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Hidden from women's ears

Gender-based taboos in the Vaupés area

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Across the multilingual area of the Vaupés River Basin in north-west Amazonia, women are considered a dangerous 'other'. In accordance with the local marriage practices, men marry women from language groups different to their own. Women are denied access to important rituals, such as the Yurupary rite, and are not supposed to hear any words associated with this tradition. The paper addresses a special linguistic practice of a women-directed taboo, so far documented just for the Tariana (the only Arawak-speaking groups in the Vaupés River Basin area). All the paraphernalia associated with the Yurupary ritual and a number of place names which contain the name of the Yurupary flute are a taboo to women, and so their original names cannot be pronounced in the presence of women. If a woman is present, a tabooed form has to be used instead. The tradition is on the way out, since the Tariana language and culture are severely endangered. The 'taboo against women' in Tariana is compared with other systems of gender-based taboos across the world. How did the erstwhile secret knowledge become public? And how can one get access to 'forbidden' knowledge in the Amazonian context? These issues are addressed at the end of the paper.

Keywords: multilingualism, the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area, gender, taboo, Yurupary ritual, Tariana, Arawak

1. Hidden from women's ears

Tariana is an endangered North Arawak language spoken by about 70 people in two villages (Santa Rosa and Periquitos) and in the mission centre Iauaretê within the linguistic area of the Vaupés River Basin in the state of Amazonas in northern Brazil. Getting to Iauaretê (and from there to Santa Rosa and to Periquitos) is no mean feat. A trip from São Gabriel da Cachoeira, the capital of the Federal Territory of the Upper Rio Negro, used to take from three to four days, depending on how high the Vaupés river would be.

During one of these trips my Tariana consultants and I decided to document the Tariana names for places and landmarks which we passed on the way.

Less than half way to Iauaretê, just before a Piratapuya settlement known as Uriri, my oldest consultant, the late Cândido Brito, pointed to a little hill on the other side, and called its name as *Piri-na* (Yurupary.flute-CL:VERTICAL) ‘hill of the Yurupary flute’. And then he added: ‘Its other name is ‘Hill of a Mucura rat, hiding from women.’¹ When I looked at him askance, he explained that women were not supposed to hear the word *piri* ‘Yurupary flute’ or any word that contains this form, and so a special secret form was used when women were around.

Such forms are referred to, in Tariana, as *ina: na-pia-nipe* (woman:PL 3PL-hide-NOM) ‘what is kept as a secret (lit. hiding) from women’ or *ina: na-maña-nipe* (woman:PL 3PL-deceive-NOM) ‘deceiving women’. Throughout my travels on the Vaupés River and its surrounds, I collected 836 place names, of which just fifteen have a ‘hidden from women’ form. The existence of these forms was a surprise to me: no such special linguistic devices have ever been described for any other group in the Vaupés River Basin area (or, as far as I am aware, anywhere else). They are the topic of this paper.

We start with a snap-shot of the Vaupés River Basin as a linguistic and a cultural area, and a few relevant facts about the Tariana language (§ 2). We then turn to a brief discussion of male cults and especially the Yurupary cult and its paraphernalia (§ 3) and the position of women in Vaupés society (§ 4), before taking a closer look at what is known of the Tariana ‘hidden from women’ register (§ 5). What is so special about it? And how can secret knowledge move into public domain, especially in the Amazonian context? These are the topics of § 6.

2. The setting

2.1 The Tariana within the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area

The multilingual Vaupés River Basin in north-west Amazonia spans adjacent areas of Brazil and Colombia. It is a well-established linguistic and cultural area whose major social feature is an obligatory societal multilingualism which follows the principle of linguistic exogamy: ‘those who speak the same language as us are our brothers, and we do not marry our sisters’. Language affiliation is inherited from one’s father, and is a badge of identity for each person. The linguistic exogamy operates between speakers of Tariana, the only Arawak language of the area, and

1. In Tariana: *pa-ita di-pitana Inari-na-nuka*, *ina: na-pia-ka* (other-CL:ANIM 3SGNF-name marsupial.rat-CL:VERTICAL-PRES.VIS woman:PL 3PL-hide-SEQ)

speakers of languages belonging to the East Tucanoan subgroup (including Tucano, Piratapuya, Wanano and Desano).² The exogamy itself is rooted in the distinction between consanguinity (identified with speaking the same language) and affinity (relating to speaking a different language). These two dimensions, and their interrelationships, define the Vaupés society.

Defining features of the area are summarized in Box 1 (Aikhenvald 2012: 82).

Box 1. 'We don't marry our sisters': Marriage network and areal diffusion in the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area

Languages spoken: East Tucanoan and Tariana (Arawak)

Principles of social organization: members of the exogamous network marry someone who speaks a different language. So, a Tariana cannot marry a Tariana, but can marry a Tucano, a Wanano, a Piratapuya etc. A Tucano cannot marry a Tucano, but can marry a Tariana, a Wanano, a Piratapuya etc. Shared kinship system is of Iroquoian type (cross-cousin marriage).

Subsistence and settlement: banks of the Vaupés River; slash-and-burn agriculture; fishing, some hunting, and limited gathering.

Multilingualism: one's father's language is a badge of one's identity and determines who one marries. One also speaks (and speaks well!) the language of one's mother and of one's mates in the longhouse whose mothers speak other languages in the area.

Language etiquette:

- a. Keep your languages strictly apart: inserting forms from another language into one's own is seen as a mark of incompetence.
- b. Speak your father's language to your father and your siblings. If you want to be polite to other people, speak their father's language to them.

Outcomes: hardly any borrowed forms, numerous similar categories and functions.

What makes Tariana crucial: comparing Tariana with its Arawak-speaking relatives outside Vaupés shows what categories are due to East Tucanoan impact.

2. See Aikhenvald (2012:75–83) and references there on the Vaupés River Basin as a linguistic and cultural area, and the specificities of marriage patterns. Peoples belonging to the Makú cultural complex (covering Hupda, Yuhupde, Dâw, on the one hand, and Kakua (or Bara) and Nukak on the other) do not enter the marriage network. Multilingualism in the Vaupés region within Colombia was first described by Sorensen (1967/1972). Since there are no Tariana-speaking communities in Colombia, his work is not relevant for a broader approach to the Vaupés situation. All the materials on Tariana come from my original fieldwork (1991-present), with the corpus of c. 35 hours recordings in addition to fieldnotes. A full grammar of Tariana is in Aikhenvald (2003).

Residence is strictly virilocal – that is, when a woman gets married she is always expected to move to her husband’s village. Importantly, marriageable women always come from a different language group. However, this does not necessarily mean that women are hapless outsiders forced into a new language with few parental ties (as implied by Brüzzi 1977:371). Every group has, or used to have, preferential marriage partners. So, for instance, the Tariana of Santa Rosa prefer to marry the Piratapuya, and the Tariana of Periquitos tend to marry the Wanano.³ When a woman starts living within her husband’s village, she is likely to encounter relatives who speak the same language; her children will learn her language from her and will be fluent in it.

Within the Vaupés area, the East Tucanoans and the Tariana traditionally grow up exposed to several languages: a language of their father (and the official dominant language of a village), a language of their mother (and often times their grandmother), and languages of other mothers within the village, plus the national language (Brazilian Portuguese).

A striking feature of the Vaupés linguistic area is a strong cultural inhibition against language mixing viewed in terms of borrowed morphemes. Recognizable loan forms and even sounds are traditionally considered tokens of linguistic incompetence. A relatively long-standing linguistic interaction between Tariana and East Tucanoan languages has resulted in rampant spread of grammatical categories and meanings (rather than forms) into Tariana (further details and references are in Aikhenvald 2012:77–82). Information about closely related Arawak languages (Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako, Piapoco and Guarequena) allows us to determine which features of Tariana are genetically inherited, and which ones are due to areal diffusion and relatively recent language contact. This creates an almost ideal linguistic laboratory for determining the extent of impact of unrelated languages in a situation of compulsory multilingualism.

A major wrinkle in this idyllic picture comes from impending language endangerment. Throughout the history of the Vaupés area in Brazil in the 20th century, Tucano (the majority East Tucanoan language) has spread at the cost of other East Tucanoan languages and of Tariana. A combination of factors were at play – (a) the policy of Catholic Salesian missionaries who had little patience with what was for them a ‘diabolical’ multilingualism; (b) the fact that men had to leave their villages for long periods of time to work for white employers collecting rubber and forest produce; and (c) the fact that the Tariana have always been a numerical minority in the region. Some Tariana varieties have become extinct throughout the twentieth century (see Aikhenvald 2014). And

3. Recently, some of these restrictions have been violated (some examples are in Aikhenvald 2013).

the Tariana of Santa Rosa and Periquitos is spoken less and less on a daily basis. Only three knowledgeable elders remain; and even they tend to speak Tucano on a daily basis. The language spoken by younger Tarianas bears a strong imprint of Tucano, in terms of grammatical categories, clause-linking techniques and discourse organization. They know little about their traditional lore and ethnic history, and traditional stories; some do not even recall their own sacred Tariana names. In Santa Rosa, children don't learn the language in the family setting any more (the youngest speaker turned forty last year). In Periquitos just a half-a-dozen children speak the language.

Luckily, when I started my fieldwork in the 1990s, quite a few elders, well-versed in language, culture, and the lore, were still alive, and eager to document the language and the knowledge. A main player was the late Cândido Brito (1920?-2008) – the one who disclosed the existence of a 'hidden-from-women register'. Nowadays, younger people are using the materials we produced – lists of names, place names, and stories – in their attempt to teach the language within the Tariana school in Iauaretê (a mission centre) and its off-shoots in Santa Rosa and Periquitos.

Language obsolescence goes hand in hand with cultural loss. The initiation rituals are hardly remembered. The only person who could remember witnessing a traditional Offering Ritual (known as *Dabucuri* in the region, and *pudali* or *nawalitanipe* in Tariana) was the late Américo Brito (he passed away in 2004). There are no powerful shamans among the Tariana any more (see Aikhenvald 2003:18). The elders I worked with, including the late Cândido Brito, his younger brother Leonardo Brito (of Santa Rosa) and Jorge Muniz (of Periquitos), do have some shamanic healing powers (of *sakaka* 'a healing shaman': Aikhenvald 1999:34 lists a classification of shamans). Their cultural knowledge is what I draw upon.

2.2 The Tariana language: A brief profile

Typically for an Arawak language, Tariana is predominantly suffixing with just a few prefixes expressing person of the subject, negation and possession. The language is highly synthetic. Two genders – feminine and masculine (or non-feminine) – are distinguished in third person pronouns, subject prefixes and some derivations. Tariana has a complex system of classifiers used with number words, adjectives, possessive constructions, and on nouns themselves (Aikhenvald 2003). Unlike most other Arawak languages, grammatical relations are marked with cases whose use correlates with discourse properties of the nouns: the clitic =*nuku* marks any non-subject participant provided it is a topic, and the suffix *-ne/nhe* marks the subject provided it is in focus. Tariana has a complex system of obligatory evidential clitics. These express the ways in which the speaker knows what

they are talking about – that is, whether they saw it, heard it, inferred it or assumed it, or learnt about it from someone else. Many of these features are due to areal diffusion from East Tucanoan languages (see Aikhenvald 2002, 2012).

3. What women are not supposed to know: Male cults in the Vaupés area

A major feature of the Vaupés cultural area is the existence of male cults kept ‘secret’ from women.⁴ A major component of these is the ‘Yurupary cult’. The name ‘Yurupary’ (translated as ‘malevolent spirit, demon’ by Stradelli 1929) refers to an Amazonian culture hero who is believed to have established order in nature and society and taught rules of ritual conduct to men. According to Stradelli (1929: 497 and 1890), before Yurupary appeared, women were in charge. They used to own sacred flutes and trumpets which were subsequently stolen from them by men. Men thus managed to restore their powers. The Yurupary spirit is represented by sacred instruments (stolen from women) kept hidden under water until a feast is announced. The sounds of these flutes and bark trumpets are said to be Yurupary’s voice. No woman is allowed to see the instrument for fear of death; if they hear the sound of the instrument, they are supposed to run away. If a woman catches a glimpse of the flute, she has to be punished by death (typically, poison, given to her by her husband or brothers which she takes voluntarily). Appendix 1 contains a story, by Cândido Brito, about what happens to such a woman.

The women are said to have themselves to blame for having lost the flutes. According to the Tariana lore, women allowed the Moon to copulate with them. This is the reason why Kui, the protector of shamans and the owner of Yurupary flutes, dislikes women and prohibits them from seeing the Yurupary flute.⁵ According to Jorge Muniz (p.c., 2012), the only able-bodied elder and healer from the Tariana community of Periquitos, women suffer birth-pains as a punishment for them having tried to hold on to the Sacred flutes (see Appendix 2).

Yurupary cults, including the *Kuwai* (or *Kowai*) cult of the Baniwa-Kurripako, are associated with male initiation and fertility rites (see, for instance, Brüzzi 1977: 314–15, Hill 2001: 56–9, among many others). In all likelihood, the cult originally comes from Arawak-speaking peoples (as suggested by Stephen Hugh-Jones 1979 and Reichel-Dolmatoff 1996, among others). A remarkably similar ritual has

4. See, inter alia, Stephen Hugh-Jones (1979), Christine Hugh-Jones (1979), Reichel-Dolmatoff (1996), Jackson (1983: 188–91), Stradelli (1890, 1929: 497–8), Brüzzi (1977: 313–15), and Gregor and Tuzin (2001a).

5. The name of Kui is likely to be related to the Baniwa term *kowai*, *kuwai* ‘Yurupary hero; Yurupary flute’ (Hill 2001: 56–9).

been described for the Cabiari, speakers of a poorly known North Arawak language in the basins of Apaporis and Cananarí rivers in the Vaupés River Basin region in Colombia, in close contact with the Barasano (Bourgue 1976; Bonnemère 2001: 31–8).

Details of the Yurupary myth vary from group to group. Stradelli (1980) offers what can be considered a pan-Vaupés version; Reichel-Dolmatoff (1996) has a detailed discussion of the Desano version of the myth (which deviates somewhat from Stardelli's). Stephen Hugh-Jones (1979) and Christine Hugh-Jones (1979) focus on the Barasano version.

Many ethnic groups in Amazonia and New Guinea possess magical objects – especially flutes – which used to be owned by women but were subsequently appropriated by men and can not be seen by women under the penalty of death or humiliation. If a Waujá woman, from an Arawak-speaking group of the Xingu Indigenous Park in Brazil, saw a magic flute, she would, in former times, have to undergo a gang-rape.⁶ Similar practices have been described by Thomas Gregor for the Mehinaku, speakers of a language closely related to Waujá (see Gregor and Tuzin 2001b). Ntabi, one of my female teachers of Manambu, from the Sepik region of New Guinea, became blind, on account of her having inadvertently caught a glimpse of a forbidden flute. Similar restrictions were described by Donald Tuzin, for the Ilahita Arapesh, also from the Sepik region (Gregor and Tuzin 2001b: 317–18).

What all these male cults have in common is that a musical instrument associated with them is off-limits to women. But there is a contradiction here. As pointed out by Gregor and Tuzin (2001b: 317), 'in no case that we are aware of is the *existence* of the cult a secret, only its specific objects and activities'. That is, women know that the instrument (and the spirit) exists and they know its name, but are forbidden to see the ritual objects, for fear of death. In Gregor and Tuzin's (2001b: 317) words, 'the function of secrecy is that of social differentiation, enfolding the cult members who share it and separating them from those who are excluded'. What is the status of those who are to be excluded – that is, women in the Vaupés context?

6. See Villas Bôas and Villas Bôas (1970) on the Xingu mythology and the magic flutes; see <https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ogatakoja>, on the Wauja practices (compiled by Emilienne Ireland).



Figure 1. “Índio tocando o mĩrĩ (jurupari)” (Brüzzi 1977: 315)

4. Women in the Vaupés cultural area

In the Tariana society, and throughout all traditional communities in the Vaupés, women used to come from a language group different from men. That is, women have traditionally been ‘outsiders’ and ‘strangers’ within their husband’s villages (Brüzzi 1977: 371–4).⁷

The terms meaning ‘other, different’ in Tariana consistently have overtones of something strange and perilous (e.g. Tariana stative verb *puaya* ‘be different, adverse’, the adverb *puale* ‘elsewhere, somewhere else’, and the indefinite modifiers *pa-* ‘one, another’ and *patsi* ‘another one (of a different kind)’. For instance, when I asked for a permission to take a picture of a Hupda shaman Adão during one of his healing sessions, I was told not to do it, lest something bad (adverse, or ‘different’) happens to us:

7. This does not imply their inferiority. See, for instance, Chernela (1993, 2011) on speech practices and ritual knowledge among Wanano women; C. Hugh-Jones (1979: 49–52) on the position of women in family and social structure among the Barasano (an East Tucanoan group in Colombia), and Brüzzi (1977: 373) on a gender-based division of labour.

- (1) wa-na puale di-a-da
 1PL-OBJ differently 3SGNF-go-LEST
 'Lest something goes badly (lit. differently) for us'

Further examples are in Aikhenvald (2003: 618–19, and 2013). The idea of being 'different' as tantamount to being 'adverse' can be linked to a broader idea of 'alterity' in Amazonian cultures as encompassing various facets of potentially dangerous and strange 'Other' (see Henley 1996, for a survey). The adverb *puaya* is used to refer to someone possessed ('eaten') by an evil spirit. Menstruating women are considered dangerous (according to the late Graciliano Brito, the evil spirit *ñamu* likes menstrual blood, so the smell of menstrual blood attracts danger). If a menstruating woman makes a ceramic pot, it might crack. She is not allowed to cook for men, for fear of 'contaminating' them (see Christine Hugh-Jones 1979: 194–5 for similar attitudes among the Barasano). A menstruating woman is referred to as *inaru puaya alia-ka* (woman differently EXIST-SEQ) 'when a woman is in a different/adverse state.'⁸ The opposite of *puaya* 'differently' is *mayakani* 'straight', a term with distinctly positive overtones.

Women appear as dangerous and unreliable creatures in many Tariana traditional stories. In a story about the origin of manioc, a woman went against the order by Kali, the 'father of manioc', not to dig it up too early; as a result, manioc acquired a thick skin and people now have to suffer peeling it. If a man dreams of a woman before hunting, this is a bad omen: he is likely not to catch any game, and may be devoured by an evil spirit. Human sweat has a bad smell because women had 'misbehaved' with a smelly mucura rat (*inari*; see § 5). A woman in a traditional story will be typically referred to as *manihta-kadite* (NEG+think/reason-NEG+NCL:ANIM) 'the one who does not think' or *pa-kalite-ka mhema-kadite* (IMPERS-tell-SEQ NEG+listen-NEG+NCL:ANIM) 'the one who does not listen to advice' (lit. when one tells (her)).⁹

The noun *tsiāri* 'man' in Tariana has positive overtones of manliness and courage. Ricardo Brito, an elder from Santa Rosa, told us about how he was attacked by a jaguar, and said to himself, at the critical moment (clauses are in square brackets):

- (2) [nuha-misini tsiāri-naka] [nu-a nuhmeta-na]
 I-TOO man-PRES.VIS 1SG-say 1SG+think-REM.P.VIS
 'I am also a man, I thought (lit. I said-thought)'

8. This term does not apply to a girl who has her first period (*hītu, hetu* 'have the first period') who has to spend time in ritual seclusion (see Aikhenvald 2003: 13, 15).

9. See C. Hugh-Jones (1979: 271–2) for similar ideas about uncontrollability and 'weakness' of women among the Barasano. This resonates with the somewhat lowly status of women in Kampa-speaking communities (Mihās, this volume).

In another story, a turtle was about to confront a jaguar and said to himself, implying that he was brave enough to overcome his enemy:

- (3) nuha tsiāri-naka inaru-kade-ka nuha
 I man-PRES.VIS woman-NEG-REC.P.VIS I
 ‘I am a man, I am not a woman’

‘Man’ in Tariana lore epitomises strength and prowess, while women are to blame for many mishaps, especially in the past. Until the establishment of the Tariana school in Iauaretê, women were largely blamed for the loss of the Tariana language, the major badge of identity of the group. (Now the fault appears to lie with the teachers.)

Similarly to a few other languages of the world, including Jarawara, an Arawá language from southern Amazonia (Dixon 2004:287), a particularly respected and important woman is promoted to an honorary ‘manhood’. A woman in Tariana is normally referred to with feminine gender, on the verb, the pronoun *duha* ‘she’, or a classifier for females (*ma*). The Woman-Creator Nanayu or a particularly powerful woman can be referred to with *diha* ‘he’ and masculine subject prefix *di-* (and not the feminine *du-*). A knowledgeable and respected woman, for instance the speakers’ mother or the wife of a shaman, can also be referred to with a masculine pronoun or masculine cross-referencing (see Aikhenvald 2003:588). At present, younger speakers of Tariana are no longer aware of this gender switch, and don’t use it.

In view of this, it is hardly surprising that the complimentary term *mayakani* ‘straight, right, correct’ is used to refer to the ‘original’ form of nouns and place names available to men, and hidden from women. We now turn to the linguistic forms which preclude women from being exposed to knowledge they are not entitled to.

5. What is ‘hidden from women’

The principle behind the ‘hidden from women’ register in Tariana is ostensibly that women are not supposed to be exposed to the name of the Yurupary flute *piri*, nor to place names or names of landmarks which contain this root.¹⁰ As is typical for secret and avoidance registers across the world, all the words with a ‘hidden’

10. The etymology of the term itself is unclear. It shares formal similarity with Tucano *mīri* ‘Yurupary flute’, and does not have cognates in other North Arawak languages.

counterparts are noun roots.¹¹ We have been able to record fifteen place names which have two forms: a 'straight' one which women are not supposed to hear, and another one, 'hidden from women'. These are listed in Table 1.

Only place names and landmarks associated with the Tariana origin myths and historical travels of the Tariana ancestors have two such forms (see Aikhenvald 1996, on a classification of Tariana place names). As shown in Table 1, not all the tabooed names contain the root *piri*. Note that the term for the Yurupary flute itself does not have a 'hidden from women' equivalent.

Only two place names with a 'hidden from women' name are those of actual Tariana villages. One of them, Ipanoré, is very important in the Tariana (and the general Vaupés) lore: it is said by some Tariana to be the 'navel' of the world. The Tariana themselves are said to have emerged from the rapids of Ipanoré. Even nowadays, these rapids are practically impassable. The Tariana varieties I have been working on since 1991 are spoken beyond Ipanoré (all the original Tariana dialects in Ipanoré are long forgotten). We travel by boat to Ipanoré, and then hire a truck to take us, the outboard motor, the boat itself and all our belongings, to the other side of the rapids – the village called Urubuquara. No-one could tell me any stories about the importance of Urubuquara.¹²

The only lexical noun with an equivalent in the 'hidden from women' register is the term for a traditional necklace used by men during the Offering ritual (last line of Table 1). Two names of sacred instruments associated with the Yurupary-flute rituals were used as place names, by men only. They have a counterpart in the 'hidden from women' register. A stone in the Vaupés river called *Itsiru* 'a sacred musical instrument' has a 'hidden' counterpart *Ukara-da* (sardine-CL:ROUND), and a creek called *Urupema*, a name for another sacred instrument, got the name of *Karaka-pua* (rooster-CL:RIVER) – according to the late Cândido Brito, 'then women will not know what they are not supposed to about where our ancestors travelled'. The names *Hite-na* (have.first.menstruation-CL:VERT) 'name of a flat stone' and *Inaru ite* (woman POSS+CL:ANIM) 'woman's own', synonym *duwhya* 'vagina' refer to menstruation (a dangerous thing) and female genitalia. Tabooing these terms may have to do with a general tendency to avoid mentioning the woman's sexual organ (*du-whi*, *du-whya* 'vagina' is regularly replaced with *du-ite* (3SGF-POSS+CL:ANIM) 'hers, her thing').

11. See Fleming (2015) on the predominance of nouns in many avoidance registers. We have no information about any special linguistic taboo against women associated with this sacred knowledge.

12. Etymologically, the names Ipanoré and Urubuquara appear to have come from Língua Geral, a Tupi-Guaraní lingua franca formerly used in the area.

Table 1. ‘Hidden from women’: Tabooed terms in the traditional Tariana

| Type | ‘Straight’ form not to be heard by women | A form in the ‘hidden from women’ register | Meaning | |
|---|--|--|--|--|
| Place names containing the forbidden root <i>piri</i> ‘Yurupary flute’ | <i>Piri-dapana</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:HOUSE) | <i>Mapa-dapana</i> (bee-CL:HOUSE) | name of a cave (applied to two landmarks) | |
| | <i>Piri-ma</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:FEM) | <i>Piripanakwari</i> ‘nightingale’ | name of cave | |
| | <i>Piri-na</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:VERT) | <i>Inari-na</i> (mucura.rat-CL:VERT) | name of a hill | |
| | <i>Piri-pua</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:RIVER) | <i>Inari ite</i> (mucura.rat POSS+NCL:ANIM) | name of a river | |
| | <i>Piri-taku</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:POINT) | <i>Inari-taku</i> (mucura.rat-CL:POINT) | name of a promontory | |
| | <i>Piri-taku</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:POINT) | <i>Darusi-taku</i> (?-CL:POINT) | name of a promontory | |
| | <i>Piri-ya</i> (Yurupary.flute-CL:SKIN) | <i>Piawa</i> (?) | name of a flat rock | |
| | <i>Pirya-na</i> (Yurupary.flute+DER-CL:VERT) | <i>Inari-na</i> (mucura.rat-CL:VERT) | name of a hill | |
| | Other mythologically important place names not containing the forbidden root | <i>Myaka-dapana</i> (ancient+THEMATIC-CL:HOUSE) | <i>Pa-hwa-li-dapana</i> (IMPERS-lie-NOM-CL:HOUSE) | name of a village (also known as Ipanoré) |
| | | <i>Eta-dapana</i> (eagle-CL:HOUSE) | <i>Wayuli-dapana</i> (vulture-CL:HOUSE) | name of a village (also known as Urubuquara) |
| <i>Hite-na</i> (have.first.menstruation-CL:VERT) | | <i>Mawari-na</i> (snake-CL:VERT) | name of a hill | |
| <i>Inaru ite</i> (woman POSS+CL:ANIM) ‘woman’s own’, synonym <i>duwhya</i> ‘vagina’ | | <i>Kasiri i-sipi</i> (alligator INDEF-tail) | name of a flat rock | |
| <i>ItSiru</i> ‘sacred musical instrument (flute)’ | | <i>Ukara-da</i> (sardine-CL:ROUND) | a stone at the bottom of the Vaupés river | |
| <i>Punama-taku</i> ‘bacaba’ (Oenocarpus bacaba) | | <i>Puperi</i> ‘bacaba’ (Oenocarpus bacaba) | name of a promontory | |
| <i>Urupema</i> ‘sacred musical instrument (flute)’ | | <i>Karaka-pua</i> ‘rooster-CL:RIVER) | a creek off the Vaupés river | |
| Paraphernalia related to the Yurupary cult | <i>piruari</i> | <i>yakasolo</i> | traditional necklace | |

The exact principles of replacement remain unclear. In a number of instances, the form used to 'deceive' women contains the root *Inari* 'marsupial mucura rat, gambá, a rather naughty and smelly character in myth with whom women have illicit sex (which is why human sweat smells). *Piri-ma* (Yurupary.flute-CL:FEM), a name of a cave on the way from Santa Rosa to Periquitos) is replaced, in the 'hidden from women register', with *Piripanakwari* 'nightingale', a common noun which contains the sound sequence *piri*, but does not have any mythological significance.

There may have been many more tabooed terms. During a discussion about tabooed words, Leonardo Brito (of Santa Rosa) suggested that the term *kerama-peri* (be.bright-CL:FEM-COLLECTIVE) 'bright ones' could have been used to 'deceive women' instead of *yawi-ne* (jaguar-PL) 'powerful shamans'. However, neither he nor Jorge Muniz (the other elder present at the discussion) were sure that this was indeed the case.

All the Tariana stories I recorded contained the 'straight' form of place names and landmarks, including that of *Myaka-dapana* 'Ipanoré'. In contrast, the term consistently given for 'traditional necklace' was *yakasolo*, from the 'hidden register' (and not *piruari*, a word many younger Tariana did not seem to know).

The 'hidden from women' register is now largely a thing of the past. Speakers (all of whom except two were men) were keen on teaching me – a white woman researcher – the 'straight' language, to make sure I got everything right. The first 'hidden' register form was spontaneously produced, as an afterthought and a curious fact. After that, I started consistently asking for a 'hidden from women' register equivalent for each term. Note that the Tariana men were not inhibited by the presence of two Tariana women: the oldest speaker's daughter (and my classificatory older sister) Olivia and her mother Maria (a highly respected woman). The women themselves did not appear to have any knowledge of the register.

6. What is special about the Tariana 'hidden from women' register

Sacred objects, and associated rituals, which used to be women's property and had been appropriated by men, are a taboo for their previous owners. Similarly to many societies in Amazonia and elsewhere, women are forbidden to see the sacred instruments. In the traditional Tariana, names of places and landmarks with mythological associations which contain the name of the tabooed instrument cannot be heard by women, and a replacement term has to be used.

Cross-linguistically, this appears to be unusual, if not altogether unique, at least as far as we know. There are numerous examples, across the world, of words

and names women are not allowed to pronounce. In Kele, a Bantu language spoken by the Lokele tribe in the Democratic Republic of Congo, women cannot utter the term *libwá* ‘nine’ because it is homophonous with the curse-word *lilwáa* in the male-only initiation language *Libéli*. (The female form for ‘nine’ is *iseke*, from the stem *-sek-* ‘laugh’).¹³ This is somewhat similar to what Mary Haas (1951) described as ‘interlingual taboo’ – speakers of Creek (a Muskogean language from Oklahoma) and of Thai would avoid using those words in their language which bear some phonetic similarity to four-letter words in English. Creek speakers would avoid the word *fákki* ‘soil, earth, clay’, and Thai speakers would try and not use *fàg* ‘sheath’ and *fág* ‘pumpkin or squash’.

A whole set of terms can be off-limits to women. Male body effluvia are kept secret among the Kwami of north-eastern Nigeria. Kwami women are not allowed to ever mention male private body parts; they have to pretend not to know that men have genitals, and have to defecate or urinate (which they do secretly in the areas off-limits to women: see Dinslage, Leger and Storch 2000: 124). Along similar lines, many Jukun-speaking societies of Nigeria have taboos on names of male genitals (Storch 2013: 213; further examples are in Aikhenvald 2016: 173–5).

But the Tariana system – or rather, what remains of it – is different. The only potential analogy is a prohibition against members of lower castes who would accidentally overhear a Brahman reciting Vedic verses in precolonial Hindu society (Aikhenvald and Storch 2013: 2). But even then, the analogy is incomplete.

Many further questions remain unanswered. The Tariana share numerous cultural features with East Tucanoan groups, for many of whom there are competent analyses. One would expect the practice of ‘tabooing’ names of instruments and landmarks forbidden to women to be attested in other groups. Yet this has never been described.

One reason could lie in the nature of communication between the people and the fieldworker. My being part of a community, sharing food, travelling together and speaking the language created an atmosphere of intimacy, conducive to revealing secrets and opening up. Another, perhaps more important reason, may lie in the fact that Tariana is highly endangered. The speakers, especially the older ones, used to be, and still are, aware of it. They took the European researcher as an opportunity to document everything they could remember. Cândido Brito said this explicitly, a number of times, as a preamble to origin myths and other stories he told.

There can be one more reason for openly sharing the knowledge about the ‘hidden woman register’, with what used to be a guarded secret moving into the domain of public knowledge (as outlined in the introduction to this volume, by

13. See Carrington (1947: 201) on *Libéli*; Haas (1951) on interlingual taboo.

Aikhenvald and Storch). Much of the esoteric knowledge and knowledge of ritual has been lost by the Tariana. They no longer have sacred flutes, nor do they perform the relevant rituals. The taboo on seeing the flutes has been lifted – as the rituals are no longer performed. And anyone can now see pictures of Yurupary flutes in books. The power of the esoteric knowledge is gone – and what remains of it – can now be freely shared, as part of what the language, and culture, used to be.

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| ANIM | animate | LOC | locative |
| APPROX | approximative | MASC | masculine |
| ART | article | NCL | noun class |
| AUG | augmentative | NEG | negative |
| CAUS | causative | NF | nonfeminine |
| CL | classifier | NOM | nominalisation |
| COLL | collective | NOM.PAST | nominal past |
| COMIT | comitative | OBJ | object case |
| COMPL | completive | PAUS | pausal form |
| DECL | declarative | pl, PL | plural |
| DEM | demonstrative | POSS | possessive |
| DER | derivational marker | POT | potential |
| DIM | diminutive | PRES.NONVIS | present nonvisual |
| EMPH | emphatic | PRES.VIS | present visual |
| EXIST | existential | PRES.VIS.INTER | present visual interrogative |
| F | feminine | PROH | prohibitive |
| FEM | feminine | PURP | purposive |
| FOC.A/S | focussed subject (A/S) | REC.P.VIS | recent past visual |
| FRUST | frustrative | REL | relativiser |
| FUT | future | REM.P.ASSUM | remote past assumed |
| FUT.CERT | future certain | REM.P.REP | remote past assumed |
| FUT.NOM | nominal future | REM.P.VIS | remote past visual |
| IMPERS | impersonal | SEQ | sequential |
| INDEF | indefinite | SG | singular |
| INSTR | instrumental | TOP.NON.A/S | topical non-subject |
| INT | intentional | VERT | vertical |

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Appendix 1.

This story, a cautionary tale about a woman who inadvertently caught a glimpse of the sacred Yurupary flutes, was told by Cândido Brito (1921?–2008), 10 June 1999, in Santa Rosa, Amazonas, Brazil. Clauses are in square brackets (the transcription follows the practical orthography).

- (1) [pi-na nu-kalite-de na-pia-nipe-naku]
 2SG-OBJ 1SG-tell-FUT.CERT 3PL-hide-NOM-TOP.NON.A/S
 ‘I will tell you their secret’ (lit. what they hid)
- (2) [hĩ] ina ma-ka-kade-mha hĩ piri-naku]
 DEM.ANIM women NEG-see-NEG-PRES.NONVIS DEM.ANIM Yuru pary.flute-TOP.NON.A/S
 [kayu-maka pi-na nu-kalite-naka]
 thus 2SG-OBJ 1SG-tell-PRES.VIS
 ‘These women cannot see, this Yurupary flute, this is why I am telling you’

- (3) [hiku-sina wathanina-se [nu-a-ka pi-na] [hi-naku
be.thus-REM.PASSUM beginning-LOC 1SG-say-SEQ 2SG-OBJ DEM.ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S
nu-kalite-naka]
1SG-tell-PRES.VIS
'This was the case from the beginning, as I am saying to you, this is what I am telling'
- (4) [ne inaru pa:ma ma-ka-kade-sina] [ne-pedalia-ma-misini
NEG woman one-CL:FEM NEG-see-NEG-REM.PASSUM NEG-old-CL:FEM-TOO
ne-ma-ka-kade-sina] [ne-yanape ne-ma-ka-kade-sina]
NEG-NEG-see-NEG-REM.PASSUM NEG-children NEG-see-NEG-REM.PASSUM
'No woman could see (it), nor an old woman, nor children'
- (5) [na-ka-sina nha ätsa] [pedalie-pe-mia kayu
3PL-see-REM.PASSUM they man:PL old-PL-ONLY thus
ka-ni-kani-mia-sina]
REL-do-REL.PL-ONLY-REM.PASSUM
'Only the men saw (it), only grown ups used to do (thus).'
- (6) [na-ka naha] [kay na-ni-ka-mha] [hi-naku
3PL-see they thus 3PL-do-DECL-PRES.NONVIS DEM.ANIM-TOP.NON.A/S
ina-nuku mara-kade na-ka-mha]
woman.PL-TOP.NON.A/S NEG+order-NEG 3PL-see-PRES.NONVIS
'They saw (it), they did thus, they ordered women not to see it'
- (7) [hiku-pidana] [pi-na kalisi nu-kalite-de]
be.thus-REM.P.REP 2SG-OBJ story 1SG-tell-FUT.CERT
'It was reportedly this way. I will tell you a story'
- (8) [diha heku-iha-tiki-nuku diha yaphini
ART.NF.SG later-APPROX-DIM-TOP.NON.A/S ART.NF.SG thing
piri-naku nhe na-walita-ka-pidana]
Yurupary.flute-TOP.NON.A/S 3PL+enter 3PL-perform.offering.feast-DECL-REM.P.REP
'A little bit later (in the afternoon) they entered performing the Offering feast (with)
Yurupary flute'
- (9) [duhua du-dawa-ka du-wa du-a] [nuri di-ñu-nha]
she 3SGF-hide-SEQ 3SGF-enter.house 3SGF-go my.son 3SGNF-go.up-PRES.VIS.INTER
[du-a-pidana] [du-kapuku du-ka]
3SGF-say-REM.P.REP 3SGF-turn 3SGF-see
'She hid by way of entering the house, and said, "Has my son gone up?"; she turned to
see'
- (10) [ma-ka-kade-tha du-siwa-se]
NEG-see-NEG-FRUST 3SGF-self-CONTRAST
'She didn't see (him) herself'

- (11) [nha-ne [du-ka-ka-niki wa-na] na:-pidana na-sape]
 they-FOC.A/S 3SGF-see-REC.P.VIS-COMPL 1PL-OBJ 3PL+say-REM.P.REP 3PL-tell
 [piri-khe-ne kayu na-sina]
 Yurupary.flute-FOCUS-INSTR thus 3PL+say-REM.P.ASSUM
 'They (the men) said, "She has seen us", like that they spoke about the Yurupary flute'
- (12) [kay na-ni nheta-thui na:] [na-pudali-nuku na-sueta
 thus 3PL-do 3PL+get-FULLY 3PL-go 3PL-Offering-TOP.NON.A/S 3PL-put.down+CAUS
 na-sita] [du-saniri-naku na-sape-pidana nha]
 3PL-finish [3SGF-husband-TOP.NON.A/S 3PL-tell-REM.P.REP they
 'Having done thus, they took everything, completed preparations for the Offering
 (Pudali) (and) said to the husband'
- (13) [pi-sado du-ka-ka-niki] [pi-a pi-wane] [ikasu-piaka du-na
 2SG-wife 3SGNF-see-REC.P.VIS-COMPL 2SG-go 2SG-call+CAUS now-RIGHT.NOW 3SGF-OBJ
 weinu-kasu-niki] [na-pidana]
 1PL+kill-INT-COMPL 3PL-say-REM.P.REP
 "Your wife has seen (it), go call her, now we intend to kill her", they said'
- (14) [dhima-pidana] [haram di-a du-saniri] [dhima]
 3SGNF+hear-REM.P.REP be.scared 3SGNF-go 3SGF-husband 3SGNF+hear
 [dhima] hanipa-pidana kawalikupeda]
 3SGNF+hear be.scared much-REM.P.REP sorry/sad
 'As he heard (this), her husband got scared, as he heard this, he was very sad'
- (15) [nu-sado-nuku mhe]da nu-ka-li nu-pe diha ma:tsi i-ni nu-siu]
 TOP.NON.A/S PROH 1SG-see-REL 1SG-throw ART.MASC bad 2PL-do 1SG-for
 [mhēda inu nu-ka-li nu-pe] di-a-pidana di-sape
 PROH 2PL+kill 1SG-see-REL 1SG-throw 3SGNF-say-REM.P.REP 3SGNF-tell
 du-saniri-nha
 3SGNF-husband-PAUS
 'Don't do a bad thing to my wife for me in front of me (lit. my looking-throwing), don't
 kill (her) in front of me, said her husband'
- (16) [hanipa-pidana di-a-pidana di-kale-se hanipa-pidana
 much-REM.P.REP 3SGNF-say/go-REM.P.REP 3SGNF-heart-LOC much-REM.P.REP
 kawalikupeda]
 sorry/sad
 'He got very sad in his heart'

- (17) [nu-sado-nuku kwe-mhade na-ni hī nu-kesi-pe] [kay
1SG-wife-TOP.NON.A/S how-FUT 3PL-do DEM.ANIM 1SG-relative-PL thus
na na-sape-ka] [di-a-pidana]
3SGNF+go/say 3SGNF-tell 3SGNF-say-REM.P.REP
'How will my relatives act with regard to my wife, after they had spoken thus, he said'
- (18) [nu-sado-nuku kawhikiri-pu inu-naka ihya] [ihwyasi
1SG-wife-TOP.NON.A/S quickly-AUG 2PL+kill-PRES.VIS you.PL poison
alia-mha]
EXIST-PRES.NONVIS
'You are killing my wife very quickly, there is poison'
- (19) [di-ne ihya iwhyasi-ne inu] [matSi-pu-mha
3SGNF-INSTR you.PL poison-INSTR 2PL+kill bad-AUG-PRES.NONVIS
inuna-mha pa-ka di-a-pidana dhepa
be.unwilling-PRES.NONVIS IMPERS-see [3SGNF-say-REM.P.REP 3SGNF+answer
di-a-nha]
3SGNF-say-PAUS
'“With it, with the poison you kill (her), it is bad, I am unwilling to see (it)”, he said in
reply'
- (20) [du-na kay-na-ni na-sita] [na-matare-pidana nha
3SGNF-OBJ thus-3PL-do 3PL-finish 3PL-leave+CAUS-REM.P.REP they
na:-kwa-li-naku] [hipa alia-naka myaka-pani na:-li]
3PL-stay-REL-TOP.NON.A/S land EXIST-PRES.VIS Old.people-CL:RAPID 3PL+say-REL
'After they had done thus to her, they left (poison) in the place where they stayed, there
is a piece of land, called Wapui-rapids'
- (21) [ne-pidana ukara na-wasa-pidana] [yuru-pi-kada-na
then-REM.P.REP sardine 3PL-trap-REM.P.REP plenty.fish-CL:LONG-CL:DAY-REM.P.VIS
diha]
ART.MASC
'Then they trapped sardines, it is (known to be) time (lit. month/day) when there are
plenty of fish'
- (22) [ne ukara dhuta du-ñu du-nu] [maka-syepu-pe du-ni
then sardine 3SGNF+take 3SGF-go.up 3SGF-come GENERIC-CL:BUNDLE-PL 3SGF-make
du-mita-pidana] [du-mita] [āsi syawa wika-pidana du-sueta] [diha
3SGF-fry-REM.P.REP 3SGF-fry pepper fire top-REM.P.REP 3SGF-put+CAUS ART.MASC
ukara-syepu-pe-naku du-sita-pidana]
sardine-CL:BUNDLE-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGF-finish-REM.P.REP
'Then she got the sardines up, made a bundle and fried (them), having fried them, she
put pepper on the fire, she finished making a bundle of sardines'

- (23) [hinipuku du-a-khani] [du-itu-kanape-ne hinipuku-se du-a du-dia
garden 3SGF-go-AWAY 3SGF-daughter-PL-COMIT garden-LOC 3SGF-go 3SGF-return
du-nu-pidana du-a-nha] [{ ma wa-hña-karu] du-a-pidana]
3SGF-come-REM.P.REP 3SGF-say-PAUS let's 1PL-eat-PROH 3SGF-say-REM.P.REP
'She went to the garden, she went to the garden with her daughters and came back, she
said, let's eat'
- (24) [[ukara pi-wasa] na:-pidana du-itukana-pe-ne
sardine 2SG-trap 3PL+say-REM.P.REP 3SGF-daughter-PL-FOC.A/s
"You trap sardines", said the daughters'
- (25) [nu-itukana-pe hi-nuku ukara-syepu-naku
1SG-daughter-PL DEM.ANIM-TOP.NON.A/s sardine-CL:BUNDLE-TOP.NON.A/s
pa-syepu-naka di-swa] [mhêda i-hña ihya nu-phumi-se]
one-CL:BUNDLE-PRES.VIS 3SGNF-lie PROH 2PL-eat you.PL 1SG-after-LOC
[tarada-karu-pena-naka ihya] [du-a-pidana]
be.alive-PROH-FUT.NOM-PRES.VIS you.PL 3SGF-say-REM.P.REP
'My daughters, this bundle of sardines, there is one bundle of sardines sitting here, don't
eat it, in this way you will remain alive'
- (26) [du-na hiku-pidana-sita du-kale-se] [nu-na diha
3SGF-OBJ be.like.that-REM.P.REP-ALREADY 3SGF-heart-LOC 1SG-OBJ ART.MASC
ki-ya-mhade na-ni] du-a-pidana duhmeta du-sita]
thus-EMPH-FUT 3PL-do 3SGF-say-REM.P.REP 3SGF+think 3SGF-finish
'To her it had already appeared thus in her heart' (that is, she understood what was
being done to her), she said thinking, "They will do this to me"
- (27) [kwe-bohti waha-pu-bohta tarada wa-wa] [na:] [wa-hña-da
how-POT we-AUG-POT alive 1PL-stay 3PL+go/say 1PL-eat-1pCOMMAND
waha-misini] [na:-pidana nha du-itu-kana-pe-nha]
1PL-TOO 3PL+say-REM.P.REP they 3SGF-daughter-PL-PAUS
'How could this be, how could we stay alive, they said, let's eat, us too, said the daugh-
ters'
- (28) [ne-nuku duhua ne-ma-na-kade-pidana nha-hado]
then-TOP.NON.A/s she NEG-NEG-want-NEG-REM.P.REP 3PL-mother
'Then their mother didn't want this (to happen)'
- (29) [mhe]da i-hña] [hi] maleta-peni kuphe alia-naka nha-ne]
PROH 2PL-eat DEM.ANIM thick-PL.ANIM fish EXIST-PRES.VIS they-FOC.A/s
[i-thuka ihña hya] [du-a-pidana dhuepa]
2PL-break 2PL-eat you.PL 3SGF-say/go-REM.P.REP 3SGF+answer
'Don't eat, here are thick (that is, big) fish, break (them) and eat, she replied'

- (30) [wha wha-misini wa-yami-de pi-ne-ya] [hanipa-bohta kasitana
 we we-TOO 1PL-die-FUT.CERT you-INSTR-EMPH much-POT be.envious/wish
 wa-pinita-ka] [na:-pidana nhepa-pidana]
 1PL-follow-DECL 3PL+say-REM.P.REP 3PL+answer-REM.P.REP
 ‘We too we will die with you, we would like so much to follow (you)’
- (31) [na-ya-pidana] [na-na hikupana-pidana-sita-nha] [du-yami-karu-pena]
 3PL-stay-REM.P.REP 3PL-OBJ be.open-REM.P.REP-FINISH-PAUS 3SGF-die-PROH-NOM.FUT
 ‘They remained, it already appeared to them that mother was going to die’
- (32) [hiku-pana-pidana-sita na:-ni]
 be.open-REM.P.REP-FINISH 3PL-do
 ‘They did it openly’
- (33) [hi] i-pumina [piri dhua du-ka-ka i-pumina]
 DEM.ANIM INDEF-consequence Yurupary.flute she 3SGF-see-SEQ INDEF-consequence
 [nu-sado-nuku na-inu-na nha di-a-na di-kalite]
 1SG-wife-TOP.NON.A/S 3PL-kill-REM.P.VIS they 3SGNF-say-REM.P.VIS 3SGNF-tell
 du-saniri-mikiri
 3SGF-husband-NOM.PAST.MASC
 ‘Because of this, because of her having seen the Yurupary flute, they killed my wife, said
 the late husband’
- (34) [heku-hya-tuki-na] [hī kayi ha-kamu-pe-naku nha
 recently-APPROX-DIM-REM.P.VIS DEM.ANIM thus DEM-CL:YEAR-PL-TOP.NON.A/S they
 na-de-naka nha mayanakuni] [diha yaphini piri-naku
 3PL-have-PRES.VIS they Baniwa ART.MASC thing Yurupary.flute-TOP.NON.A/S
 na:-de-naka]. [Hī whyme-naka]
 3PL-have-PRES.VIS DEM.ANIM be.last-PRES.VIS
 ‘It has been in recentish times, they still have things like this these years, the Baniwa
 have this thing Yurupary flute. This is it.’

Appendix 2.

Jorge Muniz (p.c., 2012), the only able-bodied elder and healer from the Tariana community of Periquitos, explains that women suffer birth pains as a punishment for having tried to hold on to the Sacred flutes. At the end he mentions that a non-initiated man will also be punished.

There are minor dialectal differences between the Periquitos and Santa Rosa varieties.

- (1) [Piryana du-mesa-ka i-pumina] [kay-peri
Yurupary.flute+DER 3SGF-covet-SEQ INDEF-consequence hurt-COLL
dhume-mha inaru]
3SGF+feel+CAUS-PRES.NONVIS woman
'As a consequence of her having coveted Yurupary flutes, a woman feels (birth)pains'
- (2) [haniri hado duha du-kite-ka mheme-kereni i-pumina]
father mother she 3SGF-speak-SEQ NEG+hear+CAUS-NEG+NOM INDEF-consequence
[kay-peri dhume-ma]
hurt-COLL 3SGF+feel+CAUS-PRES.NONVIS
'As a consequence of her not listening to what father-mother says she feels pain'
- (3) [emite-nuku du-daki waliku-se du-de
child-TOP.NON.A/S 3SGF-body inside-LOC 3SGF-have
du-dawe-ni-kali i-pumina kenipe-kade du-yeka],
3SGF-hide+CAUS-NOM-ACTION.NOM INDEF-consequence REL+child-NEG 3SGF-be.able
[mhema-kede-ka i-pumi-na di-hwa di-swa duha-nuku
NEG+hear/obeyed-NEG-SEQ INDEF-consequence 3SGNF-lie 3SGNF-stay she-TOP.NON.A/S
herena-si]
be.sick-NOM
'As a result of having a baby hidden inside her body she cannot give birth (without pain), as a result of her not having obeyed, she gets sick (lit. sickness stays to her)'
- (4) [tsiāli-ne-nuku sede-mha] [ne-matsi na-rena
man-FOC.A/S-TOP.NON.A/S NEG.EXIST-PRES.NONVIS NEG-bad 3PL-feel.physically
sede-mha] [ne ma-yapa-kade-nuku kay-peri di-hwa
NEG.EXIST-PRES.NONVIS NEG NEG-bless-NEG-TOP.NON.A/S hurt-COLL 3SGNF-lie
deru-mha tsiāli-nuku-misini]
3SGNF+stick-PRES.NONVIS man-TOP.NON.A/S-ALSO
'This is not the case for a man, there is no physical pain; for someone who had not been blessed, pain is inflicted (lit. stays and gets stuck) onto a man, too'

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