

jivaroan magical songs achuar anent of connubial love

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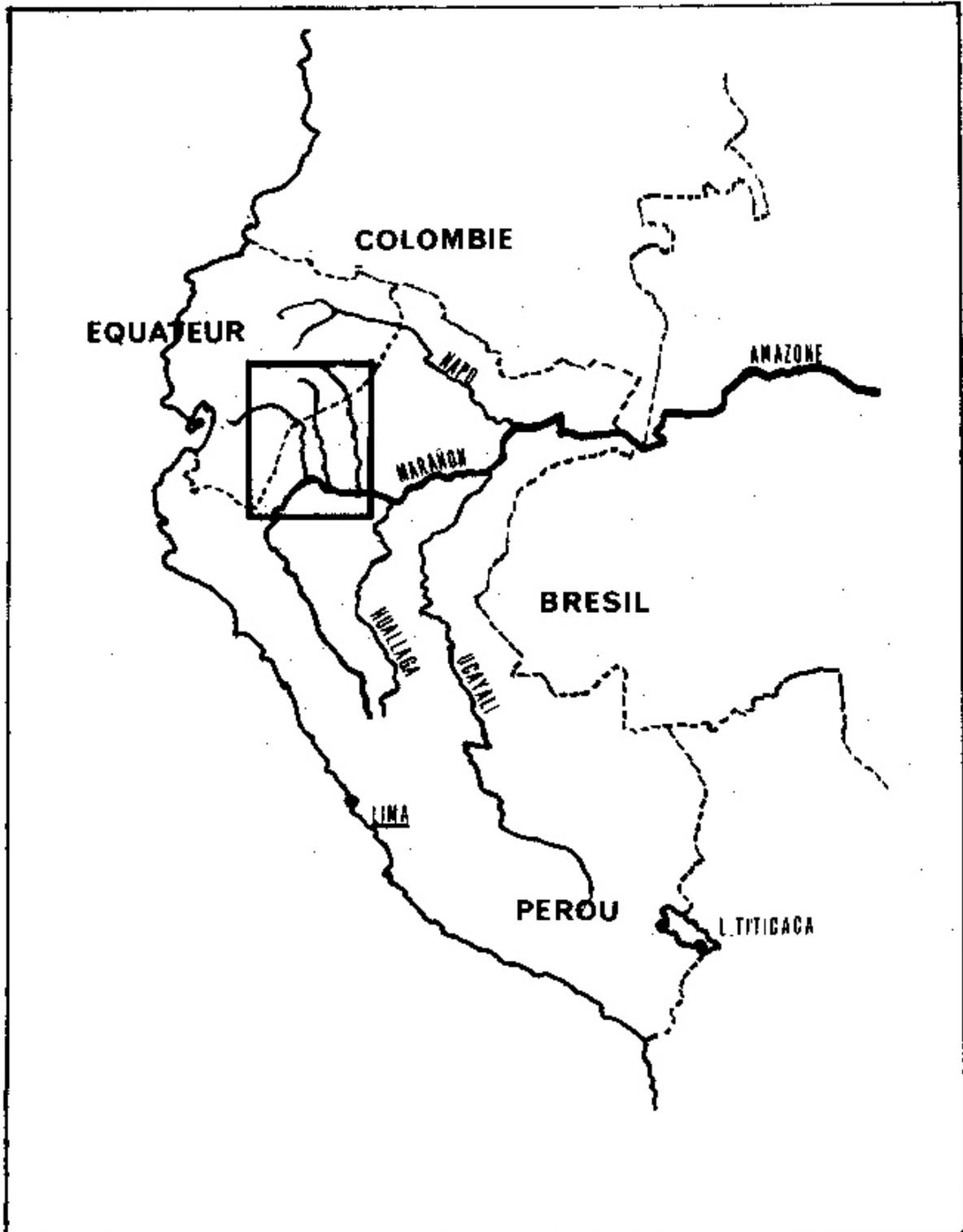
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The Achuar (ačuar) are Amazonian hunters and horticulturists belonging to the Jivaroan linguistic stock. This large group at present numbers some 70 000 individuals, spread over Ecuador and northern Peru. The Achuar proper are approximately 5 500. Their territorial limits are: the Rio Conambo (upper Tigre), in Ecuador, to the north; the lower course of the Rio Huasaga, Peru, to the south; the Rio Macuma to the west and the lower course of the Rio Pastaza to the east (cf map).

Within the so-called Jibara sub-family of the Jivaroan stock¹ there are four commonly recognized dialects groups: Shuar, Achuar (including Mama), Huambisa and Aguaruna. The Shuar and Huambisa dialects are apparently very close, both phonetically and lexically. Between these and the Achuar dialects,

¹ For convenience, I have adopted the term "jibara sub-family" used by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) to discriminate between the Jivaroan dialects proper, and the Kandoshi and Shapra dialects, since the Jivaroan stock also includes the Candoa languages: Shapra and Murato-Kandoshi, the only remaining Candoa dialects, are seemingly almost identical, but they are entirely distinct from the other Jivaroan dialects --so much so, indeed, that the Jivaroan affiliation of the Candoa languages has long remained controversial (cf TUGGY 1966; OLIVE, WISE & SHELL 1971)

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however, there is considerable difference, especially lexically²; strong variation in pronunciation and intonation further emphasizes the cultural distance between Achuar and Shuar-Huambisa³. Aguaruna is quite distinct from the other three dialects, phonetically and lexically; Shuar and Aguaruna, for example, are said to be mutually unintelligible on first contact.

Important local variation also occurs within a given dialect group, in terms of pronunciation, intonation, sometimes even vocabulary. As with dialectal distinctions, these differences may be either emphasized or underplayed. In fact, it is often difficult to discriminate between subdialectal and dialectal variants⁴.

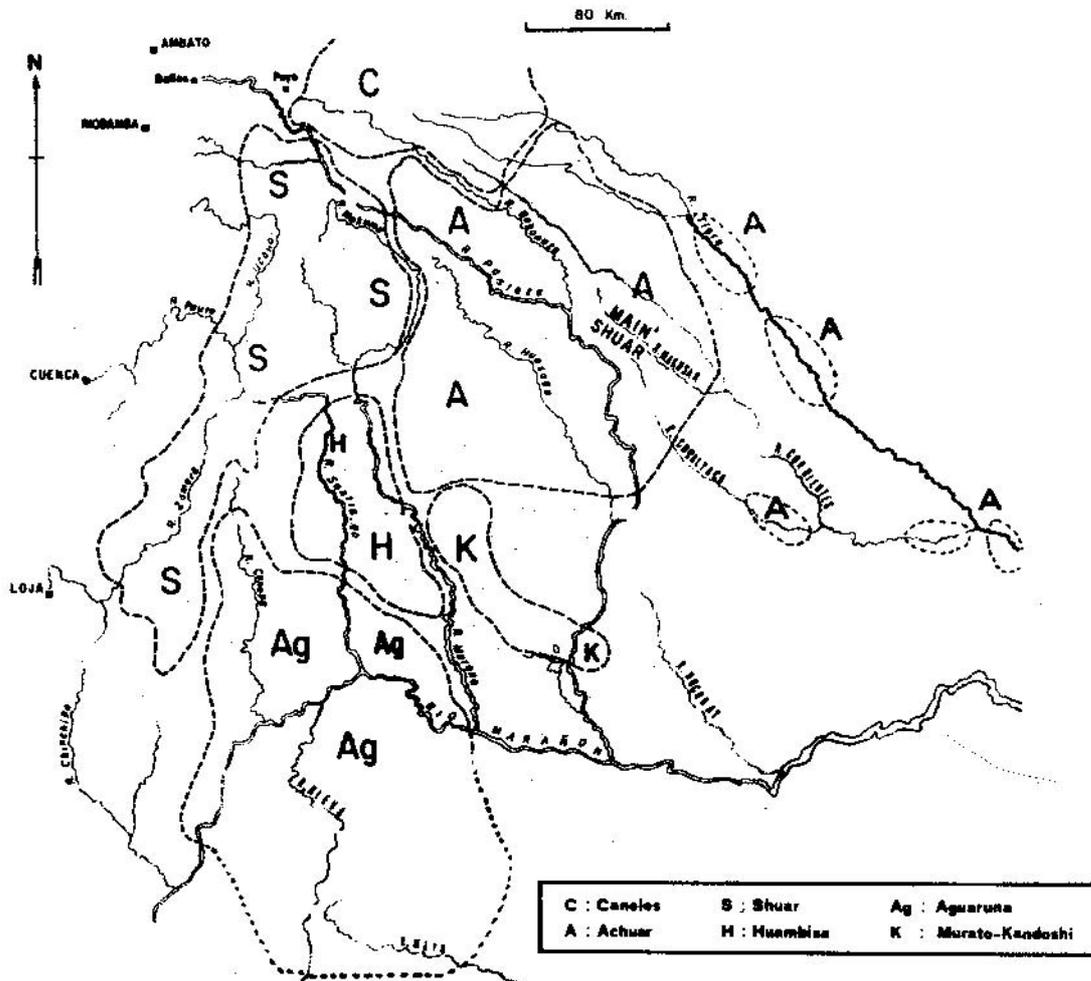
It should be kept in mind that the simplified linguistic and ethnographic division now used for the Jivaroan cultures -and often mechanically applied- tends to obscure the lability and complexity of native modes of ethnic or tribal classification, affiliation and self-adscription. Dialectal distinctions certainly exist, and they are an important aspect of group identity. However, in order to understand fully the role of language in establishing collective identity, linguistic variations should be analyzed in conjunction with the other -non linguistic- mechanisms of differentiation that characterize these cultures, such as styles of adornment, face painting, costume, ceramic decoration, choice of subvarieties of species of cultivated plants, and so forth. Contrary to the situation that occurs among the Colombian Vaupés societies, for example, where language, marriage rules, adornment, territory, and ritual property ideally define overlapping, strictly homologous units, among the Jivaroan groups such sets of differentiating features do not necessarily coincide; in fact, the interplay between these sets appears to be a structural aspect of the system, and it accounts for the flexibility of Jivaroan "tribal groups and categories. In other words, among the Colombian Vaupés groups, linguistic frontiers strictly reflect the social structure; they function rather like an identity card, in that they synthesize and unambiguously signal precisely defined social markers (that is, tribal affiliation, status within the tribe, and so forth). Among the Jivaro, conversely, each set of markers tends to relativize and partially undermine the

² Particularity in the fields of plant or animal taxonomy and of technical terms. A striking feature of the lexical differences between Shuar and Achuar is the frequency of simple permutation within a semantic field. For example, black earthenware eating dishes are called *pinínk* in Shuar, and decorated ceramic drinking bowls are called *tacháu*. In Achuar, dishes are *tacháu* and drinking bowls are *pinínk*.

³ Though an outsider familiar with the Achuar dialect has little trouble in understanding Shuar, Indians of one or the other group often claim they are unable to understand each other's language.

⁴ J. Alden Mason succinctly stated the problem in the Handbook of South American Indians : "...there is one Jivaro language, relatively homogeneous... but very many dialects": (HSAI VI s 222)

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oppositions introduced by other sets. In one case, language puts you very neatly "in your place" ; in the other case, it merely points to a more or less sharply defined social and geographical territory⁵.

To sum up, the spatial and temporal occurrence of dialectal and subdialectal limits is highly variable, as is the sharpness and permeability of these limits; such factors are contextually determined by a cultural logic that

⁵ The structure and evolution of group identities in Jivaroan societies is treated in my thesis "Le travail de la distance: identités et altérités tribales dans la Société jivaro, 1550-1950", to be submitted in June 1983 (EHESS, Paris).

utilizes linguistic features to accentuate, minimize and manipulate shifting social frontiers.

The texts that are presented here are **ánent**. This term shares its root with the word **enéntai** (Shuar-henceforth abbreviated as Sh) **-iníntai** (Achuar-henceforth abbreviated as A), "heart", held to be the organ of thought and feeling⁶. It denotes a category of magical songs, that is, invocations that are thought to have a direct effect on the course of events.

ánent may be addressed, in a great variety of circumstances, to supernatural entities, human beings, or animals. There are **ánent** for every phase and operation in a hunting expedition, for warfare, to improve the flair and endurance of dogs, for the growth of every kind of cultivated plant⁷, for the making of curare (**tsēas**, Sh, A), to ensure conjugal harmony, to promote good feeling between brothers-in-law, to seek **arútam** (Sh, A) visions⁸, and so on. **ánent** are thus an essential aspect of the capacities of symbolic control exercised by men and women in their respective fields⁹; as such, most adult Achuar know

⁶ **anéntaim-sa** (Sh), **enéntaim-sa** (A) : "to think" ; e.g. **anéntaimjai** "I think". **anéntáim-pra** (Sh), **enéntáim-pra** (A) s "to remember" ; e.g. **enéntáimprata** ! "remember!" **ané-e** (Sh, A) : "to love, to cherish, to yearn for" ; e.g. **anéajai**, "I love, I yearn for".

⁷ In a recent article on music among the Macuma Shuar, B: Belzner distinguishes between "love songs", glossed as meet, and gardening songs: Both are included, he claims, under the general heading **nampésma**, which covers "all vocal singing, except shaman's curing chants, certain sacred feast chants, and various forms of ceremonial speech or chant" (BELZNER, 1982: 735).

In the first place, the sharp distinction Belzner draws between "love songs" and "gardening songs" seems to me erroneous; both love and gardening songs are unquestionably **ánent**: Furthermore, Achuar informants, as well as people familiar with traditional Shuar culture, find the inclusion of **ánent** in the **nampésma** category highly incongruous. In fact, there is no general category which would cover the whole range of vocal expression adduced by Belzner, no more than there is a category for music in general. This usage of the term **nampésma** among the Macuma Shuar may be the result of "semantic contamination" from the spanish word *canto* with which it is equated by the local Protestant fundamentalist missionaries.

⁸ **arútam** (Sh, A) is the tangible manifestation of one of the several souls that men (and, to a lesser extent, women) possess at any given moment. Unlike the "true" **wakán** souls (see notes to **ánent** VII), **arútam** is acquired, in the course of solitary quests in the rainforest. Boys are initiated into this vital ritual activity at the age of seven or eight, and for the rest of their lives they will periodically seek to incorporate these wandering souls. Men lose their **arútam** souls each time they kill an enemy, and must immediately experience a new **arútam** vision, before human or supernatural aggressors take advantage of their temporary weakness, **arútam** grants both moral and physical strength, fierceness, fecundity and longevity. To put it briefly, the more one kills, the stronger the **arútam** acquired, and the fiercer and more invulnerable one becomes. The virtues conferred by **arútam** extend to spouses, whose own capacities as gardeners, procreators and waves is dependant on their husband's **arútam**. **arútam** thus constitute a finite and permanent stock of souls which, generation after generation, are temporarily incorporated by living individuals, only to return, after brief incarnations, to their ghostly existence. **arútam** may appear in the shape of an incandescent and rolling head, of a flock of birds perched on a leafless tree, of two intertwined anacondas, of a man spouting blood from multiple wounds, or a gigantic jaguar, to describe but a few of the more common **arútam** visions (see HARNER 1972: 134-143 for fuller details).

⁹ See TAYLOR 1979 and DESCOLA 1982 for fuller details on the sexual adscription of symbolic tasks and capacities.

dozens, not to say hundreds, of these magical songs. **ánent** are transmitted through consanguineal and/or affinal links, along strict sexual lines¹⁰; they may also be acquired through dream visions. **ánent** are usually sung alone, or in the presence of very close kin, often *sotto voce*, in the privacy of the chacra or in the forest. Sometimes the singer may fast for a short period in order to increase the effect of his invocation. **ánent** may also be played on an instrument, rather than sung, on the flute (**peem**, **pinkuí**, Sh, A), the two-string violin (**kítiár**, Sh, **aráwir**, A), or the Jew's harp (**tumánk**, Sh, **tsayándar**, A). This does not alter their character as **ánent**, the implicit sung-word content remaining all important. Rhythm, melodic line and voice quality appear to be considered secondary, and no esthetic value is attached to them as such, independantly of word content. Technically, Shuar and Achuar music:

"is characterized by a tritonic "scalar" structure, utilizing most frequently what we would call the third and fifth above, a "tonic". The range is quite variable, though rarely less than a-fifth nor more than a fifth above the octave. The general melodic contour is descending, as is common with most native American music. The "tonic" often occurs as an extended ostinato or drone figure. There is often a marked underlying pulse, though the rhythm is quite variable. A dual metrical pattern seems ubiquitous in all Shuar music. Songs are formed by variation of small motives of limited tonal material, generally following the incomplete repetition form so common in North American indigenous music". (BELZNER, 1982: 733)

The intensely private and magical character of **ánent** distinguishes them from other indigenously recognized forms of "song" **nampét**, drinking songs, quite "profane", more or less explicitly sexual, often ironical, which are sung by men and women during dancing feasts¹¹, and **ujáj**¹², ritual war chants, sung in chorus by women exclusively while the men are away on a war expedition, and destined to ward off supernatural aggressors. Whereas **nampét** are often improvised, and present a high degree of individual variation and invention, **ujáj** are rigidly standardized both in terms of music and text. As for shamanic healing songs, they are never associated with either **nampét**, **ánent** or **ujáj**, and there is no specific native term to designate them¹³.

¹⁰ Most commonly, from mother-in-law or mother to daughter-in-law or daughter; from father-in-law/father to son-in-law/son; and from elder brother-in-law to younger brother-in-law.

¹¹ **nampé-k** (Sh, A): "to sing, to get drunk, to be "high" on hallucinatory drugs"; also used for shamanic trances. **nampér**: "A feast or celebration". **nampét** are characteristically marked by the terminal leit-motiv **ja jai ja ja jai**.

¹² From **ujá-k**: "to warn, to give notice".

¹³ The shaman himself or some other person, speaking of him, may say **nampéajai**, **nampéawai**, "I am singing/drunk", "he is singing/drunk", but his chanting is never referred to as **nampét**.

Though song is a distinctive and symbolically highly important feature of **ánent**, **nampét** and **ujáj**, as well as of shamanic invocations, it is not treated as an overriding element of classification; song, songs or "sung things" do not constitute, in my opinion, an indigenous category; Rather, song functions: as a meta-linguistic device used to differentiate otherwise similar types of linguistic expression. In other words, it serves to signal the "otherness" of the language one is speaking, in relation to "normal" language, given the phonetical, lexical and grammatical similarity between the two forms of speech.

This usage is of course not peculiar to the Jivaro; indeed, the recourse to song in order to indicate the otherworldly nature of a being (and of communication with him) is evidently very widespread¹⁴. What is perhaps more unusual is the consistent any systematic manner in which the Jivaro use song as a generalized equivalent for exotic language, that is to say, languages spoken by all other human and non human (animal or supernatural) societies.

The relationship between song and alterity is especially clear in shamanic chants: shamans "become drunk" (**namperíniawai**) in order to sing, and they sing because song as such is the language (in the sense of the ethnic or tribal language) spoken by their spirit helpers (**pasúk**, Sh, A) and the magic darts (**tséntsak**, Sh, A) they manipulate. The **tséntak**'s song-language is also explicitly referred to as a foreign language, most often the "language of the Napo Quichua" or the "language of the Cocama": it should be noted that the shamans from neighbouring Quichuaphone societies (such as the Napo and Canelas Quichua) are held to be exceptionally powerful. Quichua itself is considered the epitome of foreigners in terms of human speech, or, more accurately perhaps, a sort of precipitate of all possible foreign human languages; an apt conceit, in view of the historical role of Quichua and Quichuaphone societies in the Upper Amazon since the XVIIth century. Quichua thus plays a role strictly homologous to that of song, though restricted to human language, whereas song functions as an equivalent for all kinds of speech, human and non human; "song" is therefore more inclusive¹⁵.

¹⁴ An example that springs to mind, within our own culture, is the song-speech attributed to the spirit creatures exclusively in *The Magic Flute*; contrary to the other protagonists of the opera, the Tree Ladies only sing and never talk.

¹⁵ This analysis does not claim to exhaust the possible meaning and function of song in Jivaroan culture. I simply wish here to underline one of its aspects, albeit an important and usually neglected one.

The **ánent** presented here were recorded by Philippe Descola and myself in the course of our field work among the northern Achuar (Pastaza province, Ecuador), from August 1976 to August 1978. In 1978/1979, we worked in Quito with Ernesto Chau, an exceptionally able Shuar collaborator, to transcribe these recordings and roughly translate them into Spanish. E. Chau's assistance was essential, for **ánent** are difficult to transcribe as well as to translate.

Difficulties of transcription are due to word distortion owing to very high or low pitch, euphoric deformation, and ambiguity. The most common types of deliberate distortion are syllabic repetition (for example, **kakákanta** for **kakánta**, **apáwachirwa** for **apáchirwa**, **páantakeke** for **páantake**), contraction (for example, **yamásuya** for **yamá asúya**), suppression of final **-n** in "gerundive" type verbal forms (for example, **chicháku** for **chichákun**), and final **-a** pronounced [aw], transcribed as **-áu**.

Another type of deformation, characteristic of **ánent**, is linked to a special use of suffixes, which, though principally of rhythmic value, is also significant in terms of connotation.

Examples are the excessive concatenation of suffixes, as in

apa-wá-chi-ru-na-k-a¹⁶

//father-voc.-dim.-1 poss.-deic.-top.-voc.//

//oh my own little father //

or the addition of the suffixes **kutu**, **kutut**, **kut**, **ku** on the final syllable of certain "gerundive" type verbal forms, as in

nunkuí nua asánku asánkutu asánkuta

//nunkuí | núa | a-s-ánk-ku | asánk-kutu | asánk-(k)uta//

//nunkui|woman|root morpheme of the verbs "to be -perf.-temporal gerundive 1ps.-special suffix in **-ku** form|*ibidem*, with special suffix in **-(k)utu** form|*ibidem*, with special suffix in **-(k)utu** form, the final **-u** replaced by a euphonic **-a**//

¹⁶ Accentuation is often difficult to perceive in **ánent**, because it may be considerably modified by the underlying rhythmic pulse. For example, in the word **péperea** (**ánent** VI, lines 13 and 30) the main accent normally falls on the first **-e-**, with a slight accentuation of the final **-a**: However, in line 30, the first accent disappears, whereas the final accent is strongly emphasized, because the singer wished to underline the image evoked by the term **péperea**. The accentuation of words such as **apáwachirwa**, **apáchirunaka**, **apawáchirunaka** is therefore quite variable, and may change according to rhythmic or euphonic constraints, although in normal use the accent, in words formed on the **apa** ("father") root, always falls on the second **-a** (i.e. **apáwa**).

The sentence translates as

// "being a **nunkuí** woman..."¹⁷

The suffix **-kut** or **-kutu** connotes the fleeting or "diminutive" quality of an action or a state associated with supernatural beings.

Given the individualism and secrecy inherent in symbolic power manipulation in Jivaroan societies, **ánent** naturally exhibit a high degree of idiosyncratic creativity, and their warding is usually very allusive. This fact point to an interesting paradox. Clearly, traditional **ánent** are constantly being reworked, or new ones invented, since they frequently evoke new features of the Indians fast changing environment, such as airplanes, jukeboxes, ink, books, and so forth. And yet, the magical potency of an **ánent**, according to the Achuar, is directly dependant on the accuracy and "uninventiveness" with which it is repeated, once learnt. Moreover, the Achuar attribute the origin of **ánent** to supernatural beings, who may then transmit their "secret" to individual human beings; in singing **ánent**, therefore, the Achuar are merely repeating texts that are of non-human origin. That is why the transmission and memorisation of magical songs (as of shamanic songs) must be accompanied by various ritual observations, the purpose of which is to recreate, or replicate, the initial act of communication between supernatural and natural creatures.

The secrecy and idiosyncrasy of Jivaroan **ánent** explains why these songs are, at times, extremely hard to understand and translate: in some cases, even Achuar listeners were unable to grasp what the singer of a given **ánent** was referring to. For obvious reasons, most of our informants were also reluctant to render more explicit the meaning of their **ánent**. However, certain metaphors and images are recurrent, and belong to a well known common stock. Although the specific manner in which they are treated in any given **ánent** varies considerably, these figures are based on a stable association between certain things or qualities, and certain types of mood or feeling. For example, the "setting sun" theme (see **ánent** II and III) refers to the yearning, melancholy and sadness associated with the fall of evening; images evoking pets and domesticated animals (marmosets, ducks, chickens...) connote affection,

¹⁷ **nunkuí** are a class of supernatural beings responsible fogy the growth of cultivated plants: Most gardening **ánent** are addressed to **nunkuí**.

dependency, and helplessness; toucans suggest male beauty, seduction, faithlessness, whereas parrots symbolize conjugal harmony and fidelity¹⁸.

Both Ernesto Chau and I attempted as far as possible to preserve the specifically Achuar character of these texts, in terms of pronunciation and of course content. However, our usage of the standard spelling promoted by the *Federación de Centros Shuar*¹⁹ (which is based on Spanish and on the Shuar dialects), as well as a possible unconscious bias on E. Chau's part, may be responsible for some "shuarization" of these texts.

To lend thematic unity to this selection, I have included only **ánent** alluding to connubial love. It should be kept in mind, though, that this is a purely artificial category and does not reflect native classification. Another reason for restricting my choice of **ánent** to love songs, is that the feelings and situations evoked in them are easier to understand - for a public unfamiliar with Jivaroan culture - than those that are dealt with in other kinds of song.

¹⁸ This type of assimilation is of course an expression of the "loqique du concret" described by Lévi-Strauss, wherein traits of behaviour or features of the natural world are used to express and deal with abstract ideas. In fact, the imagery used in **ánent** can be fully understood (in native terms) only if one is thoroughly familiar with Jivaroan ethnozoology, ethnobotany, ethnoentomology, and so forth.

¹⁹ The *Federación de Centros Shuar del Ecuador (F.C.S.)* is an indigenous organization initially launched by the Salesian missionaries in 1968, though now independent from the Catholic mission. It includes the majority of Jivaroan speaking people in Ecuador, and has become a politically powerful institution at the national level.

Throughout this article I have followed the system of transcription adopted by the *Federación de Centros Shuar (F.C.S.)*. The system is as follows:

I. Consonants:

Graphic Symbol	Approximate Phonetic Value
p	p, g
t	t, d
k	k, g
sh	š
ch	č
j	x
m	m
n	n
w	w
y	y
r	r
s	s

II. Vowels:

i	i palatalizes the following consonants k, t, n
e	Transcribes an as yet inadequately described central vowel
a	a
u	u

Combinations of two vowels produce diphthongs. The F.C.S does not always transcribe them satisfactorily:

ai	[ey] (in the northern Achuar dialect)
au	[aw]

The role of superscript vowels has not yet been fully analyzed. It is difficult to determine whether they possess an original syllabic value or whether they represent palatalization or labialization of the preceding consonant.

This article owes a great deal to the invaluable linguistic and editorial assistance of Marie-France Patte and Gerald Taylor; however, the English translations are my sole responsibility, as well as any linguistic errors that may have escaped their eagle -though non Jivaroan- eye. I have also used P.S. Pellizzaro's Shuar grammar and P. Luis Bolla's Shuar-Spanish dictionary with great profit.

List of abbreviations used:

- voc.* : vocative
dim. : diminutive
top. : topicalizer
ips. : "ipse", i.e., identifier ; generally translated in Spanish as "este mismo"
dei. : deictic
1 poss. : first person possessive
1 ps. : first person singular
perf. : "perfective"

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ANENT I*

1. **wawákuji asána** [4]¹
I'm a little marmoset
2. **tsankúrchinia atéasu** [3]²
slipping forgiveness between us
3. **wáitiau anénmaichi** [3]³
poor little thing
4. **kunchí kunchí⁴ winiájai** [4]
squeaking "kunchi kunchi..." I come to you
5. **suíra jírsaipia** [3]
don't look at me resentfully

*Sing by *Miríjar*, a woman of the Lower Kapavi river, to disarm her husband's anger after a quarrel (see Introduction for remarks on the connotations of pets in **ánent**).

¹ A number in square brackets [] at the end of a line indicates the number of times that this segment of the **ánent** as repeated by the singer; in this segment, for example, each line was repeated three or four times: The numbers included in simple brackets, above a word, refer to a note.

² **atéasu**: from **atéa-**, "to introduce between, interpose, slip in" e. g., a piece of paper between the pages of a book.

³ **wáitiau anénmaichi**: substantive formed on **wáit anéntra**, "to take pity on". Other words sharing the same root are **wáit-sa**, "to suffer" (e.g., **wáitiajai**, "I suffer"); **wáit-kiá**, "to cause someone to suffer" (e.g., **wáitkrurayi**, "he made me suffer"). Denotes moral rather than physical suffering, which is expressed by the term **najáma**-e.g. **najámawai**, "it hurts". Feelings of tenderness and pity are closely and explicitly linked in Shuar and Achuar.

⁴ **kunchí kunchí**: an onomatopoeia specific to marmosets. Onomatopoeia are very common in Jivaroan languages, particularly those that are associated with animals. Each animal, and its typical behaviour, has a distinct "sound", which is translated by a fixed onomatopoeia. Although they usually sound totally arbitrary to a non-Jivaroan ear, these onomatopoeia are so standardized and well-known that they are often used metonymically -and quite unambiguously- to denote the animal or the movement they are associated with.

ANENT II*

1. **apáwachirwa**¹ [6] **ámeka** [6],
my little father
2. **penké tíusa jeáwai**
"true evening is nigh"
3. **áya tátsumeash áya tátsumeash**
you are surely wondering
4. **penké tíusa jeártamsui**
but it is not the evening
5. **penké tíusa jeátsui** [3]
it is not true sunset
6. **wíkia tíkiu jeákua**²
it is I coming to you
7. **jíirua jíirua akárkiu** [3]
under your steady gaze make me set like the sun
8. **apawáchiruani penké tíusa jeátsui** [2]
my dearest husband it is not true sunset

* *Sung by Najuir, a woman from Sásaim (Pastaza). An **ánent** addressed to an absent husband, to make him think of her and long to be at her side. It is sung as the evening settles.*

*This is a "classic" theme in Jivaroan culture, and there are innumerable versions of this **ánent**. Sunset is associated with yearning, melancholy, sadness, regret, and unrequited love. In fact, acute evening melancholia is a recognized affliction, which may be sawed by shamanic aggression; the victim of this form of illness wanders blindly in the forest at sunset, in the grip of suicidal pulsions.*

¹ **apáwachirwa**: from **apá** "father". An invariable feature of **ánent** sung by women is the systematic "consanguinization" of spouses, who are always addressed as **apá** "father" (i.e. male consanguineal kin, gen. + 1: F, FB, FFBS...), or, more rarely, as **umá-ru** "my brother" (i.e. male consanguineal kin, gen. O: B, FBS, FFBS... woman speaking; also female consanguineal kin of the same category for a man speaking. "Sisters" for women are **kai**, "brothers" for men are **yats-**. Men do not reciprocate this form of address in their **ánent**, and instead use the term **nuá-ru** ("my wife") for their spouse or lover. These terminological usages reflect an essential aspect of the Jivaroan kinship system. Social structure in theme groups is built around relatively closed sets of overlapping cognatic kin-groups of agnatic inflexion, linked by a Dravidian-type marriage pattern: Like all locally endogamous Dravidian-type groups, the Achuar must engage in very complex manipulations of the axes of consanguinity and affinity in order to conciliate contradictory attitudes and obligations. Among the Achuar, the sociological problems inherent to this type of kinship system receive a highly original, though necessarily only partial solution: affinity is shifted entirely into the sphere of masculine kin ties, whereas consanguinity is concentrated in the feminine sphere. That is to say, women act as operators, or transformers, whereby affinity is constantly absorbed and changed into postulated consanguinity (see Taylor 1982 for fuller details on the Jivaroan kinship system).

² **wíkia... jeákua** = "myself coming": i.e. "the emotion you feel is not caused by the sunset, but rather by my **ánent** thoughts which are reaching you and causing you to think of me".

ANENT III*

1. **áme áme timiáitiusa weárume¹**
toucans soaring like the onset of evening
2. **amékani**
and you my wife
3. **penké tiusá jeáwai**
"the sun must be setting"
4. **áya tátsupa áya tátsupeash**
you are perhaps thinking
5. **wi wi wi jeákun**
but it is I
6. **wínia múukur² jeákun**
my head comes flashing at you
7. **tséntsankara³ jeájai [3]**
radiantly I come
8. **yankúm⁴ kara jeájai**
glowing yellow I come to you
9. **kír^{ua} kí^{rua} akár^{ki}tia**
singing "kír^{ua}..." make me set like the sun

* *Sung by Taish, a young man from the Pastaza (Chiriboga) area. A variant of the same "sunset" **ánent**. Its general meaning is this: "seeing toucans flying in the evening light, you feel a sense of sadness and longing invading you; in fact it is not the fall of evening that is causing you this feeling, and the toucans you see are may **ánent**-thoughts coming to you".*

¹ Literally, the sentence reads : "you you (singular) like more than the evening you (plural) are going", Though toucans as such are not mentioned as the subject of the plural "you are going", the interpretation is justified on the following grounds. First, toucans flying around clearings in the evening are almost a "cliché" in Jivaroan term, and the image is often found in **ánent** in **nampét**, used as an element to express the mood of the song (see notes to **ánent II** on the connotations of evening). Second, the **kír^{ua}** onomatopoeia expresses the characteristic whistling of the toucan (of all birds of the Ramphastos species - line 8). The meaning of the first line is in fact obvious to a Jivaroan speaker, as it was to Ernesto Chau.

² The image of a radiant or glowing head rolling towards one is a standard **arútam** vision. The relation between **arútam** visions and the identical imagery as used in **ánent** is not clear to me. Beyond its connotations of strength, virility and fecundity (its attributes as an **arútam** vision), I am unable to explain the full meaning of this image.

³ From the root **tsénts-**, meaning "to shimmer" ; it denotes particularly the effect of sheet lightning on clouds.

⁴ From the verbal root **yankú-r**, "to yellow". Images of light intensity, or of variations of light intensity, are frequently used by the Achuar and Shuar. A common image in **nampét**, for example, evokes the white, pulsating glow of a toucan's breast feathers to suggest the seductive attitude of a lover.

10. **jíia jíia awájtítia**
stand gazing at me
11. **nuáru nuáru áme áme**
my beloved wife you are perhaps thinking
12. **penké tíusa jeáwai áya áya tátsupash**
"true evening must be nigh"
13. **wíchik winiákun**
instead it is I coming to you
14. **wínia múukur jeáwai**
my head rolls toward you
15. **jeákun tséntsankara jeájai**
radiantly I come to you
16. **nakíkitiu⁵ jíirsatau**
look at me disdainfully
17. **jíia jíia akárkitiau**
staring at me steadily make me set like the sun

⁵ From the verbal root **naki-t**, negative of "to want" (= latin *nolere*). Real or feigned indifference, extreme shyness and some degree of resistance on a woman's part are considered erotic.

ANENT IV*

1. **apawáchiruka** [2] **apáwachirwa** [2] **apáwachirwa**¹ [3]
my little father
2. **ámin makúchirmin wíkia anénmamjai**²
I yearn for your little thighs
3. **apawáchiruka** [3] **áme makúchirmin wíkia anénmamjai**
my little father I love your little thighs
4. **apawáchiruka** [3] **áme sukíchirmin yaunkútnuku**³ **wíkia áujajai**⁴
my little father I talk to your tanned little testicles
5. **apawáchiruka** [3] **áme makúchirmin áya ukúkmiakun**⁵
my little father leaving your little thighs
6. **wíkia áujajai wáitiu anénmamjai**
I talk to them and cherish them
7. **apáwachirwa** [3] **ámin usúkchirmin wíkia anénmamjai**
my little father I love your little spit
8. **apáwachirwa áme makúchirmin wíkia anénmamjai**
my little father I love your little thighs
9. **áme netsépchirmin wíkia anénmamjai**
I love your little chest
10. **aya ukúknakun áuwa anénmamjai** [2]
leaving it I yearn for it

* *Sung by Masuínk, a woman from the Lower Kapávi river; a tender and cheerfully erotic ánent.*

¹ The shift from **apawáchiruka** //apa-wa-chi-ru-ka// = //father-voc-dim-1 poss-top// to **apawachirwa** (the topicalizer **-k(a)** is suppressed and replaced by the vocative **-a**) is purely stylistic.

² The suffix **-mam** in **anénmamjai** is a reflexive suffix with affective connotation. It indicates an act that is directed toward oneself as a person (as in the Spanish colloquialism "me lo como", for example), as opposed to the suffix **-m** which indicates an act directed toward a part of oneself, and the suffix **-tm-** or **-rm-**, denoting an act in benefit of oneself. In terms of meaning, it is comparable to the Greek "middle voice".

³ **yaunkútnuku**: literally, "going toward yellow". Chau translated it as "medio amarillento".

⁴ From the verb **áuj-sa**, "to converse with" (also, nowadays, "to read"). Related verbs are **áujmat-sa**, "to narrate" (myth or a story); the term **áujmatin** denotes a type of ceremonial speech used on formal visits. **áuj-sa** implies an interlocutor, whereas **chichá-s** means "to say".

⁵ From the verb **ukú-k**, "to leave behind", also "to put" (a bowl on a rack, for example). In this case, it has partly the same meaning as the verb **ekém-sa** (see notes to **ánent** VI), "to sit", "to set something", "to put". As such, it is a comment on the effect of the **ánent** one is singing. But is also has the sense of leaving behind. Roughly, then, the meaning of the sentence would be "I leave behind your thighs, having acted on them through my **ánent**".

In a typical **ánent**, sections directly addressed to the "recipient" of the song alternate with comments on the postulated effect of one's **ánent**, as in this example, as well as in **ánent** VI, VII and X.

ANENT V*

1. **yamásuyáchitja**¹ [3] **apáwaya** [2]
my little father, I'm a newly made face painting
2. **kakákantach jürsaipiau** [2]
don't look at me so fiercely
3. **amarún**² **asúyarinjai**³
I am an anaconda's painting
4. **amarún surítkiarinjai**⁴ [3]
I am an anaconda's treasure
5. **apáwaya** [2] **kajéketa kajéketach jürsaipia**
my little father don't look at me with anger
6. **yamasuyáchitjai** [3] **apáwaya** [2]
little father I am a freshly dawn face painting
7. **asúya takársameka**
if you touch this painting
8. **cháma**⁵ **antúktatame**
people will speak ill of you

* *Sung by Mirijiar, a woman from the lower Kapavi river. The object of this **ánent** is to prevent mistreatment on the part of a husband by reminding him that he will have to reckon with infuriated in-laws if he makes her miserable. This is a very common theme in **ánent**, though often closer to wishful thinking than to reality, since women are largely pawns in male affinal politics, and considerations of "real politic" often supersedes legitimate claims to protection from marital brutality.*

¹ A contraction of **yamá asúyachitjai**: //yamá asúya-chi-(i)t jai// //new face painting-*dim-verbal morpheme* "to be"-*I ps.*// Both men and women paint their faces with various achiote (**ipiák**", Sh, A) mixtures or with genippa (**súa**, Sh, A); men's patterns, however, are much more elaborate and individualized than women's. Face painting is linked to **arútam** soul strength, more generally to capacities of symbolic manipulation; for example, women wear paint to be "recognized" by plants spirits as one of theirs. Whereas women tend to use face painting when they are alone in their chacras rather than on public occasions, men, on the contrary, always adorn their face with their personal motif on social occasions.

² The Quichua word for the anaconda: The proper Jivaroan term is **pankí** (Sh, A). Quichua words are sometimes used in **ánent** -more often in shamanic songs- to emphasize the exotic value or prestige of a person or an object (see Introduction on the connotations of Quichua).

³ A pun based on the double meaning of the term **asúya**, "painting" it refers both to the pattern of an anaconda's skins, and to the individualized motives that express a man's **arútam** soul strength. (Certain types of motif are in fact meant to imitate the anaconda's skin). Insofar as a man's face paintings are both highly valorized and highly personal, they may also be considered his "treasure".

⁴ Literally, "I am that which the anaconda withholds", that is to say -implicitly- an anaconda's daughter; in other term, the daughter of a powerful father who will not give her away willingly, and who will certainly not allow his son-in-law to mistreat her. This line also pursues the pun introduced in line 3.

⁵ **cháma** is either a contraction of **chicháma**, "word", or an exclamation, "**cha ma!**" which could be roughly rendered as "well then!". Both interpretations are possible. In either case, the segment **cháma antúktatame** refers to the phase of rumours known as **pasé chichám**, "ugly words", which often precede armed violence in Jivaroan societies.

ANENT VI*

1. **apáwachiruaná [3] timiá kajértakminkia [3]**
my husband, you anger me so much
2. **nunká ukúru¹ weákuna**
shaking the earth
3. **nunkákini weákuna [2]**
disappearing underground
4. **wínia uchíchirujai íruan íruan² wétatjai**
I'll go together with my little children
5. **nunkán ukúrin wématai**
shaking the earth I'll go
6. **nuárun áinkiatniuna**
"although I knew it would come to this
7. **nuárun tímiatu kajérmiaja**
I used to annoy my wife so much"
8. **áya turútítiatme apawáchiruanu [2]**
that's what you'll be saying to me, my little father
9. **timiá kajértakminkia kajéjeta awájtipiá**
always irking me
10. **wíya kajértakminkia**
don't make me angry

* *Sung by Masúink, the same woman who sang ánent IV. Here again, an ánent to forestall mistreatment. The general sense of the song is this: "don't you dare mistreat me, I belong to a dangerous spirit family who will wreak terrible vengeance on you if you beat me".*

¹ **nunká ukúru¹**: "shaking the earth". The reference to earth shaking indicates that the singer is identifying herself with a **juríjuri**, a class of fearsome cannibal spirits who live underground in hills. **juríjuri** are the masters of monkey, and they are a common shamanic helper spirit. A Shuar and Achuar myth tells of a **juríjuri** woman, married to a Shuar, who devours her imprudent husband one night (**Juríjuri** have a second - invisible- mouth in the back of their heads, with which they devour their victims) and disappears underground with her child.

² **íruan íruan**: "all together ; from the verb **írur** to regroup or gather things belonging to a same class", e.g. birds flocking, or a crowd of human beings, etc. Connotes and reinforces the idea, already introduced in lines 1-3, that the singer and her offspring belong to a different species from her husband, and a potentially dangerous one. In general terms, women very often invoke imaginary consanguineal kinship bonds with dangerous animals or spirits (including, prominently, Whites). This is consistent with a kinship system in which fathers and brothers retain vested "rights" over a married woman (thus owing her protection), and in which the relationship of a young man to his father-in-law is one of submission and dependency.

11. **wínia uchíchirujai íruan íruan weákuna**
together with my little children
12. **nunká ukúurin wématai [2]**
shaking the earth I'll go
13. **apáru anéntimiaka [2]**
my little father, yearning for me
14. **yamá suírchiminkia péperea pepereá³ awájtunkin wínia uchíchirini**
turning his fresh resentments into thoughts of my little children
15. **nuínki enéntaimtia ekétmakjai⁴ [3]**
I've left him with these feelings
16. **nuáru kajérkachminia**
"though my wife wasn't to be annoyed
17. **áya áya kénake nuáru kajérkana áya ukúkimiajau**
I used to anger her so much"
18. **tuyá enéntaimtiu játraku [2]**
with such regrets
19. **yamá suírchiminkia péperea pérerea enéntraintiu**
changing his fresh resentments into sweet thoughts
20. **áaya ekétmakjai apawáchirunaka [3]**
I've left my little father
21. **timiá kajératana**
if he angers me too much
22. **wíkia wíkia wíkiani**
I'll go, I'll go, I'll surely go

³ **péperea péperea** is a semi-onomatopoeic expression, used with an auxiliary verb (**awájtunkin**, in this case), indicating a fast rolling or overturning movement (as of a rolling log). The word **péperet** denotes sudden movement: e.g. **péperet wéawai**, "he zips along". **pepérpatin** "to be unstable, mobile" (said of a faulty canoe, for example).

⁴ From the verbal root **ekém-sa**: "to sit, to remain in one place, to be placed". It is constantly used in **ánent**, as a comment on the postulated effect of the **ánent** one is singing, i.e. "my **ánent** has caused my husband to feel this or that emotion" (see notes to **ánent** V for usual structure of **ánent**). **ekémsa** belongs to a series of verbs which denote various manners of being in a given place. These verbs are often very difficult to translate. Other verbal morphemes of this type are **wajás-** (see **ánent** X for example), "to attend, to be at"; **pujús-** "to beat, to pit". These positional morphemes have modal and aspectual connotations; for instance **pujús-** when used in sentences such as "he lives there" (**áu pujáwai**) or "the canoe lies there" (**kánu áu pujáwai**), expresses duration, continuity, quietness.

23. **nunkákini weákuna**
together with my little children
24. **wínia uchíchirnaka írun írun jukínia**
disappearing underground
25. **winínintiu ekétmakjai**
I've left him wanting to come to me
26. **nuáru kajérkamajtai nuáru ukúkimiajau [2]**
"I angered my wife, I left her annoyed,
27. **nuáru jarúwatajai nuáru júutaranatai**
I'll die for my wife, crying for my wife,
28. **nuáru ukúkimiajai**
I left her angry"
29. **tuyá iníntaintiu játrakua**
with such thoughts
30. **pépereaá pépereaá ekétmakjai**
changing the course of his feelings, I've left him
31. **wínia uchíchirini nuínkia iníntaintiu játraku**
thinking of my little children
32. **wínia uchíchiruka áya jarútatajai**
"my child is surely ill ?"
33. **tuyá iníntaintiu játraku**
with such thoughts
34. **wáurea wáurea⁵ winítrawai**
madly madly he comes to me

⁵ From the 'verb **wáur-ka**, "to craze". The term **wáumak** is also used to denote rapidity "**wáumak tatái**" "come quickly!". Among the northern Achuar, the same term denotes madness, mild hilarity, "goofiness". The kind of madness referred to by the words derived from **wáur-** is a socially acceptable a form of "abnormality", such as amorous passion, or, in other contexts, rough horseplay or joking (said of a monkey's foolery, for example). It is opposed to other -socially unacceptable and highly dangerous- recognized forms of abnormality, which are covered by the term **nétse** "dangerously mad". For example, an excessively violent wife-beater, or a pathological killer who does not channel his aggression against acceptable enemies (a "murderer" as opposed to a "warrior"). The term is also used to describe deformed or abnormal infants.

ANENT VII*

1. **apáwachiru [6] apáwaru iníntaini**
(go flock to) my little father's heart
2. **awán awán¹ awá kuntraintia**
make him to return to me crying pitifully
3. **awán awán tsawáitiau etsántraintia²**
go flock to him and make him awaken crying pitifully
4. **apáwaru [4] apáwaru iníntaini etsántraiya**
go flock to my little father's thoughts
5. **chúwa³ urúkana áya jú winítrawau**
(and make him cry) "why does this feeling come to me ?"
6. **apáwachirwa [3] iníntaichiri awán awán etsántraiyau**
go fly to his thoughts, and make him awaken in tears,
7. **chúwa urúkana urúkana juní tsawántamajau**
(saying) "why do I awaken thus ?"
8. **chúwa kajétninkiani**
oh, she's angry at me,
9. **chúwa weátanu**
she is going to leave me !"
10. **tú iníntaintiu tsawántaritiau**
make him awaken with this thought
11. **apáwarunaku tú iníntaintiu áya ekétmakji**
my little father, I left him with that thought
12. **áya apáwaru awán awán etsántraitiau**
crying, crying, go flock to him
13. **wínia wakánchiruka⁴ apáru iníntaimi**
my little ghosts, go flock to my father's heart
14. **awán awán etsántraitiau [2]**
and make him cry pitifully for me

* *Sung by Yaun, a woman from the Conambo river. An **ánent** to conjure mistreatment, and to cause an absent husband to return in haste, fearing for the health of his children.*

¹ **awán¹**- : "to make someone cry"; e.g. **awáneajai**, "I make him cry".

² **etsán-** denotes the upward flight of a flock of birds: The word seems to be linked to **etsántra**, "the rising of the sun".

³ **chúwa!** : an exclamation of surprise and wonder.

⁴ **wakán**: individuals possess a number of souls, either given at birth (or before) or acquired (such as the **arútam** soul). The **nekás wakán** ("true soul") is the imago, double, or "personal" soul. The main bodily organs each have their own **wakán**, which take the form (at death, in illness or in dream visions) of various animals. For example, the lungs are said to transform themselves into a butterfly of the Morpho species, the heart becomes a **pésapes** bird (unidentified), and so forth. The prohibition bearing on deer and tapir meat is linked to the nature of these creatures as **wakán**, or ghosts.

ANENT VIII*

1. **kajé kajéta wáitiam kajé kajéta wáitiaminiu**
your anger and resentment
2. **wíkia nuínkiu nuínkia níniu**
have reduced me to this state
3. **yurúma surímiamsana¹ áya ekémsanaku**
deprived of food sitting forlornly
4. **yúse² séa ekétana**
praying to God
5. **púushma púushma péemsana**
drying my ruffled feathers
6. **káakuitiu ekétajai [2]**
I huddle
7. **kajé kajéta wáitkiaminiu**
because of your anger and resentment
8. **kajé kajéra wáitiaminiu yurúmka surí**
because of your anger and resentment refusing to feed me
9. **natsánamau áya ekémsanaku**
sitting forlorn and ashamed
10. **yúse séa ekémsana [2]**
praying to God
11. **númi wántsantinchiniamau³**
in a leafless tree
12. **púushma púushma ayámsanaku káakui tu ekétajai**
drying my ruffled feathers I huddle forlornly

* *Sung by Pouánchir, a man from the Ishpink river. An **ánent** to placate an irate wife.*

¹ The offering of food and manioc beer is the basic obligation of a wife; indeed it may almost be taken as the definition of the marital state (for a woman). As such, the refusal to feed one's husband (or any other person) is a serious sign of anger. Offering and accepting food is such a vital aspect of the conjugal relation that men will indicate their wish to be rid of an undesired spouse simply by refusing or ignoring any food or drink she may offer.

² **yúse** is a deformation of the Spanish Dios.

³ The leafless tree is a recurrent and important symbol in Jivaroan culture. The term **wántsa** is used to describe a manioc plant that no longer bears tubers, or a dog no longer able to follow the scent, as well as a dead tree. An image of desolation and sterility, it is also, paradoxically, one of the forms under which **arútam** souls manifest themselves.

ANENT IX*

1. **apáruru [] tséema tankú¹ asánau**
my husband, I'm a pet squirrel monkey
2. **apáruru makúchirin mái tsekén tsekén winiájai**
I come running to my husband's legs
3. **kajéku wájátaja támasha**
"I stand in anger" though he may say
4. **ni suíra jíischamin**
it can't be looked at with resentment
5. **apáru makúchirin mái nujám winítmajai**
clasping his legs I come to him
6. **apáruru tséema tankú asánaku**
my little father, I'm a pet squirrel monkey
7. **wishímiaitiasu múukuchin ápa ápa wájásuchiau**
smile-painted little face, I carry laughter in my mouth
8. **nuí tsekén tsekén winítmajai**
I come running and hopping
9. **apáruru makúchirin mái tsekén tsekén winítmajai**
I come running to my little husband's thighs
10. **suíra jíischamin**
nobody can be angry at me
11. **apáruru tséema tankú asán**
my little husband, I'm a pet squirrel monkey
12. **tsánkura² ipiásu³ winiákun**
I come bearing an invitation to forgiveness
13. **mái tsekén tsekén winítmajai apáruru apáruru**
I come running my dearest husband.

* *Sung by Mayánch, a woman from Sásaim. An **ánent** to disarm a husband's ill-temper and make him playful and tender.*

¹ **tankú**: "domesticated". Used for pets as well as for animals of Western origin (e.g. **tankú pamá**, "pet tapir" = cow).

² **tsánkura**: from **tsánku-**, "to forgive". Same root as **tsánka**, "generous": **tsankát-ka**, "to allow, to be magnanimous" (the opposite of niggardly, spiteful, envious or resentful).

³ **ipiásu**: the substantive formed on the verbal root **ipiá-**, "to invite to a social gathering". Same root as **ipiák** "achiote" (Bixa Orellana). Men are expected to wear flace-painting on such occasions.

ANENT X*

1. **apawáchiru [2] apawáchiru [2]**
my little father
2. **apáru [2] apawáchiru [2]**
my dearest husband
3. **wínia jíntainkiu wajátarakua¹**
standing in my path waiting for me
4. **apawáchiru [3]**
my dearest husband
5. **wínia jíntainkiu wajátarakua**
waiting for me on my path
6. **nuámianaka [2] tsanínkianake² wajáchmeapi**
I stood by his side
7. **núanu tsanínkiaja [2]**
I stood embracing him
8. **páantakeke³**
-I saw it clearly-
9. **nuáru atsárajai [3]**
"I've lost my wife !"
10. **nú jintíntiau áya wajákua [3]**
saying he stands
11. **apáwaru wajárukuta wajátamaja**
my husband stands
12. **wajátamame winiákutu**
you stand yearning for me
13. **mashíniake ukúrmakjai [2] wínia apáchirna [2]**
but I've disappeared, I've left my little father

* Sung by Chayuk, a woman from Sasaim (Pastaza). A moving *ánent* sung to an absent husband, to hasten his return and infuse him with love and yearning for his wife.

¹ The suffix **-kua-** in **wajátarakua** denotes continuity and duration, with a connotation of agitation or urgency, as opposed to the suffix **-sua-** which has the same meaning of duration and continuity, but connotes quietness and calmness. The meaning of **wajátarakua** is thus "standing and standing impatiently or worriedly", whereas **wajátarasua** would mean "standing and standing quietly".

² **tsanínkianake** is derived from the root **tsaní** which denotes union or contiguity. Other words formed on the same root are **tsanínk** the stem and branches of a bush (for example a manioc stem); **tsanínkia** (perfective verbal root) "to join, to go together"; **tsanír** (perfective verbal root) "to take a lover".

³ From **páant**, "clear, transparent". Particularly used to define dream or drug-induced visions.

14. **wínia apáru ukúrumakjai**
I've left my husband
15. **mashítak⁴ ukúrumakjai**
vanishing like smoke I've left him
16. **cha⁵ jeájaiya**
"cha ! I'm coming !"
17. **nuárukatchata júutirinia mashít wáinturi [2]**
"my own wife" -crying- "gone for ever"
18. **tá wajakun**
standing thus
19. **cha wajakati [2]**
"cha !" -rising suddenly-
20. **cha warúkawáintiajak**
"cha !" what is happening to me ?"
21. **wáurakuta wajakume**
crazed and lost you stand
22. **wínia apáwa wínia apáchiru**
my father my little father
23. **wajakusmeke winítiasam wajakmeke**
standing longing to be at my side
24. **nuárukatchata [2]**
"my dearest wife"
25. **wári wárinia chumpísana pujúrstuapi⁶**
-putting my little things away in a woven basket-
26. **nuáru jakámtaisha [2] itiúrtumkainja**
"my wife dead, what is to become of me"
27. **wíki chumpísan**
here I am, alone, putting things away

⁴ From **mashít**; said of something that dissolves or vanishes, e.g. smoke, or pigments spilt in water. Both **mashít** and **mashíniake** (line 12) may derive from the root **mash** (or **ash** in Shuar), which means "all, everything".

⁵ **chá !**: an exclamation of impatience, surprise, agitation.

⁶ Literally translated, this sentence would read: //wári warínia chumpísana pujúrstuapi// = //what | whatever | putting in a container | is he not perhaps being// The image is meant to evoke the sadness of a man dreaming of the past, while absent-mindedly fingering his dead wife's trinkets. The connotations of the expression **wári warínia** would perhaps best be rendered by the colloquialism "whatnots".

28. **chá áinkiatnua nuáru kajéru [2] pujúrnuiapaja[3]**
cha ! although this has happened I used to be angry at my wife
29. **nuáru akíkrinsha⁷ wíki chumpísan iniámkatajai**
putting away my wife's little treasures I'll rest
30. **nuáru ajámtaiya arútkamtaikia⁸**
my wife's garden will become overgrown
31. **wía áishmankna yajá nunkánam wekásana**
myself, being a man, will wander in distant lands
32. **áya jakátajai**
and I will die
33. **wíya tíntiajai [2]**
I'll say
34. **chá nuártunkesha áya jákimiau**
-cha ! my wife has died
35. **nuáru páantake nuáru áitkiarmaj [2]**
my wife in truth has died because of me
36. **nuáru ajánma timiá nuínkia nuánuna**
in my wife's garden, the garden that used to be hers
37. **tsanínk ajánma wajaschatniuna**
in the manioc garden where she will no longer be
38. **nuásuruna áitkiarmajau**
I have done this to her-
39. **tú jíntintiu wajatakimiayi**
saying this he stood
40. **wajárukuta cha wájárukuta [2]**
stand thinking of me cha! stand thinking only of me
41. **chá wjátritiau áentsruchi⁹**
cha ! my little person stand for me
42. **apáwachi winí winítmintia áya játritiau [2]**
my dearest husband, stand longing for me

⁷ **akík-ri-** = //debts, values-3 poss.//

⁸ From **arút**, meaning "old, used", or "overgrown" when applied to a garden. The word **arútam**, which Harner (*op. cit. passim.*) renders as "ancient spectre soul", derives from the same root.

⁹ **áents**: a generic term for animated beings, but limited to the cosmogony of the group; Whites, for instance, are not classified as **áents**.