

THE OWNERS OF KINSHIP



Executive Editor
Giovanni da Col

Managing Editor
Katharine Herman

Editorial Board
Carlos Fausto
Ilana Gershon
Michael Lempert
Stephan Palmié
Jonathan Parry
Joel Robbins
Danilyn Rutherford
Anne-Christine Taylor
Jason Throop

www.haubooks.com



THE MALINOWSKI MONOGRAPHS

In tribute to the foundational, yet productively contentious, nature of the ethnographic imagination in anthropology, this series honors the creator of the term “ethnographic theory” himself. Monographs included in this series represent unique contributions to anthropology and showcase groundbreaking work that contributes to the emergence of new ethnographically-inspired theories or challenge the way the “ethnographic” is conceived today.

THE OWNERS OF KINSHIP
ASYMMETRICAL RELATIONS IN
INDIGENOUS AMAZONIA

Luiz Costa



HAU Books
Chicago

© 2017 HAU Books and Luiz Costa

Cover, © Luiz Costa

Foreword, © 2017 HAU Books and Janet Carsten

Cover and layout design: Sheehan Moore

Typesetting: Prepress Plus (www.prepressplus.in)

ISBN: 978-0-9973675-9-1

LCCN: 2017917362

HAU Books
Chicago Distribution Center
11030 S. Langley
Chicago, IL 60628
www.haubooks.com

HAU Books is printed, marketed, and distributed by The University of Chicago Press.
www.press.uchicago.edu

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

To Joana, Antonio, and Manoel

Dominance may be cruel and exploitative, with no hint of affection in it. What it produces is the victim. On the other hand, dominance may be combined with affection, and what it produces is the pet.

Yi-Fu Tuan, *Dominance and affection: The making of pets*

Table of Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	xi
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii
<i>Note on orthography</i>	xix
FOREWORD	
Janet Carsten	xxi
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	
Making need	23
CHAPTER TWO	
Mastering agency	59
CHAPTER THREE	
On the child's blood	97
CHAPTER FOUR	
Tripartite history	137

CHAPTER FIVE

Old jaguars	185
-------------	-----

CONCLUSION	223
------------	-----

<i>References cited</i>	235
-------------------------	-----

<i>Indexes</i>	263
----------------	-----

List of figures

- Figure 1. Location of the Kanamari and their neighbors.
- Figure 2. Tsamuha and his birds.
- Figure 3. Infant pet spider monkey tied to a shelter.
- Figure 4. *Hak* (house) built in a village as a durable structure for a family.
- Figure 5. *Dyaniobak* shelters built quickly on a trail during travels.
- Figure 6. Pet saki monkey.
- Figure 7. Wooly monkey and his jaguar-pattern hammock.
- Figure 8. Kanamari canoe packed with merchandise.
- Figure 9. Livestock must obtain food that falls from raised houses.
- Figure 10. Ihnan, Ioho's only surviving son.
- Figure 11. Pregnant woman eating alone.
- Figure 12. Midwife washing newborn in herbal bath.
- Figure 13. Boy and his pet coati.
- Figure 14. Autonomous teenage boys visiting a village.
- Figure 15. Autonomous teenage girl ready for travel.
- Figure 16. Location of the Curassow-*dyapa* in the Komaronhu river basin, c. 1900.
- Figure 17. The Kanamari village of Kumaru on the Itaquai River.
- Figure 18. Map of *-tawari* relations on the left banks of the Juruá, c. 1900.
- Figure 19. Man blowing the *bori* horn on arrival at a guest's village.
- Figure 20. Tapir-skin fight between *-tawari*.
- Figure 21. Injuries resulting from a tapir-skin fight.

- Figure 22.** A row of “worthless ancestresses” serving manioc beer to male guests.
- Figure 23.** Village of Massapê with Funai’s outpost house in the foreground.
- Figure 24.** Funai’s outpost house in Massapê.
- Figure 25.** Kanamari man’s arm tattooed with the Brazilian coat of arms. The inverted design was traced from a decal inside a window of a government boat.
- Figure 26.** Maps of migrations toward the Juruá and Itaquai river basins, 1920s–1940s.
- Figure 27.** Location of Kanamari villages in the Itaquai river basin, 1940s–2016.
- Figure 28.** Conceptual relations among Hohdom, Sabá, and Jarado.
- Figure 29.** The Juruá regional system.
- Figure 30.** Men wearing palm-bark vestments during Jaguar-becoming ritual.
- Figure 31.** Women learning songs from Jaguar performers.

Acknowledgments

This book is based on research carried out for my doctoral thesis, presented at the Museu Nacional, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (National Museum, UFRJ, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro), in 2007. My time as a graduate student was made possible by a scholarship from the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq, the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development). Fieldwork among the Kanamari of the Itaquai River was funded by the CNPq, the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Antropologia Social do Museu Nacional (PPGAS, Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at the National Museum), and the Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI, Center for Indigenist Work). Subsequent postdoctoral work was funded by the Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (FAPERJ, Research Support Foundation of the State of Rio de Janeiro) and the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (Capes, Coordinating Agency for Advanced Training in Graduate Education). I thank all of these institutions for their support.

My career in anthropology owes everything to Carlos Fausto, who has encouraged me since day one at the Museu Nacional. He has remained my most important critic, supporter, and collaborator. This book exists because he insisted that I write it and then commented on everything I wrote. Readers will easily gauge how crucial his ideas are for my analysis of the Kanamari. Even more profoundly, he is one of my best friends, someone who is always there for me and my family. I could never thank him enough.

I consider myself very fortunate to have been an undergraduate at the University of Oxford. Barbara Kennedy (*in memoriam*) took a chance on me when no one else would. Peter Rivière introduced me to the anthropology of lowland South America. He once told me that if I wanted to become a South Americanist, I should return to Brazil and study at the Museu Nacional. It was one of the best and most generous pieces of advice I have ever been given. Peter Mitchell supervised me in college. He was responsible for most of my courses, took me on an archaeological excavation in Africa, and showed me how exciting academia could be.

The Museu Nacional was an exceptional place to learn anthropology. I would like to thank Lygia Siguad (*in memoriam*), Gilberto Velho (*in memoriam*), Federico Neiburg, and Antonio Carlos de Souza Lima for their patience, help, and encouragement. Meeting Eduardo Viveiros de Castro while at Oxford was one of my main incentives to study at the Museu Nacional, where he teaches. He remains an unending source of inspiration. Bruna Franchetto taught me the importance of language, and I hope her influence shows in this book. Aparecida Vilaça is a fantastic anthropologist. I learned how to do fieldwork by following her example and taking her suggestions seriously.

My contemporaries at the Museu Nacional taught me much and made my graduate career great fun. I thank Pedro Cesarino, Paulo Maia, Anne-Marie Colpron, Roberto Salviani, Marcela Coelho de Souza, Oiara Bonilla, Beatriz Matos, Cristiane Lasmay, Roberta Ceva, Célia Collet, Gustavo Barbosa, José Antonio Kelly, and Flávio Gordon. Elena Welper is one of the best people I know.

Many people read all or part of this book or responded to oral presentations of its arguments, and their comments have been essential. I thank Rupert Stasch, Paul Kockelman, Cesar Gordon, Hanne Veber, Pirjo Virtanen, Maria Barroso, Marc Brightman, Vanessa Grotti, Miguel Aparicio, Jean-Baptiste Eczet, Peter Gow, Cecilia McCallum, Els Lagrou, Anne-Christine Taylor, Philippe Descola, Carlo Severi, Philippe Erikson, Jean-Pierre Chaumeil, Bonnie Chaumeil, Isabelle Daillant, Nathalie Petesch, Patrick Menget, Emmanuel De Vienne, Mike Cepek, Magnus Course, Jean Langdon, Ruy Blanes, Veena Das, Danilyn Rutherford, and Andrew Shryock.

Giovanni da Col believed in this book when it was just a draft. I thank him for his encouragement, his unwavering support and patience, and his uncompromising dedication to rigorous anthropology. The HAU Books editorial team has been outstanding. I would like to thank Sean Dowdy, Kate Herman, and

Sheehan Moore for their help in getting the text ready. I had two of the best reviewers of Amazonian anthropology work on this book: David Rodgers and Catherine V. Howard. Catherine, in particular, reviewed the manuscript with a meticulous eye for detail, and her suggestions have improved the text enormously. It is a great honor to have Janet Carsten, who's work on kinship has inspired my own, to write the foreword to the book.

I thank my colleagues at the Departamento de Antropologia Cultural (Department of Cultural Anthropology) and the Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia e Antropologia (PPGSA, Graduate Program in Sociology and Anthropology) of the Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Sociais da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (IFCS-UFRJ, Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro). In particular I would like to thank Marco Antonio Gonçalves, Els Lagrou, Cesar Gordon, Fernando Rabossi, Maria Barroso, Maria Laura Viveiros de Castro, Karina Kuschnir, Júlia O'Donnell, Marco Aurélio Santana, and Alexandre Werneck.

The researchers at the Laboratório de Antropologia da Arte, do Ritual e da Memória (Larme, Laboratory for the Anthropology of Art, Ritual, and Memory) at the Museu Nacional have helped in a great many ways. I would particularly like to thank Thiago Oliveira, Hélio Sá Neto, Luana Almeida, Messias Basques, Ana Coutinho, and Maria Luísa Lucas. A number of my students or former ones have helped me become a better anthropologist. I would particularly like to thank Danielle Araujo Bueno, Paulo Büll, Thayná Ferraz, and João Caldeira.

I am part of a generation of ethnographers who began fieldwork in the Vale do Javari under the auspices of the nongovernmental organization Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (CTI). I owe them so much: an opportunity, a start, a home away from home, logistical help, mentoring, friendship, and care. I would specifically like to thank Maria Auxiliadora Leão, Gilberto Azanha, Maria Elisa Ladeira, Conrado von Brixen, Helena Ladeira, and Hilton Nascimento (Kiko). More recently, I've had the privilege of becoming friends with Victor Gil, who helped me with all the maps and diagrams in this book. I also thank CTI for allowing me to include photographs from their archives in this book.

I would also like to thank the Regional Administration of the Fundação Nacional do Índio (Funai, the National Indian Agency) in Atalaia do Norte for making my time in the field free of hassle. The people of the Frente de Proteção Etno-Ambiental do Vale do Javari (FPEVJ, the Ethnoenvironmental Protection Front of the Javari Valley) played an important part at the start of

my fieldwork. This is particularly true of Idinilda, a very dear person who has helped all fieldworkers who have gone through Tabatinga. I also acknowledge the support of the (former) Conselho Indígena do Vale do Javari (CIVAJA, Javari Valley Indigenous Council) and the Associação Kanamari do Vale do Javari (Kanamari Association of the Javari Valley). I thank Jorge Marubo, Clóvis Rufino Reis, Toda Kanamari, Adelson Kanamari (Kora), and André Mayoruna. I spent a lot of time in Atalaia do Norte, where many people made me feel at home. I would like to thank Mr. Nonato, Tirim, Nery, Almério Alves Wadik (Kel) and his wife Francisca, and Gauça and Mara for their help in the field, and Mr. Dino, Mrs. Maria, and their daughter Mariquinha and her husband Moacyr for housing me in Atalaia do Norte.

I do not think I would have been able to stay in the field at all if not for the unconditional assistance and care provided by the former outpost chief of the Kanamari village of Massapê, Micherlângelo Neves, and his wife Raimunda. They put me up in the Funai post for much of my fieldwork, fed me, took me to all of the villages, took me back and forth from Atalaia do Norte and helped me send things to the Kanamari.

Back in Rio, my affinal kin have always been fantastic. I thank Jeanne-Marie Costa Ribeiro and Carlos Antonio Moita for helping with the boys while I wrote this book, and for much more. Yvonne Maggie is family, colleague, and friend. Without her constant support, both personal and professional, little would be possible.

My parents, Bebel and Fausto, have always encouraged me, even when they weren't quite sure of what I was doing and when it took me very far away from them. The same is true of my grandparents, Manoel (*in memoriam*) and Myriam (*in memoriam*), who took me in as only grandparents can. I also thank Miguel, Anna Maria Lino Costa, Maria Thereza Lino Costa, Antonio Carlos Lino Costa, and Paula Salles and her family. My friends Afonso, Vasco, Daniel Rosário, Daniel Ernst, Joe, André, Fred, João Lima, Carl, Marco, and Christian have always put up with and encouraged me.

Joana, Antonio, and Manoel are why I do everything. This book is for them.

Living with the Kanamari is a wonderful experience. I cannot think of a single one among them who did not help me at some point, and even those who appeared to be suspicious of my real motives treated me with dignity and even affection. As I come to name those that helped me most, I realize how unfair I will have to be. But since this book results from the conversations that I had with some of them, for many months on end, I specially thank Dyumi,

João Pidah, Kodoh, Dyan, Inore, Wahpaka, Meran Meran, Dyanim, Hanani, Marinawa, Paiko Nui, Wadyo, Tyomi, Apan, and Iun.

It was Poroya, however, who had been waiting for me on that evening in April of 2002. It was dark and we could not see each other, but the following morning he saw my sullen, sleepy face and laughed, as if he knew everything all along. In time, he made himself into my grandfather. I once told him that I happened upon the Kanamari by chance, that I very nearly went to live with their neighbors, the Marubo. He explained to me that I was mistaken, because a long time ago he had foreseen my arrival in a vision and had been waiting for me to show up, to learn the stories of the Kanamari and teach them to white people, so that we, too, would know a little about them. This book carries with it a heavy responsibility.

Han paiko. Itanti inowa ankira nuk tyo.

Orthography

The orthography of Katukina-Kanamari that I use in this book is mostly based on that developed by Francisco Queixalós and Zoraide dos Anjos. It includes some differences in relation to their published phonetic studies (e.g., Queixalós and Dos Anjos 2006; Dos Anjos 2012), since I have taken into account the orthographic solutions that were being advanced by young Kanamari school teachers at the time.

Vowels

a	like the <i>a</i> in “pattern”
i	varying between the <i>i</i> in “bit” and the <i>ee</i> “meet”
o	like the <i>ow</i> in “slow”
u	like the <i>u</i> in “strut”
y	like the <i>y</i> in “player”

Consonants

b	like the <i>b</i> in “bat”
d	like the <i>d</i> in “dance”
h	like the <i>h</i> in “behind”
k	like the <i>k</i> in “karma”
m	like the <i>m</i> in “man”
n	like the <i>n</i> in “nice”
t	like the <i>t</i> in “tan”
r	alveolar tap, like the <i>tt</i> in American English “latter”

w	like the <i>wb</i> in “what”
dy	like the <i>j</i> in “jam”
ty	like the <i>tch</i> in “match”
'	glottal stop

Some of the Kanamari nouns that I discuss in this book occur as elements of noun phrases, where they are always preceded by morphemes or lexemes. When I discuss these nouns without their complements, I mark the absence by a hyphen (*-warah*, *-tawari*). The use of the hyphen is important to my analysis, because some words that occur within noun phrases, where they are necessarily bound, can also occur as independent nouns or even as verbs, where they display different semantic qualities. In these cases, I drop the hyphen (cf. *-warah* and *warah*).

Since many of the ethnographies from which I quote passages are in Portuguese or French, I have supplied my own translations into English as needed, without further parenthetical annotation.