people’s memory or elsewhere. It will grow as a *criado* [raised/adopted], a status maintained and transmitted over generations in a whisper. A publically held secret usually conserves the origin of any such “gift” within its domain.

Overall, in the villagers’ opinions, “real” kinship is associated with the temporally primal act of formation or extraction, and containing elements introduced by others in strategic moments of openness (conception, birth, very early infancy) and the levels of “authenticity” (Ch. 4). Relations established by early adoption can be written over these unchangeable primal, “legitimate” trajectories only as secondary.²⁰⁹ Later adoption, similar to other contributions, are in this context, hierarchically more distanced, and the process of “accustoming” (*costumbrarse*) through neighbourly cohabitation even more so. Bodies of ordinary, non-infant

²⁰⁹ Here, the “body” is not an idiom of relatedness or “kinship,” but an external container. “Kinship” concerns the continuities or proximities of internal content and positions of being contained. Apart from the attempts at reinforcing the container (Ch. 3), or *compadrazgo* (Ch. 4), there is no explicit process of producing the body or kinship as elsewhere in the Lowlands. Production and taming is rather concerned with the future inseminations by the children and larger reproduction cycles, or improvement of the breed, and thus, the external social space.

persons are said to be hardened and unchangeable (Ch. 2, 3), and so is the blood they contain.²¹⁰ This means that in the person's life, *raza* is expected to be unchangeable^{ccxxxv}:

What we are: how can we change it? No way! (...) You can't cheat it. For example, you are from... your *generación* is like this, the way... your father put you up, your mum.... How are we going to unmake you (*disformarte*)? (LCO01)

However hidden it may be, other people around remember about it. The fact of adoption is never forgotten, at least by others, who seem to see it in a somewhat ambiguous way, as Don Elías said with slight derision about a couple: "They were raising children of others (*ajenos*), they never had their own" (fT1203).

Attempts to alter the original affiliation are, as shown in the last chapter, contested. Contribution from other sources, at a later time, can also be used to affiliate a person with another domain, based on personal experience ("knowing," cf. Ch. 1 and 3) or any drop of contribution, through blood (parents' or godparents' etc.), teaching or feeding. Yet, placing these affiliations or changing the surname before the original origin is questioned, and generally referred to as an act of *ignorar*, or "ignoring" one's *raza*, as the experiential-existential "knowledge," or ignoring one's "owner," as in the expression *?ibuma*, "not knowing anything" (see N.'s speech and Ch. 5). People who deny their origins (*negar*) are called *ignorantes*.

Shameful compositeness

By now it should become apparent that an "outside" is the space owned, or contained (as their "inside") by hosts similar to the fathers-in-law or *brujos*. They, as other forms/containers/bodies, strive for internal singularity as a condition for their strength and imperishability. Their thoughts or knowledge (*pensamiento*, *shinan*) organize and strengthen that internal-external space (Ch. 1, 2). Therefore, because the inherently foreign status of the "*?inabu*" introduces an ambivalent divergence within the receiving space, it is an obstacle to the ideal of clarity and sameness which governs the aesthetics of the "outside" as a social space (Ch. 1).

In accordance with these aesthetics, the foreign connection tends to be hidden, sometimes quite explicitly, as with the secrecy that guarantees the efficacy of tools received from powerful owners in myths or *brujería*. Like the originators' blood, the

²¹⁰ The only imaginable exception is the sorcerer who absorbs the blood of the owner-tree or his victims (Ch. 2).

original differentiation tends to be kept “inside” or concealed from the *alegre* sociality, which manages harmonious coexistence (*kuin kuini*, Ch. 1, 2). Within this external space, one’s divergence is a source of *vergüenza*, shame,²¹¹ and on the other, is readily attributed to people who are said to refuse to admit their connection with their parents or speak their language “outside.” One elderly woman said that she would teach me her language for 500 soles, not here, in the mestizo village where we met, but in her own settlement. Similarly, one performer of a drunken speech maintained that he speaks to his brother in Capanahua whenever they go hunting “inside” (in the forest). There are also anecdotes told in Limón about people who were accidentally heard speaking in Capanahua on their way to a field, and actually frightfully rebuked each other: “Shh, someone might hear us!” – while staunchly refusing any knowledge or connection with the *antiguos* Capanahua to others in the open. In the end, villagers of both Limón and Berea sometimes maintain that all the inhabitants know the language, but they are ashamed, that is, they wilfully “do not want to” speak it. The *ganas*, desire, to speak one’s language is said to come to people when they are inebriated and that is also, as the Prologue shows, the context where descent or *raza* is revealed in the “outside.”

2. *Raza* as an origin story

Thinking through these categories and explanations, it would appear that *raza*, as descent, has the status of *?inabu* within the person, as an element, an experiential “knowledge” of other *truncos* or time-places contained within a person. It makes the person *?inabu*, or *raza*, in relation to other containing spaces, etc., as a fractal imagined (by the analyst) in time. In either case, it marks a trajectory, provenience from an original owner, or a story of origin similar to those that Capanahua descendants tell about items or qualities in their possession. These range from manioc, corn or the capacity to give birth in the stories of the *antiguos* (Ch. 4), to much smaller stories of the origin of the gifts. Here, the idiom of the connection, the story, *raza*, *descendencia* [lit. descent] as “story of the origin,” or “a history” – is literally the irreversible internal containment of an element introduced from another being. The element may be blood, language, name, surname, knowledge, quality or

²¹¹ Shame resulting from disagreement. Cf. Frank (1994: 190) for the Uni.

capacity (“instinct”), where the primary introduction, the origin, is normally attributed the highest place in a temporal hierarchy, and thus, authenticity.

3. The *ʔinabu* and anthropology

Those particular ideas of descent, difficult and everted as they are, help us to understand why N. is both *viracucha* and *ʔAyubu*, why the “foreign” outside is “truly original” (*kuin kuini*), and why the mestizos are “original, real people.” All refer back to an always regressive, original unity or “owning,” before it has been split, diluted and spoiled by the destructive processes of untamed procreation. Without taking into account this destructive force, it is difficult to understand the strategies for conserving or improving the *raza* and attempts to become more “real” or “authentic” by affiliating with purer strangers. Let me make a few notes on how this vantage point offered by such hierarchic thirdness relates to the ways of explaining Amazonian ethnographies.

Firstly, the *ʔinabu* position corresponds with the other relations described widely for the indigenous Lowland South Americans between representations of “masters” and “pets,”²¹² as well as the relation of maintaining or feeding that to a large extent structures such relations. In this thesis, the formulations of this relation were located directly within the broader context of kinship. This allowed both to reveal some aspects of the analysed relations, as it contributed to a wider dimension to the very dyad master-pet. Firstly, I tried to demonstrate the applicability of the dynamics which led to the establishment of that position in explaining other areas of the villagers’ representations. Among these areas were, I argued, not only killings or sickness, but causality in general. Therefore, they were capable of explaining the representations of procreation. The master-pet model applied here helps to explain the relations between parents and children as established not only through the crucially important, yet temporally secondary acts of feeding, but also as the primal transference of vital elements between persons, as in the procreation itself. In this case, feeding could be situated alongside other similar contributions or activities aimed at placing one element inside of the other and containing/owning it. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the “pet” position in such a context can be seen not only as a term of the relation between master and owner, or container and containee

²¹² Cf. Introduction.

– which I ultimately showed to be reversible or eversible (as it is ambivalent in other formulations across the Amazonia) – but the approach in this thesis allowed imagining the pet-master’s position as the relation between two entities as the third, containing-focusing quality.

Furthermore – to return briefly to speaking of descent in the Lowlands (cf. Introduction) – concentrated on the horizontal level as a consequence of the seminal rejection of descent as a unifying principle, current approaches to Amazonian kinship tend to minimize the role of the procreative process in establishing relations (as assumed non-difference) between generations. Yet the differences or discontinuities between adjacent generations seem to be essentially important for the villagers. These discontinuities might be read as providing the motor for their ancestors’ social strategies, meant to recover the balance distorted by procreation and extract back (individualize) the precious originality or purity, and thus to reproduce (continue) in alternating generations.

Let me note how the intergenerational difference might be traced to several factors. Most importantly, the difference/discontinuity exists across the terms in the generative-frustrative acts because the third, produced element is not reducible to either of the two poles. Their very conjunction makes the product something different, both one and the other, and neither one nor the other. Therefore, a child is never quite the same, and never quite different from both parents. That incomplete status plays a crucial role for the villagers and stands for the limit of convergence for the poles (cf. Introduction).

Furthermore, from the child’s perspective, consanguinity and affinity appear as equal, original purities: maternal and paternal relatives (to whom it has different relations of containing and authenticity, either being contained or containing, and ahead or behind). Both of these purities, in the cross-generational perspective, are opposed to the focusing, joining space which is produced by the third element, their “outside.” That outside or encompassment, either by adjacent higher generation (container, *?ibu*) or lower generation (containeed, *?inabu*), unites them in a way described for potential affinity. It thus encompasses both consanguinity and affinity as the child or as the common origin/parent/containment.

Many different instantiations of “thirdness” are sure to be found in these contexts such as the Amerindian representations, where dualisms are perpetrated by their own disequilibrium (Lévi-Strauss 1963, 1995). Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1996, 2001, 2002) associated this third quality either with the third, encompassing kind of relationship, outside of consanguinity and affinity – for example, the formal friendships – or with the term mediating between brothers-in-law, or between the affines and the consanguines. The encompassing potential of the third quality is that it is neither one nor the other, while synthesizing them and enabling their coexistence (cf. Coelho de Souza 2001). In the present case, the idea of the *ʔinabu* thirdness seems to be close to the Mebengôkre “triadic terms” described by Vanessa Lea (2012), whereby two persons use the same relationship term in reference to a third person, thus transcending the two distinct terms they might use with reference to that third person independently. It is neither “my daughter/your niece” nor the reverse, but a third, shared term that is neither of the two. Identifying the thirdness in the progeny in this thesis might widen the range of possible mediating positions imagined for Amazonian kinship in the horizontal relations, embodied by the exchanged spouse/sibling-in-law, by a number of positions of thirdness on a temporal axis. And further, from the encompassing role of the formal friendship or leadership to the role of the parent and the initially focusing, eversible position of the child. The progeny is essentially different from its parents, who come to assume a similar, containing position towards it: it is first contained, and focuses their duality, and then contains the consanguinity and affinity that produced it, when the initial “*ʔinabu*” everts into an “*ʔibu*,” or the contained into the container. Widening of this perspective in the temporal dimension reveals the adjoining generations to be mediating between alternating generations, which again alternatively enclose and are enclosed by them.

The difference/discontinuity between generations grows if the processes of procreation are not tamed, and discontinuity becomes ever more pronounced. Associated with filiation and consanguinity,²¹³ the difference is therefore not so much a value, but ultimately an indispensable problem for the villagers, who value nondifferentiation. Again, from their perspective, they not only “become others,” but also try hard to cease to be others (depending on the perspective of containment

²¹³ Although the focus of this argument is seemingly contrary to Schneider’s (1984) negation of the universality of filiation/consanguinity/kinship, I believe it is in the spirit of this call to return to those relations when they are identified by people themselves and see them through the ethnographically specific lens.

determined by generational position). This means, to overcome the compositeness produced by combining their fathers and mothers, or parents and recipients – either parents-in-law, godparents, teachers or God. They try to “clean” themselves of this compositeness and approach original purity. Coveted future and lost past collide in purity and originality, expressed in unity and beautiful peace.

There is one more question related to kinship that I would like to pose in relation to this argument. In her Malinowski Lecture, Anne-Christine Taylor addressed the “angelic” perspective of “the English school of Americanism” (1996: 206) on sociality seen through morality. In the introduction, I described the anthropological approaches to descent and consanguinity, kinship or relatedness in Amazonia. It strikes me that in many cases they seem to be guided by the assumption of an inherently moral character of kinship or consanguinity. Thus, “blood,” “kinship” and “descent” are expected to be associated with sociality, unity, continuity and similarity. In the villagers’ expressions, as I portrayed them in this thesis, there is something inherently ominous, or explicitly predatory and parasitic to the relations established through sexual procreation. They can be shameful and destructive rather than positive, and they do not produce more similarities than differences. Still, these are the relations that the villagers speak of as “kinship.” Therefore, kinship here might be seen as the curse or sickness of procreation, which is cured by cleaning cleansing it or containing it in neighbourly relations. I proposed that this negative – or at least highly ambiguous – force may be imagined behind the attraction of coexistence with, or containment by, the non-kin. It is the relations that they recognize as kinship that do not allow them to live well, because of their predatory, parasitic demands. In other words, it is because they find that they do not know how to live with the “kin,” that they need someone to mediate and contain those relations in a neighbourly, uniting and harmonious “outside,” counteracting such “kinship” or “consanguinity,” and taming the original difference of blood by enveloping it with the external knowledge, respect, relatedness terms, care, etc. (cf. Gow 1997). Because unity and organization were not easily identified with procreation and its consequences in descent, which elsewhere (in Europe and America) are associated with “kinship” or “consanguinity,” would it be possible to imagine that the notion of “kinship” was delegated in these approaches to those spheres that do possess such qualities, such as sociality of neighbours and affines, which for the villagers are *not* “kinship”?

That predicament at the level of kinship also characterizes, I suggested, the societies that the villagers produce – from the ones that try to contain the destructive process of procreation, through those that appear like they have succeeded at some point, and appear as “traditional,” to those that have not succeeded, or have embraced new ways of overcoming the process, a stronger originality. In this way, the *?inabu* dynamics echo with the ways of speaking about acculturation or interethnic contact as well. For example, *?inabu* is obviously comparable to the prey position assumed by the Paumari in relation to organizing foreigners (Bonilla 2007, 2005). As I argued in Ch. 5, the *?inabu* or *cholo* position structures the representations of history and negotiations of contemporary hierarchic relations on the Lower Ucayali River. As Harry Walker shows for the Urarina (Walker 2012, 2013), the dynamic echoes in other places in Peru.

In another way, the dynamics articulating the *?inabu*, as I suggested, also correspond to the formulations of history in Ecuador, as portrayed by Anne-Christine Taylor (2007). Here, the *?inabu* position is the very pathogenic element that allows seeing history on the Tapiche as sickness or devolution (to which acculturation might be a cure). The dividuality of the *?inabu* between groups is also rather obviously related to the language of mixing and creating kinship described for the upper Urubamba by Peter Gow (1991, etc.).

In either case, central to all relations, or *the* relation, articulated as an overlap between future and past, front and back, father and mother, grandparents and parents, face and heart, inside and outside – or the original purities at other levels – is the figure of the destructive, difficult, ambiguous *?inabu*. It refers to the position of a transferred element, living because of and at the cost of both, while being neither. It is embodied as adopted children, wild people, siblings-in-law, pets, or bodily containers themselves.

4. Cholos

In many places of Latin America, *cholo*, the equivalent of *?inabu* stands for the mixed-blood people. On the lower Ucayali, *cholo* can be used towards people deemed as someone “less pure or original.” Because the subtracting element here is the *indio* blood, *cholo* usually means *indios* in relation to someone else, who deem themselves or others “more pure or original.” This thesis shows that the basic condition of living

a human life for the villagers is being “mixed,” contained or cared for, ultimately wilful and “in between” light and shadow, or future and past. We might now appreciate firstly, the informal address denoting friendship between equals – “*cho!*” (e.g. *vamos, cho!*) – as a shortened version of either *cholo*, which in parts of Peru may in certain contexts denote friendship, or *chochero*, which expresses caring (and may elsewhere be used to mean “pet,” like *?inabu*). *Cho!* thus epitomizes the broader, existential meaning of the terms: a humble companion in the work/suffering that is life.

Secondly, if *cholo*, as *?inabu*, is synonymous with *indio*, the latter also basically expresses human compositeness as lack of the mythic originality and purity that causes this suffering. In the end, claiming to be “pure” in the world where everyone is inflicted with the same procreative condition, facing and depending on others, rather than being cloned or immortal, and where the world of the parents is always “on the wane,” is ridiculous for the villagers, as we saw in the Prologue and Ch. 5. Acculturation, as the articulation of the third quality (never of one only! – soberly warn the villagers – and always unlike the two) is the “natural” for this world, frustrative-generative product of meeting and interpenetrating between people, groups of people, or the “realities” vanquishing in the process of “travelling,”²¹⁴ making oneself seen and/or establishing the relations of procreation or exchange: the sociality. The embodiment of acculturation/sociality are the children. From the Capanahua descendants’ point of view (if we may imagine it), the fact that we are all alive and born from two parents, means that we are all “acculturated,” and no one is pure and original. And, if *indio* means less “pure,” having a dual origin, and being humanly ambiguous or imperfect, this would add a more deeply universal truth to Doña Germe’s statement from the last chapter: “arriving at the truth, we are all *indios*.”

²¹⁴ Cf. Lévi-Strauss 1961: 45.

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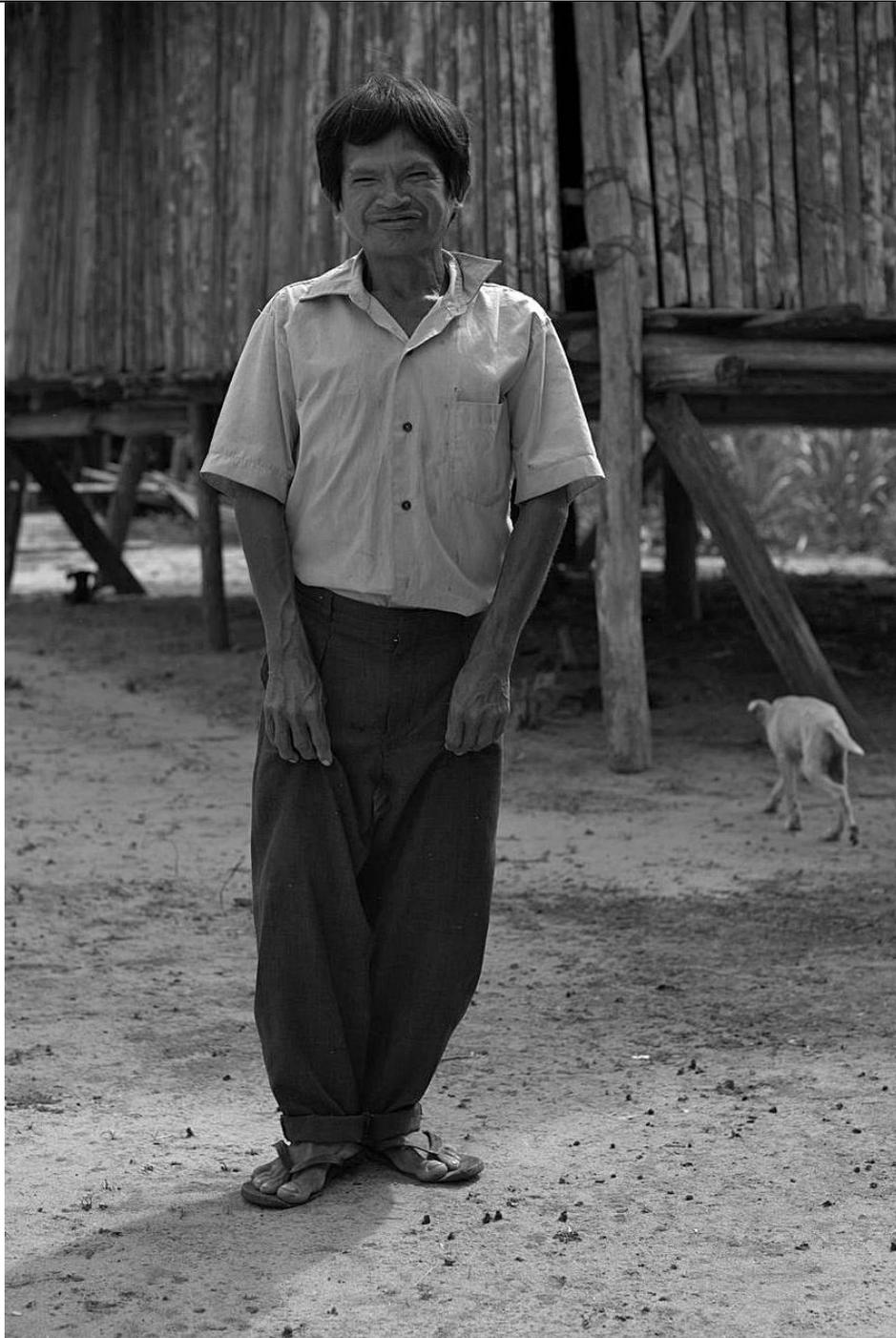
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Appendix 1. Interlocutors

The following presents the persons who have participated in recorded conversations. The order of presentation reflects the frequency of participation, and does not take into account the conversations that have not been recorded, or any other contributions. The location next to the name signifies where the conversations took place. Short notes cannot of course do justice to the people concerned, but I hope they allow the reader to familiarize with the contexts of the interlocutors' life stories and connections of which they are products and producers. That, in the end, includes the author.

Daniel
Huaninche Romaina
Limón Cocha

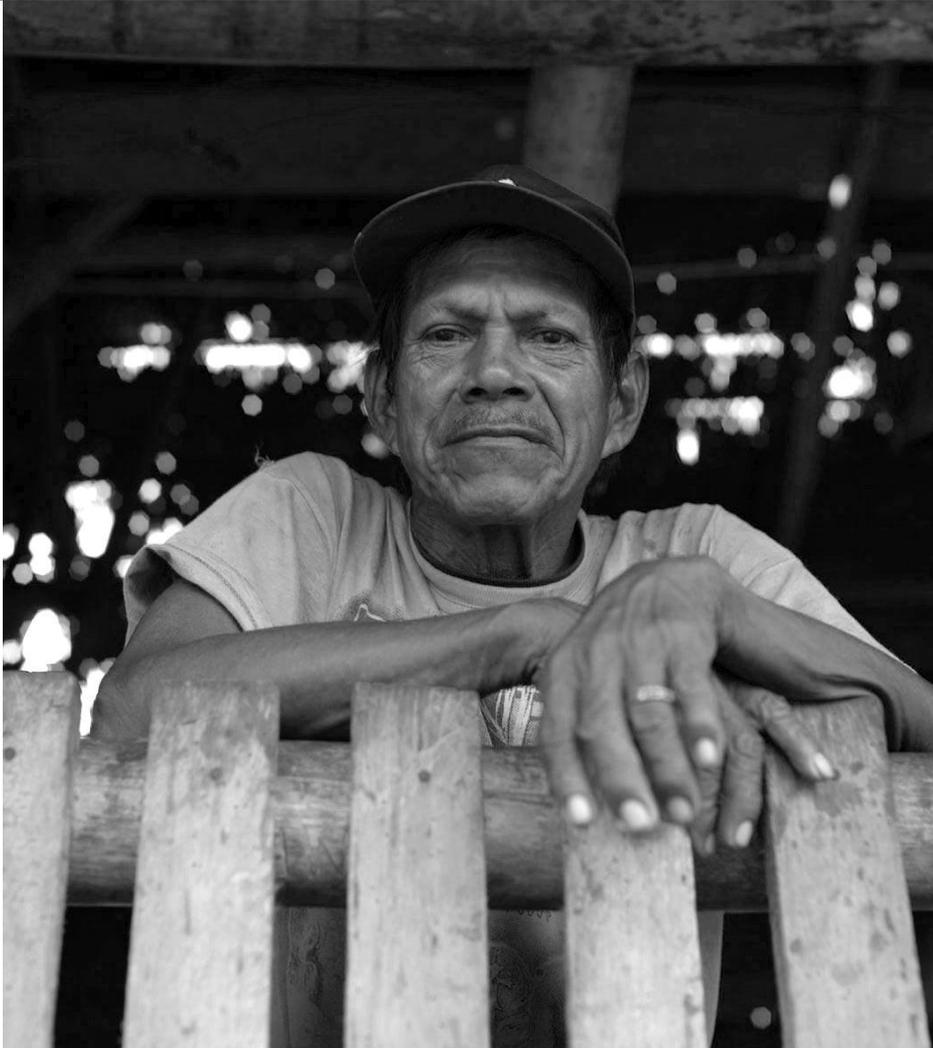
b. 1968, the son of Victor Huaninche Romaina and Hilda Romaina Guelle. Born on the Buncuya and raised in different places on that river, he went to school in Aipena. In the 1980s Daniel came to Limón after his father and siblings, who followed Doña Estefita, Don Benigno's wife. He stayed there, and lived with his father and his second wife, Doña Hilda Chumo. He worked for some time in Iquitos and other places. His two sisters live in Limón. Since the death of his father a few years ago, Daniel has lived by himself.



Limón Cocha, 2012. Photo by Maciej Falski.

**Benigno
Ríos Sachivo**
Limón Cocha

b. 1951, the son of Santiago Ríos and Aurora Sachivo Ríos. Namesake of Benigno Puga, his godfather. Born in the vicinity of San Antonio, where he went to elementary school. Don Benigno worked and travelled on the Tapiche as a logger, and he was married on the Buncuya, to Daniel's older sister, Doña Estefita Huaninche Romaina. They lived there until the mother-in-law passed away, when they moved to Limón, where Don Benigno's siblings, cousins and uncles had previously moved from San Antonio to create the village. He visited and lived for months at a time in Pucallpa on several occasions. He has raised eight of his own children.



Limón Cocha, 2012. Photo by Maciej Falski.

Germe
Sachivo Ríos
Limón Cocha

b. 1964, and daughter of Rozendo Sachivo Ríos and Olga Ríos Baquinahua. Doña Germe is originally from the vicinity of San Antonio (Proa) where she went to elementary school. She married Eugenio Vásquez Romaina on the Buncuya, and lived there until the death of her mother-in-law, when they moved to Limón. Doña Germe's parents, siblings, uncles and cousins founded Limón and lived there. A few months ago, in 2015, she went to Iquitos for the first time. Germe gave birth to nine children.



Left to right: Meri Vásquez Sachivo (daughter), Olguita López Sachivo (granddaughter), Olga Ríos Baquinahua (mother), Germe Sachivo Ríos, Lucas López Vásquez (grandson). Limón Cocha, 2013. Photo by Kinga Kokot.

Romer
Pizarro Romaina
Berea, Requena

b. 1954?, Don Romer is the son of Romaldo Pizarro and Florentina Romaina Baquinahua. Widely known as “*Arbolito*” [lit. the tree]. He was born in the vicinity of San Antonio. The family moved to Santa Elena when he was a boy, and he went to school there. He served in the army and then came to the Buncuya, where his paternal grandfather, Tomás Pizarro lived and died. Here, Romer lived with Luisa Huaninche, Manuel Huaninche’s granddaughter, and sired Ronal and Omer, among others. He has travelled widely, visited many places and worked many jobs. He has knowledge of several languages, including Cocama and the Lower Capanhua (Pa’enbakebu) dialect that he learned in Frontera Yarina, where he lived with his other wife. He now lives in the vicinity of Tamanco, with another woman. He has engendered at least 13 children. I talked to him in Berea, where he was trying to earn money by hunting and fishing. He then accompanied us and introduced us to Limón Cocha and the Tapiche.



Berea, 2011. Photo by Ł. Krokoszyński

- Ronal Pizarro Huaninche**
Limón Cocha
- b. 1974, the son of Romer Pizarro Romaina and Luisa Huaninche Solis. Born on the Buncuya, where he went to elementary school. Ronal travelled and worked on the Ucayali and the Amazon and came to Limón in the 1990s. He married a local woman, Julia Perez Sachivo and has five children and two step-children. His brother lives in Limón.
-

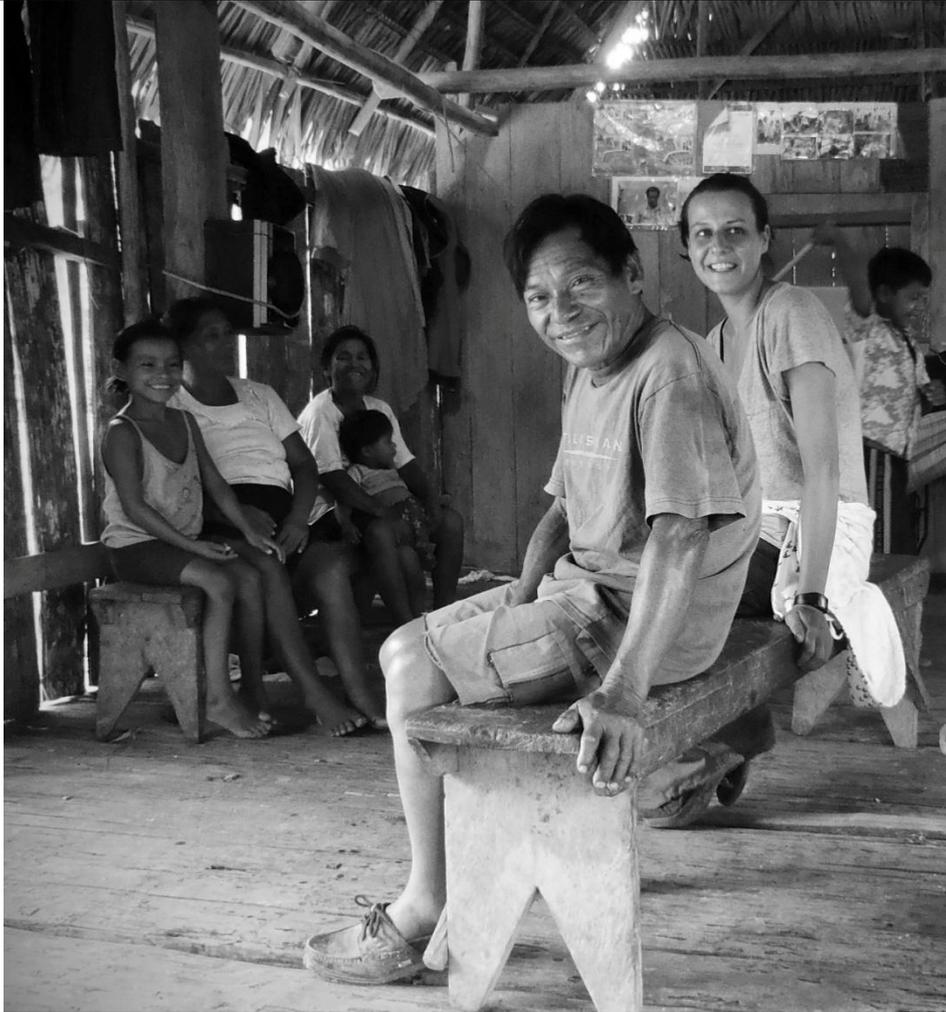


Limón Cocha, 2012. Photo by Ł. Krokoszyński

**Guillermo
Huaninche Romaina**

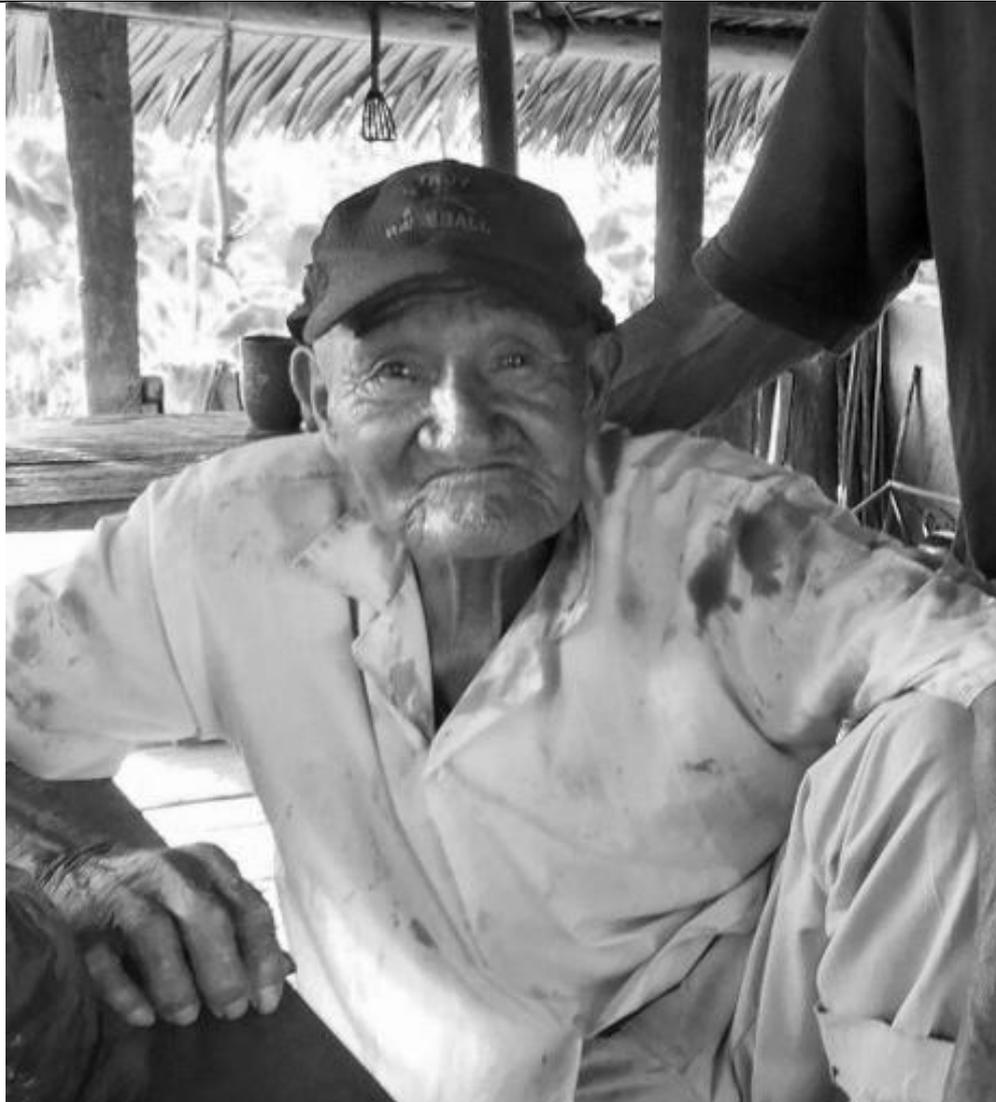
Berea

b. 1950?, the son of Manuel Huaninche Sachivo and Amelia Romaina. Don Guillermo was born, raised and lived on the Buncuya. Elected by the Buncuya community, he studied in Yarinachocha with the SIL and worked as the bilingual teacher, first in Aipena, then in Nuevo Aipena (Berea) school. He travelled widely because of his courses, teaching and work. He lived with a woman of Cocama descent from the vicinity of Tamanco, and he lived next to his father in Aipena. He raised six children. In 2012 he was elected the *apu* (president) of Berea.



Berea, 2011. Left to right: Maili Coachi, Doña Ercelinda Fatama, Doña Saida Vásquez, Don Guillermo, Kinga Kokot. Photo by Ł. Krokoszyński.

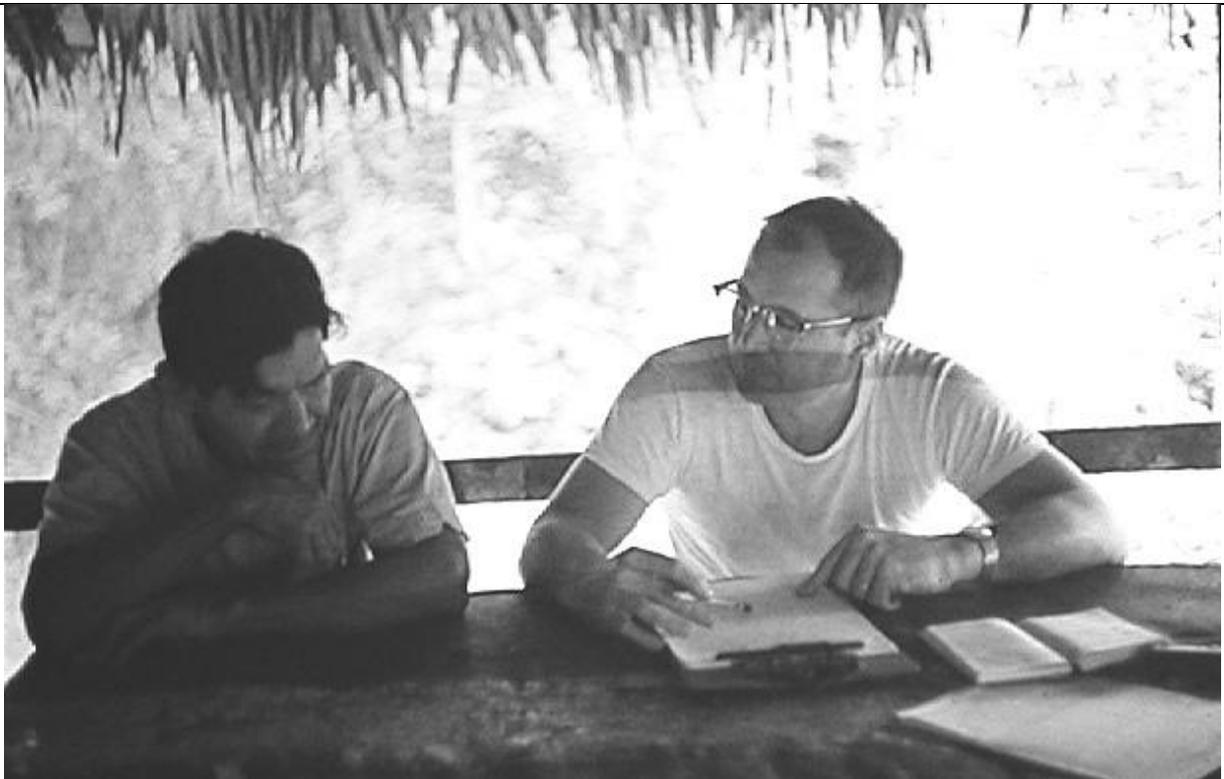
- Jorge Rodríguez Ríos** b. 1930?, the son of Froylán Rodríguez Vásquez and Elena Ríos. Don Jorge is from the upper Tapiche, in the vicinity of San Antonio (Cashuera). He travelled widely, and lived most of his life with his parents and brothers close to San Antonio. Jorge came to live closer to Limón when it was founded (in a settlement called San Juan, upriver), and moved to the village several years ago. His four brothers live in Limón and Jorge lives with the family of one of his brothers.
- Limón Cocha*



Limón Cocha 2013. Photo by Ł. Krokoszyński

**Eugene
Loos**
Dallas, USA

b. 1928 in Wisconsin, to a family of Bohemian and Norwegian descent. In 1945 Loos attended military training in Texas, where he later met Betty Hall, whom he married. In 1952 they joined the Wycliff Bible Translators, as he says, “to have a part in giving God’s word to those who had nothing.” In 1954 they arrived at the Buncuya river for the first time and returned repeatedly until 1984, learning the language and translating the New Testament. Eugene Loos served as the International Linguistics Coordinator and in 1967 received his Ph.D. in Linguistics from the University of Texas, Austin. Eugene and Betty Loos went on to have four children and numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren. They live in Austin.



Manuel Huaninche and Eugene Loos. Aipena, 1960s?

- Celso Baquinahua Ruíz** b. 1969?, the son of Juana Ruíz, and raised by Cesar Baquinahua. Celso grew up in Aipena, but his family moved to Frontera, where his mother was from, when Celso was still very young. He worked as a logger, reaching Yaquerana, and has lived in Limón for almost 20 years. Celso married local woman, Rosa Ríos Freire, who is Don Benigno's niece. He has four children and one stepchild.
- Limón Cocha*



Limón Cocha, 2012. Photo by Kinga Kokot.

Victor Panarua Baquinahua
Limón Cocha

b. 1971?, the son of Ricardo Panarua and Joba Baquinahua Panarua, and the namesake of Victor Panarua, his paternal grandfather. Originally from Frontera Yarina, he has lived in Limon for 20 years. Victor married local woman, Mercedes, who is a niece of Don Benigno. His mother lives close to Limón with Doña Germe's older brother, and Victor's two brothers and sister. He has six children.

Elena Solisbanco Huaninche
Limón Cocha

b. 1944?, daughter of Manuel Solisbanco and Adelia Huaninche. Originally from the vicinity of contemporary Nueva Esperanza on the upper Tapiche, Elena has lived in different parts of the Tapiche and Buncuya. Since her first husband was killed by the *indios* near Fatima, Elena has lived with Jorge Huaninche Salasar. They live in Requena and San Vicente on the lower Tapiche. Her brother Leoncio lived in Limón and passed away a few years ago, leaving a married daughter. She visited Limón for a few weeks. Doña Elena has at least 3 children that I know of.

Elías Huaninche Baquinahua
Limón Cocha

b. 1926? - April 2012. The son of Augusto Huaninche and Rafaelina Baquinahua. Originally from the area of the present Limón Cocha and the Maipuco River. Elías worked and travelled on the Tapiche. He sired several children with a local woman, all of whom have moved away. Later in his life he lived in Limón with Aurora Sachivo Ríos, Don Benigno's mother, and raised several of her grandchildren.

Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo
Limón Cocha

b. 1945?, the daughter of Santiago Ríos and Aurora Sachivo Ríos and namesake of her maternal grandmother Ermelinda Ríos. She is Don Benigno's older sister. Born in a settlement on the Capanahua River, she lived with a Buncuya man, Velisario Freire, Doña Elsa's uncle, on the Tapiche, near San Antonio, and participated in the creation of Limón, where she has lived since he passed away. She gave birth to one child and raised several nephews, nieces and grandchildren. Last year she moved away to live with one of them on the Amazon river.

- Elsa Freire Nahuatupe** b. 1959?, the daughter of Generoso Freire Romaina and Celina Nahuatupe Shapiama. Born and raised on the upper Buncuya, Elsa travelled a lot and lived in several places on the Ucayali. She gave birth to 12 children with partners from the Ucayali. Doña Elsa lives with her partner from the lower Ucayali, along with her married and unmarried daughters and sons.
- Berea*



Berea 2011. Photo by Ł. Krokoszyński

<p>Juan Ahuanari Cachiqui</p>	<p>b. 1925? - 2014, the son of María Ahuanari Chota, a Cocama woman, and his father's surname was Cachiqui. Originally from the lower Tapiche, near Iberia, Juan was orphaned by his father. After his mother and siblings were kidnapped by the <i>indios</i>, he participated in retaliatory raid to find them. He has travelled widely, and during the latter phase of his life he lived with Escolástica Shapiama, Doña Elsa's grandmother, while travelling on the Tapiche. After her death he lived alone in Limón Cocha.</p>
<p><i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1940, the son of a man from San Martín and a woman from Lamas. Originally from San Martín, he worked rubber with his father from an early age and came to the Tapiche with his paternal uncle, Rogelio Vela, whose father and siblings lived and worked on the Tapiche, around Bellavista. He lived and had children with two Sachivo women, who are parallel cousins of Doña Germe. One of his daughters lives in Limón with Omer, Ronal's brother.</p>
<p>Moises Inuma Ortíz</p>	<p>b. 1960? in Monte Alegre. Moises has lived in Frontera Yarina with Alida, and now lives in Santa Elena.</p>
<p><i>Santa Elena, Requena</i></p>	<p>b. 1953?, the son of Adolfo Mozombite Lomas and Julia Huaninche Chumo, originally from Contaya, now lives in Santa Elena.</p>
<p>Legonías Mosombite Huaninche</p>	<p><i>Santa Elena</i></p>
<p>Albino Coachi</p>	<p>b. 1945?, the son of an Ecuadorian man who lived in Peru after the 1941 war between Peru and Ecuador. Originally from the Marañon River, at the mouth of the Chambira river. After travelling and living for some time in Ecuador, he came to the Tapiche to work in logging. After his first wife's death Don Albino lived with Doña Germe's older parallel cousin, Doña Joba Sachivo Ríos and raised her grandchildren in Limón. His own son Jorge lives in Berea with Don Guillermo's daughter.</p>
<p><i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1935?, the daughter of Benjamin Ríos and Isabela Baquinahua. Originally from the upper Tapiche. Orphaned by her mother, she was raised by her husband Rozendo Sachivo Ríos and his first wife, Miguelina (Huaninche?). She has lived on the Tapiche all her life, firstly near San Antonio and then in Limón, where almost all of her children, many grandchildren and great-grandchildren live, including her namesake Olguita.</p>
<p>Olga Ríos Baquinahua</p>	<p><i>Limón Cocha</i></p>

- Geysen** b. 1971, the son of Guillermo Huaninche Romaina and Ercelinda Fatama Ahuanari. Geysen was born and raised on the Buncuya. He
- Huaninche Fatama** lives with a woman from the Buncuya, Doña Saida who is Doña Germe's sister-in-law. They have one daughter, who also lives in
- Berea** Berea along with his sisters, brother, and father.



Berea, 2011. Photo Ł. Krokoszyński

Mariano Huaninche Romaina <i>Tamanco</i>	b. 1954, the youngest son of Manuel Huaninche Sachivo and Amelia Romaina Freire. Mariano lived with Isabela Chumo, a woman from the Tapiche – the namesake and granddaughter of Mama Shabi (Isabela Chumo). They raised 6 children. When we met, Don Mariano was a widower and lived with his daughter and her husband in Tamanco. Recently he came back to live in Berea with Doña Hilda Chumo, who is Daniel’s step-mother.
Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz <i>Limón Cocha</i>	b. 1982, the son of Adolfo Freire Sangama and Corina Ruíz Panarua [note the difference between his sister Alida Freire]. Born and raised in Frontera Yarina, where he was taught in elementary school by Jairo Tomás Zumba Tamani from Requena. He occasionally works in logging, and came to Limón some years ago where he lives alone.
Manuel Vásquez “Sandi” Pizarro/Sachivo <i>Berea</i>	b. 1924? – 2009. Born in the area between the upper Buncuya and Tapiche. Manuel’s original surname was reportedly Pizarro Sachivo. He lived with Rosa Romaina Freire, Don Guillermo’s maternal aunt, a woman from Buncuya, which is where they lived. Don Manuel travelled and worked widely in the area and raised 5 children, including Doña Germe’s husband Eugenio.
Alida Freire Panarua <i>Requena, Santa Elena</i>	b. 1974?, the daughter of Adolfo Freire Sangama and Corina Panarua Ruíz. Born and raised in Frontera Yarina. Lives in Santa Elena with Moises Inuma Ortíz, a mestizo man from Monte Alegre.
Celina Nahuatupe Shapiama <i>settlement at the mouth of Torres Causano stream on the Buncuya</i>	b. 1941?, the daughter of Pedro Nahuatupe and Escolástica Shapiama Muñoz and raised on the Tapiche, in Monte Alegre. Celina's mother came from the San Martín region. Doña Celina was taken by a man from the Buncuya, Generoso Freire Romaina, and she lived with him on the Buncuya all of her life, and then for short periods on the Tapiche after they separated. She lives between Victor Raúl and Berea with her son and married daughters.
Eloisa Chumo Huaninche <i>Berea</i>	b. 1947?, the daughter of José Chumo and Carolina Huaninche, is originally from Contaya, near present Bellavista. Eloisa lived with a Tapiche mestizo man, Fidel Pacaya, in Fatima before moving to Victor Raúl on the Buncuya. She lives there with her children and her brother’s daughter Wilma Chumo Oliveira.

Baudilio
Sachivo Ríos
Limón Cocha

b. 1960, the son of Rozendo Sachivo Ríos and Olga Ríos Baquinahua. Like his siblings, Baudilio first lived in Proa and went to school in San Antonio, then travelled and worked on the Ucayali or the Amazon. Finally Don Baudilio came to live in Limón with a woman born on the Buncuya, Manuel Huaninche's granddaughter Mariela Huaninche Sachivo/Romaina. They raised nine children. Don Baudilio has been the *apu* (president) of Limón Cocha since the 1990s to 2014.



Limón Cocha, 2013. Photo Ł. Krokoszyński.

<p>Américo Ruíz Panarua <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1960?, the son of Esteban “Chai/Zangudo” Ruíz and Joséfa Panarua. Originally from Frontera Yarina, Américo lived and worked for 20 years in Acre, Brazil. His sister was Celso’s mother, and he came to visit Celso a couple of times during our stay.</p>
<p>Myrna Blanca Huaninche Romaina <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1970, the daughter of Victor Huaninche Romaina and Hilda Romaina Guelle. Blanca followed her father and sister Estefita, Don Benigno’s wife, to Limón, where she now lives. She is the younger sister of Daniel. She gave birth to at least 8 children with different men from the Tapiche or the Ucayali. She now lives with Doña Germe’s brother Armando and her children in Limón Cocha.</p>
<p>Edilbrando Sachivo Ríos <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1960, the son of Rozendo Sachivo Ríos and Olga Ríos Baquinahua. As his other siblings, first near San Antonio. He now lives with Joba Baquinahua Panarua, Victor’s mother, near Limón.</p>
<p>Antonia Flores Chumo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1970, among the last children of Manaces DaFlores, a Brazilian man who settled on the upper Tapiche, and Antonia Chumo Rocha. Originally from the vicinity of Contaya, Antuca now lives with a local man, Pedro Padilla Hidalgo. They moved to live in Limón in 2012, and still maintain their cattle ranch upriver (Fundo Padilla). They raised five children together.</p>
<p>Pedro Padilla Hidalgo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1965, the son of Wildfredo Padilla, a mestizo man, and Olga Hidalgo Chumo, a daughter of Alberto Hidalgo Mafaldo and Margarita Chumo. Originally from the vicinity of Contaya (Junin), Pedro lives with Antuca Flores Chumo in Limón and ran for mayor of the Alto Tapiche district in 2014.</p>
<p>Elena Rodríguez Sachivo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1980, the daughter of Pablo Rodríguez Ríos and Margola Sachivo Pizarro, Elena the namesake of her paternal grandmother, Elena Ríos Pacaya. Elena was raised in the vicinity of Limón, San Juan, with the Rodríguez family. She is married to Juan Bocanegra Freire, a local man (current <i>apu</i> of Limón), and grandson of Velisario Freire. They raise three children.</p>

<p>Agustín Flores Sachivo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1970?, the son of a mestizo man, Miguel Flores Lavajos, and Lidia Sachivo Ríos, Doña Germe's paternal uncle and Don Benigno's maternal uncle. Originally from San Antonio, like the other Sachivos, Agustín's family moved to Limón Cocha in the early 1980s. He lived with Eneida Sachivo Baquinahua, Victor Panarua's half-sister. They had five children and separated in 2014.</p>
<p>Julia Pérez Sachivo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1972, the daughter of Leiter Pérez, a mestizo man, and Joba Sachivo Ríos, Doña Germe's parallel cousin. Julia is the namesake of her maternal grandmother Julia Ríos Baquinahua. Originally from Tapiche. She lived on the Buncuya with Doña Germe's youngest brother-in-law, son of Manuel Vásquez, Victor, and had three children. Julia then moved back to her mother in Limón, and lived with Ronal, giving birth to five more children.</p>
<p>Leopoldo Rodríguez Ríos <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1940?, the son of Froylán Rodríguez Vásquez and Elena Ríos. Originally from the vicinity of San Antonio (Cashuera), Leopoldo then moved along with the whole Rodríguez family to San Juan near Limón. He spent years living in Santa Elena, and now lives in Limón with his other brothers.</p>
<p>Luzmila Chumo Oliveira <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1966?, the daughter of Fermín Chumo Rocha and Hilda Chumo Oliveira. Luzmila now lives with Máximo Ríos Sachivo, Don Benigno's younger brother, with whom she has two children, and they have raised four more together.</p>
<p>Máximo Ríos Sachivo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1956, the son of Santiago Ríos and Aurora Sachivo Ríos, Don Benigno's younger brother. Máximo lives in Limón with Doña Luzmila.</p>
<p>Moises Hidalgo Chumo <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1965?, the son of Alberto Hidalgo Chumo and Ana Chumo Huaninche. Moises is the grandson of Juan Hidalgo Mafaldo who "conquered" the ancient Capanahua by establishing his descent line among them, by living with the Chumo women. Moises, or 'Moico' is originally from the present Nueva Esperanza, where he lives with his brother and their families.</p>

<p>Omer Pizarro Huaninche <i>Limón Cocha</i></p>	<p>b. 1976, the son of Romer Pizarro Romaina and Luisa Huaninche Solis. Originally from Buncuya, Omer came to Limón after his brother Ronal, and lives with a local woman who is Don Miguel Vela's daughter. He has finished a course as an evangelical preacher in Yarinacocha with the South American Mission. They have four children.</p>
<p>Hilda Chumo Oliveira <i>Berea</i></p>	<p>b. 1940?, the daughter of Antonio Chumo/Buenapico and an unknown mother. She was originally from Nueva York on the Tapiche, a settlement upriver from Contaya. Doña Hilda was orphaned and raised by her older brother, Julio Chumo. She came to the Buncuya after her other brother, who was briefly the first bilingual teacher in Aipena in late 1960s, with Doña Eloisa's (step-?) brother from the vicinity of Contaya, Fermín Chumo. After they separated, she lived with Daniel's father, Victor Huaninche Romaina near Limón Cocha. After he passed away, she moved to Berea, where she lives with her son Wilson and his partner from the Buncuya, Ashuca Navarro Huaninche. She has given birth to eight children and raised many more.</p>
<p>Ester Saida Vásquez Romaina <i>Berea</i></p>	<p>b. 1955, the daughter of Manuel Vásquez Pizarro and Rosa Romaina Freire. Saida had at least nine children, mostly with men from the Ucayali. She now lives with Geysen, Don Guillermo's son and her two youngest, married daughters in Berea.</p>
<p>Julio Hidalgo Freire <i>Berea</i></p>	<p>b. 1979, the son of Bonergio Hidalgo from the Ucayali and Elsa Freire Nahuatupe. Julio was born on the Buncuya, and lived with his mother on the Ucayali and went to school in Requena. He lives with Doña Saida's daughter Edela Guerra Vásquez and has five children.</p>
<p>Rogelio Bachichi Solis <i>Fátima</i></p>	<p>b. 1951, the son of Héctor Bachichi Romaina and Diojana Solis Pacaya. Originally from the vicinity of Monte Alegre, Rogelio moved to the upper Tapiche in Nuevo Esperanza, and settled down in Fatima with Paca Bocanegra Ríos. He had five children.</p>

Roman “Tigre” Manuhuari b. 1965?, originally from the Ucayali, of Cocama descent. He lived with and had children with Daniel’s sister Blanca, but they separated. For a few years, he continued to live in Limón, and moved out in 2012.
Limón Cocha

Pablo Rodríguez Ríos b. 1953?, the son of Froylán Rodríguez Vásquez and Elena Ríos Pacaya. Pablo moved from San Antonio to Limón Cocha along with his brothers. He lives with Margola Sachivo Pizarro, Doña Germe’s parallel cousin. They have eight children.
Limón Cocha

Hípolito Nahuatupe Chumo b. 1946?, the son of Esteban Nahuatupe and Espírita Chumo. Originally from the vicinity of Monte Alegre, Hípolito came to live in Fatima.
Fátima

Ana Chumo Huaninche b. 1935?, the daughter of José Chumo and Carolina Huaninche, who is the sister of Doña Eloisa and the mother of Moises Hidalgo. Doña Ana lived with Alberto Hidalgo, the son of Juan Hidalgo Mafaldo and years ago she left the upper Tapiche and now lives with her daughters in Requena.
Requena

Aníbal Lazo Chumbe b. 1948? the son of Antonio Lazo. From the upper Tapiche, near San Antonio (Miraflores). Aníbal lives in Requena.
Requena

Carlos Ruíz Hidalgo b. 1939?, the son of Aldegundo Ruíz Sánchez and Viviana Hidalgo Chumo, one of Juan Hidalgo Mafaldo’s children.
fishing camp on the lower Tapiche

Adán Hidalgo Chumo b. 1959?, the son of Alberto Hidalgo Chumo and Ana Chumo Huaninche. Adán lives in Curinga on the Río Blanco.
Nueva Esperanza del Río Blanco

Sulforita b. 1940?, born into a large family of San Martíneses who lived and worked on the Tapiche from the beginning of 20th century. Sulforita founded Wicungo to avoid *indio* raids in the 1960s. She lives in Requena.

Tafur

Requena

Abrán

Gordón Rengifo b. 1947, the son of Álvaro Gordón Bocanegra. Abrán lives in Curinga on the Río Blanco.

Nueva Esperanza del Río Blanco

Medardo

Ruíz Ahuanari b. 1965, the son of Carlos Ruíz Hidalgo. Medardo lives in Curinga on the Río Blanco.

Nueva Esperanza del Río Blanco

José

Agustín Lazo b. 1975? grew up in Fatima, and lives in Santa Elena.

Santa Elena

Desiderio

Potocarrero

Puesto Lima

b. 1932, the son of Desiderio Potocarrero and Mariela Pinieiro Robela of Brazilian descent. Don Dico was born on the upper Tapiche and lived there all his life. He now lives in Puesto Lima, between San Antonio and Nueva Esperanza.

Esteban

Reyna Montilla

San Antonio

b. 1954?, the son of Rosa Montilla Mafaldo and Esteban Reyna Delaguila. Originally from Bellavista, Esteban lives alone in San Antonio. Esteban lived with and had children with Yolanda Parana Chumo.

Ezequiel

Jumachi Sachivo b. 1970, the son of Humberto Jumachi, a mestizo man and Soraida Sachivo Pizarro, a parallel cousin of Doña Germe. Ezequiel lives alone in San Antonio.

Bellavista

Rosa**Montilla Mafaldo**

b. 1927? on the upper Tapiche, is of partially Brazilian descent, and lives in Bellavista.

Bellavista

Vidal**Ahuanari**

b. 1939? the son of Vidal Ahuanari from the Ucayali, has lived all his life on the upper Tapiche and a few years ago moved from Junin to Bellavista.

Bellavista

Łukasz**Krokoszyński**

*St Andrews (Scotland),
Poznań (Poland)*

b. 1979, the son of Grzegorz Krokoszyński and Grażyna Krokoszyńska (Nowakowska), and raised as an only child by his mother. Originally from Leszno, Łukasz has lived in Poznań, Poland since the 1990s. He studied anthropology in Poznań, travelled and worked as a carpenter, plumber, roofer, and bookstore salesman. Łukasz was hosted for several months by the Ho-Chunk and the Lakhota people in U.S.A., then went to eastern Peru to work on the Ucayali for a few months, and finally settled to work in an office of an auction portal company in Poznań. Then, after returning to work for another few months on the Ucayali, he requested the supervision of Prof. Peter Gow in the doctoral program at the University of St Andrews, so that he could go back to eastern Peru. Godfather of his namesake, Lucas López Vásquez from Limón Cocha, and Adam Gregorio, his father's namesake, in Berea. Lives with a Polish woman, Kinga Kokot.

Appendix 2. Conversations

- ACo1. Albino Coachi – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 3 12 2012.
- ACo2. Albino Coachi, Joba Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 12 2012.
- ACHo1. Ana Chumo Huaninche – Requena, Ucayali River, 6 3 2013.
- AFCo1. Antonia Flores Chumo, Pedro Padilla Hidalgo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 3 10 2012.
- AFPo1. Alida Freyre Panarua – Requena, Ucayali River, 8 7 2012.
- AFPo2. Alida Freyre Panarua, Moises Inuma Requena – Ucayali River, 10 7 2012.
- AFSo1. Agustin Flores Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 28 10 2012.
- AGRo1. Abraham Gordón Rengifo, Adán Hidalgo Chumo, Medardo Ruíz – Nueva Esperanza (del río Blanco), Tapiche River, 15 2 2012.
- ALCo1. Anibal Lazo Chumbe – Requena, Ucayali River, 19 6 2012.
- ARo1. Americo Ruiz? – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 5 2012.
- BHRo1. Blanca Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 4 2012.
- BRSo1. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 28 5 2012.
- BRSo2. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 12 9 2012.
- BRSo3. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 9 2012.
- BRSo4. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 9 2012.
- BRSo5. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 24 9 2012.
- BRSo6. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 27 9 2012.
- BRSo7. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 2 10 2012.
- BRSo8. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 10 2012.
- BRSo9. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 10 2012.
- BRSo10. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 10 2012.
- BRSo11. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 16 10 2012.
- BRSo12. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 18 10 2012.
- BRSo13. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 10 2012.
- BRSo14. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 10 2012.
- BRSo15. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 30 10 2012.
- BRSo16. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 31 10 2012.
- BRSo17. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 15 11 2012.
- BRSo18. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 22 11 2012.
- BRSo19. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 23 11 2012.
- BRSo20. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 28 11 2012.
- BRSo21. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 22 12 2012.
- BRSo22. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 31 1 2013.
- BRSo23. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 7 2 2013.
- BRSto1. Benigno Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 2 2013.
- BSRo1. Baudilio Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 24 10 2012.
- CBRo1. Celso Baquinahua Ruíz – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 10 2012.
- CBRo2. Celso Baquinahua Ruíz – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 10 2012.
- CBRo3. Celso Baquinahua Ruíz – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 11 2012.
- CNSo1. Celina Nahuatupe Shapiama – Berea, Buncuya River, 10 10 2011.
- CRHo1. Carlos Ruiz Hidalgo – Requena, Ucayali River, 9 7 2012.
- DHRo1. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 15 4 2012.
- DHRo2. Daniel Huaninche Romaina Pablo Rodriguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 18 4 2012.
- DHRo3. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 22 4 2012.

- DHR04. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 4 2012.
- DHR05. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 30 4 2012.
- DHR06. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 5 2012.
- DHR07. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 8 5 2012.
- DHR08. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 12 5 2012.
- DHR09. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 5 2012.
- DHR10. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 16 5 2012.
- DHR11. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 18 5 2012.
- DHR12. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 21 5 2012.
- DHR13. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 5 2012.
- DHR14. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 29 5 2012.
- DHR15. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 31 7 2012.
- DHR16. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 9 2012.
- DHR17. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 11 10 2012.
- DHR18. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 25 10 2012.
- DHR19. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 1 11 2012.
- DHR20. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 27 11 2012.
- DHR21. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 4 12 2012.
- DHR22. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 8 12 2012.
- DHR23. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 12 12 2012.
- DHR24. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 12 2012.
- DHR25. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 21 12 2012.
- DHR26. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 1 2013.
- DHR27. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 12 1 2013.
- DHR28. Daniel Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 3 2 2013.
- DP01. Deciderio Portocarrera – San Antonio - Pt.Lima, Tapiche River, 22 9 2012.
- ECH01. Eloisa Chumo Huaninche – Berea, Buncuya River, 16 10 2011.
- EFN01. Elsa Freyre Nahuatupe – Berea, Buncuya River, 15 1 2012.
- EFN02. Elsa Freyre Nahuatupe, Julio Hidalgo Freyre – Berea, Buncuya River, 15 1 2012.
- EFN03. Elsa Freyre Nahuatupe – Berea, Buncuya River, 22 1 2012.
- EHB01. Elías Huaninche Baquinahua, Celso Baquinahua Ruíz – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 12 2011.
- EHB02. Elías Huaninche Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 1 3 2012.
- EJS01. Ezequiel Jumachi Sachivo – San Antonio, Tapiche River, 19 9 2012.
- EL01. Eugene Loos – Dallas, Texas, 18 1 2010.
- EL02. Eugene Loos – Dallas, Texas, 16 4 2013.
- EL03. Eugene Loos – Dallas, Texas, 17 4 2013.
- EL04. Eugene Loos – Dallas, Texas, 20 4 2013.
- EL05. Eugene Loos – Dallas, Texas, 22 4 2013.
- ERM01. Esteban Reyna Montilla – San Antonio, Tapiche River, 19 9 2012.
- ERS01. Elena Rodriguez Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 22 12 2012.
- ERS02. Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 21 8 2012.
- ERS03. Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 25 8 2012.
- ESH01. Elena Solisban Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 23 8 2012.
- ESH02. Elena Solisban Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 24 8 2012.
- ESH03. Elena Solisban Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 8 2012.
- ESR01. Edilberto Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 10 2012.
- fB0704. “Notatki (field notes): Buncuya I.” Berea, Victor Raúl (Peru), 04 2007.
- fB1110. “Notatki (field notes): Tamanco, Buncuya II.” Tamanco, Berea (Peru), 10 2011.
- fB1111. “Notatki (field notes): Buncuya II.” Berea (Peru), 11 2011.
- fB1201. “Notatki (field notes): Buncuya III.” Berea (Peru), 01 2012.
- fD1001. “Notatki (field notes): Dallas I.” Dallas, TX (USA), 01 2010.

- fD1304. "Notatki (field notes): Dallas II." Dallas, TX (USA), 04 2013.
- fP1314. "Notatki (field notes): Poznań." Poznań (Poland), 2013-2014.
- fT1112. "Notatki (field notes): Requena, Tapiche I." Requena, Frontera Yarina, Limón Cocha (Peru), 12 2011.
- fT1202. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche II." Limón Cocha (Peru), 02 2012.
- fT1203. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche II." Limón Cocha (Peru), 03 2012.
- fT1204. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche II." Limón Cocha (Peru), 04 2012.
- fT1205. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche II." Limón Cocha (Peru), 05 2012.
- fT1206. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche II." Limón Cocha, Santa Elena, Requena (Peru), 06 2012.
- fT1207. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche II, Requena, Iquitos." Limón Cocha, Requena, Iquitos (Peru), 07 2012.
- fT1208. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha (Peru), 08 2012.
- fT1209. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha, San Antonio, Bellavista (Peru), 09 2012.
- fT1210. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha (Peru), 10 2012.
- fT1211. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha (Peru), 11 2012.
- fT1212. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha (Peru), 12 2012.
- fT1301. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha (Peru), 01 2013.
- fT1302. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III." Limón Cocha (Peru), 02 2013.
- fT1303. "Notatki (field notes): Tapiche III, Requena." Limón Cocha, Huicungo, Requena (Peru), 03 2013.
- fU1109. "Notatki (field notes): Iquitos, Tamanco." Iquitos, Tamanco (Peru), 09 2011.
- fU1111. "Notatki (field notes): Tamanco, Iquitos." Tamanco, Iquitos (Peru), 11 2011.
- fU1202. "Notatki (field notes): Iquitos, Requena." Iquitos, Requena (Peru), 02 2012.
- fU1207. "Notatki (field notes): Requena, Tapiche III." Requena, Frontera Yarina, Limón Cocha (Peru), 07 2012.
- GHF01. Geysen Huaninche Fatama – Berea, Buncuya River, 10 11 2011.
- GHR01. Guillermo Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 11 10 2011.
- GHR02. Guillermo Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 10 2011.
- GHR03. Guillermo Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 12 1 2012.
- GHR04. Guillermo Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 22 1 2012.
- GHR05. Guillermo Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 24 1 2012.
- GHR06. Guillermo Huaninche Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 27 1 2012.
- GSR01. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 4 2012.
- GSR02. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 5 2012.
- GSR03. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 8 2012.
- GSR04. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 7 10 2012.
- GSR05. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 15 11 2012.
- GSR06. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 10 12 2012.
- GSR07. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 18 12 2012.
- GSR08. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 19 1 2013.
- GSR09. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 10 1 2013.
- GSR10. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 2 2013.
- GSR11. Germe Sachivo Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 2 2013.
- HCO01. Hilda Chumo Oliveira – Berea, Buncuya River, 22 1 2012.
- JAC01. Juan Ahuanari Cachiqui – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 15 10 2012.
- JAC02. Juan Ahuanari Cachiqui – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 18 12 2012.
- JAC03. Juan Ahuanari Cachiqui – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 12 2012.
- JAL01. José Agustín Lazo – Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 12 6 2012.
- JPS01. Julia Perez Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 4 2012.
- JRR01. Jorge Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 15 10 2012.
- JRR02. Jorge Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 25 10 2012.
- JRR03. Jorge Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 1 12 2012.
- JRR04. Jorge Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 12 2012.
- JRR05. Jorge Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 25 1 2013.
- JRR06. Jorge Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 12 2 2013.

- LCO01. Luzmila Chumo Oliveira, Máximo Ríos Sachivo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 19 1 2013.
- LMH01. Legonias Mozombite Huaninche – Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 14 6 2012.
- LRR01. Lepoldo Rodríguez Ríos – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 10 2012.
- MHCo1. Moises Hidalgo Chumo – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 10 11 2012.
- MHR01. Mariano Huaninche Romaina – Tamanco, Ucayali River, 28 9 2011.
- MHR02. Mariano Huaninche Romaina – Tamanco, Ucayali River, 1 10 2011.
- MI01. Moises Inuma – Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 12 6 2012.
- MI02. Moises Inuma – Santa Elena, Tapiche River, 14 6 2012.
- MV01. Miguel Vela – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 10 2012.
- MV02. Miguel Vela – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 8 11 2012.
- MV03. Miguel Vela – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 18 2 2013.
- MVP01. Manuel Vásquez Pizarro – Berea, Buncuya River, 8 4 2007.
- MVP02. Manuel Vásquez Pizarro, Geysen Huaninche Fatama – Berea, Buncuya River, 9 4 2007.
- OPH01. Omer Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 8 2012.
- ORB01. Olga Ríos Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 11 2012.
- ORB02. Olga Ríos Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 15 12 2012.
- PFS01. Pedro Tomas Freyre Sangama/Ruíz – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 1 3 2012.
- PFS02. Pedro Tomas Freyre Sangama/Ruíz – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 26 10 2012.
- RM01. Roman Tigre Victor Ríos Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 4 2012.
- RMM01. Rosa Montilla Mafaldo – Bellavista, Tapiche River, 20 9 2012.
- RPH01. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 27 5 2012.
- RPH02. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 30 9 2012.
- RPH03. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 19 11 2012.
- RPH04. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 12 2012.
- RPH05. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 14 1 2013.
- RPH06. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 9 1 2013.
- RPH07. Ronal Pizarro Huaninche – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 1 2013.
- RPR01. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 5 10 2011.
- RPR02. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 7 10 2011.
- RPR03. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 21 10 2011.
- RPR04. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 28 10 2011.
- RPR05. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Requena, Ucayali River, 10 12 2011.
- RPR06. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Requena, Ucayali River, 13 12 2011.
- RPR07. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Requena, Ucayali River, 14 12 2011.
- RPR08. Romer Pizarro Romaina – Requena, Ucayali River, 15 12 2011.
- ST01. Sulforita Tarfur – Requena, Ucayali River, 18 6 2012.
- SVR01. Saida Vásquez Romaina – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 21 10 2011.
- VA01. Vidal Ahuanari – Bellavista, Tapiche River, 20 9 2012.
- VPB01. Victor Panarua Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 4 10 2012.
- VPB02. Victor Panarua Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 19 10 2012.
- VPB03. Victor Panarua Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 13 1 2013.
- VPB04. Victor Panarua Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 20 1 2013.
- VPB05. Victor Panarua Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 17 2 2013.
- VPB06. Victor Panarua Baquinahua – Limón Cocha, Tapiche River, 24 2 2013.

Appendix 3. Kinship terms

1. Kinship terms imagined between two *troncos*

Capanahua language terms of: ‘address’ and reference (below). Reconstructed from data gathered among Capanahua of the Buncuya River between 1954-70s by Eugene and Betty Loos. None of the villagers has been able to produce a thorough terminology that would be consistent with SIL material. The terminology includes the Spanish or Shipibo borrowings “*papan*” or “*maman*,” at that time replacing the older Panoan term “*’epa*” and “*’ewa*,” but does not acknowledge the borrowings used by contemporary elderly Capanahua speakers, such as “*ihun*” for son/child (from Sp. ‘hijo’).

Dashed lines indicate the domains of containment by ‘fathers-in-law’ through their daughters. Cloud shapes indicate concentrations of the ‘brothers’ category. Red colour marks ‘consanguineal,’ and blue, ‘affinal’ position in relation to ego. The distribution of positions corresponds to an ideal uxorilocal practice.

Fig. 15. FEMALE EGO: * Loos (1960: 4) gives the address term for Female ego’s BD as *mamanchin*, jointly with term for BS as *papanchin*. This seems to be an error, as the siblings are not marriageable. The term for *papanchin*’s sister is elsewhere recorded as *’nin*. The latter is marriageable in relation to *kuka* (S/ZS/HBS) and the former to *mamanchin* (D/ZD/HBD). Likewise, the wife of HZS is recorded in (Loos nd.b) as *’nin*, a term for HZS/BS sister, and not spouse. In accordance with the logic of other terms, it should be *mamanchin/bake* (D/ZD/HBD). This is confirmed by other Panoan terminologies, e.g. Cashinahua (D’Ans 1983), Yaminahua (Townesley 1988) or Marubo (Welper 2009). Alternatively, such use may indicate a specific, divergent marriage or a particular switch in terminology.

Fig. 16. MALE EGO: * marks an odd use in the only source for the term in this place. It may be an error in writing down, a divergent marriage which the informant referred to, or an unusual feature of the terminology. In accordance with the logic of remaining terms, it should be *baken/papan*.

2. Continuities, frustrations and replacements in the mid-20th century Capanahua kinship terminology.

Diagonal division marks marriageability or spouses. Shading allows tracing of “consanguineal” (dis-) continuities. Fields with the same shade and in the same triangle position mark corresponding positions (replacements treating each other as siblings) in alternate generations. All fields indicate a series of hierarchically ordered positions, “*wetsa*” (“another,” i.e. sibling).

Figure 17. Male ego

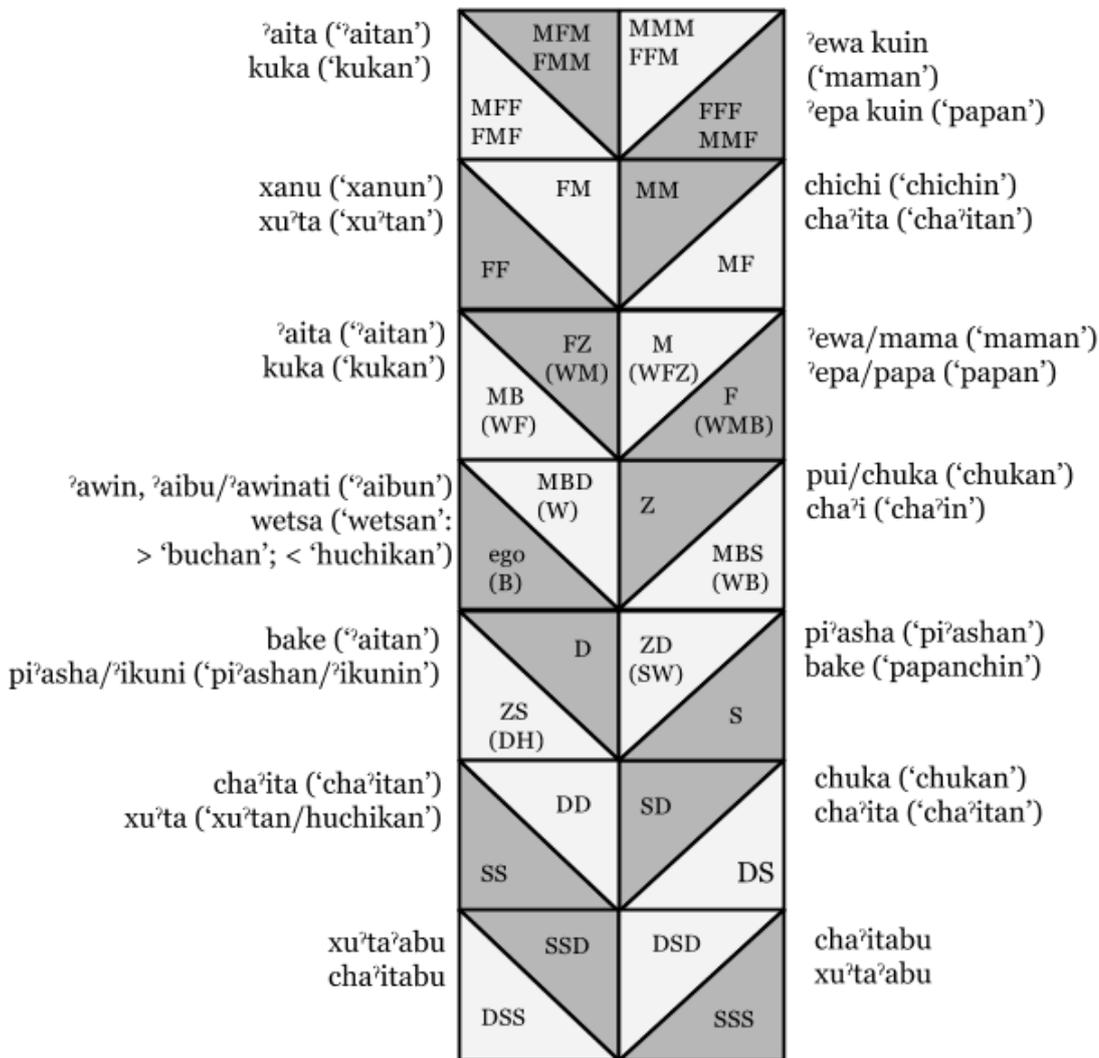
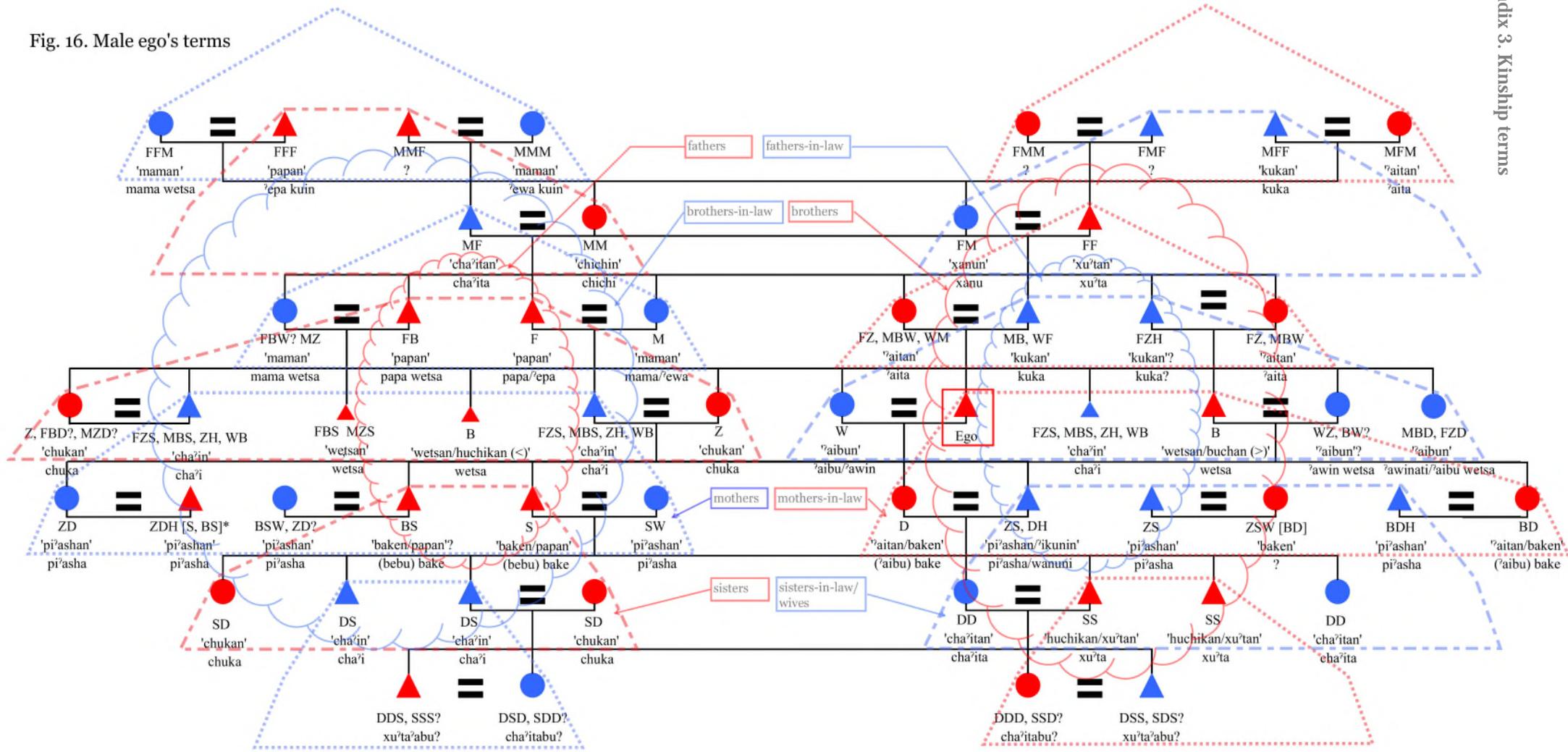


Figure 18. Female ego

yaya ('yayan') kuka ('kukan')	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>MFM FMM</td> <td>MMM FFM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>MFF FMF</td> <td>FFF MMF</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	MFM FMM	MMM FFM	MFF FMF	FFF MMF	ʔewa kuin ('maman') ʔepa kuin ('papan')
MFM FMM	MMM FFM					
MFF FMF	FFF MMF					
tsabe ('tsaben') xu'ta ('xu'tan')	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>FM</td> <td>MM</td> </tr> <tr> <td>FF</td> <td>MF</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	FM	MM	FF	MF	chichi ('ʔu'shin') cha'ita ('cha'itan')
FM	MM					
FF	MF					
yaya ('yayan') kuka ('kukan')	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>FZ (HM)</td> <td>M (HFZ)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>MB (HF)</td> <td>F (HMB)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	FZ (HM)	M (HFZ)	MB (HF)	F (HMB)	ʔewa/mama ('maman') ʔepa/papa ('papan')
FZ (HM)	M (HFZ)					
MB (HF)	F (HMB)					
tsabe ('tsaben') pui/ru'a ('ru'an')	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>MBD (HZ)</td> <td>ego (Z)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>B</td> <td>MBS (H)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	MBD (HZ)	ego (Z)	B	MBS (H)	wetsa ('wetsan': > 'ʔu'shin'; < 'sharan') bene/bene'ati ('benen')
MBD (HZ)	ego (Z)					
B	MBS (H)					
ʔi'ni ('ʔi'nin') bake ('kukan')	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>BD (SW)</td> <td>D</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S</td> <td>BS (DH)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	BD (SW)	D	S	BS (DH)	bake ('mamanchin') ʔina ('papanchin')
BD (SW)	D					
S	BS (DH)					
tsabe ('tsaben') baba ('ru'an/baban')	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>SD</td> <td>DD</td> </tr> <tr> <td>DS</td> <td>SS</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	SD	DD	DS	SS	baba ('sharan/baban') cha'ita ('cha'itan')
SD	DD					
DS	SS					
xu'ta'abu cha'itabu	<table border="1"> <tbody> <tr> <td>DSD</td> <td>SSD</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SSS</td> <td>DSD</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>	DSD	SSD	SSS	DSD	cha'itabu xu'ta'abu
DSD	SSD					
SSS	DSD					

Fig. 16. Male ego's terms



3. LUS relationship terminology used by the Capanahua descendants during my fieldwork.

abuelo/a

REF: MM, MF / FF, FM; ADR: older persons

madre, mama

REF: M; ADR: (*mama* or *mami*) older female kin or postulated hierarchy figures

padre, papa

REF: F; ADR: (*papa* or *papi*) ego's S or postulated hierarchy figures

tío/a

REF: MB, FB/MZ, FZ ADR: WF/WM, older relatives, adoptive parent, step parent

suegro/a

REF/ADR: WF/M, HF/M

padrastra/madrastra

REF: adoptive or step parent

padrino/madrina

REF/ADR: godparent

hermano/a

REF: B/Z; ADR: cross and paralel cousins, evangelical missionaries

ñaño/a

REF: B/Z; ADR: B/Z, cross and paralel cousins

pedazo

REF: twin or adjoining sibling

primo/a hermano/a (primo/a)

REF/ADR: MZS/D, MBS/D, FZS/D, FBS/D

cuñado/a

REF/ADR: WB/Z, HB/Z

compadre/comadre

REF/ADR: child's godparent

hijo/a

REF: S/D; ADR: SbCh, younger relatives

sobrino/a

REF/ADR: child of Z, B, or cross and parallel cousins

yerno/a:

REF: DH/SW

ahijado/ahijada

REF/ADR: godchild

nieto/a

REF/ADR: children of generation +2 +3, etc.

tratarse v. to address each other with specific terms

raza n. descent

familia n. family, either *legítima*, real, or *por respeto*, courteous

menor/mayor adj. older/younger

winsho/a n. or adj. the ultimate child

masi adj. used occasionally in reference or address to a person in symmetrical relation to a third person: e.g. *suegro masi* as ChSpF/M or *cuñado masi*, WZH

legítimo adj. close, actual or original

lejano adj. remote, referring to remote relatives

pariente n. person sharing the surname, but not known kinship relation

particular n. unrelated person

4. Table of the Capanahua kinship terms in SIL materials

⁶⁰ (Loos 1960); ^L lists in (Loos nd.b); ^S diagrams in (Loos nd.b); ^C (Loos nd.c); ^D (Loos & Loos 2003); ^T (Loos & Loos 1976a, 1976b, nd.a, nd.b); ^N (Schoolland 1975).

	ego ♂	ego ♀
	generation +3 <i>xohta xenibu</i> ^N	
PtPtM	<i>hehuacoin</i> ^{D60}	
PtPtF	<i>hepacoin</i> ^D <i>hepa seni</i> [<i>xeni?</i>] ^N <i>coca xeni</i> ^N (?+4?) <i>mhipa</i> [min <i>hipa?</i>] <i>xeni</i> (+4?) <i>hepacoin xeni</i> ^T	
FFF	adr <i>hepa/papa</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>hepa coin</i> ⁶⁰	adr <i>hepa/papa</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>hepa coin</i> ^{D60}
MMM	adr <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>hewa coin</i> ⁶⁰	adr <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>hewa coin</i> ^{D60}
FFM	adr <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>mama huetsa</i> ⁶⁰	adr <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>mama huetsa</i> ⁶⁰
MFf	adr/ref <i>coca</i> ⁶⁰	adr/ref <i>coca</i> ⁶⁰
MfM	adr/ref <i>haita</i> ⁶⁰	adr/ref <i>yaya</i> ⁶⁰
	generation +2	
MF	adr/ref <i>chahi</i> ⁶⁰ <i>chahi</i> ^{LSD} <i>chahitan</i> ^T	<i>chahitan</i> ^{LST} <i>chahita</i> ^D
MM	<i>chichi</i> ^{LSDTa} adr <i>chichipin</i> ^D	<i>hohshin</i> ^{LS} <i>chichi</i> ^D adr <i>chichipin</i> ^D
FF	adr/ref <i>xohta</i> ⁶⁰ <i>xohta</i> ^{LSD}	adr/ref <i>xohta</i> ⁶⁰ <i>xohta</i> ^{LSD}
FM	adr/ref <i>xano</i> ⁶⁰ <i>xano</i> ^{LSD}	adr/ref <i>xano</i> ⁶⁰ <i>xanon</i> ^L <i>xano</i> ^{SD} <i>tsabe</i> ^D
	generation +1	
F	adr/ref <i>hepa/papa</i> ⁶⁰ <i>papan</i> ^L <i>papa</i> ^D <i>hepa</i> ^D	adr/ref <i>hepa/papa</i> ⁶⁰ <i>papan</i> ^L <i>papa</i> ^D <i>hepa</i> ^D
FB	adr <i>hepa/papa</i> ⁶⁰ ; <i>papa</i> ^{DC} , ref <i>papa huetsa</i> ⁶⁰ <i>papa huetsa</i> ^{DN} <i>hehipabo</i> ^{N?}	adr <i>hepa/papa</i> ⁶⁰ ; <i>papa</i> ^{DC} ref <i>papa huetsa</i> ⁶⁰ <i>papa huetsan</i> ^{LSD}
FBW	<i>ímama huetsa?</i>	<i>mama huetsan</i> ^{LS}
FZ	adr/ref <i>haita</i> ⁶⁰ <i>haita</i> ^{DC}	adr/ref <i>yaya</i> ⁶⁰ <i>yaya</i> ^{LSDC}
FZH	<i>coca?</i>	<i>coca</i> ^{LS}
M	adr/ref <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ <i>mama</i> ^{LDC}	adr/ref <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ <i>maman</i> ^{LDC}
MB	adr/ref <i>coca</i> ⁶⁰ <i>coca</i> ^{DCT}	adr/ref <i>coca</i> ⁶⁰ <i>cocan</i> ^{LSC}
MBW	adr/ref <i>haita</i> ⁶⁰ <i>haita(bo)</i> ^T	adr/ref <i>yaya</i> ⁶⁰ <i>yayan</i> ^{LS}
MZ	adr <i>hewa/mama</i> ⁶⁰ <i>haita</i> ^{D?} ref <i>mama huetsa</i> ⁶⁰ <i>mama</i> ^C	<i>mama</i> ^C <i>mama huetsan</i> ^{LS} <i>yaya</i> ^D
MZH	adr/ref <i>coca</i> ⁶⁰ (if "not in ego's patrilineal line of descent")	<i>papa huetsan</i> ^{LS} adr/ref <i>coca</i> ⁶⁰
SpF	<i>cocan</i> ^{LS} <i>coca</i> ^{DC}	<i>coca</i> ^{LSC}
SpM	<i>haitan</i> ^{LS} <i>haita</i> ^{DC}	<i>yaya</i> ^{LSDCN}
	generation 0	
B	adr/ref <i>huetsa</i> ⁶⁰ ref? <i>huetsa</i> ^{DC} (used mostly by boys) adr <i>noco</i> [sic] <i>huetsa</i> ⁶⁰ ; ref <i>jinchon</i> ^D y: adr/ref <i>jochica</i> ⁶⁰ y: <i>jochica</i> ^{DC}	adr/ref <i>roha</i> ^{DC60} ref <i>rohuebon</i> ^T ref <i>poi</i> ^{T60} adr/ref <i>poi</i> ^D ref <i>jochin</i> ^T ref <i>jinchon</i> ^D

	o: adr/ref bocha ⁶⁰ o: bocha ^{DC}	
BW		tsaben?
Z	adr/ref choca ^{DC60} ref poi ^{DT}	o: hohshi ^{DC60} y: shara ^{DC60} huetsa ^{DC}
ZH	adr/ref chahi ⁶⁰ chahi ^C	
FBS	(parallel cousins) adr/ref huetsa ⁶⁰ adr noco [sic] huetsa ⁶⁰ y: adr/ref jochica ⁶⁰ o: adr/ref bocha ⁶⁰ chahi ^D	
FBD		tsabe ^D
FZS	chahi ^{DC}	ref beneahti ⁶⁰
FZD		tsabe ^{DC}
MBS	adr/ref chahi ⁶⁰ chahi ^{DC}	ref beneahti ⁶⁰
MBD	adr haibo ref hawinat ⁶⁰ ("possible, potential wife")	tsabe ^{DC}
MZS	(parallel cousins) adr/ref huetsa ⁶⁰ adr noco [sic] huetsa ⁶⁰ y: adr/ref jochica ⁶⁰ o: adr/ref bocha ⁶⁰ chahi ^D	
MZD		tsabe ^D
WB	chahin ^{SL}	
WZ	hahuin huetsan ^{SL}	
HB		bene huetsan ^{SL} bene huetsa ⁶⁰
HZ		tsabe ^{TL}
Sp	adr/ref haibo ⁶⁰ haibon ^{LS} haibo ^D hahuin ^D honanma ^D yoxan ^D hihquihinti (conviviente) ^{corresp}	benen ^{LS} bene ^{D60}
generation -1		
Own children & their spouses		
Ch	chito ^D	chito ^D
	bihmenohi baque ^{D(firstborn)} beboquiha(bo) ^{T(older)} chini baque ^{T(lastborn)}	bihmenohi baque ^{D(firstborn)} beboquiha(bo) ^{T(older)} chini baque ^{T(lastborn)}
S	adr/ref baque ⁶⁰ bebo baque ^C adr papan ^{LS} adr papanchin ^D adr jochin ^{TN} adr ihun ^L	adr/ref baque ⁶⁰ bebo baque ^C adr cocan ^S / adr papanchin ^D adr jochin ^T
SW	adr/ref pihashan ^{SD}	hihnin ^L hihni ^{D60} hihnon ^S [sic- hihnin?] pihasha ^D
D	ref baquen ^T haibo baque ^C adr? haitan ^{LS} adr mamanchin ^D y: shani ^D	haibo baque ^C baquen mamanchin ^S adr mamanchin ^D y: shani ^D
DH	pihashan ^{LSDT} adr/ref huanoni ^{DT} ref rayos ^D	ref papanchin ^S adr/ref huanoni ^{DT} ref hihna ^T ref rayos ^D pihasha ^D [?]

<i>Sibling's children</i>		
Beh	adr/ref <i>baque</i> ^{60?} <i>baquen</i> ^S ref <i>huetsa baquebo</i> ^N	ref <i>papa xohtabo</i> ⁶⁰
BS	adr/ref <i>baque</i> ⁶⁰ <i>baquen</i> ^S <i>huetsa baquebo</i> ^N	adr/ref <i>hina</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>hina</i> ^T ref <i>hiná-hahbo</i> ^T <i>hina(jahbo)</i> ^T <i>inaquen</i> ^D adr <i>papanchin</i> ⁶⁰ <i>pihasha</i> ^{DC} <i>hiconin</i> ^D
BSW	<i>pihashan</i> ^S	<i>pihasha</i> ^D <i>hiconin</i> ^D <i>hinaquen</i> ^D
BD	adr/ref <i>baque</i> ⁶⁰ adr? <i>haitan</i> ^S	adr/ref <i>hinni</i> ⁶⁰ ref <i>hini</i> ^T ref <i>hini-ahbo</i> ^T [sic, hih-?] adr <i>mamanchin</i> ^{60?} <i>ZD</i> ?
		<i>pihasha</i> ^{DC} <i>hiconin</i> ^D
BDH	<i>pihasha</i> ^S	<i>hinaquen</i> ^D <i>pihasha</i> ^D <i>hiconin</i> ^D
Zch	<i>pihasha</i> ⁶⁰	
ZS	<i>pihashan</i> ^{SECT} <i>pihasha</i> ⁶⁰ adr/ref? <i>hiconin</i> ^D	<i>hinaquen</i> ^D <i>pihasha</i> ^D
ZSW	<i>baquen</i> ^S	<i>hinaquen</i> ^D <i>pihasha</i> ^D <i>hiconin</i> ^D
ZD	<i>pihashan</i> ^{SC} <i>pihasha</i> ⁶⁰	<i>hinaquen</i> ^D <i>pihasha</i> ^D <i>hiconin</i> ^D
ZDH	<i>pihashan</i> ^S	<i>hinaquen</i> ^D <i>pihasha</i> ^D <i>hiconin</i> ^D
<i>Spouse's Sibling's children</i>		
WBCh	<i>pihashabo (romishin)</i> ^T	
HBS		<i>baquen</i> ^S
HBSW		<i>hinnin</i> ^S
HBD		<i>baquen</i> ^S
HBDH		<i>papanchin</i> ^S
HZCh		ref <i>hina</i> ^T
HZS		adr? <i>papanchin</i> ^S ref <i>hina</i> ^T
HZSW		<i>hinnin</i> ^S
HZD		<i>hinnin</i> ^S
HZDH		<i>baque</i> ^S
generation -2		
ChCh	<i>xohta</i> ^D	<i>baba</i> ^{DT} <i>xohta</i> ^D
SS	<i>xohta</i> ^{N...} adr? <i>jochican</i> ^{LS}	<i>chahitan</i> ^{LS?} <i>chahi</i> ^N
SD	<i>chocan</i> ^{LS}	<i>tsaben</i> ^{LS}
DS	<i>chahi</i> ^{LS} <i>chahitan</i> ^T	ref <i>baban</i> ^S <i>baba</i> ⁶⁰ ref//adr? <i>rohan</i> ^{SL}
DD	<i>chahitan</i> ^{LS}	adr/ref <i>baban</i> ^S ref/adr? <i>sharan</i> ^{SL}
generation +3		
ChChCh?	<i>xohtahabu (romishin)</i> ^T <i>chahitabo</i> ^T ? <i>chahi xohtabu</i> ^N [biznietos-tataranietos]	

Appendix 4. Orthographic convention

I use a variant that relies on the simplified orthography of SIL spelling, switching from the Spanish-speaking context to the English-speaking or international one. Nasalization is marked by “n” following vowels, and I do not mark the spread of nasalization. Initial h of a word is muted when the word is placed in internal position. This is transcribed in SIL orthography, but I omit it here for simplicity (e.g. Neteanika rather than Netehanika). The table below compares the orthographies used in: † (Loos & Loos 2003), ‡ (Loos 1969), * (Elias-Ulloa 2006). The final letter is used in this thesis. Note that in the Appendices, original spelling is conserved.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Pharyngeal	Laryngeal
Stops	p† p‡ p* p	t† t‡ t* t			qu† k‡ k* k		h†? ‡? *?
Continuants	b† b‡ β* b						
		s† s‡ s* s	sh† š‡ j*sh x† š‡ ‡*x			j† h‡ h* h	
Affricates		ts† t‡ t* ts	ch† č‡ t‡* ch				
Flap		r† r‡ r* r					
Nasal	m† m‡ m* m	n† n‡ n* n					
Semi-consonant	hu† w‡ w* w			y† y‡ y* y			

	Front	Central	Back
High	i† i‡ i* i	i* e	e† i‡ e o† o‡ o* u
Mid			
Low		a† a‡ a* a	

NOTE 1. According to Eugene Loos, “o” ranges from mid close to high open, unconditioned (1969: 105). Elias-Ulloa (2006: 162) describes it as “high back slightly-rounded vowel.” I use “u” rather than “o,” because I have been told on the Tapiche that the letter “o” in the SIL orthography should be pronounced as “u.”

NOTE 2. According to Loos, “e” is “high back unrounded” (Loos 1969: 106), and Elias-Ulloa defines it as “a high central unrounded” (Elias-Ulloa 2006: 162).

Appendix 5. Fauna and flora mentioned

LUS	Capanhua	Latin	English
<i>achiote</i>	<u><i>maxe</i></u>	<i>Bixa orellana</i>	achiote
<i>aguaje</i>	<u><i>binun</i></u>	<i>Mauritia flexuosa</i>	moriche
<i>aji (charapita)</i>	<u><i>yuchi</i></u>	<i>Capsicum chinense?</i>	in Brazil: cumari
<i>ajo sachá</i>	<u><i>nawan bucha</i></u>	<i>Mansoa alliacea</i>	garlic vine
<i>anguilla</i>	<u><i>kuniwan</i></u>	<i>Electrophorus electricus</i>	electric eel
<i>añuje</i>	<u><i>mari</i></u>	<i>Dasyprocta fuliginosa</i>	black agouti
<i>ataudero, lanchina (ataolero, lanchino)</i>	<u><i>tiski-tiski</i></u>	<i>Pulsatrix perspicillata or Pulsatrix melanota</i>	spectacled owl
<i>ayahuma (aya uma, ayaúma)</i>	<u><i>nawanbu</i></u>	<i>Couroupita guianensis</i>	cannonball tree
<i>boa mantona</i>	<u><i>runuwan, runin</i></u>	<i>Boa constrictor</i>	boa constrictor
<i>caña brava</i>	<u><i>tawa</i></u>	<i>Gynerium sagittatum</i>	wild cane, arrow cane
<i>capirona</i>	<u><i>axu</i></u>	?	?
<i>cashapona (ponilla)</i>	<u><i>pe'ru</i></u>	<i>Socratea exorrhiza</i>	walking palm, cashapona
<i>chambira</i>	<u><i>wana</i></u>	<i>Astrocaryum chambira</i>	chambira palm
<i>charapa</i>	<u><i>xawe</i></u>	<i>Podocnemis expansa</i>	Arrau turtle
<i>chuchuhuasi</i>	<u><i>chuchuwasha</i></u>	<i>Maytenus krukovii?</i> <i>Maytenus macrocarpa?</i>	chuchuhuasi
<i>conta</i>	<u><i>xebun nuwe</i></u>	<i>Attalea tessmanii</i>	
<i>coto, coto mono</i>	<u><i>ru'u</i></u>	<i>Alouatta seniculus</i>	red howler
<i>cuicamama/lombriz (sapana)</i>	<u><i>xaku</i></u>	<i>Cla. Oligochaeta</i>	earthworm
<i>cunchi</i>	<u><i>ishixu</i></u>	<i>genus Pimelodus (Pimelodus ornatus?)</i>	catfishes order
<i>gallinazo</i>	<u><i>xete</i></u>	<i>Fam. Cathartidae</i>	vulture
<i>huacrapona</i>	<u><i>taú</i></u>	<i>Iriarteia deltoidea</i>	?
<i>huahuashi (huahuasho, huáyuash)</i>	<u><i>kapa</i></u>	<i>Gen. Sciurus</i>	general name for bushy-tailed squirrels
<i>huancahuí</i>	<u><i>meuxkawan</i></u>	<i>Herpetotheris cachinnas</i>	laughing falcon
<i>huasa (pichico)</i>	<u><i>wasa</i></u>	<i>Saimiri boliviensis</i>	black-capped squirrel monkey
<i>huasá</i>	<u><i>pa'nan</i></u>	<i>Euterpe precatoria</i>	?
<i>huayruro</i>	<u><i>?</i></u>	<i>Ormosia coccinea</i>	huayruro
<i>huicungo</i>	<u><i>pani</i></u>	<i>Astrocaryum murumuru?</i>	murumuru
<i>huito</i>	<u><i>nane</i></u>	<i>Genipa americana</i>	genipapo, huito, jagua
<i>iguano</i>	<u><i>xabu</i></u>	<i>Tupinambis teguixin</i>	gold tegu, golden tegu, common tegu, black tegu, Colombian tegu, Tiger Lizard
<i>isula</i>	<u><i>buna</i></u>	<i>Paraponera clavata</i>	bullet ant
<i>jergón</i>	<u><i>tua'i'ka</i></u>	<i>Gen. Bothrops</i>	pit viper
<i>lagarto</i>	<u><i>kape</i></u>	<i>Gen. Caiman</i>	caiman
<i>pez lápiz</i>	<u><i>kushushikan xu'mux</i></u>	<i>Boulengerella maculata</i>	spotted pike-characin
<i>lupuna</i>	<u><i>xunu</i></u>	<i>Ceiba pentandra</i>	lupuna blanca, lupuna, or kapok

<i>majás</i>	<u>ʔanu</u>	<i>Cuniculus paca</i>	lowland paca, spotted paca
<i>maracana or shamiro</i>	<u>ʔaya</u>	possibly <i>Aratinga leucophthalmus</i>	possibly white-eyed parakeet
<i>mono blanco, machín</i>	<u>huxu shinu</u>	<i>Cebus albifrons</i>	white-fronted capuchin
<i>mono negro, machín negro</i>	<u>tara shinu</u>	<i>Cebus apella</i>	black-capped, brown or tufted capuchin
<i>mosca</i>	<u>shiu</u>	Fam. Simuliidae?	black flies
<i>motelo</i>	<u>manan xawe</u>	<i>Chelonoidis (Geochelone) denticulata</i>	yellow-footed tortoise
<i>nincacuru (gusano estrella, ninacuro)</i>	<u>xebuntsiaka?</u>	Fam. Lampyridae	fireflies
<i>ojé</i>	<u>?</u>	<i>Ficus insipida</i>	?
<i>oso hormiguero</i>	<u>xáʔe</u>	<i>Myrmecophaga tridactyla</i>	giant anteater
<i>pelejo</i>	<u>naʔin</u>	genus <i>Bradypus</i>	three-toed sloth?
<i>píjuayo</i>	<u>wanin</u>	<i>Bactris gasipaes</i>	peach palm
<i>píripiri</i>	<u>waste</u>	Fam. Cyperaceae	?
<i>plátano</i>	<u>mani</u>	genus <i>Musa</i>	plantain
<i>pona colorada</i>	<u>taú?</u>	<i>Dictyocaryum ptarianum</i>	araque or palma real
<i>pucalupuna (lupuna)</i>	<u>xunu</u>	<i>Cavanillesia umbellata</i>	lupuna colorado
<i>raya</i>	<u>ʔiwi</u>	Fam. Potamotrygonidae	stingray
<i>sachavaca</i>	<u>awá</u>	<i>Tapirus terrestris</i>	Brazilian tapir
<i>shapaja</i>	<u>xebun</u>	<i>Attalea (Scheelea) phalerata</i>	urucuri palm
<i>shihuahuaco</i>	<u>kuman</u>	<i>Dipteryx micrantha</i>	shihuahuaco
<i>shihui/shivi/shiyu</i>	<u>ʔisubin</u>	<i>Tamandua tetradactyla</i>	southern tamandua (collared anteater or lesser anteater)
<i>shiringa</i>	<u>shirínca</u>	<i>Hevea nitida</i>	hevea
<i>tamishi</i>	<u>xeʔú</u>	<i>Heteropsis</i> spp. (Fam. Araceae)	?
<i>taricaya</i>	<u>kaburi</u>	<i>Podocnemis unifilis</i>	yellow-spotted Amazon river turtle
<i>toé</i>	<u>?</u>	<i>Brugmansia suaveolens</i>	angel trumpet
<i>trompetero</i>	<u>nea</u>	<i>Psophia leucoptera</i>	pale-winged trumpeter
<i>vacamuchacha/o</i>	<u>kuinkuin/ dc: kuʔin kuʔin</u>	<i>Crotophaga ani</i>	smooth billed ani
<i>venado colorado</i>	<u>chaxu</u>	<i>Mazama americana</i>	red brocket deer
<i>yacunturu (yangunturo, yancontoro)</i>	<u>panu, xumanken</u>	<i>Priodontes maximus</i>	giant armadillo
<i>yuca</i>	<u>yuʔá</u>	<i>Manihot esculenta</i>	sweet manioc
<i>zapote</i>	<u>hechibin</u>	<i>Matisia cordata</i>	South American sapote
<i>macana</i>	<u>kuni</u>	order <i>Gymnotiformes</i>	knifefish

(Sources: Loos & Loos 2003; Manolo 2006; Fleck et al. 2012; Wikipedia)

Appendix 6. List of the stories of the *antiguos*

story	narrator	year	lang.	source
1. <i>Huni Yupa Hui</i> (<i>Hombre ajyasi</i>)	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR07
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR11
	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	GHR05
	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	GHR04
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB05
	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
2. <i>Achquin vieja</i>	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR06
	Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	
3. <i>Awá</i> (<i>Hombre sachavaca</i>)	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cap	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS02
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB06
-	Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	ERS01
4. <i>Mujer sachavaca</i> [= <i>Mujer venado</i>]	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR02
5. <i>Ayaymama</i>	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH03
6. <i>Adán y Eva</i>	Romer Pizarro Romaina	2011-13	LUS	RPR07
-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS02
-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS03
-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS22
7. <i>Cristo y gallo</i>	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	GHR03
	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	[fn]
8. <i>Torre Babel</i> -	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	GHR06
9. <i>Bake Hene Meran Putani'bu</i> (<i>Cuando echaron el niño al agua</i>)	Joaquina Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
10. <i>Baxtaxtaxta</i> (<i>Espíritu de los sapos</i>)	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS02
	Olga Ríos Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	ORB01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB04
	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
11. <i>Bi'ínu huni</i> (<i>Tigre y zangudos</i>)	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS10
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR01
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH03
	Omer Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	OPH01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB05
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB05
12. <i>Chashu 'aibu</i> (<i>Mujer venado</i>)	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR28
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	[fn]
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
13. <i>Mana xaweya chaxu hui</i>	Manuel Huaninche, Vaquinahua y Romel Pizzaro	Cesar ?	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1969)
14. <i>Venado y motelo apuesta</i>	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR08
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH07
15. <i>Chiqua</i>	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH07
16. <i>Comejé</i>	Elena Rodríguez Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	ERdS01

17. <i>Dueño de animales</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BHR19	
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BHR22	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR01	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR05	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR07	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR27	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR28	
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GRS07	
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH01	
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH06	
	18. <i>Hene yushin</i>	Hilda Chumo Oliveira	2011-13	Cp/LUS	HCO01
		Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)
	19. <i>Henen mai ma'pu'i (Noe)</i>	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)
Amelia Romaina		1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
Benigno Ríos Sachivo		2011-13	LUS	BRS03	
Benigno Ríos Sachivo		2011-13	LUS	BRS12	
Carlos Panarua Baquinahua		2011-13	LUS	[fn]fT1202	
Celso Baquinahua Ruíz		2011-13	LUS	CBR02	
Daniel Huaninche Romaina		2011-13	LUS	DH08	
Geysen Huaninche Fatama		2011-13	LUS	GHF01	
Guillermo Huaninche Romaina		2011-13	LUS	GHR02	
Guillermo Huaninche Romaina		2011-13	LUS	GHR05	
Jorge Rodríguez Ríos		2011-13	LUS	JRR04	
Ronal Pizarro Huaninche		2011-13	LUS	RPH03	
Ronal Pizarro Huaninche		2011-13	LUS	RPH05	
20. <i>Tchinca</i>		Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
		Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS02	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR05	
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01	
	Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	ERS01	
	Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	PTFS01	
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH06	
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Joaquina?/Amelia? Romaina	+ ?	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1976b)	
	Manuel H.				
	21. <i>Tnu & chuxpe</i>	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)
		22. <i>Tigre y animales</i>	Pablo Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS
	Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz		2011-13	LUS	PTFS01
Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13		LUS	RPH04	
Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13		LUS	RPH07	
23. <i>Tnu & manan xawe</i>	Amelia Romaina		1973		(Loos & Loos nd.b)
	24. <i>Tnu & Maxo</i>	Joaquina Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
Joaquina?/Amelia? Romaina		+ ?	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1976b)	
Manuel H.					
25. <i>Tnu & riru yushin</i>	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
26. <i>Tigre y mono negro</i>	Agustín Flores Sachivo		Cp	AFS01	
	27. <i>Tnu & Utsa (El Conejo)</i>	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
Florentina Romaina		1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
Joaquina Romaina		1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
Amelia Romaina		1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
Joaquina?/Amelia? Romaina		+ ?	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1976b)	
Manuel H.					
28. <i>Tnu & Utsa yawish</i>	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
29. <i>Tnu & xa'en tari inun bichinkatsi'ki</i>	Manuel Huaninche,	Cesar	?	Cp/Sp	
	Vaquinahua y Romel Pizarro			(Schoolland 1969)	
30. <i>Tnu yawish</i>	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
31. <i>Tigre acababa la gente</i>	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO5	

32. <i>Inu binain (Tigres y Abejas)</i>	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH03	
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR06	
	Joaquina Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
33. <i>Inu xa'e pikatsi'ki</i>	Manuel Huaninche, Cesar ?		Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1969)	
	Vaquinahua y Romel Pizzaro				
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina		LUS	DHR17	
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13		[fn]fT1208	
34. <i>Inun nuke pi'ni</i>	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
	Emiliano Freire	1955	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
35. <i>Inunika nawa</i>	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
36. <i>Juan Perezoso</i>	Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz	2011-13		PTFS01	
37. <i>Juan Sinmiedo: vela muerto</i>	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13		DHR05	
38. <i>Kaman inu (Mujer sachaperro)</i>	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Joaquina Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
	-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo		LUS	BRS13
39. <i>Kanawari Pe'chabu</i>	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
40. <i>Kapabu (El hombre-ardilla)</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS13	
	Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo & Germán Nahuatupe	2011-13	LUS	ERS01	
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR05	
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR04	
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR05	
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB04	
	-	Celso Baquinahua Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	CBR02
	-	Ermelinda Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	ERS02
	-	Omer Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	OPH01
		Emiliano Freire	1955	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
		Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
		Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
		Amelia Romaina	1969(b)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
		Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	41. <i>Kashi (Hombre murcielago)</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS10
		Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR03
	42. <i>Kashibo (Entre ellos se comían)</i>	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR09
Daniel Huaninche Romaina		2011-13	LUS	DHR19	
Daniel Huaninche Romaina		2011-13	LUS	DHR21	
Edilberto Sachivo Ríos		2011-13	LUS	ESR01	
Ronal Pizarro Huaninche		2011-13	LUS	RPH05	
Victor Panarua Baquinahua		2011-13	LUS	VPB03	
Amelia Romaina		1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
43. <i>Kerabeti Berunan</i>	Emiliano Freire	1955	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)	
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO2	
44. <i>Kukish nawa</i>	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH06	
-	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO1	
-	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO6	
45. <i>Loros tenían patas</i>	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR24	
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR08	
46. <i>Monos demonios</i>	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR06	
47. <i>Na'in (Mujer pelejo)</i>	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)	
	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	
	Celso Baquinahua Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	CBR03	
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR02	
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01	
48. <i>Nawishnika</i>	Hilda Chumo Oliveira	2011-13	Cp/LUS	HCO01	
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)	

	Amelia Romaina	1969b	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Antonia Flores Chumo	2011-13	LUS	AFC01
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	[fn]T1208
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR04
	Omer Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	OPH01
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH02
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH03
	Olga Ríos Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	ORB01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB04
49. <i>Neteanika</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS02
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS13
	Celso Baquinahua Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	CBR02
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR07
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR16
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR17
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	[fn]T1208
	Eloisa Chumo Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	ECH01
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR05
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB04
	Antonia Flores Chumo	2011-13	LUS	AFC01
	Amelia Romaina	1969 (a)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Amelia Romaina	1969 (b)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Emiliano Freire	1955	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Joaquina Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR07
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR16
-	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR17
50. <i>Nubex 'aibu (Mujer paloma)</i>	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB06
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)
51. <i>Olla que hacía herbir</i>	Celso Baquinahua Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	[fn]T1208
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR06
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR05
52. <i>Perros hablaban</i>	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR02
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH07
53. <i>Runin (Hombre mantona)</i>	Emiliano Freire	1955	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Joaquina Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Amelia Romaina	1969b	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	[fn]T1208
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
	Hilda Chumo Oliveira	2011-13	Cp/LUS	HCO01
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR04
-	Omer Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	OPH01
54. <i>Sachavaca y hormigas</i>	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR05
55. <i>Mono negro</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS09
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS13
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS18
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	[fn]T1208
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR04
-	Olga Ríos Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	ORB01
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB04
56. <i>Takuya haka hui</i>	Manuel Huaninche, Cesar Vaquinahua y Romel Pizzaro	?	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1969)
57. <i>Tete hui</i>	Manuel Huaninche	1973	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
58. <i>Tau Tu'uya (Luna)</i>	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)

	Alida Freire Panarua	2011-13	LUS	AFP01
	Antonia Flores Chumo	2011-13	LUS	AFC01
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS13
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BSR01
	Celso Baquinahua Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	CBR02
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR02
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR22
	Eloisa Chumo Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	ECH01
	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	GHR03
	Hilda Chumo Oliveira	2011-13	Cp/LUS	HCO01
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR03
	Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	PTFS02
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB03
-	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	[fn]T1208
-	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GRS05
-	Moises Hidalgo Chumo	2011-13	LUS	MHC01
59. <i>Wetsanku'a 'aibu bi'ni</i>	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)
60. <i>Wishi 'aibu (Mujer estrella)</i>	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO3
61. <i>Wishmabu/ Shiun ku'tu (El nido de los mosquitos)</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS13
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS14
	Celso Baquinahua Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	CBR02
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR03
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR05
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH03
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VPB03
	Olga Ríos Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	ORB01
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Amelia Romaina	1969 (a)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Amelia Romaina	1969 (b)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976a)
62. <i>Xaku bake (El hijo del gusano)</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS02
	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS03
	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH01
	Eloisa Chumo Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	ECH01
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR08
	Hilda Chumo Oliveira	2011-13	Cp/LUS	HCO01
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR05
	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO6
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR02
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR15
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR27
	Moises Hidalgo Chumo	2011-13	LUS	MHC01
	Omer Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	OPH01
	Emiliano Freire	1955	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Amelia Romaina	1969 (a)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Amelia Romaina	1969(b)	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Antonia Flores Chumo	2011-13	LUS	AFC01
63. <i>Xawe yushin (Mujer charapa)</i>	Elena Solisban Huaninche	2011-13	Cp/LUS	ESH03
	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS	GSR06
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR06
64. <i>Xete bene (Hombre gallinazo)</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS10
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR03
	Jorge Rodríguez Ríos	2011-13	LUS	JRR06
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.b)

65. <i>Xuke Bake pi'ani (El asustado)</i>	Ernesto Vaquinahua	1973	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
	Amelia Romaina	1969	Cp/Sp	(Loos & Loos 1976b)
67. <i>Yawish Xumanke (El demonio armadillo)</i>	Emiliano Friere	1955	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Florentina Romaina	1974	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Amelia Romaina	1969a	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Amelia Romaina	1973	Cp	(Loos & Loos nd.a)
	Amelia Romaina	1968	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1975)
	-	Germe Sachivo Ríos	2011-13	LUS
70. <i>Yacuruna visit</i>	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS	BRS07
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR04
	Daniel Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	DHR16
	Guillermo Huaninche Romaina	2011-13	LUS	GHR05
	-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS
71. <i>Yashingo borracho llevan a Iquitos</i>	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH01
	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH06
	-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS
72. <i>Yashingo mitayeros y oreja del diablo</i>	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO6
	-	Benigno Ríos Sachivo	2011-13	LUS
73. <i>Yashingo peluqueado</i>	Victor Panarua Baquinahua	2011-13	LUS	VBPO6
74. <i>Tigre Negro - hombre blanco</i>	Ronal Pizarro Huaninche	2011-13	LUS	RPH03
75. <i>Tsanka betan chaxu bechinani hui</i>	Manuel Huaninche, Cesar	?	Cp/Sp	(Schoolland 1969)
	Vaquinahua y Romel Pizzaro			
76. <i>Unchala</i>	Pedro Tomás Freire Ruíz	2011-13	LUS	[fn]fT1208
	Romer Pizarro Romaina	2011-13	LUS	[fn]

Appendix 7. Original quotes

\\ self-correction, change of topic or interruption
 ~ unintelligible
 ÷ laugh
 @ repetition
 != drawing in air sharply, an expression of fright or amazement
 {} gesture
 --- pause
 (*...) question
 () minor deletion

- ⁱ (Tessmann 1999: 91): Hoy en día, todos los Capanahuas son civilizados, por lo que yo sé, y viven con un “patrón” en el Tapiche superior. (...) A pesar de sus asentamientos ‘tan apartados, los Capanahuas están sometidos a la civilización de manera que puede suponerse que dentro de poco tiempo desaparezcan.
- ⁱⁱ (Kuczynski-Godard 2004: 123) Mucho mayor peligro [to health and wellbeing] ofrece si el grupo indio se agrega completamente al patrón, acomodándose en forma nueva, desconcertante, y abandonando grandemente su vida propia, tal como se observa, v. g., entre ciertos Chamas y Campas, especialmente en el Alto Ucayali. Lo mismo ha ocurrido con los Capanahuas del río Tapiche, que se acostumbraron al colono cuando vino D. Juan Hi., que ganó por primera vez su amistad y colaboración. Al principio se mantuvo su economía propia; después, sin embargo, ya trabajando con diversos patrones, la abandonaron y degeneraron así como otras tribus en idéntica transformación.
- ⁱⁱⁱ (Loos nd.a): Grado de asimilación.- Es una de las tribus que más están asimilándose a la vida nacional de manera que aparte de su lengua y algunas costumbres, poco se diferencian de los mestizos de la zona.- Llevan ropas al estilo occidental, hablan castellano a veces rústicamente, construyen casas al estilo común con techos de hoja de yarina o de aguajillo, con emponadas ue alcanzan un metro cincuenta a dos de altura.- Normalmente tienen un cuarto o una porción de la casa cerrada por paredes, que sirve como dormitorio para el dueño.- Las chacras normalmente están a una distancia de la casa por razón de buscar cada año el terreno más favorable.- Las casas son de tamaño regular, las más pequeñas de unos cinco metros y las más largas de treinta.
- ^{iv} (Ribeiro and Wise 1978: 97–98): Hoy en día están integrados; se distinguen de los peones de habla castellana principalmente por el idioma. El 30% de la población es bilingüe con dominio precario del castellano a nivel del peón mestizo. La cuarta parte del grupo tiene orgullo de su idioma materno; los demás quieren abandonarlo o son indiferentes a su empleo.
- ^v (DHR07): Pero alguna planta muere... la yuca también no muere. Ese tiene su semilla! Deste tamañito su semilla. (...) Eso nomás tiene su semilla, la yuca. Otra planta no tiene. Haces una purma, roza: eso primerito sale \\ Quemas: está saliendo primero ve – Porque ‘ta... su semilla ‘ta enterrado ahí, lo que caído ya: ese crece.
- Por eso tiene que sembrar igual. Cuando quemas: segundo día ‘tas metiendo tú también palo de yuca ya. Igual crece con la semilla ya. – Así pues – (...) – La yuca dice espera para que crece – para que tiene una chacra que sembrar. Él [yuca] no quiere crecer todito[?]- Así me contaba mi papá: „Tiene que sembrar todito, hijo – me dice – porque la yuca lo que sembrado primero, está ashito, levantando ya. Tiene una semana: otra vez te vas. Tiene que sembrar igual, hijo! – me dice – porque ese está esperando su compañero para que crece... para que... parece una ciudad, dice. De ellos pues. Una ciudad es. Crece Lindo, dice – ellos alegre! – -Todo su ojo bien cultivado abajo. Ahí su ojo hay que dar aire: Noves está con calor dice ahí! Con la yerba. Y la yuca ahí. Crece. Se engruesa, la yuca. Y su semilla crece, sale ya. En alto su semilla. Así su semilla, alguno\\ alguno chiquito, alguno grande (...).
- (*osea tu papá decía que la yuca es casi como gente?) como la gente pues\\ De gente. Ese no quiere que le golpea – noves le hace tercio? Despacio tiene que cortar – [si]no, le vas dice lastimar su ojo. Todo tiene su ojo dice pues. Le cortas bonito, le comodas bien, y le cargas bien. Le vas poner bonito. Que le botas: ta-lan, dice: Hen!: Se amarga, no quiere crecer. Dañadiito dice crece, dañadito. „Porqué me está botando – no me quiere!” Aja, le bota! – (...) Algunos le sacan, le meten otro – para que crece más lindo. Ese dañadito le saca, le bota. Otro queda lin!do. -- Cuando sembrado todito ya: bruto! Igual levanta ya, todito levanta alegre! (*) Mismo tempo. Produce bien. Ya. Ya está bueno su palo de yuca. Le pones, le desplantan: en otra chacra ya su palo! Y la yuca para faraña ya. --- Aaasí es...
- ^{vi} (GHR01): Por ejemplo este – nombre de Aipena – no ha puesto este uno que vivía aquí, que fundado. Sino, había un trabajador de shiringa, – antes andaban bastante los shiringueros acá. Y cada campamiento había 5-6 personas que trabajaban. Y de allí otro campamento, otro, otro. El último campamiento dice era que... – el estaba trabajando solito, entre otros dos familias: otro trabajador más abajo, otro uno nomás. Un solo persona trabajaba en un campamento. Shiringa. Un día dice baja daí, de su campamento. Voy a pasiar a mi – compañero, de este chamba. Baja el mismo, siempre agarraban anzuelo – anzuelianod – llega a el campamento, dice. Está sentaado el otro shiringuero en su campamento. Entonces el hombre que está viniendo más de

- aarriba: “Oy, hermano, que es?” le dice. “pucha – dice – acá estoy, sentado de pena.” “Por qué tienes pena?” “Sí pues estoy solito.” “Ya, entonces ese tu campamento va decir Ay, pena,” dice. laughing....
- vii (SIL 1995: 59): Tsohbetan yohuantimahiya benatax tah hen jahui.
- viii (RPH01): Yo estaba yendo al monte. A ésta hora, en un barranco – escucho ‘ta ga~nndo el paujil – Vamos, me voy ya. En la lomita le escucho. Daí me voy otra vez: nada! – En la bajada ya vuelta! – Me voy. Yo me ido por una parte, un plano filo – lindo monte, libre! Le dejado de seguir ya! – Y ‘toy... “Vuelvo ya ps!”... Ya no sabía por donde he venido. Todo era bien feo! Bien [¿socorro?] Por aquí era barranco, por aquí era bien cha~ – espinal! Ahí me ido trochando y he salido en una parte bueno. No sabía ya... Se hecho oscuro, ha llovido... Ya estaba jodido. -- Y no he llegado. En la noche ya. Un errado es muy triste ya. – A pie de un palo... ahí me sentado. – Que ibbbbruuto la mosca!!! Mosca de noche, ese sangudito () Y así que me comía, yo decía “puucha, caraj! – yo nuunca voy a salir!” Ahí lloraba pues cuando caído lluvia. – ¡Es’ frío ya! – Madrugado – “¿Como, diciendo, voy a salir, donde voy irme?”
- Al siguiente día ‘manecido – y me largado. Había muerto dos chorros, un paujil. Les dejado botando, ya no valía, ‘taba podrido ya. “¿Que voy hacer yo?” – pensando solito. -- Entonces llego a pensar... Porque nos hemos ido arriba a la maderiada – [allí] me decía el guardia: “Si sientes ‘tar errado – vete trochiando, o sino, – de lo contrario: siga cabeziar una quebrada – este te va sacar a una quebrada más grande” Por ahí me ido ya! – - - He salido! – Por lado he bajado ya. Ahí llegdo a mi tambu... ¡Puucha, caraj! No había nadies. ¡Han ido a buscarme ya! – ¿!Donde paque me halle?! ¡Ni en donde ya! -- Ese día, siguiente día estábamos ahí, todo tranquilo. -- Por eso dice muchas personas que van al monte se pierden. El yashingo le roba.
- (*Pero no has visto?) Nunca he visto. – Se oye los ruidos, cuando estás bien lejos, donde no llega la gente: golpea la aleta. Ahí le da: ipoooummm! – cuando va llover. Dice que le patear dice. – tú puedes creerlo que le patear el palo? (*no sé si existe eso – no conozco por allá) – Pero yo quisiera llvarte donde... donde golpea ese demonio. – Ahí sí es muy triste, da miedo: una persona que nunca ha oído – tranquilo puede ser eso.
- ix (RPR05): “sí! - ya! pero vas a abrir tu puesto!” - Y desa manera yo tengo que abrir mi puesto. Aca, abajo. me dijo Manuel Huaninche - más bien haga tu pasto! cuando aumenta más ganados - yo te voy a dar u casal. Y ese era molestia de los hijos - de Manuel. (*tiempito vivido usted con Manuel en Bellavista?) no, sí, yo taba como 14 años ahí. () Ahí, en Vista Alegre. que eramos vecinos con Manuel. Bellavista - no, de Bellavista ahí - entonces Manuel me dijo - dahí me traer al ver al puesto ~ donde que el dejado yo Vista Alegre - para abrir ese puesto. era tremendo monte alto. Ahí empzd a rozar yo. 1971. A rozar ese. Ya con doña Luisa - hemos hecho los despejos para pasar dahí de Bellavista - a Vista Alegre. cuando ya había mi yuca, plátano - hecho mi casa ahí.
- x (RPR01): Porque estos indígenas, ellos eran natural del Tapiche. Y de ahí ellos pasaron por aca. A vivir ya en ésta quebradita de Buncuya. Porque era bien feo, dice, antes, este. Bosque era sus cantos, por eso le llamaron Bunkuya. Bunku es bosque. Por abajo de estos arboles caídos, por abajo dicen pasaban. Por eso le llamaban Bunkuya.
- xi (DHR07): don Elías – () porque ‘ta – el ha fundado este pueblo – Aista don Leopoldo, don Jorge – porque ellos han fundado todo ese caserío pues – era dice monte, había 3 casitas – ellos han hecho ya – ha venido mas gente – ahí ya hecho sus caserío ya – En campo todos los quiruma cortar! – Aja, hecho sus campo – Dahí dice hecho formar el caserío ya – aja. --- - - Y así. () aja fundadores pues - anti!gouo lo que vivía antes. – Aista ve – Elías
- xii (RPR05): Cuando ya había mi yuca, plátano – hecho mi casa ahí. ahí donde estaban las limas. Y otra más – había bastante naranjas cuando yo he vivido ahí. Naranjal natural ahí – porque cuando yo ya abandonado, crecido las yerbas. Y los demás palos así gruesos – han crecido.
- xiii (GHF01): Más antes era bien poblado pues este, Aipena. Todo era bien libre. Mhmm. Ahora es tremendas purmas ya.
- xiv (RPH06): Ahí decía mi abuela: ‘ta tronando – El tiempo ya sabe ya – Dios ‘ta sabiendo que ahí voy estar yo. – El día que me muero - ésta tierra me va apretar: En vano le cultivo, le labro la tierra, queriendo librarle – De tierra soy - a tierra voy a volver - decía mi abuela – El día que me muero: nuunca voy estar juntamente con ustedes – Voy a irme para no volver más – Voy estar en ootro mundo – En su idioma me hablaba así – Aja –.
- xv (GSR05): (*nete =?) – día (*tierra natal también?) - mhmm! – (*como la mismo palabrita?) – aja – aista día – tu... – donde que tú vives. --- Eses son palabras técnicas! – ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷
- xvi (Schoolland 1975: 118–19, 134): Huai xabatai [the field shining through] (Loos & Loos 1976a: 74–75; cf. 1976b: 160–61; Schoolland 1975: 173, 191); nenquesca jisibobiqui xabati ca cape jihuetai jema [they saw the light of the clearing where the village of the caiman was].
- xvii (Loos & Loos 2003: 360): Hani huai quii. Nescapi siri [A huge field. Cleared like this] (Loos & Loos 1976b: 174–75); Teyeni sirijaquin cocan papa maxcorohajaquin [Papá tiene el cuello liso porque el tío le dio un corte de pelo].
- xviii (CNS01): [José Mayoruna] era un joven cuando le traía acá a Aipena, allí le veíamos nosotros. (*) no se entiende su idioma de él. -- No nos conversaba, solamente nos miraba nomas. Nunca le veíamos lo que conversa, porque con la señorita Luisa conversaba. Solamente ella le entendía.
- xix (RPR08): (...) porque verdadamente – todo se va por la costumbre de los demás vivientes – entonces ya usted también vas costumbrandose a lo que como viven ellos, quieres también usted estar usted. Y desa manera cambia las cosas...
- xx (DHR17): Aja, algunos son mestizo – lo que... – hoo – que vive en ciudad es un mestizo. Pero algunos: capanahua [language] sabe... lo que se van meterse así en cualquier parte [admitting to knowing the language]. Eso se sabe que son capanahua. Pero... se hace mestizo ya yendo por ahí en la ciudad ya. Pero sabe hablar sus idioma [capanahua]. (*Como se hace mestizo?) Así ya ps... Conversar así puro... puro castellano. Ya no conversas en tu... dialecto, en tu capanahua. No conversas ya: Porque ahí no entienden pues, no entienden estos [mestizos]. (*Por eso se vuelven mestizo?) Mestizo ya... Conversa puro castellano ya. (*Cambia su apellido?) Cambia su apellido, otro cambia, pone otro apellido. Ya no quiere ser ese apellido capanahua, ya no quiere ser Huaninche, pone otro apellido ya. Así. Mhm. Hartos! se van deaquí... deai. Ya cambiado su apellido, ya no es Huaninche Chumo – ya es Solisban Nahuatupe. Se cambia. Por qué quizás se cambia!?

- xxi (DHR27) (*como más son diferentes los nawas? – algunos dicen que tienen su otra manera de hablar. reir...) – Aja, de hablar, de reir dice... Conversa: así como... No ~ conversa, dice... \\ Rapidto, dice, conversa! Tatata! conversa. No conversa como... – na\\ – ese deai [pointing to the village] Despacio, ya con tono conversando, aja. Pero nawa dice conversa: rápido, dice! Tatatatata! Te conversa. Mhmm... (*como se rien?) Los mestizos se rie pues puu! – Riendo, pero otro clase pues rie, los mestizos. Aja... (*vestimenta diferente?) -- Aaa... – su vestido ya – su chupa... – No! Igual mismo, igual tenemos nastrochupa, todo: nuestro reloj todo... nuestro reloj, todo... – tu gorra: todo! – Mhmm... (*Character?) – Character tiene otro clase de caracter tiene otro, nawa pues – (...) tú tienes otro caracta, ve. – --Aca: otro caracta, aja. Así. --- Mhmm... -- Pero mismo sangre tenemos! Todos, todito el mundo! – --No tenemos otro sangre, amarillo, no s~ – sangre verde, negro, nada! – Toda sangre: rojo! Aja. – Misma sangre tenemos!
- xxii (DHR02): Pero Pacho [the Shipibo missionary working in Limón Cocha] sí se mandó. Porque Pacho también tiene varios idiomas pues. Ese, iuh! tiene, como, siete idiomas dice él, el hermano Lidio. Conoce, iuh! diferentes idiomas. Por eso él se va pues, derepente puede estar en cualquier... él le entiende y puede... [speak the language of the indios he is looking for]\\ Así escuchado. ¡Conoce ese pata!
- “(DHR09): ¿Entiendes [the language]?” – me dice. “Sí, que no voy entender, yo también soy... este... capanahua” – le digo. ¿Yy?! ¡Sey [sé]! Lo que sey nadies no me quita.
- (GHR06): (...) Despues ya -- ya también recibía [the father, headman] el consejo de otros, mestizos. A veces ellos cuando tomaban – hablaban las cosas buenas, historias allí, cosas de trabajo. Y él también recibía, dice. Y por eso ya mi papá guardaba todas esas... ideas... Para compartirlas a otros ya.
- xxiii (Loos & Loos 2003: 138): Heen huetsa nocotaiya tah hen coin coinai
- xxiv (Schoolland 1975: 210,215): Jaatian jaarihbi coin coinai.
- xxv (Loos & Loos 1978: 152): Jaatian Jesus jisish, Herodes coin coinscai.
- xxvi (Schoolland 1975: 210,215): Rishqui jaan jai naponqui coin coinai, baquexo xehahax.
- xxvii (VPB03): In Victor's story, black vulture tells the husband of the star woman whom she left alone on “this side”: “Allá he visto tu mujer – ahí es, porái paso yo!” – dice que dice el gallinazo (...) – “Aista, sentaaad’ – alegre, con su mamá, sus hermanas. – Y tú aquí, llorando, sobrinol!”
- xxviii (DHR03): A, así – le dice su mujer – que nos da más alegría – que no deja... \\ que no nos cae nada – para pasar bien, todo. Todo ese tiempo, que no nos compañía yushin, dice. Que manda animales: “así como querías comer, así también queremos comer nosotros.” – Ya pues – el muerto dice escucha, – su alma ya. En la puerta nomás ‘ta ahí – éste escucha todo.
- xxix (GSR01): (*qué son los buenos pensamientos?) – es como vivir así, juntos, unidos, alegre. – Mhm – así como – dice en la biblia, la vida de Cristo pues, como vivía antes. – Cristo – alegre con todos – ese quiere decir buenos pensamientos: Compartir unos a otros.
- xxx (EFN03): se iba, hermano, se iba a pasiar. Volvía tarde, comía, tomaba, le regalaba su pierna de hunu, nami. Alegre. Llevaban a la chacra a traer su platano maduro por allí – señora Beti. Kankan. Hawen tasa, kankan. [Celina [daughter]: Que es kankan mami?] piña pues traían, paneros llenos...
- xxxi (Loos & Loos 2003: 307): Coin coinai jihuetai hihsa. Queotai pihanana.
- xxxii (BRS20): Yo quiero que me vendas” – yo le digo. A veces cuando estás tú sólo – ‘tas escuchando tu radio, di? Parece que son varios, te sientes tu... no solliito. Triiiste, no oyes nada: pero con tu radio? – Parece ser una compañía pues. – Aja. – No me quería vender. – “Te voy a prestar” – me ha dicho.
- xxxiii (Schoolland 1975: 205,214): In the story of the God's child, people are having fun, dancing and “not thinking about anything”: Caibo behuahi. Caiboqui hono pao paoti coin coinai. Jahuabi shinaryamaquin.
- xxxiv (RPR03): Y desa manera mucho de los antiguos no querían pues que les tomén foto: “Me van a ver solamente mi fotografía – en yushin – cuando yo ya no estoy vivo – Y van sentir mucha pena – de lo que nos hemos sido alegre, estábamos juntos con ustedes tomando masato, bailando también! Me van extrañar mucho – y van a sentir mucha pena, la familia incluso, mis hijos, hijas – y por eso muchos no querían tomar sus fotos. Y así era antiguamente.
- xxxv (DHR14): ¿iYyy!? – Ya no voy hacer mi cumpleaños ya. – – Ya no quiero ya. – (*porqué?) – Ya no veo mi papá ya pues. – Cuando vivía, así le hacía yo: alegre pues, tomar! Comer! – mhmm – Último ya hecho ahí, cuando estaba él enfermo en su cama. Él ‘taba escuchann’do ahí...
- xxxvi (GHR02): antes era bastantes casas, bonito, organizado. Vivíamos todos – así, unidos. Pero todo lo que ellos hacían las fiestas, todo hacían todos, reunidos, en una sola. Allí – bailaban, todos, tranquilo, alegre (...) ellos se han organizado porque... por razón de que. ellos les... los mestizos también ya eran () autoridades. Como teniente, agente... Y cuando existía antiguos también, había un teniente gobernador... mestizos... Por eso es- les han hecho organizar un poco y no...\\ Le quitado de tiempo de que... \\ su ambiente – su forma de vivir. -Eso es- Osea que... modernizarse... Por eso.
- xxxvii (Loos & Loos 2003: 152): Jise, chahin, hehqui sinatax ma coin coinai jihuehue.
- xxxviii (ESH03): Consejaba mi mamá – no vale ese cosa, no se vive así. Hay que vivir alegre – hay que vivir amar, con hermanos, con primos, con tías – todo nos consejaba mi madre.
- xxxix (Loos & Loos 2003: 138): Hihsa coin coinai, bari xanahiya coin coinai.
- xl (Loos & Loos 2003: 311): Xena reiquihti mapo qui meheha. Xena cahi coin coinahinai bi mapo qui meheha rehiquihreneni.
- xli (RPR04)...por eso le llamaron de Monte Alegre, porque [es] allí donde se han civilizado los Capanahuas. Los kapabo, los xanebo, (...) binabu, xawanbo...[the various categories or groups that made up “the Capanahua”] (...) Y así me explicaba esa viejita Augustina [Huaninche]
- (ACH01): Allí en ese camino han conquistado, por eso llaman Monte Alegre. (...) Allí le han conquistado. En Monte Alegre
- (ESH03): Hatí'ibi hunibuska tseketi hanun, henima'í (...). Hiwekani, raeaxeska hiweti. Raeax hiwetax [all the people came out there, rejoicing (...). And they lived (together) after taming, they lived (together)] (...) Amanzado en Monte Alegre ya. Por eso dice ‘alegre’ pues ahí, lo que han amanzado ahí. Desa manera nadies no le mata ya, gente. Mataba dice pues entre ellos”.

- xiii (CBRO2): ellos también se han dejado ver ya también ya — Ells mismo —mhmm — ————
 Porque — así matando — había dice - -que mataban pues — Y ellos se han largado.— Ese lo que hay pues por acá — cabecera.
 — me dicho mi abuelo a mi — Se largaron dos varones - y dos mujeres. — Cabecera! — Ese lo que vivien acá — eeses son
 paisanos. — - Mhm — así ha dicho mi abuelo a mi: paisanos se han largado cabicera: de Maipuco. — el Eufracio creo! — Eufracio
 pues! — Entremedio de Eufracio y Maipuco — noves porái es cerro ya? — — Porái viven ellos. —
- xiii (BHR01): Indio — ese se le puede civilizar así — yendo con... Así, amanzandoles pues, di: con ropas, con caramelos, así...
- xliv (JRRO4): Ese dice han hecho así [giving things] también: — ¡¡¡Toooooo!!! ¡Carajo, para querer! Mollo para mujer, para
 hombre: esto, reloj, ese que mire [glasses] ¡Todo! Aja. Otro dice agarrado... — que estaba así, cacha-bota —mudando ese diente, y
 reloj, itodo! En ese que también: “¡Así nos hacen! No nos maten,” que decía algunos pues. Alguno ya, lo que huido. Y verdad
 dice, venía porái pues, lo que escondido! ÷÷÷÷÷.
- (JRRO2): hasta que ellos también se costumbra pues ese, los indios. Y ahí tanto pues daba pues zapato, ropa, ¡Otro! Otro maloca
 dice se iba a contar ya: “Ahí han salido así, estamos así, inos vas hacer... civilizar! Así como estamos mudando, así vamos a
 mudar todo. Ese no se mata nadies! (...) No le matas — ¿paque van matar? Ese nos da acá civilizar todos, aja. Para así
 mudamos... así así como que mudan ellos.
- (GHFO1): ellos [Matsés] también ‘tan civilizandose — salen a chambiar madera, ellos también — ya se uniforman ellos también con
 todo su ~. Saben ya que es el mudo — ropa. Truces, canchillos, polos, camisas. Ellos saben, saben ya como se viste [laugh] Ellos
 mayormente ya están...
- xlv (BHR01): Y ya le amanzas hablando, todo dando pues, azucar, cualquier cosa, ropas, caramelos — Con eso se endulza.
- (VAO1): Lo que ellos no podían es orientarse ellos puros — no había quién les orienta, di. Así. — Ellos ya ven~ ya con sus ollas,
 platos, cucharas, plati\ — ya botando ya sus mocahuitas. Ya no comían ají. Su sal, sus kerosene, todo eso ya les venido dar ~
 ~llo. —Y así les ha ido acostumbrando ya pues. Y ese ya- ellos han abierto sus ojos también ya. —Pa’ bien, ¡para ellos mismos
 pues! ¡Para todos! No solo de ellos mismos. Y desa manera se han civilizado ellos también. Ya no eran así como primero ya,
 chúcaros ya. Y dese manera pues el Hidalgo se ha venido a orientar.
- xlvi (JPSO1): (*hay otros que son indios? Por ejemplo, esa gente de Maipuco — esto son indios?) Ellos son pues indios, ellos son
 como Remoauca... (*y que...) — Ellos pues viven en un monte, hermano... Ellos viven en el monte, como los animales. Ellos viven
 como sajino, o cualquier animal que vive en el monte. Ellos no... no conocen que es bote, que es un avión, otro... ...que es un
 dulce, que es una ropa — ellos no conocen, hermano. No conocen ellos.
- Por eso ellos, como dice, quieren conocer ese... a esas tribus. Una vez que ellos conocen: ¡ellos se ganan mundo de plata! ¡Ellos
 ganan ya! Con solamente... \ No solamente van ir entrar como entrar aquí... Tienen que... ¿Como se puede decir? Ellos pueden
 entrar, pero no a... [entrar nomás?], dice.
- Como un perro bravo que tiene su cría: si tú puedes ir a querer conversarle, di, ellos te pueden adolar... Y pueden matar. ¡Porque
 ellos no conocen! Ellos no conocen, a la gente... como dicen, que uno se vive acá. Viven como [cerrado?] (...) Así viven ellos.
 (*¿Los que le buscan entonces pueden hacer plata de esto?) Ellos hacen plata, hermano. (*¿pero cómo?) Así ve: como te puedo
 decir... Una... ~ tú puedes ir a querer agarrar una cría de un mono o loro pues, di. El mono no te puede querer ese ratito. Te
 puede extrañar, te puede morder. No quiere comer, no quiere tomar, no. tú tienes que amanzar, cariñarle, darle su dulce,
 cualquier cosa. Y el animal ya te conoce, que tú eres su dueño. Y así dice son ellos [those who look for them]. ~ quieren hacer
 este... (...) ¡amanzarle pues! Así dice es. Por eso quieren ir allá. —
- Ohoy, ese salido ya pues desde que tiempo ya — paque se vayan a sacar ese... a eses personas... Ellos no se mudan ropa. Ellos viven
 así, calatos. Y puede... helicóptero puede ir, dice, pero no bajar una sola. Tienes que poner dice su azucar, su leche — como unos
 animales pues, hermano Lucas. — Si tú mandarías uno... una cantidad de ropa, un ~ de ropa, como juego, muñeca, radio,
 espejo, los que... \ ¡ellos nunca han conocido! Si ellos... si sería un espejo, ellos pueden mirar: ellos pueden golpiarle,
 chancarle. O... o... si tú [haces] agarrar una muñeca: ellos no saben que es — es como un cristiano pues, ¿di? O una muñeca
 [postiza?], lo que canta pues: ellos no saben que es lo que canta. Y tienen dice sus flecha, dice pues, le pican a jarro de ropa — le
 sacan a la ropa, le rompen. Tiene que ser por varias oportunidades, varias viajes. Y hay uno... si hay uno, sea jovencito, señorita...
 si se viste, dice, eso — porque le gusta, entonces otro viaje ya viene y ente\ El avión cae, ya, el helicóptero.
- Pero ahí dice ese... curaca lo que dicen. Ese más lo que no quiere amanzarse, dice, hermano. (*osea curaca es este que no quiere)
 No quiere... no quiere que sus demas compañeros... quieren amanzarse. Y si se va con su señora... el esposo: a la chica — o a la
 mujer pues — le tienen que violarle, dice, hermano. Paque recién dice pueden amanzarse dice eses... eses... indios. (...) Así dice
 es, esas personas que quieren irse. Por eso varias no quieren irse. Porque puede perder su esposa. O pueden perder su esposo.
 Perder su vida uno de los dos pues. Se van a amanzar esa persona dice (*osea este gente de allá — los indios — quieren violar\) a
 la mujer, mhmm (*y despues ya aceptan) despues ya aceptan.
- Una vez que ya esta, como digo yo, conocido esa persona, eso ya salen, hermano. A la claridad ya. A conocer, el boote... como un...
 como (...) Toma la decisión pues... Ellos conocen todo ya. Y ya no quieren ir porái ya. (...) Ya no quieren regresar porque ya están
 acostumbrado ya pues. Ya quieren ellos eso nomás ya. (*osea las cosas) — mhm (*?) las ropas... Así como uno se tiene — ya pues
 quieren ellos también dice. Así.
- (*como entonces que la gente que lo busca va allá — como pueden amanzandole ganar plata con esto?) Una vez que ya pues... Si tú
 puedes irte con tu señora, tú le puedes hablar. En tu idioma a ella. Ya te puede responder. Y ella te dice en castellano. Y ella le
 puede decir en castellano ~ a los... a ellos ya. Así es. Ese no entiende como es nuestro idioma. Ellos no entiende castellano. ¡Qué
 idioma hablarán ellos! (...) (*¿diferente que capanahua?) diferentes. Pero dicen que es la misma lengua. (...) Pero uno no se
 puede creer si seran eso o no quizás, pues, di. Mhmm...
- (*los que le buscan, cuando le amanzan: ¿como gana su platita entonces?) El estado ya pues le paga ya. (...) Ellos se mantienen de
 eso nomás ya. Por amanzar a ellos ya. (*¿porqué el gobierno quiere eso?) Nooo sé hermano, no puedo decir ese cosa, no tengo
 conocimiento dese todavía. Mmhmm (...) (*como piensas, ¿sacar es peligroso? Que son ellos, ésta gente... ¿puede matar?) Sí,
 puede matar ese que se va, pues, hermano. Por eso a veces la gente no pueden llegar hasta más allá. Derepente alguno que se van

- hacer carne... o se van a pescar... ellos le pueden matar a ellos. Porque ellos no conocen. Mmhmm (...)... Una vez que ya pues... encuentran a esa tribada ellos ya, gobierno...\\ Ellos son.
- xlvii (JPS01): Y si se va con su señora — el esposo — a la chica — o a la mujer pues — le tienen que violarle dice hermano — paque recién dice pueden amanzarse dice esos - esos - indios. () — así dice es — esas personas que quieren irse — por eso varias no quieren irse - porque puede perder su esposa - o pueden perder su esposo - Perder su vida uno de los dos pues - se van a amanzar esa persona dice — (*o sea este gente de allá - los indios - quieren violar \\) a la mujer mhmm — (*y después ya aceptan)— @ —
- xlviii (ECHO1): ese Juan Hidalgo y otro hombre. Y ellos les han puesto ya a claro ya, afuera. Y allí dice han tardado, conversannndo con la señora.
- xlix (BRS14): ‘Acaso la gringa te botado al mundo?’; (BRS11): Mamá nomás nos bota al mundo — parir a la luz del día; (BRS04): Ahí me botado al mundo mi mamá. Ahí nacido, por Capanahua [river]; (FT1210): Mi mamá no, mi mamá era cholita, indita, me botado al mundo.; (RPH05): (mamá) nos bota en ese mundo — para conocer la claridad del día; (DHR19) [bebe:] ¡Ploc! [onomatopoeia] — Sale a la claridad; (RPR07): ¿Ha esperado hasta que yo me doy de baja para que recién salga a la claridad?; (EFNo3): Allí dice salía esa criaturita al aire.
- ¹ (DHR06): Crece [in the belly], llega su año: nace ya. ¡Ploh! de su cabecita. Sale chiquitito. No ves cuando nace ya se... del aire ya se hace... hace grande ya. Es chiquito: issac!, ya se hace grande ya: criatura ya.
- (DHR08): (*¿cuando sale, recién parece su almita?) Recién parece su almita pues (*¿porque en el vientre no...?) no tiene alma nada. Porque ‘ta adentro pues. De la mujer. Cuando ‘ta afuera, ya tiene su almita ya. El aire ya... El aire le engranda ya pues. No ves sale: ¡bien chiquito! El aire como nada: Cuando nace pues, se engranda el muchachón. Ya se hace más grandecito ya. Con aire ya pues. Aja. ¡Como quizás pues! La cabeza nace chiquito, pero el aire ya le engranda: isaah! un ratito nomás, ya está ya. Mhmm (...) gordito, todo. Y así pues.
- (DHR19): (*y cuando le sacas ya puede crecer) Aja, crece ya pues. ¡Como! — ¡el aire le hace crecer! — el niño, cuando nace pues, — el nace chiquito. — — Ahora — hora de nacer: ¡plunc! — ¡te! — crece con aire ya también ya pues — Bien -- -grande muchacho. — Todo: su cuerpo, su cabeza — — ya es grande ya — gordito. — Aja — la hora de nacer — ¡Ploc! — Sale a la claridad — ya se engranda al toque (...) (*siendo ahí en su barriga de mujer — ese muchacho tiene su yushin ya?) — -no tiene su yushin. -- Cuando sale: — ahí tiene su yushin — Aja. Adentro no tiene su yushin. — (*y kaya [deatcheable soul]?) — — kaaaya. \\ -- inada! — hora de nacer nomás: te digo, — ya tiene su kaya ya: tiene ya su alma ya.
- ⁱⁱ (BSR01): (*pena es también otro espíritu que entra?) no hermano, ese no hermano. Sino tú ‘tas pensando de lo que ha sucedido. Tienes pena pues. Osea que tienes pena — por lo que ha sucedido algo — ~ tu familia — o se ha muerto. Piensas de tu papá, tu mamá, y tus hijos: “derepente ha muerto! — Porque ese es una... cosa que tus hijos te daban — siempre te daban alegría! estás pensando a ellos. Pensando ahí. Este es pues bená! Benakin! (...) De pena!
- ⁱⁱⁱ (Loos & Loos 1976a: 153-54): Nequebí quesca qui jai rahan, rohan, joni. 24 Gritaban de la misma manera en que se grita acá en el mundo, hermano. Eran humanos.
- Also Eugene Loos in (Thompson 1997), nequebihabo [sic, nequebihahbo?] as “whole world”: “all the people on this side of the sky and all the people on the other side.” [Or rather: “all those who are from exactly this side” (‘a’bu: contained, being the object of action, or belonging to a set)?]
- ⁱⁱⁱⁱ ABOUT A LONGHOUSE (MALOCA) OF THE ANTIGUOS:
- (ECHO1): (*¿Como vivían en Humaitá [river]? ¿En casas?...) ¡En casa! Casa grande, techado de tierra. Ese no hacían su [líder?] (*y así, todas familias en una casa?) Así vivían, cada familia dividido en su...\\en ese casa grande, allí vivían, allí otro, allí otro, en una sola casa. Tenía su puerta así, cada uno que salga por allí. Mhm. (*¿Y puro familia, puro neabu?) Mezclado. (*) Con na’inbu. (...) Es’ vivían así, mezclados.
- (LCO01): Los antiguos tenían 5-6 mujeres, dice. (*¿Y no peleaban las mujeres?) — No -- ¡Casa graaaande! Deaí, dese casa de Benigno, hasta allá de Daniel: vive una sola casa. — Allá: demas mujeres, de otra punta, otra. Dividido (*¿Cada una con su cocina?) -- Mhm -- Ese se invitan comer todos. — Hoy día comen ahí, otro día ahí. -- Así. — Mhm.
- ABOUT THE “TRIBES” OF THE ANTIGUOS:
- (RPR02): No tenían otro tipo de lengua: todo era la misma lengua, pero vivían lejos, en otro pueblo. Por decir nosotros vamos a visitar en Monte Alegre (...) o subiendo a Fátima. Ese [antiguos] vivían... esos tenían cada cual su caserío, así cm Victor Raúl, nosotros estamos en Nuevo Aipena: así vivían ellos antiguamente. Eran los pueblos.
- (SVR01): Ese sí me contaba mi mamá, mi papá: Todo — de toda gente, di... Todo clase de gente somos, pero tenemos nuestro raza. (*son capanahuas?) ipero no son los capanahuas! Capanahuas son de nombre. Pero nuestro tribu se puede decir de. todo tiene su nombre — pelejo... los Chumos, los Huaninches... Romainas, los Freires, todos tienen, Nahuatupes: xawanbu... Todo es animal nomás, ¡de animales! [laugh] Allí vienen pelejos! [pointing to two men with surname Huaninche] (...) Huaninches son na’inbakebu. (*que son las diferencias?) los... la raza pues... (...) raza de ellos, pelejo, trompetero — [ése ponían?] nombre, pajarito.
- ABOUT A HOUSE IN THE 1950S (OF A CONTEMPORARY TYPE, BUT LONG):
- (GHR02): casa normal nomás, largo. Cada esquina le dividían así — este para otro familia, este para otro familia — así vivían.
- ABOUT THE MODERN VILLAGE:
- (GHR06): (*como debería vivir la familia, juntos? (...) Con su esposa? Con todos juntos?) noo — sí, así como estamos, la familia en un caserío, comunidad. Vivimos pues cada cual en\\ cada familia en su propio hogar. Algunos jovenes viven dos — con su yerno y con su suegro. Un deber es vivir en una solo casa para ver como\\ ...mantenimiento de cada uno. Ver su derecho — que es lo que debe de hacer, lo que falta en el hogar — y cada cual en su hogar — así se vive todo tranquilo... Apoyandose unos a otros — especialmente en su trabajo que realizan. Como actualmente en la minga.
- ABOUT THE UNITY OF DESCENT OR LANGUAGE BETWEEN GROUPS:

- (VPB01): (*¿Pa'engebakebu son otros [then neabu from Lower Tapiche?]) Noo... La misma familia es... Pa'engebakebu – Que la diferencia es el apellido: Yo soy Panarua [surname], di, Ellos son este... Freires [surname]. Pa'engebakebu es igualito: Yo soy neabu, ellos son pa'engebakebu. sí pues... Tigreau\\ ...este... tigreauacas, pa'enu – aja, así es. (*¿inubu?) inubu yusibubu [the old Jaguars]. Mhm, inubu – pa'engebakebu (*¿Osea es lo mismo?) La misma es pues... ya se diferencia, como cualquiera pues, di? (...) Nostros: neabu... somos. Pa'engebakebu es otro grupo: pero no es otro grupo, pero ahí nomás se va.
- (BRSo9): (*(...) ¿Áyubu es generación?) Sí, ese es. (*¿Y áyubu, neabu, na'inbu, kapabu, binabu – todos estos llaman de una sola?) De una sola pues, como te digo, sangre capanahua, dialecto capanahua – todo concierne capanahua... -- Así serán como te digo, los Chumos, Rochas, Huaninches [surnames]... ¡Cuántas son las tribus! Todos esos... A ese raza nomás vamos siguiendo, los capanahuas. [¿Áyubu serán tribus?] Tribus. Pero ese mismo hablar llevamos todos!
- ^{liv} (Hyde 1980: 46): Jochimun jumannaqui yonohihquinu [hermano mayor trabaja afuera de la casa].
- ^{lv} (Loos & Loos 2003: 306): “Rahma ran hean jeman caxon bichi cahí”, hihqui hea. Bachiho jenquetsahxon baque bihtimahiya, rahma ran hea jeman cahí. “Ahora mismo salgo afuera para dar a luz”, me dije. Cuando no pude dar a luz dentro del mosquitero, decidí salir afuera.
- ^{lvi} (GHR03): El alma el espíritu - anda lejos. Cuando se duerme se sueña porallí lejos, ‘tas andando en tal parte. Sí, ese es el espíritu, cuando el cuerpo ya está... parece muerto nomás. (*y viene por la mañana) viene cuando ya entra... cuando se despierta. Entonces ya llega, entra por el cuerpo ya. (*Y cuando muere persona que pasa con este espíritu?) o... ya no... porque ya no entra en su cuerpo. (*¿donde se va?) Ese fuera queda ya, en espacio, puro alma es ya.
- El cuerpo es como una basur\\ como cáscara de platano. El espíritu es pues es plátano legítimo. Sí...
- ^{lvii} Yo a veces pues... no digo otro mundo \\ el mundo dice no es lejos. Dice. El cuento también, según... \\ -- sino, el pecado nos hace ver leejos. Nuestro frente nos hace lejos nomás: – el cielo. Y cerquita ese mundo, cerquita. (GHR05)
- ^{lviii} Ya cambió de opinión - ya es mestiza
- ^{lix} (GSR03): Mi papá me contaba así: Que dice: Antes un hombre tenía sus hijos – dice que la mosca dice pues le picaba por demasiado no? – entonces su papá ‘sque dice: “De donde viniendo los picas de las moscas – voy cerrar su hueco!” – Se va dice – agarrando una bola de - barro – - paque cierra el hueco – entonces - se va querer cerrar así – pero no sé como dice se bota – en otra parte! –
- (DHR19): (*esas malas ideas – vienen de otra parte? - o de tu corazón?) – de tu corazón mismo!– mhmm – no vien de otra parte. (*por qué a veces dice – que tiruma yushin está entrando tu corazón) – aja – ese entra dice - te hace pensar dice mal: – ese tiruma yushin – dice @ – pucha – mete de tu cabeza mismo – entra dice – corazón – puucha – “Me hace pensar otra cosa: dice – Tiruma yushin – (*de donde viene tiruma yushin?) - -de porái es – nomás de porái son yushin – viene entrar nomás – en cualquier cuerpo: – te hace pensar mal! – (*Pero donde – en monte? en pueblo?) – mm – porái – porái nomás – se mantiene eso – porái en bosque, – mhmm – así, – - estás pensando mal ya pues – tú ya – que dejas tiruma yushin ya está entrando a mi corazón – pienso mal – No quiero hacer nada! – No quiero ni cocinar – nada-nada – no quiero ir a la iglesia: – todo! – porque ahí ‘ta el tiruma yushin - ‘ta entrando en tu corazón – No, no te vas - dice – a la iglesia – así –
- (DHR24): (*y si le espantas al perro - que no haga su hueco, que no llora – no va morir?) – no va morir porque le ‘tas espantando pues – por eso dice – : “YA! aquí ‘tas cavando ahí - porque ‘tas – ‘tas haciendo malaguero dice – Le tatea, se larga! – Y le cierra su hueco ahí – Es porque no va morir dice – Aja. – Lloras: sales de noche a paliarle – porque haces malaguero, te voy matarte! – le dice - su dueño ya pues de colera: Hen ! – el perro se manda {gesture for leaving} de noche porái – Y porái se va llorar – porque – ohoy – es seguro que va haber muerto dice – \\ muerto no – no de tu casa – pero de otra parte – aja – Vas escuchar que ‘ta llorando otro. – Aasi – (*cuando le espantas) – aja (*Pero cuando cava acá en tu casa – eso dice que su dueño a cualquier -) – aaja – cualquier de tu familia puede morir, así. –
- (DHR27): lo que viene de porái – de nawa. – Taaa! – cuanto es? – nada – te ‘toy regalando nomás – dice – porque eres. – Ya. – graaacias, dice – pucha ahí – por eso se acostumbra la nawa pues – pucha dice – los capanahua son: bien buenos, nos regala! – aquí nomás acuerda - porque aquí le regalas un masato – le brinda, aishta tomando! – En otra parte: – que le van regalar! – En Fatima? – no hay unmpa! – Pregunta masato: – No hay unmpa! – No hay – no hay – no hay!
- (GSR01): El hecho esa venganza - el! – noves le han llevado a Iquitos - ~ le han hecho ver con un médico también – Y el medico dice le ha dicho que sí - como si estaría mirando, le ha dicho. – En tu pueblo hay un hombre gordo, chato - eso lo que hecho daño - ha dicho - Deai nomás es, no es de otra parte
- (GSR08): Después le hace a sus tios – también – les ha hecho mono ya – Mhmm – -monton de cosas haciendo se largado ya – - Se largado en otra parte, otra caserío ya quizás –
- (JRRO3) Aaaantes dice - hacía – cualquier! – no gente! – pero gente dice es! - A?! - pero – porái - se va- no gente! - - Ya – entonces ahí dice - ya - bueno ya – Manecido - se ido qbrndo - qbrndo – enterrado – puro hueso ya. – Ya, ahí nos va a comer – vamos otra parte – que dice – Ya dice - otro, a sus – donde sus amigos dice se ha ido – cara! - -Para que no coma pues ellos también! Rabiando le va acabarle ya! vamos - se ido – han seguido - pero no han podido dice – Ahí - se ha parado.
- (JPS01): (*aprender idioma – los nawas - y ganan plata con esto? – como funciona esto?) – así hermano: ellos quieren aprender nuestro dialecto – y ellos se van en otra parte - y con ese ganan – se hacen plata ellos – porque ellos ‘tan enseñando a otra – y ese persona les paga a ellos
- (MV01) (*y con sus hijos hablaban este?) – con sus hijos pues – con el – ese viejo Benigno - ese entiende, sabe – baudilio también entiende, pero no tanto el – ahora por decira ya – este – la vieja Olga, Ohoy - ese sabe bastante. – Este X. – ese viejo dahí – Ha bruto – eses hablaban con eso nomás pues – con su padre, su madre. – () Y! – Ese sabe bien – Casi no quiere hablar – ellos no quiere ser – nativo pues – - - - son gente de otra parte! –
- (RPH02): Y todo eso me contaba ~ – Pu! – antes dice era bien jodido – ellos peleaban dice con los Chamas. – Los capanahua. – ellos cruzaban dice – Se iba por Contamana, casi todito ese andaban – () – así pues chauchero – así pasaba antes – (*eso te contaba tu abuelo o abuela?) – mi abuela me contado eso dahí – (*abuela) – mhm mi abuela – (*o sea eran sus gente) – aja

- sus gente pues — O sea que ellos dice vivían donde que habían animales. - Ya no había ahí — iban a otra parte - - A veces los Chamas les seguían, les hacían correr. — que para que haga pues — Y ellos también le afrentaban — Y los Chamas corrían.
- (RPH03): Ya no había animal cerca: — se largaban a ootr parte! — cuando ya no tenían - así — este — fosforo, sal — ellos ya empezaban a saltar. - Le hacían correr a los caucheros — ese tiempo los caucheros - trabajando la cauchiada — Le hacían correr, les mataban a veces. — Se robaban — () fariña — a veces robaban mujeres, señoritas — y llevaban! — yy? (*los tiempos de Tomas. - o?) — ells dice — cuando eran jovencitos. — (*Tomas?) — Tomas pues — me contaba mi abuelo: cuando eran jóvenes. — así dice le contaba - Puta, ellos dice mataban chorro — picando con balista. — mhm {} abajo! — Huangana igual. — hay marona doble?: - la marona del monte, — con ese dice: — sooh! — Uno, dos! — silencio! — Bien - traspasado - que no va morir — yy? — Ahora lo que hacían candela: ponían palos gruesos: ponían así punta con punta — para ~ casa bien! - cerrado — su hamaca, abajo la candela: caliennnte! - -Ahí dice no hay ni mosco! — así dormían pues — mhm — yy? — - así — paraba: no había: ya se largaban a otra parte! — así — Salía en oootra parte — así paraba.
- (RPH03): O sea que - — en idioma de capanhua — bakinawa es que — una persona que — nunca tiene hijos — de los mestizos. — bakinawa pues — O sea que — bakinawa es que no tengas hijos de mestizos - dice - en dialecto de capanhua. — - - Igual que este — Maricahua — en dialecto de capanhua - es — añuje-patarashca. — — sí pues — — (*Pero hay ese apellido?) — ahí @ — (*de los paisanos?) — no. — de otra ! — otra parte.
- (RPH05) (*Y ese kaya que dicen?) — () yushin kaya? — ese es cuando - el tunchi se va. - Aja. — (*hawen kaya pikuti?) — aya — cuando el muere - -su espíritu sale - y se va! — - (*kaya = yushin?) -aja, igualito es. — Hawen — este hawen yushin kaya - dice - cuando ya se va tunchi ya — Se va ya pues en otra parte - ya no existe en la tierra - Díos le lleva y pone donde debe poner
- (RM01) (*me decías que una parte que vivía acá - una parte ha salido - tenía su diner y salido - y han quedado la gente humilde - como es est?) — claro — - Claro, lo que tenían más posibilidades se fueron a otra parte pues — Ya no le utilizan pues a ésta lengua ya pues - (*) ellos están por Iquitos, Lima, mayormente toda la gente están distribuidos— por todos lugares — no están en una sola. — —
- (VPB06): la mujer se jalado en la casa - -todo chancado - llegado ahí — ahí - una semana la mujer sin comer. — Y sv en patio taba pudriéndose. — A la hija le manda mirar a su mamá - llevando comida. + El hombre ~ que se muera pues le hecho así - total la mujer es más resistencia de hambre pues amigo Lucas - aja — Ahí le dado comer su hija, le bañado - de una semana - le hecho bonito, le ha puesto en su hamaca — un mes sentado la mujer - paque se sana ese deadki + 2-3 meses - sana la mujer ya
- (Loos & Loos 1976a: 58-59): 136 Jaa shion cohto quebencatsihqui bi qui jenquetsajara jai can jaya huaca tejabahti huetsancon potaquin.= 136 Yo quería taparles el hueco a los mosquitos pero de alguna manera una corriente me arrastró aguas abajo y me botó a otra parte.
- (Loos & Loos 1976a: 76-77): Hen tah hen hiniyahbo shio jaromanen hea pihana quebennon hihquish jahuexbi tah hen janoma jano huaca heya tejabahta, chiponqui catanin tah hen jahui, min, chocan — hah qui jaquin.— Huaca jaroma heya tejabahta. = tos sufrían la molestia de mosquitos feos, y venía a taparles el nido, cuando cai a otra parte donde una corriente me llevó hacía abajo, hermana — dijo. — Vengo después de haber Sido arrastrado por una corriente fuerte.
- (Loos & Loos 1976a: 100-01) 451 — ‘Hen tah hen shion cohto quebeni cahipishbi tah hen huetsancon canish tah hen jahui min. 452 Hono jahuenrano rah heya huaca tejabahta canish tah hen jahui. 453 Jano jahui qui tah hen banatibo romishinya hea jahui = pero ful a otra parte. Ahora regresó. 452 Alguna corriente me llevó a no sé dónde, y recién llego. 453 He traído unas cositas para sembrar.
- ^{lx} OTHER SIDE OF AN OBSTACLE: ‘ta yendo otro lado - Oy le voy seguir: — me ido me ido me ido le escapado - golpiando con remo; Total tunchi ha salido del bosque - así de frente - del otro lado! fiiiii fiiiii!; Chimbado al otro lado; al otro lado dice están del Cerro!; Fernando Marquez - ahí, al otro lado vivía; Humaitá sale pues al otro lado — ‘ta se va así, Humaitá sale aquí, un repartimento. ahí dice vive pues; los Chumos vivían este lado - y los Huaninches porái del otro lado: Dahí dice ha venido Chama, dice, Kunibo. Al otro lado, caserío — uuum. Hay una quebrada que le llaman Kunibo - allí vivían; De allí me iba pasar por allí, mi abuelo, abuela, en la tarde venía — muchacho pues. (*) solitos vivían ellos, al otro lado. Este lado era caserío también, cuatro casas también - pero ellos vivían en la banda, los dos viejitos.
- OTHER SIDE OF PIERCED SURFACE: Por eso mi abuelo estr~ saaa — bien así doble — srrrr - -otro lado pasaba el platano. — Y esa lengüeta que tenía ÷÷÷ohoy — Y así; un balista deste doble — pues quее... — - yaaa te traspasa a un lado ya.
- ^{lxi} HOQUE ADV. DETRÁS DE; MÁS ALLÁ DE:
- Papa hoque mama tsahotinin tsahotax bitsati. Mama hoque rihbi hea tsahoti tsahoxon jato jisquin. Mamá estaba sentada detrás de papá y se reía. Y yo, sentado detrás de mamá, observaba a los dos.
- (ibid.:109): Jaa cahqui hoque quexa pohqueti shinanax nonapish. Dicen que se presume que ella, queriendo ir a la banda, nadaba (y se ahogó).
- OTHER SIDE/EMERGE ON THE OTHER SIDE:
- (ibid.:129): chiteti v.r. detenerse Ponte cahi bi bonco jahuen catimahi. Cahi bi bonco qui chiteti. Jaabi, naman taxbataiya hihquicahinax hoque picocahini cahi. El pensaba llegar directo a su destino pero se detuvo debido a la maleza. Sin embargo, logró encontrar un pequeño claro debajo del monte tupido por donde pudo pasar.
- (ibid.:193): Nea mahchi hoque ta hani huean jaiqui. Al otro lado de este cerro hay una quebrada grande.
- (ibid.: 201): maraahi v.n. pasar por encima de Chahin, hen mishquixon maque bichi bi ta heen nonti maraahi jenenencanya paquetihqui. Nonti pextin hihqui bi nonti qui naneyamahi. Hoque paqueti jenenencanya maarahi. Primo, cuando pesqué una piraña, la jalé pero pasó por encima de mi canoa y cayó al agua. A pesar de que la canoa es ancha, no cayó en ella. Pasó sobre la canoa y cayó al agua por el otro lado.
- (ibid.: 277): Huean hoque quexaho quehax neque quexa pohquejaquehti coca. Hoque quexaho yomeratani. Después de haber ido a cazar al otro lado del río, el tío cruzó de nuevo a este lado.
- ON BOTH SIDES (EXTREMITIES):
- (ibid.: 172): Huino ta hoquen behcon bi quehsho jaiqui. () La macana es afilada en ambos lados.

(ibid.: 257): pareteti s. macanita Pareteti ta ramiho huesti quehshoya qui. Huino cahen hoquenbohconbi. La macanita tiene filo solamente en un lado. Una macana tiene doble filo.

(ibid.: 286): queiba adv. no muy lejos de Xobo hoque queiba coca tsahoti. El tío está sentado no muy lejos del otro lado de la casa. Huean hoque queiba hiso repihi. Hay un grupo de maquisapas no muy lejos del otro lado del río.

(ibid.: 308): Hoquen banaquin rebesquin siri sirijahquin. Sembró muy bien hasta el extremo del otro lado (de la chacra).

(ibid.: 310) rehtenancani v.recíp. pelear un grupo con otro Hicha jonibo rehtenancani, hoquen rehtenani. Jahuen rahuibo rihbi jatihi. Jaabo rihbi jatihi mahuatai. Mucha gente de ambos lados pelea. Matan a sus enemigos y éstos también los matan a ellos.

(ibid.: 350) tehuenjaquin v.a. descubrir o despejar el cuello apartando el cabello Tehuenjanquin texo janin boo huenenjaquin hia benaquin. Mequeman chohpenquin hoquen tsamanbohanquin. Ella le despejó el cuello para buscarle los piojos. Separó el cabello en dos con la mano y lo puso a un lado.

HOQUE QUEXA “THE OTHER EDGE OF”:

(ibid.: 165) hoque quexa s. la banda, el otro lado Texpa hoque quexa cocan xobojaquin. El tío construye su casa en el otro lado de la quebrada.

(ibid.: 109) Jaa cahqui hoque quexa pohqueti shinanax nonapish. Dicen que se presume que ella, queriendo ir a la banda, nadaba (y se ahogó)

(ibid.: 165): hoqueha bahquish “day after tomorrow”

(ibid.: 165): hoqueha bahquish s. anteayer; pasadomañana Chiponqui catani ta heen papa hoqueha bahquish hahquiribi neno nocotihqui. Mi papá fue aguas abajo y llegará acá pasado mañana. (Loos & Loos 2003: 165).

hoquen “on opposing extremities.”

(ibid.: 165): hoquen adv. en lados opuestos Hani sabana hoquen panexbehcoini. La sábana larga estaba amarrada por las puntas en lados opuestos

(ibid.: 165): hoquenbehcoini adv. en ambos lados opuestos Miin xobo ta hoquenbehcoini xehquiya siriqui, cocan. Tu casa tiene puertas en las esquinas opuestas.

NEKE, NEKEBI: INSIDE OF A CONTAINER, THIS SIDE

(ibid.: 253) panaquin v.a. hacer chapana (escondite); prender (hojas) en el suelo Jepen pehi panaquin chiquejahi. Pehin chiquequin, neque jisyamanon hihxon; panaquin mixobojaquin. Jepe pehin res. Se prenden hojas de yarina en el suelo para hacer un cerco. Se hace el cerco de hojas para que no se vea adentro; las hojas prendidas forman una chapana. Se usa solamente la hoja de yarina.

(ibid.: 239): neque adv. acá Neque johue, baquen, hea patax tsahoti. Hijo, ven acá y siéntate a mi lado.

(ibid.: 346): 346 Nea ta neque quexa qui. () 3. éste es el lado cercano,

(Loos & Loos 1976a: 118) nekeska – this side already / neke - este lado vs. otro lado, (also “tierra,” mai) - heaven, other land, “other side”

(Thompson 1997): What, Loos asked an elder, was the Capanahua word for “world,” this place where people live? The elder looked at the ground. “Dirt,” he replied in Capanahua. Not satisfied with that, Loos explained that “world” in the Bible has more to do with all people, everywhere, than it has to do with the land. The elder suggested, “Nequebihabo.” It means “all the people on this side of the sky and all the people on the other side.” [actually seems to translate as: neque+bi+hahbo = “all those contained on this very side”]

(Loos & Loos 1976a: 153-54): Nequebi quesca qui jai rahan, rohan, joni. 24 Gritaban de la misma manera en que se grita acá en el mundo, hermano. Eran humanos.

LADO OR “SIDE”, CAN BE USED IN THE EXPRESSIONS:

- EN SU LADO, ((CLOSE) NEXT TO SOMEONE):

al lado del señor; en tu lado, también – nuestra kaya; Venia echar así a mi lado; “Que pues tiene ese huaihuashi dice, andando ahí – siendo gente no puede estar en mi\ \ brincando en mi lado”, dice le dice; Satanás está en nuestro lado, no está lejos de nosotros; no dice sale lejos, sino así, en nuestro lado nomás; su papá vivía ahí nomás - en sus lado, arribita su casita; Coomo que sea este se haga mujer y que venga a mi lado; Albina Freire, doña ~ - que está ahí en St Elena al lado d mi casa; Cruza, mira por allí, yo ‘toy parado al otro - al lado de palo, escondido - estoy sombrando

- EN/POR TODOS LADOS (ON/FROM ALL SIDES/DIRECTIONS):

vivian de uno y otro lado – () una par de tiempo estaba en un solo lugar – ya estaba -- en ootra parte; ese nos puede matar - bota sangre ! – Por todo lado - acá - oreja, todo todo todo - tu huevo, tu ullo - carajo!: Cuando vas ir cuandotruena – donde hay bastante – Por todo lado golpea! – Da miedo! – POUuumm – en la noche!; pa! -pa! - le golpea - cada lado - haciendo así di: - para que queda lomudo; Sus trabajadores manda a recoger, de todos lado traen miel, de todo, de todo; Se va mirar - tremennndo gruesaso. Parece lupuna. Su rama - por todo lado; Y de esa manera la gente ya se han regado ya por un y otro lado.

ON ONE OR BOTH EXTREMITIES OR SIDES:

tiene machete dese tamaño – este lado ‘ta agarrando ahí; Y también – ibamos llenar acá también dice nosotros – Lado nuestro pu’inki dígo – nuestro pu’i ya; “tu vas mirar por acá - yo por acá – no vas porque mirar ese lado hasta que llegamos a la punta; tú vas sentar ese lado de camino, yo aca.

ONE OF A PAIR:

tu vas mirar un lado de ojo; Un lado era así en su negrito de su ojo; tran! -un lado le sacado su pierna; Ambos lados – sus ojitos eran bien – charquitos – bien bien motishito; Algunos salen barrigon, algunos salen derecho, algunos sin brazo! -- manquishos - algunos con un lado de pie, algunos cojitos; Ahí cuando duerme - se apega así - con un lado – ahí - -se cansa, de un lado: - otro lado – ahí – ese vive así; Y pisado era un lado como de uno, otro de tigre; se han ido rastriando por su trocha de tigre - un lado de cristiano; le han mandado, le han hecho ciego un lado bien, para que el otro se lleva la potencia de los dos lados

OFF TO ONE SIDE:

tinaja así - de lado – porque la pona es mal – mi mamá hacía lindo!; Cuando la luna está así de lado - así como ves - es porque va seguir invierno

LEAVE ASÍDE:

A su mamá le ha dejado a un lado; ese Sachivo, a su madre le dejaban por un lado; sus maloca estaba ardiendo - y tenían que dispararse por un lado - y ahí ellos lograban a matarles.; [subject] dejando por un lado ese... ellos cuando antes, para que se junten, tenían un. aparato, un sonido, que ellos le preparaban, el dunduri

^{lxiii} “REACH/EMERGE ON THE OTHER SIDE”/”GO THROUGH TO THE OTHER SIDE”

(Loos & Loos 2003: 129): Ponte cahi bi bonco jahuen catimahi. Cahi bi bonco qui chiteti. Jaabi, naman taxbataiya hihquicahinax hoque picocahini cahi. El pensaba llegar directo a su destino pero se detuvo debido a la maleza. Sin embargo, logró encontrar un pequeño claro debajo del monte tupido por donde pudo pasar.

(ibid.: 136): Mixoboho hihquihi hoque picocahinquin cohchonjaquin. El entró a la chapana y al salir por el otro lado hizo una abertura.

FROM THE OUTSIDE OF THE CONTAINER:

(ibid.: 292): Quexbapan ta noque hoquexon jisiqui. Nos mira por la rendija desde el otro lado de la pared.

CHICHOHOQUEAX “FROM THE DEPTHS (OF THE WATER)” FROM THE INSIDE OF THE CONTAINER:

(ibid.: 139): Saman toshitai ta como qui, jahuen nihue jene chichoquehax picoti. La burbuja que sale de un remolino en el agua es el aire que sale de la profundidad.)

(ibid.: 319) ronohhuan s. boa Jene hoque jihuetai rono. Hani ta ronohhuan qui, joxon patsi patsiya, rahyeni yoraya, pamis yamahi. Pitima. La boa vive en el agua, es de tamaño grande y de cuerpo liso con manchas blancas, sin escamas; no es comestible.

(ibid.: 353) tepoco s. agalla Tsatsa ta tepoco jai qui, jahan jan joinai. Jene hoquehahbo yohina res ta tepoco jaibo qui. Main jaibo tepoco yamahi. Tepoco janin nishi niaxon tsatsa nishi qui queonquin, queonxon boquin. Un pez tiene agallas, es lo que usa para respirar; solamente los animales del agua las tienen, los animales terrestres no las tienen. Se pasa un cordel por las agallas para colgar los pescados y llevarlos.

(ibid.: 280) poshaquin v.a. reventar (...) Hatapanen bachi chicho hoquexonbi poshaquin, quinijaquin baque sca. Cuando los pollitos revientan los huevos, desde adentro abren huecos en el cascarón.

QUINI HOQUAX – FROM THE INSIDE OF A HOLE:

(ibid.: 140): Yame res conahue picoti quini hoquehax. Neten hoxabahinahi yame sca queoti. Nea queoshinahhi xaba paquecahini. Hayaii hihqui queoti. Pihanan queoti. Yame hihsa, hanitahma jina chaiya, pitima. El ayayaymama es un ave que sale de su hueco sólo en las noches.

FROM AN AREA:

(ibid.:279): Jene manan hoquehax chicoti ta poohihquihqui. El agua está manando desde arriba

^{lxiii} (*fines del mundo – yo te contado – pero como has pensado antes?) – aya – ese me decía mi papá así: – En donde termina dice la tierra: es una oscuridad, decía mi papá – El sol dice sale como estaria colgado – no sé como sera! – () Parece que ‘ta colgado sale dice el sol – como una campana! – así me decía mi papá – no sé donde habra escuchado eso: – cuento de desa manerai padre. — — Y me decía así - así – dice termina la tierra. – Mhmm – por eso taba preguntado si es así — — (GSR06)

^{lxiv} (VPB06): Ve un hueco así huecazo - bajo de tierra. – Ve dice: porái dice se va la sangre, porái entrado! – () Oy me voy a mirar - se va dice. + Entrado el hombre también + así huecazo - oscuro – ha caminado como 10 -15 metros – caminado – a oscuro - como estaras cerrando tu ojo – bien oscuro. – más allá: - Sssa! - sale dice - un pueblo! () – Casas

^{lxv} (DHR21): (*si hay en cielo vivien los muertos y Díos en cielo - por qué lo vemos - azul nomás -) - que cosa - el cielo – (*aja no se ve nada! -) – azul – ese es la primera capa del cielo – ese azul – Ese es porque va seguir verano - bien verano - ~ el alto – aista: - -otra ya – otra capa – Es lo que vive ahí el Señor. - - lo que manda lluvia ya - así como cernidor dice es -aista huequito - huequito - ahí cae la lluvia - de todo – mhm – (* mhm – primera capa — — — - porque el avión anda - por bajo dese azul - cuando hay lluvia más bajo - el se va – por el alto también - mirando por donde es lindo – se va. – Dejando ese tempestad – ese anda - se esquivo ya - se va mirando por donde que es limpio o- así - igual que anda el motor también pues - baja palo palisada - por donde que es libre - porái te vas. – así. – () (*Pero 2 capas nomás?) – 2 nomás - el azul y blanco donde que ‘ta el Señor. - Aista – (*ese otra capa ya no se ve de aca?) - @ - (*) recien cuando te mueres te vas porái. (* cuando muere – te haces bien jovencito. - La vieja se hace bien señorita Bien! - Mejor te deja tu carapa ya pues - Ahí - -en su sepultura ya - -El yushin se va jovencito – Bien joven - -Tu mujer lo que muerto - aista señorita - pero ahí te entregas otra vez te reunes ahí con tu mujer ya - ahí vives. – Te recibe alegre - abrazado - ohoy – ‘ta viniendo mi viejo () Ven ya - te lleva ya - en camino angosto - No sigues camino ancho - vamos por acá -te dice – -.

^{lxvi} (Loos & Loos 1976a: 126–27): 14 Hoque qui cahi can, jaya nonti. 15 Nescari jene betanbi senen nai jailxvi naman hihquicahini. 16 Cahi, hoscapahtonrihbisca picoti. 17 Nescapa siririhbisca qui, hoque. (...) 19 Jisjaquehtan jan jaabi qui ... nescabires qui jai rahan. 20 Nescabiresi, nihi yaaama. 21 Jahuen honanax cahtimahi [my trans.: 14 He went to other side with his canoe. 15 This way, (arriving) where the water ends and sky begins, he entered (entirely) below. 16 He emerged into what was just the same (as here). 17 Beyond was just like here, (open space). 19 He looked around... it was really just the same as here. 20 Precisely the same, noooo vegetation whatsoever. 21 So his orientation was off.]. (14 Fue al otro lado, con su canoa. 15 Volteo abajo del horizonte. 16 Salió al otro lado a un mundo similar. 17 El otro lado era ‘tan bueno como este lado. (...) 19 Miro al rededor. Todo estaba despejado. 20 Era como esto. No había nada de monte. 21 No tenía cómo orientarse para ir.).

^{lxvii} (DHR10): No tiene nada - que se ha muerto, se ha muerto, no quiere nada! - lo que queremos es nosotros. – () que cosa queremos ve: queremos nuestra platita, algunos azucarito, tu arroz, para tomar mingado – todo eso queremos. Los muertos no quieren nada! - Nada, nada, ni comer, – yushin ya. – (*ni quiere estar con nosotros) - nada, nada, \ no, están con nosotros de noche, sino nosotro no vemos pues. Aja. Aunque sea de día está con nosotros dice - nos está miraand. - pero nosotros no los

- veemos dice pues. — () no quiere nada el muerto. Solo que queremos es nosotros. — Una vez que morimos nosotros también no queremos nada - Ni con que voy comprar mi ropa, mi pantalon, no tengo pantalon, dice ya. — Voy andar desnudo ÷÷÷
- (DHR19): así como ‘tamos viviendo nosotros también - Mingiando, trabajando, ohoy ya - Queriendo más plata así - su cosas, su camisa, su zapatos queriendo -
- ^{lxviii} Cf. (Loos & Loos 2003: 385): Nea jonibaan jointi ta xehpo qui. El corazón de ésta gente está cerrado.
- ^{lxix} (BSR01): (*lo que dice que nuestro cuerpo pueden entrar espíritus malos creo - como puede ser - como es?) - - Aya — -Ese dice hermano: - Espiritu malo puede entrar como - -tamos nosotros ve aquí - este: - conversando: — Derepente - hacemos cosa mal: -mala ideas ya pues tienes ya — + pucha caraj - A veces te rabias - pucha - ~ quiere matar! - ~ — Ese ya pues es el espíritu malo dice — que entra en tu corazón - entonces hablas cosas malos — así dice pues entra espíritu malo - Ya no es como ‘tamos conversando bonito: malamente ya piensas! - “Pucha — hacer una maldad ya — Ese es espíritu - ya - ya te ha — ~tado ya - como dicen - en — — capanahua ya — Ese ya entra en tu corazón! así dice. ————— así entra, como dice en idioma: tiruma yushin ka’i - (*nuke shina = mismo que yushin?) - — — -ese — igual es hermano — igual es. — tú piensas cosa bueno - pero como ‘toy diciendo — derepente tu espíritu - ya - el espíritu malo ya entre en tu corazón: piensas otra cosa! ya — otra maldad - pero si tu espíritu es - limpiamente: - no piensas nada! - porque - tu — un — el demonio ya entrado en tu corazón - va a tomar la idea ya: - piensas otras cosas ya - piensas otra cosa; uuuh! - ya te pones rabioso - te molestas ya — — — eeeste... —
- (RPRO6): Y le empezado... a vivir con la hija. Hasta que le embarazado... (...) gente dicen a la madre: “más bien denunciante! - porque si va seguir, con la primera empezado - va seguir a las demás hijos - también todos les va hacer ste ~ Ese se va endiablarse~ - Ya el diablo ‘ta introducido en su corazón de él - y él va seguir - a usted ya te va dejar de un lado - así va ser con toditas las hijas - más bien denuncia” - y le ha denunciado la señora. (*) el diablo le ha tentado. Le ha tentado el diablo demasiado - se introducido en su corazón para que haga esto - con su propia hija.
- (GSR01): (*entran nuestro cuerpo espíritus malos - que dice?) o sea que nosotros tenemos mal pensamiento - lo que que — entonces el mal espíritu está lleno en nuestro corazón — y tenemos malas ideas, malos pensamientos. — Ese es pues este que dice - Satanás - ese es el mal espíritu. (*que son malos pensamientos?) - piensas pues cosas malas — que — piensas robar, piensas ser otras cosas, con las mujeres que tienen marido — esos son malas ideas, malos pensamientos. (*que son los buenos pensamientos?) - es como vivir así, juntos, unidos, alegre. — Mhm — así como - dice en la biblia, la vida de Cristo pues, como vivía antes. — Cristo — alegre con todos — ese quiere decir buenos pensamientos: Compartir unos a otros. — (*como el Satanás hace entrar el cuerpo?) - o sea ese es pues mal espíritu - que da mala idea, mal pensamiento - No tienes ese pensamiento bueno, como dice que — de nuestro Señor - el tenía ideas buenos, limpios, aja. — lo que Satanás cuando se introduce en tu corazón - tienes malos pensamientos.
- (GSR04) (*pero cuando estás vivo?) — aya — sí quizás pues. — puede entrar un — este — tiruma yúshin ya — malos espíritu en tu corazón - o sea que malos pensamientos ya. — Te dan malas ideas, mal pensamiento - todo eso... — porque el alma malo - ‘ta introducido en tu corazón. — Más bien ese es el pecado ya pues. — (*aja, cuando entra shinan tiruma?) ————— mm — shinan tiruma ya! — mhm, o sea que piensas mal ya - cuando el espíritu malo está en tu corazón. — (*ese espíritu malo como parece - como cristiano?) ——— como cristiano... \\ o sea que esos son diablos así — ya no son cristianos ya — son los espíritus malos, espíritus del Satanás (*Pero su cuerpo, apariencia parece hombre nomás?) mhm. (*usted no has visto eso?) no — no he visto ————— (*aja, entra como en su casita?) — mhm, como que estaría abierto la puerta. (*y como se puede guardar la puerta - para que no entren?) — — con ayuda del señor. — (*o sea tienes que orar) — orar, pedir a dios que te — que le echa fuera el diablo de tu corazón, pidiendo a dios.
- (DHR19): (*esas malas ideas — vienen de otra parte? - o de tu corazón?) — de tu corazón mismo! — mhm — no vien de otra parte. (*por qué a veces dice — que tiruma yushin está entrando tu corazón) — aja — ese entra dice - te hace pensar dice mal: — ese tiruma yushin — dice @ — pucha — mete de tu cabeza mismo — entra dice — corazón — puucha — “M hace pensar otra cosa: dice — Tiruma yushin — (*de donde viene tiruma yushin?) — -de porái es — nomás de porái son yushin — viene entrar nomás — en cualquier cuerpo: — te hace pensar mal! — (*Pero donde — en monte? en puebklo) — me — porái - porái nomás — se mantiene eso — porái en bosque, — mhm — así, — — estás pensando mal ya pues — tú ya — que dejas tiruma yushin ya está entrando a mi corazón — pienso mal — No quiero hacer nada! — No quiero ni cocinar — nada-nada — no quiero ir a la iglesia: — todo! — porque ahí ‘ta el tiruma yushin - ‘ta entrando en tu corazaon — No, no te vas - dice — a la iglesia — así — — (*y las buenas ideas que tienes?) — no, ese es malas ideas ese — de yushin: — malas ideas es — — (*Pero otra persona te puede dar tus — buenas ideas también —) - aja @ - -contando te da otra idea bien buena ya — (*consejando) — aja, te conseja bien, -ohoy ya — bien aconsejado — mhm —
- (BRS19) O sino, también ese huqueas este. como se llama? — — ese también tiene sus espinas así largo. — como se llama... — wicungo! - conoces di? — (...) es un tronco así - A ese también dice huequeas ve. hasta que llega a su shungo ya, su corazón - en su blanco - noves es duro? - Ese también le huequeas bonito ve. A los 8 días vete, dice. — Aista el gusano ya — noves da agua? - con su mismo agua - aista: ~ se toma — proooh! — con pura espina pues ahí. — Ese también te hace soñar.
- ^{lxx} Cf. also (Loos & Loos 2003: 317): Siri tah qui. Jointi rishtajoma ta jihuetihqui. El es muy bueno. Vive con el corazón muy limpio [lit.: sin suciedad].
- ^{lxxi} (*Don Benigno, si la sangre es parte del carne, di?) — mm sí. — la sangre es parte de la carne pues ——— si lo que circula en nuestras venas. — Aja... — — — Y la vena? - Sale desde el corazón, de su raíz del corazón, deai viene. que tengas tu sangre y te da fuerza. — todo eso sale del corazón. Eso. — — — (*como dice corazón? wi. wi...\\) — huinti. ÷÷ no es winti ÷÷÷ remo! — — (*ahí en nuestro corazón también lo que sentimos - di?) sí. (*lo que pensamos también?) - claro pues - lo que pensamos. — — — mhm ——— si nuestro pensamiento sale todo de nuestro corazón: - que cosa voy hacer, que no voy hacer, a donde me voy, cuando voy a viajar: - taal día voy a viajar! - todo de nuestro corazón sale. Por medio de tu corazón: de tu boca ya, — sale. — Ya pues. — —
- Also cf. (Loos & Loos 2003: 247): Huetsa rihbi nescari, jointi norontameti, chicho ronotai yohihi. Uno podría decir que el corazón está colgado en el centro del tórax.

lxxii (DHR06): El está ya con almita ya - ya tiene su almita. -(*porque ya se le puede ver) - ya pues este se ve ya. — Peor cuando está grandecito - 3-4 meses - Queriendo hablār gī gī! - Gī - gī hace ya pues - queriendo hablar: ingi! - ingi! - a veces también mamá - dice. — Pero ya ese tiene su pecado ya también dice ya. — mhm. — (*como es este pecado?) — este pecado - así cuando contesta a su madre ya — cuando es grande ya - chivolito - el ya tiene su pecado también ya. — ‘ta pecando con su mamá - porque no le hace caso. - le contesta a su madre - está dando más pecado a su madre - porque ella también está pecando ya contra él ya. — Mhm. — (*o sea tiene pecado cuando empieza a hablar - o ya cuando nace.) - cuando ya empieza hablar ya: papá, mamá. — Y antes de eso no todavía? - No todavía. — cuando empieza hablar — ahí sí. — (*y ese es su pensamiento ya?) @ (*ya ‘ta entrando su pensamiento) @ todo ya — Sale dañadito: ese no tiene su pensamiento nada. — (*y no tiene pecado?) tiene pecado: porque está haciendo sufrir a su madre. —aja. — Tiene. —Y así pues Lucas. — Por eso dice otros dice: “Pucha, me está haciendo pecar más mi hijo. —Tannto - me haces sufrir? — porque te castigado el Señor paque naces así, dañadito”: () - aja, el Señor le ha dado pues así, paque sufre: ahí paque hace pecado. (*o sea pecado: cuando haces otros sufrir?) - - sí pues otro sufrido a el pues — le mantienes ohoy, todo — (*no hace caso, molesta) @ sí, ohoy.

(DHR08): (*ya, pero me dices que ants, cuando recién está empezando a pensar: que otra almita viene también) — mhm — — — — cuando empieza andar ya? — — — — (*pensar?) — — — — aja, pensar, ya tiene su pensamiento ya pues — Ese ya tiene pecado ya pues — Le — ya tiene ya pues — ya tiene 5-4 años - 5 meses así — ya tiene su pecadito ya también ya pues — Su pecado ya pues — se rabia con su madre — nnnoo — quiero chuchu dice — quiere morderle. — su chuchu - ese muchacho quiere morder ese chuchu — Rabiando con su madre. — El ‘ta dando pecado a su madre pues — mhmm — — — —Aasi...

lxxiii Also cf. (Loos & Loos 2003: 375-76):

xah- pref. cuerpo Bohnanti xahquinho tah qui; tsecatanhue. (Eso) está dentro (lit. en la cavidad del cuerpo) de la maleta; sácalo.

xahban adj. vacío Xobo xahban janin mapexon quenti xahban huesti tsahotai jisquin. Entré a una casa vacía donde vi una sola olla vacía.

xahbanen adv. en el vacío Hen nihcanhuanai xahbanen jihui paqueti rerahabo hea bishtaxquin bi rohajaquin. Un árbol que derribaron casi me aplastó; cayó justamente en el lugar donde yo había caminado (lit. cayó en mi vacío). “Cocan xobon xahban xahbanen hea nocoti”. Jano jahuen hihbo yamaahiya copi jascari, jahuen hihbo cahipi pecaho nocotax. [: 375] [376:] Dijo: “Llegué a la casa vacía (lit. en el vacío) de mi tío”. Así uno expresa que llegó cuando el dueño no estaba; éste ya había salido hacía dos días.

xahbanjamaquin v.a. 1 echar de menos Huetsa jonin bichinipi xahbanjamaquin. Jan racanipi bi ma bichipi sca caxon yancan nocoti hahqui xahbanjamaquin; yamascai. Echó de menos lo que el otro había robado. Sucedió así: fue a recoger lo que había dejado puesto allí pero ya no estaba. El otro lo había cogido; por eso lo echó de menos. 2 hacer vaciar Heen nonti hea yocacaxma jaya cahiton jahuen jahuaborabo huetsa joni hean xahbanjamaquin. Cuando ese otro hombre se llevaba mi canoa sin pedirme permiso, yo lo obligué a vaciar sus cosas de la canoa. jene bochohiton

xahbanjaquin v.a. vaciar Quenti hashoan huetsa qui xahbanjaquin sirijaquin. Cuando una olla estaba muy llena de agua, ella la vació en otra olla.

lxxiv (BSR01): (*Pero dice cuando ‘tas durmiendo - tu espíritu también sale a andar en otra parte?) - así dice hermano — Sale, pero cómo será... uno no se siente. Pero dice nuestro espíritu dice sale. Dice muchas personas, dice sale a vagar el mundo. Cómo quizás... Y ya cuando viene... (...) cuando entra, mejor dicho, en tu carapa ya, en xakati pues — aja, en idioma dice xaká, carapa dice. Así como ése [pointing to a coconut shell laying on the floor] — ése deaquí es pues... tapado acá, ve! —Ése... éste se comparece que... ése es tu cuerpo. Pero acá, éste, lo que tú le tapas: queda allá vacío. Igualito dice entra pues... nuestro yushin ya. (*Ahí adentro queda?) dentro pues hermano.

lxxv (DHR19): (*tu yushin queda afuera — como tu... como pareces no?) — @ — (*El kaya? - adentro de tu) -adentro de tu cuerpo — tu kaya — El ‘ta adentro — ‘tas andando con el — (*Pero donde vivie ese kaya en tu corazón quizás? cabeza) @@ — — cuando alguna cosa te asusta — Shhhhr! {startled}— sale de tu cuerpo! — Ya — ya me asustado ya - Te asusta — porque ‘tas andando con tu kaya pues — te asusta spp — — En tu corazón. — noves corazón te asusta? — (*no es tu cabeza?) — no cabeza — tu corazón — dahí que sale cuando te asusta— palpita - tktktk! — Peor cuando ves un jergón así — — PuuCha! — te asusta — sssacsacsac — Trin! — brinca de miedo — mirando ese jergón — tu kaya ta: tctctct— palpitando ya tu corazón — ohoy ya — Miras jergón — ahí le dejas — — Mhmm — — Te largas — — Alg le matan — aanh— le deja matando ahí — Mhmm — — Y así. — —

lxxvi (JRR03): Aaaantes dice hacía... cualquier!... No gente! ...Pero gente dice es! A?! ...Pero... porái se va: no gente!

lxxvii (GHR11): (*como ahua ya) - como ahua, igual que ha muerto Ronal! ÷÷÷ Has sabido? (*no) - ayer a la mañana se ido a matar un chorro, igual que de Gamarra - igualito este. Se ha ido matar en esa purma de la Llanet - Ahí dice estaban andando 2 chorros: un macho y una hembra. - A la hembra le corta aquí ve. — — — — Mi - estaba llamando rancho! - era su minga ayer. Me voy mirar: el chorro ‘ta echado en su cocina. — {breathing through the nose} - así yendo ve! — (*vivo todavía?) vivo! — ‘ta mirando - pero respiraba, no moría. Aquí estaba bien cortado. — — — — por eso han dicho que es ahua - nadie le ha comido. Solo Javico creo le ha comido. - Leider hecho su mazamorra para venir a comer dice tarde. - que voy comer yo! — — Nunca he visto chorro que anda en la purma! — (el macho se largado) Solo la hembra ha muerto. (*Pero así hace el demonio entonces? viene a la purma) - yo pienso que sí. — (*Pero yo pensaba que ese ahua será ese maquizapa - pero chorro también puede ser?) — — — — porque una vez allá en Buncuya he sabido que por Ucayali, Zapatilla creo - han muerto a un - una maquizapa — lo que ‘ta comiendo dice maduro así atrás de su casa nomás. - le han muerto a la maquisapa - y la mujer también estaba enferma. A gritos estaba la mujer! - y se muerto! — Yo pensaba que va a ser así - total nadie. — mhm, cuando le matan a su alma - ese ratito dice también pues su - cuerpo. () derepente de otra parte habrá venido.

(*papá también hablaba dese ahua?) mhm (*idioma?) ahua nomás! (*mula conocía tu papá, deso hablaba?) - aja, (*) así mismo, mula. — Así pues le han hecho al chorro. Y así vive le han puesto en la candelita - le han chamuscaba. - como miraba - ve así ~ le hacía jugar a su ojo: {breathing heavily}; decía. — (K: y no han visto que está vivo!?) Así le chamuscaba Ronal! como me daba miedo! — como quejaba - mh! mh! mh! — No quería mirar, me largado a mi casa. - Así le estaba chamuscando así vivo (*no quería morir) @ — como hacía jugar a sus ojos... — — y último respiro dice hecho así ve — {breathing out heavily, as if

- annoyed} - con eso dice se ha ido ya - estaba mirando la Rosita. último respiro dice hecho bien largo — mhm. ——— (*que clase de animal será...) — nnoo sé - si habrá sido choro legítimo - no sé. — Endemoniado quizás. — — Primera vez he visto que ha muerto así en la purma - y a machatazo — ni siquiera baliando así... —
- lxxxviii (DHR06): (*y como le abortan, que usan para eso?) ese aborta dice queriendo comer alguna cosa - queriendo comer algun — quiere tomar un gasiosa, pan con gasiosa. — Malísimo! - quiere comer dice ungurahui - si no le haces cas - eso cae dice. — Cae la criatura. ~ quiere comer - y la criatur quería comer también aquí adentro dice pues. — Sale di plooh, dice sale. — () (*cuando siente que quiere tomar gasiosa, tiene que tomar gasiosa) sí pues - es porque él muchacho también quiere adentro. — así esta... — Algun huayo — zapote, quiere comer malis!simo dice. — != ~ que cosa - y no hay! — como puede comer - dahí puede caer ya pues - porque la criatura 'ta pidiendo ese dahí. — (*si no le dan - se molesta y.) - molesta - cae - el mismo cae dice — ploh! — Aista, ashi huahuita. —
- (*gente sabe acá como se puede hacer la mujer botar un niño?) aja, sabe — ese se la da dice palta - semilla de palta. — Ese se la raspa - cuando no quieres - hijo. — Tah,tah, tah, - le convidas así en agua tibia - pah! - Ese es recontra amargo! — noves el criatura toma también ahí? - -Ahí tú le tomas - traa - voy botar mi hijo dice — Ya - un minutito ya — plooh! - 'ta cayedo ya — ya tomado este ya pues - No quiere el muchacho ahí — ha tomado, pero amargo! — por eso sale ya pues — Ese semilla de palta - 'ta ahoyyoya - te hace botar al toque. — Hay otra planta también - berbena - también te hace botar — un shi hojita, largito nomás. Berbena - ramudo. — donde creo he visto berbena - ahí abajo creo - crece deste tamaño altito. —Ese es recontra amargo — Ese toma para terciario — Te bota el terciario con eso.
- lxxxix (DHR24): — lo que comemos ya pues — está ahí en nuestra pansa, su muela está llena ya — nuestro xaku está aparte. — está aparte ahí — ese comes una fruta — el también está comiendo — Tomas bushnan — ese no quiere — ese te muerde ahí ve — te prende en tu carne, en tu nami se prende ahí — aista ve - -prendido, no quiere tomar ese trago fuerte -bata así — ahí abre su boquita tomando — paque queda buchisapita. —
- lxxx (DHR19): (*y cuando quieres un cosa — ese quiere tu yushin, tu kaya, tu cuerpo?) — cuando quieres alguna cosa? — sssiii — tu yushin, tu cuerpo quiere — alguna cosa, quiere comer: ese te pide: quiere comer - mhmm — Comer — Igual: la mujer embarazada: —su hijo quiere comer otro — quiere comer pan, quiere comer dice otra cosa: — Ese 'ta pidiendo de adentro. — Porque ese muchacho quiere comer. — — así es nuestra kaya también — nuestra alma pues quiere comer también pues — lo que es nuestro cuerpo de nosotros - — mhmm — -asi mismo, del muchacho \\ embarazado mujer mujer - quiere comer dice: ungurahui, aguaje — vamos a cortar — Igual la Nuria, 'ta embarazada dice: — quiere comer dice: aguaje, ungurahui — (*) aja, de Cristian. () aja, ya está ya: por eso está flaquita dice — (por qué flaquita?) — así cuando le — así cuando su sangre es debil — le pega a la madre: le hace flaquiini!ta!
- lxxxii (DHR17): A la salida del sol y a la entrada de sol - y saca su sangre. (...) Consejando le sacas su sangre también. Corteza - dese tamaño - otro lado también le sacas. - Ahí queda ya.
- lxxxiii “Yura” as “tronco”, (Loos & Loos 2003: 131): Nacax quescapa ta chohchox qui. Jihui yora qui jahuen xobo hueonquin. Mai quiniho jihueyamahi. Hani tahma ta chohchox qui. Huetsabi rihbi. Hihtijaquin noque piquin. Noque hisinjaquin piquin. Jihui ta piyamahiqui, xobo piyamaquin. Jaabo ta champo hichaxon rehtexon pihiqui yomerahxon. El huallpa comején es parecido a un comején. Hace nidos pegados a los árboles, no en la tierra. Son pequeños, pero no son como parecería, muerden duro y sus mordeduras duelen terriblemente. Salen en grandes grupos para cazar grillos, que son su alimento.
- lxxxiiii(GSR01): (*y parece tan simpático, ¿no?) simpatico parece pues... Pero no se le ve... por dentro. Porque este clase de persona se... () Cara se ve, pero corazón no.
- lxxxv (fT1208): During the evening preaching, the pastor from Fátimatalks about pecado, being crucified with Cristo, along with him crucified sin, so that Cristo could live inside: botar, arrojar, pecado, pasado de pecar, instead: abrir al luz, nuevo, dios. Besides, often mentioned: a) cuerpo: e.g. cuerpo común – when it comes, in the future, there won't be separate people, those from Limón Cocha, those from Fátima, those from St Elena: there will only be the cuerpo común! – and other examples of cuerpo. b) enemigo - siempre está esperando, pecado, satanas, others who try to cheat them, mame them, sects, liars - enemigo, pecado!
- lxxxv (GHR06): Por eso digo yo - me habrá castigado, porque una cosa he hecho contra él que no le gusta - entonces digo - pido al señor para que me limpia, lava mi corazón - y que así me perdona las cosas lo que hago - aquí en la tierra - por propio pensamiento, por propio ideas, lo que pensamos uno. Por eso es lo que -- cuando se piensa una cosa, cosas de naturaleza - se peca. Si queremos hacer una cosa - se pide al señor para que nos da, nos ayude, nos apoye, no. Entonces - sino que tenemos que pedir con fé! - si el señor me va a dar, entonces hay que pedirle. Entonces antes ~mos que pensar - nos da y nosotros no nos damos cuenta. Así
- (DHR06): así como 'tamos conversando no - no es pecado, 'tamos conversando cosas de bueno - Señor 'ta escuchando — donde que te vas - ahí 'ta el Señor - 'ta cuidando — Te vee. que vas a comer, que te va de comer — por eso dice - otra dice - que voy a comer mañana? — No digas así! — El Señor sabe que te va dar a comer. — Solo el Señor sabe - que te va dar - un alimento — que te va regalar tu vecino - otro. —Mal es: “que voy a comer” - no! solo el Señor sabe —
- lxxxvi A sample of reduplication uses in LUS and Capanahua:
- a continuous or repetitive activity: himihimi'í [lit. “bleed-bleed”, or menstruating], llorando-llorando [crying] hablando-hablando [talking];
 - state of distribution or unevenness: pau pauti [lit. “hold with arms-hold with arms” or with arms on the shoulders of others], caserío-caserío [dispersed villages], ventanita-ventanita [distributed little windows (in a longhouse)], un pedazito-un pedazito [bringing by small quantities], en casa-en casa [staying over in various houses], bola-bola [speak unevenly, with a strong accent], en partes-en partes [partially];
 - emergent or intermediate quality: tibio-tibio [luke warm], joven-joven [almost adult];
 - smell: gasolina-gasolina [of gasoline], muerto-muerto [of a deceased]

- or emphasis: sina sinayama'i [not angry], hinchado-hinchado [very swollen]; nadies-nadies [completely noone]; demonio-demonio [quite a demon], barro-barro [pure mud], bota-bota [completely abandoned], bien mismo-bien mismo [the very same], legítimo-legítimo [the very real].
- ^{lxxxvii}(BRS15): llora acordando de antes, no — lo que ha sucedido - sus padres, sus madres — queda uno para dar ejemplo deso. — Ese, ejemplando a los antiguos — puede ser yo di — puede hacer wini'i: — hablando en tu dialecto 'tas llorando — pues — Ese nadies te entiende — habiendo uno que te entiende — por ejemplo yo le estoy entendiendo en partes ese dahí — 'ta llorando ella — mujer, no? — aista — ese es bueno. — — — (...)(*O sea como lo has dicho? — que una persona 'ta ejemplando di?) — mmhm — por decir se muerto su hijo o su marido - así di — Ese 'ta haciendo ese — () (*Como puedes decir ejemplar en idioma?) — mhmm — como — Ha — Nun — haskati'i — Mhm — nunhaskati'i — Nosotros también para ser — para seguir ese mismo — ese mismo ejemplo di — Ejemplo de los antiguos. — (*asi como esos cuentitos no?) así pues — — — Wini'i dice - (*osea este habla de como vivido ese persona que ya no existe di?) — sin no existes ya — todo eso habla pues — que cosa hecho — que no hecho di — — - todo eso 'ta hablando también — 'ta llorando — Ha sido un hombre — trabajador, luchador en su vida — así 'ta diciendo — O sea era hombre que mucho ha trabajado durante su existencia — Ha hecho cosas en su vida — así habla eso — 'ta llorando — por eso es oye muy triste, llora pues — — — (...)(*esos cuentos entonces que estamos hablando - - -eses te dan ejemplos también como ha sido di?) — así pues, así mismo es ahí — por eso 'ta llorando — un ejemplo que ha sucedido — (...)
- (BRS16): wini'i - así (*) ese es otro - como 'tamos diciendo ya - ese es - eso son los ejemplos ya de los antiguos, pa'en hui. — (*que estaban diciendo en esto, pa'en hui?) — pa'en hui, pa'en yuani - conversan fuerte! pues - cuando 'tan borrachos - noves borrachos conversan fuerte, como Carlos - fuerte hablan - () es conversacion(*de que estan hablando en esto?) — eso hablan - ellos también de sus antepasados - pero ese no puedo explicarme yo también - pero como te digo, oia lo que decían ellos así - pa'en hu'i'i (...) — Escuchado ellos hablaban así, nuken xenibu dice. — Nuken xenibu pa'aen huinibu. — Hablaban dice de mariado tenían - hablaban todo lo que eran ellos pues.
- ^{lxxxviii} (ACH01): "¡Por gusto te has hecho vieja si no sabes nada!"
- ^{lxxxix} (RPR07): como que no existirá 'te viejo, 'te ancianito, mi abuelito pa que me explique como fue de los antiguos! de los pasados, en su epoca de él.
- ^{xc} (JRR03): Antii!guo pues: lo que... Cuando no estamos, así: han hecho, vivía pues, así como que vive - como vivimos: así lo que vivía! Aja. Así hacía, ese dice. Así — por eso decía... este — ¿cómo es? — abuelita Ermelinda — ha contaba pues así. Así es, este... hijo — decía pues la vieja — contaba pues — Aja — "Aaaa — su hijo- ÷ ÷ - Que va ser mamá, tú no sabes nada!" — Decía sus hijos pues. Aja — "Nooo... Yo 'toy diciendo ahí... de otro mi hijo, ese atiende todo! - Pero ustedes son... reves!" — decía pues vieja. "Nooo, sí estan diciendo malo! — Que... ejemplo va a... va — contar a ese cosa... Ese — cosa... cosa de demonio!" — decían! [laughing] Aaaajjjaaa — siii yo — Y así...
- (BRS10): Hay su cuentos pues di? Como vivían antes. Ese... sus cuentitos. — Ha quedado un ejemplo... de cuento de antes vivían.
- (BRS13): Ahí está, la historia de los antiguos: ejemplos. (*) Me contaba mi mamá también. Escuchaba. A veces en la noche, en la tarde: "Oy les voy contar un ejemplo" — decía mi mamá. () Ahí nos contaba mi mamá.
- ^{xcii} (BRS18): - ooo — como se engendra esos [mellizos]! — Como será pues esto — paque sale así — Yo también me pregunto eso, por qué salen así. () Dice... dice está así ve: rabwe nane - así dice, tiene que estar los dos dice. — No así cruzados. — () Ese es desde antes, no. — acá también lo leído así en la biblia. — Rabwe nane [two put inside] - De los primeros padres que hicieron eso — — — Rabwe nane llamamos nstrs. Rabwe nane - dos mellizos.
- (BRS03): (*hijos de Ezequiel son tus primos?) — en cast mis primas ya di — y en capanahua — me decía mi padre: min awiantibu — me decía mi padre — () ese dice pueden ser tu — como es esto? — O sea que esos son mis primas di — pero dice puede — ellos decían — puedes también — puede hacerte reunir tu tio dice con tu prima — y te hace de familia — entonces — paque la raza no pierda: — si tú quieres pues hacer de tu — puedes unirte con ella — si tú no quieres pues no — -Aja — pero aun ~ que puedes unirte — porque — si se desune desa familia — pues la familia se va perder como te digo — Se termina pues — donde vas aumentar tu generación — cuando — tú ya te vas hacerte de familia — con otra — otra raza de — — — persona ya. - -Por eso ya pues min awiantibu — tus primas — — así ya sigue! — Entonces — — — entonces — dahí ya — desa familia va aumentando ya — y los otrs también van siguiendo haciendo otra familia más — di? — — Ese pues ya no puede entender ese ya — Porque igual que en la biblia pues — como te quiero hacer entender - pero no veo: de... — vamos decir de Jacob, de Abran, de Isac — todo es— Habido generación - y más generación — seguía aumentando! — no sé — como te habla la religión también — eso también yo no puede entender de Isaac — había otra — — — E se dice - ese — como me estás preguntando — "de tu - que van hacer esos ya ÷ ÷ ÷ — Sigue así — un montón — no termina! — Aja — Esos son buenos ejemplos que decimos ahí — no dejar pues como te digo — — como — — Ahí va — hawen epabu — no sé que le dice en la biblia, lo que ha escrito don Eugenio — Isaac ~bake kan - nun epabu — no sé que dice ahí — -aista ve. — - Eso pues yo no le puede entender también — Solo puede leer la biblia, pero ya no puede — — Hasta aquí puede — yo puede alcanzar como te digo — —
- Sus — sus hijos de mis tías — de mi tíos — ellos son mis primas di — como te digo, con ellos puedo yo unirme — hago hijo donde ellos — — Y esos hijos como va ir más multiplicando - más adelante - como le puedo tratar? — Y eso yo pues no puedo ya \ \ — solamente hasta ahí puedo yo entender — — hawen... epabu — — pero sigue más adelante! — que quizás ya pues — Aja — es una cantidad de palabras — para decir — para — — aja — -cantidad — — — (*Pero esto recuerdas todavía?) - -eso recuerdo todavía — nuestros nietos — y los nietos — nuestros nietos también van tener hijos — Esos hijos van a seguir aumentado nomás — pero ya como pues sera ese pues dahí ya — (*) ya no puede ya saber como se va tratar ya — — — Porque como te digo - en mi libro leo — dice — la primera creación de — -Adan y Eva — es lo que se han — lo que se ha formado la generación ya — — De — -este — como se llama — Adan y Eva, dahí viene — de Jacob — — un montón di — Ese nos hacer leer en libro de Genesis — Ahí empieza pues — los nombres ya que vienen - su hijo del julano - como se llamaba — Y dahí pues — como era pues — más por adelante. — Y así sigue — eso yo ya no puedo ya... —
- ^{xciii} (GSR04): me decía mi papá: "Hazte oír lo que te cuento, me decía - en la tarde que me contaba di — Yo huambra pues - ahí me quedaba dormir: {hitting} Hazte oír! me decía - Hazte oír - o yo no te voy a contar: algún día cuando tienes hijos, - paque

cuentas a tus hijos me decía - Ahí me asustaba mi papá: 'toy oyendo, papi - le decía! ÷÷÷÷ (engañando!) (*Pero ya sabías todo, no?) - yo --- sabía pues - --- Así como la Minerva quizás - así me contaba mi papá. (*Pero verdad que lo dices a tus hijos o no?) - no! --- No los digo nada a mis hijos. - Mhm --- a veces... - a veces les cuento - el otro día les he contado de - Achquin Vieja.

Another example:

(HOC01): (...) a mi ya vuelta me contaba así mi tía -- Uuuu - yo tenía sueño ya - no, quiero dormir ya decía yo - Pero antiguos no querían dormir! - 'Ruke hanishki [Kapabu?] matu yu'inun! Wetsatian matun bakebu yu'i'axanun [what they would say about the Squirrel Lad I am going to tell you. So that in another time you tell it to your children],'- nos decía - "así me contaba tu abuela paque digan, un día cuando tienes tus hijos - me decía a mi. (...) -Yo quiero dormir ya! - le decía yo. Ninkakatsiama'i! - decía: "no quieren escucharnos" - "Ya he oído!" le decía yo! ÷÷÷÷÷ () sí, me decía mi. finada también.

^{xciii} (GHR05): (*se podría llegar al otro mundo así, cerrando los ojos?) cuando el demonio nos hace así, cuando nos agarra el yacuruna. (*animales también son así, son gente? el tigre es una persona como la gente acá... a la gente ve como - como huangana para cazar?) así? así también? [laughs] --- son los cuentos - ¿no? - Que han pasado a los fizgeros o cazadores, o los ajuasis - aja, [laughs]. (...) Dice será cierto - ¿no? - o ¿son cuentos ese? Como es eso de los incas, las leyendas ¿no? Así serán porque yo no ~ también.

^{xciv} (AFC01): Así me contaba mi mamá. No sé si así quizás era cierto... Como es cuento...

^{xv} (GSR06): (*Ese de la luna - por qué me has preguntado si había gente ahí?) - la luna? --- aya... - Porque... -- Por qué sea pues - que de verdad los científicos llegan allá? -Mhm... Ese 'taba preguntando, sí es verdad que llegan a la luna. (*Como piensas - era ese hombre que vivía con su hermana?) - nnniiisabe [ni se sabe] --- (*Así se creado, o...) --- icómo! Pero en la Biblia dice que Dios ha creado a la luna, al sol. --- Mhm --- Bueno, ese sera cuento... (*Cuento nomás entonces?) - yo pienso así... --- (*Eso de la Biblia será más cierto entonces?) - No sé pues --- - ¿qué es lo que piensas tú? --- (*Pienso que nadie sabe como era - por todas partes gente tiene sus cuentos deso. Nadie no ha visto - Porque ese era antiguo-antiguo) Mhmm... así me decía mi papá. --- Por eso pues digo ya: Cómo dice en la Biblia que Dios ha creado todo: luna, sol, estrellas, la tierra... Mhmm? ¿Cómo se puede formar de un hombre? - Ese pienso yo a veces... --- (*¿Cuentos pueden ser errados?) yo pienso así ... --- (*Porqué le estaban diciendo entonces?) Nnnoo ssé pues... Por eso digo yo: es cuento. Ese es. Un... nada más, iun CUENTO! (...) (*nadie sabe como era. Dios es un cuento de judeos) Ese será cuento pues... ese es una historia pues. Una historia que... que Dios ha hecho.

^{xvii} (JRR05): ¡Ya! ¡Ahora vamos a engañarnos un rato!.

^{xviii} (BRS09): a su mujer ahí ya le usaba ya - ahí aumentaba ÷÷÷÷÷÷÷÷÷ pucha ÷÷÷÷÷ así me contaba mi mamá. - lo que le contaba dice su - abueli\ - su madre dice le contaba a mi mamá así - Hawera nuken xenibu hapa'unishki, ihun - me contaba mi mamá. --- no sé como se llama ese envase que le recogen pues aquí - ÷÷÷÷÷÷÷ por acá dice! ÷÷÷ ÷÷÷ --- Varios hay de los antiguos que contaba - pero yo ya --- Sino no me haces acordar - entonces yo ya pues me olvido! Aja, pero cuando conversamos, siempre nos hacen acordar di? - y se puede conversar pues. - () (*te gusta recordar?) - me gusta reír acordando lo que hacían por acá dice ÷÷÷÷÷÷÷! --- no sé como pues le ha visto a ese shinu - ese pues no podían chocar la vagina de la mujer pues - porque dice que decían que: "tremenda llaga es que decían ellos - sipi, sipi'wan! - llaga dice - ahí'bun - hawen sipi'wan - por eso no chocaban dice ahí - (*tenían miedo?) miedo ÷÷ [Kinga enters] () me hacía reír mi mamá cuando me contaba: "Como le van hacer por acá mamá?" - "Los antiguos dice pues - hacían por ahí". - no sé como se llamaba ese que recogían - tiene su nombre, maxen - no se como. --- Maxen - decimos el huingo - pero otro nombrecito hay - () ahí dice crecía pues el niño ahí - sea hombre o mujer - pero crecía en ese envase - cuando llegaba su tiempo, dice - reventaba ahí - su llullu ya pues parecía, así como que tienen ahorita.

^{xix} (Joni behnatian, nea mai behna Diosen jato jonijaha jihuecani [At the time when the people were fresh/new, this earth was fresh/new, God still lived with the people that he made] (Loos & Loos nd.b); Jaatian ca hisin yamaha, joni behnatian, mondo behnatian. [At that time, there was no disease, people were fresh/new, the world was fresh/new] (Loos & Loos 1976b: 26); Xenibo qui joni behnatian [At the time when the old ones were fresh/new] (Loos & Loos 1976b: 116); neatema, joni behnatian [long ago, when people were fresh/new] (Loos & Loos nd.a).

^{xx} (ECHO1): Ese dice había pues uno. El nomas tenía sus cosas. La gente no tenía. Y la gente se iba pedir a él paque les da pues así - como se come yuca. Le daba él. -- Ya, hacían tanto ya dice un hombre: ~ito. él solito ya quería sembrar a su chacra. Se ido quebrar dice rama de ...yuca, allí había avispa, [Wilma chuckles], víbora, todo clase de animales, isula, toodo dice le ha picado al hombre. Le mordido. Jergón, avispa, -llevado dice agarrando una ramita de yuca. Se ha ido corriendo. Los avispas por su trás! En tanto dice deja metiendo en palo podrido ya. Ahí le dejado a su palo de yuca. Y se va su dueño ya - rabiannndo - para que dice tocado. Quiere que le haga ver, dice. Quiere que le haga ver, donde metido ese palo de yuca [Wilma chuckles]. Se va mirar - tremennndo gruesaso. Parece lupuna. Su rama - por todo lado. De allí dice le enseñado como va hacer - de cada rama tenía su nombre. Y haciendo así, se fue al cielo él también. Con todo su casa, dice. Allí levanta. Mhm. Se largado. Desa manera dice sembramos yuca. Mhm. (*Dueño de ese como se llamaba?) Nii se sabe, no decían su nombre. Quee gente quizás era!

^{xxi} (BRS19): Dios ha puesto ya a los hombres en la tierra - que tengan ya... - las iglesias en sus casas y que sean fieles para Dios. - Porque Cristo dice hecho el principio muriendo en la cruz - para que los judíos ahí ya le han agarrado y le han traído su preso. - Primero le han paliado con palo. con espinas le han picado y... - Y nuevamente dice le han colgado en la cruz del Calvario - ahí. - Por ejemplo dice 7 pulgadas de clavo, aquí picar: - ahí que esté. acá 'ta ahí cruzado ahí, Ahí también. - Mirave. - Haciendo el ejemplo dice paque - nosotros suframos ya para el pecado. El paga del pecado dice pues la muerte: dice en la escritura. Paque nosotros los hijos que somos - ya, --- después ya... - paguemos ese pecado. - Si queremos ser salvo, dice - debemos ser fio con el Señor. - Alabando, escuchando sus Santo Palabra...

^{xxii} (RPRO7): Y así que usted, Adán - él es de hueco \ de tierra", le he dicho. "Polvo de tierra. El día que te mueres: polvo de tierra volveras. Tienes los 5 sentidos, le dice - de hueco ves - de hueco respiras - y de hueco orinas y de hueco cagas. Y al hueco de tierra

- volveras. La sepultura.” - le dice Jesucristo a Adán. \\ Y esa manera a nosotros nos sepultan. Porque el dejó el ejemplo - murió en el cruz de Calvario - tan solo por nuestro pecado.
- cii (MHC01): Quedado en la luna, hasta ahorita. Por ese tiene esa mancha. Y ahí su castigo es: cada luna que menstrua mujer, todo eso por eso. (*) Cómo ya... ése dice le puesto ya su recuerdo a ése, dejando empreñado: mensualmente ‘ta... - para cada mujer. Su herencia de él ha dejado. Castigo.
- ciii (DHR07): Se mandó dejandonos ya. Por eso estamos nosotros ve: sufriendo, cultivando... Sacar yuca, botar al agua... turrar. Si no, no iba ser así dice pues. Con su poder nomás de él: ¡aísta! tu fariña, ¡aísta! tu... todo... ¡itu chacra todo hecho! Te daba nomás ya dice. Todo hecho. Cada uno su chacra: chacra, chacra. Pero eso va... \\ no vas a cuidar nada. En su poder de él: otra vez va estar yuca así. ¡No se va terminar nunca! Mhmm... Nunca, nunca no va terminar. Así-así va vivir.
- civ (BRS13): Ese tiempo dice no había gente malvado - como robaban pues - palo de yuca: por eso que roban ahora pues - Aja, ha ejemplado ya pues - el ladrón ya - Les roban yuca.
- cv(BRS13): (*Como me decías antes que los antiguos tenían miedo del chishpi di?) - aja - tenían miedo dice - no querían dice usar a la mujer - Tenían miedo - decían que es este - sipiwan - ÷÷ - tremenda dice le veían pues - por eso ellos dice no - -no le usaba a la mujer - como te digo - por aquí nomás le daban pues - acá abajo - y la mujer recogía - así ~gado - cuento de mi mamá que me contaba - por eso ellos no conocían su parte de la mujer pues - Antes, los hombres - () - Tenían miedo - que le decían sus madres: no, ese no se debe tocar. - (*) es una herida grande - sipiwan - como le llama eso? - cuando te forma una herida grande - como llama? (*angochupa) - no, otra hay - ese va huequiando tu carne - como se llama eso? - - tiene su nombre, - -noves muchas veces la gente tiene por aquí no - así grandazo - y su canto es medio - rojo! - ~ pudriendo - como se llama es - Nosotros decimos llaga a eso. - Pero hay otro nombre. - Uta! - la uta! - dice va comiendo carne - ese carne va pudriendo y va - Sino te cura, va - Va - hacerse así grande pues - Y eso dice se referían ellos, los antiguos - que ese no vale es - sipiwan - Una llaga grande - por no querían ellos - Antiguamente no le usaban ahí - () ÷÷÷÷÷÷Ahí! trabajando puu’ - se formaba pues - cuando reciba ahí - ÷÷ - De un envase - lindo como este - finito - ellos recibían - Ahí dice crecía pues la criatura - ya se va - creciendo - Se iba haciéndose grande - hasta que llega tiempo de que va - reventar ya - Ploo! - ya - ya salido muchacho ya - No salía por vagina - aja - - -
- Todos esas cosas a veces pensando a veces tengo miedo. - -
- cvi (DHR07): (*y donde se largado Cristo?) - ‘ta allá - ese que nos vee nomás - Jesus - ese ha llevado su tierra de él - como que tenía sus plantas, sus yucas - El se largado - (*con todo la tierra) - - aista su yuca - ahí hay todo dice - (*donde?) - en cielo - Y nosotros nos quedamos sufrimiento, haciendo chacra ya - así nos ha maldecido a nosotros ya - así vivirá - haciendo chacra, dicho ya pues - Robando - Traicionando - así! - por eso algunos traicioneros - con su maridos - la mujer traicionera - por ahí pues. - -
- cvii (RPH02): El dice está viniendo ya! pues ese hombre Yawísnika dice - cargando su olla, alegre así viene - Yoooo! - como esta? - “Ya tenido ya! - ‘squeledice - - - ‘ta rabiando: “‘ta! madre, dice - caraj! - Chaaah! - dice le botado a su olla lo que estaba yuca rallado - polvia todito. - así van a venir! - Teniendo hijos por sus culu! - así van aumentar - dice diciendo - hablando hablando ya! - Y se ha ido ya -
- El dice está pensann’d - agarraba dice su hamaca, su machete - todo lo que tenido dice - le botaba al agua - usted vete hacerte boa - dice le decía a su hamaca. - Ploom! - Una boa dice se iba - A su machete: - ese... - atingas - a su palanca, lo que palancaba yuca dice le botaba: hacía anguilla - Todo! - que lo que que voy hacerme yo - decía el ya - Aver. - voy hacerme sol. - Sol - les quema! la gente - que dice - O me voy hacer la Luna - la Luna tampoco! - - Voy hacerme palo bien grande! - que nadie puede derribar - pero cortando también le derriba! - Escogía dice el - que va hacerse - así - dice - paraba - por último, me voy hacer una boa. Una fiera - inmensa fiera para vivir en el mar - que dice - Pucha, se hecho dice un inmenso! fieraso - donde que estaba viviendo - ahí qdo una cocha - El ha salido - se ido para - nunca mas - Por eso dice en ese tiempo pues las mujeres - se embarazan y tienen su llullu pues por su parte ya - -
- cviii (Loos & Loos 1976a: 171-72): 207 Neskaha ta harasi’i -i’xun chashia’tanbu’anxun ruwe kepina’ bi ki ... ‘a’yamaska hakin kan. [207 Así hacía -se dijo mientras señaló otro sendero en circuito y arrimó su hacha, pero no hicieron nada (los espíritus)] 208 ‘A’yamaskakin. [208 Ya no hicieron nada.] 209 ‘Iyamaskai. Huai yamascai. [209 ¡No resultó nada. No había chacra.] 210 Hawen yu’a taxu xana’i. [210 Se secaron sus tallos de yuca.] 211 Haa ki ‘a’mebi haa chashixun... makan ruwen hiwi rera’ a’bi ki hawen ruwe tubiti. [211 Entonces él mismo marcó los límites de la chacra, y comenzó a tumar un árbol con el hacha, pero quebró.] 212 Heen. Tubiti. [212 Sí, se quebró.] 213 Haskaraiyaska ki ti’ruma pishka ‘uati’upa pishka ‘uru ki haxun mekemanska haxun ... haan yu’a ... mebi neati’ubu rumishin hua hukunkana’i tirumabu pishkabu [213 Con su propia fuerza hizo un pequeño claro, pero quedó feo, y cuando sembró unas rainitas de yuca, crecieron pero bajitas y dañaditas.] 214 han banakatsi’kin yu’a mika’ a’bi ki hawen chipa te’keti. [214 Para sembrar, usó su palanca pero al ser metida en la tierra, ésa se quebró también.] 215 Wishin kastikana’. [215 Fue el castigo de la estrella.] 216 Parisiska ki hai kan, bana’i. [216 Ya había que padecer para sembrar.] 217 Haska^ani keskaburibi nun neskaraí. [217 Ahora nosotros también tenemos que padecer para hacer chacra.] 218 Nukenbiska ‘a’kin waiiai. [Tee teexun] Tee teexunski ‘a’quin. [218 Tenemos que trabajar mucho.] 219 Haskani keska. [219 Como hacía él.] 220 Hanuska ta keyuti’ki, ru’an. [220 Allí termina, hermano.] 221 Hanubiska ta baneti’ki. [221 Allí se acaba.]
- cx (EFN01): En su cara mismo le ha dicho - por una media de trago. Te crees... Así te voy a ver toda tu vida - que vas vivir vendiendo. Te vas a creecer! Así diciendo se reído. - (...) te creeces vendiendo una ~ de trago - así te voy a ver todo tu vida. Que vas a vivir vendiendo. Allí te voy a ver. Lo que vas vivir vendiendo. Te voy a veer! (...) Mi hijo le ha dicho - maatame - pues no tengo miedo de morir, que me importa que me mates, le dicho. Ni tú no eres de fierro. Voy a decirte tú también vas a vivir. Meejor para mí cuando me matas, ~to tranquilo, no como usted, sufriendo y pecando en la tierra - le contestado todavía, hermano. Mhmm... ..
- cx (GSR10) malaguero ÷÷ - (*que puede ser malaguero?) malaguero oigo lo que dice que así cuando grita el vacamuchacho - kuinkuinkuinkuin - cuando hace - eso dice está haciendo malaguero. - cuando grita pues así - que muere gente dice. - () - Y

- ese cuando le matas: cualquier de tu familia dice muere. — Aja. — El huanchui también hace malaguero. — El perro cuando cava así el patio: también. — Es también dice es malaguero. —
- Todo ese cosa nomás se que es malaguero. (*cuando ves que el perro está cavando ahí: le espantas — eso borra le malaguero o no?) nooo — noo — pero ese está cavando, pero ese 'ta haciendo su malaguero dice para que muere gente — (*Pero si le espantas- no va pasar nada?) - paaasa pues — (*o sea no se puede hacer nada con eso?) - nada. — (*esperar nomás?) — @ quien muere! — (*idioma?) ruati. — (*así decía tu papá también?) - mhmm — () — cuando llora el perro: también - aulla solito - 'ta gritando: ese también es malaguero — con eso 'ta haciendo malaguero - paque muere gente. - (*y cuando sueñas una cosa?) — cuando sueñas avion que 'ta viniendo — que aterrizo aquí - es porque va a morir gente de aquí también — Si tú le ves al avión que pasa: ese vas a saber noticia. — Vas saber que en otra parte han muerto. — Cuando sacas tu muela, te duele — en tu sueño pues — cuando te duele \\ cuando tú le sacas a tu muela — es porque va morir tu familia. — Mhmm — Si tú le sacas no te duele nada: — es porque va morir otra gente. — Mhm — (*jalar canoa?) — ese también — es porque vas mirar ataul, dice. (*todo es para muerte?) — @ - (*no hay ptr clase de malagueros, para otra cosa?) no. — — — — —
- ^{cxii} (GSR05): (*Luna — al subir estaba botando sangre — como lo botaba?) — de su — parte — - de su recto! — O sea que se iba corsiando dice — así me decía mi papá — Eso dice era paque — las mujeres cada luna - vean sus regla — () y por eso nosotros — ~ ~ —.
- ^{cxiii} (PFS02): Sssshhac! — Cagaba pues — la luna. — Shaac — purito achiote. — Bla! — Se va subiendo dice — Otra vez;; Sssshhac! — purito! — Oy sí, le dice — lo que ve la luna y una estrella? — ahí stoy yo - le dice — Ya. — - Shhhaac — cagando todavía — La sangre dice — así, cada luna nueva — cuando luna — aaasi — vas vivir usted - dice — Shinguriado así ve — psssih! — Pah! — listo. Hecho se la luna, listo — ahora nos está enfocando ve — Bien largo ese cuento — ya no te quiero contar ya — ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷ estás grabando? ya — ave, hagame escuchar ese cuento, quiero escuchar!
- ^{cxiii} (CBR02): De mañanita ya dice: — el hombre ya di — Y ahí dice ya pues — el — \\ — Ha visto dice, el hombre. — Neegro! — su cara ya!: Su tío! — Y ahí dice - ya: — que dice ha pensado el hombre ya: Oy, le — Me largo! — Ha subido dice: — el alto! — como quizás? — con poder di? — - En al!to — dice — el también. — Su sobrina también dice: — \\ nada! — dos dice estaban en el alto: — “Yo también quiero ir! — “Yo también quiero ir! — taban subuen!d — dice — Aista pues: como sería pues di? — (...) Y subió dice: — por una sogá. — Uno dice sube: sube uno. — Y este... — el hombre que le ha pintado: — dice ha subido — Yo también! — dice, la sobrina ya — ese que le ha pintado. — Puucha, deai dice: — El dice ha tomado agua! — Agua, mezclado dice con achiote! (...) Puuta! - ahí shinguriado ya quizás pues — Y la mujer también dice: ya, mirando que está en el alto: — En alto dice tenía una casaita. — () “Yo también quiero irme! — Ven! — Su. — le suelta la sogá. — Ya. — La sogá se pega. - - Subia dice: — cuando está ya para llegar: — le suelta! — le suelta ya! — () - O sea que le suelta la sogá. — O sea que le troza la sogá! — Viene hacía la tierra: — Y la mujer: le shuingurado: — “Ahí se va hacer pona!” — dice le dice — por eso ese barrigón la pona: — Ahuuuuuwwf! — Trin! — dice un pona! — Ya. — Ahí terminó eso: — Y el hombre dice: - se ha ido dice — a la Luna — “Pu! — yo voy hacerme luna, dice — subia dice — por eso dice: se le ve pues — a un hombre en la luna di. — Ahí parece, cuando 'ta grande: tú le ves — parece que tiene su caballo — pero un lado negro: así ya. — Un lado parece pues di: - y su caballito y sentado: — pero no parece bien! — Negro! ÷ ÷ ÷ ÷! — así dice! — ÷ ÷ Se hecho luna dice, el hombre! — (*) el tío pues! — Y la mujer: — le dejado haciendo pona! — Aja ÷ —
- ^{cxiv} (BRS13): Como te digo — ya maliciando la mujer dice — yaaa — ha tomado dice — este — achiote chapiado — Plin! — por eso 'ta escupiendo — shun! shun! — la mujer que venga su menstruación — cada luna nueva! — Y ha shimbiado a su hermana — para que se haga ~ pona! ya vuelta! dice — novés pona es barrigón? — así barrigoniaso la pona — eso — Tiene sus raices — en su forma así — y las raices así — Es eforma la pona — Ya ~ así barrigazo — ese es la mujer dice — - - Aja. — Y el se hecho la luna ya. — Por eso la luna vees la mitad es negro así — por eso 'ta su manito ahí — -eeso dice pues — este luna — Aja. ÷ ÷ ÷ — te das cuenta ÷ ÷ ÷ — yyy? — así dice hecho pues — Se transformado en luna y le ha shinguriado a su hermana — que — que se haga pona — - - -
- ^{cxv} (DHR20): cuando no se corta bien la boa — dice - se pesa — cuando le dejas así cortado. — No le trozas bien pues — Ese dice — suuu - -su compañero dice le pesa - como quizás + queda otra vez lindo! — cuando le trozas bien: no vive - muere ya dice — por eso - aquí dice no se afila machete ve — plan de tu pie — así le haces - saaah saaah — tu machete — como quizás! - es su. — secreto — ahí sí le das: una sola! - - PAAah! — le trozas bien. — + para boa - anguilla - mhm — (*jergón?) + no - solo la boa y la anguilla — + Jergon le picas - ahí le trozas: tah! — ese no shingurea tu machete - pero la boa sí shingurea - -le hace mocho dice — No le troza — por eso — con tu machete - sah-sah-sah — Ta! — no le -nece - tiene que dar una sola - otra - plan! - -Ya está ya — mhm — + Haaarto boa matamos así - taba comiendo gallina — quiere comer — huele pues la boa.
- ^{cxvi} (DHR17): El dueño de animales es ese shapingo. Shapshico. (*Pero ese no es brujo?) - noo! que va ser brujo ese - Ese nos puede hacer esconder nomás. - Nos esconde. El no es brujo. — Porque ese vive bajo de un hueco. -Palazo. Ahí vive el, shapshico. Ahí duerme. — Sale como uno ya pues - pero queda un lado es mochito. Un lado normal. (*Pero no sabe brujería, curar?) no, no sabe ese shapshico. - (*no vale para nada?) - no, puedes peliar también no te hace nada. - No te shingurea... \\ Shingurea! - te hace doler cualquier parte hace doler - tu rodilla, tu brazo. Te shingurea. Shapshingo.
- ^{cxvii} (DHR20): (*maldormido - quiero entender — cuando tienes relacion con mujer - que te hace - te debilita o.) — te debilita - no te da su yachay ya de palo ya — otra vez te saca - saca su dueño mismo — “No quiere aprender dice — con maldormido mira - duerme con su mujer — No quiere! - ya - le saca: Deja de tomar ya! - mejor no quiere - aprender — + 'tas así nomás —
- Peor que no sabes dietar: sarnoso te hace! - pinta-pinta — así como Cain - así. — El dice ha tomado: — el dice le hecho daño así dice el — que quizás- ha robado platan, que quizás - agarrado — El le hecho daño - el manshacu (manshacu es sarnoso -) — en su sueño dice le dicho que toma chuchuasha - con ese te vas sanar — pero tiene que dietar — solito duermes! - Verdad dice - sacado su chuchuasha - dormia aparte — Mhmm — “Pero 'toy sanando Daniel - ya 'ta perdiendo ese - blanco-blanco ya - me dice — pero no duele nada — pero - aflige porque cuerpo es blanco-blanco todo! — todo tu canilla - todo — Ese te puede matar también dice pues — novés la sangre ta: medio claro ya — No 'ta — sangre bien espeso — aja (*por eso se hace blanco) — @ aja - (*maldormido dice que mujer te cutipado - o?) — no, el palo te cutipa — el palo ya — Ese te shingurae ya vuelta! - El palo —

- (*shingurea?) — aja — “No quieres dietar: entonces vas vivir sarnos - dice le dice — sarnoso - así vas morir — Haciendo sarnocito bien! — El palo mismo te shingurea — por eso tiene que tomar otra vez: — consejandole - a el ya, a ese palo — “ma vas a curar” - dice - que - viene sacar ese su raiz ya pues — “Me vas curar a, — que — tengo ese todo ese deki — Ese ‘ta escuchando dice - Y le deja su cigarro ahí — Mhmm — así. — — — — — Todo palo cutipa. Hay que dietar — cuando quieres sanar. — — todo todo palo - todo lo que son brujo: todo ese cutipa. ()
- cxviii (DHR20): No come pescado - le cutipa también pescado - (*todo clase) - aja — tiene que comer gallina -aja - cuando nace un criatura — mata una gallina + para madre + sopa - paque llena su sena. Aja - ese es lindo, gallina. — Perdiz, pucacunga. — Huangana, sachavaca. \ \ - que — — — — — peor ese - huapo crespo - ese mata al toque — te hace bien flaquito! - cuelloncito. — Cabezón — Le mata como nada, el muchacho. — Tiene que buscar ese mono - sino + le mata - tiene que matarle recién trae - trozando sus rabo - su carne le deja botando - cuerpo nomás — su — rabo es chobón: TaaaN - ese le trae — le peluquea todito — con su tres veces: - ‘ta sano muchacho - pero da ~ tostando su cerda - le tosta en candela - con plato - bieeen plastadito - le muele shaaa con botella - le cierne - le da tomar - bien - su menudito ya - ese toma el muchacho. - Mhm — El chanchito también es igualito: - cutipa. — Le hace - babiar dice — (*Babiar?) - baboso se hace - sale espuma de su boca - porque chanchito le ha cutipado (*cuando come mamá) @ mamá, papá - por eso tiene que dietar mamá y papá + (*cuanto tiempo?) - 15 días. — — cuando tiene un mes! - Aja, 1 mes. - 2 meses - ya está ya — puedes comer cualquier cosa ya - (*que es que cutipa - su demonio? -) - su demonio del... — - shinu ya pues — su demonio aja - - Ese cutipa ya pues - su almita. — con ese le hace cagar así sangre + el dos sangrecito parece flemita peor ese bocón - ese le hace cagar flemita. - el le mata también. así dice doña Maria - que ~ - != — bieeen - flemita cagaba. - poquitito - != su puinki era bieeen rojito - no le podía limpiarle ya - tiene que limpiar despasito - Ahí le ahumaba con su hueso - != “No le vas cutipar mi hiiiijo— diciendo — a su nalgita nomás le hacía así. — Yo le digo: -”doña, todo su cuerpo - digo - boca abajo - hagale olerle digo yo: — le da tomar un poquito. — Le dado le dado de tomar poquito - con ese se ha sanado dice. — Lagarto - le hace cagar blanco - bien blanco: largarto caga blanco. — eeese también bien mal taricaya
- Todo! todo! ohoy ya... Ese peje torres - xawanwaya - lo que dicen - ese — (*) le hace cagar amarillo - noves su cuerpo es amarillo? - aja. - cutipa también pues - le hace cabezón. - (*porque es grande su cabeza) - sí cabeza ÷ ÷ ÷ — aista + - ese le mata como nada (*y ese es su demonio de peje torre que cutipa?) - aja - su demonio pues aja — Cuando es grande - ya tiene 2 meses — ya puedes comer todo ya — Ya no le cutipa ya - Aja. — (*la pelota - que cutipa? - su yushin de pelota?) - -su yushin de la pelota pues! -aja - se hincha la barriguita — ~ puku - + - por eso - con la pelota mismo cura. - así — ~ la pelota - “No vas cutipar mi hijo - diciendo - le asoba con la pelota - 3 veces! - hasta que - merma la barriga pues — Dever - -baja la barriga — su yushin de pelota le ‘ta cutipando.
- (RPH05): (*Pero cutipa mucho a los niños di?) - aja, cutipa pues — cuando — tienes un bebe verdecito — ni que le mires! - ni que le toques! - puta — aiii — Ahí vive! — En la noche si llora: — noves cutipa? - y se hace - bieeeen!! duro! — su brazitos ahí — pero parece — se le humea con su cerda. — Ahí se le humea, humea - le sana otra vez. — noves su raza nomás es ese tamañito - chiquito. — Un ashi monito. — Su rabito es bien — parece de zorro - y se pega a la rama bien! — Una vez le traído yo - le puesto en la cocina — no manecido ya vuelta! - -(*escapado?) — @ — se laaarga pues! — sii ! - demonio dice es pues ese dahí. Demonio es ese pelejito. — (*No era gente?) - no era gente. - -()
- (...)(*Lo que cutipan los animales?) - toooodo tipo de anim\ \ — la sachavaca cutipa - al bebito, cuando es nuevo nacido - ese tamañito — o sea que la sachavaca es demonio del monte es pues — cuando tú ‘tas escuchando en la colpa: - si ‘tas solito, primero llega su alma: —saramm saram saraoum saroum saroup — viene: — blan! bloommm! - ‘ta tomando agua — Te le enfocas: — silenncio. — De un — a media hora que ya pasado ese deai - recién viene el mismo ya — por eso dice - el muchacho cuando es chiquito - le hace así - parece mordido! — Puta si no hay un medico bueno, se muere! - Puuu! — ese empieza llorar - hasta que puede morir llorandose — Tienes que buscar su uña - paque con eso le humeas — y tiene que haber un medico que le sople — ahí se normaliza. — Ese maata! —
- (*Cuando come su carne - cómo?) - no — cuando le rastreas - a la sachavaca — O sea que su alma de la sachavaca dice le muerde al muchacho — aja — noves sachavaca es diablo? — por eso pues — cuando tienes un bebito chiquito - si es que le vas matar — baleale bien baliado — Si se larga: - puut! - en una le mata! - — — — — A ese Jackson casi le mata también así - — todito hecho bien negro, negro, parece mordido. — como gritaba! — Y yo tenía que buscar siquiera su uña - siquiera su hueso para raspar, para humiar — con eso se ha calmado - más le han soplado: y listo! — Sino, se moría. —
- (*o sea los animales también tienen su alma?) - tiene, tiene su alma. — (*que más animal tiene su alma? — — todos nomás?) - todos tipos de animal. — - - - - mhm — — — — — todos tienen su alma (*dice que la pelota también cutipa) - -pelota también cutipa. — cuando ~ llullito - su papá juega pelota - le hace hinchar su barriga - no puede respirar - -C eso calentando tienes que sobarle — le sobas — ya se desincha su barrigita — — — — — Cutipa la pelota, cutipa el bombo - (*?) bombo también cutipa! — Cutipa la pona! - Motosierra — se hace negro-negro — puu!ta empieza gritar! — Ahí llora pues — ahí tienes que curarle. — — (*como puede ser que cutipa también?) - pero que sera pues! - noves fierro es? — o sea que su. — a su almita dice - el fierro le apreta - ahí que se hace nagro-negro - Ahí griii!ta ya pues! — — (*o sea quiere decir que fierro tiene su diablo también?) — tiene también su diablo, @ — - Todo! - -cutipa.
- cxix (BRS16): Mi hermana me dice: dile que entra al cuarto, me dice - ese buchisapa ‘ta fregando ahí — noves ss barriga así — Ella dice le había ~ doler más fuerte — su barriga - le dolía - Le dicho [whispering]: “vete dice al cuarto, no veas este barrigón - está cutipando” - Se ido al cuarto ya — De un rato otra vez ha salido - ya dice estaba calmado ya - trin - se ido a jugar pelota.
- (RPH07): (*de mujeres: — dicen que la mujer embarazada te puede cutipar — —) ese cuando le mires: — noves que estás dietando? — — — — — Y — la mujer embarazada te mira: — Y pucha, ya has quebrado la dieta. — yy? — por eso cuando ‘tas dietando: tú debes ‘tar solito! — — — — — Cuando cumples la dieta — A la semana recién sales ya — pero mient\ \ — tú ‘tas — \ \ has tomado y ‘tas dietando: que -te vea: puuuta, ya no haces nada! - Te puede matar, el palo mismo te puede matar. — (*por ver ese mujer?) sí pues — (*por qué tanto le aburrece?) - -quuee sera! — — noves — palos son fuertes?! — — Ese son — remedios vegetales — (*la mujer embarazada sera debil o...)- -debil sera — — mhm — como jode así.
- (*Maldormido?) — Es pues - mujer embarazado — — — — — — — (*eso es?) — aja — maldormido — — (*y no es cuando tiene

relaciones con mujer?) aja, igual mismo es! — Ajaa — (*@) sí, con cualquier mujer — -Cuando 'ta maldormido — o cuando está embarazado — igual nomás es — Te cutipa nomás —

^{cxix} (DHR20): (*maldormido?) ese también, ohoy! - ese no te va a ver — \\ ese cuando te muerde jergón ya vuelta! - Ese es maldormido porque 'tas haciendo con tu mujer — Haces tu mujer de noche — Te vas ver: tu mujer al enfermo: henhen - quiere alocarse — te mata! - + (*por qué?) noves porque 'tas haciendo relacion con tu mujer — es venenoso - es prohibido que se vaye el enfermo. — Solo el que no hace con su marido - - ese se va — curarle - lleva su remedio — No se va ver por gusto nomás sin llevar su remedio - nada. —2 (*Pero sera el olor o) — @ \\ - el - mirar nomás — con mirar nomás ya está jodido ya - con mirar: el enfermo - ya puu- mejor haga tu ataul - dice ya — Bruto dice que te duele— toca tu corazón - mhm - quiere matarte — por eso tiene su remedio — como creo se llama ese — antibiotico creo ese deai — Ese te pone ampolla - recien te calma — aja — Un negrito es - un pomo - ese ponen jeringa - también le tomas un poquito — pero más ammmargo dice - bien amargo. — así pues (BRS20): (*maldormido - que es?) aya - cuando tú estás en curación o te picado una vibora - ese es que viene haciendo relaciones sexuales con su familia - ese es el maldormido - que viene a mirarte. - Ese ese pues muy peligroso paque nos haga - cuando estás enfermo - te hace más daño ya - ese es maldormido. (*por qué?) - que sera pues no - peor dice cuando muerde vibora - ni ~ [oyes] su voz de la persona: yaaa — en tu cabeza choca - puuta que ya - -que tienes una herida de vibora - eso te apeora ya - te duele demasiado, demasiado - quiere matarte. - Y ese es persona que dice - maldormido. - (*que ha tenido relaciones) - con su mujer. + (*te debilitan las relaciones?) no debilita - sino es dañino una persona cuando es así - Te va a mirar: - te agrava el dolor que tienes. - por decir de vibora. - Es igual que cuando venga una mujer ebarazada - más bien no te va mirar - porque tú 'tas con todo el dolor de - cuando te muerde vibora — Ese es como tuvieras dice — picando de nuevo! - te duele demasiado! - cuando oyes hablar a la doña que está embarazada. — O cuando te vee mismo — ahí dice — Te hace doler demasiado. - Ese es - persona maldormido dice — — que no te vee. (*la mujer embarazada también dañino?) - eso. @ + (*) que sera pues no?

^{cxix} (DHR12) A veces cutipa tigre — quiere nomás de día - y de noche no quiere doormir - abre su ojo — llora: — Tigre, tiene que matar tigre - paque saque su cerda - paque le ahuma con ese - el bebe ya - Y se sana -(*como puede cutipar el tigre? - por que no se come no) - porque le has visto! — por ver nomás - -le hace daño algunos — (*peligros) - @ pues tigre - con ver nomás te hace daño a tu hijo ya — aja — porque tiene que buscar tigre - recien le baleas - traer la cerda +

^{cxix}(JRR03): (*jergón no te mordido?) sii! - aquí me mordido - su. — - mmmm — (*como has sanado?) - aaa — cuando me ido a compañar a maderiada - de este mi hermano deaquí - me cuida(ba) — No era lejos para sacar en la boca ya - rebalso - acá así cerca ya estaba ~ - Y - la cocha - así trozadera - la cocha, ahí hemos entrado a la trocha. - Ahí estaba eses — se iba a cultivar su chacra - estaba canoa - hemos atracado ahí - pero la cojudo ese vibora - en ese cetico - su - hoja lo que cae, seco - ahí bajo quizás estaba pues ese jergón. -Putá caraj! — Ahí — mi hermano taba ahí, parado - yo estaba amarrando canoa. - Aista jergón! ya! te ha mordido - dice - Donde?! -Aista! — caído en el agua - poh! - allá! — Se escondido - bueno, ya. — () Deahí - pucha carajao- 'ta choriannndo — sangre - dever me ha mordido cho, le dicho. — No te duele? - nno! - entonces tú vete me dice - Nno - que voy - cuando me duele, si duele pues puede ir - Una hora nomás estaba pues ese tambo - maderiada — Ya. — Se ha ido - - - hemos llegado al tambo - ellos se ido por la vuelta, nosotros hemos ido trozadero así derecho - hemos llegado - aistaba así - sentaado ya ahí. - Aista: - TAAoOuuummm — estaban baliando venadito - pero - cría - pero chiquito. — ahí - se ~ llevado ellos. — Ha llegado: - No te duele? - me dice - Nno — () Taba pelando ese venado - ya, - decía: - por no - despacio para hacer: - ese su espinazo le han cortado: TAAAA! — PUU!ta — ese me asustado! - Ya - ahorita se asusta - lo que dice - mordido jergón - así nos puede matar! - mmmm — () Ya — mm - ya me ha jodido ya cholo — Puuta, hinchazón ha venía - hasta - no alcanzar mi pantalón: - aaasi ve. — Bruuuto - ese más duele que - más mordida — cuando muerde jergón — no duele nada! - nada, nada nada! - que — si me dolido carajo, demasiado! - Puu!ta. — carajo... — Aiii — A las - 10 creo que ha sido. — A las 4 de la tarde ha calmado ese dolor - ya no he dolía ve. — Mhm - que tal, me dicen - Ya, ya he calmado ya - ya 'toy. — nada! — "Pucha, - ni me acordaba yo ya - cortado ese - espinazo de ese venado - de — por eso te asustado - -Sii — me dice. — Puta caraj.

Ahí: todo la noche - todo la noche: - ya madrugada: - cuando una vez que baja la hinchazón - todavía - 'ta bajado - ssaaaaaA! - {clap} - no había nada ya! — todito bajado - así son ese — jergón cuando - se merma pues es - hinchazón - ahorita baja! - mhm. — — (*no te curado con nada?) - nada! - noves que no hemos llevado ningunos remedios...

^{cxixiii} (GSR06): (*otras cosas también tiene dice — horcon puede tener su yushin — todo eso que puede cutipar los niños — su yushin 'ta cutipando) — ayaya — mhm — (*como dicho la doña Ermisha ayer — shinun kupini - di?) — mmmm — shinun kúpini. — O sea que el mono dice le cutipa. Mhm. ———— (*cutipar — como entiendes?) — le hace dano a muchachos ———— (*sera yushin entrando su cuerpo o cómo?) —sí quizás pues.

^{cxixiv} (DHR20): Ese — paque nace puro hombre - tiene que comer su bushi de: manan xawe - -"Yo quiere tener puro varón - dice — come su ullu - de manan xawe pues — cangita - asado nomás — Cangita le dice asado! - — le asas, sin sal. - eso come sin sal - cuando es señorita - así como Llulisa - quiere tener puro varón - tiene que comer su ullu de manan xawe - () dahí nace puro varón! - hasta 4 varones ve! - Deai recien — sale mujereta. — Sale mujer - 1, 2 - 3 - -asi — hasta que termina su huevera. - Sale eso. (...) Alguno platano ya vuelta le asa - así - verde pues - le asa así en ceniza — el platano se revienta ya vuelta! — sa parte - saaa - se aprte así — ese es porque vas - tener tu hija - mujercita. — mujercit va ser mi hijito - dice - como 'ta partiendo mi platano! - + El va — el que no quiere tener mujer así - lindo se hace, no se parte: — varón — Aista ve — hasta platano sabe, ve. — mujercit va ser mi hijito cuando tengo. - Mhm - pero parte ahí mismo ÷ ÷ hasta la yuca se parte cuando le asa así en ceniza — se parte: — ahí le pone su ullito ya - porque quiere tener varón ya — Corta un palito - dese tamañito palito - taaa — le prendes en medio dese partido - Ahí que asa. — aja - cuando ya vas comer - le sacas - Ahí dice va salir varón ya dice — ÷ ÷ ÷ — Ese es su ullu ya pues — ÷ ÷ ()

^{cxixv} (BRS09): (K* curan con orina de bebe?) - tiene que ser puro - el bebe que ya come sal - quema vista, salado ya su orina. Pero bebecito - ese no - puede curar la vista. - ~ tiene carnosidad — y hace huuumo por ahí - no puedes divisar - y eso es buen remedio, pero hasta los 15 días ~ - la gota del niño - su orina, te hace lagrimar, saca tu — ~ — hace lagrimar tu vista en la noche - parece que lo saca pues - con la orina del bebe. Yo tengo mi pomito ahí - orina se echa en la tarde, en la tarde - casi no tanto no le utilizo, porque no tengo ya - eso me ha dado la María Lancha, ya se terminado. — Quiero recoger de mi hijita - de la Jenny (*)

- noo, ese no come sal - pero no se puede acá que orina...
- ^{cxvii} (GSR11): ese dice es paque sea como - el que 'ta cortando, lo que tú eres: si es chambero - va ser chambero igual que el - o si es estudioso - ya igual. - Así es.
- ^{cxviii} (DHR12): Ese paque come: mata un huaihuashi — + aja — ese - le da comer su piernita - y con su muela de huaiwashi le soba su muela - paque no pudra dice — noves que de huaihuashi su muela -ese huquea cualquier - huayo — conta le huquea como nada! - Y no le chanca! - Huaihuashi. — Kapa! ÷÷÷÷ Kapa! — (*capanahua - porque es huevón dice — kapa — huevón es. — (...)) por eso se come dice - este - carachupamama — paque tengas fuerza dice. O oso hormiguero - -le saca su - manteca - aceita. - - el le soba todo su brazo para luna nueva. — Mhm - bruto! - Nadies no te gana con la fuerza - fuerzudo! — — -Aver, — cura con anguilla — () su vena le sacas, le amarras aquí ve - cada su manito — todo - (*) — aja - parece huxe [bracelet] pues - le amarra - su vena. - -Le seca - bien blanquito queda — parece hilo blanco - Bruto ahí creciendo — alg le mete así ve - saaa! - -c aguja - - crece: adentro — ahí queda el vena adentro - le trazas con hilo - tktktk - -ahí crece, ahí queda. - - (*como - le meten adentro?) - aja — adentro de su carapita - saa- - ahí le troza con tijera ya - la vena. - Ahí queda- la vena de anguilla queda ahí —: Ese hombre nadies no le van pegarle. — + — porque es curado -: - un solo patada - se va porái cara: — corre - Le trompea un solo puñetazo - Porái se va caer dice — porque la anguilla tiene iman pues — así (*tiene iman - pues tocale con machete: tsk! - -te sigue. - así también - trompiando dice así — hen, porái! te vas. — Te bota. — así es. + cuando te quieren pegar - joven ya + un borracho quiere pegar: ven! cunchatumadre - -ahí: chan! — ho! - -no vale nada — “que 'tas peliar conmigo - — () Enh, mejor le deja: - por no pegarte mejor me voy, dice. — No vales conmigo — puedes peliar con otro - no conmigo - porque tiene bastante fuerza - curado pues — (*cuantos años tiene muchacho) cuando tiene 7-5 años - ahí cura + () antes desto no — no todavía. - - No es su cuerpo duro todavía - aja - es suave todavía - mhm - así pues.
- (DHR17): El [oso hormiguero] también tiene buena garrazo — pero no tiene muela ya vuelta. Tiene buena garrazo - ya te rompe! (*) Fuerte! Que! - el tiene fuerza: por eso oso homriguero dice cura muchachos: para que tenga fuerza, con su manteca - a luna nueva. Le sobas todito cuerpo - que es fuerzudo. Ningun hombre dice le puede pegarle. - Uno solo pel~ - no vale nada el hombre - corre. (*porque siempre curan en luna nueva) - hay — ahí pues tan dietando pues - se dieta luna nueva - ya estás curandote bien ya. No comes sal, no le das - poquitito: 'ta dietando ahí. Porque has sobado con ese manteca. Aceite bien. Pero ese no le frien en la candela: en sol! - él mismo se derrite ahí. queda bien blanquito ahí. Y le guarda en pomito ahí. Cada luna nueva nomás le curas.
- (DHR20): (*o sea eso cutipa - pero para bien) - pero bien pues hace mhm — No hace podrir los dientes (*que más puede dar al muchacho - que le...) kapa, mari - y perdiz - (*su muela?) mhm (*para que sea forzudo -oso hormig?) - ese le soba con su manteca. todito su cuerpo + — Ahí crece muchacho bien gordo - no enferma - bien gordito, fuerzudito - + noves oso hormiguero no sabe enfermarse - sano crece - nunca no sabe enfermar. Igual que manan xawe - también se cura con su manteca mismo - pero no hace derritar en candela — en solazo derrita el mismo - llena pomito: — cada luna noves - le soba - paque es fuerzudo dice. Anguilla - paque es fuerzudo - paque pega un hombre - peliando - aguja nvcita - noves saca su vena? -su vena le anilla - le saca, le corta acá -de su cuello - suuu — aista su vena - parece hilo, blanquito - sacas - ruuu — sale - + Secas en solazo bien + - metes en aguaja - y le metes aquí ya ve - saa — le sacas - le hace traspasar - ahí le amarra - le troza - tktk - ~ - que es fuerzudo - ohoy yo — con eso no te pega nadie - un solo trompazo - porái te vas caer dice - no resiste. (*muchachos siempre tienen un hilo - soguita) - este — chambira. — Yo veo también lo que amarra también — es paque no le agarra calambre dice — + aquí en su patita - ÷÷÷÷patita! digo - piccito! manito — A veces amarra aquí en su cintura - veo así también (*por qué chambira?) - porque es fuerzudo, duro. - -Duro pues - + no le puede trompiar - le trompea pero no le hace nada - queda igualito nomás — nada, no bota ni sangre, nada. + Mhm
- (GSR11): (*y eso que hacen - cortar sus uñas — que recibe su... caracter del otro, su - como puede decir... su ...)\ o sea que dice: eso lo que cortas uña, o le cortas su pelito: ese dice es paque sea como - el que 'ta cortando, lo que tú eres: si es chambero - va ser chambero igual que el - o si es estudioso - ya igual. - Así es. (*así hacían los antiguos también?) así hacía mi papá — () cortar pelo, uñas (*algo más?) eso nomás — cortas uña - va ser chambero, o estudioso - va hacer una cosa rápido - así. (*y le ponen en su nido de araña también, no?) mhm. ese es dice paque hage pues rapido sus trabajo - lo que va hacer (*como araña) aja... araña. (*o sea que le cutipa, pero para el bien, no?) mhm. (*cutipa de buena manera?) sí, así.
- (*Y su nombre, no le hace nada?) no — (*y no pasa nada si el bebe nace y vive sin nombre - no se puede enfermar, o no es más debil?) — dice así que -cuando no tiene nombre o no tiene su agua de socorro - ese para enfermo - así oigo lo que dicen - no sé si será cierto. (*eso le puede proteger un poco?) — eso le protege dice - porque ya está - bautizado en el nombre del Señor ya. (*Pero ese agua del socorro es otra cosa que bautismo, di?) - otro. (*quien lo puede hacer?) cualquier (*Jairo & Omer echando a la Isidora - o sea cualquier puede hacer, no debe ser cura?) no, — el que sabe rezar: padre nuestro, el ave maría - eso nomás. (*otros animales que puede proteger el ebe? — — derepente oso hormiguero o shuyu - su uña...) — — aja, mi papá me decía así - su manteca dice le soban al su brazo de la criatura - paque sea fuerzudo. — Así le hacía a mi hijo, a mi Julio, su abuelo. — por eso será chambero mi hijo. (*eso le presta su poder, el oso) — mm (*y otro animal?) — carachupamama — como dice — panun - yangunturu - ese - es también le soba con su manteca.
- (DHR01): (*y ese no te hace daño) - no, te da más fuerza — es animal que no sabe enfermar — por eso le comes dahí — — Le das a comer a esos chivolitos paque no se enferma — paque no tenga nada nada enfermedad - tenga fuerza! — para luna nueva le da - su uña, raspado — paque tenga fuerza — mmhm. — Bueno es ese animal —
- ^{cxviii} (EFN01): Por eso dice que Y. vive así enfermo, tosiando - eso lo que tosea le ha shinguriado también Z. ~ (~ (*pero despuede su muerte o cómo?) antes que muera! ese tiene años ya. Con ese ya quedado él. Osea era para que dieta. Total, no dietado — [lowering voice] mucho toma, trago. [si no, se le podría sanar] sino dice se sana. Sino ese se ido mandar a curar en Requena, a su médico, tiene allí. Allí le han dicho ese pues le ha hecho así. Y que dieta un año de trago, masato fuerte. Nada. Y eso otra vez le está cayendo. No es porque tiene - no es porque tá [tapado la caja?]. Es porque le shinguriado Z. — Así astaba diciendo su vieja... el otro día aquí -este topado otra vez comiendo su contra. Por eso pues este clase. Máas peor ha llegado - quuuu - no ha dietado, ~ otra vez. (*y no le pueden sanar?) Le saanan, lo que pasa el no dieta, como dice en nuestro idioma - unmpa kushini, bushnan.

- bushman numi ki. Se sana dietando. No tomando fuerte. (*fuerte daña, masato) sí, pues hermano, este masato. {} taba contando ella, por eso se. Este lata~~~~ dice es dañado. Taba diciendo su mujer.
- Ella también dice lo que le shinguriado X. con mantona, allí en puerto. Y ese dice dállí está bieeen seco, no está igual como este, como digo, jo~ - ~~ bieen seco, dice se va bañando. Y le duele su hueso. Por eso 'diciendo vaay mandar curar allá. No dice quiere ir. (*por qué no quiere? - quiere morir o cómo?) quieeer 'morir. --
- ^{cxix} (DHR20): Todo palo! tomas así que — tiene que dietar solito + que no te va mirar ahí - embarazada, maldormido +- solito — tienes que cumplir un mes — recien sales ya - Ya medio — medio medico ya. —
- Ya: noves el palo ya te dice - “por qué me tomas? - “Yo tomo por eso — enfermedad - “A ya - te voy curar - te dice - en tu sueño. — quieres aprender? - te pregunta en tu sueño — + le dices sí, quiero aprender - para curar. — + Te pregunta: quiere para curar y para que mata? - te dice — “para curar - dice — otro dice: “para matar — Ese te da - dice — una gotita así ve — aguja. — Chaa! - te hace tragar dice — aguja. — Taa! - en tu sueño! - El dueño del palo. — Abre tu boca dice — AHÍ: {} — Ya — vas a dietar. — Si vas aguantar, dietar - vas quedar medico - le dice — Ya listo. — Pero eso tiene que tar solito también - bien solo + que te da asado nomás - tú ni tienes que mirar candela — Tomando ahí nomás — Mhm. (*aguja o espina?) - espina pues — dese brujo — te da: ton! - un gotita dice — parece gota - ese para curar ojo: así ve {} — ya está ya. — Ese es para curar dice — Sino, te da una flecha dice - paque te embrujas con flecha pues + Ese te hace aprender con flecha ya vuelta - para que tú chunteas - CHAN — en cualquier parte — en cualquier parte hace doler ya pues — ese dolor ya ve: + pucha, ya me chunchado - picado aquí ve
- Igual una vez he soñado ya aquí ve: me asaltado — un - de chambira su espina! + aquí a mi sueño ve — truuu! — Pucha, me dolía — yo le sacaba: — Saaaah — alia — con pus ya vuelta != — Deai otro he sacado - ese deai es porque te quiere hacer malo de gente dice — por eso sueña así - porque te quieren matar + (*y que has hecho?) nada! - ~ - que le tocado - ~ que me dolía — Puucha - le sacado la espina pues — No ha quedado — por eso quizás — no me hecho nada: yo le sacado todo - a mi sueño — así largo ve — saa saa — le sacado 2 espinas + Mhm — Me recordado: que me doliia! — Enfoco: pero no había nada! - + así me pasado, no me dolido ya. — Pero ese es un sueño pues - ese por medio de sueño - ese te hace así — porque el brujo — —
- (RPH07): (*brujos — si un brujo mata persona - ese le come?) — Le chuntea — o sea que le hace daño pues — O sea que el brujo: - el dice apriende - de palos - fuertrtes! - tomando — O sea que toma ajoskiru, toma ajosacha — mayormente aprienden tomando ajoskiru y ajo sacha — Ayauma — ese toma un poquito — cocinandole. — La primera toma: — dietar 8 días
- (DHR23): Jesus chunteado
- (DHR04): (*agarrando uno de los bufeos — yaucurunas - se les podria traera acá también?) — no, no come — - porque ellos no comen — huelen nomás — — hace rica comida pero ellos no comen ya - pero ese no com — LE puedes agarrar - pero no come — por eso le largas ya pues - Sino dice — el — va seguir lluvia-lluvia (*) aja, la sirena — —
- (*o sea no se les puede traer como Remoaucas) - ese muere de cólera ya — De cólera se muere — porque no le quieren soltar pues — (*y de pena) - de pena por su familia pues — su madre, todo - ella también tiene su madre pues — Y así pues — —
- (*y hace daño a la gente?) — aja, hace daño - lo que baña así con su regla - ese ya le hace daño ya — le chuntea ahí ya — () cuando baña con su regla, con su sangre ya pues — Ese le quiere más dice — lo que vaya con su regla — le hace doler su estomago - le puede matarle - cuando no hay brujo - le mata. —Por eso con ese tabaco le sopla, le chupa — sacando su yachay — su flema dice — — yachay de un brujo dice — Le saca pues — ahí queda lindo ya — Ya no le duele ya — Este dice: te hecho daño el agua - el bufeo - porque has bañado con tu regla (*y el bufeo huele esto y —) — este huele - pues le gusta la sangre — — (*o sea este le quiere comer di?) — aja @ (*igual un brujo entonces) — igualito, aista. — -
- (DHR16): Te hace daño del agua — del agua también tiene su madre pues — - Ese también te hace daño: — así cuando baña mujer así con su - regla - Ohoy, te hace daño — (*cual?) — el agua mismo — mhm — - - Tiene su madre — - - que quizás su madre — el yacuruna — que sera! — que chuntea ya pues — - noves — sangre? — ese le aburrece, sangre de mujer - dice —. Mhmm — ahí viene ya: oliendo dice — -() no le gusta — por eso la mujer cuando tiene su regla dice baña en la quebrada — Sino, con tazón — aja — no busa. — - (*en quebrada ya no) — no en quebrada ya no — ahí 'tas bañando ahí con — tazón — no nadas pues ahí. — - Asi ese ese de agua — - -
- ^{cxix} (DHR19): (*no has escuchado que les comían quizás?) — — aa — los muertos? — noo, no le comían dice — le botaban — — \\ Ese tiene que matarle todavia pues — ese gordo pues — lo que son... — mueren enflaqueciendo - flaquito dice no le comía — porque es flaquito. — Mhm — Lo que son gordo pues — ese mata lo que son vivo: — tooh! — ese le comía. — —Pero es flaquito, enfermo lo que muere: ese le — botaban — parece un perro: taa! - al agua! — — A un hombre si lo que son gordo: Ese sí le mataba dice — ~ - - De su. ~ cocinar - Todo, su cabeza: — comerle ÷÷÷ — La oreja sí le botaba — mhm - - (*oreja botaba?) ÷÷÷÷÷ mhmm ÷÷÷÷ — Y lo comía todo su dedito— como chupaba dice pues los antiguos; — Parece del mono lo comes: Bien! - cocinado pues — ~ pues. — Su uñito le botaba — Mhm — — ÷÷÷÷ — que seria comer gente! - Ohoy ya — todo su ojo dice le mascaba - Trhk! — reventaba dice — su muela. — \\ su ojo. — Su ceso. — tatata! — cuando quiere chancar dice cabeza: “cierra sus oidos!” - dice - decía. — todo lo que ‘tan comiendo ahí - -Voy chancar sus ceso para comer: - Cierra sus oidos — dice: Tran! — lo que va chancar - el nomás ‘ta: [hit, hit] —to! to! — porque ahí dice va chocar aquí en tu - sentido dice — — porque ‘tas chancado su cabeza de el también — — Su ceso. — —Aaaa — otro: — — todos ‘tan comiendo así sentados — Tendiendo hojas nomás — hoja de platan — regando la presa, yuca. - =! = Cerrando sus oidos toditos. — hasta que chanca la cabeza: — Yaaa está bueno ya, le dice — Regado su ceso ahí — No es grande pues - este, ashí bolita dice — Poquito-poquito cada uno: que comía dice — Aja. — El ‘ta riendo ahí — Igual que comemos: -cualquier animal: así - riendo! dice comía conversando ahí — (*no llorando?) — nada! - que van llorar: rico comer! — Dahí - otro día: de otro vecino van matar ya: — Dahí de otra casa — le van matar. — Ahí se reparten — así — todo comen! — Ahí. Una sola, una sola casa — mhmm — -.
- ^{cxix} (RPR07): “porque has comido el fruto del árbol prohibida? Dese árbol que está dentro prohibissimo?! Oy sí, has manchado a la tierra. Has manchado a la tierra, y ahora ~: (...) — y a la mujer le dijo: “Eva, desde hoy por adelante usted también vas a sufrir. Tu esposo te va mandar: a lavar la ropa, a cocinar, acarrear agua. Hacer todo en tu casa para que ~ criar. Y cuando das luz, vas a sentir mucho dolencia. Para dar luz, tener ese bebe. Y vas a sufrir duro.” — “Y así que usted, Adán — él es de hueco \\ de tierra”, le he dicho. “Polvo de tierra. El día que te mueres: polvo de tierra volveras. Tienes los 5

sentidos, le dice - de hueco ves - de hueco respiras - y de hueco orinas y de hueco cagas. Y al hueco de tierra volveras. La sepultura.” - le dice Jesucristo a Adán. \\ Y desá manera a nosotros nos sepultan. Porque el dejó el ejemplo - murió en el cruz de Calvario - tan solo por nuestro pecado.

^{xxxiii} (RPR01) sí, se conocían ya con Ruiz. Se conocían con Ruiz. (*Pues Ruiz ha recogido todos?) sí. Y el dejado también también, haciendo raza allí con los Capanahuas. Y de esa manera que han quedado los hijos. (*Y Juan Hidalgo quien fue?) Juan Hidalgo... son los hijos. Que han hecho engendrado pues? onde? la mujer Capanahua. Ellos han dejado los hijos.

(RPR03): (*Freires dice son Pa'engebakebu?) otros Freire, es un raza brasilera — que han venido de Brazil con Constantino Nogueira y se agarrado con una mujer que s llamaba Elvira (*) Ruíz creo, no tanto conozco su apellido. — y dahí fueron los Freires de los Pa'engebakebu. (*) - el con los Nogueiras ha venido a trabajar shiringa - y como se queedo - ya había conseguido su pareja, mujercita, el quedado vivir ahí, en Frontera. Dahí aumentado los Freires. Freires Panaruas - Ruíces. Por ejemplo. Bernabé Panarua, Adolfo Freire, Alberto Freire - esos son los hijo ya del Brasileiro. — Y cuando la señora Elvira - ella - no aumentaría más con brashico: porque no es mi raza - — ydai que hace el Brasileiro - el tenía su familia - y le hacían llamar de Cruzeiro, y el ha regresado a su pueblo y no ha vuelto más - y dices ellos se quedado a criar la mamá a sus hijos - hasta que se hecho hombre — ellos no sbían ni leer ni escribir - porque no había colegio, no había nada. Aja — Así me ha contado abuelito - y desá manera que nosotros somos Freires.

Y ahora esos Ruíces - han venido - aquellos tiempos de Vidal Ruíz - ellos ya han engendrado ellos hijos acá también ya - y desá manera es que nosotros somos poquitos - porque... nos \\ nuestro pueblo era grande, grande — y cuando había terramoto de — — nosé en que año - se ha sumido su pueblo de ellos — cuando ellos han venido a visitar a sus hijas — y esos han quedado poquitos. han regresado ellos cuando su pueblo ya no había ya - taba todo agua. (*Es Freires - hijos de Constantino Nogueira?) — no, esos es de Caldino Freire sus hijos. Ese era el brashico. con Elvira. (*quedado Nogueiras allá?) no, ellos han venido con todo su esposa - por eso es que no— — Tenían hijos, pero han vuelto nuevamente a Brazil - ellos eran de Belén do Para. (*) Elvira ya quedado ya con los hijos - ella era natural de Pa'engebakebu. (*) Caldino era el esposo de Elvira - y Constantino Nogueira era el patrón. Caldino trbajaba para Constantino.

^{xxxiii} (DHR21): @ aja — hay — su hijo de Luzmila - lo que está en Requena - se llama Huarmiboa — Aja - ese es su marido de Luzmila que era - que vivía allá en Tamanco - () Carlos Huarmiboa. — Aja - -un profesor dice era. — Ese era su marido de doña Luzmila - y tenía 1 hijo todavía ahí - pero no le puesto Huarmiboa - nombre de su padrastra puesto - Ríos - de Macshu. — Porque no le criado pues su padre legítimo - le puesto nomás - con su shinguito - le puesto su huevo nomás — otro ya le cria, ya le pone su apellido. — Porque nacido en su poder de su padrastra - en su cama: - por eso es su hijo pues — mhm. —

^{xxxiv} (BSR01): (*como te explicaba tu papá - que pasa cuando hacen relacion — de que hace el bbe?) - -a - este - - dice, profe - \\ hermano Lucas — O sea que él me decía: para que forme tu hijo - tú botas gusano - me decía. — Gusano botas. — Y ese ya se - hace - -Crece ya - como gente pues - un ser humano crece ya — de gusanito dice hermano (*xaku?) xakú dice — aja! aista! ese xakú! exactamente! —Ese bota un ser humano - el hombre bota! - como la mujer - ya con ~ su regla - ahí mismo — Si botas 2 xaku adentro: 2 crecen! Si botas 1, 1. Ese me decía mi papá — Ha ta nun kaicha'í - me decía - - que tiempo que ~ - si no vale - donde va botar su xaku ya? - cuando esta payu! ÷÷÷÷÷÷ (*o sea mamá no hace nada para crear niño?) — noooooo hace naada! — Ella le mantiene solamente en su vientro nomás — Ahí crece pues - xaku - ese lo que le das ese — aja - asi. —

^{xxxv} (GSR02): (*otr cosa: como piensas usted se hace el bebe en la mujer?) — cómo? — (*como aperece el bebe - como se crea el bebe en el vientro de la mujer) - en el vientro de la mujer — como me dices? (*como se hace bebe) - el bebe aparece de la célula — De la célula del hombre — (*que es célula?) el microbio que tiene el hombre — mhm - - (*Y entonces eso entra en la mujer - en la relacion) - mhmm - en la relación ya pues se hace — hay varios microbios — mhm — Varios microbios hay que haye - pero va quedar uno - Ese va - Dese ya se va formar la criatura — (*y como se forma ésta criatura en la mujer ya?) — no sé que — El microbio es como un gusanito. — Ese va creciendo — Primerito - primeramente su ojos — dahí va creciendo su cuerpo — Sus dedos, — Yo he abortado cuando he tenido uno — de 2 meses he abortado — Un bebuto ashishito — sus deditos no eran completo - así mochito — Mhm — — pero ya todo pues completo ya - un varoncito. — Ese se forma de microbio - se forma el muchacho — (*y la madre que parte tiene en esto?) - la madre no tiene- — no — ese es de la parte del hombre nomás — — —

^{xxxvi} (Loos & Loos 2003: 190): joro s. 1) bodogo [bird] 2). semen;

Cf. jorosi v.n. hincharse: Yapa cobinjaha jahuen pamis pishca sanahihnati joroscachin. Cuando se cocina pescado, las escamitas se hinchan; Yonan cobinjaha joroscachin joroscachini, piti bahmahi, choyocahini hihqui. Cuando se cocina carne ahumada, la piel se pone suave y se hincha; Hochiti sinatax jascari joroscachini. Cuando un perro se enfurece, se le paran los pelos de manera que adquiere un aspecto hinchado.

joróshmaquin v.a. leudar pan

^{xxxvii} (DHR06): (*cuando se nace este bebe - de este carne — o sea como empieza a crecer - como se crea en su barriga de la mujer el bebe?) Se crece ya pues - mujercita ya se crece - Forma ya su cabezita - todo su brazito, su pie, su chichito - mujercita. — Por eso otros saben tocando nomás - mujercita es tu hija - porque es redondito dice — Del hombre es largo dice. — (*Su carne de la mujercita - de donde viene?) — de - - de nuestra sangre mismo — de la sangre dice pues - - noves cuando le hace — cuando relaciona con un hombre — ese es nuestra sangre dice. — Aja, nuestra sangre mismo. — Por eso forma pues genticito ya. — (*O sea el hombre le da) - Le da a la mujer (*...sangre...)— sangre — y se forma — genticito. (*o sea con bushi le da sangre?) — sí, pues con sangre llama su - sangre ya pues — su bushi. (*O sea la semilla también es sangre?) la sangre pues, aja — dahí ya pues sale ya. — Se forma genticito ya: de tu sangre mismo. (*y huesitos?) - como saldra su huesito - todo ya pues como ha puesto el Señor para que sea así ya. —Aja. — lo que le hace de borracho su mujer — sale loquito sus\\ () - por eso sale dice dañado, loquito, aja, mudo. — Por eso tiene que hacer sano - sano tienes que hacer tu mujer - no de borracho. Mhm. — De borracho pues un loco sale — no sabe - faltado su sentido. (*por qué es esto - el trago hace tu sangre...) - aista pues - sangre está - purito alcol - esta tu sangre - purito trago - (*y eso le das al niño ya) - @ por eso salen locos, mudos los niños - algun bien, alg mal —Alg manquishitos, alg sin pie. — Alg no puede ni sentar — Echado nomás vive. — así he visto en Pacasmayo - ya tenía 5 años - ese no se sentaba - ahí nomás sentado - ahí pataliannnd — su mamá tenía que hacer mudar su calzoncito, tenía que banarles, todo. -

- pero tenía 5 años, 6 años - hasta que le recoge el Señor. — Ya se muere. - aja. — Y le recogido el Señor ese chica — se ha muerto - ya era grandecito - ya tenía sus chuchitos, pero no se sentaba - no comía — su madre le daba con mano, con cuchara. - paque come, Igual que llulluito - tiene que darle. —Asi - sale del borracho lo que hace su relacion con la mujer - ahí le castiga el Señor pues.
- cxviii (BRS11): yo no tengo sangre de mi mamá - solo de papá pues — mhm — ella pues - porque me botado al mundo — pero no: soy leche de mi padre pues - la leche lo que — somos — dice - de padre legítimo sangre — por decir - usted eres leche de tu padre di — legítimo himi! de tu papá — De mamá — no, no tanto — mamá nomás nos bota al mundo - parir a la luz del día — pero nosotros como varón — papá nos ha engendrado y somos pues \\ llevamos la sangre de papá — Leche de tu padre dice ahí — así.
- cxvix (BRS12): (*bakeatibu?) - @ - son las mujeres. - ?A?ki?bakeatibu. — Ahí esta. Ese son los mujeres - Podemos entrar en la misma - donde ellos pues - por eso dice pues - ?a?kibakeatibu — (*o sea mujer como un nido nomás?) - ÷asi!. - Claro. — —
- cxl (DHR06): Y la placenta ya le entierras ya. — bajo de un árbol - Ahí te vas enterrar la placenta. - Tripa ya pues. (*por qué?) ahí pues le pone bajo de un árbol (*cualquier?) cualquier árbol. — cualquiera - te vas enterar ya - paque no come el perro —
- (DHR06): (*o sea izana para amarrar pupu?) - no - ese es paque le pones así ve — aquí 'ta amarrado ya - en la punta de tripa está acá - allá le cortas - tah! — ese medido - tah! - Es para que no sale el sangre. (* izana es ese de ese caña brava (*con eso cortas?) aja, con eso le cortas así ve - le pones así - le apretas con la tijera - le das ya: trah! — para que no sale el sangre dice. — Ya está ya. — Le amarras con reta\\ — con ese - como se llama ese ahí — paque no queda pupu así saltado. — Paque queda pupu chiquito - le amarras - pa!, ya está ya. Le hace bañar, todo. — Y con la mismo - {} tac! - chupando ya. —
- cxli (DHR27) nuestra hermana legítimo! — Nos nacido igual: — el mismo — umbiliego tenemos. — El — pedazo de mi umbliego eres tú. — Dahí otro. — Dahí otro. — — así —
- cxlii (BRS12): (*eso! - porque - me has dicho pues que tú eres himi de tu papá - no de mamá) - ya, primera leche de - papá pues. — Es uno. — cuando ya nace ya - cuando ya el papá engendra ahí pues - como dicen — escucho que dicen — La primera leche de papá dice - la sangre. — así. — Debe venir por varios pues - como te 'toy diciendo - Después ahí viene otro, otro, otro — aja. — así ya - (*hawan pukuteke) - aja, @. — — — Ese acuerdo de mi mamá que me decía: - tú eres así hijo: primero venia - hijo. - su hermano mayor, julano - Haa puku\\ Haa pukuti haa - wetsa. — Haa haneya: - como - es sus nombre - todo los nombres -Haa puku?u? - otro. Otro nombre. Ha puku teke - otro nombre — otro. Mía [h/naka?] mawani se hecho - se ha muerto dice. — Ha puku teke — eso se ha muerto, dice. — Haa puku teke — así me contaba mi mamá. — Haa puku teke — otro — último, como me decía ...- Nawe\\ [h/naka?] - hawestiska - Uno te muere - haa westi. — Ya no hay mas. — Haa westi, dice ve. — Por eso es - por cariño le decían alguien: Haa westi - ~ le echaban ya. - Haa westi. — El último ya dice. — Aja. — (*chini) - aja - haa westi — @. - @ ya. — (*que puede decir chini bake) - chinibake - último ya @ - haa westiska. — — — yy? — — —
- (BRS12): Bake teke - Hawen bake teke — por eso dice pues: despues de mi viene otro, otro - pedazo dese umbliego dice: otro, otro, otro. — Cuando salen varios ya. - Nashpi puku teke, dice. —@ pedazo. — Mi pedazo puede ser: Macshu, di. - Pedazo de Macshu puede haber otro. Así sí mi mamá había botado más - más bebe. - Pedazo de mi umbliego dice sigue así - nashpi puku teke — Pedazos! — () (*osea tu hermano es tu teke)- yo soy su... — Macshu es mi teke de mi ya - mi pedazo ya ps. — De umbliego di. — (*y usted no eres su pedazo de él?) - noo! - De mi mi pedazo es Macshu ya. -Último ya. - así. — Y de su... De mi hermana Ermisha venido...- puku teke era la Teresa. - De Teresa ha venido... su puku teke de Teresa es mi hermano Pancho. — Este Pancho - ya su... puku teke soy yo, y despues de mi - Macshu, último. Aísta. Así dice pues. — Puku teke. @
- cxliii (BRS12) (*como se pueden hacer los mellizos?) — eese como es, los mellizos... — Nacen los 2 juntos. — Será un mayor quizás más adelante! — [Igual?] de la Nuria. - Primero dice sale uno. El otro queda allá, allá atrás, dentro nomás — De un rato viene otro. — así. - Los mellizos. - (*Ese es su puku teke?) - Yo digo que no. — Por que igual sale. — - El que sale mayor sera su puke teke ese otro di? - así pues. — Salen - porque no vienen juntos patachiado así - Uno primero viene, en camino - otro viene atrás. — Y así. — (*Pero has visto - estos comparten mismo placenta?) - nooo! - dos ÷ ÷ aparte pues ÷ ÷ — Aja. — Aparte dice pues - así me cuenta la Nuria, “así será tío” también. — Cada cual tiene su — placenta. — Aja - tú tienes tu placenta, yo también tengo mi placenta. - Aja. — — — como decimos placenta? — (*xama?) - aista, su xáma. — - - - (*es igual que la soguita di?) - sí pues. — (*es una sola) - sí pues. — — -
- (BRS18): Y eso pues yo no sé pues, porqué estará así. - Mellizos dice. — Mhm. ————— Eso- eso - como te puedes saber que hay puku teke? ————— Se lo... \\ — Pero hay uno que viene primero no? — Dahí viene otro. Último ya. — Ese es puku teke. Dahí viene otro pues. — Primero, segundo, tercero, cuarto, quinto, seito, - tanto - ~ viene. — Su [wetsa?] puku teke - otro puku teke - uuuu — viene por último uno nomás ya. — último. —
- cxliv (DHR14): mamá sí le corrige mas. — Porque ~ sufrido criandole — dandole mamá, desvelando — Peor cuando 'ta enfermo: desvela ahí ! — No quiere dormir: — ahí 'ta sentaaa'd — amarcann'd — queriendo dormir ahí — Y papá echaaaa'd - ahí — “No me deja dormir! — hagale dormir ya! — - que va querer dormir que no quiere! - 'ta enfermo! — Le duele alg cosa: no puede avisar pues — donde le duela, nada — Calculando nomás le das pastilla — toma. — abriendo su boquita: con cuchara — Calculando nomás donde le duele. — ~ le da moliendo: con su lechizito mismo. — Le toma. — (*) cuchara y su leche de su mamá — porque es dulce. —Asi — ahí le cría pues —
- cxlv (DHR06): aja, hombre y mujer, cuando ya tiene su - cuando 'ta su tres días - ahí dice le hace. a la mujer, ~ relación ya pues — Ahí ya está jodido ya - haces una sola, — 'ta jodido - que no vea 3 meses su regla - 2 meses - un mes — ya 'ta jodido la mujer, ya está - embarazada dice ya - ya le jodido a la mujer— ya tiene un hijito ya. — De un mes, 2 meses ya parece grande ya - así como la Jenny - ella tiene 3,2 meses creo. — Ya 'ta engrandandose ya. — Ya 'ta aishito ya.
- cxlvi (BRS12): (*como hace la mujer que le cria?) - -Ahí aquí adentro pues. — Ese recibe su alimento di - también va, desarrollando poco a poco. — Y esta. — (*o sea ese come lo que mamá come?) - no come. — (*No come?) no come - como debe criarse pues adentro! — Como debe criarse pues. — — —

- cxlviii (DHR06): Ahí se engranda, engranda, engranda, engranda. — Come su mamá - él también 'ta comiendo dice. — Ahí adentro. — Come, Come. — Ahí crece pues - gordito es - ese criatura. — Toma - el también - recibe adentro. Toma, dice. — todo que toma, come, ella recibe —
- (GSR02): (*y la madre que parte tiene en esto?) — la madre no tiene — no — ese es de la parte del hombre nomás — — — — (*no le da de comer, no le comparte su sangre, algo así?) - no. — — O sea que el muchacho se alimenta de lo que tú comes — o sea que usted te embarazas di — tienes ganas de comer fruta - Tienes ganas de comer otra cosa — eso comes — deso se alimenta — como sera pues — que la criatura se alimenta de lo que ustedes comes — así — así - crece muchacho. (*Pero la mujer no le da a bebe su sangre...) — cuando nace ya - sí. — — cuando nace — (*) le da mamar pues su sena - o sea que la leche es la sangre — —
- (LCO01) sí, tiene sangre — como le cría — en su - en su vientre — y como le da de lactar también — paque lleva su sangre! — por eso crece — si nuestro padre solamente es como — como puede decir? — un gallo — pues solamente le pone — y la mamá le cría ya! — así es —
- (BSR01): (*o sea mamá no hace nada para crear nino?) — noooooo hace nada! — ella le mantiene solamente en su vientro nomás — Ahí crece pues - xaku - ese lo que le das ese — aja - así. — - (*o sea niño quizás no tiene sangre de mm?) — no pues — todo es tuyo, hermano.— porque tú estás poniendo - aja — porque le ha criado - ya pues dice “mi mamá — Aja — (*leche) - le da su leche — mhm — eeese pues le criando — la crianza ya pues
- (BRS09): (*en este tiempo - los bebes deben de tener sangre de papá nomás - de mamá no?) — aja, aista, de papá. (*ahora? Germe dice sangre - de papá - y mamá - su leche?) - ÷ ÷ ÷ — de papá nomás - y después cuando ya le lacta el bebe - entonces ya la sangre se debe mezclar - o no? Yo pienso que 'ta bien - primero de papá, después de mm. - Lactar teta de su mamá - y ese va criar ya - ese le cría. (*y su leche será como sangre entonces?) sí, sangre es la leche materno. —
- cxlviii (GSR07):(*Muchos me dicen que hijo tiene sangre de papá nomás - de mamá - no) — — — — —hm (*y tu mamá también)(K Olga dice que de mamá nomás) — — — — no sé, a! — hm — — (*y a usted como parece?) (K*) pero para mi es entre el hombre y la mujer - tiene la misma sangre, tiene de los dos! Mhm - porque ni modo que — solo - solo del hombre es! aja - (*de los dos se hace?) — mhm de los dos es! — Otra cosa sería - si un niño - habido nacido - de usted nomás! - entonces sería de ti nomás! mhm — — (*antes me estabas diciendo que niño en su barriga de la mujer se hace dese microbio - ahí tiene la sangre de papá nomás - y recién cuando nace, tomando leche de su mamá - ahí viene mezclarse la sangre) \\ -mhm - ahí circula la sangre ya - mhm.
- cxlix(LCO01): (*Nuken himi — que es esto - de usted tu sangre quien sera?) — mi sangre? mi familia. — (*quién de tu familia? - tu mamá?) — mi mamá - mis hermano, mis primos — esos son mi sangre () aja, mi papá — (*Y ahora tu hijos de usted - tienen tu sangre o no?)— sí. - (*porque a veces me dicien que sangre de papá es primero — hijo no tanto tiene sangre de su mamá...) — sí tiene — mhm — (*O sea ahí cuando se hace hijo - el padre deja su - gusanito ahí) mhm! — (asi sera?) — así es pues — — — — (*y por eso dicen que la mujer solo bota al mundo - no da sus sangre al hijo) — — sí, tiene sangre — como le cría — en su - en su vientre — y como le da de lactar también — paque lleva su sangre! — por eso crece — si nuestro padre solamente es como — como puede decir? — un gallo — pues solamente le pone — y la mamá le cría ya! — así es — - (*y el hombre se larga ya) — @ — por eso pues digo así — que! — Quien te enganado que no lleva su sangre — sí lleva! — de los dos! mhm - (*Pero has escuchado que dicen así también?) no! — - yo digo que sí lleva los dos — por — por — 'ta bien que el hombre engendra pues — Pero la mamá es lo que cría ya — mhm! — — sí pues — — — —
- cl (GSR02): (*o sea entonces - si una mujer por ejemplo tiene un bebe, recién nacido — pero una razon o otra — le da a otra mujer que le puede mamar - no — Y la otra mujer, que no le ha dado luz - le está mamando — entonces cual de estos sera su mamá legitima — de cual sera su sangre [sic]) — de su mamá - lo que le dado a luz - ese es su mamá - (*y no este que le está mamando?) no, no — igual que — este mi winsho — mi winsho le hecho así a su hermana — La — la Meri — Y mi huahuito lloraba - y ella - su hermana le daba de mamar — por eso le dice mamá — mamá le dice a su hermana — (*o sea el tendra la sangre de Meri?) — mhm — tiene un poco de sangre de su hermana — (*y de usted no?) — también — (*Pero no le dado de mmar usted?) — sí, también. — — (*o sea los 2 le llama mamá? - si?) — sí, a su hermana dice “mamá’ — Sus hermano le dice: tu mamá es? - es tu hermana ! - Mi mamá es pues — ÷ ÷ — — ya es grandecito - 8 anos tienes. — () Nilber! (...) (*bake unan creo — adoptados los niños) - mhm, unan bake — (*eso no sera igual como tu hijo como \\) no, nada - no es igual — Pero a veces - criando así de chiquito - chiquito — es como tu hijo - (*Y le dices una bake o no?) - sí — (*eso para siempre va quedar - adoptado) — mhm — para siempre ya pues — — -Es como tu hijo ya — A la vez tu hijo. — —
- cli (BRS09): Yo pienso que 'ta bien - primero de papá, después de mamá. - Lactar teta de su mamá - y ese va criar ya - ese le cría. (*y su leche será como sangre entonces?) sí, sangre es la leche materno. — (*como dice que semen del hombre y leche de mamá son sangre - si tienen otro color que la sangre no?) - no tiene otro color, ese mismo color tiene — Igual nomás queda. — (*Pero leche blanco) aja, blanco, pero echas un taja de limón, y queda sangre. — — - La leche de mamá es blanco, como del vaca del pasto: es una leche blanquecita y se toma - pero pasa dice limón - q~ - sangre ya - (*) así simplemente queda blanco - pero metale una acida - ya cambia de color, queda rojo. — —
- clii (BRS12) (*Pero este digo, su leche - no es sangre?) — — — es. — — — -sangre es pues. — (*también) mhmmm — — — como quizás pues di? — — — también me dicho muchs veces — Algien hecho la prueba, dice. — — Si tú no crees: vas — corta ya un limón, me dice. — Esprima la lache de tu madre en un — vamos decir envasito - shhhuuu — y un poco de leche. — como — de la baca, no. — — Hay que sacarle - shu-shu-shu - saca un envase. — Y dese — le meten limón - shuuu —?esprima? limón: aista la sangre dice. — Sangre ya. — como le convida tu sangre: el acido pues! — (*como le hace, el acido di?) - nnnii — — — así me dicho muchos - muchas veces — — paque observes, haga eso - me dice - La sangre - la teta que mamas — es blanco, di. — Blenco, medio un poquito medio saladito. — Y dese cogen dice un limón - pelale, esprima ahí - sangre: -(*) rojo ya queda. — Ese que la criatura ~ - paque crezca. — — (*ese — huru - haskaribi?) — eeehnn! — así también pues. — — — — Te das cuenta Lucas, como es! — — —
- (BRS12) (*Pero de vuelta - cuando nace la cría - lo cuidan ya, ya la mamá tiene que tener su dieta, di?) — ya pues - -tiene cuidarse dice. — No comer cosas que no debe comer - Ni le... — — así dice. — No come. — cualquier cosa no come. — Porque come gallina

- cuando nace su bebe? Se alimenta de puro pollones nomás — Caldo, dice. — — paque levanta la teta ya — tenga ya su — hablamos - la leche maternal que decimos — ella crece chuchu ya - así grande ya - ya no está - tablachito ya — por eso ese toman al caldo - caliente. — — paque - su seno crezca. —
- (*como dices leche materno?) — ese es pues — -la — - la leche es — - (*en idioma?) - ooo — xúma. — (*himi yama?) himi — — hawen xumu dice mi mamá. —Decía. — — Hawen xumu yamai — Xumu dice es su — chuchu dice ahí. —Para que mamá la bebe ya va mamar - empezar a lactar ya — Ahí para crecer ya pues. — Yy? — - Un mes, dos meses: - chiquitito. — Tres meses: más grande. — 4 meses: mas. — 6 ya quiere voltiar ya - Ya tiene fuerza ya — aja. — Su 5, 6, 7. — 7 - de un año ya se — para sentarse ya. — — Apoyando con trapita - así está sentadiiito ya — ya fuerza ve. — (*y con 2 años empieza la travesura) ÷ ÷ ya pues ÷ ÷ — Huuh. — — ellos - como también viene otr: hawen puku teke ya - viene otro. — Mirave. - ÷ ÷ ÷ - Y tú Lucas? ÷ ÷ ÷ — nada — Ya va haber do ÷ ÷ — ~ ya vuelta ÷ ÷ ÷ — nada! — No hay puku teke, no hay nada. — — (*westi) — westires. ÷ ÷ ÷ Sii pues, - - (*no han trabajado mis padres) — ajaa — no pues — eso. — —
- (*Pero ese, su leche de mamá no es sangre ya — — — — o si?) — a, sigue nomás — sangre de mamá. — (*Pero este digo, su leche - no es sangre?) — — - es. — — - - -sangre es pues. — (*también) mhmmm — — — como quizás pues di? — — — también me dicho muchs veces — Algien hecho la prueba, dice. — — Si tú no crees: vas — corta ya un limón, me dice. — Esprima la lache de tu madre en un — vamos decir envasito - shhhuuu — y un poco de leche. — como — de la baca, no. — — Hay que sacarle - shu-shu-shu - saca un envase. — Y dese — le meten limón - shuuu —?esprima? limón: aista la sangre dice. — Sangre ya. — como le convida tu sangre: el acido pues! — (*como le hace, el acido di?) - nnnii — — — así me dicho muchos - muchas veces — — paque observes, haga eso - me dice - La sangre - la teta que mamas — es blanco, di. — Blenco, medio un poquito medio saladito. — Y dese cogen dice un limón - pelale, esprima ahí - sangre: -(*) rojo ya queda. — Ese que la criatura ~ - paque crezca. — —
- (*ese — huru - haskaribi?) — eeehnn! — así también pues. — — — — Te das cuenta Lucas, como es! — - - (*y tu saliva?) - noo — (*eso no es sangre?) noo — — Es una... — espuma nomás — — (*sudor?) — sudor también es — — - Sudor es... — — saladito! — Y la orina es saladito pues. — (*no puede ser sangre - sudor di?) — noo. — Ese es lo que tomamos agua quizás, no. — (*ese saliendo no) - aja, eso pues. — tú cuando chambeas - ve - Uuuh! — Te moja la camisa, bien mojado — y esprimale. — Ruuuuh! — (*puro agua) - @ (*Pero salada ya) - aja, salada pues! — Yyy? — como es eso!
- ^{cliii} (GHR02): (*generación - que es esto? que dice?) lo que hay a vivir pues con todo que se aumentado - de un... se puede decir de un padre, no. Un padre se ha aumentado allí. {} sus hijos, también, nuestros — sus hijos de nuestros hijos, generación completa ya, laugh.
- (GHR03: (*"la generación" que será? cuerpo o su — espíritu o) ... no es cuerpo, del cuerpo es. Lo que se forma pues, los hijos, se van naciendo - y los hijos crecen y se va. Y ellos tienen su mujer, su marido - y se va aumentando la generación de uno.
- (GHR06): generación - es lo que nace del su hijo del hijo -- hijo, su hijo \ \ su hijo del hijo que nace - ese son generaciones ya - allí se va, engrandando ya. Como dice en la biblia: descendientes ya. —
- ^{cliv} (BRS13): Dice que buscaba idea el hombre — como voy a transformarme en luna? \ \ — Que voy hacer — es que decía... Hay estrellas — Hawa hati'in? [What do I make myself?] — dice, en idioma. Hawa en hati'in?... Wishi ka' ha'i... bariribi ha'i [What do I make myself? There are stars, there is also the sun] — dice -- Uxne ka'... yama'i! Uxne en hanun [The moon of course, is not there! I will make myself the moon] que decía. Oy, voy hacerme \ \ voy a convertirme en luna yo!" que decía pues (...) el dice... estaba pensaaando... Y el hombre ya... ya no va ir allá ya... Ya va pensar: que cosa haye? Hay estrella: no. Sol también haye. La luna no hay! — squeledice. Ese voy hacerme luna!
- (ECHO1): De allí está pensannn!do que cosa va hacer. "Me hago río - grande — No, mejor no". Pensannndo: palos gruesos — "palo también se le derriba" - en tanto dice se recordado de luna - allí me voy, al cielo.
- (HOCO1): Hanu ki: "Hawa ha'ti'in? Hiwi? Xunu? Xunubu ta? payuri'binika ki. Hawa ha'ti'in? Xunu... - Kuman? Kuman ta? payuri'binika ki. Hawapan?! [There he says: "What do I make myself? A tree? Lupuna tree? Lupuna also decays. What do I make myself? Lupuna tree... Shihuahuaco tree? Shihuahuaco also decays. What, then?"]
- ^{clv} (JRR03): Deveraz, este ahí dice ya: "Ese ha sido!" Hen!? No parecía ya. "Pucha, él dice — Put' carajo, pensaba dice pues: de tooda! cojudeza dice han pensaba! Quería hacer: ...shungo, así ve, lo que hace casa, ve. "Ese puede hacer casa! Ha! También se pierde... Ahora: este... — todo - todo, shungo creo hacía... Pero no! Ahora: este... "Piedra? Pero ahí afila! Mm..." Pucha! Toooodddooo dice!... pensaba! Yaaa, recién dice, pensado ya: "Bueno, ya! Voy hacer ese luna. No hay luna" que dice. "Con ese sí le voy joder"
- ^{clvi} (VPB03): tú eres, di hermano? - dice le ha dicho. — — "Tu eres..." — — No ha dicho nada! dice. — Y el hombre de vergüenza ya - dice está pensannnnn!do dice amigo Lucas: - "Que puedo hacerme? — Me hago anguilla, — ta pensannnnn'd — me pueden matar. Que más? - dice decía — hago? — Me hago boa: — también me matan! Que puedo hacer? - dice que dice — Aver, que cosa no hay? - dice — 'ta pensannndo dice el hombre. Que puedo hacer? — Se acuerda dice: — Aannn!! — No hay luna dice — Que voy hacerme luna! — Ya listo, carajo. — Voy hacerme luna."
- ^{clvii} Ernesto Baquinahua, cassette CVIII: synopsis: min. 3: 00-5: 50: Tapiche 'ukea'bu, Kapabakebu. 'Ea ta' Neabakebu ki. Nenu ta Neabakeban mai ki. Kapabakebu: Tapiche 'uke. [Iyan hanin, Makeya??] Na'inbakebu, hatun mai haa. Mexkuya: neabakebu maiska. Also other locations for: Xanebakebu mai, Binabakebu mai.
- ^{clviii} (GSR07): noves cuando quiere llover - noves suena: ese es dice su ropa: o sea que su ropa dice le cuelga en una kiruma - el ronsapa - ronsapa grande lo que ahí - eso dice amontona dice en camisa, ahí dice lo que suena. — cuando una persona moría, me decía mi papá: sonaba por acá. "Acá viven los neabu, me decía - aacá viven los neabu..." - moría otra gente: "Binabu" - me decía - por donde (...) sonaba. "Ahí vive" - me decía mi padre. "Ahí viven, los neabu viven aca!" - me decía. (*o sea cada uno se va a diferente parte del cielo entonces?) diferente quizás - como quizás pensaba mi papá! - digo yo así!
- ^{clix} (ARO1): como decimos: de otros países di — ellos no se mezclaban! - Así era aquí. — aquí vivían puro: como dice: — — como dices - tas diciendo - pisabakebu - ese es de otra generación — allá: pa'enbakebu - allá tienes otr generación allá — ellos también no se mezclan nada! — Neabu: aparte! - Así. — O — — (...) Así como 'tas diciendo pues - ese neabakebu - ese es aparte di - ese no se mezclaba. Pa'enbakebu, pisabakebu, inubakebu, neabakebu - hay este ... — decía mi padre — hay como varios nombres: - pero

no se mezclaban pues: así como Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia - ese no se mezclan. - (*hablaban mismo idioma?) sí, pero con otro tono, claro! —

- clxi (Loos 1960: 13): elder, usually the grandfather, recounts that in the old days before the white man came there were no fatal diseases and they were more healthy and much happier than they are now.
- (ibid.: 18): Manioc and corn plantations were always cooperative efforts of at least one family as before ¿mentioned? by the use of the minga and fermented beverage. Great pride and prestige was attached to its size and the resultant size of celebrations for which, in turn, houses and jugs of great size were needed and gave additional prestige. During the festival as well, large drums which could be heard 15-20 miles away were more esteemed than weak ones. A prolonged revelry was better than a moderate one whose drink was consumed before the strongest men had an opportunity to prove their endurance. My informant Emiliano Freyre eulogised his father thus: "My father was a good man, he didn't steal, didn't kill, and while drinking could work all day and dance all night without stopping."
- (ELO1): (*So was it evident that they were (...) dropping the language when you went there?) No, at first there was nothing, it was all really Capanahua. And quite vigorously Capanahua. They described their ancestors as being very strong. ...And brave... (...) Tessmann, have you read Tessmann's account of his visit? He didn't actually get to Buncuya, but he did acquire a Capanahua bow and arrows. And he said they were bigger than any others he had seen. (*And the macana) And the macana, yes! Well, they, the Capanahuas, would say, 'Yeah, that's us, we were strong'. [laughing] But, that didn't last too long. Maybe 15-20 years, then they started going downhill.
- clxii (BSR01): (*binuibu?) - aista -todo ese - - binun'ɨ'bu dice son - -este — como dice: - sepa de aguaje! - fuerte! eran antes — Yo soy binun'ɨ'bu! - Yo soy sepa de aguaje! - Antes cuando luchaban - no le hacían nada pues a el - por eso dicen así hermano: - binun'ɨ'bu! ?Ea ta binun'ɨ'bu ki! - Hawentia(bi) Neabu a'ka~ keyu'ɨpaunishki. - Haska' ki - nuken — como dice — así decían nuestros — papás antes! — todo ese hermano —
- clxiii (RPRO1): (*Pues, que dice la 'raza'? Que es la raza?) Raza es pues... osea raza es de... cuando un solo grupo, idiomático, y viene el otro, allá, este es por decir, del otro grupo y ese pues es la raza, decimos en castellano. Y ellos pues no querían que el otro grupo entre por aca. Y desa manera es que peleaban. Entiendes? Pues los Huaniches y los Chomos seran diferentes razas... Diferente... Pero tenía la misma lengua! La misma lengua. Ellos no querían pues que penetren pues los Chomos, ni ellos tambien se iban, ellos tambien no querían para que penetran de vuelta los Huaniches. así. Ellos: Ustedes son de Tapiche, nosotros somos del Buncuya, dicen. Y desa manera yo estoy [de aca], largate, haha! No le permitian.
- clxiv (RPRO1): (*Como se casaban la gente de aca? Entre la familia, entre primos?) Mira, el dice que este, ellos no querían cambiar la raza. Por decir, Ud es mi hermano, y yo tambien soy tu hermano. Y una de mis hijas, ud tienes un hijo varon. Yo tengo una hija mujer. Y entonces ellos no querían mezclar la generacion, que venga otro de lejos, más bien tenía que hacer la reunir. Y ud le entregas, ya le entregas, yo entrego mi hija a mi sobrino. El otro le entrega su hijo a su sobrina. así era antes. Antes se puede decir, entre los primos, se cazaban. Allí aumentaba ya, la misma raza. No cambiaba. Y de allí se iba multiplicando. así. Venia otra hija, tenía, pucha! Este tenía otro hijo varon, de allí: cha'in! pucha, dame pues tu... minbake inawe, cha'in! Ya, en p'ashan ~ya! Le entregaba a el. Allí, desa manera aumentaban pues, allí nomas. No querían que entre de lejos. así. Por qué sera? No querían que cambie la raza. Sino, el no es nativo, sino es que ... sino ellos quieren aumentar puro nativos. No querían que venga otra gente de lejos. Porque a veces... dice que ellos no querían que las hijas se vayan lejos!. Porque si el vive, por decir, así como vivo yo por Zapatilla, y se enamoraria, yo tengo que llevarle. Ellos no querían eso. Y por esa razon es que ellos aumentaban acá nomas. Porque si es la mujer, siempre el hombre le ha extranar, no es su tierra. El quería irse a su tierra. Llevandole a su mujer. Y por eso hacían eso antiguamente. así me explicaba don Manuel Huaninche.
- clxv (GSR11): Así vivían antes, me decía mi papá. — Vivían antes con su familia, aunque sea con su hermana! — Mhm, quizás porque eran así - no tenían este - \\ no sabían nada, ni quien es su familia - así vivían antes - con su papá, con su hermana. —
- clxvi (ESH03): (*por qué hacían así - paque no...)- paque no pierda dice! — sí pues — así - noves pues X[family] vive así — paque no pierde su sangre - ellos dice vive así — hasta ahora vive así - () entres primas, hermanos, así viven. — Porái viven así esos X — entre su familia.
- clxvii (ARO1): Allá vivian purito familias — Puro familias. — había uno nomás - se hecho de familia - allá ya se ido a vivir — Deaquí allá para que podían reunirse haciendo de esposo di - traian sus hija, el padre. — ahora el tenía su hijo — para que haga cambio - con su hija de el. — así que le hace reunir - y con su hijo - le hace reunir - y así. — — así dice hacía mi. \\ así me contaba mi padre: — o sea que - tú haces tu hijo: Bueno, hijo - queriendo hacer de puro familia, di?: no, no vale así. — Ahora, hijo: deaquí toditos son tu familia — ese deaquí. — Aver, hay que llevar una tu hermana - vamos hacer cambio allá. — ellos venia a remo! ~ la pkpk así! - - Remo! — tsk — Ese venian comiendo pues — tenían todo! — Llega en su casa de su amigo — conversa con su padre — Y mujer entre mujer. — (...)
- (*y los varios — clases de gente - nainbakebu, neabakebu) pa'enbakebu - -(*Pero estos son de donde?) — de acá — (*cual apellido tienen ahora?) — ese no tenían apellidos. — (*que había inubakebu, ayubakebu, muebu, xeis isa bakebu, kapabu — todos estos — ese existia - pero que era? generaciones también? o...) sí pues - como decimos: de otrs países di — ellos no se mezclaban! - así era aquí. — aquí vivian puro: como dice: — — como dices - 'tas diciendo - pisabakebu - ese es de otra generación — allá: pa'enbakebu - allá tienes otra generación allá — ellos también no se mezclan nada! — Neabu: aparte! - así. — () — Ahora: su hija ya quería tener su marido ya pues — tenían que traer a su hijo para que puede tener marido di. — allá — también los generaciones ya allá — ahora decía: hija - vas traer tu marido ahí - así cambia ya: — Por ejemplo tu eres joven di - Bueno hijo, por ~te tu mujercita: vamos buscar tu mujer. - Tu hermana 'ta queriendo tener su marido. — allá va quedar tu hermana - y - — \\ Deai ya venian conversando pues — con el papá, el otro papá - y mujer entre mujeres — así conversan - yaa pues: — Hacían una fiestita, tomaban entre ellos — Hacían reunir a sus hija, el otro también con su hijo: ya — (*) hijos de 20-25...
- (*y cuando se casaban - pareja quedaba donde padres de la hija?) sí! - (*o donde padres del hijo?) - no — ese quedaba acá nomás. (*siendo varón - tengo que vivir con mis suegros ya) correcto - (*o llevo donde mis padres?) - puedes llevarle pues — claro, así lo

hacían. - - A veces hijas lloraban - “No, tú tienes marido, acá está tu marido! - les conversaban. — ahora tu tienes que tienes que enamorar las chicas - en tiempo de antiguo no era así: “Ya? Hemos venido amigo, buenos! - mi hija ~ su marido. - Su hijo joven - conversa con sus padres — Ese deaquí va ser tu mujer. — El joven de igual que su padre. — — — — Y así hacía su casa - todavía de yapa. - (*yapa) claro pues - hacía su casita. — ahora aquí - se reúnen con sus hijas\ - a veces los yernos quieren hacer sus casita ÷÷÷÷÷ Por ejemplo en Tamanco - me ido mirar -?metidos? en su casa de su suegro no — A veces yo les- oy hasta ~ así su casa — ~ - Tu suegro te aburrece - -tas durmiendo en su casa de tu suegro. Ese - mi tía Rosa sí sabe. — Ese te habla correcto! — — Y donde has aprendido también? (*++) yo sabiendo - te iba decir todo! así como ‘tas diciendo pues - ese neabakebu - ese es aparte di - ese no se mezclaba. Pa’engebakebu, pisabakebu, inubakebu, neabakebu - hay este ... — decía mi padre — hay como varios nombres: - pero no se mezclaban pues: así como Peru, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia - ese no se mezclan. - (*hablaban mismo idioma?) sí, pero con otro tono, claro! —

(*xentsibakebu?) — xenčí? - — ese creo había por Buncuya, mhm — Pero ahorita la generación todo se acaba pues - los - antiguamente era lindo! - Realmente lindo! - paque tú realmente aprezcas. - - Ese que — ha quedado así como vive. —

^{clxviii} (RPR07) Y por eso es que su tío le entregaba a la sobrina o sobrina - entonces ella puede ser Huaninche, el otro s por decir Romaina. también su sobrino, pero tiene otro apellido - pero ahí es la misma raza, la misma generación. (*esto no molesta, no mancha) no (*si apellido es diferente) - s cae bien, bien. Si va ser mismo apellido, por decir Edi Huaninche - Huaninche Romaina, y ahora deso las hijas ya van tr otro apellido cuando viene otro mestizo - u otro paisano de más dallá — tiene otro apellido, por decir Chumo, Chumo Huaninche, con Pizarro Huaninche, o Pizarro Chumo - su hijos firman así — pero de mismo apellido, por decir Huaninche Huaninche - no. Tiene que ser pues mezcladito - Chumo Huaninche o Huaninche Chumo — entonces ahí aumenta generación, aumenta pueblo. Pero sin embargo en Aipena no es así - todos los que van creciendo - viene el maderero - le lleva, le lleva lejos.

^{clxix} (ELO3): Well the thing that I remember is that it had a... it came into discussions when a marriagability was discussed. So a man’s marriagability to a female would be dependant on his clan name. And I once heard a discussion between two men. They would — — one was wanting to marry the sister of the other man. And he was trying to explain how he was eligible to be... marriageable... marriage partner to that young lady. And uh - he was a binabekabu — but the girl was not. So his logic was that the two clans are not incompatible - they are compatible. And so they should be allowed to marry. Well, there weren’t very many instances when such discussions took place, at least in my presence. Usually, men who had a daughter, a marriageable daughter - or even long before she was marriageable - they would be looking for the candidate for her. And they would take the initiative to go to the parents of the boy and explain that he would make a good mate for the young lady. And if the others were agreeable, then the arrangement was considered made. They were ready to just grow up and then finally consummate their marriage — and take off...- So - that was where proper clan relationships entered into the picture: marriageability. I don’t know of any other practical consequences that the clan membership had. And I didn’t succeed in tracing it in those unions that were formed - I didn’t think to go back and check and see who was what - I don’t think that the clan relationships had any relationship to real life... that I could tell...

On our first trip that we made to the Tapiche, several young men accompanied me. And when we got to the Tapiche, the Tapichinos’ approach was to ask the young men who their father was. And therefore that would determine what relationship they would have to them, because the kinship term was the primary concern. It was kind of curious. Older men would turn out to address the younger men as baken. That didn’t seem to matter to them — — So that’s as much as I can relate about the clans.

But I could see that very easily a person with come from the outside and ask a man or a woman “Are you a Capanahua?” or... they would say no I am binabakebu or na’nbakebu. And that then became what would be a term for identification for those people.

(Loos2009-2014): I did once overhear two young men discussing the fact that one wished to marry the sister of the other and explained to the other that he (the first) was of the [nahinbaquebo] moiety and the girl was a [binabaquebo,] so he was a suitable match for the girl.

^{clxx} (Loos 1972: 2-3): Tanto hombre como mujer pertenecían al clan de su padre, y en casos de personas que no se conocían cuyo parentesco era difícil de trazar, se valían del linaje paterno, el “clan” para llegar a acuerdos matrimoniales.

^{clxxi} (Loos: 1960: 1) Thesis: the Capanahua tribe was patrilineal-patrilocal before contact with white civilization, and became matrilineal as a result of economic changes brought on by white contact.

^{clxxii} (Loos nd.a: 2) Los Capanahuas no tienen una organización política y por lo tanto carecen de un curaca reconocido. Normalmente viven en grupos de una familia extendida, formada de un padre de familia con sus hijos y especialmente con sus hijas y yernos.

(Loos 1960: 7): The aged patriarchs are men of much influence and prestige among their own families. A grandfather has authority to expect his sons, sons-in-law and all lower generations in his line to work for him when the clearing of land, planting, or construction of a house or canoe is necessary.

(Loos 1960: 8): Though formerly the Capanahua lived in large community houses, they now live in smaller settlements along the river as a result of the rubber-gathering industry. Consequently elder married sons and sons-in-law may be living apart a bit from the patriarch’s locality and constitute a sub-section by themselves, though still subject to the patriarch’s call.

(ibid.): [Father] may oblige his sons and sons-in-law to help and in return help them in their plots, through a community fest in which the host, who is the “owner” of the plot while it lasts, provides huge quantities of home brew for the consumption of the workers during the day’s work and the following night’s dance.

(Loos nd.a: 2): El matrimonio es matrilocal de manera que el joven al casarse tiene que vivir con su mujer en la casa de su suegro, y está obligado a servir al suegro hasta que la muerte lleve a uno o al otro.- Después de muchos años el yerno podrá construirse una casa propia, pero generalmente a una distancia no lejana de la de su suegro.

^{clxxiii} (Loos 1972: 2-3): El hombre se unía a su mujer en la casa de los padres de ésta, al consumarse el matrimonio, y servía a su suegro siempre en la producción de chacras, canoas, manguares, y casas, y satisfacía sus necesidades de carne y pescado. (...) La

relación suegro-yerno era entonces importante para la familia porque la adquisición de hábiles yernos significaba un aporte económico valioso para la cabeza de la familia.

clxxiv (Loos 1972: 2–3): No habían caciques. El suegro dominaba la familia extendida, pero otros podían adquirir ascendencia por su merito como guerrero o mitayero. El guerrero capturaba jóvenes y mujeres. Los jóvenes le servían en una especie de servidumbre pero con tiempo, si no escapaban, tomaban parte en la vida como otros adultos.

clxxv (DHR06) Taah, sale la placenta - y tiene que buscar su compadre ya pues - tu compadre, quien va ser tu compadre - Yyy — le traes un - izanita — y con eso le apegas así - trah, le cortas con la tijera ya - umbliego ya. — ya. - Le amarras — y aista ya. (*o sea izana para amarrar pupu?) - no - ese es paque le pones así ve — aquí 'ta amarrado ya - en la punta de tripa está acá - allá le cortas - tah! — ese medido - tah! - Es para que no sale el sangre. (*) izana es ese de ese caña brava (*con eso cortas?) aja, con eso le cortas así ve - le pones así - le apretas con la tijera - le das ya: trah! — para que no sale el sangre dice. — Ya está ya. — Le amarras con reta\ — con ese - como se llama ese dahí — paque no queda pupu así saltado. — Paque queda pupu chiquito - le amarras - pa!, ya está ya. Le hace bañar, todo. — Y con la mismo - {} tac! - chupando ya. —

clxxvi (GHR05): No, no hace nada, sino tratamiento - ya es como una familia, segunda familia, — un hermano allí, una familia ~tio - tiene respeto, por eso - y además también cuando ya - a veces la familia se sirven entre compadres - le da alguna cosa cuando tiene, se da - por ejemplo en cosas, en mitayo, entonces le alcanza ya.

clxxvii (EFS03): (*y la X con Y?) ese es ru'u yusibu [old howler monkey]! chuckling. Oootro ru'u. Que bruto, hermano. De esto estás preguntando... la X. viene ser su prima hermana legítima de Z. [mother of Z.] y [mother of X.] son dos hermanas allí mismo. Y Z. parece en este mundo, tiene su prima hermana - y Z. tiene sus hijos donde su mujer. - Le agarra Y. muchaaacho - un poquito más chiquito que mi Junior. X. es recontra yusiba [old woman] como dicen. Y agarra. Le ha hecho - como dice, él ha... — ella le hecho crecer. Ella le está envejeciendo. Viene ser su sobrino legítimo. Y de [father of X.] era su ahijado. Dooble familia, hermano. Yyy!?

clxxviii (GHR05): (*comadre, compadre = familia legítima?) este es segunda familia se puede decir. Por ejemplo - tu ahijado es como tu hijo, no, porque tú has tocado su sangre. Y él te puede decir padrino - como segundo padre. Aja, así es. (*por la sangre entonces) por la sangre! por la sangre, por haber tocado la sangre. (*panu...) sí panu, laugh (*antes también?) aja, antes también, igualito. (*que hace compadre para su ahijado o compadres?) No, no hace nada, sino tratamiento - ya es como una familia, segunda familia, — un hermano allí, una familia.

clxxix (DHR10): (*cuando ya se nace el bebe - y quieres buscar tu compadre — \) — ese se busca que tiempo ya - compadre ya - — para que tengas ya ahí ya tu compadre (*para que es esto?) — paque corte ya pues - el umbliego — este compadre está tocando tu sangre, de tu hijo — es tu compadre legítimo - no le puedes ignorar - pues es tu compadre legítimo, ya ha cortado su pupu ya. (*o sea estás compartiendo sangre ya?) — compartiendo sangre ya [unconvinced?]— —Aista tu hijo legítimo ya porque ya le has cortado ya su pupu ahí - tocado su sangre — - has [¿visto?] chiquitito —

clxxx (GHR05): se van - buscarle, para trozar así como has trozado su umbiligo - y a eso es mi compadre ya! - entonces así hemos ~ respeto~ más familia, agrupado más - de amistad más

clxxxi (BRS15) vivido dice más arriba ya — por... — - más arriba por donde te has pasado yendo — arriba de San Antonio — ahí había - no sé como se llamaba ese sitio — Este — A. - un punto ahí llamado A. — Ahí se han ido a vivir dice otra vez — a trabajar shiringa — Ahí dice estaba X. ya viviendo — ahí le engendra ya — al Y. ya — Primer hijo, de la Z.: Sale el Y ya - ahí en ese lugar. — como quizás - de entre ellos — como quizás se trozaban el umbliego — no sabemos.

clxxxii RPR01: (*Pero despues, con Bidar Ruiz, ya se empezaron...) a trabajar ya (*...y mezclar mas...) mezclaron mas. Allí desa manera que ya allí se quedaron por Tapiche. Estos trabajaron ya pues con Machado. Allí ya sí ya, se han repartido. Ya no había pelea, acá ya vivían ya pues tranquilos, los Huaninches. Aaha, los Huaninches, Pizarros y los Freyres. así todos se trataban así, de primo. Primo pues es cha'i. Ya pues allí les daban sus hijas, a los Freyres, a los Pizarros. Por ejemplo a mi me han entregado... yo estaba mi... su nieta de Manuel. Se llamaba Luisa. Luisa Huaninche. Su sobrina de Mariano. sí. Ya no, no tuve ningun problema, nunca con ellos. Por lo contrario.

clxxxiii (BHR01): así como vienen a vivir por acá di - así como tú puedes vivir aquí - pero tú eres mestizo - no eres nuestros paisano. Así: mezcla ya! tú puedes tener tu mujer aquí siendo soltero - Ahí puede mezclar ya tu apellido ya - teniendo tu hijo - Así, así eran antes. Ya aumentado así. (*Si me caso con una chica de acá: este mujer de acá que se casa conmigo - este será mestizo - o nuestros hijos?) No - tu - — por ejemplo un varon: no muere el apellido - Y cuando tiene la mujer - muere el apellido dice hombre. Así. — Así pues, Varios aquí: por eso algunos son Jimenez, Velas, Reginfos, Hidalgos - ese son otros - gentes de afuera: Tiene su mujer ahí, aumenta sus hijos ahí - así.

clxxxiv (BRSo4): (*"bakebu" - por qué dice así?)— sus hijos ya dese generación de ayubakebu - dese raza indígena, ayubakebu. Ese clase de gente. Ayubakebu. (*ayu huni) Ayu huni - entonces como te digo - entonces sigue pues la generación no pierde - sigue nomás. Pero si tú no aumentas -ahí termina, muera, se acaba, no sigue más — pero sí has aumentado hijos - va pareciendo los hijos, pero ya se diferencian también. — Pero como te digo - Sí yo me reunido con mi prima - engendrado hijos - entonces ese no termina, sigue. ahora - sí agarrado otra, otra - de otra generación ya — entonces ahí ya no va avanzar - ya no sigue ya. Sino pierda ya. Va perdiendo — — Yo me cruzo con mestizo por decirte, - ya, ya no aumenta mi generación - ahí muere.

clxxxv (AFPO1): (*o sea en Frontera como se dicen usted? capanahua nomás?)— así dice la gente — otros ——— así nomás dicen. — pero ya está terminando la generación también ya. Dos nomás viven - mis tíos pues que son - que conocen di, ellos. Vivían - dice - antiguos - cuando ya mueren ya no va haber nadies ya ÷ ÷.

clxxxvi (LCO01): (*Quién será esos capanahuas?) esos capanahuas no existen ya — Existen, pero sus hijos nomás ya — Ya no son — no viven — antiguamente — lo que sabían las historias ya - ellos ya no viven ya”

clxxxvii (LCO01): (*O sea ya no hay los neabu legítimos ya?) — ya no pues — ese son sus ramas ya.

clxxxviii JRR02 (*Sachivo son otros ya?) ese son otro! — (*no son Chumo?) no. ese no es Chumo. Ese Sachivo son otro. Pero ellos no... - no son antiguo pues - así como estamos - ese ... Aja. (*conocido su abuelito de estos Sachivos acá?) no. ese no. Ese — cuando estoy muchacho, se ha muerto allá, arriba de Fortaleza, aja, ese no ha venido por aca, por allá nomás ha - se ha muerto,

- se acabado ese - su abuelito de ellos pues, de los Sachivos. (*de Ermelinda?) sí, lindo. todo. — Ni su - padre. No. Padre había, pero no - pues - ese no conocía su padre, de ellos. Ahí había - Rozendo Sachivo, Antonio Sachivo, Ezequiel Sachivo. 3 Sachivos. era lo que tiene su hijos aquí pues, todos.
- (*dice donde - su papá de Rozendo?) de donde quizás?! dahí nomás, lo que han crecido, ahí nomás - en su tierra, acá arriba, en Capanahua, - cabecera - ahí: así como indio pues! - pero se han - ha venido pues acá en río, ahí han costumbre ellos también - ahí ya tenía su mujer, sus hijos, bastnt ya pues — Y aquí ya vuelta hace sus hijos ya - hacen pues ese - todo! ese muchachos son - todo ese muchachos son ellos pues. — Baquinahua!
- (*Baquinahua dice donde?) de aquí nomás - lo que han crecido su padre! - Su padre dice han muerto, pero hijos ya vivía ahí. todos ya han tenido pues Baquinahua, todo, todo, todo. (*padres de Baquinahuas?) donde quizás! (*Pero como indios también?) aaja, así pues \\ no son indios, pero - así como estamos - ese hacía. Mhm.
- (...) ese Pizarro - los Pizarro ese también es acá nomás han crecido así como ese muchacho. Pero su papá era hacía - pues que ha criado - ese se han muría todo! No hay nadie! - Solo hijo nomás hay. No, aquí hay - hay este — como se llama? — este— Ronal - Pizarro - y el otro - Omecho. Pizarro —otro: Eugenio. Pizarro... Vásquez. Son 3 aquí hay. Pero solo sus hijos son esos daquí - toditos! Así. No es conforme ya pues - todo son - por ahí - andan en ciudad, todos vive - algunos así... Así.
- ^{cxviii} (RPRO1): (*Y esa gente... los diferentes... tipos de gente, o como - los xanebu, inabu, binabu...) Ese pues... ese eran... así se ponían ellos sus nombres. Yo voy a ser este, decían pues ellos. Y de esa manera ya todos son de xanebu, binabu, xawanbu, todo ese. Y esos eran sus nombres de ellos. Pero no porque realmente eran de diferentes grupos, sino la misma, la misma lengua tienen todos, sino así se echaban nombre ellos. Sus tribadas pues. Y de estos nombres pues... “yo voy a ser este...” pues otros, dice, decían: ‘que va a ser su nombre de tu hijo?’ y ella decía así pues, xawanbu, dice. Refiriéndose a un guacamayo. El loro que vuela. De pecho rojo. De eso. Y ya el va ser xawanbu, ya. Xawanbu!? se le llamaban, su mamá. Y así era antes. No se diferencia la lengua, si no así se echaban nombres ellos en sus montes, en la selva.
- (*Y de estos nombres se ya crearon las familias.) Los familias, yhm. (*Descendientes). Descendencia. Ya se han quedado con ese... se puede decir... con ese nombre. No porque son de otro grupo, di? No, sí una sola. así se echaban los nombres ellos en sus tiempos de los antiguos. Por ejemplo ese xane, binabu, inu... no, sino que estos se ponían nombre entre... entre la comunidad, entre los nativos. así era antes.
- ^{cxix} Agustín López, Diario I: 1903-09:
- 1907 dec: ~te día tomando de nuevo nta montería que habíamos dejado [¿?] la surcada por otra en mejores condicions q nos ofrecio D Heri[ve]rto, bajamos al Capanahua. El mismo día llegamos, ha[bi]endo visitado en el transito la casa del curaca de esa tribu en q encontramos á sus hijos con sus mujeres. Visitamos la [ca]sa de otro capanahua q vive junto á la boca de esta quebrada [en] la cual encotramos varias familias q habian venido con patron Maximiliano Freire á hacer una casa. Me reci-<108> bieron bien y pude hacerme comprender de ellos por med[io] de uno q me conocia del Ucayali y hablaba bien castell[ano].
- El 15 todos ellos vinieron á visitarme trayendo 5 criaturas p[ara] q se las bautizara. El 16 vino el curaca con su fami[lia] trayendo 4 mas. El 17 volvio con otras 3 para bautizarlas [el] mismo día salieron del Capanahua dos familias de siring[ueros] trayendome otra criatura par bautizarla. Hechos los bauti[s]mos se verificó el matrimonio del D. Teofilo Piniero brasilero [con] la Srta Encarnacion Vela. Por último se me presentó un c[a]panahua como de 20 años pidiendo el bautismo. Conociendo en el una gracia extraordinaria q Díos quería hacerle le adm[inis]tre el sacramento; é inmediatamente contra el parecer de tods sus paisanos y especialmente de su abuelo el curaca, q trataban de dis[ua]dirle, pidió bajarse connmigo. Habló al patron a quien deb[ia] como 200 soles, el cual accedió á sus deseos, por lo cual no tuve el menor inconveniente en recibirle. Preparó sus cosas y fue~ á buscar la cama y ropa y despues de almorzar, como a [p. 109] las 2 de la tarde llenos de alegría nos bajamos a Francia. Aqui pasamos tdo el día 18 por hallarse Ramon [Pacaya, boga] enfermo á consecuencia de un dolor de oido q le hizo pasar muy mala noche.
- ^{cxci} (fT0312): [so are people here Capanahua?] Yo digo que somos Capanahuas. Ese es nuestra raza, nuestra generación; ‘pertenece a esa raza’ – y ‘en mayoría entendemos’. (*) No se puede negar eso ya. (*Algunos así dicen – sus padres, madres, abuelos, eran Capanahua, pero ellos no los son) así, algunos dicen así. Incluso mi abuelo entendía todo lo que se hablaba, conocía bien, pero decía que cuando ha ha ido y bajado del ejercito, ya no recordaba mucho y que ya no era Capanahua
- ^{cxcii} (RPRO8) (*Leandro Torres?) Sí, Pizarro también () hermano menor de todos, del mismo padre (que Tomás Pizarro, Santiago) (*no sabe quién eran esos padrinos?) no.
- (*como lo hacen - de chiquito?) chiquitos. Desde pequenito - entonces ese queda - este va ser mi apellido - ellos mismo echan nombre - Leandro Torres. Posiblemente creo un señor Torres de Tamanco, pero no acuerdo su nombre - así me explicado también - Manuel Huaninche. Un Torres, pero nombre no me dijo- un Torres le ha bautizado. Le ha querido - la barriga de su vientre - de la mamá - el ha pedido - para ser mi ahijado - sea varón o mujer. Y nació Leandro - y allí le ~ que va llamarse Leandro. Va ser Leandro
- (*que hace padrino?) el padrino: muere su mamá, su papá - yo le recogeré como padre verdadero dice el padrino. Por eso muchos ellos le querían al padrino - ya padrino le dio ese apellido. (*a veces solo nombre no apellido) - sí, pero ese le dado con todo nombre y apellido. -- Y por eso él ya no es... Pizarro - sino Leandro Torres. (\\ *crea otra generación?) sí...[unconvinced] -- Su mamá era - no le conocía - pero apellidaba Isamano. (*que de Tomás) sí. (*La señora estaba Capanahua?) [no,] pero entendía - así como mamá de Celina - ella también era de San Martín, pero se ha hecho cruce con capanahua - pero hablaba capanahua. De los años que se iban allá ellos - escuchaba - que lo que dice - al agua decía agua - hene bi'tan - ella no le entendía - vete traer tu agua decía allí - y por ese llegaba entender. (*a los padre no le molestaba que el niño no va llevar su apellido de ellos?) No, de lo contrario - más le querían al padrino - porque les daba ropa, todo que ellos necesitaban - a base de ahijado. (*no eran patronos?) no, no. (*este es panun?) panun. () (*Y el nombre mismo de Pizarro viene también del padrino de repente?) Por~~~ puede ser qu ha sido de padrino? (*antiguos no tenían apellidos castellanos, no?) algo difícil. Yo creo que era de padrino. () (*padres legítimos que hacen para su niño?) solamente le dan su pan de día... mhm, su pan de día... (*y la caricia, o amor para el niños -

- eso es\ los padres!(*\ cuando el niño crece?) sí, con los padres, padrino no tanto - papá y mamá. y demas hermano. Pero ya pues quedan con ese apellido - con ese apellido crece - son hermanos que se conocen, pero de diferente apellido es - Si sería de otro padre.
- cxciiii (ACo2): J: “~ bueno que no estabas capanahua hija,” me decía mi abuela. — “Hacia correr hijo de campa. - Terminando - el capanahua”.
- A: Mhm, no ‘toy diciendo - los campas los estaban acabando a los capanahuas ya pues. Aaja.
- J: tú no eras hijo de capanahua cuando ya hacía correr.
- cxciiv (ACo1): Porque desde entonces - ya los capanahuas no querían hablar ya pues sus idioma. Ya los parecía feo dice: ya no somos indios, y nosotros también somos mestizos, decían ellos. ÷÷÷÷
- cxciiv (ACo2): El ha dicho que ya no quieren ser ya capanahua, quiere ser mestizo ellos también ya — aja. — basta que los viejos saben hablar - decía pues - y los hijos ya no deben ser así ya. Porque los hijos deben tener estudios superiores - ya decía pues - paque los enseñen.
- cxciiv (VPBo1): Mi abuelo me cuenta: — Sus abuelo de el: querían comer gente! — Uno que se moria deaquí - por no desperdiciar dice querían comer. — El?ya dice? — “Nnno, para que vamos comer? — más bien hay que enterarles — Y dice querían comer — ellos viejos querían comer: — para que no desperdicie! — Mi abuelo: - decía: para que vamos a comer? — aquí hemos venido para comer gente? — No. — Hay que enterrar. — Enterraba mi abuelo — ya, listo. — Mi abuelo era joven pues - joven! - por que vamos a comer? — — Eso querían los — los antiguos querían comer dice — paque no se desperdicia dice — — Aísta ahí — amigo Lucas — que sera pues carne de gente di? — como no — — que vamos a comerlo? — Henhen! — Nnno. — —
- cxciiv (GSRo8): (*tu papá decía que tu primo sera tu familia también, que no se debe casar?) — — — — -ha. — nuestro primo es dice nuestro — beneati dice — Nuestro. — marido dice — como — — “Con tu primo te puedes casar — me decía mi papá — “A cuidado — decía yo! ÷÷÷÷ — (*o sea ustedes no ha querido?) — mhmm — yo veía feo pues di - - que ya voy a — -Tiernita y ya sabía pensar — — que voy a meterme con mi familia! — decía — como ya pues tratar a mi familia! — mhmm — — (*y así no veo — estas mujeres — esas chicas ahorita no veo así — — con cualquier se meten! — — No dice es mi familia, nada! — — (*o sea ahora es peor que antes quizás?) — igual, igual nomás — — (*Pero para tu papá entonces el primo no sera familia quizás?) — — — — — como sera pues ! — que quizás — — como quizás pensaba el! — De un primo — Miin beneyura — me decía. — — por ejemplo este X — ‘ta mi primo hermano — mhmm — su hijo de mi tia, su hermana de mi mamá — de mi papá — - Y su mamá de mi — — Es mi primo — — — — Yo me acuerdo que X le decía así a mi papá: “A mi me vas entregar tu hija, tio — decía — Mmm — Yo le rabiaba y lloraba cuando oía así — — ÷÷÷÷÷ — No me gustaba paque me diga así mi familia. — — Y les he frenado hasta el último! — No quería saber nada. — hasta soy así — ahora yo le digo ñaño — y no digo primo, nada! — Les tengo como a mis hermanos pues di! — Aja. — —
- (GSR10): (*mejor agarra su primo - prima para pareja. — Benigno — Ezequiel: agarra mi hija, paque no se pierda generación — — Y usted me estaba diciendo la misma cosa - así te decía tu papá —) — mhm, así pues me decía mi papá. — —(*como has pensado que eso puede ser feo?) — yo no quería pues: — yo pensaba que como voy a meterme con mi familia di? — —El apellido que yo tengo: - yo pensaba así - -Yo tengo el apellido - que tiene: — el — que puede meternos — así como ya pues? — para mi quedaba feo así — A pesar que era huambra — sabía pensar. — Y no me dejaba — mi papá me quería entregar! — No quería! — —
- (K: y como es que para ellos no parecía feo eso?) — porque ellos taban costumbrado así. — (*y ustedes, jóvenes - ya vivian en otro tiempo ya.)- cómo? () — (*ustedes ya no querían eso — no has querido que no se pierde la raza ya?) — m-m — — — \ \ Casi con la mismo me quedado pues! — porque mi tío este — su papá de Eugenio - es — Sachivo también. - -Mm?! — (...) (*Pero había otra gente que decía que tu primo sera tu familia? - — — Si tu papá te decía que eso quizás no es familia: que le puedes casar — O te decía que es tu familia, pero puedes casar) — mhm — así pues — —(*que es familia, pero puedes casar?) — aja, con tu primo. — así me decía mi papá. — (*por qué los jóvenes no han querido, han dejado ese costumbre?) — no ya pues — uno mismo se — ve feo — vivir con nuestra familia. (*Pero has tenido vergüenza que otrs van venir y te van mirar mal?) — yo pienso así pues — que otrs vengan di, dice dicen: - “Con tu familia estas! — mhmm — — (*como antiguos, como los indios quizás?) — como los indios ya pues — (*irrazonables?) - — — que no conocen a su familia. — así es pues (*o sea les reñían los mestizos que venian — que viven con su familia, todo eso?) — no es que nos reñían — sino — te dicen pues así no — “Por qué te metes con tu familia, mhmm — Habiendo tanta gente ‘tas metiendo con tu familia! — — Igual que Z.: — Z. — ‘ta con su sobrina! - mhm. — — — — — Ese es según de cada persona. — Ese es querer de cada uno ya. — (...) — mucha gente lo hacen — para algunos lindo — que no pierda la generación - pero parece para mestizos acá - -no les gustaba eso.) — nnoo es que les. — — algunos mestizos también se meten así. — Mhmm. — Por eso pues digo - ese es querer de cada uno ya pues — mhm — Aista don... \ \ — don X Y de Santa Elena: — está con su — prima, sobrina creo — sus hijos firman Y Y — —
- (GSR10): (*ustedes ya no querían eso — no has querido que no se pierde la raza ya?) — m-m — — — \ \ Casi con la mismo me quedado pues! — porque mi tío este — su papá de Eugenio - es — Sachivo también. - -Mm?! —
- (GSR11): (*según lo que has escuchado - te parece que antes se vivido más lindo o ahor?) — yo pienso que igual se vive - pero ya no pues como vivían antes así — con sus familia ya. — — Ahorita ya conocemos quien es nuestro familia. (*Pero con eso se pierde la raza ahí?) - ya se pierde la raza pues — — — — así decía mi papá. “Tas queriendo hacer aumentar nawa”, me decía. — — — — \ \ “Tas queriendo hacer aumentar cocama”, me decía mi papá ÷÷ —
- cxciiviii (BRS11): (*y así hacían los antiguos?) — así pues dice! - -Te hacían reunir con tu prima! - A mi quería reunir mi tio pues con mi prima. — con este, la Margola - me quería hacer reunir su papá de ella — Yo no quería pues! - más bien me largado a rio Blanco a cambiar porái. — Y venido de frente ya - para casar con Estefita ya - al Buncuya — Dealla ya he traído a ellos ya — (*por qué no has querido casarse - con Margola?) - aista pues! - Sino - hubiese aumentado bien! - Hubiera sido - mis hijos ya pues este. — Victor Ríos Sachivo — así hubiera seguido ya — metiendome yo con la Margola - — Aja — (*no has querido) yo no he querido pues — Ni - pensaba eso también pues yo! - De que — voy a perder mi raza di? - — pero siendo con ellos — hubiera aumentado cuantos mis hijos - así como la Beti, la otra - la Rubi - otra Lluri - otra - Beti — ese hubiese sido mis hijas ya pues de mi — Aja — entonces hubiera aumentado mis hijas — Y mi sangre no se iba perder. — (*y tu papá mamá - no te reñían - que. —) -

- no — también pues me largado - no sabía ellos nada. — No decía “Mm, mi tío me ‘ta queriendo entregar a mi prima — Nunca he dicho eso. - más bien tenía que irme ya pues - porque no me entreguen. — Y largado a Rio Blanco - cambiar ahí — pero yo era joven, así como Toni - 18 años — así mismo. — + 4 meses cambiando por Rio Blanco Curinga Lobo Tambor Cpng - porái también + Porái me largado: andannnnn’ — cambiando... —
- (BRSo4): Entonces - mi tío me querido hacer reunir con su hija. Yo ya vuelta no quería. — Uhh! - Tío era un travieso - este te agarraba - así dormir con su hija - bien! — ÷÷ yo ya talán! - ÷÷÷ Oy no - devez - su mujer igual, mi tía - A’ki min ha’ibu —betan uxanwe, ihun! - “duerma con tu mujer, aista!” — yo pues no quería eso - uuuh! - Echado donde ella - salía - Vam - me largaba. (*por qué no querías?) no quería. aista pues! - -me ~ - porque diciendo que era mi prima, pues - de mi tía su hija! por eso yo no quería pues! — Pucha, cada borrachera me hacía eso mi tía. Mi tío. Ya no - ~ dado mi masato así pate - ha - yo era un muchacho pues - tenía miedo que me agarra mi tío - -! - ya! - {grasping his clothes} - ~ hecho ~ - así - tomar pate llenito — ÷÷÷ pucha! - Ahí - pi’ashan! - Merani min - en bake xuntaku! - ~ - duerme ya, tu mujer ya — Ooo, yo no quería como te digo - tenía 2 - ese mujer de Pablo - Margola. Ese era así como - este - así como este, mi hija, Lulisa. Una blanquita, gordita nomás. - “Duerma con este! - min a’ibu!” - decía mi tía - yo no quería. No, le digo, tía - digo. No, mi tío (no: mi compadre era: mi papá le decía compadre a mi tío. entonces yo de muchacho - así como mi Segundo - yo también le echado compadre en mi tío - Así me ha acostumbrado) “Cumpa - haa ta ki, merani - en bake xuntaku - uxawe - duerma ya ahí!” ÷÷÷ Ui, yo decía, no, tío - entonces yo brincaba abajo. Ven, ven, ven! - ÷÷÷÷ yo no quería! - vamos, vamos ir con este muchacho - yo me acuerdo - me hacía dormir ahí. Ahí dormía ya! - Pucha, de mañanita voy tener vergüenza - he dormido con mi prima ya - puu! - yo de mañanita me largaba ya - a mi casa! - Mi mamá me miraba - me decía - donde te has quedado. Ahí quedado mami, a dormir. - Aya, - cuidado - vas a robar así - por ahí, me decía - Oy que! ÷÷÷÷ (*) aja, este, mi tío Ezequiel - y con este, Margola, con este me quería hacer dormir. - Yo no quería pues. como te digo - — voy hacer mal, carajo - pero mi tío me está entregando pues su hija - como dice para no perder la raza pues - para aumentar dahí - Yo no quería pues. — Mi mamá no sabía - yo hacía mi traversura por ahí - jovencillo, 14 años - así era. — No quería pues. Hasta eal último! - Tenía otro su hermana de ella, más mayor - con ese me hacía igual: aista tu mujer, llevale - duerma con ella - yo no quería - no tío, le decía, no compadre - Mi tía también igual, mi tía vieja era así - como mi - mamá Ermisha. Así. “[T’kunin ra’e hutañwe - min ‘aibu]” - “no, tía, digo yo - no se trabajar - decía yo - como yo le voy servir!” decía yo. Era un muchacho. — O sino pues ~ aumentado una cantidad de familia ahí - no quería pues yo. -
- (BRSo8): (*Pero quien te dicho que mejor no le cases - que es tu prima?) - ha? - (*quien te dicho que mejor no te \\\) — no. — ese mi tío Tarzan — hombre fuerzudo - el decía pues así — que tus primas, — con tu primas puedes casarte! (P: ÷÷÷÷) — aja. — Pero no con tu sobrina — + (*Pero no has querido usted?) - no yo ne he querido pues (P: ÷÷÷÷) ÷÷÷÷ — (*) porque era mi prima pues — yo no quería pues — pero mi tío me quería hacer dormir con su hija — Yo le digo — noo — “yo tengo miedo. — “por qué vas tener miedo? - tu mujer es pues - me dice — yy? — acaso es otra gente? - -ese es tu ‘aibu! - Mhm — Yo le decía - no — así me agarrba de mano - “Ven ya - dormir con mi hija! (P: ÷÷÷÷) — aja -
- ^{ccix} (GSRo4): (*cuando la Kinga estaba haciendo su olla, nos has dicho que don José te comentado para que vas hacer esto — eso es la cosa de los antiguos) — sí, así pues me ha dicho él. — (*Por que no vale esto que es de los antiguos?) — o sea que el ya no quiere para hacer a mi olla. — (*K: para el no vale eso ya?) — yaa no quizás — (K: por qué?) - porque ese dice eran de antes, dice - los antiguos (*hay que dejarlo?) mhm — pudiendo comprar ollas dice - van estar haciendo barro. — Así hacían los antiguos— los antepasados cuando ellos no podían comprar. Mhm.
- ^{cc} (RBSo1): (*contaba de Delfin Arce - Juan Hidalgo - Vidal Ruiz?) — Vidal Ruiz -todo ese son estes. Juan Hidalgo - todo es — ese son nuestros paisanos de nosotros. Claro que nuestras abuelas, — abuelos - hablaban nuestro dialecto di - pero ya pues — ahora nosotros ya hemos dejado hablar eso pues - Ya se han terminado abuelas, abuelos, se han terminado - ellos pues hablaban ese deai - ellos no conversaban así en castellano. — Puro - todo - dialecto nomás. — Mhm - pero ya han terminado pues — Peor ahora - cuando - alguien hablaba — tenían vergüenza! Las viejas - porque... — cuando hablaban: “nononono! — los hijos, los nietos - decían: “no habla abuelita, ‘tan escuchando - dice — gentes - mozos! — gentes mestizos — No quieren \\\) — nos van a tratar de que somos cholos! ÷÷÷÷÷÷÷÷÷÷! - -Desa manera pues ya — a — se acaba — Nunca no han querido hablar ya. —
- ^{ccii} (JRRo2): (*Mamá Shabi agarrado en otra parte?) No. No agarrado, sino, así como que crece - así era hacia los antiguos: los antiguos han criado - dahí nomás - otro antiguo dice han ponía ese pintado, que pinta. Y ese hacía, todo. Invitaba caserío de otro casa — haciendo masato, pero bien!! fuerte pues - paque convidar ese señorita paque emborrachan - paque poner ellos. Aja. Cooomo dice han gritaba, que bruto! ÷÷÷ Mhm. Pero ahí — bien negro, bien negro - así he visto este Shabi - — no se que Shabi, Chumo creo hacia. Chumo. aja. (*su esposo?) Ese ha sido Chumo pues - por eso ese daquí - todo hombres y mujeres - hay Chumo, Chumo aquí -
- Aquí creo que hay uno - — pero ya han bajado - ese no hay Chumo aquí. No hay Chumo. Allá arriba creo que no hay. Pero aquí ese Padilla también, ese también es Chumo. Padilla Chumo pues. Ese - su hija dice hacía pues este su - Shabi lo que ha tenido - Ahí ha tenido todos, todos, todos ya.
- Y ese - ese dice - X Y lo que dice - Y el dice - ahí estaba en su casa. Su abuelita era hacía - y se aburrecía ese X Chumo. Aja. Dahí - ‘squeledice - Bueno, ya, - “por usted. - nos dice - algunos virakuchas nos dice: ‘Mira, ustedes son indio - porque ustedes vive así,’ nos dice - por usted!” - Así escalera - así alto su casa, emponado - y ahí dice la vejez cuando hacía de bañar - ahí dice empujado - “carajo, vieja, cojudo ‘ta haciendo que?” - ha empujado - caído pues - buum! - muerto. Ahí se ha [acabado?] su vida - se ha murió - Sí. — Aburreciendo se han empujado pues - Hoy no hay Shabi. Mhm.
- ^{cciii} (DHRo3): Demonios de carnaval - a, de carnaval ÷÷÷ - (*ese es otra cosa, otrso demonios?) - ese es otro demonño - eso es demonio del monte. () (*no son ahauara, es diferente?) no - ese es del monte ya pues - lo que pandillea ya para día de carnaval. — (*donde vive este? en monte?) ese vive en monte, ese no sale. vive ahí, igual que vivimos nosotros aquí - igual tienen su caserío en monte: hay niños, señoritas, todo - pero, todo. sus animales - huangana, sajino, todo su animales. (*tienen casa y todo? ropa) - tiene su casa pues \\\) - no hueco de palo - ahí viven ellos. Ahí estan adentro en ese oscuridad. Aja. (*y no veen nada?) - noo veen nada ese dahí. — — () - Lo que va ver - nada - ahí para en oscuro. cuando llego día carnaval - ahí recien sale ellos - a pandillar, jugar carnaval, tomar su bushnan, unmpa. (*Pero cuando viven allá en el hueco - tienen su ropa, azucar?) -

- tiene todo, todo sus botas, todo - dice ahí. (*ellos veen en oscuridad?) - ahí viven ahí en ese oscuro. (*no le molesta oscuridad?) - no, que es dahí (*parece como de día?) @ así salen en día - noves algunos le esconden a muchacho, señorita cuando está el día.
- ^{ciii} (DHR24): (madre de carnaval vive en su hueco de curuhuinsi?) — de curuhuinsi? — ese vive en hueco de palo — () así palaso - a veces en hueco de tierra — hay así hueco de tierra ve — ahí dice está adentro — hueco de palo — que va vivir en hueco de curuhuinsi - aista su madre - te puede morder! — En hueco de palo sí - aista su — casa — Hueco de tierra, así. — Un huecaz. — así se le halla en monte a veces — Tremendo huecazo ve — Bien - libre— -oss!curo adentro — pero lindo es pues - libre! - Ahí quizás duerme adentro — pero no se ve adentro - oscuro —
- ^{civ} E.g. (RPH01): (*Madre de carnaval - es lo mismo?) — ese es shapshico, lo mismo! — pero ese la mujer, ese madre del carnaval - y este. — Eses, ese mismo pues - madre de carnaval, yashingo, este — Madre de carnaval es pues el rey de la selva, el yashingo — O sea que el se transforma pues en dos tipos —P la fiesta viene, y después de la fiesta - ya no viene ya — (*aja, para todo el año ya no viene ya) @ - cuando ya llega nuevamente - entonces ya viene. (*y por qué viene a la fiesta?) - porque — ese es fiesta de el ps, le gusta la carnaval — le gusta pandillar () tomar — noves hay bastante pues en la noche - A veces borrachos ahí - huuh! - aista
- ^{cvi} (RPH01): entonces había ido dice un hombre al monte, día del carnaval dice era pues — Se va al monte - ese día que prienda la húmisha. —Se va -~despacio ya —Mata dice un sajino, le destripa el sejiino — Y — ‘ta volviendo. En este que ‘ta volviendo - dice encuentra — oye bombo adelante: escucha bombo atrás. Que lo que hace él: — Amarra \\ le corta dice un palito — le pone — cruz- una cruzecita en su pecho le pone. — atrás también. — No hecho caso!: que dice el diablo venía, venía - tran!- le dice se ha escondido, () en un hueco. entonces le dice - “Amigo, que haces ahí, amigo?” — “vamos ya a pasar la fiesta del carnaval!- Y — sale ya pues - El sale: sale dahí — Y se va ya - El dice mira así: ya no era monte! - era una linda carretera! — Bieen limpio! - entonces le dice era quenista - le dan la quena ya pues a el - Había dice bombo redoblante - Bruuuto! dice la gente que venía jugando. — toda la gente pues - muchachos y hombres, tomando - algunos dice borrachos pues. — Dahí se seguían - él se iba con su quena ya - se iban tomar masato, trago,?leva? — Puta, se largo! — su mujer dice espera y espera, no parecía - que va hacer? - entonces ya llega pensar: yaa le robado madre del carnaval! —
- ^{cvi} (GSR07): ni’in yúshin, así he oído que decía mi papá. (*gente o?) - ese es pues la chuyachaqui, yashingo. (*) ese es lo que vive en el monte. (*lo mismo que viene para carnaval?) no. — a, por carnaval dice entran todo clase de demonios: ellos, los que mueren — porque una vez cuando ya taba fundado ese Limón Cocha - había un señor que —\\ este prima Estefa vivía con su marido allá en Requenillo. Ahí dice se han ido tomar de día, para carnaval. () masato. Y queda dice un borracho. Había un hamaca de mi prima Estf ahí, en su casa () Ahí dice ha quedado el borracho. Y los demas han venido ya. — No han dejado ni una canoa - todito han traído. entonces el borracho dice despierta: Oye dice bombo en la loma, por el camino, por donde se va al Buncuya pues. — Oye dice que vienen gritando, bombo, su quena, Y venían jugando dice los mujeres, venían riendo. entonces dice - se echado más en hamaca, se tapado con su hamaca. — De frente dice han venido a subir - como dice han pandillado ahí, en su patio. Había dice caimito en su bajo dese caimito como dice pandillaban dice. ~ - Y uno dice sube a casa: “Pero aquí hay uno, sque dice - Vamos llevarle!” - el demonio ya. Vamos dice - sube uno - No, dice sld -el bueno quizás pues — No, dejale a este borracho, han dejado - deja, que descansa. — pero era su hermano dice - de lo que taba echado borracho. - pero ahí dice le conocido a su hermano: “Dejale ahí” — y se han ido. El dice - ellos taban yendo - el empezado a nadar ya ÷ - Bien bajo dice era. Empezado nadar, vadiando a la play, dahí ya venido por canto, asustado. — Por eso dice que hasta - este demonio que mueren - hasta ellos salen. A fiestiar, carnaval. (*y tú nunca has encontrado?) - no. — !Eugenio sí me cuenta allá en Buncuya - del airopuerto noves vivían ellos en la loma - del arprt de la subida te vas - a la loma ahí vivían ellos. Ahí dice quedado su mamá también para carnaval - no ha querido ir a la fiesta. Ahí dice han venido pues del centro dice han venido - con ~ - El ese tiempo era chiquito. — como dice pandillaban dice - [se movían?] al arbol - aista!- achiote dice había. Ahí dice jugaban dice - como cualquier pues dice - jugaban. “Echale agua!” ‘squedecían mujeres. Echaban dice agaua, dice sonaba ve - shaa! con ese - se derrama agua noves - Se reiiian dice - pero no subían en la casa: en patio nomás ha oído ellos. — Así me cuenta Eugenio.
- (RPH01): Así dice - por Capanahua, aca, por Tapiche: Había ido a monte dice entre 6 — faltando 5 días para la carnaval — han iido - y uno dells dice le dice — Mañana prienda la húmisha, vamos ya! - tenemos carne, tenemos motelo, — y motelo era para que vende carne ya para que comen ellos. — “Bueno, yo no voy a irme - que fiesta de carnaval a mí no me interesa - día de carnval no sabe nada!” - que dice él - la persona pues incredul, di.
- ellos han bajado ya. — Y tenía dice su perro — ‘ta durmiennnd’ dice — Ese día, \\ al siguiente día que iban a sacar la húmisha - ese día él se queda. — Es - de un sueño escucha que suena el bombo. — Tiene-tiene tiene-tiene-tiene! — un sonar! — entonces el dice dice: por qué stoy así!? - pero como van vivir la gente tan lejos? -vivía dice el. —Putá, le dice piensa. — Más cerca ya! - y su perro dice quejaba pues: rommm! - se? enojaba? — - huahuuuuuu! — lloraba el perro dice. —El dice mira: pah! agarrado su interna - pensando! [Julia from the kitchen scorning the kids jumping around us: ~~ ‘ta conversando tu papá!!] — Pensando dice ese dahí. — Y entonces dice se levanta ya. Este será el diablo del monte - que dice el hombre! — Emp a agarrar su cama, embarca en su canoa — Más cerca! - -Rápido! dice viene pues! — — Pucha - que viene, que viene, golpiando bombo! — — Cerca: bruuuu!to como dice venía gritando la gente! — hasta ~ le embarcaban - agarrado - llamado su perro a la popa - y dahí ~el ya - se mandó — Embarcado también al otro lado a mirar pues - el río dice estaba crecido: Mira dice así: hombres y mujeres, muchachos, viejos venían pandillando! — otro dice en su campamento dice lo que era monte: bien libre ya! — Bien iluminado! — — Pucha, entonces le dice. entonces dice le dice: este es diablo del monte. — Amigooo - ven ya! - Ven ya, vamos a tomar! — en su tmabo dice había una lata viejo ahí - como dice le golpiaban: ta-tan -ta-tiene ta-tan — los borrachos dice. — como dice convidaban dice el pate! — Tu salud, amigo! - decía - él nada, al otro lado, su perro como dice ladraba: wauuwauuwau! - ÷÷÷÷ mirando los diablos ve! — Dahí dice ‘ta mirando - dahí ha bajado ya. — Por abajo! - 5 de la mañana: ya taba bajando nomás. A los 9 dice llega. — Llega dice — y ellos dice dicen: — y verdadamanete estaban surcando en el bote ya: Taban surcannnd— taban surcando varias personas a traer la húmisha! - y llegado dice a traer la húmisha, ahí le han convidado masato dice cuenta él pues. — Y así encontrado diablo del monte! — Casi me lleva madre de la carnaval — “No te dicho, dice le dice - así te van hacer! — tú no sabes hacer caso!” — “por qué no te han llevado” - le dice - “En que - yo agarrado mi canoa y vadía al otro lado!” ÷÷÷÷ cojudo di÷÷ - duro dice le hacían reír! — por eso dice la madre del carnaval existe pues! — ese es este shapshico.

- cevii (DHR28): (*Pero ya no vas salir disfrazado...) — yya no — tiene que cumplir 12 años! — Sino cumple 12 anos — te presigue ese demonio — así enfermo vives! — Posheeco — porque te lleva dice tu alma: — pues así — no quiere salir ya pues -difrazado — En tu sueño te viene llevar jalando ya — te pinta tu cara. — Yo — soñaba así, cuando no quería salir ya - mhm. — Lindas! chicas me venia jalar de mi mano: — aaa jugar! — != - pandillaba montón — pero ese es del monte pues! — Aja — no deaquí. —
- ceviii (DHR02): Este también ~ carnaval - tiene su madre — Carnavalón - hen! — ese pandillea en monte! — Vete en su día del carnval (en monte) - hen! — te lleva dice! — - Mhmm — Te jala de tu mano dice pandillar dice — bajo de húmisha - tomar masato — Bien colorado su cara, jugando con achitoe — noves hay achitoe del monte - ese tamanito rojito —!= Senoritas ahí — como juegan, Jovenes! — Danda la vuelta bajo del húmisha - disfrazado ahí — Por eso sale difrazados aquí cuando hace con carnaval — ese tienes que cumplir 12 años — Yo también he salido difrazado - he salido 6 años — Dahí ya no querido ya — Bruuto que me hacía soñar — A mi sueño el diablo del monte ya pues — en tu sueño te viene llevar — Brrruut ve — Señoritas — lindas señoritas, ro!jo su caras — te jalan en tu sueño != pandillar — es porque no sales difrazado aquí
- (DHR02): Sino cumples dice así vives así enferrmo dice — te compañía — (...) (*y después te hace soñar este demonio?) — demonio nomás — cuando no sales - te hace soñar nomás — así vives dice - posheeco dice —
- (DHR02): (*y es año has hecho esto también?) — ya no querido salir ya — aja, pero me hace soñar - pero no quiero salir ya pues — más antes me gustaba - ahorita ya no quiero ya — Me cumplido — (*) tienes que cumplir 12 años — tengo 6 años nomás — me falta () molestar pues - a mi sueño - para — cuando se acerca carnaval pues — Febrero — ha caído este febrero — Ahí me hecho soñar pues — no he salido pues! — No he — no quiero! — (*por qué no quieres?) — - yaa no quiero ya ÷÷÷ — mhmm — cuando era muchacho salia - pero ahora ya no me gusta ya — ya no ya - ni me gusta jugar, nada ya! — Ahí estoy escondido en mi cuerto ahí — Echaaa -d o — para que no ensucien — por eso no quiere jugar — — Se hace tarde — recién salgo ya — recién me voy a la fiesta ya — Aja, ahí no te va ensuciar - puro almidon - y talco nomás te ensucia — colorete — te ensucia con colorete - tu camisa, todo — tu cara — Maneces - puro aceite, puro ese colorete —
- ceix (DHR02): dese dealla — ese — cashapona. — Ese le corta [maletoncito??] - noves tiene su huayo? - - Ese le corta tan! - bien su hojita bien — Y su huayo no le corta - ahí queda su huayo. — ya le cargan ya - - acá le ponen en local. — Le pone en una mesa: - ahí le trensa ya su hoja — vaya trenzando - tra tra tra — paque haga así ya — mhm — Le hace trincar así ya — trenzado — aquí le amarra un palo — ya — Aista ya - las - cositas amarrados — todito - bien adornado ! - bien cargadito ya! - Mhm - todo — En la punta está la bandera rojo y blanco ahí - -peruano - + (*por qué bandera?) ese porque somos peruanos dice — mhm — peruano — rojo y blanco. Por eso... - en la corona, misma coronita le amarra eso. —
- ceix (DHR02): (*que más se colabora - que es bueno?) — de todo! — (*Pero carne, pescado ya no?) — alg pone motelo: — le cuelgan! - carne así envuelto — aja — - también pues — yyy - no quiere comer? pues estan de hambre alg - -poo! — me voy a la carne, dice — para que le va comer — (*ingui?) - ingui, galleta, pan — aja — zapote — de todo! — - () dulce! — gasiosa — gasiosa no sabe romper la cimba pues — Cae — yy ! — -?A veces que ese? motelo - eso se mezquina— ayaaa! - se montona - lo que tiene - ahí agarran - aja, pelea — ahí - bruu! - Ahí se montona este — hormiga en su encima que ~ ÷÷÷ - ahí tiene que correr ya! ÷÷÷ — Puuta, ese - - hormiga bravo — ahí! — recién se retira — lo que lleva el motelo - lleva ya — yy! ÷÷
- cexi (BRS17): Tiempo de carnaval que va estar la palmera — Se van con quena y bombo ahí — paque levanten a la palmera, bombo, musica - Y le paran a la palmera bien cargado con pañuelo, — muchas cosas se pone en prenda pues - todo eso hay. Van tener que — celebrar la fiesta por la noche, todo el día. — 5 de la tarde van tomar en la palmera.
- cexii (DHR02): - ese es - hasta — éstas horas ve — tumba la húmisha — po, po! — Blon! — ahí gana a ese húmisha — uuuh! — ahí carga la palmera ya — botar al agua! — Se terminó - la fiesta —() - Yo también he colaborado: una lejía, una bolsa de ace y un jabón.
- cexiii (RPH01): (*o sea si no le haces caso y no participas en carnaval...) — tienes que hacer caso por fuerza - noves el fiesta del diablo ahí — por eso ese día salen en la media noche, o la 9 de la noche - salen disfrazados. — Algunos salen barrigon, algunos salen mujercita - algunos su cara bonita, algunos tremennndo largo su rabo. — Había pues el año pasado un joven que se dib~ - parecía un mono: bien feo! - Se iba ahí - pucha, queriendo jalar: ÷÷÷ como gritaba la muchacha! ~ hacían reír — Ahí había una mascara, bien feo - ashi bolito su nariz. — Ni más ni menos una mujercita, peludita, amarrado todavía! — Bailaba - ni más ni menos - una mujer! — pero — difrazado pues —
- (*o sea — para que hacen esto?) — o sea que imitando dice al diablo! — o sea que comparando al diablo lo hacen ese ahí. — (Julia: o sea que ese es una fiesta de carnaval hermano — ese es cada año ~) \\ Cada año le celebran ahí este fiesta \\ (Julia: así como hecho esa vez aquí — Nunca en sus pueblo esa clase?) (*no!) (J: primera vez has visto?) () (Así hacemos - así festejamos nosotros aquí cada año, esa fiesta de carnaval) (*estos que se disfrazan - esto imitan al diablo, nomás? - no es que diablo está viniendo?) no, ahorita ya no. —
- De— A media noche - a partir de media noche que salen disfrazado - el diablo dice se presenta juntabente con los personas que estan saliendo. — Ahí dice está el también! — pero como son varios pues - uno no s les conoce — Algunos salen barrigon, algunos salen derecho, algunos sin brazo! — manquishos - algunos con un lado de pie, algunos cojitos — Y ese diablo tiene su capataz, o sea su jefe — un otro diablo máaaas viejiii!to (J: apu como le dicen) - El le comanda a todos — el primerito entra - cojiennndo se va ese viejito - con su bastoncito - llega, a los músicos ahí pide ya a la padillada- una musica típica - el está ahí — le convidan su trago - pero biennn?potechito? - pero como pues le hacen así?! - ÷÷÷ - Un viejito! Algunos dice - ya se ido cagar - asiii ÷÷÷÷ - voltazo ya — — Dahí el se va ya: se cansa ya pues - el que sale eso: bruuuto como caldea esa mascara que se muda! — ‘tas bien!! sudado ahí — Algunos ya no aguantan ya - algunos tna volviendo ya pues — — Y ahí también dice está el diablo. — noves fiesta del diablo es!? — Manece ese ahí - al siguiente día — ya pues - ya no tanto porque está de~ ya —Antes dice se presentaba pues — mmmhm, el diablo era bien potente - ahora ya no
- cexiv (DHR22): (*uno de demonios que viene — 4 caras no?) - + el capataz pues - @ - Igual del monte - -también tiene 4 caras — Y por eso - deaquí mismo también se hace - de 4 caras ya - igual. - El lo que va salir así nomás - tiene 1 nomás @ — (*capataz...\\) su dueño de yushin — todos. — (*de los animales?) - aja dueño también - noves — del monte? — ese sale capataz adelante — Y sus cría viene atrás ya — Viene ya — () el se va adelante — como un matero pues - aja (*capataz = madre de demonios?) - su

- madre (*Pero hombre?) hombre pues — hay de mujer también - lo que sale viejita, bien viejita — () Viejo: sale viejo, un capataza un viejazo - barba blanco - (*cualquier puede salir como ese viejito?) - cualquier pues — sale — pero sale bien potolomito pues - con tu gascón. — haces un capijelo — tejes hoja + — hoja de ungurahui - se teje - igual que la cumba — Ahí se hace - tongor de coto dice - así se le levanta - por acá se le teje ya — queda ya: tejido así ya - ahí paque le montona ya — Le monton casco de motleo - que también hay. - Viene cargando ya - así. — (*don Eugenio taba haciendo eso) @! - (*Pero cada año?) cada año - hasta cumplir 12 años — (*o sea cuando sales como un demonio - tienes que seguir cada año con ese mismo) — con ese mismo nomás! - Sales de hombre - -de hombre — sales viejito - viejito — hasta tener 12 años.
- ^{cxv} (DHR22): (*como lo hecho Eugenio paque salga como viejito? - o sea soñado - o. - cómo?) - No, el mismo quería salir de viejito nomás — De capataz () - Yo voy salir viejo - dice - ya listo - tu vas ser nuestro padre ya - nosotros tus hijos () Ya listo - -Por eso el ha dicho el mismo pues así ya — (*) aja - -tu mismo puedes - que quieres () “Yo quiero hacer un capataz — un viejito voy hacer - hasta el último! - hasta cumplir 12 años. Bien feissimo - difrazada - ese -Eugenio - el sabe hacer pues — ohoy! - da miedo! - -A los muchachos como le hace gritar! - ÷ ÷ ÷
- ^{cxvi} (GSR07): (*cuando se disfrazan - quiere decir que vienen demonios cuando están disfrazados - o...) - no, ese son cristianos que son - que se disfrazan aquí, salen. (*no son demonios verdaderos?) - ese no pues — lo que - - a veces dice - a veces salen 10, di - después de esos 10 cristianos vienen dice más: ese ya son los diablos ya. — Cuentan cuanto hay - ahí parece más ya. Así dice era antes, tenían más de lo que han salido ya. (*ya no?) ya no! - ya no veo así ya (*antes has visto?) no, no — así mi papá me contaba. cuando - eso lo que han visto aquí - ese dice es cierto. Mhm.
- ^{cxvii} (DHR 22): (*como [escogen] como quieren salir?) - ha? — - a como va salir de noche — Viniendo acá en cementerio - cada uno con su linterna - Ahí cambiamos todito allá — canto de cemenerio — ahí pues — != Alguns coge ese yerba - se pone bien! - Purita hierba! - Amarra aquí - hierba, todo. - -Paque no parece nada tu cuerpo - todito! - con su botas - -pantalón viejo - así sale — Te vas ya - aista el policía pues — se van a avisar el quenista ya - que sigue la fiesta, porque estan viniendo los difrazados ya — Aista con su quena ya — est e Humberto! - -ya — ahí se van - -manadas ya — Entra ya - saludaa así ellos ve: {} — de los difrazados — Ahí - -tanto - pandillar ahí - -!= Ba!ila! — música! - Baile! - Pandillar! — != — HUUUH! - con sus mujercta — mujer como movia sus nalgas! -Igual que mujer pues! - que bailaba así! ÷ ÷ ÷ — Mueve las nalgas ÷ ÷ ÷ — Y buenos chuchitos tenía - -asi — ~ladito - mhm — — Enh — Eeeeste linda mujercta - dice - algun toca su nalga! — Pucha, ahí mismo te golpea con palo: poom! - (*policía?) - nada, otro! - Policía está mirando con su vara ahí - -que es? - ya ‘ta tocando ahí ! - -Si no tienes licencia: no sales! - Segundía te mete en calabazo - porque has salido nomás - no has pagado - no tenías papel! - () 2 horas de pandillada - Deai — afuera ya — bajo de la húmisha ya - sale bombo - != + ahí - como corretea ahí — != con todo la lluvia - cuando cae la lluvia - con todo también! - Aja - se hace un barro, ay que! - -Como - -juega - en barro - puro barro! - Aja - así — Ahí cuando ya termina el bombisto: “ya puedes regresar demonio! le dicen ya pues — != — demonio ya viene yua - se va ya - - alla — saca su ropa, ahí le pone todavía. - paque sale otra vez — hasta la 1 de la mañana va salir otra vez — 2 veces! — Se van bañar! - noves ‘tan puro barro — otra vez se cambia su ropa ahí — Ya: - ‘ta otra vez en la fiesta, bailando ya! -Llega la hora, la 1 - otra vez se van - 2 veces en la noche salen! - Aja — En el día sale — una vez nomás — las 12. — Aja. — Aistan los difrazados - de día - ‘tan mirando ya —
- ^{cxviii} (DHR03): (*ropa que mudas cuando sales a carnval - que este ropa es demonio, di? — cuando pones su careta - mascarilla) estás demonio ya pues. aja (*Pero adentro - sigues siendo Daniel o no?) así, la ropa nomás - y la careta. Vienes purita yerba - tu lomo. Purito yerba, viene adornado - dahí sales a caserío pandillar ya ahí ya - pero tu cuerpo es gente. Aja - pero aista con diablo ya pues. (*o sea te hace pensar?) sí pues con diablo estás ya (*y te hace pensar?) sí pues, (*como demonio?) como demonio ya pues — no tienes miedo, te vas por monte. Porque es demonio - ya pues - él también te hace jugar. Y así pues. — (*o sea dentro de eso quedas Daniel todavía) mhm () — (*cuando estabas demonio recuerdas todo?) todo, todo, - porque ‘tas sano pues. — (*o sea la ropa del demonio también te puede dominar?) - no te domina. Ese lo deja ahí ya - segundo día te vas traerle ya - porque le mandes lavar ya - con lejía ya. — todo vas traer - pero algunos le botas ya - Ya no sirve, porque ‘ta puro demonio ya: ahí le deja botando ya: ese pudre. Por eso - alguno - ropa de mujer le presta: {clap} - le vas devolver otro comprando ya - ya no es ese ya - porque ‘ta puro demonio su ropa: — ~ con su faldita, su blusita y su chuchero lo que dice - todo: eso vas devolver otro ya, nuevo ya - eso no ya - eso le botas ya -porque es demonio. (*de mujer?) aja. (*y de hombre no?) — de hombre ~ puedes mudar nomás. De la mujer más débil pues. — mhm, así.
- (*y sí lo muda la mujer - esto le puede dominar entonces? el demonio?) — ese vive posheco, enfermo vive - () no quiere comer - así soplando sí, con cigarro, con brujo ya - ahí se arregla recién. - está acompañando demonio dice. - Su madre de carnaval. — Ahí le saca todo de su cuerpo, ‘ta lindo otra vez.
- (*o sea la gente que se mudan como demonios no se vuelven demonios para siempre?) - no, no es ÷ ÷ - no es demonio para siempre - gente se hace otra vez — (*no es peligroso?) no pues — un rato nomás quedas demonio - hasta 2 horas, 3 horas — (*y después...) ya te vas [gesture for leaving] al monte otra vez ya - saca ese camisa — (*sí no lo haces - te puede hacer daño?) - sí, vives así, posheeco, no quieres comer, quieres dormir - () porque te compañía pues.
- (*diferentes demonios que salen en carnaval) aja, mujeres, hombre, viejitas, señoritas, viejitas — (*eso escondes tu? [sic! escoges!]) — no, con eso salimos, salimos con el - pandillar ahí. salimos así en caserío - pandillar el húmisha. — Ahí pandillamos nosotros ya. (*o sea tú dices: este año voy ser viejito sí?) mhm, tienes que cumplir ahí. — salido viejito - tienes que cumplir hasta - el último viejito - hasta tener 12 años de viejito sales. No te cambias de mujer, de hombre - nada! - Viejito sales (*cada año) - mismo nomás - viejito sales, viejito, viejito, viejito - hasta 12 años. — No cambias pues. — (*y como has salido tu?) yo he salido de hombre nomás - no salido de viejo - careta de hombre — ese nomás - camisa de yerba, de todo, te pones - noves te pones bien, con yerba aquí - bien. le hace de yerba todo - tú le tejes así — Aquí callampa de palo - aja, todo! - - arrete cuando es mujer, callampa de palo. — Todo. — Su boca rojito, ÷ ÷ - pintado sus cejitas ÷ ÷ - lindo también, ohohoy, Lucas - mujer - demonio - chuchito bien — señorita pues - y con su taco — ÷ ÷
- ^{cxix} (GSR02): (*muchas veces me parece que a la gente que vive acá - le gusta aprender de los que vienen no — aprender otra cosas, otro conocimiento - otro — su cosas - le gustan más que estos de acá no) — mhm — (*estaba pensando si derepente a la gente -

- capanhauas - le gusta volverse en los nawas - en los otros, mestizos — se quieren volver mestizos los capanhauas?) — noo — de lo que somos - uno no podemos ser más ya — No podemos cambiar lo que somos — (*y si aceptan su ropa, cosa, idioma - castellano — eso no dice que no son capanhaua — no se puede escapar?) — no pues — si pues — pero la raza no se pierde — la raza no se pierde nunca — Uno se puede hablar así castellano — pero la gente conoce que gente somos — Conoce la gente — que raza tenemos — (*donde -entonces - a veces viene otro y le ve a la gente de acá — bueno, le parece igual como los mestizos no) — igual pues igual — (*su ropa, su idioma, su costumbre - todo sera igual que los mestizos) - todo, todo es igual — (*Pero todavía la gente dice que son de otra raza) mhm - (*y me pregunto - donde es esto? — o sea — por qué es otra raza — que hace otra raza de ustedes?) — porque es otra raza — porque son pues — son una raza este — indígena — una raza que tenemos di - desde antes —tenemos un raza capanhaua — eso no se pierde — nunca! — (*y donde queda esto - en tu cuerpo?) — en — así nomás — no queda ni en donde - pero es raza de uno — (*o sea esto no sera sangre?) - no, la sangre tenemos igual todos — (*o sea este es su descendencia nomás) - mhm, somos descendientes pues de los capanhauas — lo que eran antes —
- cxix (EFNO3): Ignorando - que me voy hacer? No me voy hacer más - más mejor. Porque mi caracter no da. (*caracter - osea...) mi caracter no da para ser gente wirakucha, para igualarles a ellos. Ellos son wirakuchas, no son cholos como uno. No da ese, hermano. Ni mi apellido tampoco no da. De que sirve que yo voy ser ya wirakucha. (*pero puede cambiar... apellido) - pero mi caracter no da! mi color también no da, lo que soy negrusha. [Celina: no como hermano, blanquito - ~entre un ~ de cunchi! — [all laughing]](*como yuca.)
- cxixi Ahí entre ellos nomás es! — aaasí es puess — — — — Eses tres personas despues que lo que muerto finado Miguel — Jimenez — del Maranon — Ellos nomás — no son — re~tro — — Así tienen el apellido de — Ollanta — ellos son de aquí nomás! — Aja!
- cxixii (EFNO3): Por eso digo hermano, ese desde antiguamente eran - ignorantes! ese gentes viejos. Ignorantes, como a veces digo de mi papá reyendo - lo que tu has dicho que no quiere ser capacho ve [laughing] [I never actually said “capacho”]
- cxixiii (GSR10): (*Pero cambiado su apellido ahí?) — aja — o sea que el era: — su mamá era Y. — Pero no firmaba Y: — X. Q. — A su mamá le ha dejado a un lado. — (*como, por qué estaban cambiando su apellidos?) — o sea que su padrino dice les le ha dado su apellido mhm — -La A. — su mamá también era igualito! — Mhm — ella no era Z. — M-m — su padrino era Z. — su padrino dice de su papá. — — Su padrino de su papá de la finada A. — era — — (*o sea de B. Z.?) — aja — le ha dado su nombre y su apellido — padrino se llamaba B. Z. — (*y como se llamaba antes?) — como! — quizás! — no sé! — (*o sea ahí empezado la generación de Zs?) mhm — con el padrino?) — ahí pues. — — ella era — Z. V. — Pero no era su verdadero apellido.
- cxixiv DHR27: (*aca dicen que nosotros no somos nawas — somos otros) — O de aquí son capanhaua — legítimo capanhaua! — no son nawa! — capanhaua! (*por qué es diferente el nawa?) — es porque no sabe hablar capanhaua — no saben conversar — purito castellano— por eso son nawa pues — deai — ese es nawa, otra persona, otra sangre: gente blancos - esos son de — porái! — otro apellido. — así. — esos son nawas. — (*nosotros somos nawas?) — sí, recontra nawa! — porque tienes otro apellido, todo! — aja — pero son — ‘tas aprendiendo de de los capanhaua ya pues. — Ustedes son nawa: — por eso otro dice: “Vamos a ver Lucasnawa — ese es nawa pues: gente blancos! — —No es capanhaua pues Lucas: tu: No eres capanhaua. — ‘tas queriendo regresar de capanhaua - pero: eres nawa pero! — Mhmm. — así. — (*otra gente se puede volver capanhaua?) — viviendo aquí se puede hacer capanhaua. — Mhmm — vives aquí: - es capanhaua ya pues — Porái eres: gente blanco ya — cuando te vas porái: gente blanco ya. — Aja, pero por acá es capanhaua ya pues.
- cxixv — Y este X. — ese es más cholo que nosotros, hermano - más cholo que nosotros. — Su apellido es buen - su apellido es bueno — Yo si soy Y, legítimo mi apellido - yo no he cambiado mi apellido - deses Y soy yo — — Y esto: esto lo han cambiado su apellido! — X. — Como le escuchas cuando habla? - (*bueno, tiene un poquito...) — tiene su dejo! — Y a mi como me escuchas, hermano? — (*no, ‘ta bien tranquilo) - tranquilo. — (...) (*Pero que clase de gente - capanhaua también?) — capanhaua también pues - pero diferente apellido pues — yuchiyuba, capanhauas — Pues digo hermano - como le oyes, a estos — (*tiene un poco de dejo - pero dicen que son de A.) -No! — no — bastante dejo tienen! — bastante dejo tienen! (*y hablan bien el idioma?) no, no hablan bien — a veces conversas con ellos - con X. conversas - no, no te hablan bien! - Esos sí! — como ‘tas diciendo usted — Hablan bien idioma, pero no te quieren hablar idioma! — No son capanhaua: virakucha quiere ser! — Imaginate ve! ÷÷÷÷— yyl? — No quieren hablar idioma — yo los hablo en mi idioma: no quieren oír, ya ‘tan mirando por ahí ve —No quiere hablar su idioma - pero saben bi!en! bien! saben ellos su idioma — pero que va querer hablar contigo÷÷ — Imaginate! —
- (*m dicen que no son de aca—) — Que!! — esos son de acá hermano, de acá son — legítimo. (*) sí, más que nosotros pues — que vale ser la - que vale ser cholo, o Y — así nos insultan a nosotros — pero siendo mas, ve! ÷÷÷÷ Imaginate. (*se piensan más) — mhm se piensan más — Su apellido es bueno, pero — como... () como se puede decir? —
- (*vergüenza tienen?) — sí (*y usted no tienes vergüenza de ser capanhaua?) — que puta voy tener vergüenza yo — si así me puesto el Díos, por qué voy tener vergüenza!? — Yendo en cualquier parte que me voy- yo estoy hablan! do - mi castellano - mi idioma ÷÷ — paque voy tener vergüenza?! (*claro, en vez de estar orgulloso: “yo soy capanhaua”) — mirame hermano — como voy hacer — como voy que hacer mestizo - ni mi manera tiene decir mestizo — No tengo ni mi manera de andar de ser mestizo, no tengo de mi manera de reirse mestizo - No tengo de hablar de mestizo — No! sí o no? — La persona mestizo tiene su manera de hablar, actuar, reír - siono hermano - por eso yo digo: que puta voy hacer mestizo yo - A mi me conocen lo que soy! — Y hablar en idioma pues no \\ mi hablar dialecto — paque voy tener vergüenza — no tengo vergüenza - hablo nomás.
- cxixvi (BRS18) Com te dicho que no se puede hablar de cholo no? - Porque aquí nadie somos cholos de ningun patrón. — Y cholo como te digo - es mandado por otra persona - “haga tú tal cosa - o vete a tal parte! - hagame... traeme tal cosa” — ese dice es el cholo. Un cholo obediente. Te hace caso pues no? Como un criado. — Por eso dice que “es mi cholo” - de la gentt así (*inabu) - aaaja. - nuken... en ‘ina — ‘inábu pues. (...) No podemos pensar de que yo tengo un apellido más mejor - o ~ más menos - todo ese cosa yo puedo pensar deso — Pero como habran vivido pues... — (*asi pensaban los antiguos) - así pensaban — — decían que “era mi cholo” — mhmm — — — — (*pero cholo puede decir la misma cosa que lo que dicen indo?) así! — ese es ese. — como escucho hablar en una tomadera dice — “el tiene — meno-\|es menos que yo, dice no. Yo tengo mejor apellido, - y el puede ser mas... — Que vale su apellido di? — por decir - yo pudo ser Ríos - o puedo ser Pérez! - dice que tiene mejor apellido, así se refieren la gente. - Ni su apellido vale! - dice — así saben decir pues. — Ni siquiera buen apellido tiene! — Quiere ser sabido, dice pues

- algunos, dice. – Y alguno dice: - sí! - ese que es apellido no lo hace! - Lo que hace dice es su educación, su presencia - de nosotros. – Pero al final pues como digo yo: todos somos iguales. – Tenga preparación o no tenga, pero: - en corazón – en corazón todos somos buenos - - A veces - el otro puede ser un corazón bueno, corazón malo, di? – Que habido que te pides un servicio: no te hace! – Mira, persona que tiene mal... – mal corazón. – no es de buen corazón. – Y así pues escucho que dicen ellos. Aja. ---
- cecxvii (GSR05): (*cholo dice igual que indio?) --- mm, así. (*que quiere decir indio?) – indio es pues – lo que vienen, ese – los primos: los Mayorunas – mhm – - Deso entiendo de indio. – Pero llegando a la realidad: todos somos indios – somos indígenas todos –
- cecxviii (GHR03): nos hemos salido de - somos todos indios, del indio hemos salido, nos hemos formado - así yo fregaba a los mestizos yo también. (*que los mestizos también son\ \) sí, de la india pues. Los españoles ~ - han nacido di.
- cecxix (RPR05): Aquí no ves - no escuchas ese apellido Baquinahua - pero somos nativos, sí o no! como yo veo verdad, le digo. Yo quiero ser mucho le digo - nativo. Acaso soy indio?! ~indios - somos de la raza indígena - Mira de tiempos de imperio que fueron los incas - ha sido los indios del Peru. Por eso los peruanos somos indios - somos toditos la raza del Peru. Ese no vas a decir que no! Y puede que soy Vásquez - que eres usted Vásquez, yo soy Pizarro - pero yo no voy a decir que no! Yo soy de la raza, que generación soy conozco. Reconozco - que soy de la india.
- cecxix (RPH04): Una parte pues --- así se han regado – una parte vive por acá – más lo que han ido a la ciudad: – puta, ya son diferentes ya. --- porque en Requena estan lleeno – mayoría eso: purito capanahuas! – por eso dice pues: – Requena es tierra de los capanahua. – Porái por Mariategui – Sinchiroca, – Por. – Sargento Lores – PetroPeru – San Jose – todito! ese viven los capanahuas! – (*Pero cambiado...) Cabiado ap\ \ – o sea que – se han metido pues con gentes mestizos sus mujeres – ya llevan otrs apellidos ya – Y sus hijos ya tienen otro apellido ya, de los mestizos ya – Aja. – - - (*Pero siguen siendo capanahua?) – sígue siendo capanahua pues! --- por ejemplo. – estos [surname] que estaban por acá tambiénrjnd madera? – - Pucha, ellos entienden bien – este – dialecto de capanahua. – Puta, se ríen, puta, Puucha caraj! – así hablaba mi mamá – dice --- Y ahora ya nosotros vivimos en la ciudad – Ya pues hemos dejado ya – O sea que el tono que tienen, de ritmo de de hablar – ya dejan, ya no es conforme ya. --- (*su mamá?) – doña [name] – este – [surname] – (*) de [place]. – - Mhmm -
- cecxix (JRR02): (*y ese X.Y.?) ese también es Chumo! - era hacía su abuelita ese Shabi – eses todos son Chumo – pero. – ya no ps. Se acabado - Pero - hijos hay, ahí, abajo, hasta – hasta Lima hay Chumo – lo que se van - señorita, jovenes - todo está - Uuuh! Pueblo! – En Requena: Chumo, Chumo, Chumo, Chumo, que bruto! – En Iquitos: todo, Chumo! - ese nunca no pierde (*se han aumentado bastante) - se aumentado bastante Chumo – (*pero regado) sí!
- cecxix (MHR02): Si te vas por Requena - ~ Huaninches bastante - pero esos son los bisnietos ya - ni ~ yo no les conozco - pero ellos ~ Huaninches - no quieren borrar Huaninche ellos. (*esos serían capanahua también?) Capanahua son. -- pero – no quieren hablar mucho - mejor dicho - no están dominando su idioma ya en entremedio de mestizos - y por eso no pueden hablar - pero son razas! (*) Huaninche Capanahua. (*sangre?) -- sí, sangre [not convinced]
- cecxix (BRS19): Pero delante de el yo soy – ahorita ‘toy - como ~ de Díos. Lo que he cruzado en mi vida - mis borracheras, mis. – mis?peleas? - he dejado ya, digo: por motivo que toy. – he sido mal... de mal de salud... – Me dado cuenta que hay un solo Díos. – - así - demos nuestro testimonio nosotros. En Pucallpa. – cuando Estado yo con... el clavo picado acá – echaaaaado ahí: vinieron como 4 hermanos. --- Hermano: - me dice – tú eres el paciente? - sí, señorita. - “Hermano” - me dice. --- Nosotros ‘tamos andando visitando a los enfermos. -\ \ todos los enfermos. Venimos a dar nuestro testimonio.” – “ya, muy bien.” --- Ahí, primeramente, hermano ahí va a dar su testimonio. Ahí dice ‘ta dando su testimonio. - “Hermano, dice –, yo dentro mi juventud he pensado que este mundo es bueno. Total, que este mundo no es bueno. Es un mundo corrupto, en la tierra. He seguido fielmente al Señor. - Total que el Señor - es un - un maravilloso vivir en este mundo con el Señor, dice. – Es un gozo! - Desa manera, hermano: he dejado todo: –me gustaba la vida, tenía las fiestas en grandes bares! - así habla su testimonio dese hermano en Pucallpa - - Pu!: Señorita. – Me doy cuenta que no es bueno. He dejado pues. - He dejado lejos. – desde - desde... – desde mundo corrupto. - más bien, estoy con el Señor. Estoy ahorita en su presencia de nuestro padre celestial. que es Cristo, Jesus. - así me hablaba a mi. --- Oootro va hablar ~ - de mismo modo: “Yo también sido así - un ¿vagandero? un mujeriego - me gustaba engañar las chicas así, – pero un día, hermano, me dado cuenta que ese no es bueno - Estoy yendo cosas malas, que no debo hacer - así ()
- Así. – así son allá, Lucas, los hermanos. – Verdadamente son – cryente, no. – Las cosas que han hecho antes - han dejado ya. – Por seguir al Señor pues. Por decir - ya no estan sometido a los - como te digo, en ese grande – hechos grandes que hacen allá... – Purito ellos estan en un sus iglesias. Aja, en la ciudad. “que también que se hacen ahí: – tú no te vas allá: apartate de ellos,” como te digo. --- Aja --- todo eso. – entonces Díos: – Díos está dice contigo, mirandote. – El ‘ta dentro tu corazón, haciendo. – \ \ tú hagas buena obra, aja – el ya está en tu corazón. Como viene tu mente, tu deseo, mhm – tu yushin esta... - lindo con el Señor! - No está con... – con... pensando hacer maldades, no? – como ahorita - también se lo practican mucha gente! --- Nosotro dice debemos dejar eso. --- Tantas cosas como digo, hay, para... mirar en el libro. lo que se hecho? pues el Perfecto?
- cecxix (GSR10) (*nuestra sangre se puede cambiar cuando vivies - o no?) – no, eso no se cambia nunca. --- (*y cuando vivies por ejemplo como nosotros – hemos venido acá – vivimos – no se puede cambiar nuestro sangre, nuestro cuerpo?) no! – (*porque comemos otra cosa, vivíamos con otra gente?) --- nnoo pues – la sangre es igual nomás – --- como puede cambiar. --- (*dicen algunos que cuando se vive con otros – se puede cambiar tu cuerpo también – cuando comes lo mismo - que personas - que te dan comer – comen juntos y todo – ahí se puede cambiar tu cuerpo) – yo pienso que no! – () no se cambia ni cuando! - (*por eso dicen – que cuando una persona no es tu familia – pero vives con ellos mucho tiempo – ese se vuelven tu familia, porque se cambia su cuerpo, sangre) – hmm. --- (*no?) no. – ese es mentira ya. --- (*otro no se puede hacer tu familia legítima?) --- otra gente pueden tratar de familia así – porque – te tiene ese estimación – no es porque es deverdadamente tu familia. – mhm (*si estás criando un niño - desde muy chiquitito - le das tu leche quizás – pero es de otra mujer, de otra parte.

— Si por ejemplo nosotros tenemos un hijo, lo dejamos con usted - desde chiquitito, desde cuando nace: ese puede volver tu familia legítima o no?) — tu familia — porque le has criado. — Mhmm — - No es porque es verdadero tu familia. - Mhmm — (*no es familia legítima ahí?) - no. (*ese familia legítima - en idioma?) — nuken henayura. — (*y ese que has criado - siempre va ser tu... — unan bake) — aja, únan bake, aja. — (*no se puede cambiar su cuerpo, su sangre?) — no. — Su sangre está hecho ya. —

^{ccxxxv} (GSRO4): (*hijos de capanahuas son otros ya - tienen otra sangre, son diferente - pero lo que queda es la raza - que es la raza?) — la raza? la raza de los capanahuas pues - eso no se pierde nunca — (*que es en persona - no es su sangre?) — no sé - yo pienso que no - o sí? — o no? ÷ ÷ (*yo quiero entender como piensan? — oigo raza, pero no se que dice) — no sé - yo también oigo lo que dicen así que la raza capanahua es esto nomás... — (*raza en idioma - palabrita?) no sé - no puede. — No es que no puede - sino no sé. Mhm... — Voy preguntar a mi mamá. () le voy preguntar — Mi mamá no sabe también...

(LCO01): (M: este X pues sabe)\ no quieren decir! - \ (ignoran - no son pues ~ - saben ellos, pero ignoran. - quieren ser mestizo — como no pueden!- aja, así)\ no pueden ser mestizos - porque su forma de hablar no parece que son mestizos! — lo que somos- como se puede cambiar? - ni como! — (* no se puede engañar — por decir - tú eres de — tu generación de ti es así - como — tú te puesto tu papá, tu mamá — como te vamos a disformarte a ti? — Ni como! — así — Y ellos hicieron así — No quieren ser — le dice que no entiende idioma. — ((*~ entienden bien! - ellos conocen - que gente son!) — ellos hablan BIEN - idioma, Bien mismo, — conversan. — Pero cuando te ve — ahí se calla ahí — ()