

THE WAYĀPI - A WORLD IN CONFLICT

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by

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Note: Wayapi terminology is written only to
approximate English pronunciation.

Cory

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

When my wife and I first visited an isolated Wayãpi village in 1970, the Wayãpi people watched us warily and did not immediately share their beliefs and folktales until we had learned to speak their language. Then we were accepted and trusted as members of the extended family. I would like to express my appreciation to those we had the opportunity to live with, for without their sharing the Wayãpi culture with us, our lives would not have been so enriched nor would this paper have been possible. Special thanks go to the two men who gave us these folktales and who were willing to spend their time teaching us.

I would like to express my appreciation to the committee members who gave their time to advise me in this thesis. I would especially like to acknowledge Dr. Joseph W. Bastien as the chairman. He guided my study of folklore and mythology and inspired my thinking from the beginning. Dr. William R. Merrifield lent his expertise and encouragement. Dr. Marvin K. Mayers stimulated my research and understanding by his careful critical analysis.

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ABSTRACT

THE WAYĀPI - A WORLD IN CONFLICT

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The world of the Wayāpi is a place of conflict which occurs in a tropical forest environment. It is the abode of innumerable spirits with whom encounters are inevitable, spirits which pose a threat to life in the society. Most of them are dangerous, malicious, and a continual source of trouble; a few offer help to Wayāpi. But overall, the people are continually frightened and intimidated by the thought of possible encounters with spirits. Although many spirits are mortal and can be deceived or outwitted, the mutual enmity which has existed in past generations keeps Wayāpi alert today to the fact that they may be overcome in return. As their ancestors appeased and fought many spirits, so must

Wayãpi presently deal with a multiplicity of spirit life.

Wayãpi folktales are an expression of the collective solidarity of the people in today's modern world that continues to function in spite of a reduced population. From these oral traditions the Wayãpi perceive a way of life and culture dependent upon the mediating resourcefulness of human endeavor, social prohibitions, shaman's knowledge and magic, and helpful spirits who lend assistance to them in their efforts to survive.

Employing the methodologies of Propp (1968) and Lévi-Strauss (1967:202-228; Leach 1967:1-47) a linear-sequential organization and an associational-diachronic pattern for folktales of the Wayãpi of Brazil is explained. Propp's 'Morphology' describes the structure or formal organization of a folkloristic text following the linear sequence of elements in the text. Thus, if a tale consists of elements A to Z, the structure of the tale is delineated in terms of this same sequence. The other type of structural analysis seeks to describe the pattern (based upon binary principles of opposition) which allegedly underlie the folkloristic text. This pattern is not the same as the sequential structure. Rather the elements are taken out of the given order and are regrouped in one or more analytic schema. Patterns or organization in this second type of structural analysis are termed paradigmatic following Lévi-Strauss (Propp 1968: xi).

The utilization of both methodologies sets up a description of the surface and underlying structure of Wayãpi folktales. Although these folktales show similar structures at a deeper universal level corresponding to Lévi-Strauss' ideas about the culture/nature dichotomy they also represent the cultural paradigm of the Wayãpi. Through this analysis a more meaningful and deeper orientation to the struggles occurring within Wayãpi society are revealed.

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INTRODUCTION

By evaluating their folktales concerning spirits, one is able to perceive a world view of the Wayãpi of northern Brazil. Folktales reflect the social context of the Wayãpi and reveal why they are able to survive in an equatorial forest environment. Twenty-five tales are analyzed to arrive at the syntagmatic structural analysis of each as well as the paradigmatic structure and its more latent content.

In his approach to the study of mythology, Lévi-Strauss maintains that the lineal sequential structure of myth is but apparent or manifest content, whereas the paradigmatic or schematic structure provides a deeper meaning which is more important. "Thus the task of the structural analyst, according to Lévi-Strauss, is to see past or through the superficial linear structure to the 'correct' or true underlying paradigmatic pattern of organization" (Propp 1968: xii).

Bastien (1978: 192) warns, however, that it is insufficient to interpret data only in terms of contemporary structural anthropologists who are primarily concerned with universal structures of the mind. He says they catalog binomial distinctions within social and cultural categories, but fail to explain how these pairs are composed into a holistic framework unique to the culture. In this paper, I show a surface and underlying structural analysis of spirit folktales

in order to explain a pattern of tension and conflict that appears to exist in all aspects of Wayãpi society.

In chapter one, an ethnographic account is given to portray a once vigorous society that was nearly annihilated. Although the Wayãpi never fully recovered from this devastation, oral traditions have helped preserve their cultural heritage and reveal their views of the world about them.

In chapter two, Wayãpi folktales are presented that: tell about grotesque bush spirits called Ayã, refer to other terrible bush spirits which inhabit objects and assume human forms, and describe spirits which live in water and pervade the atmosphere.

In chapter three, the essential points of the structure of these folktales are defined observing the linear sequence of pattern development. Each tale is reduced to six functions that describe: a mythical time introduction, an initial setting in the environment, an encounter between ancestors and spirits, an obstacle to surmount, an escape, and conclusion of the event.

In chapter four, an attempt is made to discover the more latent content of the folktales and their application to Wayãpi society by examining binary oppositions that are grouped under environmental, economical, social, and supernatural myth themes.

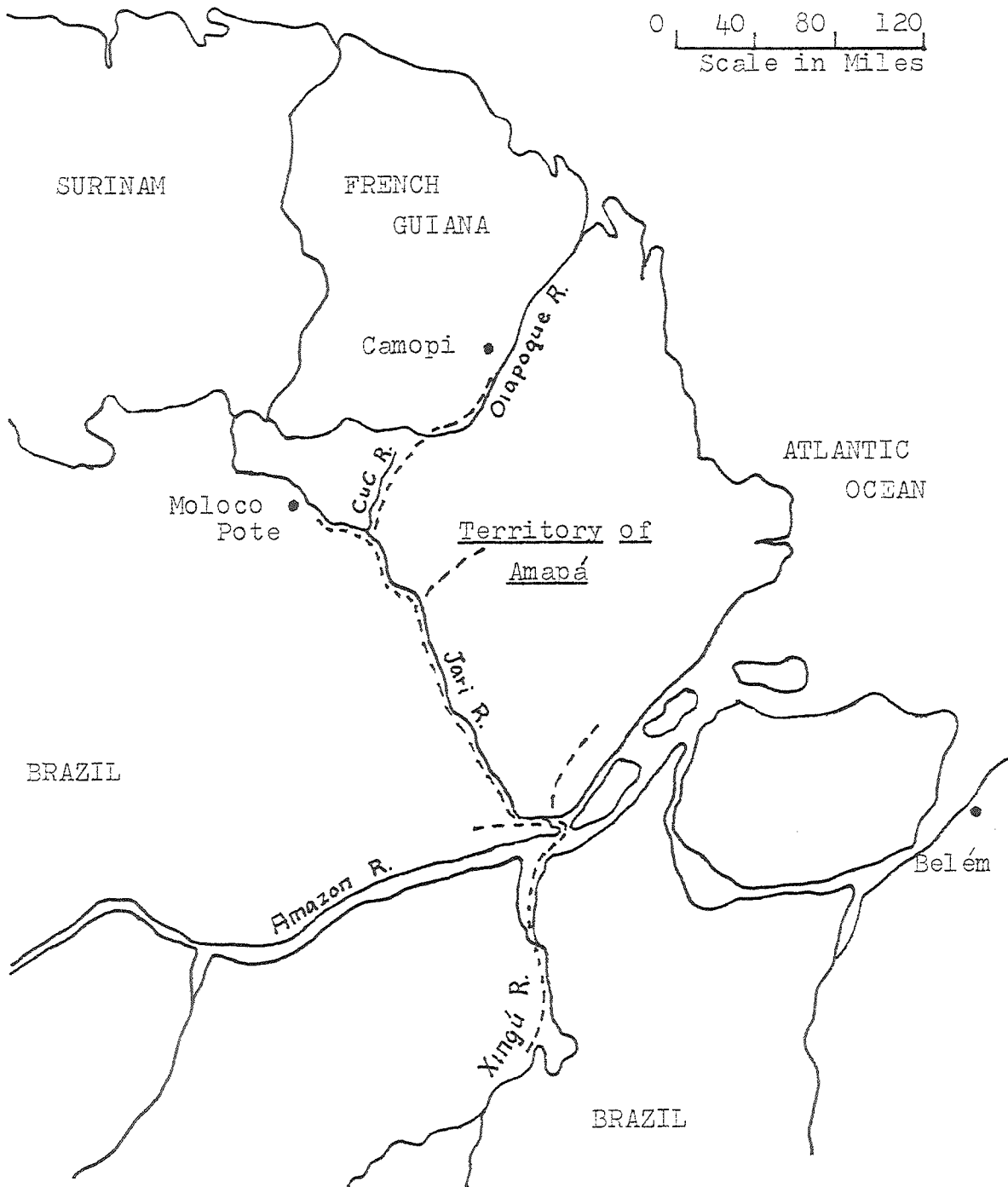
In chapter five, I conclude this presentation by explanation of a metaphor of conflict between humans and spirits that is central to understanding Wayãpi folktales. The Wayãpi acknowledge their participation within the realm of the mythical world through oral traditions and interrelated activities that enhances their solidarity and ability to maintain a dynamic community today.

CHAPTER I

ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE

The Wayãpi live in one of Brazil's three National Territories, the Territory of Amapá, which was created in May, 1944, in the area commonly known as Brazilian Guiana. The Oiapoque river separates it from French Guiana on the north and the Tumuc-Humac mountain range, extending westward from the headwaters of the Oiapoque river, is on the boundary with Surinam. The western and southern limits follow the meandering Jari river from its headwaters near the Tumuc-Humac mountains to its mouth, which opens into the lower Amazon. The mouth of the north channel of the Amazon and the Atlantic ocean combine to form the eastern boundary of the territory (see map 1).

The Wayãpi population today numbers approximately 500 individuals. Prior to 1977, villages near the French Post at Camopi, Alicotó, and Masikiri on the Oiapoque river numbered about 120 persons. Another 180 Wayãpi live in three villages in the Trois-Sauts area, near the headwaters of the Oiapoque (Grenand, F. 1977: 285). Within Brazil, two Wayãpi-puku (tall Wayapi) villages joined in 1977 near the Amapari river; they numbered approximately 120 people. Another family of 23 people under the leadership of Sarapo was living on the Jari river at Moloco Pote located above the tributary Cuc.



Map 1. Route of Wayãpi Migrations and Area Occupied

Small villages of Wayãpi continue to survive in the Twentieth Century in some of the most densely forested portions of the upper Jari and Oiapoque river areas. In the midst of a life and death struggle to exist freely in the modern world they still cling to their own language and cultural traditions.

The Wayãpi

Early accounts described by Hemming (1978: 45-68) about native populations relate a series of migrations which were taking place during the prehistory of Brazil. Entire nations moved into new regions due to intertribal warfare and the ease with which river communities could rapidly move along the Amazon river and its tributaries. At the time of the colonial conquest, the land mass that is now Brazil was covered with villages. What followed was brutal on the inhabitants as both colonists and missionaries tried to subdue the natives. The colonists needed laborers and the missionaries wanted converts, but in the end it was the outside world's diseases that annihilated the indigenous inhabitants. Their bravery and fighting skills were nullified by a lack of inherited defenses against the first European's and later African-slave's diseases. Decimation by these diseases condemned both the strong and the weak of Brazil's native population to near extinction.

When distress hit, the natives proved highly mobile. They gathered up their children and few household belongings

and traveled rapidly to new areas of safety. They had the stamina to paddle or march for days and weeks on end, and the forests and rivers provided food and building materials for new villages. In this manner, different waves of migrations moved on and split until native populations were scattered throughout the forests of the Amazon. They fought with one another. Some nations expanded while others died out. Others continued to move to new hunting grounds or merged to form changing phases of shifting language and tribal patterns. Brazil's indigenous populations are classified by language into four main groups: Gê, Carib, Arawak, and Tupi-Guaraní. Isolated villages speaking these different languages may still be found in remote parts of Brazil today.

When the Portuguese first visited Brazil, Tupi nations were migrating north and northeastwards from their Guaraní homeland in the Paraguay Basin and eastern Bolivia. They were driving the groups living in the interior and along the coast to seek refuge elsewhere. First references to Wayãpi come from a mission work established along the Xingú river in central Brazil in the 15th century. Old chronicles and maps refer to Guayapi (Wayãpi) who spoke the Lingua Geral, i.e. Tupi-Guaraní. Most of the people migrated north to the Amazon river and eventually established themselves on the Oiapoque river probably by way of the Jari where they are mentioned after 1729 (Nimuendaju 1950: 217).

According to Coudreau (1893: 308), the Wayãpi were forced to leave their lands and migrate north out of fear of being taken into slavery and persecuted by the Portuguese. But once they fled their own persecutions, they in turn became the persecutors and helped the Portuguese find the slaves they wanted by raiding villages under the Jesuit missions. Wayãpi bands terrorized the entire basin of the Oiapoque and were referred to as 'Indians of the Portuguese'. Their raids were such large scale ventures that they caused a big move of people to look for refuge in French Guiana. The Wayãpi's easy victories were due to the arms the Portuguese gave them. This enabled them to acquire the lands of other nations they devastated during successive incursions (Métraux 1927: 31).

In 1819, the principal village of the Wayãpi had a population estimated at 1200 which was the residence of the chief of all the Wayãpi (Coudreau 1893: 282). Adam de Baube wrote that the Wayãpi were known on the Oiapoque as 'maneaters', having a song that expressed itself like this: "Just a while ago, we ate our enemies and did not nourish ourselves on manioc as the women" (Coudreau 1887: 43). During this period, the Wayãpi were at the top of their power and masters of the eastern mountains of the Tumuc-Humac and of the whole Oiapoque, from its source to the mouth of the Camopi, the most northern point that they reached during their migrations (Métraux 1927: 30). Their total population was estimated to be more than 6,000 persons by the first travelers who came

near them (Hurault 1962:64).

But their fate, like that of many other nations, was tragically altered by contacts with Europeans entering the Guianas. The Wayãpi came down with pulmonary diseases, diverse types of flu, and smallpox that ravaged frighteningly among the population. In 1828, De Bauve visited numerous Wayãpi villages recently abandoned as a consequence of an epidemic. He said: "I found one hundred people looking ill, pale, sick and puny. Most of them ran away when we approached. The chief of this settlement...confirmed what I already knew, that a large part of the population had died. This could be seen by the number of deserted homes I passed by. He told us we would find the same thing everywhere we went, even at distant villages" (Coudreau 1893:43, 300, 482-3).

A decisive change occurred in the culture at this time when massive epidemics destroyed nearly 90% of the population (Coudreau 1893:283). Wayãpi society underwent deep alterations as tribal continuity ended. War which was linked to exophagous cannibalism was discontinued because there were no longer sufficient warriors to go into battle. The practice of having a war chief and tribal chief soon followed. The people lost much of their dynamism and never regained their former strength as clan relations were interrupted, polygyny no longer reflected status, and ceremonials were disgarded and gradually forgotton (Grenand 1980:19-20).

Recently, the remnants of this once powerful nation began to visit a French Post at Camopi when an infirmary was established in 1954. But they still continued to die. In April of 1958, a flu epidemic struck one of these villages. Within three days, five women died out of a population of twenty-seven persons. The others were left in such a remorseful state that they were unable to bury their dead. Wayãpi from a neighboring village came to care for them. Fortunately the epidemic stopped there. By the end of December this village looked most pitiful. There was only one adult woman and most of the children had lost either a father or mother in their short life span (Hurault 1962:66-67).

The Wayãpi with whom we lived related how villages once flourished along the river banks of the Jari and Cuc when they were young. They told of terrible scourges of sickness that killed many of their friends and acquaintances. Today, the villages they left are overgrown, isolated, and devoid of human existence. Broken pottery and a few rotted house posts are all that remain.

It is with this background in mind that tales of supernatural spirits assume greater significance now than in the past. Small villages are easily demoralized as they face the harsh realities of life in the vast forest environment. Spirits are seen everywhere ready to renew the destructive cycle of sickness and death. The robustness and vitality that characterized the social order and security of its

members in former times no longer exists. As a result, the Wayãpi are keenly aware of their vulnerability to events beyond their control in the modern world. This accounts for their continual intense preoccupation with spirits in everyday life.

Spirit Folklore

Wayãpi society is enveloped in spirit beliefs so that every aspect of life is steeped in spirit meaning. The people understand from the past the frailty of human existence in the isolated remoteness of green tangled forest. This explains their persistent obsession with spirits that assume human form and inhabit plants and animal life with whom they are in daily contact. Good spirits will assist people but most of them terrify the Wayãpi by their pervading maliciousness. In order to better understand this phenomenon, a description of the characteristics of bush spirits and spirits of the water and sky is presented by examining ethnographic literature of other Tupi-Guaraní tribes.

Métraux (1950:128) writes that for the Tupinamba the bush was peopled by a number of greatly feared demons who are still active in tales told of modern Brazil. The most famous of these were Yurupari, Ayã, and Kuru-pira. Yurupari and Ayã were synonyms, employed respectively by the northern and southern Tupinamba. Missionaries and travelers, however,

often confused them with ordinary ghosts; they either refer to them rightly as single demons or use these names collectively to designate the whole host of spirits. The Caboclos of Brazil describe Yurupari as a goblin, an ogre that haunts the forests and is generally malicious. The same confusion arose about Ayã, who at one time is called a bush spirit and at another some ghost. The world as conceived by the Tupinamba was the abode of innumerable ghosts who could be met everywhere, but especially in the woods, in all dark places, and in the neighborhood of graves. These supernatural beings were often harmful: they caused disease, drought, and defeat. The Tupinamba often complained of being attacked and tormented by them. Some ghosts took the form of awe-inspiring animals such as black birds, bats, and salamanders. Others, more tenuous, changed colors. These spirits were particularly obnoxious in the dark but could be driven away by the fire kept burning all night in Tupinamba quarters. No person would travel after sunset without a torch or a firebrand lest he be harmed by evil spirits. So great was their fear that they even asked White people to settle in their village in order to keep the spirits in check.

Wagley and Galvão (1950:145-146) add that for the Tenetehara wandering ghosts (Ayã) are the souls of people who died from sorcery, who broke incest taboos during their life, or who died by slowly wasting away. The Ayã wander through the forests or near the cemeteries and abandoned

houses. They can transform themselves into animals which appear to hunters, frightening them and causing them to lose arrows shot at them by mistake. The Tenetehara are very frightened of Ayã, especially at night; they always avoid passing near a cemetery or an abandoned house.

Tapirape religion is based on a belief in two kinds of supernatural beings, disembodied souls of the dead and malignant forest spirits of many kinds, both designated by one generic term 'Ayã'. The Ayã, who are human spirits or ghosts, live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living because they are cold and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The Tapirape are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when ghosts most frequently appear. In addition to these, there are a large number of malignant beings, also called Ayã, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many Tapirape as they find. Ware, a legendary hero and great shaman, had the distinction of killing many Ayã among whom were the awaku anka, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumpianka were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits were tamed by the Tapirape, thanks to the supernatural powers of their shaman (Wagley and Galvão 1950:176).

The natives of Guiana regard rapids, waterfalls, conspicuous mountains, strangely grown trees, and other natural oddities as the abodes of special spirits. Encounters be-

tween spirits and ordinary folk tend to be dangerous, for many of them are sanguinary monsters, eager to kill, and some even have strong cannibalistic inclinations. Others are simply mischievous and delight in playing tricks, such as causing their victims to lose their way in the forest. Sexual intercourse with a spirit almost always has evil consequences, and can even be fatal to the human partner.

In Tupi-Guaraní and Carib folklore spirits play the same roles that ogres do in ours; they are cruel and mischievous, but easily deceived and subjected to ridicule. In these tales, a spirit of an animal or vegetal plant may take on human form; but, though he seems identical to any person, his true nature is revealed in some physical peculiarity, special skill, or habit. Indeed, spirits are envisioned as having a generally human appearance, but with some monstrous characteristic. They may have protruding eyebrows or two heads, no articulation at the knees, or be linked together like Siamese twins. Sometimes spirits look like skeletons or skulls. These supernatural beings are wont to assume the shape of persons closely related to their victims but, as a rule, they may be recognized by some sign, such as the lack of a big toe (Guiana). The approach of a spirit generally is announced by peculiar whistlings or, at night, by cracking noises, but often these warnings come too late. Spirits often live in habitats located on mountains or under water (Métraux 1950: 563-568).

Roth (1916: 241-270) describes spirits among the natives of Guiana that live in underground water and up in the sky. The people tell of a water serpent that is many score fathoms in length, a monster doubtless suggested by the appearance of the Anaconda (*Eunectes murinus*). Water spirits have a great liking for women at the menstrual period and come after them in their anthropomorphic form. That is why no woman goes near water at this time. The scent of a woman's sickness makes her attractive. Like spirits of the bush, the denizens of the deep are in large measure responsible for the disease and sickness existent in the world. Infringement of certain taboos causes frightful monsters to rise up from the deep and swallow the people. Not only are many of the troubles afflicting mankind ascribable to their machinations, but they are responsible for certain natural phenomena -- heavy rainfall, floods, and rainbows. The sun and moon seem to be regarded invariably as male. The great demon of darkness who causes eclipses strives to quench the fire on the sun. Eclipses upset the people a great deal. Comets are regarded as a sign of pestilence, famine, and disaster. The people are afraid of thunder and believe the resounding noise is caused by a spirit who is angry with them.

Native folklore is greatly concerned with the adventures of men who meet spirits. Sometimes the spirits are benevolent and helpful. Among them are spirits who marry human beings, but even when they establish personal relationship with a man or woman, the spirits remain volatile and touchy. A slur or the violation of a taboo may rouse their resentment and induce them to break their human bond. Sometimes spirits adopt a man or woman whom they change into a spirit. Spirits are mortal and are exposed to dangers of various kinds. Guiana folklore has many tales about men who rescued spirits from disaster and who were rewarded by good luck in hunting and fishing (Métraux 1950:568).

Summary

The Wayãpi continue today to live and support themselves in the jungle by gardening, gathering, hunting, and fishing. The forest not only provides them with sustaining food and materials, but it also threatens their lives with its many dangers. The jungle is both a source of life and death for them. Every aspect of Wayãpi life appears to be enveloped in spirit meaning. Although certain spirits seem beneficent, most are violent, vicious, and malicious. The hidden assumption is that spirits are malevolent beings who intend to harm people they encounter. This background is necessary to understand Wayãpi folktales, which figuratively and constantly portray their ancestors in conflict with the surrounding jungle.

CHAPTER II

THE FOLKTALES

This chapter focuses on spirits of the past that are still living in the environment. The folktales that follow tell us of the adventures of Wayãpi ancestors who met with spirits in the bush, water, and sky. Their whole world appears encompassed by spirit activities. Although the spirits are cruel and mischievous, many times they are deceived and become victims of the practical jokes and schemes of the ancestors who made their escape from them. So must Wayãpi do in the present.

Ayã Bush Spirits

Ayã bush spirits are the shadow spirits that come from the dead bodies of humans, animals, birds, and fish. Others have different origins. Calamities are often inflicted on the Wayãpi today by these bush spirits out of pure malevolence and by way of punishment for breaking taboos of society.

¹Sarapó was the narrator of these folktales. They were recorded from 1976-1977 as he told them to other men in the village at Moloco Pote which was located on the Upper Jari. His son, Kuri Kuri, helped in the transcription of the texts.

M1 Ayã Bush Spirits Send Pneumonia

Long ago, a man killed a bush spirit's child with an arrowhead. This is how it happened. The mother spirit took her child and went into the garden to work. She left her child resting nearby while she was working. A man came upon the child, and stabbed it to death with an arrowhead.

Then the mother returned and picked up her child. "Someone killed my child," she exclaimed. "I will go and find out who it was."

When she arrived at the village, the one who had killed her child was in his hammock pretending to be sick.

"It was you that killed my child, wasn't it?" she accused.

He moaned and said, "I have a fever and am going to die."

He was lying of course, he didn't have a fever at all. He was just ashamed of what he had done.

"From now on, you will come down with pneumonia," the Aya bush spirit cursed, "you will die suddenly from it."

She made an arrow to kill the people. She painted her arrow black with My'y, so it would give great pain.

That's why we have pneumonia, the old ones say. Because a man killed the Ayã bush spirit's child. Long ago, before this event, Ayã bush spirits lived right among us. They would still be with us today if this had not happened.

M2 A Man Becomes An Ayã Bush Spirit

Long ago, a man had a wife that was pregnant. Following the birth of the child, the new father went to a friend.

"Let's go eat Peke'a fruit," he said.

His friend said, "You shouldn't go because your son was just born. You know you should rest first."

But the new father denied this fact. "It is not my son," he said, "he belongs to one of the other men."

"It is too your son," his companion responded.

Some time later, they went out to the forest together. They made a shelter and stayed in the forest. Then the new father said, "The first thing I am going to do is go and get some Peke'a fruit and bring it back."

So he went and when he returned, he was carrying the fruit. He proceeded to eat it all himself. Then he went out again and brought back more fruit and ate it all himself again. This happened several more times.

Finally, the new father took fire with him and went out one more time, this time to roast the fruit and eat it. Afterwards he burned some fruit to charcoal and then drew designs and painted his body.

Then his companion, who had stayed behind at camp, went to check on him.

"My friend," he said when he arrived, "have you already eaten?"

"Yes," the new father responded.

Then his companion took a second look at him all painted up. He observed quietly, "I'll bet my friend is going to turn into an animal."

He returned to camp, gathered his hammock up and climbed into a tree.

Later, as he watched below, he asked himself, "What will happen to my friend now?" He tried calling to him.

"My friend!" he called. "My friend!" But the new father did not respond. He called again, and again, but got no response.

From this time on, the new father began to speak differently. When he finally arrived back at camp, his companion asked him, "Where did you go?"

He just growled back. He was turning into an Ayã bush spirit, a black panther.

"I told you, you would turn into an animal," he said. "Now what is going to happen?"

By this time, the new father had finished turning into a black panther.

"I am going to leave you, my friend," he said, "and go far away. You be careful now."

Then as his companion watched from above, he growled and turned and went away. He went noisily like the wind.

"I will live along the large Parana River, my friend," he called as he left.

His companion stayed in the tree all night. In the morning he came down from the tree and looked around. He saw the path the panther had made in the brush as he went away.

Later, he told the others back at the village, "My friend became one of the Ayã bush spirits."

This is how one of our ancestors turned into an Aya bush spirit, a black panther, when he ate the Peke'a fruit. This is why our ancestors died off long ago.

M3 Ayã Bush Spirits Abduct Children

Long ago, Ayã bush spirits called tauu'ũi came to a village while children were swinging on tree vines. They grabbed the children and took them far away to their dwelling place.

These young people grew up there. There were three brothers and one sister. As they grew up, the bush spirits continually pulled on their ears.

"We want them to look like us," they said. Then their ears grew to be very large.

Later, the brother's sister, now a woman, married a bush spirit. Her brothers did not want to marry and the bush

spirits became angry with them. When one of the brothers wanted to return home, the bush spirits killed him and cooked him to eat.

The next eldest then asked himself, "Won't they want to kill me also, in the same manner?"

Later they killed the younger brother.

"They will kill me next," the eldest brother told himself. He began to collect bread to take with him for his escape.

He asked his sister, "Don't you want to go back with me?"

"No," she said, "I am not going to return. I have many brothers here." But she lied. She did not want to return now because the bush spirits had made her vagina very big.

When he was ready, he asked, "Where is the trail they brought us here on, sister?"

"We came along that trail over there below the large tree," she told him.

"Good," he said. He slept many nights along the trail and returned home.

M4 A Man Tries To Kill An Ayã Bush Spirit - First Episode

Long ago, a man saw Ayã bush spirits called tamoko while waiting in a hunting blind. When the bush spirits came near, he watched while they ate fruit from a tree. A while later, they went away and the man returned home.

"I wonder who they were?" he asked. "They appeared to be Ayã bush spirits."

When he arrived back at the village, the others asked him, "Why didn't you kill one so we could see what it looked like?"

"I just didn't want to," he responded. "Why should I? I wouldn't eat it afterwards."

Another said, "If it had been me, I would have."

The following morning, two other men went out. "We are going to kill one," they said. "What time do they usually come around?"

"When the sun first comes up," the hunter responded.

They went to the blind and waited. The bush spirits began to arrive. "Is that what he saw?" they asked one another. "Let's kill one."

The bush spirits were gathering a pile of fruit from the trees.

After a while, the bush spirits sat down and ate.

"I'm going to shoot now," one of the men said. He shot one of the bush spirits but the arrow didn't go into the spirit. He shot again, but that arrow didn't enter either.

"What is going on?" the other asked.

"I'm not sure," he responded. "I just don't understand it."

When he shot again, the bush spirits spied the hole in the hunting blind and began to ask among themselves, "What is it?"

"Rodents," another responded.

"Let me kill one," a bush spirit said. In those days, Aya bush spirits were the first to have firearms. He shot his firearm, but didn't kill anyone. Another tried and missed also. Then a big tamoko came forward, "Let me kill them," he said. He shot and killed the men.

The Bush Spirits Retaliate - Second Episode

Afterwards, many bush spirits arrived.

"Let's eat them," they said. So they did. After the feast, they asked among themselves, "Where did they come from? Let's search for their tracks."

So they went to search for tracks and found them. They located their trail and said, "They came along this direction. That means their relatives are over that way. Let's go kill them and eat them."

They began their journey. Then the wind began to blow.

Someone back in the village asked, "Why has the wind begun to blow?"

"Its because those two went out to kill an Ayã bush spirit," another said.

The bush spirits traveled through the forest and shot their firearms in the air that night. The people heard them just before they arrived at the village. Then the bush spirits came and killed everyone. They went to another village and killed the people there, too. Some managed to flee, however, to another village where several shamans lived.

When they arrived, they told what had happened.

"An enemy killed many in our village," they said, "and they are coming here."

Then the shamans said, "We will go see the enemy."

The shamans went out and encountered the bush spirits as they approached. One of the shamans asked, "Are you the ones that have been killing all my people?"

"It was me," the big tamoko replied. "I did it because they shot my sons. I am seeking revenge. We are going to kill all people."

"No you aren't," the shamans replied. "We are going to take you back to your dwelling. Come on, let's go."

Then the shamans took their firearms away and led them back.

"Where is your village?" they asked.

"Over this way," the bush spirits replied. Then the shamans took them away.

A while later the bush spirits pointed out their village. It was located at the bottom of a large hole in a rock out in the middle of the river.

"Okay, now we want everyone of you to go into the hole in the rock," the shamans ordered. When all the bush spirits were inside the hole, the shamans closed it with a stone.

After that, they returned to their village and told the people, "They were just tamoko bush spirits."

They never came back. Nowadays, there are no more tamoko because the shamans closed them up long ago. If they had not closed them up, they would still exist today. Then there wouldn't be any people today. The only reason there are still people today, is because the shamans closed these bush spirits up in their hole.

M5 A Man's Illicite Love Affair - First Episode

Long ago, a man saw through a hole in his hunting blind a female Ayã who was walking around naked in the forest.

When she came near, he said, "Come in and let's make love."

At first the Ayã bush spirit was reluctant, but the man was persistent. "Come in so I can make love to you."

Finally she said, "Okay," and came into the hunting blind.

She warned him, "You must shave my pubic hair first."

The man agreed to this and shaved her. Her pubic hairs became large black stinging Tocandeira ants as they fell to the ground.

Then he made love to her. Afterwards she left, saying, "I am going home now."

"Okay," the man responded. "Come back again."

"Okay," she said and returned to the forest. The man returned home.

When he arrived back at the village, he told the others what he had seen. "I saw a naked Ayã walking around. She was very hairy," he said.

"Why didn't you make love to her?" someone asked. "If it had been me, I would have."

"Not everyone can make love to her," the man replied. The man was a shaman.

"Tomorrow I'll go out and make love to her," the other insisted.

"That's up to you," the shaman said.

The following day the other man went out to the hunting blind. Soon the female bush spirit arrived. "Is that who he saw and talked about?" he asked.

"Come in so I can make love to you," he invited her.

She refused and said, "No, you are not a shaman."

"Only a shaman can make love to me," she warned.

But he insisted, "Come on in anyway. Hurry, come on in!" he coaxed.

"Okay," she said finally, and came in. She laid down and he made love to her. Then the female Ayã got up and returned to the forest.

Soon the man's testicles began to swell and hurt. He had made love to the bush spirit without shaving her pubic hair first. His testicles became so swollen he could hardly walk.

"I am going to die," he thought as he returned home.

An Otter Alleviates The Man's Pain - Second Episode

On his return to the village, the man walked in the river because his testicles stung like fire from the ant bites. He was in the river when an otter came up to him.

"What happened to you?" the otter asked.

"I am going to die," the man groaned, "because my testicles hurt so."

"Why?" the otter asked.

"Because I foolishly made love to a female Ayã," he replied. "I wanted to because she had a large vagina."

"So that's the reason," the otter replied. "You need to do something to alleviate the pain."

The otter told him to find a fallen tree that was moving up and down in the river current. "Go masturbate on a tree that is buoying out in the river," the otter suggested, "and the pain will go away."

The man found a tree that was buoying out in the middle of the river and masturbated on it. The pain went completely away.

"That otter really spoke the truth," he commented.

M6 A Man Insults Ayã - First Episode

Long ago, a man encountered an Ayã bush spirit that had warts all over his chest, legs, and buttocks looking at his reflection in the water.

He took one good look at the bush spirit and then ran away yelling, "I saw Ayã with warts all over his body!"

All of a sudden, the bush spirit came up to him and asked, "What did you say, my grandson?"

"Nothing," the man said, "I just thought I saw a deer but it ran away."

The bush spirit ran off to find it but couldn't see it anywhere.

After that, the man went on his way again. "I am going to find another animal to kill," he told the bush spirit. "See you later."

When he was far away, he yelled again, "I saw a real ugly Ayã with warts all over him!"

The bush spirit came up to him again and asked, "What did you say, my grandson?"

"Nothing," he lied, "I just thought I saw a deer run off."

The bush spirit ran off to look for it. He couldn't find a deer anywhere. "It's not around here anymore," he told the man.

The man went on his way again. When he was far off he started yelling once more, "I saw a real ugly Ayã with warts all over him!"

The bush spirit found him once more and asked, "What did I hear you say, my grandson? I know you were talking about me. You said I was ugly."

"I didn't say anything of the sort," the man lied. "I only yelled because I saw a tapir run off."

The bush spirit ran after the tapir to look for it. But he couldn't find it anywhere.

The man went on his way again.

When he was far off, he started yelling, "I can't stand the site of that Ayã he is so ugly!"

The bush spirit found him and demanded, "What did I hear you say, my grandson?"

"I just saw a jaguar run away from here," he said.

"You are just telling lies," the bush spirit said. "I heard you say you saw a very ugly Ayã."

"No I didn't, grandfather," he lied.

Then the bush spirit grabbed the man and they fought. The bush spirit hit him on the head with a stick.

The Ayã Bush Spirit Takes The Man Captive - Second Episode

After that, the bush spirit wondered, "How am I going to carry him home now?" He made a backpack from woven leaves to put the man in and carry on his shoulders.

As they journeyed back to Ayã's dwelling, one of the man's legs was left dangling out of the backpack. While the bush spirit was crossing a fallen tree, the man gave him a shove with his leg and he fell.

"My pack made me fall," the bush spirit told himself.

He got up and tried to cross again. The man gave him another shove and he fell once more. "My heavy pack made me fall," he grumbled.

When he got up and tried to cross the log once more, the same thing happened.

Finally, however, they arrived at Ayã's dwelling.

"I will leave my pack here for the old woman to come and get," he said. Then he went away.

The man crawled out of the backpack and put a pile of firewood in his place. Then he climbed up a high tree and waited.

The old one came and looked about. "Where did he leave the food?" she asked. She saw the backpack, but there was only firewood in it.

Then she went back to the house and asked, "Where did you say you left it?"

"Over there on the trail," the bush spirit replied.

Then they both went back to look. The food wasn't anywhere to be found. There was only firewood in the backpack. "I left it right here," he told the old woman.

The man watched both of them from above.

The old one became very angry and killed the bush spirit. The man watched as she dragged him away and ate him.

He returned home afterwards. This is what happened long ago when a man saw a bush spirit with warts all over his body.

M7 A Sharp-Armed Bush Spirit Rampages - First Episode

Long ago, an Ayã bush spirit with a sharp arm arrived at a hunting campsite, making a certain noisy sound as he traveled. Several brothers had gone into the forest to hunt, leaving their sisters behind to tend to the game they brought back. When the women heard a bush spirit arriving, they climbed on top of the shelter.

"Are you here, my granddaughters?" the bush spirit called out.

"Yes," they answered.

"Where did your brothers go?" he asked.

"Out in the forest," they responded.

"Oh," he said, "then I will come back later to visit with them."

And he left.

The following day, the brothers returned.

"A bush spirit came while you were gone," the sisters told them. "He said he would come back again."

Later, the sisters reminded them, "Today is the day."

Soon they heard him coming.

"Let's kill him," their brothers decided. They gathered their arrows and picked up their warclubs.

"Leave him alone," the sisters warned.

"We are going to kill him," they insisted.

When the bush spirit arrived, they shot him with their arrows one right after another.

"What is it that is biting me," the bush spirit asked.

The men shot at his eyes.

"What's stinging my eyes?" the bush spirit asked.

The men shot until their arrows ran out.

"What is biting me all over?" the bush spirit questioned.

Then the men struck him with their warclubs until they broke.

Finally, the bush spirit yelled, "Are you trying to kill

me, my grandsons? I am not angry at you. I don't want to kill anyone."

Suddenly he swung his sharp arm and killed them all. The sisters hurriedly climbed to a safe spot and watched as the bush spirit strung their dead brothers' bodies on his arm.

Afterwards he danced with the slain bodies dangling from his arm.

"The wasps will eat your spilled blood," he said. Then he began singing as he returned to his dwelling.

Relatives Revenge The Slaughter - Second Episode

The sisters followed behind the bush spirit until he went into a hollow tree.

"So that is where he lives," they exclaimed. "Let's go get our relatives."

The women returned to their village and related what happened.

"An Ayã bush spirit came out of the forest and killed our brothers," they said.

When the others heard this, they responded, "We will go kill him."

The very next day, they gathered fruit leaves and hot peppers and went to Ayã's dwelling.

They lit fires in the tree openings so that all the Ayã bush spirits in the hollow tree died. They fell out of the tree as they died. Finally they saw the one who had killed the men in the hunting party fall.

M8 Ayã Bush Spirits Try To Kill A Man

Long ago, a man climbed a fruit tree to cut some down. Right away, Ayã bush spirits gathered below.

"There's a sloth up in the tree," one of them said.

"Let's go up and kill it."

Then the Ayã climbed up the tree. They climbed with their heads toward the ground and buttocks to the sky.

"The bush spirits are going to eat me," the man exclaimed. He thought quickly and then dropped the heavy fruit he had cut on top of them.

The bush spirits fell to the ground and died.

Then the man came down and ran to the village. When he arrived, he told the others, "Ayã bush spirits almost ate me but I managed to kill them."

That's what happened long ago when a man encountered bush spirits while up in a fruit tree.

M9 A Sharp-Armed Bush Spirit Traps A Man

Long ago, a man went out into the forest to hunt black monkey. On his way back, it began to get dark, so he stopped for the night at the foot of a large tree.

Later that night, an Ayã bush spirit came up to him.

He arrived making a noise as he moved through the forest. When the spirit came close to the man, he made the noise again. The man cried out in fear.

The bush spirit stopped. "What was that? I heard some animal," he said.

He went on a few steps and then made the noise at the tree where the man was hiding. The man cried out again in fear.

"What did he say?" the sharp-armed bush spirit asked. "Is that you my grandson?"

"Yes, its me," the man replied.

"Did I scare you?" the bush spirit asked.

"Yes," the man said.

"Oh," Ayã replied. "Give me your feet and hands to eat."

The man cut off the feet and hands of the black monkey that he had killed instead and gave them to the bush spirit to eat.

"I want to eat your flesh," he said.

So the man cut off chunks of meat for him to eat.

After this the bush spirit said, "I want to eat your heart."

Then the man cut out the black monkey's heart. The bush spirit ate it. He ate the monkey all up.

Finally, the man spoke, "The meat is all gone. Now, I want to eat your heart."

So the bush spirit cut open his chest. When he cried out in pain the man belittled him. Hadn't he just given him his heart to eat? Then the bush spirit yanked his heart out. He died.

The man fled in the darkness and returned to his village.

Other Bush Spirits

Numerous tales deal with other bush spirits. The folktales of totitasere and wura kaori relate the terrible dangers that may be encountered with disguised or modified human forms of peculiarly terrible bush spirits. Animals and birds are met in the forest who think, talk, and act as humans. Many

pose a threat to life. This is particularly evident in the tale of a long journey (M16) which characterizes the dangers faced in long migrations of the past. In M17, a simile of Wayãpi life is portrayed. The jaguar represents obstacles the Wayãpi encounter while conducting subsistence activities. The tales instruct people to use the cunning skills that are exemplified by the anteater and arrow to overcome difficult situations.

M10 Totitasere Eats A Woman - First Episode

Long ago, a bush spirit called totitasere came to a village where two women were alone. They were sisters.

It was afternoon and a bird sang in the distance. When a hawk flew overhead one of the women looked up at it and said in a wishful manner, "Kill the bird and bring it to me to eat."

Later that evening, the bush spirit arrived and gave the bird to the woman. "Here it is," he said.

But she responded to the stranger, "I didn't ask you to bring this. I only spoke to a hawk flying overhead."

"I'm the hawk," the bush spirit answered as he sat down below the house. He looked like a man.

The women cooked the bird and gave it to him to eat. The younger sister watched as he ate the whole thing, claws and all. Then she became suspicious. "It must be a bush spirit," she thought.

After he was finished eating, the women tied a hammock up for him to spend the night. But the younger sister could not sleep. She was sure their visitor was a bush spirit.

Sure enough, about midnight, the bush spirit carefully got out of his hammock and went to the pregnant elder sister. He caressed her. The younger sister hid herself and watched.

Then the bush spirit put his hand into the woman's vagina and pulled out her internal organs and ate them. He ate her liver, heart, and all of her insides. There was blood everywhere.

"What kind of monster is this?" the younger sister asked in disbelief.

Relatives Revenge Her Death - Second Episode

Afterwards the bush spirit took the woman's unborn child and went away singing.

The younger sister left her hiding place and followed the bush spirit until she saw him enter a wasp's nest. He laid down and began to sleep. Then the younger sister hurried to the village where her relatives had gone to attend a big dance.

"A bush spirit came while you were away and ate our sister," she told her brothers.

So they gathered dried palm leaves and took them to the place where the bush spirit was sleeping. They started a fire and burned the bush spirit as he slept.

Totitasere bush spirits eat people.

M11 Wura Kaori Kills His Brothers-In-Law - First Episode

Long ago, the brothers-in-law of a man who was really a bush spirit came to him and said, "Let's go catch a young eagle."

So they went to a place where eagles nest. Then the wura kaori bush spirit climbed a tree to look at the nest.

"Is there a bird in the nest?" his brothers-in-law asked. "Is it grown?"

"No," responded the bush spirit. "It doesn't have plumage yet. It looks just like your sister's pubic hair." In this manner he antagonized his brothers-in-law.

They asked again, because they were not sure they had heard right, "Does it have plumage, brother-in-law?"

"It looks just like your sister's pubic hair," he answered once again.

They asked among themselves, "Why did he say that?" Then they cut the tree out from under him and the bush spirit was forced to stay on the ledge in the eagle's nest.

He ate only the eagle's food after that. Then he became strong. If he hadn't eaten it he would have died.

Later, a large bird came to him and asked, "What are you doing here, my grandson?"

He told the bird what had happened. Then the bird said, "You should make them pay for what they have done to you. You should kill them."

The bird helped him get down by making a vine he could slide down. Then he gave him a magic armadillo tail to kill his brothers-in-law with.

Afterwards, the bush spirit returned to the village. One day he told his wife that he had seen a tapir in the forest. "Let's go hunting," he said, "so your brothers can kill it."

They went into the forest and traveled for four days. The bush spirit took them so he could get his revenge. They made camp.

Then the bush spirit made an excuse to go relieve himself. He had the armadillo tail with him.

Suddenly, he called to his wife, "I see an armadillo! Tell your brothers to come and kill it!"

So his brothers-in-law came and asked where it was. "Over there," the bush spirit responded.

They ran and grabbed hold of the armadillo's tail. But instead of pulling it out of its hole the magic tail began to pull them into the ground. Their hands were stuck fast to the tail and they couldn't release it.

"Help us, brother-in-law," they asked. But he told them to try harder.

"Help us!" they cried as they pulled frantically. "It's going to take us into the ground!"

"Help us!" they screamed as the magic tail took them into the ground.

Wura Kaori Barbecues His Wife - Second Episode

After that, the bush spirit returned to the campsite and wove a backpack.

His wife asked, "Where are my brothers?"

"Over there," he lied. "Let them kill the armadillo. Then they will return."

He checked the backpack when he was finished to make sure it was strong. Then he grabbed his wife and tied her up. He roasted her over the campfire. She screamed until she finally died.

Wura Kaori Deceives His Mother-In-Law - Third Episode

After that, the bush spirit cut out her heart and liver and put them with some fat into a clay pot. Then he returned to the village carrying his wife's body in the pack. He left it just outside the village for his mother-in-law to come and get.

"I killed a tapir," he lied to her.

"Good," she responded. "Where is my daughter?"

"She had to relieve herself," he lied again.

"Oh," the mother answered. "Where are my sons?"

"Just over there on the other side of the creek," he responded. "They had diarrhea and had to relieve themselves, too."

She took a piece of bread and dipped it into the fat her son-in-law had brought. She ate the liver.

When her daughter did not appear, she said, "I'm going to go look for my daughter."

"Ok," he said. "Go get her."
 Soon she returned and asked again where she was.
 "Over there," he indicated, "on the other side of the creek."

His Mother-In-Law Seeks Revenge - Fourth Episode

After she was gone, the bush spirit prepared to leave the village. He prepared a dummy out of fruit and a log and left it in his hammock in the village. Afterwards, he went away.

When his mother-in-law returned she picked up the backpack he had left on the trail. She brought it under the house. When she opened it and looked inside she gave a shrill cry, "Did my son-in-law kill my daughter?"

"Did I eat my own child?" she cried in anguish.

Then she cursed and said, "I will go kill him!"

She thought he was laying in his hammock. She picked up a heavy stick and crept up on the hammock. Then she clubbed the dummy inside.

"He's not here!" she screamed when she saw the dummy. "Where did he go?"

The others told her he had gone earlier. Then she related what had happened. "Go kill him," she said.

So they went after him.

But a hawk called out and warned the bush spirit of their approach. He prepared a feast for them and fed them well. They didn't kill him. Instead, they returned home.

The Dwelling Of Death - Fifth Episode

Later, the men went out again to look for him. There were three of them. They came to the wura kaori's dwelling.

There were many human skulls laying about and the spirits played flutes made of human bones. They played with the skulls, also.

The wura kaori do not eat animals or fish. They only eat people. When the three men visited them that's why they said, "Now we are going to eat monkey." They thought the men were monkeys and ate them.

The wura kaori's dwelling is far away. No one knows where it is today.

ML2 Yupara's Weapon Kills A Man - First Episode

Long ago, two brothers made a hunting blind in a hollow tree in order to catch yupara, a night monkey.

After that they went out to kill the night monkey. The younger brother remained below the tree while the elder stayed in the blind.

"I will whistle before I shoot," the elder warned.

"Okay," the younger responded.

When the night monkey arrived, the elder brother whistled. Then he shot the night monkey but his arrow didn't penetrate. So he shot again. The same thing happened.

Then the night monkey spotted the elder brother and pointed his boomerang at him. The night monkey cut his head off and it fell to the ground.

The younger brother waiting below thought it was the night monkey who had fallen. Then he saw his brother's head. Blood was falling from the corpse above.

His Death Is Revenged - Second Episode

At dawn, the night monkey came down from the tree and went into a cave. The younger brother followed behind until he arrived at the night monkey's dwelling. The night monkey cooked his elder brother. Then he went to bathe.

While he was away, the younger brother went into his place. He saw the weapon the night monkey had used and asked a pet bird nearby, "What is this? Is it your owner's boomerang?"

"Yes," the bird answered. "He just killed a night monkey (the elder brother) with it."

"Oh," the younger brother acknowledged.

He practiced with the weapon. Then he pointed it at the bird and cut its head off.

After that he went to look for yupara at the bathing hole. When he found him he pointed the weapon and cut off the night monkey's head.

Then he took the boomerang and returned home. "The night monkey killed my brother," he told the others "so I killed him."

M13 A Woman Becomes A Bush Spirit

Long ago, a woman turned into a black monkey because her husband was unfaithful and would not bring her any tree fruit to eat. Instead he took the fruit to another woman who was his lover.

So his wife took their child on her shoulder and left. She went into the forest to find some fruit. She climbed high in the tree with her child and ate all she could.

Then her husband came to look for her. "Did you come to eat the fruit?" he asked when he found her.

"Yes," she responded.

"Let's return home now," he said. "It's late in the afternoon."

"Okay," she responded "Just let me finish eating first."

"Come on," he urged. "Let's go. It will soon be dark."

"Let me finish eating," she insisted.

"I'm going to leave you, if you don't come," he threatened. Then he left and returned home without her.

Afterwards, she began to speak differently and chattered just like a monkey. At dark, she turned into a monkey.

In the morning, her husband returned and found her high in a tree. He cut the tree down but the woman just grabbed another tree. He felled that one and she grabbed another. Finally, she came to a large tree and he let her go.

That is why black monkeys are people.

M14 A Woman's Illicit Love Affair With A Jaguar

Long ago, a woman had sex with a jaguar-man. The jaguar didn't really want to make love to her because he had married her daughter.

It happened like this. One day while they were out in the garden the jaguar told his wife he would look for some animal to kill for dinner. So he left her while she dug manioc.

He killed a small rodent and took it back to his mother-in-law in the village. He told her he had killed something to eat but she didn't believe him. Instead, she began to flirt with him until he made love to her. His penis was very long because it was a jaguar's penis. But he didn't look like a jaguar. He looked like a man.

While they had sex, his mother-in-law asked, "Why do you put your penis in only half way?" His penis was tied with a cord.

"This is the way I usually make love to your daughter," he explained, "so I won't hurt her."

"That's because she is still a child," she answered. "Untie it," she demanded. "I want all of it."

So he untied the cord. His penis was very long. But when he put it in her, she died.

After that, he went back into the garden to find his wife. "Did you find something?" she asked.

"I killed a small rodent," he responded.

They returned home together. When they arrived, she saw her mother and asked, "What happened to mama?"

"You killed her, didn't you," she accused her husband.

"Yes, it was me," he responded. He was ashamed.

After that he went away and did not return.

This is what happened when a woman made love to a jaguar.

M15 A Giant Bird Abducts A Child

Long ago, a bush spirit that looked like a bird kidnapped a child while his parents were drinking beer at a party.

Later, the child's mother and father searched for him. But the child was buried in a termite's nest. The bush spirit tamped dirt into the child's ears, mouth, eyes, and nostrils. Only his head was visible. The child cried in the termite's nest.

His parents continued to search. They played on long flutes as they went. Finally, they came into the tall grass and heard him crying. They found him and took him out of the termite's nest.

The bush spirit kidnapped the child while his parents attended the party. That is why nobody leaves their children alone. Otherwise, a bush spirit will take them away.

M16 Encounter With A Giant Tree - First Episode

Long ago, the shaman of a village went on a long journey and took their people with them.

After four days, they came to a spirit on the ground that resembled a fallen tree. They hit the trees about them with sticks and knives to drive the spirit off.

When the spirit moved away, the people continued their journey.

Encounter With A Giant Avã Bush Spirit - Second Episode

On their next encounter, the shaman warned the people, "Put leaves on your head because a giant bush spirit lives in this area."

But someone voiced a difference of opinion and said, "I'm not going to put leaves on my head."

"Neither will I," another responded.

When they passed the bush spirit, he scalped those who didn't have leaves on their heads.

The rest continued their journey.

Encounter With A Giant Howler Monkey - Third Episode

Then they came to a giant howler monkey that was in a large tree. "Do the same thing here," the shaman warned, "and put leaves on your head."

"Okay," the people responded.

But someone else resisted. "I'm not going to put leaves on my head," he said.

"Neither will I," another responded.

Then the howler monkey defecated on the top of the heads

of those who did not put leaves on. They died.
The rest continued their journey.

Encounter With A Giant Frog - Fourth Episode

Next, they came to a giant frog. "Roast some wild game and give the meat to the frog," the shaman ordered.
Once again, there was someone who refused to obey. "I'm not going to roast any wild game," he said.
"Neither will I," another responded.
When they came to the frog, the people gave him roast meat to eat.
The other two only extended their arms to him. So the frog took them to the other side of a river to another land.
The rest continued their journey.

Encounter With A Giant Oven - Fifth Episode

Next, the shaman told the people, "In this place lives a giant oven. Everyone must give roasted meat to it."
One disagreed. "I'm not going to give it anything," he said.
"Neither will I," a friend responded.
When they came to it, the others gave the oven smoked meat.
The two who did not give it anything were eaten.
The rest continued their journey.

Encounter With Poison Vine - Sixth Episode

When the people came to water, the shaman said, "Let's put poison vine in to kill the fish."
So they put it in and ate the fish they caught. But suddenly they began to run about like wild pigs.
The shaman asked, "What's happened to us? Have we gone completely crazy?"
Afterwards everyone came back to camp and they ate the fish again. But the same thing happened.
"Everyone has gone completely crazy," the shaman said.
So they didn't eat any more.
After that the people continued their journey.

Encounter With A Giant Beetle - Seventh Episode

Next, the people came to a giant beetle. "In this place lives a giant beetle," the shaman warned. "Everyone must relieve themselves around the base of the trees."
"Okay," the people responded.
But another disagreed. "I'm going to relieve myself out in the open on top of a fallen tree," he said.
"So am I," said another.

Most of the people relieved themselves at the base of the trees. The other two did it on top of fallen trees out in the open. Then the beetle came and killed them.

The rest continued their journey.

Encounter With Tree Spirits - Eighth Episode

Then the shaman said, "Let's sleep here before we go any further."

They came to a part of the forest where the trees kidnap people. The shaman warned everyone, "In this place, the trees kidnap people. Everyone must shake the small trees, vines, and brush as we pass through."

One refused to shake the foliage. "I'm not going to do it," he said.

"Neither will I," another responded.

That night the trees took them away.

The rest continued their journey.

Encounter With A Giant Firefly - Ninth Episode

Then they came to a giant firefly. "Carry a torch in your hands," the shaman warned everyone.

But again one disagreed. "I'm not going to take any fire with me," he said.

"Neither am I," a friend responded. So they didn't take any fire with them. The rest did.

When they came to the giant firefly, he ate those who had no fire. By this time there were not many people left.

Then they went on some more.

Encounter With A Giant Fish - Tenth Episode

Finally the shaman instructed the people, "Tie your legs with tree fiber and we will cross the river."

"Okay," the people responded.

Once again there was one who wouldn't follow instructions. "I'm not going to tie my legs," he said. "I'm going just like I am."

"So will I," a friend responded.

While the rest wrapped their legs with tree fiber, the other two didn't.

Then when everyone crossed the river, the giant fish used his fin-spine to puncture the legs of those who were not wrapped. They died.

After that the people arrived at their journey's destination.

M17 An Anteater Deceives A Jaguar - First Episode

Long ago, a jaguar encountered an anteater with her young child. The jaguar wanted to eat the young child. "What are you doing here?" the jaguar asked the anteater. "I'm not doing much of anything," came the response. So the jaguar asked another question. "What do you eat?" "I eat people," the anteater answered. "I also eat bush pigs and deer." "What do you eat?" the anteater asked in return. "I eat the same thing," responded the jaguar. "I eat tapir, bush pigs, and deer. I eat everything." Then the anteater said, "I want you to prove it. Let me see your feces and I'll let you see mine." "Okay," the jaguar agreed. "Close your eyes," the anteater said. Then the jaguar closed his eyes and defecated. So did the anteater. But the anteater quickly exchanged feces with the jaguar. Then he said, "I am finished." So the jaguar turned around and looked at his feces. "You don't really eat bush pigs," accused the anteater. "I do though. Just look at my feces. You can see pig hair." "But you are different," the anteater said convincingly. "You only eat ants." The jaguar stood back aghast and confused. He didn't know he was being tricked. "But I ate wild game before," he said despairingly. "Finally the jaguar said, "Well, maybe you are right." Then he went away. And so, the anteater saved her young child from the jaguar.

An Arrow Deceives The Jaguar - Second Episode

Next, the jaguar met an arrow on the trail. A hunter had left it while hunting for black monkey. "What are you doing?" the jaguar asked. "I'm waiting here," the arrow answered. "My owner went to kill a monkey and left me here to wait for his return." Then the jaguar asked, "What do you eat?" "I eat monkey meat, bush pigs, bush turkeys, grouse, and tapir. I eat jaguar, also," the arrow said. "If that is what you eat," asked the jaguar, "how come your leg is so thin? How come your mouth is so small?" "You don't look strong," the jaguar commented. "But I am strong," the arrow said. "How do you kill monkeys?" the jaguar asked. "I go right through them," the arrow answered. "And how do you kill them?"

"I do it like this," the jaguar said. Then he ran and jumped into a tree and ran along a big branch. After that, he came back down.

Then the arrow asked him, "How do you kill bush pigs?"

So the jaguar showed him. He ran about snapping at small trees. When he returned, he said, "I also eat people."

"You better not try to kill my owner," the arrow said, "or else I will have to kill you."

"You cannot kill me," the jaguar said. "You are not strong."

"But I am strong," the arrow insisted.

"Then how do you kill monkey?" the jaguar asked.

"I do it like this," the arrow demonstrated. He shot high in the air and fell back down.

"How do you kill bush pigs?" the jaguar asked next.

"I do it like this," the arrow demonstrated once again.

"I can also kill you," the arrow said.

"You cannot kill me," the jaguar argued. "You are not strong enough because your leg is so skinny."

"But I am strong," the arrow insisted.

"Then shoot me and let's see," the jaguar said.

"Okay," the arrow said. "Go over there."

"Where?" the jaguar asked.

"Over there a little bit," the arrow directed.

"Here?" the jaguar asked.

"Yes," that's good," the arrow said.

Then the arrow shot the jaguar in the shoulder and he died.

Afterwards the arrow's owner returned and he told him what had happened.

Spirits In The Water And Sky

The Wayãpi do not molest water serpents. They are avoided and no one kills them. Stories are told of huge monstrous snakes that are seen from time to time on the rivers. Folktales M18-21 relate encounters the ancestors had with water spirits that appeared in human shape from the depths of jungle rivers and bodies of water. The Wayãpi believe these spirits still exist today and that they pose a threat both to individuals and to whole villages.

The Wayãpi observe the elements closely. There are times when the sky is friendly and beneficial to man, and times when, to the contrary, it threatens his very existence. A full moon lightens the darkened forest permitting visibility and safety. But when there is no moon the people think the creator-god is sleeping. This permits sinister spirits to roam free in the night and conduct their malevolent activities. Stars mark the seasons and are helpful in signaling to the community when they should cut their gardens and plant. But flaming comets falling out of the sky are unpleasant omens of sickness and death. Cool breezes are refreshing to people in humid tropical climates. But heavy winds in darkened skys are a cause for apprehension and fear. The rain that waters the crops and causes them to produce also floods the village and threatens to sweep away every inhabitant. Beautiful skys that reflect security and times of happiness often erupt in thunder and lightning that cause great anxiety. Folktales M22-25 present the ancestors' concern for spirits in the sky who are responsible for these changes.

M18 A Woman's Illicit Love Affair - First Episode

Long ago, a man shot a water serpent when it made love to his sister.

He asked his relatives, "Who is making love to my sister?"

"Is it you?" he asked around.

"No," the others responded.

So he lay in wait to find out who it was.

Then a water serpent arrived.

"Is that who is making love to my sister?" he asked.

Then he shot it in the spine.

Water Serpents Threaten The Village - Second Episode

Later, the water serpent's mother and father appeared and came to the one who had shot their son.

"We have come," they said, "to get you."

"Oh," the man responded.

"My son is sick," the mother explained.

The man tried to excuse himself. "I don't have a shaman's spirit," he said. "I can't cure your son."

"You are a shaman," she said.

"No, I'm not," the man insisted.

"Come with us," the water serpents said.

"No," the man refused. "I will not go."

But they took him with them to the river.

"Let's go," the water serpents said.

"I'm not going," the man insisted. "A big fish or an electric eel will eat me."

Then one of the water serpents jumped into the middle of the river to show him. "What is going to eat me?" he said. "It will be the same with you. Nothing will eat you."

So the water serpents took him. They opened a door in the middle of the river and descended on a ladder. The man went along behind.

"Come over here," the water serpents said when they arrived.

Then the man saw the water serpent he had shot. He was screaming with pain.

"It's okay now," the parents soothed their child. "We brought a shaman to make you well."

The man sucked on the wounds.

The water serpents had collected an earthen pot full of blood by now.

"If my child dies, I will turn this pot over," the mother threatened. "Then the river will flood and the water rise until it touches the sky and your people will all die."

So the man pulled out the arrows. The water serpents had not seen them. They just thought their son was sick.

"Bring me some cotton," the man requested. Then he closed up the arrow wounds with cotton.

After that the bleeding stopped. "I'm finished," the man said.

"He will get well now," he promised. But he was just lying.

After that, he returned home. The very next day, the water serpent's body buoyed to the water's surface.

This is how a man killed a water serpent that threatened the village.

M19 A Water Serpent Abducts A Household - First Episode

Long ago, a water serpent abducted those who lived in the home of a woman who was menstruating one night. The people were not aware of what was happening.

During the night, a man got up to relieve himself. "I'm going out to urinate," he said.

As he came down from the house he fell into a hole that the water serpent dug below the house. Suddenly, the entire house collapsed and the water serpent took them away.

The place where the house was turned to water.

Relatives Try To Find Them - Second Episode

Later, other members of the village went out in the forest to work on a trail one day.

At the same time, two of the men whom the water serpent had taken came out of the water to kill monkeys. They began to chase some monkeys.

Their grandfather heard the ruckus from a distance while making the trail.

"Who is causing all that disturbance?" he wondered. "I will go see."

Then he came upon them and he watched as they stalked the monkeys.

"Aren't those my grandchildren the water serpent took away?" he asked. "I will go get them back."

But when he came out of hiding, they ran and jumped into the water. He waited in vain many days for them to come back out.

Finally, he returned home. He did not find them.

This is what happened long ago when a water serpent took some people away. They went to the bottom of the river during a woman's menstruation period.

M20 A Water Serpent Swallows People On A Rock - First Episode

Long ago, a monstrous water serpent ate people who were camped on a rock. The others had gone off into the forest.

The large water serpent came out of the water on to the rock where the people were. Then many smaller water snakes climbed over the serpent's body and bit the people.

After that the water serpent ate them.

Relatives Revenge Their Death - Second Episode

Then the monstrous water serpent went away.

When the other people returned to camp, they asked,

"What passed by?"

They followed the trail. Finally, they encountered the

large serpent and shot it with arrows. But it wouldn't die.

"Who is shooting me?" the water serpent asked.

"You cannot kill me," the water serpent said foolishly, "I can only die if I am shot with a certain wood."

So the men prepared new arrows with this wood and shot the serpent through the tail. Then the water serpent died.

He had eaten many people.

M21 An Illicit Love Affair With A Fish

Long ago, two women made love to a large fish that looked like a tapir.

The women took food to the fish. Then they sang until the fish came to them. They took food to him all the time.

One day their brothers questioned their mother. "Where do our sisters go all the time?"

"I don't know," she answered.

The brothers went to the river and began to sing. When they did, the fish came to them. Then they knew.

After that, they returned to the village.

"Make some manioc beer for us to drink," they asked their sisters to divert them.

"Okay," they said. They left to dig manioc for the beer. While they were gone, the brothers went to kill the fish.

They sang again. When the fish came, they killed it. After that they cut it up.

Later, the girls returned.

"Your brothers killed a tapir," their mother told them.

"Good," they said. They ate the meat their brothers brought not knowing it was their lover, the large fish.

Later, they took some food and went to sing at the river. But the fish didn't come. "Maybe he went hunting," they said.

So they returned home and began grating the manioc to make beer. After they were finished, they went again and sang. But the fish still did not come.

"Why doesn't he come?" they asked.

They became suspicious and began to look around for signs of foul play. Then they spotted a small drop of blood on a leaf. "Did our brothers kill him?" they asked.

"Let's not stay here any longer," they decided. "Let's go out into the river."

So they followed the trail of blood out into the river. The blood had turned back into the large fish and they romped and played in the water with him all afternoon.

Later, their mother called to them, "Come home!"

But they didn't hear her and the large fish took them away.

Long ago, two women had a large fish for a husband.

M22 Darkness And Rain Threaten Villages

We see the water serpent's spirit in the sky. The water serpent circles the sun in the form of a rainbow. It is the water serpent's spirit that keeps the sun bright.

When a man kills a water serpent, its spirit goes up into the sky and the sky becomes dark and rainy. The man who kills one must change his name so the spirit will not know who did it. Otherwise the man will come down with great pain. His legs and arms and head will hurt. The water in the river will begin to rise and flood the village. This is not good. That is why nobody usually kills water serpents. We only look at them. A person who kills one must contend with the water serpent's spirit.

This is what happened long ago when our ancestors killed water serpents. So they warned us. That is why we know today.

M23 Thunder Is An Angry Shaman - First Episode

Long ago, Thunder, who is called tupã, went to live in the sky.

It happened when his brother-in-law left him and went to a dance.

Thunder, who had two wives, told them, "We will go later in the afternoon." Then he went to the garden to lie in wait for a rodent to kill and eat.

The younger of Thunder's wives complained, "I don't like Thunder because he is ugly and not handsome. He is poor and doesn't have beads, cloth, or anything."

Thunder's other wife didn't say a thing.

Later, Thunder returned from his hunt.

"Where is your sister?" he asked his wife.

"She went to the party with her brothers," she answered.

"Oh, she did," he answered angrily.

Then he said, "Come, let me peel off your skin." Thunder was a great shaman. His first wife was old and wrinkled. But the one who had gone to the party was a young woman.

When he peeled off her skin she became very pretty. Then he peeled his off and became very handsome.

After that he told his wife, "Now I will make many beads." Then he made a pile of them. He made a belt, a jaguar skin, a feathered headpiece, and cloth.

"Take this cloth and wrap it around you," he said.

"Take these beads and put them on."

She put the beads on her wrists and wrapped them around her legs. Then she put many strands around her neck.

After that Thunder put on his things. He put on a new loincloth and wrapped his arms completely in beads. He put others around his neck. Then he wrapped a cotton belt around

his waist and put on his feathered headpiece.

Now both of them were very beautiful.

"We will go this afternoon," he told her.

Thunder took his war club when they went and played a flute on the way.

The others at the party heard him. "Tupã is coming," they called to one another.

Then he arrived yelling loudly.

The others were awed. "Tupã is very handsome," the women said. No one there could even be compared to him.

"Tupã's wife is very beautiful," the men responded.

Then Thunder began to dance and drink.

It became dark.

Thunder had a friend at the party. He told him, "Friend, I am going to go away. When I do, you can have my war club."

"Okay," his friend responded.

Thunder's arm began to shoot bolts of lightning. "Bring a stone over here, my friend," he asked.

"Okay," his friend answered. Then he brought it.

Then Thunder shot bolts of lightning at the stone and it broke in pieces demonstrating his strength.

His brothers-in-law saw this power and asked, "Will we have the same power when we go to war?"

"Maybe," Thunder responded. "I don't know." Thunder was angry with them because they had taken their sister, his wife, to the party.

Then he searched for his younger wife. He continued to shoot bolts of lightning while he danced. Finally, he found her.

In the darkness, there was much lightning. Suddenly, Thunder killed his young wife. He split her back open with his warclub. Then he went up into the sky.

His friend quickly grabbed the warclub. He was angry.

"You didn't like my friend!" he yelled. "Now he has gone! He won't come back anymore. Nobody will be able to find him."

Thunder Roars And Kills With Lightning - Second Episode

From that time on it thundered very loudly everyday in the sky.

One day, a powerful shaman went to look for Thunder. When he came near, however, Thunder roared and ate the shaman.

This shaman had a son who was still very small and lived with his mother.

One day when it was thundering, he asked his mother, "What is that noise I always hear?"

"It's Thunder," she answered, "the one who ate your father."

"Is that the truth, mother?" he asked.

"Yes," she responded.

"I am going to kill the one who ate my father," he said. "I will kill Thunder."

"You won't be able to," his mother warned. "Thunder is very strong and arrows won't kill him. That's why he was able to eat your father."

"I will kill him anyway, mother," he said. "I'm a shaman."

"Okay," his mother said.

Then he made a pile of special arrows with hard points. He told his mother, "I am going now." The shaman's son was still very young. He hadn't grown up yet.

"Okay," she said. Then she began to cry.

"If Thunder eats me, the skin of my head will fall back to earth," he promised. "Then you will know what happened."

He cut down his house and destroyed it. Then he went up into the sky. Suddenly, he was gone.

He found Thunder sitting with his wife. She was searching for lice in his hair.

"Is this the one who ate my father?" the young boy asked himself.

"I will shoot him," he resolved. So he shot Thunder, but his arrow did not go into him. He shot again and again but his arrows did not penetrate.

After awhile, Thunder commented, "Mosquitoes are biting me all over." He began to scratch himself and turned around.

When Thunder turned the boy shot at his eyes.

"What is biting me all over," Thunder complained.

Suddenly, he spotted the boy. Then Thunder roared and shot a bolt of lightning, killing him. He ate the shaman's son.

But the skin of his head fell down to the earth. Then his mother looked at it and said, "Thunder ate my child."

There were no more shaman. "That is why nobody was able to kill Thunder," our ancestors said.

M24 The Two-Headed Vulture Abducts A Man - First Episode

Long ago, a man killed a tapir and left it in the jungle for the vultures to eat. After that he made a hunting blind nearby.

When the animal began to rot, he went and killed vultures that fed on it. He killed many vultures.

One day, while he sat waiting, a vulture with two heads came down. It went near the tapir but didn't eat. The man watched as the vulture looked about.

Then the vulture began to eat with one head. The other head did not eat.

"I am going to shoot it," the man said.

When he was about to shoot the vulture looked straight at him, "Why are you going to kill me, my grandson?"

"Come with me instead to my village," the vulture-with-two-heads said.

The man came out of his hunting blind.

Then the vulture-with-two-heads said, "Sit on top of my neck."

"Okay," the man responded.

The vulture took him and they flew up together.

"Close your eyes, my grandson," the vulture-with-two-heads said, "or you will fall."

"When you hear a bird sing, you may open them," he said.

"Okay," the man responded.

The vulture took him to his village.

When they arrived, the vulture told his daughter, "Marry him."

"Okay," she said.

So the man married the two-headed vulture's daughter.

Termites Help The Man - Second Episode

Then the vulture-with-two-heads requested his daughter to have her husband build him a house.

"Okay," she responded.

The man went out to get hardwood posts for the house. But they were so big that he couldn't carry them. While he pondered what to do a termite came up to him and asked, "What are you doing, my grandson?"

"I want to carry these hardwood posts but they are so heavy I can't pick them up," responded the man.

"Oh," the termite said. "Let me go get my relatives and we will help you."

"Okay," the man said.

The termite went and got his relatives. Then they carved out the inside of the hardwood posts so that they were not heavy anymore.

After that, the man took them and built the house. Then he tied leaves and made a roof. He finished the house that afternoon.

Then he told his wife, "I finished your father's house."

"Good," she said.

A Bush Spirit Warns He Will Be Eaten - Third Episode

After that the two-headed vulture requested, "Have your husband catch a fish for me to eat."

"Okay," his daughter said.

So the man went out. But he just stood there looking at the water.

Then an Ayā bush spirit, called yasī, came up to him. "What are you doing, my grandson," he asked.

"I want to catch a fish," the man responded.

"Oh," he answered. "The vulture-with-two-heads is going

to eat you, my grandson," the bush spirit warned.

"I will throw the water out of the creek for you so you can catch your fish," the bush spirit continued.

The spirit threw all the water out so the man could catch the fish.

Then he took it to his wife and said, "I brought one."

Pigeons Warn He Will Be Eaten - Fourth Episode

Next the two-headed vulture requested, "Have your husband carve a stool so I can sit on it."

"Okay," his daughter responded.

So she told her husband, "My father wants you to make a stool for him."

"Okay," he said.

When he went out into the forest a bird came to him.

"What are you doing, my grandson?" the bird asked.

"I am going to make a stool," he said, "but I don't know how to do it."

"Let me cut the right wood for you," the bird said.

Then the bird felled a certain tree.

The man carved the wood. But he couldn't do it right.

Then some pigeons came up to him and asked, "What are you doing, my grandson?"

"I am making a stool for the two-headed vulture to sit on," he responded.

"Oh," the pigeons answered. "The vulture-with-two-heads is going to eat you," they warned.

"Let us make the stool for you," the pigeons said.

They made the stool right away. They made it look just like the vulture-with-two-heads.

"Take it to him," the birds said afterwards. "Put it down near him and then run away," the pigeons cautioned.

The vulture was at his house.

The pigeons told the man, "We will wait for you here, my grandson."

So the man took the stool to his wife. "Here is the stool," he said, "for your father to sit on."

"Okay," she responded.

Pigeons Help The Man Escape - Fifth Episode

She told her father, "My husband is trying your patience, father. Look! He made the stool look just like you."

"Why?" her father asked. Then he took down his arrows in anger and prepared to kill the man.

But the man had run away. He returned to the pigeons.

"Let's leave here, my grandson," the pigeons said to him.

The man took hold of the pigeon's shoulders and they descended to earth. They landed right in the middle of the

trail to the village.

Then the pigeons warned the man, "We rescued you, my grandson. From now on we will live here. So don't you shoot us."

"Okay," the man promised.

After that the man told his relatives what happened, "I saw a vulture with two heads and he almost ate me. But I escaped and pigeons brought me back."

This is what happened long ago when a vulture with two heads took a man away.

M25 The Evil Wind

When the wind blows hard, there is sickness in the air. The wind brings the sickness. That is why we sit in our hammocks and don't walk about. A hard wind can bring sudden death.

The wind brings vomiting, fever, and headaches. It brings every imaginable disease. But you cannot see the sickness. It also brings bush spirits. You cannot see the bush spirits either. Nobody sees them come. But we know they are around because people are getting sick. When the spirits stay in the village, we die.

Hard winds cause the water serpent's spirit to come and bring sickness, too. That is why nobody likes a hard wind.

Summary

In the forest today, Wayãpi go out of their way to avoid chance encounters with these spirits they have learned about through the oral history related by their ancestors. They avoid areas that are thickly matted and inhospitable in the jungle. Rapids and bends in rivers where the waters run deep are feared because they are liable to harbor large water monsters. When the elements threaten, the people remain hidden in the village in the relative protection and comfort of their homes. No one walks about at night without taking a flashlight to frighten lurking spirits that attack and bring sickness and death. Unexplainable noises outside

the village are attributed to spirits who are shooting their weapons. Stars that fall from the sky represent in the people's minds the activity of sorcerers possessed by evil spirits who fill gourds with contagious spirit magic and fling them into the sky to fall on people they want to kill. These sources act as continual reminders of threats posed by the supernatural that are encountered in everyday life.

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF THE LINEAR SEQUENCE

Spirits that inhabit the world influence Wayãpi patterns of living and thought in the present even as in centuries past. Folktales M1 to M25 present a metaphor of everyday life for the Wayãpi. In other words, the imagery of spirits in the environment provides the people with a routine for day-to-day subsistence in a world where they are constantly at odds with pesky insects, cunning reptiles, vicious mammals, hazardous plants, voracious objects, and the perilous elements. Continual conflict persists between culture and nature.

The apparent structure of Wayãpi folktales regarding spirits is first isolated to reveal a natural pattern of development. Propp (1968:19-24) refers to the sequential-linear action of a folktale that deals with the apparent structural content of the text alone. Generally speaking, the syntegmatic approach tends to be both empirical and inductive, and its resultant analysis can be replicated. Clearly, this type of structural analysis is not an end in itself. Rather it is a beginning. It provides a useful technique of descriptive ethnography inasmuch as it lays bare the essential form of the folkloristic text. But the form must ultimately be related to the culture in which it is found. In

this sense, Propp's study is only a first step.

Propp's basic corpus of material consisted of 100 Russian folktales. He found that they all had a similar sequence of functions which he referred to as the general morphology of Russian folktales. The word 'morphology' means the study of forms. In botany, the term 'morphology' means the study of the component parts of a plant, of their relationship to each other and the whole -- in other words, the study of a plant's structure. Propp asked, "What about a 'morphology of the folktale'?" He believed it was possible to make an examination of the forms of a tale which would be as exact as the morphology of organic formations.

But what methods could achieve an accurate description of the tale? He found that by comparing events in the tales that both constants and variables were presented. The main characters (as well as the attributes of each) changed, but neither their actions nor functions changed although the actual means of their realization varied. From this he concluded that tales often attribute identical actions to various characters. This made possible the study of tales according to the functions of those involved. Then he determined to what extent these functions actually represented the recurrent constants of the tales. He concluded that the number of functions was extremely small, whereas the number of characters could be extremely large. This ex-

plained the two-fold quality of the tales: their amazing multiformity, picturesqueness, color and, on the other hand, their no less striking uniformity, their repetition.

Thus the functions of the main characters were basic components of the tales, and must first of all be extracted. In order to extract the functions they must be defined. Definition proceeded from two points of view. Definition of a function was first of all described in the form of a noun expressing an action. Secondly, the action could not be defined apart from its place in the course of narration. This meant that the meaning which a given function had in the course of the action had to be considered (Propp 1968:21).

These observations are briefly formulated in the following manner:

1. The functions of the characters serve as stable, constant elements in a tale, independent of how and by whom they are fulfilled. They constitute the fundamental components of a tale.
2. The number of functions known to the tale is limited.
3. The sequence of functions is always identical.

He concluded by saying tales with identical functions could be considered as belonging to one type. Identical functions were interpreted in the following manner: if he designated with the letter A a function encountered everywhere in first position, and similarly designated with the letter B the function which (if it was at all present) always

followed A, then all functions known to the tale would arrange themselves within a single tale. Tales of one type revolved around a single axis.

In this analysis, I attempt to delineate the functions of Wayãpi folktales in a similar fashion to describe their daily subsistence routine and the apparent conflict that still exists from oral traditions which is reflected in their comments and by their actions. Certain descriptive references are from texts not included in this paper. Folktales of the spirit world form a type with a regular linear sequence of acts that permit a progressive development of the story to unfold in a manner that is typical of spirit encounters. The sequence of the tales is nearly always identical although the experiences described vary considerably. The continuity of action reinforces a pattern that is established which presents a continual cycle of conflict. A number of texts have several episodes. Episodes which follow the initial beginning of a tale are introduced by a lineal time sequence. The six developmental functions that characterize folktales M1-M25 are presented in chart 1. The actions of the characters are described within each function.

CHART I

FUNCTIONS OF SPIRIT FOLKTALES

1. Mythical Time Introduction
2. Initial Setting In The Environment
3. Encounter Between Ancestors And Spirits
4. Obstacle To Surmount
5. Escape Or Separation
6. Final Comment

1. Mythical Time Introduction

The texts focus on conflicts that result in encounters between the cultural world of the Wayãpi and the natural world of spirits with whom the people continue to share a common environment. In each case, the tales begin "Long ago . . ." This is a conventional way of transcending linear time that marks ordinary temporal duration of daily life. The folktales describe a set of events that occurred in the distant past between Wayãpi ancestors and spirits, but which at the same time are linked to the present to define why life is as it is. Eliade (1959:69-113) writes that the events of myth take place in 'sacred time' which differs from our irreversible, linear time in everyday living. One essential difference between these two qualities of time is that sacred time by its very nature is reversible in the sense that properly speaking it is primordial mythical

time made present. It reactualizes events that took place in the mythical past, 'in the beginning'. Hence sacred time is indefinitely recoverable, indefinitely repeatable. For the Wayãpi, tales told of ancestors who encountered spirits long ago are not something that belong to the past. The tales are ontological and have equal meaning today. From them the people are reminded that demonstrations in the past are but manifestations of present day reality.

2. Initial Setting In The Environment

The Wayãpi must leave their homes and village and go out into the natural environment to obtain food and other resources that sustain life. They believe spirits leave their dwellings from holes in the earth, water, and sky to procure food and act as guardians of the natural surroundings.

Geographically, the territory in which they live presents a mixture of lowlands flooded during the rainy season, dry grasslands with scattered trees, dense rain-forest vegetation, and in the north, hilly uplands and small mountains. On the western extreme, mountains run for many kilometers in an east-west direction and attain an elevation of nearly 1000 meters. This range of molten rock forms a line of division between streams that flow north into the Atlantic Ocean (i.e. Oiapoque River) and those that drain south into the Amazon (i.e. Jari River).

The longest and most sinuous river is the Jari, with its headwaters and upper branches draining the south side of the Tumuc-Humac mountains in a course some 800 kilometers long. Only the lower 150 kilometers are free of rapids and falls. This waterway has been one of the main routes of transportation and communication for the Wayãpi. The Jari river penetrates the thickest forest of the entire territory, unbroken by savannas and uplands, with a heavy equatorial rain-forest vegetation, interspersed with occasional grassy savannas dotted with trees.

It was along this river and area that Sarapo located his family at Moloco Pote, and it was in this setting that he told how Wayãpi ancestors encountered spirits they believe still live everywhere about them. He introduced each folktale with an initial setting in which ancestors and spirits encountered one another in these natural surroundings while occupied in daily activities. Meetings occurred out in the gardens just outside the village (M1), on many occasions while traveling in the forest in general (M8-9, M11, M13, M16-17), along trails that were marked clearly from everyday use (M4, M19, M20, M24), at campsites where shelters had been established for lengthy hunts (M2, M7, M11, M20), and in hunting blinds along the forest floor, and in large trees (M4-5, M12, M24). Spirits were encountered who dwelt in the sky (M22-25), who were seen near bodies of water (M5-6, M16), and who lived in the depths

of jungle waters (M18-21). Other stories related instances of spirits visiting near the outskirts of villages (M3) and others who entered village compounds where they lived in the guise of humans (M10, M11, M14-15). Some tales described journeys to bush spirits' dwellings (M6, M7, M10-12).

3. Encounters Between Ancestors And Spirits

Ancestors encountered threatening spirits in the natural environment when they left the relative security of their homes and village. Most encounters were charged with a direct or implied sense of animosity and fear. This theme is basic to Wayãpi living today even though they believe some spirits are good and assist people. The tales provide portraits of the unusual features of spirit characters that terrified ancestors who were victims of their malicious anger.

There were Ayã who are shadowy bush spirits that come from dead bodies of humans, animals, birds, fish, and others that have different origins and assume grotesque forms (M1-9, M12, M24); next, there were terrible bush spirits that inhabit objects and assume human shapes and animals and birds that act just like people (M10-11, M14, M16-18, M23); finally, there were spirits that come from the depths of jungle rivers and bodies of water (M18-21) and those that pervade the elements in the atmosphere about (M22-25). These spirits consumed anything that was edible and ate entire

animals -- head, beak, claws, and all (M10). They also ate human flesh (3-4, M7, M11, M20, M23-24) and feasted on each other (M6). Although some spirits were mortal and could be killed (M1, M6-10, M12, M18, M20), others came back to life (M21).

Spirits described in the tales possessed peculiar attributes. For example, when bush spirits captured ancestors they enlarged the ears to look like theirs, or the vagina if it was a young girl (M3) because the penis of a male spirit was long (M14). Bush spirits were ugly and had warts all over their bodies (M6). They thought intestinal gas was a pleasant odor. Water serpents were attracted to the smell of menstruating women who bathed in the water (M19). Some Ayã bush spirits had sharp arms that hung to the ground and razor-like legs that cut through hammocks (M7, M9), others had spiked noses, enlarged ears, bright blue pointed teeth, and strong hairy bodies (M3, M12). One sky spirit had two heads (M24). Many spirits were giants (M15-16, M20, M24). Arrows could not penetrate a bush spirit's thick skin because it was like a tapir's (M4, M7, M23), but water spirits could be killed with special arrows (M18, M20).

Spirits assume zoomorphic shapes, especially as jaguars (M14, M17), tapirs (M17), deer, wolves, monkeys (M12-13, M16, M24), butterflies, fish (M16, M21), snakes (M18-20), turtles, otters (M5), rats, and frogs (M16). Some became insects such as beetles (M16), fireflies (M16), and termites

(M24). Long ago there were many types of jaguar spirits; bush pig jaguars, rodent jaguars, monkey jaguars, bird jaguars, and others. The Wayãpi say their ancestors killed these ugly animal spirits because they were always attacking them. Wayãpi who disobey prohibitions today take a chance of becoming jaguar spirits (M2) like their ancestors long ago, or of assuming other forms as occurred in M13 when a woman and her child became monkeys. Whole households were adopted by serpents who lived under water in M19.

Wayãpi ancestors encountered spirits and were often tempted to have sex with them. This turned out bad: the vagina of some female spirits was large and hairy, and the pubic area was crawling with stinging ants (M5); one spirit ate a woman he was carressing (M10); another roasted his human wife (M11); a jaguar man caused a woman to bleed to death (M14); a frog woman stretched her lover's penis to an embarrassing length; a whole village was threatened from an amorous encounter with a water serpent (M18-19); the ancestors were influenced to forsake their own kin and to live with spirit lovers (M21); and one man was forced to endanger his life fulfilling obligations to a spirit whose daughter he had taken in marriage (M24). However, shaman are supposed to be able to avoid these dangers by their magical powers.

In folk history, ancestors and spirits first lived in peace until the people committed numerous offences against them. This occurred when a man killed a female bush spirit's child (M1), when the water serpents were offended (M22), and when the great shaman, tupã, was angered (M23). Then the spirits were angered and began to war with the ancestors. Spirits everywhere in the bush, in the water, and in the sky provided a sinister force arrayed against them that continues today.

At night the spirits wandered and prowled in the dark. They attacked those they encountered (M4, M9-10, M12, M15-16, M19-20), and entrapped others in ambushes (M9, M11, M18). They were malicious and tried to kill the ancestors (M3-4, M6-7, M9-12, M14, M16, M20, M23-24). They sent sickness, heavy winds, floods, shot lightning bolts, and roared in the sky terrorizing the inhabitants of villages (M1, M22-23, M25). The spirits controlled objects such as trees which kidnapped people (M16), poisonous vines which disorientated them (M16), arrows that could kill on their own power (M17), ovens that ate human flesh (M16), and the elements which overshadowed the world the ancestors lived in (M22-23, M25).

The folktales describe some spirits by name and tell of their violence. The tapu'ui (M3) ambushed individuals who stepped outside the village clearing; the tamoko (M4) massacred whole villages; the totitasere (M10) ate people; the wura kaori (M11) dwelt in far away entangled recesses

where they feasted on the ancestors and used their bones for flutes and skulls for play; the yupara (M12) cut people's heads off and cooked them to eat; tupa (M23) killed with bolts of lightning; and tutupere (M24) spirits grew large and created panic. The ancestors retaliated and tried to kill them before they themselves were killed (M4, M7-10, M12, M18, M20-21, M23). But some could not be killed (M11, M23). In M17, two episodes provide analogies of conflict in the forest. The jaguar is the powerful villain that is encountered and must be overcome by the ingenuity of more vulnerable animals and objects who represent the ancestors and prove themselves capable of outwitting their adversary in difficult situations. So must Wayãpi today.

4. Obstacle To Surmount

Ensuing conflicts presented obstacles in life that had to be surmounted if the ancestors were to return home safely. Following an encounter, a pattern developed where it was usually up to human ingenuity to find a way out of a difficult situation and overcome spirit opposition that had been met with. In many instances, the spirits were deceived. In others, the ancestors were aided by quickly devised plans of action, or by some other mediating force, i.e., shamanistic power or good spirits. Sometimes, however, they were overcome when spirits used their own devious tricks against them. The Wayãpi fear these events will happen today. That

is why they believe the spirits pose such a threat to them.

Obstacles included disabilities caused by sickness. Fevers, colds, pneumonia, diarrhea, smallpox, and coughs were some incapacitating illnesses sent by spirits (M1). "That's why we have pneumonia," the ancestors said. Sexual relations with a spirit caused a man's testicles to swell so that he could hardly walk (M5). If a man killed a water serpent the sky became dark and rainy. His whole body began to hurt and the river flooded and destroyed his village (M22). Heavy winds brought vomiting, fever, headaches, and every imaginable disease. That is because they brought bush spirits who caused these sicknesses (M25). Other obstacles included abduction by spirits who took ancestors away to be killed and eaten. A person's life was in constant jeopardy by malicious spirits intent on cannibalistic feasts (M3-4, M6-12, M16-17, M20-21). Big tapu'ūi bush spirits waited on village trails to trap people. When an ancestor returned to the village the spirits grabbed him and bit the unlucky person all over to kill him.

To overcome the incessant difficulties presented by the spirit world, Wayāpi ancestors developed a finesse for deceiving their supernatural opponents. If a man was accosted in a tree blind by a bush spirit he might try to satisfy the spirit's insatiable appetite by feeding him birds he had shot to deter the spirit from eating him. Then he would turn the spirit's attention to getting down from the tall tree

by daring him to jump. The dull minded spirit jumped and died permitting the man to escape. In M9, a man was trapped by a fearsome sharp-armed bush spirit who wanted to eat him. But the man offered him pieces of meat from a monkey he killed instead. When it was all gone, he deceived the spirit into reciprocating his hospitality. The spirit cut his heart out like the man did with the monkey. In so doing, he died and the man escaped. On another occasion a captured ancestor played dead until the spirit finished carrying him to his village and set him down. Then the captive got up and ran away. In M6, a captive crawled up into a tree and hid until the search for him was over.

Quickly devised plans of action enabled others to outwit simple spirits and counter their threat to ancestral life. When several children were abducted and eaten, the lone survivor planned an escape by saving food scraps to nourish him on a long journey home (M3). On numerous occasions, relatives of deceased victims illuminated threatening spirits by going out together to burn them in great bonfires (M7, M10). When one ancestor encountered a bush spirit with a prized axe, he asked to borrow it. The bush spirit wouldn't part with it, so the man asked just to look at it. Then he purposely dropped it into the water. He told the spirit the water was full of large snakes and man-eating fish to frighten him away. Then he picked up the axe and went on his way. Another ancestor was trapped while obtaining fruit from a

tree out in the forest (M8). But he quickly figured a way out of his predicament by cutting a bunch of heavy fruit and letting it drop on his would-be-killers. They fell to the ground and died. When yubara killed an ancestor's older brother (M12) the younger man resolved to follow this menacing threat into an underground dwelling and killed him with the spirit's own weapon. In M18, another ancestor was taken by water serpents down into a jungle river to treat their wounded son. He pretended to heal the snake by removing arrows he had shot into it. This bit of fakery pleased the serpents who allowed him to leave their watery underworld and removed the threat to his village caused by their anger. In these manners, the ancestors devised every means available to overcome dangerous spirits encountered in their daily routine.

Shamans maintained a powerful influence in the community because they were able to mediate between the ancestors and the supernatural world to counteract the evil designs of malignant spirits. They possessed skills to thwart spirit threats by: certain powers (M4-5), special medicines, magic instruments (M15), and their knowledge of the spirit world (M16). When angry tamoko bush spirits retaliated against the villages of ancestors who attacked them (M4), it was the shamans who went out to confront this sullen enemy in their rampage of fury and destruction. The shamans countered

their threat to life, took their weapons, and led them back to their dwelling where they imprisoned the spirits forever. In M16, other shamans led many people through a vast forest on a long journey. They used their knowledge and skills to protect the people and to surmount obstacles that confronted them in the dense surroundings. Giant trees, monkeys, frogs, ovens, beetles, fireflies, and fish abducted, killed, and ate those who disobeyed their instructions. The rest arrived safely.

Some spirits intervened to help the ancestors in their fight for survival. One gave a man a special arrow that always fell on wild game in the forest. This ancestor became a great hunter. Another spirit encountered a man in great pain and told him how to remedy his soreness (M5). In other tales spirits brought fire to help ancestors cook their food. Good spirits warned the ancestors of impending danger and gave them assistance in their daily occupations. They taught the ancestors how to make gardens by cutting trees in the forest and how to burn the dried brush and logs afterwards. They instructed the ancestors on how to catch game. In M24, termites helped one man build a home from heavy ironwood posts. A bush spirit warned the same man of impending danger, he would be eaten by a two-headed vulture. Then pigeons helped the man perform tasks for the two-headed vulture and planned his escape. The toucan helps Wayãpi today when rain-heavy, charcoal clouds hemorrhage in eerie,

aerial explosions of saw-toothed lightning and reverberating thunder. Then a man takes his longbow out into the village center and sets the toucan's beak on top. This action prevents the imminent death of those in the village by warding off the threatening elements. The Wayãpi explain that the toucan is the thunder's friend. He tells the thunder, "You are scaring my children." Then the thunder goes away. Otherwise it would kill everyone.

In spite of the mediating influence of human ingenuity by deception and quickly devised plans of action, shamanistic power and magic, and the assistance of good spirits, powerful spirits overcame the ancestors on numerous occasions. The threat posed by spirits today is enhanced by fearful accounts that are related of the ancestors in past encounters. Wayãpi believe the same things can happen now in the present. Their children may still be taken far away to ugly spirit dwellings (M15) to be killed and eaten (M3). Whole households may still be abducted by water serpents (M19). Individuals can be tempted to run away and live with spirits whose influence they come under (M21). Men and women can be subdued by the superior strength of spirits they encounter (M6), surprised and attacked in the night (M10), cut down with strange weapons (M12), or taken away into the sky to be eaten (M24). Others who fall victim may be eaten in the forest where the spirits can shoot and kill them (M4) or trap them so they cannot get away (M8). Entire villages may be

massacred and devoured (M4), hunting parties killed at campsites (M7), or consumed by monstrous spirits who surprise them (M20). Spirits may still enter villages because they look like humans and be accepted for a period of time until their malicious nature is revealed once again in acts of incomprehensible terror. Totitasere ate the inner organs of a living pregnant woman and took her unborn child away (M10). Wura Kaori unmercifully buried alive his human relatives, barbecued his screaming wife over a campfire, tricked the mother into eating her own daughter, and trapped men who were sent out to apprehend him. They were eaten in a village strewn with human bones (M11). A jaguar man penetrated a woman's vagina and she bled to death (M14). Water serpents threatened to raise river waters to flood villages and sweep the ancestors away in watery graves (M18, M22). Bolts of lightning toppled trees that crippled people or destroyed them outright (M23). Heavy winds caused homes to collapse on their occupants and brought sickness that destroyed the inhabitants of villages leaving survivors remorseful, despondent, and apathetic (M25). Those who made long journeys often became victims to the predatory nature of malicious spirits (M16-17). And this is how the Wayãpi imagine life today. The vivid reality of oral traditions can make life a living nightmare on many occasions in the oppressive isolation of the dense jungle that encompasses their homes.

5. Escape Or Separation

In many instances, the tales relate that the obstacle of interference into the ancestor's mode of existence was surmounted, they were not overcome, and a way of escape was made from encounters with spirits. The man, woman, or child involved was able to separate from the encounter and return home. The Wayãpi say that is why there are still people living today. On the successful ventures that are mentioned the spirits were either run off or killed, imprisoned in their own dwellings, or avoided to escape their overpowering influence.

Manners of escape are numerous. Sometimes the spirits ran away. On other occasions the people did. The men who stole one bush spirit's roasted meat first prompted the spirit to show them his prowess and speed by running to a far mountain. That gave them time to take his food and run away. In M3, the sole survivor of a spirit abduction managed to run away and travel many days on a forest trail back to his village. Another man was taken captive while swimming underwater and playing with a bush spirit's fishhook. When the bush spirit brought him to the surface he pretended he was dead until the spirit set him down in his dwelling. Then the man got up and ran away. A similar episode occurred when a man insulted an ugly bush spirit and was knocked over the head. The bush spirit carried him to his dwelling and left him for an old woman to come and prepare to eat. The man

pretended he was dead until the spirit left. Then he crawled out of the backpack he was tied-up in and put firewood in his place. The old woman became very angry when she couldn't find the man. So she killed the ugly bush spirit and ate him instead. Then the man ran away (M6). When pigeons warned another man a two-headed vulture wanted to eat him he ran away and they flew him to safety (M24). Once a shaman crawled into a hollow log to escape spirits who were pursuing him. The bush spirits sent a turtle into the log to drive the man out. But the man grabbed the turtle and sat on it. Then the bush spirits sent a deer in and the man cut its throat. The deer screamed and frightened the bush spirits away. On another occasion a man frightened a bush spirit who was looking at his reflection in the water. He told the bush spirit there were many monsters in the water. Then he placed his fingers just above the bush spirit's reflected head to look like horns. When the bush spirit saw them he screamed and ran away.

The ancestors killed the bush spirits whenever they were able. When one bush spirit chased men who stole his roasted meat he ran into a tree with his long sharp nose and was stuck fast. So the men returned and beat him to death. When spirits came upon ancestors collecting fruit in the jungle they told the spirits they were eating the testis of their testicles. The spirits decided they wanted to eat their testicles too and set them on a fallen log to

be cracked and opened. Then the ancestors hit them with a stick and killed the spirits. Similar instances occurred in other encounters. Spirits smelled intestinal gas and asked a man how they could make it. He punctured their bowels with a long sharp tooth and they bled to death. When spirits encountered another man whose hair was all painted red for a party they asked him to paint their hair. Instead, he scalped them and left their heads covered with blood. On another occasion a shaman became very strong by rubbing a powerful medicine over his body. This enabled him to go out and kill many spirits in the forest. On numerous occasions relatives were notified in the tales of spirits who had killed close kin. Then they went out to avenge their deaths and rid the surrounding environment of their menacing threats. The association and assistance of friends and relatives enabled the ancestors to escape from numerous hardships and dangers. For example, in M7, sisters took their relatives to the hollow tree dwelling of a bush spirit who killed their brothers. They burned them out. In M10, a young sister hurried to her brothers who were attending a party in another village and described the gruesome death of their older sister by a bush spirit. They found the bush spirit's dwelling and burned him out. In M12, a younger brother killed a bush spirit with the spirits own weapon because he killed his older brother. Finally, in M20, relatives killed a monstrous water serpent with special arrows because

the serpent ate others in their hunting party.

In M4, the story tells how shamans got rid of tamoko spirits who went about killing people everywhere. They confronted these dangerous spirits who had already massacred several villages and subdued them. The spirits submitted to their authority and permitted themselves to be disarmed. Then the shamans led them meekly back to their place of habitation located at the bottom of a large hole in a rock out in the middle of a river. The shamans ordered them into the hole and then imprisoned them by closing it with a large rock. The spirits never returned and no longer exist today.

People who conduct themselves properly according to expected norms of society do not violate prohibitions that can bring harm to them and the entire community. As a result, some persons are able to avoid threatening spirit influences and return home safely when they go out into the surrounding environment. Those who disobey, however, suffer the consequences of their actions. In the tales, when illicit love affairs were conducted between ancestors and spirits, pain (M5) and death resulted (M10-11, M14). Human life was threatened (M18, M24) and people became like the spirits (M13, M21). When ancestors traveled near certain caves they began to go crazy and learned to avoid these areas because bush spirits inhabited them. Life was filled with restrictions that were meant to protect life from spirit domination. At childbirth, both parents remained in their

hammocks, fasted, and abstained from all labor. A mother rested until she quit hemorrhaging and then resumed her normal activities. But the father, who was regarded as the imparter of life, was supposed to remain in his hammock (M2) because a powerful bond existed between him and his child. He must refrain from activities thought harmful to the child by making every attempt to assure its well-being. To disobey and not observe certain restrictions would place not only the child but the whole community in danger. If a new father began to work hard at this time they believed his wife would come down sick. If he went hunting his child began to scream and cry. The new father risked encounters with spirits if he disobeyed. He might even become one. Breaking social prohibitions interfered with the development of the child and resulted in sickness and death. The newborn would grow to be weak, cowardly, or incapable of bringing home game later on. Fulfillment of the imposed requirements was meant to insure healthy, strong, and capable children. That is why family and friends brought food and gave help and assistance at such a time. By obeying summary prohibitions the parents and community avoided exposing themselves to dangers prevalent in the surrounding environment from the supernatural world and assured the well-being of a child who would become a person whose prowess and capacity as an individual assisted the whole village. The vigilance and obligations performed with regard to prohibitions resulted in the continued conser-

vation of the community and reinforced customs of conduct that guaranteed binding solidarity in the face of the disrupting influences of the spirit world.

6. Final Statement

A final statement is often made at the end of each folktale that explains why life is as it is today, why ancestors and spirits lived separately (M1), why so many people died long ago (M2), why others are still alive (M4), why black monkeys are people (M13), why children are not left alone (M15), and why nobody likes a wind storm (M25). The stories relate what happened to ancestors long ago to remind those living today of the possible dangers they may encounter (M22) and how to effectively counterattack in a threatening situation. Ancestors who were abducted found a way to escape (M3, M6). Those who were trapped found a way to flee (M8). So can Wayãpi today. The tales warn Wayapi today that spirits who ate their ancestors may still eat them (M10), that persons who attempt to have sexual liaisons with spirits they encounter will suffer as their ancestors did in the past (M14, M21), and that women who bathe carelessly in river waters during their menstrual periods may still be abducted by water serpents (M19).

Other tales conclude with comments that connect them to other episodes. In M5, a man who had sex with a hairy bush spirit commented, "I'm going to die." In the following

episode he was cured. In M7, a sharp-armed bush spirit massacred a hunting party and commented, "The wasps will eat your blood." He was killed in the next episode. In M10, a woman watched a bush spirit kill her older sister and commented, "What kind of monster is this?" He was killed in the following episode. In M23, a shaman went away to live in the sky and his friend lamented to others around, "Why don't you like him?" The shaman, tupã, roared and killed ancestors in the episode which came after. In M24, several episodes conclude with different comments: "I have finished building your father's house", "I have caught a fish for your father", and "I have carved a stool for your father". In the final episode of this tale, the man who performed these duties escaped and fled his bondage to a sky spirit.

Summary statements conclude the rest of the folktales and relate how ancestors observed a bush spirit die (M7), how an anteater saved her child (M17), how a man killed a water serpent (M18), how water serpents ate a party of people (M20), and how the shaman Thunder escaped death by other shamans (M23).

Summary

Wayãpi folktales of spirits of long ago are often a cruel, though sometimes witty, exploration of the relationship between the cultural world of the Wayãpi today and the natural environment of many spirits they believe still exist.

Each tale is reduced to six functions (see the appendix for a summary of the linear-sequence in each tale). They begin with a mythical time introduction, followed by an initial setting in the environment, an encounter between ancestors and spirits, an obstacle to surmount, an escape, and conclusion. In most instances, the functions are understood as an act of the characters defined from the point of view of their significance for the course of the action (Propp 1968: 21).

A continuous cycle of conflict (see Figure 1) became apparent in the tales during which the ancestors quest for food and material necessities drew them out into the ponderous surroundings that encircled them to obtain sustenance that provided life for their families and community. The hilly, virgin, equatorial rain forest vegetation was thick and immense standing undisturbed in its natural state. Dense thickets of heavy undergrowth and tangled vines flourished along the banks of the water ways. The ancestors were isolated completely in this vast creation in which the jaguar reigned supreme on land, the water serpent in the rivers, and in which the elements passed overhead in tempestuous fury. They envisioned many spirits who lived in the surrounding natural habitat procuring food and reeking vengeance on those who committed offenses against them. Powerful spirits inhabited the whole environment and threatened their frail human endeavors. Many dangers existed. Yet leaving the security

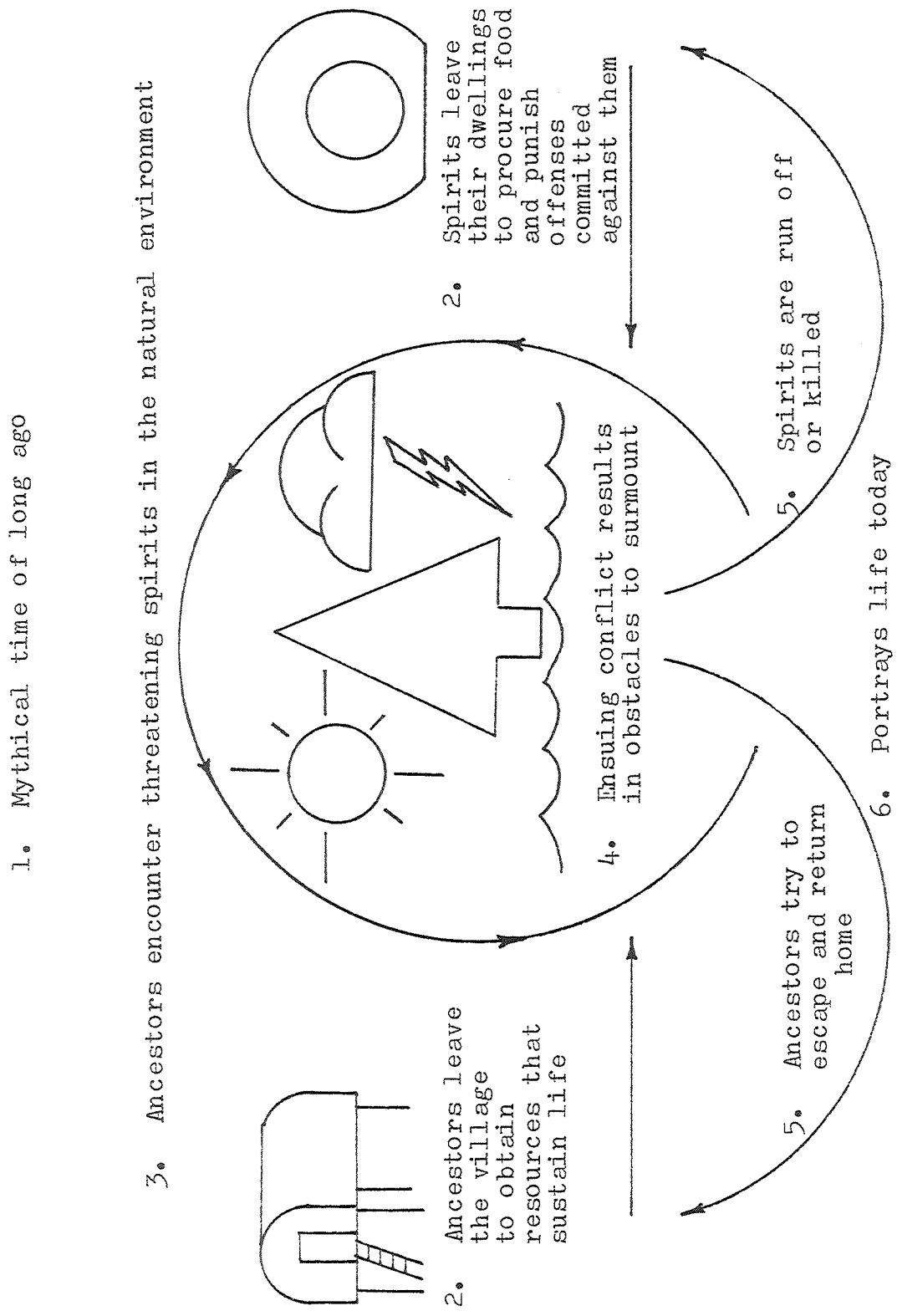


Figure 1. Cycle of Conflict

of the village the ancestors had to go out into this inhospitable world. Ensuing conflicts between the ancestors and spirits were inevitable but necessary if the people were to obtain the provisions they needed. Otherwise they had to do without and starve. After foraging in the jungle, the ancestors returned to the safety of community life until the next time it was necessary to go out. The village provided a haven from the many dangers in the world. Group solidarity afforded by community life reinforced their capacity to endure a never ending struggle between culture and nature.

These oral traditions portray life today and give meaningful expression to the Wayãpi's mode of living in the present. Elders interpret oral traditions. As instructors and counselors of the Wayãpi they are in a position to enforce tribal standards and prohibitions which if disregarded they believe will bring calamity on the whole village in an environment rife with supernatural forces that threaten their existence. Survival in a forest community depends on a rigid conformity to customs established by the ancestors who understood everything and passed this information on to their descendants.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE UNDERLYING STRUCTURE

The spirit folktales have been analyzed according to the apparent chronological structure of the texts. This syntagmatic structural analysis looks at the consciously expressed cultural pattern. I now attempt a paradigmatic structural analysis according to a methodology proposed by Lévi-Strauss (1967:202-228; Leach 1967:1-47).

Early intellectual orientation that influenced Lévi-Strauss' thoughts came from the science of geology and the writings of Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx, all three of which demonstrated that understanding consists in reducing one type of reality to another. From this he learned to draw abstracted thought patterns from tangible evidence that could be described of societies and their myths. His reading of Robert H. Lowie's 'Primitive Society' in 1933 introduced him to a lived experience of indigenous societies whose meaning had been preserved by the participation of the observer. Lowie, Franz Boas, and Kroeber were the most important influences on his formative years as an anthropologist. He was also influenced by Prague and Sausurian linguistics from which he derived his structural approach to anthropology. The science of linguistics determines the structure,

or grammar, of a language through word patterns. Lévi-Strauss developed patterns of structure to study family relationships and myths. His basic premise was to analyze social institutions in terms of abstract structural relationships. An analogy is drawn from the structural analysis of sound systems, which are accounted for in terms of opposition and contrast. Cultures are thought to be systems of communication and are used like languages. The products of culture are structured just as the sentences of a language. Kinship systems, political systems, and mythological systems are systems of classification invented by men and it is through culture that men are able to recognize the world of nature and the world of society as an ordered place with which they can come to terms.

Lévi-Strauss holds that myths contain ideas that "give access to the mechanisms of thought." In his introduction to the "The Raw and the Cooked" he states, "We are not therefore claiming to show how men think the myths, but rather how the myths think themselves out in men and without men's knowledge." He finds the emergence of "a logic operating by means of binary oppositions" and in metaphor, he finds "a primary form of discursive thought." His emphasis is on the "logic of oppositions and correlations, exclusions and inclusions, compatibilities and incompatibilities" which explains the laws of association found in myth. His main aim is to reveal this structure (1962:102-104). Myths are seen as a thinking

process that confirms the significance of unconscious form taken by society. They are a defining code that transcends meaning by getting to the abstract. Myths function to cause harmony in the social structure and to keep the social order going.

Lévi-Strauss draws paradigmatic analogies by taking myth themes of people in the Americas and developing basic binarities such as nature and culture, life and death, sickness and health, the new world and the old, the raw and the cooked. This type of structural analysis to folklore seeks to describe the patterns which underly the texts. His approach forms a way of looking at myths beyond cause and effect logic and looks at the paradigm; that which is basic and not linear or evolutionary but regenerative and cyclic; that which transcends time and brings us back to the beginning with no set past, present, or future. He says that if you discover the underlying relationships of folktales, then the basic cognitive patterns that become apparent should be expressed in a people's relation to the environment, economic structure, social and political organization, and religion. These myth themes correlate to Bastien's approach (1980) in relating the underlying structure to the institutions of society.

In this analysis, I now focus beyond the linear pattern of the texts already discussed to their more latent content to determine how Wayãpi relate to the world at large. The

perceived meaning of the tales becomes more clear as binary principles of opposition are expressed between the cultural society of the Wayapi and the supernatural world of spirits. Ethnographic materials are used to expand the discussion when needed. The binary pairs discussed help portray the human/spirit conflict in Wayapi society which occurs in everyday life. First, I isolate certain combinations of contrasting pairs (binalities) and cluster them under environmental, economic, social, and supernatural myth themes (see chart 2.). Next, I explain each myth theme in terms of the contrasting pairs.

Environmental Myth Themes

In the environment, four binary oppositions are contrasted. They are village/forest, safety/danger, calm/storm, and day/night. The folktales reinforce these conceptions of the surroundings in which the Wayapi live.

The first binary opposition is termed village/forest. Wayapi villages are usually small and isolated one from another because enough territory has to be available to permit a community to provide for its basic needs. Successful hunting and fishing, gathering and agriculture requires a wide range of virgin forest on all sides of the village. The basic type of permanent home is the single family house. Wayapi houses are constructed in various styles but the majority are rectangular in shape and built on posts about two

Chart 2. Binary Oppositions and Myth Themes

<u>Environmental</u>	<u>Economic</u>	<u>Social</u>	<u>Supernatural</u>
village/forest	wet season/dry season	structure/formlessness	sacred/profane
safety/danger	women's/men's labor labor	cohesiveness/disruption	life/death
calm/storm	leaving/returning	confidence/fear	human/spirit
day/night	plenty/hunger	friendship/enmity	earthly/celestial home village
	keen,/simple, wily, stupid, & alert & dull	overcoming/intimidation	
	manufactured/no goods goods	work/play	
		beauty/ugliness	
		prohibition/violation	
		health/sickness	

meters off the ground. Cross timbers are tied with vines found in the forest to give additional support. The homes are covered with an arched roof of leaves which is laid horizontally from bottom to top. They average three meters in width by six meters in length. Long narrow boards are split from palm-trees and used for floors and walls. A log ladder cut from a tree trunk leans against the raised floor of the house. Notched steps and wooden handrails facilitate entry. This style of home occurs along riverbanks and inland in country both high and dry to make access more difficult to marauding enemies. Sometimes homes are built with a circular-elliptical layout on the ground and walled with palm-tree boards. Pitched roof constructions are also seen. A communal house may occupy the center square of a village and act as an assembly point for special occasions when the community gathers together for social interaction. It is often styled differently from the other homes with a hemispheric roof that is supported by a row of posts circulating the outside perimeter on the ground floor. Smaller shelters are located beside a family's permanent residence. These include kitchens and lean-tos for domesticated animals. Other community shelters house hollow-log drinking troughs or are situated in the garden to facilitate food harvesting and preparation. The homes do not appear to have any regular composition in the village but are haphazardly scattered here and there in an irregular fashion around a central plaza

(see Figure 2). Here the trees are cut down, the stumps are removed, and the area is swept clean of all weeds down to the bare earthen floor. Everything is exposed to view. Even a snake can be seen crossing the clearing at night. Jaguars avoid the clearing and presense of many people. Working and living together provides comfort and safety. This is why the gardens are built in as close proximity as possible. The average population of a village varies from twenty to one hundred individuals. But Wayapi villages are not necessarily permanent structures. The people may move when the soil in the vicinity is exhausted or the thatch on their homes begins to deteriorate, usually every four to five years. Decimation of game animals and fish and the eventual lack of other forest products make a change desirable. Nowadays some Wayapi move to locate near more accessable trade items. Abandonment is also customary due to the presence of spirit activity they believe brings sickness and death.

The Wayapi must leave the village and go out into the jungle for provisions. They move about in the dense rain-forest, climb hilly uplands, and cross small mountains. They travel on water ways that are full of rapids and falls. The plant growth is extensive and varies considerably from high, thick, virgin, equatorial vegetation of giant broad-leafed trees, to heavy thickets of impenetrable growth and tangled vines. Here animal life is abundant, many colorful birds are seen in the tall trees, and fish abound in great variety.

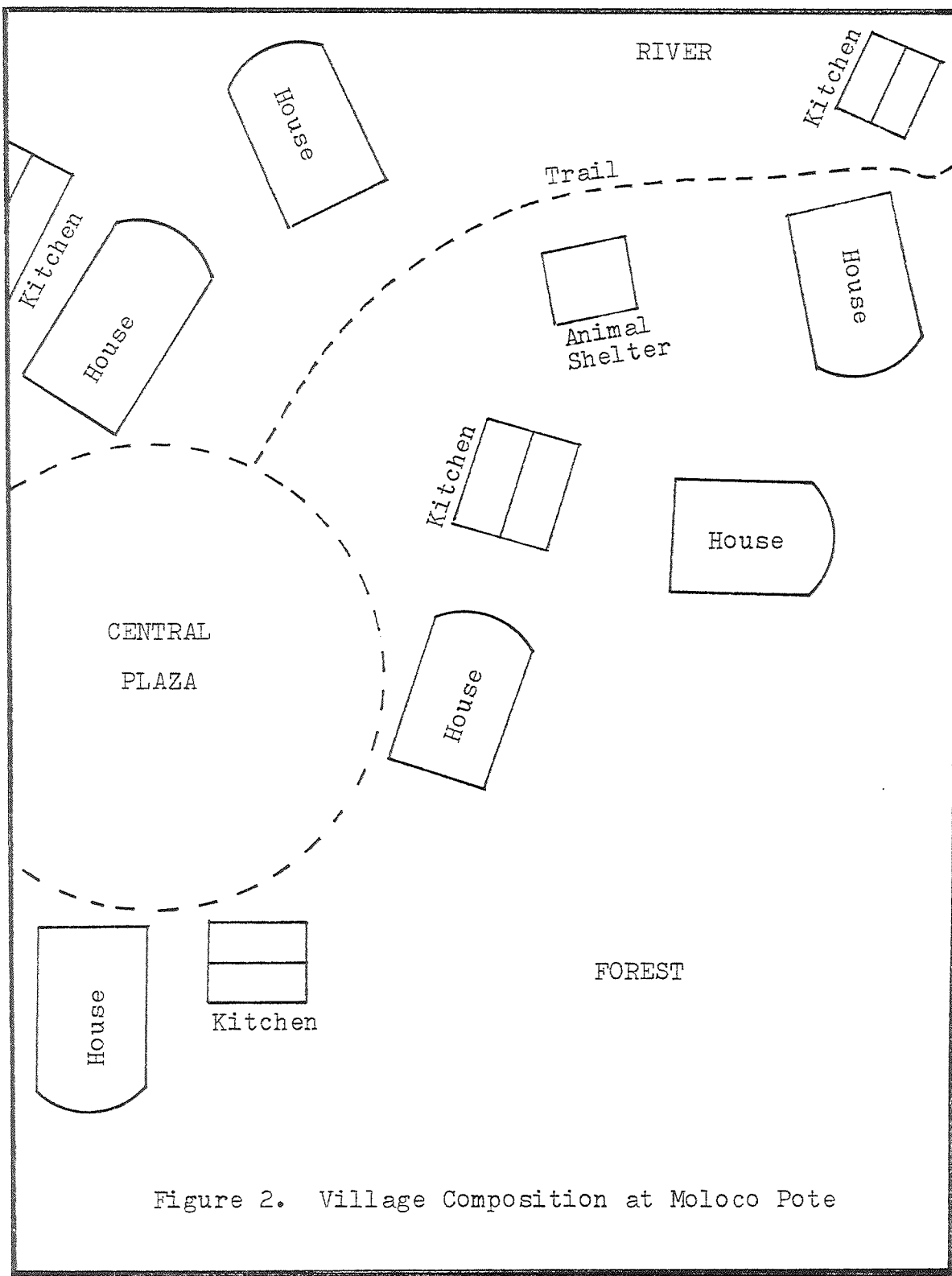


Figure 2. Village Composition at Moloco Pote

Forest dwellings are believed to be the natural habitat of spirits. They are supposed to live in thick matted dwellings in remote places of the jungle far away from humans. Some live in caves or holes in the ground, in rock openings in the middle of rivers, in large hollow trees, or sleep in insect nests. Others descend through hidden doors into river waters or visit from the skies above. Their habitations are associated with caverns and hidden areas difficult of access.

The second binary opposition is called safety/danger. Village sites are established in various locations. Some are easily accessible today with homes erected on the banks of a river, on top of an exposed hill, or island bluff overlooking the river. Others remain hidden by brush and forest that is left standing along the river for purposes of concealment. Sites are also established on the banks of smaller creeks in the forest and located above distant rapids far removed from accessible contact. In the past this was for protection from enemies. But even today the village represents a haven of safety to which Wayãpi can return from dangers in the world at large. Consider a party of hunters who were attacked by a large band of naked nomads a few years back and forced to flee the area they were hunting in. These strangers closed the hunting trail with vine as a warning to future trespassers. Recently, a man went hunting with his son. They killed two monkeys and wounded another which

stayed in a tree. The father sent his son back to the village for an axe to cut the tree down. He remained alone in the forest. As the son approached the village he heard a shot from his father's gun followed by several loud cries. He rushed back to help him thinking he had been attacked by a jaguar. As the son ran he heard a final anguished cry. When he arrived he found his father beaten to death on the ground. The tapi'oi people who did it disappeared when he arrived because he was such a big man. The Wayãpi say tapi'oi live in the thickly matted areas of the forest that hunters avoid. They are greatly feared. These primitive people spring from hiding places to trap wild game that they club to death and tear apart to eat raw. The Wayãpi believe they eat people also. Other people called karana killed many Wayãpi in the past. Their villages are located in the hills. These enemies dig trenches around their communities and place sharp wooden spikes in them which they camouflage with leaves to kill the unwary. The karana's keen sense of smell also makes them aware of strangers who try to sneak up on them. The Wayãpi say they never sleep and are so strong they can rip people apart with their hands. Neighboring tribes have all tried to kill them. "There are human and animal-like enemies everywhere in the forest that still kill people today," the Wayãpi affirm. "It never stops." That is why many Wayãpi still hide their villages. They want to live safely in

their homes avoiding human enemies, spirit encounters, and abuse from outside visitors who bring sickness and death.

Yet they must leave the security of the village behind, going out into the dangerous surroundings of the natural habitat for sustenance to survive. The tangled jungle, turbulent waters and shadowy infested ponds, dark moonless nights and stormy weather typifies the wild and untamed. These aspects of the environment represent that which is chaotic and hazardous to human existence because the supernatural beings that abide in them cannot always be controlled. The interior of the tall jungle with its twisted limbs, matted brush, climbing herbaceous vines that root in the ground, and uprooted trees is enclosed by a canopy of vegetation that is risky for humans to enter. There are many poisonous snakes that blend in with the foliage and strike with deadly venom. Spiders, scorpions, hairy caterpillars, ticks and many other insects compose a part of the unfriendly surroundings. Stinging wasps, biting ants, thorns that puncture the soles of the feet, skin infections, and fevers carried by whining mosquitoes create further discomforts. Wild animals are feared, especially the jaguar that attacks unwary individuals, or bands of bush pigs that can fatally injure a person with their sharp tusks. In murky waters and stagnant ponds lurk many species of fish with teeth that are able to tear a man's flesh, or bony spines in dorsal fins that puncture the skin and leave a person weak and nauseous. Wounded alligators

rip the flesh of their would-be captors with canine teeth. Large eel-shaped fish (*Electrophorus electricus*) are capable of giving severe shocks with their electric organs. Colonies of these four foot specimens rise to the surface of larger rivers, lie in ambush along the banks of reed-choked streams, or coiled in hidden recesses of gnarled tree trunks that are submerged in small inlets. Wayãpi relate stories of huge eels that shock entire villages. Other stories describe encounters with large water monsters that swallow people. They tell of enormous snakes that have horns on their foreheads. Some of these have hands and feet and carry people away.

The third opposition distinguishes calm from storm. The water serpent's spirit causes the sun to shine bright during the day when people go happily about their duties. But life changes suddenly when heavy winds begin to sweep the tree tops and pass over Wayãpi communities in darkened skys filled with billowing thunder clouds that blow ominously above. Then bolts of lightning and disturbing flashes light the earth below. Sometimes a home collapses from the wind and trees are blown down making loud crashing sounds in the forest. A roar gathering in intensity follows the wind as approaching heavy torrential downpours blot out the sky and beat down on the jungle foliage. Wayãpi houses creak and shudder under the impact of the elements as families huddle quietly together inside the dryness of their shelters waiting for the rain squall to pass. Storms frighten and scare

the people because they believe the darkened sky, noise, wind, and rain are caused by angry spirits. When thunder sounds in the distance it is an indication people are dying over there. But when it is overhead the Wayāpi believe they will be consumed by lightning. Dark skies indicate imaginative monsters are on a rampage killing people.

A final opposition is expressed between day and night. Unexpected happenings in the sky such as an eclipse of the sun and moon in the middle of the day send individuals working out in the forest scurrying to the safety of the village. Spirits are especially feared after dark when they are frequently encountered near villages threatening to grab those who walk carelessly about. Every night seems to bring with it an intensified awareness of their menacing capabilities as they wander and prowl in the dark looking for something to eat. At night people can turn into bush spirits. In the texts one became a black panther, another a monkey. The tales relate numerous instances of attacks by spirits in the dark. In the past, tamoko spirits attacked villages at night and killed the occupants. Spirits grabbed people when they stepped out to urinate at night. Every hunter returned home before dark so spirits would not find them alone in the forest and eat them. One hunter had his head cut off one night by yupara. A totitasere spirit ate the woman he lodged with in the middle of the night. Tree spirits abducted people on a long journey and took them away at night. And

a water serpent kidnapped the household of a woman who was menstruating in the darkness. It is at night that the Wayapi most frequently complain of being attacked and tormented by spirits. No one likes to walk around after sunset without a flashlight lest they be harmed by some imagined spirit who is hiding to attack those who are not aware of them. Although the spirits are particularly obnoxious in the dark they can be driven away by a lantern light kept burning all night in Wayapi quarters.

The forest and natural surroundings portray that which is perilous to the Wayapi and sometimes ungovernable by them. During their quest for food and materials, during tropical storms, and during dark nights the people appear to be particularly vulnerable to visits from malicious spirits. In contrast, the village provides a relative place of refuge and safety. Bright calm days fill the people's life with happiness and a certain amount of carefree frivolity from the continual hazards that surround them.

Economic Myth Themes

The tropical environment provides resources necessary to life. By being attune to natural events; the phases of the sun, moon, and stars, the rise and fall of river waters, and the rhythm of plant and animal life, an annual calendar of events is established to mark the routine of the Wayapi and assist them in subsistence activities (see Figure 3).

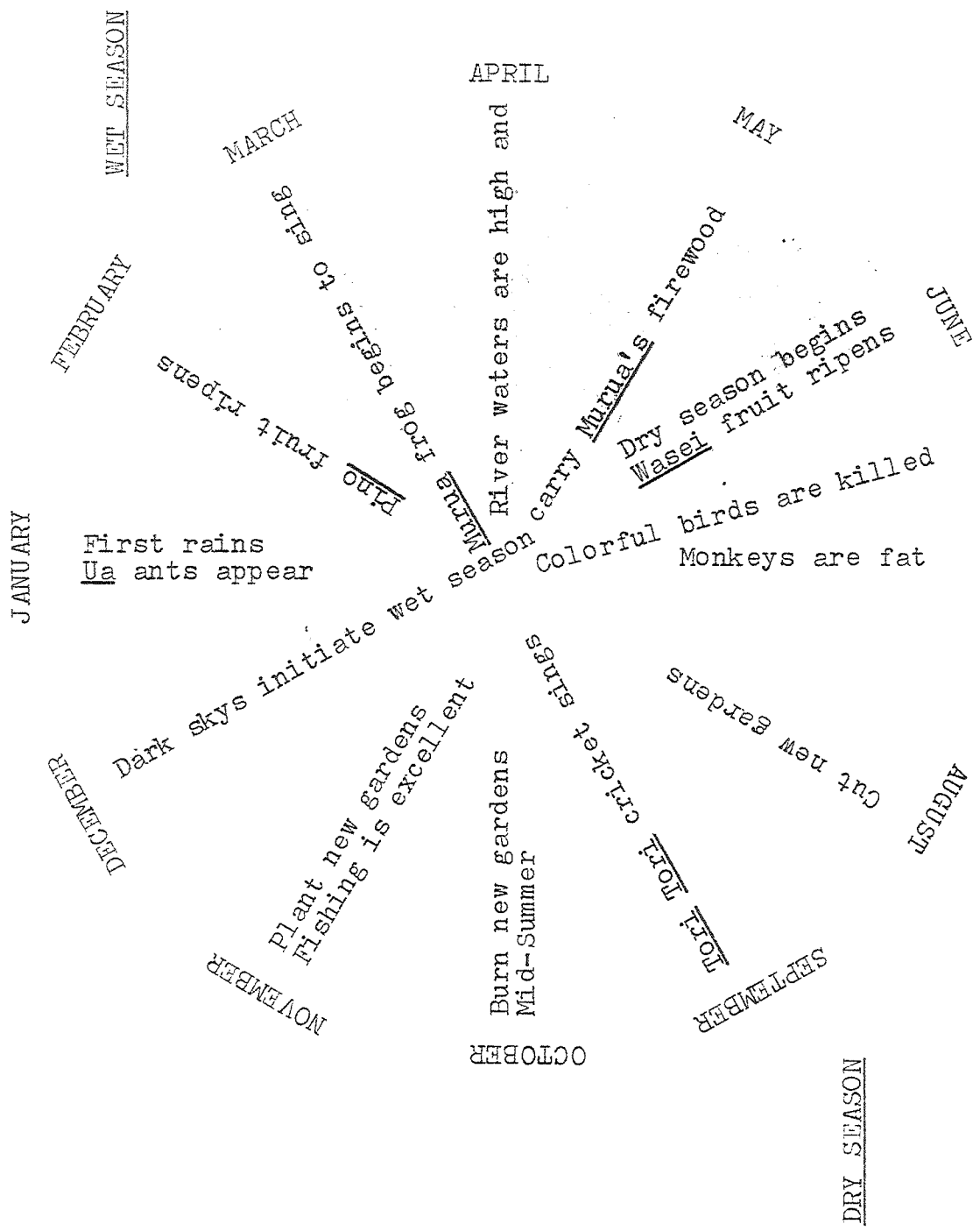


Figure 3. The Subsistence Cycle

Their daily routine is determined by the regularity of the seasons about them.

A number of economic oppositions become apparent in the texts that reflect Wayãpi life in the present. They include wet season/dry season, women's labor/men's labor, leaving/returning, plenty/hunger, keen and wily and alert/ simple and stupid and dull, and manufactured goods/no goods.

The first binary distinction contrasts the wet season and the dry season. In December, aremu, darkening skys initiate the beginning of the wet season and water newly planted gardens. In January, ama upu, the first heavy rains begin to fall. Winged ua ants (*Alta cephalotes*) seeking new colonies, swarm out of holes in the ground and form massive clouds droaning above the village. Women and children run about slapping them down with their hands and putting the ants in containers of water to kill them. The fatty abdomens are then broken off and eaten raw. In February, pino piu upu, the pino palm-tree produces its fruit for the year. In March, murua ye'e upu, the murua frog begins to sing. In April and May, murua yataka, the river is high and floods lowland forests. High waters carry fallen trees and wood debri referred to as 'murua's firewood'. June marks a change, wasei piu me, when the wasei fruit begins to ripen at the beginning of the dry season. Birds congregate in mass on bunches of this fruit and are killed for food and their colorful feathers. June is also a good month to hunt. Black

monkeys are fat and good to eat. In July, wasei wa paire, the wasei fruit harvest terminates. In August, karupaa, it is time to begin clearing brush in new garden sites that have been selected. In September, tori tori ye'e me, the tori tori cricket begins to sing and the last trees are cut in the new garden areas. By October and November, kwarau mute, it is mid-summer. Fishing is excellent. When four seasonal stars appear directly overhead they signal the Wayãpi to burn the dried foliage and fallen trees in their new gardens. Planting follows.

The next binary opposition in the economic area channels human energy through a division of labor. Interdependence of work and services complement and assist the members of a community on mutual terms. One cannot do without the other. It is termed women's labor/men's labor. In the village, a woman's life is continually occupied with heavy work responsibilities. She cuts the firewood and prepares the meals. She weaves hammocks, manufactures pottery, cares for domestic animals, clears the village grounds, and attends to many other household chores. Women are occupied with most aspects of cultivation because it is believed they impart fertility to the soil. Men, on the other hand, clear the new garden sites and burn the area for the women to plant. They hunt and fish and obtain resources in the forest to carve canoes, make bows and arrows, fashion furniture, and cut wood for house construction. They weave baskets and paint artistic

designs. It is a man's responsibility to accompany a woman to the garden and protect her at work.

Another distinction is made in leaving and returning to the village. Economically, the forest represents that which provides the necessities of life; land for gardens, wild game, fish from streams, fruits and nuts from trees and bushes, as well as materials for housing, stools, canoes, paddles, bows, feathered ornaments, and basketry. The timid individual who remains in the village faces hunger and lacks the materials he needs. He must venture out of the village and risk potential injury and death in the forest to bring life giving substances back to his family. During this time a person also endangers his life in encounters with spirits whose injurious threats must be overcome. The journey out of the village into the jungle requires experience and knowledge to survive. This enables one to overcome difficulties, locate food, and obtain serviceable materials that can be brought home. The people return to the village when they have successfully obtained those things they need. A few days of rest follow the active labors of women who have worked out in their gardens to prepare food for their families. Hunters relax after successful hunts and spend leisure time tending to their weapons and other diverse activities. Then when food supplies are consumed the people must once again leave the village and go back out to their gardens and to the forest and streams for a renewed supply. The abundance and plenty of previous

times is soon depleted and hunger necessitates a return to subsistence activities.

The next distinction is termed plenty versus hunger. The Wayāpi have managed to develop a balance in their standard of living between slash and burn agriculture on the one hand, and hunting, fishing, and gathering forest products on the other, so that they effectively utilize the environment around which the organized community is surrounded. Gardens are located outside the village in the surrounding forest. They lie between the safety of the village and the tall forest which is feared because of its inherent dangers. Fields are selected as much for the quality of earth as their proximity to the village. Men examine the vegetable surroundings when they select a new garden site. They clean a section of riverbed or scrape the earth's surface with a machete to determine if the soil is suitable. White sandy soils are good for root crops and corn. Gravel soils are chosen because they drain well. Rich black soils are preferred, but rare. Red soils are the last to be chosen. Virgin forest is used when it is available, but a garden must be located in an area where ua ants cannot invade and destroy important crops. The edge of riverbanks is avoided due to prowling predators, especially water rodents that feed on garden produce (Grenand and Haxaire 1977:287). Men assist one another after the wasei fruit harvest terminates in July, and begin by cutting the underbrush first. When

they are finished, they fell the large trees in a pattern that quickly opens the forest's closed canopy to the sun's hot rays. The fallen trees and brush dry out rapidly. Towards the end of October the new clearing is burned. At this time of year the days are hot and strong summer winds fan the flames. Afterwards a layer of black ash lays over the clearing to fertilize the soil. Women prepare baskets of seedlings from old garden sites to plant between charred stumps and fallen timbers. Planting begins with manioc cuttings. Hardwood sticks are used to dig small holes for maize seeds. Cuttings of sugar cane are placed in holes aligned along horizontal tree trunks to prevent the young shoots from falling down. Sweet potatoes and banana sprouts are planted in areas rich in humus. Beans are grown near stumps which are used to prop up the plants. Other food crops include peanuts, pumpkins, and bright yellow and orange peppers. Some palms and fruit trees that are planted and exploited in the forest comprise papaya, inga, cupuassu, manga, genipape, castanha, assai, and bacaba. Non-food crops involve tobacco, cotton, calabashes, and urucu. Industrious work provides an abundance of food crops that staves off hunger which is certain to happen if the gardens are neglected.

Women prepare this abundance in small kitchen shelters built on the ground to the side of most family homes. A few stones serve as a fireplace where wood is kept smoldering

ready to fan into flames. Numerous ears of red and yellow corn are tied in bundles to a beam above the kitchen fire to preserve for next years planting. Stalks of green bananas hang ripening in the shade. Tobacco leaves are set between roof ties to dry. Here a woman's utensils are near at hand. They include pottery and aluminum ware, calabashes, basket sieves, large flat metal griddles with curved edges, plaited fans, manioc troughs and graters, pestles and mortars, sugarcane presses, woven tube presses, and all manners of baskets. The women go regularly to their gardens to dig up large manioc tubers and return loaded down with heavy packs which they empty into piles. Numerous hours are spent peeling the tough outer skins of these tubers which are washed and grated into a mushy pulp. This substance is loaded into a basket tube press, tepesi, from which the poisonous contents of the bitter manioc is squeezed. The dried contents are then removed and sifted through a basket sieve into flour. Large round cakes of flat bread are prepared from flour on the hot circular griddles that are nearly two meters in diameter. This bread is dipped in hot pepper sauce and eaten with each meal. Women pulverize corn in wooden mortars and mix it with water to stir in large earthen pots over open fires. Gourds filled with mixtures of corn meal and fruit juice provide tart nourishing drinks. Chunks of meat and fish are placed in pots to boil. Some is roasted on hot coals. Surplus meat dries over triangular platforms of green

saplings. In times of abundance and plenty the whole village is alive with the busy, happy sounds of women chattering and working while noisy children romp and play. Birds are plucked, fish are thrown on hot embers, animals are skinned and laid out on leaves, then carved and divided. Soon smoke from many fires rises in a cloud over the entire clearing.

Men are seen as being keen, wily, and alert, which distinguishes them from numerous spirits who are dull, simple-minded, and sometimes outright stupid. Men show their foraging abilities, prowess, and skill while obtaining game and fighting spirits to provide for their families. A hunter must show these attributes when he goes into the hostile world of spirits and the untamed environment to obtain needed resources or he will not survive and return unscathed. Only the crafty hunter's intimate knowledge of the surroundings preserves his life.

The principal occupation of Wayãpi men is hunting and fishing. They spend much of their spare time preparing weapons and tackle for ventures out of the village. Hunters leave their homes before dawn and normally return at midday so the women have time to clean and prepare the food. A great variety of animals and birds are available for food in the forest. That is why hunting is so important.

The men hunt large game, including tapir, deer, and bush pigs. Some of the smaller animals that make up the meat diet include monkeys, sloths, rodents, turtles, alligators, and

iguanas. They do not neglect eggs that they find. Women catch small river crabs. Grouse, bush turkeys, and ducks are some of the birds that are killed.

Capable hunters, the Wayãpi have a keen sense of sight, hearing, and smell, and are able to imitate their quarry to perfection or track it in the forest. They can tell when an animal left its resting place by feeling the spot to see if it is still warm. As they move through the forest they experiment with many different calls. Men call to the tapir with sharp, high whistles. Wayãpi hide in the brush and attract birds by smooching their lips and humming low until the fowl walk into the trap and are shot. A hunter is accustomed to the actions of wild game and is able to spot it easily in dense recesses of the forest and hidden backgrounds. Stealth and trailing abilities mark a successful hunter's methods.

Imitating forest animals is not done without danger, however. Sometimes hunters encounter large jaguars instead of other game as the large animal responds to a call. Stories are narrated that tell of fully grown eagles that captured hunters who were imitating monkeys from hidden blinds in trees. By knowing the habits of the forest and of the game they eat, the Wayãpi are able to successfully return home.

To catch fish, harpoon arrows are used with finely-sharpened, detachable metal points in shallow waters. Some have multiple heads. Young sappling trees provide tapered

poles to catch active game fish. Stout short poles are used to catch other heavy species in shallow creek beds. The Wayapi fish for many varieties of catfish. They catch these bottom fish on long lines which they twirl above the head to cast into the middle of the river. Some provide thirty to fifty pounds of fresh boneless meat. Silver saikane and red paku are some of the most favorite fish eaten by the people. The tare'u is a dangerous biting species that lives along shady river banks. It is eaten by couples whose diet is restricted because they have just had a new born child. The Wayãpi also eat eel meat (purake) which is considered very tasty when it is fat. Acquaintance with the habits of fish enables fishermen to catch them. They find fruit in abundance along the river's edge and use it as bait; red berries, clusters of blue berries, and bright yellow fruit. Otherwise they use small fish. The men know how to apply the tip of a fishing pole and lash the water to attract fish. They skillfully whip three to four meters of fishing line and drop bait in the water in the same manner as falling fruit from trees along riverbanks which the fish take on contact. To catch the tare'u, Wayãpi kill a small monkey and tie its entrails to a vine. They secure the vine on a limb overlooking a shady creek and bob the entrails up and down in the water to lure the fish. A fisherman calls the fish by popping a finger out of his mouth. Then he whistles a pro-

longed soft high-pitched warble that lures the fish to swallow the hooked bait soon after. A poisonous vine called meku (*Robinia nicou*), is used to catch quantities of small fish in forest streams. Large backpacks are filled with vine and taken to a creek. The backpacks are placed in the water and beat with sticks, or stomped upon, and lifted in and out of the water to allow the poisonous milky white substance to flow out into the current. Soon stunned fish begin to surface and float belly-up. The people wade the streams in waist-deep water through sucking muck, dead leaves, water ferns, past piled windblown trees, and over rocky beds to retrieve the fish, carefully avoiding eels, snakes, and fish that bite and puncture hands with bony spines. Practiced eyes know where to look on the surface and under overhanging tree roots. Men and women fashion containers out of leaves, sticks, and vines to carry their plentiful catch home. In these ways, Wayãpi return home from successful ventures with many varieties and sizes of fish.

Wild fruits, nuts, honey, lizards, and insects are other items Wayãpi look for as they move about in search of food. These provisions provide a welcome addition to daily meals. The fruits are processed into drinks. The people collect bundles of Brazil nuts for several days each year upriver, to bring back in dugouts. They find honey while hunting in the forest or cutting down trees in new garden sites. Often, Wayãpi bring home small animals and birds to be domesticated

as pets. Board pens are built under the elevated floors of Wayãpi homes to raise small bush pigs taken captive. Young monkeys make favorite pets. Other pets include parrots, parakeets, toucans, and large colorful macaws.

A man's capacity to perform well in the forest enables him to counter spirits who oppose him in his search for food and materials. As Wayãpi move through the forest, they cut away offending branches and bend over foliage to mark the way they have come. When someone gets separated from the others, they call back and forth to one another in low whistles to avoid announcing their presence to unseen enemies or spirits. No one ever shouts.

To assure an abundant and plentiful supply of game no hunter brings back more than he can use. Men and forest creatures are spiritually inseparable. In taking the lives of animals, hunters are obliged to deal directly with the spirit realm. The spirits of dead animals punish those who needlessly and wantonly kill them. Only sanctioned methods are acceptable in the utilization of resources. Otherwise the equilibrium between the spirit world and the Wayãpi may be destroyed by an affront to the controlling spirits. The exercise of moderation and self-restraint is one of the best ways to gain their favor or else bad luck will befall the hunter. This makes its appearance in many forms, i.e. accidents, sickness, and inability to locate game and fish. The hunter becomes vulnerable to attacks by jaguars who lunge

out of the brush, to water snakes while crossing streams, to hostile people, and to terrifying spirits. He finds he cannot shoot straight. Suddenly his shotgun shells misfire. Spells of sleepiness overcome natural instincts and imperil life through acts of carelessness. Sometimes a shotgun is triggered accidentally or a finely honed harpoon is brought up at an awkward angle from the water and slashes vital blood vessels. Monkeys have been known to kill hunters by throwing their arrows back. Rotted tree limbs break and fall like missiles on hunters walking below. Stories are told of ugly creatures that rise out of the water and swallow fishermen. Paralyzing screams are all that is heard. By the time help arrives only ripples disturb the waters flat surface. Danger is an inherent part of hunting, fishing, and obtaining material necessities. A person avoids bad luck and the anger of spirits when gathering those things he needs by adhering to established norms of procuring.

In the texts, simpleminded spirits were deceived out of their food supplies. Men who were captured by spirits played dead until they were set down in spirit dwellings. Then they got up and ran away from the astonished spirits. Dull-minded spirits were easily frightened by picturesque images described by hunters who successfully scared them away. Sometimes the spirits were outright stupid. The ancestors hit their testicles with clubs, pierced their buttocks with bone knives, scalped the hair off their heads, made them cut their hearts

out, and tricked them into jumping out of tall trees. Some spirits even told the ancestors how to kill them. Others died from their own weapons.

The final economic contrast distinguishes between the use of manufactured goods obtained from the forest and a lack of goods. The Wayãpi find many materials in the jungle which they use to make essential items. Once again, too great a fear of spirits that inhabit the environment in which these resources are found, keeps individuals in the village, where they do without and live poorly. Frightened Wayãpi cannot get tools and firearms which they believe originated with spirits who created them long ago. By contrasting the possession of goods essential to life to a lack of needed articles, a more meaningful existence is assumed.

To begin with, the people use dugout canoes for transportation that are indispensable for river travel. Hunters use small canoes for hunting and fishing. Families paddle bigger canoes in everyday activities. Large canoes that measure six meters in length are used on long trips. A man must first locate a proper tree to build a canoe. The tree is chosen for its lightness and enduring qualities. The Wayãpi are excellent woodsmen and make well guided strokes with their axes to chip and carve a log until it is hollowed out. Then they fashion the outside with small adzes to shape the canoe and

plane the sides to make them thin. The carved log is soaked in the river for several days before opening the sides to increase the width of the canoe. To do this, the unfinished log is overturned on a wood rack under which fires are made to heat and cure the wet wood. After a heat treatment, the canoe is turned right-side-up and the men pull the pliable sides apart, using lengths of thick vine. Then they insert hardwood sticks to secure the opening and caulk cracks in the wood with heated tree resin called tori. The canoes have graceful curved points at both ends. This enables an individual to empty a canoe full of rainwater by rocking one end back and forth in a teeter-totter motion to wash water out of each end. This construction also facilitates riding over clogged streams that are blocked with fallen trees and foliage.

Backpacks are used extensively in the forest. The people transport heavy materials on their backs over land. A rimmed backpack frame called a panako is the principle carrying device. The Wayãpi attach a wickerwork container to a rectangular frame and suspend it on the back by means of arm straps and a tumpline over the head. They position the load by lashings running back and forth across the open rear side and protect it from rain and sun by covering it with leaves.

Wayãpi obtain clay for pottery along riverbanks. Women knead the clay, roll it in coils, and wrap the coils in an

ever widening circle around a clay base. The coils are then pinched together with the fingers and a pot is formed and smoothed with a scraper and a stone. Wayãpi pottery is plain in shape and ornamentation, and primarily utilitarian. Simple fingernail incisions decorate the outer surface. Women prop finished pots up with sticks to dry and bake them out in the open around a fire.

Wayãpi collect and clean out calabashes. Hard shell gourds serve as water bottles and containers that are used for drinking cups. They are painted inside and designed with carved markings outside.

Men make baskets with a great deal of technical proficiency and artistic skill. Aruma reeds are collected and split to weave into many different types of containers. Designs are created from the surface texture of the materials used or by using dyes of various colors.

Women gather cotton in the garden from slender branches. A raw stock of cotton is first stretched and cleaned by hand. A great deal of time is spent spinning it on wooden spindles to make thread. Various types of cord are braided by using different techniques and used as leading lines of hammocks, for fishing line, bowstrings, and tying cords. Women make a loom that consists of two horizontal bars supported on vertical posts on which a vertical warp and horizontal weft is drawn. This kind of loom permits the weaver to rotate the

fabric as it is being produced around the main bars and to remove it without cutting. A thin wooden beater is used for consolidating the weft. Hammocks of superior quality and beautiful skirts are woven with horizontal stripes from threads dyed of different colors.

A variety of gums, resins, and oils are obtained from forest trees. They are widely used for fastening points to arrows, caulking dugouts, and other purposes. Vegetable oils include the crabwood of the Guianas or andiroba (*Carapa guianensis*) of the Amazon. The Wayãpi boil the seeds and expose them for several weeks to the air in a scooped-out tree trunk. Then they crush them with their feet. The liquid substance is collected while it drips down an inclined leaf into a container. Andiroba oil burns well but is generally used to rub on the skin with red paint. This serves several purposes; it helps ward off mosquitoes, prevents attacks from chiggers, and protects the skin from constant exposure to the elements. It also looks pretty and has a pleasing fragrance. Paints are prepared from vegetable pigments. A red pigment is derived from the pods of the annatto tree (*Bixa orellana*), called urucu. These pods are opened and the seeds are made into a solution. When the pigment settles, the water is carefully poured off. The remaining colored matter is exposed to the sun and made up into balls which the Wayãpi knead with oil to use on their skin. Black paint comes from the fruit of the genipap tree (*Genipa americana*), locally

called yenipo. These trees are cultivated and found growing along the banks of rivers near villages. The internal substance of the fruit is bruised and macerated in water and used by the Wayãpi to ornament their bodies. Geometric designs are drawn on the skin and remain indelible for nearly two weeks before they disappear. A lavender color comes from a certain leafy plant. Other colors have a clay base.

Bows are made from a red hardwood called muirapinima. The wood is planed smooth with the fanged tusks of a bush pig's jaw. The outer surface of the bow is carved flat while the inner is strongly convex. The bow tapers from the center to the ends and terminates in two circular tips which secure the cord which is often braided from a silk-like fiber called kurawa. The wood is shaped and made straight by coating it with oil and heating it over the fire. Four types of arrows are commonly seen in the village -- a barbed point for monkeys and small game, a smooth sharp bamboo blade for larger game, a blunt nosed head for stunning birds to be plucked of their colorful feathers and domesticated, and several types of harpoons used to retrieve fish from streams and rivers. Arrows are about two meters in length, and can easily be found when they fall back into the thick tangled jungle brush. Warclubs are paddle shaped having a square end with sharp corners. The flat blunt end thins to a handle grip near the middle that is wound around numerous times with cotton thread to prevent the hand from slipping. The handle is decorated

with tassels on each side. The lower extremity comes to a sharp point so that it can be used both as a club and bayonet. The clubs are painted with yellow clay paint and annatto over which black geometric designs are drawn. In the past, Weyãpi warriors would wait in hiding until an enemy exhausted his arrow supply and then rush out to attack in hand to hand combat with these clubs.

Although many items are obtained from the forest to improve the quality of life, household furniture is sparse by our standards. While visiting Weyãpi homes, one will note that their furniture consists mainly of hammocks, mats, and stools that they manufacture. Hammocks are suspended from posts of the timber work for sleeping and daytime lounging. Wooden stools are carved from solid wood blocks taken from the forest and stylized in the shape of animals. A loom sets in an upright position against the inside of the curved roof structure of the house. Guns, bows and arrows, numerous accessories, and closed basket containers for storing beads and feather ornaments are kept in the rafters and on the walls.

Without manufactured items, there would be no beds to lie in, no stools to sit on, pottery to cook in, gourds to eat out of, or baskets to store personal materials in. There would be a lack of fine weapons to protect the people from their enemies, and game would be difficult to kill. Tall trees in chosen garden sites could not be felled, nor heavy

loads transported in dugout canoes. Well constructed homes would no longer be built to shelter them from the elements. The absence of these goods which are essential to the Wayãpi's standard of living would make life miserable indeed.

Numerous oppositions portray economic myth themes. Dark skies predominate during the wet season at which time new seedlings are watered in the gardens, ua ants are collected for eating, the pino fruit ripens, and riverwaters flood the lowland jungle. Birds congregate on wasei fruit at the beginning of the dry season and are killed for their colorful feathers. Hunting is good. Later in the summer, new gardens are cut and burned. Fishing is good. A division of labor complements and assists the men and women of a community on mutual terms. But the people must leave the village and venture out into their gardens and into the forest and along the streams to obtain life-giving sustenance. They return to their homes bringing food and materials necessary to sustain life. Then there is plenty to eat and the village celebrates with abundant provisions. Hunger ensues when men and women are unable to bring anything back. To assure plentiful supplies of food, the Wayãpi must be keen, wily, and alert to overcome spirits that pose many dangers in their pursuit of provisions for their families. A hunter's cunning and agility enables him to counter spirit threats and outwit these foes who are often dull, simple-minded, and sometimes outright

stupid. Manufactured goods provide the Wayãpi with tools and materials that enable them to build shelters and obtain supplies and comforts essential to their way of life. Without them, life would be eminently more difficult and unsatisfying.

Social Myth Themes

The degree to which the Wayãpi are able to dominate the harsh environment they occupy depends on their ability to exhibit the character tendencies exemplified by their ancestors in folklore and to adapt to their natural surroundings. Social themes exemplify the capacity of each community to work together in harmony to preserve village solidarity which is so essential to survival. They include structure/formlessness, cohesiveness/disruption, confidence/fear, friendship/enmity, overcoming/intimidation, work/play, beauty/ugliness, prohibition/violation, and health/sickness.

The first theme to be considered distinguishes structure and formlessness. Structured communities provide a center around which life is promoted and organized to confront the obstacles represented by the supernatural world. The village clearing reflects social contacts. To understand this, one need only look at the manner in which the village is set up to effect daily living. The home provides a common retreat that gives protection to the community against the elements and many spirits. It represents an adaption to the environ-

ment that permits access to the principal needs of life -- fertile soils, firewood, game, fish, fruits, and other natural resources. The village center reinforces the theme of interdependence and reciprocal ties in ceremonies that commemorate rites of passage and special occasions, at daily reunions to discuss domestic affairs, and at festivals. In contrast, spirits and their dwellings lack regular characteristics and assume many forms. The spirits represent an invisible world of vague shadows that appear and disappear. Their world lacks the same order and is more unstructured. Spirits appear from everywhere, in everything from hollow trees to wasps nests, from underground caves, and pass through openings into the rivers and skies. They are often anti-social, act independently, and are nearly always destructive. The spirits frustrate human aspirations to obtain provisions and materials essential to life. A structured community is necessary for Wayãpi to effectively utilize their technology effectively and to communicate safely with the nebulous elements of nature.

Principal rituals maintain customs that are of vital importance to the community. By observing certain rules regarding the birth of children, new parents and their neighbors avoid exposing themselves to dangers precipitated by spirits, and assures the well-being of their child. That is why married couples are subjected to various restraints before and after a woman's pregnancy. Otherwise, the Wayãpi

believe that certain characteristics could be transmitted to an unborn child that would impair its health, appearance, or result in undesirable attributes. Pregnant mothers eat only certain foods. If a woman eats rotten meat or boiled food it may cause her to miscarry. A pregnant mother who works all the time cutting firewood, carrying heavy loads, and bending over to dig manioc may squeeze the life out of her baby and give birth to a stillborn child. When a woman begins to feel continuous labor pains she goes out to the edge of the forest. They say the baby will die if she remains in the house. The husband accompanies his wife and relates animal stories while blowing on her in order to protect the baby from spirits and cause the child to be born quickly. Other women assist in the birth as the mother squats over banana leaves that are laid out. The father helps position the baby so that it will come out head first. Then the women helpers cut the navel cord with an arrow. The placenta is buried to keep rain from falling on it and mosquitoes from laying eggs which might cause the child to die. The father gives his newborn child a name right away so Ayã bush spirits cannot claim it and take the baby away.

Young girls, at the time of their first menstruation, are obligated to endure puberty rituals by fasting and exposure to ant bites. Large black stinging ants (*Cryptocerus atratus*) are secured to a woven reed mat with the aid of feathered quills and applied to the body of the candidate who is sup-

posed to stand the ordeal of intense pain without murmuring or whimpering. The young women are isolated for about two weeks behind a screen in the corner of the house and remain secluded in their hammocks. Their long hair is cut short. Further restrictions do not permit them to laugh or talk lest they become foolish women. Respect for these rules of conduct represent a woman's future submissive role as a mother and wife. The girls are obligated to refrain from all activities that are considered dangerous to the community because of their contamination. A young woman is not permitted to bathe in the river during her seclusion. Otherwise, the Wayãpi say, the water serpent would be attracted by her condition and take her away or become offended and destroy the entire village. They also believe that the skin of the young initiate would then become old and wrinkled and cause her to die prematurely.

There is no initiation for young men corresponding to the seclusion of girls at puberty. But a boy must also endure an exposure to ants and show no sign of the pain inflicted. This is intended to create within him a powerful source of strength that will enable him to kill his enemies, endure hardship without food and comforts, and act as a mature man. These customs govern the coming of age of adolescents and affirm their new position in society. Proper conduct during puberty and initiation assure their pre-

paredness to accept life's difficulties and assume adult responsibilities.

Motives governing marriage appear to be primarily of an economic character. Men marry because they are greatly dependent on a woman's work. It is she who brings in garden produce and firewood, who prepares game and cooks food, who makes hammocks and takes care of the household. Women are also wanted to bear children. A woman who cannot bear a child is not desired, even if she is attractive and proves to be a good worker. A good marriage partner knows how to care for her household, cooks well, is clean, and knowledgeable in her spheres of activity. When a Wayãpi man decides to marry, he is obligated to serve a probationary period and work for the girl's family. During this time he is tested to prove how firm his intentions are as well as to prove his personal capacity as an individual and his competence as a provider. A man should not be timid and fearful when he marries, for there are many obstacles in life to confront. He must be skilled and know how to hunt and fish, how to build a house and carve a canoe, and how to fell trees and make a garden. Matrilocality is strictly observed in most cases so that a husband diligently seeks to maintain good relations with his in-laws by the work he does. A couple move in together when the necessary requirements for marriage have been fulfilled. There do not seem to be any special

marriage ceremonies. They simply hang their hammocks in their new home and begin housekeeping. Marriage is regulated in the community to bring together those who are both biologically ready and socially mature. It provides a continuous union between two families that reinforces social cohesion and helps prevent splits that could isolate members and reduce their efficiency as a community. Through marriage, alliances are formed to help the village survive in a hostile environment.

Several more oppositions are now considered that work together to preserve village unity. They are called cohesiveness/disruption, confidence/fear, friendship/enmity, and overcoming/intimidation. Cohesive bonds develop as a result of reciprocal ties between individuals in a village. These provide members with the capacity to rise against the disruptive powers of spirits who seek to destroy human life and entire villages.

Actions are regulated by a council of elders, who represent the common interests of the village to assist everyone, so that life is not a matter of every man for himself. This provides moral support and confidence to aid individuals in their daily pursuits. Resources that are obtained are shared with the group. Communal enterprises help counter fearful obstacles presented by the spirit world and enhance the security of each member. The need for cooperative effort applies to every member of the community. This fusion of important kin relations and social obligations

assists the Wayãpi in overcoming intimidating influences from the supernatural world.

The political organization acts to preserve village unity. Today, settlements are politically autonomous and under the supervision of a headman. True chiefs of the past are no longer evident due to the reduced population that is now made up of fragmented groups. Each family leader attracts a core of blood relatives around him according to his individual capacity. The father of several daughters gains prestige from followers who are attached to his family. Potential sons-in-law and those who have already married, work in the gardens of their father-in-law a number of years. Their joint labors raise his economic status and increase his political influence. The headman's function consists of organizing hunting and fishing trips, community enterprises, supervising on ceremonial occasions, welcoming strangers, and arbitrating disputes. In some communities, the leader may be a shaman. Group decisions are made informally by the mature men of the community who gather nightly around a campfire in the village center to smoke and discuss the days events and future plans. Here, the headman exerts his influence to direct community affairs.

Kinship ties reflect the solidarity of the social organization. The type prevalent among Wayãpi today appears to be bilateral, probably replacing the old Tupi-Guarani system based on unilinear filiation which was possibly linked

to exogamic clans. If these relations are still recognized, they are probably ignored since Wayãpi society underwent such deep alterations in the 19th century. Matrilocality is the principle of residence, while patrilineal succession occurs in the transmission of the function of headman from father to son. The same kinship terms are used of both the father's and mother's side of the family and are bifurcate merging in the first ascending generation. Parallel cousins are treated as brothers and sisters. Cross-cousins are classified bilaterals as siblings-in-law or potential spouses. Their children are considered brothers and sisters of ego's children and marriage is prohibited between them. Brothers and sisters are distinguished according to sex and relative age. A father's brothers are referred to as 'father' and a mother's sisters are called 'mother'. Father's sisters and mother's brothers are called by distinctive terms. A man's brother's children are considered his sons and daughters, and a woman's sister's children are her children. Sexual relations are not permitted by a man with his mother, sisters, or daughters, or any of those classified as such. But due to the fact that Wayãpi are so reduced in numbers, sometimes the necessary balance needed to make the marriage system work is lacking, and rules are altered as breaks in the system occur (Hurault 1962:65-82).

The wide inclusiveness of kinship affiliation makes it possible for an individual to call the majority of those in his village by terms of close relationship. But persons may

also have relatives in other villages to whom they can go and live. Close affiliations provide friendships that contrast with spirit enmity and contribute to the cohesiveness of the society as it confronts spirit disruptions. It affirms alliances for protection that creates confidence as opposed to fear which assists the people in overcoming the intimidations of the supernatural world. The texts relate numerous instances in which relations were called upon to destroy spirits who attacked close kin -- when a sharp-armed Ayã destroyed a hunting party, and when totitasere ate the sister of a young woman. Relatives got together to rid the area of the spirit's threats. In another tale, relatives followed a monstrous snake that ate their close kin who were camped along a river, and killed it. Such alliances and ties are formed to preserve the basic solidarity of the group from disruptive influences and perpetuate the society and its values in confrontations with fearful enemies who intimidate them.

Another opposition is termed work/play. The Wayãpi labor daily in the fields and forests, working in their gardens, hunting and fishing, and gathering other supplies. The men cut down hardwood trees in new garden sites that take hours to fall. They paddle dugout canoes long exhausting distances in the hot sun, and traverse hilly forests until they are worn with fatigue. They carry heavy ironwood timbers from the forests to build new homes, and labor

tediously tying leaves to cover their shelters. Women's tasks are arduous, as they are required to pack cumbersome loads of produce and firewood from the gardens. They work continuously peeling manioc tubers, grating them, squeezing out the poisonous liquid, and sifting the dried substance into flour. They become covered with flour and beaded sweat as they labor throughout the day baking round cakes of flat bread over hot fires.

Social events contrast with the work routine and provide occasions for play, drinking, dancing, and music. Each household contributes large quantities of manioc beer to be consumed. Guests of honor are provided with seats and served by the host's wife and daughters. Long cigars are passed around. Everyone paints their bodies and dresses in their finest attire. Festivities continue until the last of the intoxicating liquor has vanished. They may last several days. The main aspects of the dances consists of flexing body movements and the shuffling and stomping of feet. The master of ceremonies alternates a dialogue of different songs as the men yell and promenade, swaying back and forth while playing on long bamboo flutes. Sometimes the women gather behind the men and sing with melodious voices. Many songs and movements bear certain relationships to birds and animals. Others are intended to maintain relationships with the souls of the dead.

To refuse a drink at a party is regarded with suspicion. It causes ill feelings and distrust. Drinking sprees provide

opportunities for a great deal of sexual freedom, as restraints become lax and men and women continue riotous merry-making into the night. But sometimes uninhibited discussions and excessive talking turn festive occasions into desolate rows. Old quarrels and previous slights are remembered which conjure demonstrations that lead to injurious brawls. To prevent this, a few individuals will drink in moderation in order to watch the proceedings and make sure no one gets injured. They separate potential quarrelers, remove sticks that can be used as clubs, and guide drunken members to their hammocks to preserve the enjoyment and fun of the occasion. Festive times provide release from imposed restraints and add gaiety and laughter to the gloomy and pessimistic aspects of their surroundings. They serve to maintain friendly relations with one another, provide occasions for amatory dalliances, and opportunities to amend old quarrels.

The next opposition is termed beauty/ugliness. Parties provide occasions for Wayapi to decorate themselves with color and beauty that contrasts with the gloomy forest in which they believe deformed spirits live. The Wayapi are very handsome. They are of medium height. Their skin is a beautiful deep brown. Thick, jet black hair is allowed to fall freely across their shoulders. They part it down the middle so that it frames their faces, which are handsomely accented by high cheek bones and a prominent nose. Wayapi maintain a clear face by periodically pulling out facial hair

and removing their eyebrows and eyelashes. The people use very little clothing since the tropical climate is warm and humid. The men wear manufactured loincloths suspended from a cord around their waists. In 1830, De Bauve described the Wayãpi women of French Guiana as being absolutely naked (Coudreau 1893:436). Today, the women often use material similar to the men to wrap around their hips, although many know how to weave skirts of their own. At festive celebrations beautiful long lengths of bright red cloth are worn.

The Wayãpi paint their bodies with vegetable dyes. Annatto designs are made with the fingers or spread over the entire body with the hands. Sometimes the mouth is favored with an especially large daub or designs may be tastefully drawn on the forehead, cheeks, and down the nose. Women assist in painting the men with black genipap. Small sticks swabbed in cotton are soaked in genipap juice to make thin pencil drawings. They artistically design elaborate patterns and figures, according to their skills and fancies, using terminal dots and geometric lines. Sometimes the dye is coated on a designed marker and pressed on arms, legs, and thighs. Couples may be painted like spotted jaguars with round dyed circles covering their bodies. On other occasions, a paintbrush with several sticks closely affixed, is employed to draw parallel lines. The women are careful designers, and spend hours leisurely painting one another. No special significance appears to be given to the use of designs, other

than their artistic beauty. Crevaux (1883:201) says the Wayãpi of the Jari River were streaked with black and red from head to toe.

Beads and feather ornaments are also used for decorations. Orange and blue glass beads are color alternated from one side of the body to the other. The people wrap them around their wrists and biceps, and above and below the calves of the legs. Multiple strings of beads are worn around the neck of women. Men coil beads like bandoliers on both sides of their chest. Beautiful long tail feathers of colorful macaws are placed in beaded armbands. Dazzling diadems of multi-colored feather crowns are worn on the head. The soft firey gold and red feathers are interspersed with wisps of florescent blue and black. In addition, back ornaments made from the brilliant plumage of other small birds are attached to a cotton cord hanging from the back of head crowns. Necklaces and other ornaments are made from animal teeth, claws, seeds, carved wooden beads, exotic bird feathers, and iridescent beetle wings. The Wayãpi glory in this profusion of color and beauty that contrasts so sharply with the somber green forest environment they live in and the deformed, peculiar attributes of spirits they encounter.

The final pairs of social oppositions to be considered are called prohibition/violation and health/sickness. Men and women know how to act because kin ties instruct each one to understand what is expected of them and how they should

conduct themselves in the most varied of circumstances. He who becomes angry with his close relatives and moves to an isolated spot with his own family to establish a home and build a garden, is frowned upon. One who ignores his own kin is not regarded with respect, and that person submits himself to numerous hardships and dangers without the association and assistance of relatives and friends. An extended family is collectively responsible for the acts of anyone of its members. Law and order is usually maintained by payment of gifts. In the case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not punish the accused to prevent a feud from developing, the offended family may take the punishment into their own hands and revenge their loss. This law of retribution prevents the social order from disintegrating into tensions and fighting, and permits members to continue to function in uninterrupted relationship with one another.

Social taboos protect the community from supernatural influence. When prohibitions are violated, the spirits are angered. This is seen in various practices. When men open up new canoes, their wives and children are first shut up in their houses. No one is allowed to watch the men work. Otherwise, they believe the spirit in the wood will be offended. Then the canoe will split when it is opened. Long ago, the Wayapi say, women obtained pottery in the forest from a spirit who lived down inside the clay. One day a woman decided to ignore the spirit and make her own pot. She stole some clay

from the spirit. Then a large pot fell on her and caused the earth to close up. Since that violation, women have had to make their own pottery. Long ago, men went into the forest to obtain new bows from a certain tree. Ready-made bows fell out when anyone opened the tree. Then one afternoon, a woman went out and disclosed the secret. The bow wood fell out and killed her. This happened because women are not supposed to concern themselves with masculine activities. Since then, men have had to make them. In the beginning, children were born in baskets and cared for by the men. But when a curious young woman opened a forbidden basket, the child inside jumped into her womb. That is why women bear children in pain today.

According to the texts, people may become bush spirits when they violate prohibitions. A new father became a black panther for violating the couvade. One woman turned into a monkey when she went into the forest by herself. Two sisters were taken away by a large fish they flirted with. Sexual relations with spirits nearly always turned out bad because one was not supposed to have illicit relations with the supernatural world. Those who did endured intense pain, embarrassment, and often died from the results of such amorous advances. On one occasion, a whole household was carried away by a water serpent who was attracted to the village during a woman's menstruation period. Any women who bathe in

the river at this time may be abducted and can potentially bring destruction on a whole village.

Security and health are voided by indifference to social norms. Disobedience results in violence and sickness imposed by threatening spirits. As a result, bush spirits are believed to shoot arrows into people that cause pain, infirmities, and death. Water serpents send physical suffering and contend with humans who have offended them. Heavy winds carry sickness in the air that threaten people with every imaginable disease. The chances for health and prosperity are more assured by obedience to social regulations.

Oppositions found in social myth themes portray the manner in which Wayãpi confronted the past which is strikingly evident still today. The need for interdependent relations makes it imperative that families and friends be united with strong ties for the ordered community structure to function prosperously and preserve its solidarity in the face of known and unknown threats that would otherwise undermine their existence.

Supernatural Myth Themes

The creator-god of the Wayapi is called yaneya, our owner. He created the heavens, the earth, and living things. He was good and made life easy for the earth's inhabitants until they became corrupt and disobedient. Then yaneya abandoned them and sent a consuming fire to destroy their

evil ways. Afterwards he caused a flood to extinguish the fire and saved one man who climbed a palm tree that grew to the sky. Following the flood, yaneya gave the man a wife. She bore a son who became a great shaman. This shaman introduced agriculture to mankind. The Wayãpi say he also created fearsome animal-life -- the jaguars and water serpents. He made wasps, tall bothersome grass, tiring hills to climb in the forest, and thorns that make hunting and gathering so difficult. Finally, the ancestors became afraid of him and killed him. Then he turned into a hawk and made rapids in the rivers when he went away so no one could follow him to his hidden earth dwelling. Later this powerful shaman created a woman who gave birth to twin boys called mayamayari and wii. Their antics fill the annals of Wayãpi mythology. The former is the true son of his mother's marriage while the latter proves to be the offspring of her incestuous relations with a rat. Mayamayari is a creator who is skilled and knowledgeable. Wii is his opposite and occupies himself in continuous mischief that makes him an outcast. In many respects, their adventures provide contrastive analogies of the acceptable and unacceptable in society.

Supernatural myth themes portray oppositions which distinguish the sacred and profane, life and death, humans and spirits, and the people's earthly home versus a celestial one.

The first binal opposition contrasts the sacred and profane. Wayãpi folktales relate sacred history that took place

at the beginning of time. By their acts of creation, culture heroes founded sacred time, for time contemporary with creation was sanctified by their presence and activity. The tales recite not only what culture heroes called yaneya did but how Wayãpi ancestors conducted life long ago. The people validate their customary actions by declaring, "It is so because our ancestors told us long ago." This establishes the folktales as absolute truth. The people are reintegrated into mythical time when the tales are told. The past is reactualized to define present realities. The tales provide a model for all human activity for they reveal what was effectual in the past. "We do what our ancestors did," the Wãyapi explain. In contrast, what men do on their own initiative, what they do without a mythical model, belongs to the sphere of the profane. It is vain and illusory activity (Eliade 1957:95-98). Men and women only act properly when they imitate and reenact the actions of their ancestors.

The second binary opposition under supernatural myth themes relates life and death. All mortals face one final rite of passage when life terminates. Dying is most often attributed to supernatural causes. A baby dies because restrictions regulating the child's well-being are ignored by the parents. A person gets sick and dies because bush spirits shoot the individual with black magic arrows. Young children and the elderly die because the souls of the dead steal them

away. Accidents and acts of violence that cause death are due to prohibitions that were violated. Death is rarely attributed to natural causes. But there are times, the Wayãpi admit, when the soul of a person can also leave the body for a while without causing death. This happens during periods of illness and in dreams while a person sleeps. When the eyes are closed the soul is free to leave the body and depart through the nostrils in the form of a small gnat. Then it goes up into the sky and lives in the midst of other souls that the Wayãpi perceive in their inner mind. If the soul does not return shortly, however, the individual will invariably die. The soul can return only as long as a person's heart does not stop beating.

When a sick person has become so weak that death is imminent, friends and relatives spend time conversing with the individual. The reason given is to assure good relations with the deceased following death so that the departed person's spirit will not harm the living. Manifestations of grief and sorrow are expressed at the departure of a loved one to show he will be missed. Relatives discard their ornaments, cut their hair, and fast for an extended period of time. Work is restricted and most subsistence activities come to a standstill. Great lamentation takes place as the corpse is laid out and wrapped in its hammock. The body is carried by close relatives to a place of burial in the forest. A hole is dug into which palm-boards and leaves are

neatly placed. Then the corpse is laid in the hole and covered with a woven backpack. Ironwood timbers are placed across the top. Then a mound of earth is put over the wood. Frequently small shelters are built over the grave to prevent the weather from damaging a site. Weapons and some domestic goods are left to provision and assist the soul and the deceased is encouraged to be courageous on his long journey to the celestial village. Afterwards the property of the deceased is burned or broken and thrown into the river. That way no one can use it to recall his spirit or renew the sense of bereavement.

A third opposition is termed human/spirit. The mortal body of an individual rots in the grave. Its shadow remains on earth to wander near the village at first and then gradually goes out into the forest.

The spirits with whom the Wayãpi contend on earth are the shadow spirits of those who have perished violently or by unfair means. These spirits continue to haunt the familiar places of life and inflict evil on persons they encounter. It is their potential for revenge that creates fear and dread in a community when someone has died. Ayã are shadow spirits that come from the dead bodies of humans and animals. But some spirits have different origins and are disguised to look like animals, birds, and fish who think, talk, and act like people do. Others assume grotesque forms and peculiar attributes that distinguish them from real people. Cala-

mities in life are caused by their malevolence and by way of punishment on those who have disobeyed prohibitions of society. The spirits pose a continual threat to life. The Wayãpi must retaliate against them before they are killed.

The last opposition considered is called earthly home/celestial village. At death, a person's soul begins its journey to an eternal existence because it is an element of the creator-god who made it. The soul will live in a heavenly village in the sky beyond the mountains -- the home of the creator-god, yaneya. As a woman journeys she eats the spirits of the crabs and watersnails she found in her previous life. Sometimes she eats the meat of a turtle that crosses her path. A man eats deer and tapir he killed. That way the soul is able to sustain itself for the long journey. It is for this reason that the dead are buried with their weapons and domestic utensils.

As the deceased proceeds along the unknown path, the souls of young babies who were not allowed to spend their days on earth show them the proper route to follow through the celestial regions. They warn of dangers that must be overcome or avoided. But those who flouted social regulations in their previous life are taken away to the abode of horned spirits. Others are waylaid by Thunder who lives in the sky and eaten. Those who are valient and complete the journey are given new immortal bodies of perpetual youthful maturity that are free of sickness. Then the new immortal

joins his ancestors' spirits in festive singing and dancing (Grenand, F. 1971).

Supernatural myth themes relate the importance of sacred versus profane time, important aspects of life and death, how the Wayãpi perceive the human spirit, and life hereafter. Culture heroes and Wayãpi ancestors founded sacred time by their acts long ago. Sacred time is distinguished from profane time the latter being what men do on their own initiative without mythical models. Life on earth contrasts with death at which time a person passes his final rite of passage. Great lamentation is manifested to maintain good relations with the deceased. The shadow spirits remain on earth. Those of individuals who died violently or by unfair means contend with the living and cause the fearful struggles Wayãpi encounter daily in the tropical forests. But the souls of the dead go on a long journey to a celestial city in the sky. Those who disobeyed social norms are attacked by evil spirits. The remainder join their ancestors in singing and dancing that lasts forever.

Summary

Binary oppositions are contrasted between the cultural world of the Wayãpi and the supernatural world of spirits as myth themes and categorized to express the people's relation to the environment, economic structure, social and

political organization, and religion. From this paradigmatic structural analysis a pattern of conflict and tension becomes apparent that underlies all aspects of life to define how the Wayãpi view their world.

Environmental myth themes portray the Wayãpi in an immense, isolated equatorial jungle of giant trees, heavy thickets, tangled vines, and impenetrable growth that exists everywhere around them. The texts tell of exploits carried out by ancestors who learned to successfully utilize the environment by hunting, fishing, gathering, and agriculture activities that provisioned them with food and materials to manufacture goods essential to the life of the community. Villages are established in this wilderness to provide protection from many enemies. They are constructed as a haven of safety to which people can return from dangers encountered in the surrounding environment which is also considered the abode of menacing spirits. Folktales warn people to beware of angry spirits that may attack them while they are about their subsistence activities. They account for the seasonal fury of the elements, the great storms, torrential downpours, and heavy winds. From them the Wayãpi learn to stay near their homes at night to avoid menacing spirits who they believe prowl in the dark looking for humans to eat. Lanterns are kept burning in their homes through the night to ward them off.

Economic myth themes relate the manner in which Wayãpi continue to work out the practical aspects of life. They conduct subsistence activities just as their ancestors did. "Our ancestors told us about this," they say, "that's why we know how to do it today." The legends confirm the inter-relatedness of Wayãpi society. A man's duties and those of a woman complement one another. Women involve themselves in most aspects of cultivation because it is believed they impart fertility to the soil. On the other hand, men reveal their capabilities and superior strength in the forest and along the streams. It is a man's responsibility to protect the women and children. Together the people leave the village to till their gardens or forage in the jungle. The texts describe the abundance of provisions and materials found in the forest by those who brave its dangers. At the same time they portray many obstacles the people must face before they can return to the safety of their homes. The tales instruct timid individuals to imitate the wit and versatility of the ancestors who overcame threatening spirits and numerous obstacles in the past. Then no one needs to go hungry or lack the necessities of life. Continual reference to oral traditions renews and validates the way Wayãpi do things in the present and acts to maintain the solidarity of the community today.

Social myth themes reinforce the values given to ritual practices and confirm the need for reciprocal ties that are

essential to survival. When a woman gives birth, a new father and mother are subject to various restraints to avoid exposing themselves and the community in which they live to dangers prevalent by spirits, and to assure the child's well-being. Rituals at puberty are intended to prepare a woman for her future submissive role as a mother and wife. Initiation for young men instills within them courage and strength of character to endure hardships and overcome their enemies. Men and women marry because they are dependent on one another's labor. Through marriage, cohesive bonds are formed to help the village survive the disruptive influences of a hostile environment. Ties of friendship provide moral support and confidence to overcome the intimidating fears of numerous enemies. Social events reinforce these ties by maintaining friendly relations, providing occasions for interaction between sexes and opportunities to amend old quarrels. Parties offset daily work routines and provide joyful occasions for carefree frivolity that enhances life and makes bearable the harsh realities presented in everyday living. Social order is maintained by prohibitions that regulate each member. Taboos protect the community from spirit influences by providing security and health. These are voided, however, when the prohibitions are violated and the spirits are made angry. A man who flouts social regulations undermines the security of his family and friends. Folktales teach what is right. The degree to which the people are able

to dominate the natural surroundings depends on their ability to exhibit character tendencies and remember lessons exemplified by the ancestors in oral traditions. The tales model what human activity should be by revealing what was effectual in the past.

But it is the metaphor of conflict between humans and spirits found in the supernatural myth themes that is central to understanding Weyãpi folktales. This tension is paramount throughout the culture as it pervades all aspects of life. And so it is by evaluating their folktales and cultural life that we are able to understand the conclusion that follows as basic to the Weyãpi world view.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Historical accounts portray the Wayãpi as a vigorous society once made up of exogamic clans that migrated through the heart of Brazil's forest lands to French Guiana. Foreign diseases later devastated this dynamic culture by annihilating most of the population. Then Wayãpi society underwent deep alterations as much of their cultural heritage was destroyed and tribal continuity ended. War which was linked to exophagous cannibalism was discontinued, the practice of having chiefs was lost, clan relations were interrupted, polygyny discontinued, and ceremonials were gradually forgotten. As a result, today the survivors of small villages are easily demoralized as they encounter the harsh realities of life in their vast forest homeland. Spirits are imagined everywhere ready to renew a destructive cycle of sickness and death. The robustness and vitality of former times that characterized the social order and security of its members no longer exists. The Wayãpi are keenly aware of their vulnerability to supernatural powers beyond their control. This accounts for their continual preoccupation with spirits in everyday life. Although certain spirits seem beneficent to them, many are violent and malicious and the Wayãpi assume most spirits are malevolent beings who intend to harm them.

Wayãpi folktales tell of the adventures of their ancestors who met with spirits in the forest, the water, and the sky. Although the spirits were cruel and mischievous, many times they were deceived and became victims of the practical jokes and schemes of the ancestors who made their escape from them. Ayã bush spirits were described as shadow spirits that came from the dead bodies of humans, animals, birds, and fish. There were other Ayã who had different origins. Calamities were often inflicted on the ancestors by these bush spirits out of pure malevolence or by way of punishment for breaking taboos of society. Numerous tales relate the terrible dangers that were encountered with disguised or modified human forms of other peculiarly terrible bush spirits. Animals and birds were met in the forest who thought, talked, and acted as the ancestors. Many posed a threat to life. Water serpents appeared in human shape from the depths of jungle rivers and menaced not only lone individuals but entire villages. Sometimes the elements threatened the people's existence. When there was no moon the ancestors believed the creator-god was sleeping. Then malicious spirits roamed free in the night to apprehend human victims. The ancestors described flaming comets as omens of sickness and death. Heavy winds and darkened skys were said to be the result of spirit activities that caused much apprehension and fear. The ancestors were afraid of thunder and lightning because it could consume them as related in the tales.

Propp (1968:19-28) refers to a sequential-linear action of folktales that deals with the apparent structural content of texts alone. He found that by comparing events in the tales he studied, that both constants and variables were presented. The main characters and their attributes changed, but neither their actions nor functions changed, although the actual means of their realization varied. From this he concluded that tales often attributed identical actions to various characters. This made possible the study of folktales according to the functions of those involved. Then he determined to what extent these functions actually represented the recurrent constants of the tales. He concluded that the number of functions was extremely small, whereas the number of characters could be extremely large. Tales with identical functions were considered as one type.

According to Propp, folktales of the Wayãpi spirit world appear to have identical functions that permit us to group them together as one type. The sequential-linear action of these tales revolves mainly around the subsistence activities of Wãyapi ancestors and explores the cultural world of the people as well as the natural environment of many spirits they believe still exist. The tales are reduced to six functions, each of which is in the form of a noun expressing an action. The functions are understood as an act of the characters defined from the point of view of their significance for the course of the action. The six functions are:

a mythical time sequence, followed by an initial setting in the environment, in which an encounter between humans and spirits occurs, that provides an obstacle to surmount, before a separation or escape is possible from the encounter, terminating with a final statement that concludes the episode.

The mythical time sequence begins "Long ago...", to describe a set of events that occurred in the distant past between Wayãpi ancestors and spirits, but which at the same time links itself to the present to define why life is as it is. The folktales reactualize events that took place in the mythical past to give them equal meaning today. Each folktale introduces an initial setting in which ancestors and spirits encounter one another while occupied in daily activities. Meetings occur in the gardens, along trails, at campsites, hunting blinds, and while traveling in the forest. Some encounters take place in the sky or the depths of jungle waters. Others occur near a village compound or at a spirit's dwelling. Most are charged with a direct or implied sense of animosity and fear that results in conflict. This theme is basic to Wayãpi living, even though they believe some spirits are good and can assist people. In the tales, the ancestors are victimized by the malicious nature of the spirits. Thus conflicts ensue when they meet threatening spirits. These conflicts present obstacles in life that must be surmounted if the people are to return home safely. Obsta-

cles include the ever present danger of being abducted by spirits and taken away to be killed and eaten, sudden pain and sickness, heavy winds, stormy weather, and floods. A person's life is in constant jeopardy. To overcome these incessant difficulties, the ancestors developed a finesse for deceiving supernatural opponents by quickly devising plans of action that enabled them to outwit dull-minded spirits. Shaman mediated between the ancestors and the supernatural world to counteract the evil designs of malignant spirits. Sometimes helpful spirits even assisted the ancestors in their fight to survive. But in spite of these aids, powerful spirits overcame them on numerous occasions. Fearful accounts of the past enhance the threat posed by spirits today. Wayãpi believe the same things can happen now in the present. On the other hand, many obstacles provided ways of escape by ancestors who overcame encounters with spirit adversaries. Sometimes the spirits were run off, killed, or imprisoned in their own dwellings. On other occasions, the ancestors fled from them. Some ancestors were able to avoid threatening spirits by conducting themselves according to properly prescribed norms of society that protected them from their influence. Final statements were often drawn from encounter experiences to explain life's circumstances. In this manner Propp's methodology permits a description of the surface structure of spirit orientated folktales that vividly portrays a never ending struggle between culture and nature.

Lévi-Strauss (1967:202-228; Leach 1967:1-47) refers to a paradigmatic structural analysis. His basic premise is to analyze myths in terms of abstract structural relationships. Analogies are drawn from the analysis of the myths, which are accounted for in terms of opposition and contrast such as nature and culture, life and death, and sickness and health. He finds the emergence of a logic operating by means of binary oppositions. Myths are seen as a thinking process that give access to the unconscious form taken by society to cause harmony and keep the social order going. This type of structural analysis seeks to describe the pattern which underlies the texts. It forms a way of looking at that which is regenerative and cyclic; that which transcends time and brings us back to the beginning. He says that if you discover the underlying relationship of the folktales, then the basic cognitive pattern that becomes apparent should be expressed in a people's relation to the environment, economic structure, social and political organization, and religion.

The underlying significance of Wayãpi folktales is discussed in terms of Lévi-Strauss' binary principles of opposition which distinguish between the cultural society of the Wayãpi and the supernatural world of spirits to explain how the people relate to the world at large. Combinations of contrasting pairs are then clustered under environmental, economic, social, and supernatural myth themes. Next, the myth themes are presented in terms of the contrasting pairs.

This brings us to the final conclusion. Spirits that inhabit the world influence Wayãpi patterns of living and thought in the present even as in centuries past. The folktales present a metaphor of everyday life for the Wayãpi. In other words, the imagery of spirits in the environment provides the people with a routine for day-to-day subsistence in a world where continual conflict ensues between culture and nature. Wayãpi go out of their way today to avoid chance encounters with spirits they believe do exist. They avoid thickly matted and inhospitable jungle areas that are considered dwelling places of spirits. Dugouts are allowed to float quietly over deep waters in the bends of rivers because large water monsters are liable to harbor there. People hide in the relative shelter of their homes when the weather is threatening because they believe the spirits are angry. They carry lights about at night to scare off lurking spirits that they believe will otherwise abduct and eat them. Unexplained noises are attributed to spirits shooting their firearms in the bush. By their actions, the Wayãpi show their continual preoccupation with threats posed by the supernatural.

It is the metaphor of conflict between humans and spirits found in the supernatural myth theme that is central to understanding Wayãpi folktales. This tension is paramount throughout the culture as it pervades all aspects of

life and is basic to the Wayãpi world view. As a result, it permits us to reduce the tales to two extreme propositions which together summarize their operational function (see Figure 4).

First of all, the tales teach that the world is a place of conflict between humans and spirits in which people must conduct routine subsistence activities and overcome obstacles they encounter to stay alive. A line is drawn that represents a path through the natural surroundings. It joins human communities and spirit dwellings. Along this path opposing spirits are encountered that continually threaten people and try to overwhelm and subdue them. On numerous occasions the folktales record their success. The spirits sent sickness (M1) and unleashed the fury of the elements (M23, M25); they made concentrated attacks on villages (M4) and rampaged through isolated hunting camps (M7); they seduced unsuspecting women (10) and posed as humans in disguise (M11); and attacked from ambush (M20) using strange weapons (M12).

On the other hand, the tales also build confidence in the listener by relating many instances when the spirits were overcome. This accounts for the line that is drawn bisecting the path between human communities and spirit dwellings. It represents human resourcefulness, obedience to social prohibitions, shaman knowledge and magic, and helpful spirits which assisted the ancestors in the tales and

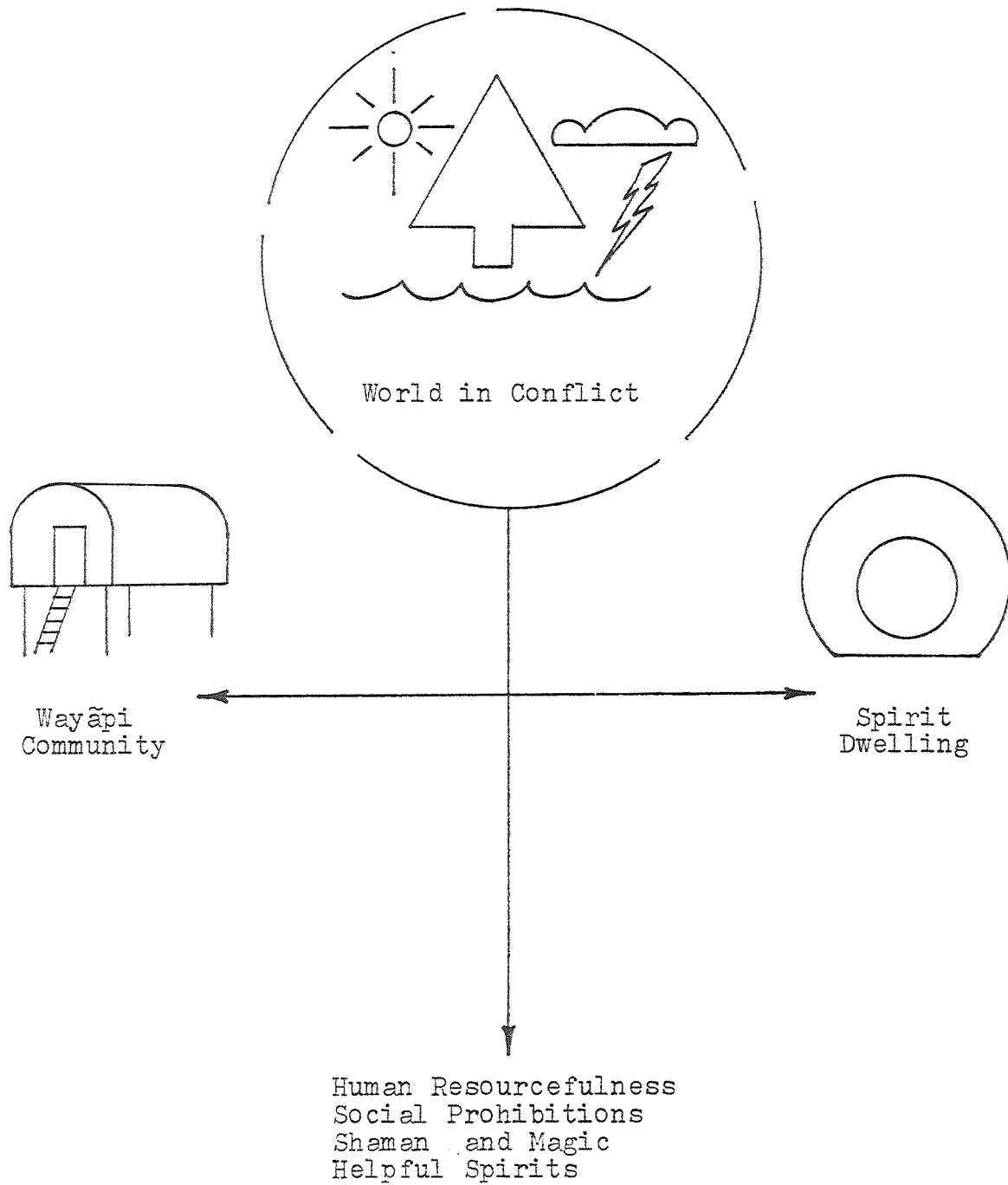


Figure 4. Mediation of Oppositions in Wayãpi Society

helped them to successfully mediate with the supernatural world. The Wayãpi believe these sources are available today to help them in their fight for survival.

The folktales encourage human resourcefulness which will enable persons to conceive of manners of escape from spirit encounters. In M3, a lone survivor of three brothers who were kidnapped realized he would soon be eaten by his captors. To avoid such an ignoble end he hoarded tidbits of bread to sustain him in his escape over a long trail home. In M6, a hunter was subdued by a warty bush spirit. The man pretended he was dead when the ugly bush spirit hit him over the head with a soft piece of rotted wood. He waited until the bush spirit carried him to his dwelling in a backpack before making his escape. When the bush spirit set him down he crawled out and substituted firewood in the backpack. Then he climbed a tree to see what would happen. An old woman came to get the game the bush spirit brought but all she found was the firewood. As a result, she became furious and killed the bush spirit to eat instead. A short episode in M8 relates the human resourcefulness of an ancestor who found himself trapped in a tree while gathering fruit. When bush spirits surrounded him below and tried to climb the tree to apprehend him he quickly seized a bundle of heavy fruit and dropped it on them. They fell from the tree and died. In M9, a hunter shamed a spirit into committing suicide. He

accomplished this by first presenting the spirit with numerous gifts of meat. Then he requested something in return. The spirit obligingly cut his heart out to reciprocate the heart of a monkey the man gave him and died. In M16, a jaguar represents obstacles encountered by ancestors in the forest. The anteater and slender arrow in the story teach people by their example to deceive powerful enemies by trickery and skills. The anteater exchanged feces with the jaguar and convinced the beast that he only ate ants and not other animals. The arrow maneuvered the conceited jaguar into a position so that he could shoot and kill him.

Wayãpi tales instruct people to respect social prohibitions that can protect them from spirit influences. A new father, portrayed in M2, neglected his role as the imparter of life to his child. Since a powerful bond existed between him and the child he was required to refrain from activities thought harmful to the baby by making every attempt to assure its well-being. When he did not, he turned into a black panther while gathering fruit in the forest. In M13, a husband was unfaithful to his wife and did not provide for her. So she went into the forest alone to get fruit. She should not have done this as there was no one to protect her from the influences of the supernatural world. As a result, she became a monkey. Ancestors had to avoid seduction from lovely apparitions they encountered. Illicit love affairs were

prohibited between humans and spirits because they endangered not only the lives of the participants but of the whole community. In M5, a man endured intense swelling in his groin following relations with a female bush spirit. In M14, the long penis of a jaguar man caused a woman to bleed to death. In M18, a man shot a water serpent that had sex relations with his sister. Later he was abducted by the water serpent's parents and taken underwater to heal their son. They threatened to flood his village and kill everyone if he did not (M22). Water serpents could do this. That is why nobody kills them today. In M21, two sisters had sex relations with a large fish and were influenced to swim away with him. M24 makes a man aware of the danger involved if he should kill too much game in the forest. Spirits of dead animals punish those who needlessly and wantonly kill them. The exercise of moderation and self-restraint is one of the best ways to gain their favor. Waste is an affront to the controlling spirits and destroys the equilibrium that exists between people and the spirit world. Numerous texts reflect community interaction. Life is not a matter of every man for himself. Alliances are formed to preserve the basic solidarity and security of the community and protect it from disruptive influences. In M7, relatives joined in a concerted effort to kill a sharp-armed Ayã who killed members of their hunting party. M10 provided a similar instance after a spirit

ate a pregnant women. Relatives went out and burned the bush spirit. In M20, a hunting party followed a monstrous snake that attacked members of their party camped on a rock. Together, they killed the water monster. Survival prohibits a man from living and acting on his own. That is why social prohibitions regulate cooperative efforts and sharing. One who ignores his own kin submits himself to numerous hardships and dangers.

The tales portray the power of shaman who are able to mediate between the ancestors and the supernatural world. In M4, when hoards of bush spirits attacked village after village in a rampage of fury and destruction, powerful shaman went out to stop them. They knew how to deal with the spirits. First they confiscated their weapons and then imprisoned them in a hole where they all died. In M16, shaman used their knowledge and skill to protect the ancestors on a long hazardous journey through the forest where giant trees, monkeys, frogs, ovens, beetles, fireflies, and fish threatened their lives. In M15, magic flutes were used to locate a child that a giant bird kidnapped.

And finally, the folktale make Wayãpi aware of helpful spirits who may assist them in their daily activities and intervene when their lives are threatened by malicious spirits who would harm them. In M5, an otter encountered a man walking in the river to soothe the pain and swelling in his groin after having sex with a bush spirit. The otter asked the

man what happened and then offered a remedy that healed him. In M24, termites assisted a man who was building a house. They ate the inside of the heavy ironwood to lighten the man's work load. In the following episode, a bush spirit helped the man catch a fish by emptying water out of a creek. He warned the man he would be eaten by a two-headed vulture. In the next episode, a certain bird helped the same man select the proper wood to carve a stool. Then pigeons offered to carve the stool. They also warned the man that he would be eaten by the two-headed vulture and helped him escape. The Wayãpi relate numerous tales that tell of incidents when animal spirits came to the rescue of the ancestors.

Spirit folktales answer basic inquiries that Wayãpi have regarding the world, the surrounding environment, and their place in it, by providing an oral history of the past. As we observe ancestral behavior exhibited in the tales and probe into their underlying system of values we are better able to understand how the Wayãpi view the world today and appreciate why they behave as they do.

Summary

The utilization of the methodologies of Propp and Lévi-Strauss permits a description of the surface and underlying structure of Wayãpi folktales to be made. Although these folktales show similar structures at a deeper universal level corresponding to Lévi-Strauss' ideas about the cultural/nature

dichotomy, they also represent the cultural paradigm of the Wayãpi. Through this analysis a more meaningful and deeper orientation to the struggles occurring within Wayãpi society is perceived. In sum, the world is viewed as a place of conflict in which humans and spirits reside. The dense tropical forest, turbulent jungle waters, and potentially threatening elements are conceived as the abode of innumerable spirits with whom encounters are inevitable. These spirits pose a threat to social life. Most are dangerous, malicious, and a constant source of trouble. A few offer help to people. But the Wayãpi are continually frightened in their gardening, hunting, and gathering economy by any possible encounter with spirits and tormented by the thought of their appearance. Although they realize many spirits are mortal and can be deceived and outwitted, the reciprocal enmity that has occurred in the past generations keeps Wayãpi alert today to the fact that they may be overcome sometime. As their ancestors appeased and fought with many spirits, so must Wayãpi presently deal with the multiplicity of spirit life in their jungle setting. The folktales express the need for cultural solidarity of the people that promises life in an environment rife with natural instability. From oral traditions the Wayãpi attain an awareness of the world from which they perceive a way of life and culture that is dependent on the mediating resourcefulness of human endeavor, social prohibitions, shaman knowledge and magic, and helpful spirits who

will lend assistance to them in their efforts to survive and reinforce their capacity to live in an unending struggle.

APPENDIX

SUMMARY OF THE LINEAR-SEQUENCE IN EACH FOLKTALE

FOLKTALES OF BUSH SPIRITS CALLED AYÃ

M1 Ayã Bush Spirits Send Pneumonia

1. Long ago, a man killed a bush spirit's child
2. The bush spirit's mother worked in her garden
3. The man found her child and stabbed it
4. The bush spirit cursed humans with sickness
5. As a result, humans get sick today
6. That is why spirits and humans do not live together

M2 A Man Becomes An Ayã Bush Spirit

1. Long ago, a man's wife gave birth
2. The new father and a friend made a shelter in the forest
3. The new father violated the couvade prohibition
4. His offence brought dire results
5. The new father became a bush spirit
6. This is why Wayãpi died long ago

M3 Ayã Bush Spirits Abduct Children

1. Long ago, tapu'ũi came
2. Children played near the village
3. Spirits abducted the children and took them to their dwelling
4. The bush spirits killed two and ate them
5. One boy discovered the trail back home and fled
6. This happened long ago

M4 A Man Tries To Kill An Ayã Bush Spirit - First Episode

1. Long ago, a hunter saw tamoko bush spirits
2. He waited in a hunting blind
3. Other hunters shot the bush spirits
4. The bush spirits became angry
5. They killed the men
6. -----

The Bush Spirits Retaliate - Second Episode

1. Afterwards, many bush spirits arrived and ate the men
2. Then they followed a trail to the hunter's village
3. The angry bush spirits killed many people
4. Shaman met the bush spirits

5. The shaman shut them up in their rock dwelling
6. That is why there are still Wayãpi living today

M5 A Man's Illicit Love Affair - First Episode

1. Long ago, a man saw a female bush spirit
2. He waited in a hunting blind
3. The man had sex with her and violated a prohibition.
One avoided contact with the spirit world
4. The man's groin swelled and hurt
5. They separated and went different ways
6. The man said, "I am going to die."

An Otter Alleviates The Man's Pain - Second Episode

1. Later, the man returned to the village
2. On the way, he walked in the river
3. An otter came to him
4. The otter told him how to overcome the pain
5. They went their separate ways
6. The man commented afterwards, "That otter spoke the truth."

M6 A Man Insults Ayã - First Episode

1. Long ago, a man saw a bush spirit with warts all over his body
2. The bush spirit looked at his reflection in the water
3. The man insulted the bush spirit
4. The man angered the bush spirit
5. The bush spirit hit him on the head with a stick
6. -----

The Ayã Bush Spirit Takes The Man Captive - Second Episode

1. After that, the bush spirit made a backpack to put the man in
2. The bush spirit journeyed back to his dwelling
3. The angry bush spirit wanted to eat the man
4. The man deceived the bush spirit. He tripped him and tried to escape
5. He crawled away and escaped when the bush spirit set him down
6. This happened to people long ago

M7 A Sharp-Armed Bush Spirit Rampages - First Episode

1. Long ago, a bush spirit with a sharp arm came
2. Women prepared game at the hunting campsite
3. The men attacked the bush spirit they considered a threat

4. The bush spirit killed all the men
5. The men perished and did not escape
6. The bush spirit said, "The wasps will eat your spilled blood"

Relatives Revenge The Slaughter - Second Episode

1. -----
2. The women followed the bush spirit to his dwelling
3. The bush spirit threatened hunters in the forest
4. The women told their relatives what happened. They burned the bush spirit's dwelling
5. The bush spirit's died in the fire
6. They saw the killer die

M8 Ayã Bush Spirits Try To Kill A Man

1. Long ago, a man climbed a fruit tree
2. He cut the fruit in the forest
3. Bush spirits found him and tried to kill him
4. He dropped the heavy fruit on them. They died.
5. The man fled the forest to his village
6. This happened to people long ago

M9 A Sharp-Armed Bush Spirit Traps A Man

1. Long ago, a man hunted for black monkey
2. He hunted out in the forest late in the day
3. A bush spirit found him later in the dark
4. The man gave the bush spirit monkey to eat instead of himself. Then he tricked the bush spirit who cut out his heart and died
5. The man fled the dark forest to his village
6. He didn't tell anybody what happened

FOLKTALES OF OTHER BUSH SPIRITS

M10 Totitasere Eats A Woman - First Episode

1. Long ago, a man visited two sisters
2. The sisters were alone in the village
3. The man did not eat normal. The younger sister became suspicious
4. She did not sleep that night and hid herself from the stranger
5. The bush spirit ate her sister
6. "What kind of monster is this?" the younger sister asked

Relatives Revenge Her Death - Second Episode

1. Afterwards the bush spirit left and sang a song
2. The younger sister followed the bush spirit in the forest to his dwelling
3. The totitasere threatened people everywhere
4. The woman told her relatives what happened. They burned the bush spirit's dwelling
5. The bush spirit died in the fire
6. Totitasere bush spirits eat people

M11 Wura Kaori Kills His Brother's-In-Law - First Episode

1. Long ago, relatives looked for young birds to raise
2. They came to an eagle's nest high off the ground
3. One man, a bush spirit, offended his relatives. They left him trapped in the eagle's nest
4. The angry bush spirit sought revenge
5. He trapped his relatives. They died
6. A magic armadillo tail took them into the ground

Wura Kaori Barbeques His Wife - Second Episode

1. After that, the bush spirit returned to his wife
2. He wove a backpack at their campsite
3. He had not completed his revenge
4. He grabbed his wife and tied her up
5. He roasted her over the campfire. She died
6. -----

Wura Kaori Deceives His Mother-In-Law - Third Episode

1. After that, the bush spirit cut out his wife's heart and liver
2. Then he returned to the village
3. He had not completed his revenge
4. The bush spirit deceived his mother-in-law. He gave her the heart and liver of her daughter to eat
5. She ate her own daughter unknowingly
6. Then she went to look for her daughter

His Mother-In-Law Seeks Revenge - Fourth Episode

1. After she left
2. The bush spirit fled into the forest
3. Relatives of the diseased journeyed after him to kill him
4. He appeased their anger with a feast
5. As a result, they did not kill him and he escaped
6. Instead, they returned home

The Dwelling Of Death - Fifth Episode

1. Later, the relatives looked for him again
2. They traveled far to the spirit's village
3. Human bones laid about in the village
4. The wura kaori ate people
5. They killed the men and ate them
6. No one knows where wura kaori live today

MI2 Yupara's Weapon Kills A Man - First Episode

1. Long ago, two brothers found a hollow tree
2. They made a hunting blind in it
3. The older brother shot at yupara, a night monkey
4. The bush spirit retaliated and shot the older brother
5. The bush spirit cut his head off
6. Blood fell from his corpse

His Death Is Revenged - Second Episode

1. At dawn, yupara came down from the tree
2. The younger brother followed the bush spirit into a cave
3. yupara threatened hunters lives in the forest
4. The younger brother stole the bush spirit's weapon and revenged his brother's death
5. He shot the bush spirit and cut off his head
6. "The night monkey killed my brother," he told his relatives. "So, I killed him."

MI3 A Woman Becomes A Bush Spirit

1. Long ago, a woman became a black monkey
2. She walked into the forest with her child
3. She went by herself to look for fruit
4. Her husband tried to warn her
5. At dark, she turned into a monkey
6. That is why black monkeys are really people

MI4 A Woman's Illicite Love Affair With A Jaguar

1. Long ago, a woman had sex with a jaguar
2. The jaguar-man returned to the village with game
3. His mother-in-law seduced him and violated a prohibition. One should avoid contact with the spirit world
4. His penis wounded her
5. She bled to death
6. This happened to people long ago

M15 A Giant Bird Abducts A Child

1. Long ago, a bush spirit came
2. Parents left a child alone at home
3. The bush spirit abducted the child
4. The parents searched with flutes
5. They found the child and brought him home
6. That is why children are never left alone

M16 Encounter With A Giant Tree - First Episode

1. Long ago, shaman. took their people on a long journey
2. They traveled in the forest
3. A giant tree-like bush spirit blocked their path
4. The people frightened it by hitting trees with sticks and knives
5. They drove the bush spirit away
6. The people continued their journey

Encounter With A Giant Ayã Bush Spirit - Second Episode

1. On their next encounter, the shaman. warned the people
2. As they journeyed in the forest
3. A giant Ayã bush spirit lives in the area
4. The people put leaves on their head to protect themselves
5. Those who did not were scalped and killed
6. The rest continued their journey

Encounter With A Giant Howler Monkey - Third Episode

1. Then the shaman warned the people again
2. As they passed a large tree in the forest
3. A giant howler monkey was in the tree
4. The people put leaves on their heads to protect themselves
5. The bush spirit deficated on those who did not and they died
6. The rest continued their journey

Encounter With A Giant Frog - Fourth Episode

1. Next, the shaman told the people what to do
2. As they journeyed near a river
3. A giant frog lived in the area
4. The people gave roasted meat to appease the frog
5. Those who did not were taken to the other side of the river
6. The rest continued their journey

Encounter With A Giant Oven - Fifth Episode

1. Next, the shaman told the people about a giant oven
2. As they journeyed in the forest
3. A giant oven lived in the area
4. The people gave roasted meat to appease the oven
5. Those who did not were eaten
6. The rest continued their journey

Encounter With Poison Vine - Sixth Episode

1. The shaman told the people what to do next
2. When they came to a body of water
3. They endangered their lives when they used poison to catch fish
4. They ran about like wild pigs
5. They must avoid eating poisoned fish
6. After that the people continued their journey

Encounter With A Giant Beetle - Seventh Episode

1. Next, the shaman warned the people what to do
2. As they journeyed in the forest
3. A giant beetle lived in the area
4. The people relieved themselves around the base of the trees to protect themselves
5. Those who relieved themselves in the open were killed
6. The rest continued their journey

Encounter With Tree Spirits - Eighth Episode

1. Then the shaman told the people what to do
2. As they journeyed in the forest
3. The trees abducted people
4. They shook the trees, vines, and brush as they passed through to protect themselves
5. The tree spirits abducted those who did not
6. The rest continued their journey

Encounter With A Giant Firefly - Ninth Episode

1. Then the shaman warned everyone
2. As they journeyed in the forest
3. A giant firefly lived in the area
4. The people must carry a torch to protect themselves
5. The firefly spirit ate those who didn't
6. Then they went on some more

Encounter With A Giant Fish - Tenth Episode

1. Finally, the shaman warned the people
2. When they came to a river
3. A dangerous fish lived in the water
4. The people bound their legs with tree fiber to protect themselves
5. The fish wounded those who did not. They died
6. After that, the people arrived at their journey's destination

ML7 An Anteater Deceives A Jaguar - First Episode

1. Long ago, a jaguar found an anteater
2. They talked in the forest
3. The jaguar wanted to eat the anteater's child
4. The anteater tricked the jaguar
5. So the jaguar left them alone
6. That is how the anteater saved her child

An Arrow Deceives The Jaguar - Second Episode

1. Next, the jaguar met an arrow on the trail
2. They talked in the forest
3. The jaguar offended the slender arrow
4. The arrow tricked the jaguar
5. The arrow killed the jaguar
6. The arrow explained why he did it

FOLKTALES OF SPIRITS IN THE WATER AND SKY

ML8 A Woman's Illicit Love Affair - First Episode

1. Long ago, a man shot a water serpent
2. He saw the serpent in the water
3. A woman had sex with the water serpent and violated a prohibition. One should avoid contact with the spirit world
4. Her brother shot the serpent that came into the village
5. The serpent went away
6. -----

Water Serpents Threaten The Village - Second Episode

1. Later, the water serpent's mother and father appeared
2. They took the brother into the river
3. They threatened to flood the village if he didn't heal their son

4. The brother pretended to treat the wounded serpent
5. Then he returned home. But the snake died
6. That is how a man killed a water serpent

M19 A Water Serpent Abducts A Household - First Episode

1. Long ago, a water serpent came
2. The water serpent lived in the river
3. The water serpent abducted the household of a woman who was menstruating
4. The house collapsed and fell into a hole
5. The people were taken away. There was no escape
6. The place where the house was turned to water

Relatives Try To Find Them - Second Episode

1. Later, relatives went out to work on a trail
2. They worked on a trail out in the forest near the water
3. The captive household lived in the water now
4. Their grandfather tried to rescue them
5. He could not rescue them and the household remained with the serpent
6. This happened to people long ago

M20 A Water Serpent Swallows People On A Rock - First Episode

1. Long ago, a monstrous water serpent came
2. People camped on a big rock in the river
3. The monstrous water serpent came out of the water on the rock
4. Smaller snakes followed and bit the people
5. Then the monstrous water serpent ate them
6. -----

Relatives Revenge Their Death - Second Episode

1. Then the monstrous water serpent went away
2. It left a trail in the forest
3. The monstrous water serpent threatened people's lives
4. Relatives followed the serpent's trail and revenged the dead
5. They killed it
6. The monstrous water serpent ate many people

M21 An Illicit Love Affair With A Fish

1. Long ago, two women had sex with a large fish
2. They lived near a river
3. The women violated a prohibition. One should avoid

- contact with the spirit world
4. Their brothers killed the big fish
 5. The fish returned to life and took the women away
 6. Long ago, two woman had a large fish for a husband

M22 Darkness And Rain Threaten Villages

1. -----
2. Elements in the sky threaten people
3. When a person kills a water serpent
4. Wayapi must contend with the water serpents spirit
5. That is why Wayāpi avoid water serpents
6. Their ancestors warned them about this long ago

M23 Thunder Is An Angry Shaman - First Episode

1. Long ago, Thunder went to live in the sky
2. When everyone danced at a neighboring village
3. Thunder's younger wife disobeyed him and went early
4. He planned to punish her
5. He killed her with a club and then went away
6. His friend lamented his going

Thunder Roars And Kills With Lightning - Second Episode

1. From that time on, it thundered loudly
2. Thunder lives up in the sky
3. Thunder's great power and anger still consume those he dislikes
4. Human ingenuity cannot illiminate the threat he poses
5. Those who tried in the past were killed
6. No shaman can kill Thunder

M24 The Two-Headed Vulture Abducts A Man - First Episode

1. Long ago, a man killed a tapir
2. Afterwards, he waited in a hunting blind
3. He killed many vultures that fed on it. He killed more than he needed to and incited the anger of the two-headed vulture
4. The two-headed vulture enticed the man to come to his village
5. He took the man up into the sky
6. The man married his daughter

Termites Help The Man - Second Episode

1. Then the two-headed vulture wanted him to build him a home

2. They lived up in the sky
3. The man was obligated to please his father-in-law
4. Termites aided him in the task
5. He built it. It appeased the two-headed vulture's anger
6. "I finished your father's house," the man told his wife

A Bush Spirit Warns He Will Be Eaten - Third Episode

1. After that, the two-headed vulture wanted a certain fish to eat
2. They lived up in the sky
3. The man was obligated to please his father-in-law
4. A bush spirit helped him catch the fish and warned him the two-headed vulture would eat him
5. He brought it back. It appeased the two-headed vulture's anger
6. "I caught one," he told his wife

Pigeons Warn He Will Be Eaten - Fourth Episode

1. Next, the two-headed vulture wanted a stool carved for him to sit on
2. They lived up in the sky
3. The man was obligated to please his father-in-law
4. Pigeons helped him make the stool and warned him the two-headed vulture would eat him
5. He brought it back. It did not appease the two-headed vulture
6. "Here is the stool for your father," he told his wife

Pigeons Help The Man Escape - Fifth Episode

1. Then his wife told her father, "My husband is trying your patience."
2. The man returned to earth
3. The angry two-headed vulture took down his arrows to kill the man
4. The man ran away
5. Pigeons helped him escape and return to earth
6. He told his relatives what happened

M25 The Evil Wind

1. -----
2. Elements in the sky threaten people
3. Hard winds bring sickness and bush spirits
4. These winds kill people
5. Many perish and do not escape
6. That is why nobody likes hard winds