

A Semantic Categorization of Fauna in Wayana

Natural concepts in cultural context



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Abstract

This thesis describes and analyzes the semantic categorization of fauna terms in Wayana and the role of culturally significant animals. Wayana is a Cariban language and this thesis specifically focusses on the language as it is spoken in the village of Apetina in the south of Suriname.

My research approaches this subject using a transdisciplinary view in order to broaden the perspective on fauna to include indigenous knowledge which in turn can enlighten us about different conceptualizations of the world. Using the data collected from elicitations and spontaneous speech in the village over the course of two visits, I will attempt to create a semantic network of fauna terms. Issues on the perspective on fauna in Wayana include what their categorizations are for animals (e.g. what animals do they eat/do they not eat? How are the animals categorized, and in what priority?). I also attempt to create a better understanding of the role of fauna in ecological management and the role fauna plays in what could be called the “Wayana calendar”. This traditional ecological indigenous knowledge can lead to a deeper understanding of Wayana and the relation that the Wayana have with their natural world.

Ethics Statement

For this project all local language experts or consultants who agreed to participate in this research project had the right to decide whether their actions and statements were allowed to be audio recorded in a way that it can be linked to their personal identity and the right to control who has access to this data with complete knowledge of the possible reactions to it. The researcher is solely responsible for acquiring informed consent of all native speakers who wished to participate in this project and for maintaining confidentiality and anonymity. Prior to audio recording, informed oral consent was acquired from every speaker regarding the research. All participation in this research by the local language experts was done voluntarily at any stage. All research conducted on unforeseen public behavior could not involve (prior) oral consent but the researcher ensures that no information can lead to identifying an individual with possibly harming consequences. The researcher does everything in their power to ensure that the research does not pose any threat to the well-being of the local language experts or the community. All research for this project is independent and impartial.

In conclusion, in this study:

- informed (oral) consent was collected whenever possible;
- the confidentiality and anonymity of the local language experts is respected;
- voluntary participation in the research was ensured;
- any possible harm to the local language experts was and continues to be avoided; and
- all research is independent and impartial.

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During this research, I have broadened my knowledge on traditional indigenous knowledge and how this knowledge should be handled. Prior to fieldwork, my research was very theoretical and based of previous studies. During my time in Apetina, I have gained a different perspective on how to see the terrestrial world. Fieldwork has taken me out of my comfort zone and has pressured me to think outside the standard scientific paradigms. While I attended many fieldwork classes and was adequately prepared, nothing can truly prepare one for their first proper fieldwork experience. Overall, doing fieldwork was a difficult but rewarding challenge.

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1. Introduction

Near the end of 2018, an article published by National Geographic on the poaching of jaguars in Suriname (Bale, 2018) prompted the organization of the Jaguar Conference, held in Paramaribo that same year. Bale brought attention to the hunting and trafficking of products made from jaguars, such as “jaguar glue” or “jaguar paste”, a Chinese medicinal product intended to treat medical conditions ranging from insomnia to infertility. Bale (2018) mentions that this jaguar paste is most likely an adaptation from ‘tiger paste’, another illusory medicinal product originating from Vietnam. Jaguar products were originally not a part of the Chinese traditional made medicine but have ostensibly replaced the Asian tiger products due to scarcity on the Asian market. This illegal trade in jaguar products had significantly increased worldwide in the previous years, prompting *Conservation International*, a prominent wildlife organization in Suriname, to organize a conference to discuss these developments with indigenous communities. The conference led to a treaty with indigenous communities in Suriname, including the Wayana, to halt the killing of jaguars under any circumstance. As a result of the treaty, wildlife organizations grew suspicious of the indigenous communities because they were now inclined to believe that these communities were somehow involved in the practice of killing of jaguars (be it for their protection or for trade). This suspicion has led to mistrust between the Wayana community in Suriname and wildlife organizations. The Wayana feel a bad light has been shed upon them and that they have been unjustly grouped together with poachers that kill jaguars for personal profit. A conversation with one of the leaders of Apetina, the village where the fieldwork for this research took place, revealed that the community felt slighted by this sudden proposition of the conference: they did not have the opportunity to defend themselves against the allegations. Other conversations with various members of the Wayana community have shown that this conflict was avoidable in its entirety

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from the perspective of the Wayana if the organizations had communicated with them personally or if they had visited the community prior to the conference to determine whether or not the Wayana were in any way involved in the poaching of jaguars in Suriname. If the above-mentioned visitation would have occurred, a misunderstanding of the way the Wayana treat the fauna and flora around them could have been prevented.

Reading between the lines of various conversations throughout this research, it seems the population is left with a feeling of insecurity towards outside organizations that visit their community infrequently, criticizing the Wayana way of life. This insecurity culminates in miscommunication as the members of the community feel they are not able to speak their mind. This miscommunication from both parties results in a lack of mutual respect and trust. The lack of trust, combined with inaccurate knowledge from outside organizations of the indigenous practices and the different perspectives on topics such as fauna, flora or health, has put a lot of pressure on the Wayana community. One particular visit during the time of this research involved the head of the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport of Suriname. During this visit packages of powdered (baby) food were distributed amongst the community while several members of the ministry and doctors from the public healthcare organization from Suriname spoke to several younger community members about a supposed lice and leprosy outbreak and famine amongst the community. The rumors about this alleged famine and the outbreak of lice and leprosy appeared after an article was published in a local newspaper in Suriname that spoke of a bad epidemic in Apetina. While appreciative that (baby) food was distributed, several younger members I spoke to afterwards seemed wary to engage with the members of the ministry again as there was no lice or leprosy outbreak contrary to the published article (now offline as of January 2020 from the local newspaper site). Visits such as these, announced or unannounced, seem to consistently add to the tension

between the Wayana and outside organizations. Even an (inaccurate) article in a local newspaper about the Wayana can damage their reputation.

The lack of trust between the Wayana and outside organizations stemming from – among others – inaccurate knowledge of the Wayana culture and way of life has inspired the topic of the present research. The goal for this research is two-fold: Firstly (and mainly), to develop a linguistic analysis of the fauna terms used in Wayana in order to create a better understanding of these terms. Secondly, to gain more insight and a new perspective into the indigenous knowledge that can be found in these fauna terms and how animals are portrayed in oral mythology. This research aims to inform us of the indigenous knowledge of the Wayana by means of a semantic analysis and categorization of their fauna terms.

1.1 The Wayana

The Wayana are a relatively small group of self-sufficient Amerindians that reside in the tropical rainforests of Suriname, Brazil and French Guiana. The Wayana of Suriname are mainly hunter-gatherers and farmers, with cultivation grounds (also known as *kostgrond* in Sranantongo) set up in and around the village(s). Many Wayana primarily live off fish, cassava and *pingu* (alluded to be wild boar). Occasionally, resources such as clothes, rice, gasoline and coffee are brought to the village(s) by small airplanes from Paramaribo. Apetina, the predominantly Wayana village where fieldwork for this research took place, is located on the Tapanahoni river, an essential source for water, food, hygiene; and providing the means of contact with other villages. As Apetina is located on the river, all transport is done by canoes or small aircrafts. The Wayana are governed by the *Granman*, regarded as the chief of the Wayana. The *Granman* is aided in the villages by the *kapitein(s)* and the *basja(s)*.

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Hierarchically, *kapitein(s)* are superior to *basja(s)*. The *basjas* in Apetina were both male and female while the few *kapiteins* in the village were male.

During the second visit of this research, I joined a hunting and fishing expedition in a canoe with five teenage Wayana speakers that lasted approximately six hours. Along the river they casted several fishing nets and hunted wild boars in the surrounding rainforest on their bare feet. A short while later, the caught fish were filleted and the wild boars were skinned with ease. Witnessing the hunting and fishing routines of these younger Wayana speakers first-hand ascertained the prowess with which the younger community members are able to fend for themselves, and the aptitude and skill required for the hunter-gatherer lifestyle.

The importance of the proper transmission of Wayana traditions to newer generations was made clear to me near the end of the second visit, as a Wayana man approached me near the river. He spoke to me of the generations of Wayana that have not stepped foot outside the village and relied on themselves for fish and meat. He disclosed that if they were not able to hunt or fish that day, no food would be on the table.

When Christianity was introduced, a shift took place in the cultural canon of the Wayana. The arrival of missionaries in the 20th century (Boven, 2006, p. 47) resulted in a curious mix of Wayana and Christian traditions. Copies of the New Testament that were translated into Wayana can be found in the village and online. Interestingly, in contemporary Wayana mythology, *Kuyuli* is regarded as the highest power, the creator and ancestor of the Wayana (Chapuis & Rivière, 2003; De Goeje, 1941). In Christianity, the highest spiritual entity is God. This would predict a conflict with the traditional Wayana concept of *Kuyuli*. An interesting topic of research – beyond the scope of the present study – would be whether these concepts are indeed conflicting. What exactly is the Wayana conceptualization of the (religious) spiritual domain given these notions?

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Wayana belongs to the Cariban language family and is spoken in the borderlands of Suriname, French Guyana and Brazil. It is categorized as a so-called developing language and an estimate of around 1700 speakers is reported by Ethnologue (2020), of which 450 speakers reside in the dense forests of Suriname, 150 in Brazil and approximately 1,000 in French Guyana. In these southern forests of Suriname, many villages are situated close to the Tapanahoni river. These villages are predominantly inhabited by the Wayana and Trio communities. While the Wayana language and the Trio language are not mutually intelligible, they are closely related and share many (grammatical) features. Some of the villages in these forests are entirely bilingual, such as the village of Palëmeu, where native speakers of both Wayana and Trio live and interact with one another daily. Some villages, such as Tëpu, are predominantly Trio, with 200 to 300 native speakers (Carlin, 1998). Apetina is largely a Wayana village with a handful of Trio speakers. When researching fauna terms in Wayana in the village, a noticeable similarity was found between numerous Trio and Wayana names, while a number of animals had distinct names. In Apetina, Wayana is very much alive. All generations actively use Wayana in informal domains while Dutch is used by (mostly) younger speakers in formal domains. Sranantongo is actively used in both domains and by (mostly) younger and middle-aged speakers. Speakers of all ages had no qualms speaking Wayana amongst themselves when I was near and even encouraged me to (try to) speak Wayana with them.

For a comprehensive overview of the phonology, morphology and syntax of Wayana, this thesis refers to Tavares' (2005) grammar of Wayana.

1.2. Categorization and Taxonomy

There is a relatively small body of knowledge available on the taxonomic categorization of languages around the world. Berlin, Breedlove and Raven (1973) have summarized their principles of folk biological classification as follows: all languages have the possibility of linguistically isolating groupings of organisms to varying degrees of inclusiveness. These groupings are labelled taxa and are grouped into a number of classes that are dubbed taxonomic ethnobiological categories. There are said to be no more than six taxonomic categories, which are discussed below. Five of these categories are presumed universal. The six taxonomic categories are arranged hierarchically and the taxa that are assigned to the ranks are said to be mutually exclusive.

The proposed terminology for the taxonomic ranks in order (of decreasing inclusiveness of taxa) (Atran, 1998; Berlin et al, 1973; Hunn, 1977) are (1) the unique beginner, the most inclusive taxon, which covers the entire domain in question, with examples such as ‘animal’ or ‘plant’; (2) the life-form taxa, which are immediately subordinate to the unique beginner and are typically labelled as primary lexemes, with examples of life forms glossed as ‘tree’, ‘fish’, ‘bird’, ‘mammal’ etcetera; (3) the generic taxa, the category that often forms the largest class among ethnobiological ranks, ranging around 500 classes. Generic taxa (or generic-species taxa) are perceived as the backbone of folk taxonomies and represent the groupings of organisms that are most commonly referred to in the natural environment. Generic taxa are said to be among the first taxa a child learns (Berlin et al, 1973, p. 216). Examples of generic taxa include ‘dog’, ‘shark’, ‘oak’, ‘holly’ etcetera; (4) the specific taxa, a subdivision of the generic taxa and (5) the varietal taxa, a subdivision of the specific taxa are both labeled by secondary lexemes. An example of a specific taxa is iron oak (generic: oak > specific: iron oak) while an example of a varietal taxa is baby lima bean (generic: bean > specific: lima

bean > varietal: baby lima bean). The last proposed taxonomic rank is the (6) the intermediate taxa, often labeled as the taxa found between life-form taxa and generic taxa. This taxonomic rank is said to be of a greater inclusiveness than generic taxa but not on the same level as life-form taxa. An example of an intermediate taxon is ‘duck’ (Hunn, 1977, p. 44), which is categorized under the life form ‘bird’, but is deemed as a higher taxon than generic.

Chapter 4 discusses whether these taxonomic ranks can be deemed universal and how the categorizations of fauna in Wayana relate to these taxonomic ethnobiological ranks.

1.3. Previous Studies

In the course of the twentieth century Wayana has received a significant amount of attention from researchers who have conducted fieldwork. These researchers have contributed greatly to the broadening of the knowledge available on Wayana. Several studies on the Wayana in Suriname (Boven, 2006; De Goeje, 1941; Duin, 2009; Hough, 2008; Tavares, 2005) focus on the ethnological, anthropological and linguistic aspects of Wayana. Two additional important studies on Wayana include the extensive Wayana-French dictionary (Camargo & Tapinkili, 2010) and an abundance of Wayana oral traditions (Chapuis & Rivière, 2003), translated to French. Both the dictionary and the collection of oral traditions were utilized often prior to this fieldwork. An ethno-ecological survey about the Wayana (Heemskerk et al, 2007) was completed at the beginning of the 21th century. This survey was conducted for project planning and monitoring the villages and has resulted in an extensive overview of data on the Wayana.

Fauna is a topic discussed often in Wayana, but not widely explored in the academic literature. The earliest research on this topic is carried out by Geijskes (1957), who explored fauna in Suriname. Animal imaging in early Caribbean culture is examined by Paulsen (2007)

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and fauna as an important factor of Wayana cosmology and ecological management is discussed briefly by Carlin (2017) and Chapuis & Rivière (2003). Most recently, a dissertation by Paulsen (2019) analyzes indigenous South American narratives – including Wayana – in depth in order to conceptualize ancient Caribbean animal imagery.

Additional literature sought to gain a better understanding of transdisciplinary research (McGregor, 2004; Nicolescu, 2010; Wilson, 2008).

The present work hopes to add a more comprehensive understanding of fauna terms and their cultural significance in Wayana to the existing body of research.

1.4. Structure of Thesis

As previously mentioned, the focus of this thesis is to create a better understanding of the semantics of fauna in the Wayana language and to gain a new perspective on the indigenous knowledge that can be unearthed from these fauna terms.

The following chapter, Chapter 2, describes the methodology employed prior to and during fieldwork with the Wayana. This includes an overview of the literature and linguistic data collected on fauna on which this research is based. Additionally, in this section I discuss the manners, conventions and grace that should be employed when researching and handling indigenous knowledge or traditional ecological knowledge and its place in transdisciplinary research.

The linguistic data collected on fauna is analyzed and discussed in Chapter 3, detailing the semantic categorization of fauna in the Wayana language and what additional knowledge is unearthed during this research.

Chapter 4 discusses the taxonomic ranks most commonly applied to groupings of organisms in natural environments and whether these taxonomic ranks can truly be deemed universal. This chapter subsequently examines whether categorizations of fauna in Wayana fit in these taxonomic ranks.

Chapter 5 illustrates and discusses a handful of stellar constellations which in turn provides knowledge on the Wayana traditional ecological management.

The concluding chapter, Chapter 6, reflects on this research and examines potential topics for further research.

2. Methodology

For the purpose of this thesis I have conducted research over two visits (October 2018 and January 2019 respectively) in the Wayana village Apetina in the south of Suriname. For the first stay I visited Apetina with several scholars, most of whom were from Leiden University. My second stay in Apetina I was accompanied by a fellow MA Linguistics student. During both visits we resided in the visitor hut built close to the river. The first visit, in October 2018, consisted of getting a feel for the Wayana language combined with understanding and discussing the societal concerns at play. Throughout this particular visit, Apetina was hosting its second organized workshop with speakers from different indigenous communities. This workshop focused on exchanging knowledge between indigenous communities with regard to research and self-empowerment. Topics included understanding and documenting one's history, the importance of one's native language and improving spiritual, cultural and economic welfare through decolonization.

Additionally, during this first visit several leaders (*basjas*) and community members from neighboring villages also traveled to Apetina to discuss certain matters amongst themselves such as the Jaguar Conference mentioned in Chapter 1 and how they should engage with outside organizations. All the meetings from this first visit in October were unrecorded and took place either in a hut termed the women center or in the central hut (*tukusipan*) in Apetina. A large number of Wayana– young and old – were present at the meetings. During these meetings, a set of rules was composed in Sranantongo and Wayana (and later translated to Dutch) about how outside organizations should ideally conduct themselves regarding (un)announced visits in Wayana villages. One issue that seemed to be especially important to the present members was that outside organizations should always announce the intention of their visit, with the option that the Wayana are able to refuse without consequence.

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The second visit took place in January 2019. This second visit consisted mostly of planned elicitation sessions specifically focused on fauna and related topics with native speakers in the village. The native speakers initially consulted for this research were between the ages of 20 and 24 and were proficient in both Wayana and Dutch with an intermediate understanding of English. Additionally, some were proficient in Trio, a closely related language spoken in the village. These younger native speakers of Wayana were sought out at arrival in January as they expressed enthusiasm to contribute to this research during the first visit. Besides younger native speakers, a few elderly native speakers were consulted. The elders were consulted mostly for oral history, anecdotes and life stories. In the event of a younger native speaker not being entirely familiar with certain terms of fauna or having less active knowledge of related subjects such as constellations and reading the stars, older native speakers were consulted. Elicitation sessions with the older native speakers in the village were accompanied by one or two of the younger native speakers who would translate the Wayana to Dutch. Elicitation sessions lasted from three hours to most of the day, depending on the availability of the native speaker(s). Spontaneous elicitation sessions frequently lasted for most of the day with informal conversation mixed in. Prior to all elicitation sessions, oral consent was acquired from all speakers present if the session was to be recorded. Recorded elicitation sessions were conducted with the use of a recorder that produced .wav format audio files. A number of the recordings was rendered partially incomprehensible due to background noise. A diary was kept alongside all elicitation sessions.

This research was predominantly carried out by means of (intermittently) recorded elicitation sessions and documenting free speech in the village combined with a literature review. While the elicitation sessions were guided by questions pertaining to the research, observational free speech documentation was also used. One elicitation session with an elderly Wayana speaker gave rise to the idea to study the sky at night in order to see the constellations

of stars in January. Unfortunately, the sky at night was too cloudy in January to study the constellations. Prior to the second visit, A4-prints were made with pictures of the night sky on the southern hemisphere showing different stellar constellations. These prints were shown to the elderly and younger Wayana speakers. However, they did not remark anything in particular about them. I suspect this is due to the fact that printed images of constellations do not do justice to the physical experience, it did not resonate with the speakers. Constellations seen on paper (flat, two-dimensional) are solely a representation and not necessarily an accurate portrayal of the actual constellations.

Using the stories documented by Chapuis & Rivière (2003), a list was made with all the animals mentioned in Wayana oral traditions (See Appendix A). This list was presented to younger native speakers in later elicitation sessions to see if these specific animals could bring about certain anecdotes or other particulars.

Additionally, fauna terms in Trio were discussed and compared with the Wayana names in order to determine distinctions as both Trio and Wayana speakers live in the same village. While many animals share the same name in both Trio and Wayana, some were surprisingly different. Why these specific animals (e.g. giant otter, jaguar, giant anteater) have such distinctive names is a topic for future research. Subsequent elicitation sessions focused on collecting linguistic data on fauna that were seen in the village, during either hunting and fishing trips or while simply walking around. The Wayana speakers were questioned about animals that were extinct or that they had heard of but have never seen before.

Any additional information on fauna the native speakers provided (i.e. could these animals be eaten? Are they dangerous? Are they seen often?) was discussed at length. This insight from the native speakers aided this research in understanding fauna from a different perspective than merely linguistically. Likewise, these sessions often unearthed variegated knowledge on fauna and the natural calendar in Wayana, such as a unique fauna categorization

system that appears to be based on habitat and the significance of fauna terms found in stellar constellation naming.

2.1. A Transdisciplinary View

The research for this thesis has taken considerable inspiration from transdisciplinary studies. While a standard definition for transdisciplinary research does not exist, the general sentiment seems to echo that an important aim is the understanding of different perspectives of the present world and not dismissing the knowledge that can be found from these different perspectives. Nicolescu (2010, p. 21) states that “unity in diversity and diversity through unity is inherent to transdisciplinarity”. Unity in diversity refers to the collective transdisciplinary research methods coming together while diversity through unity shows the knowledge that can be brought to light when these diverse research methods are unified. Various studies on transdisciplinarity agree that transdisciplinary research aims to take this knowledge of different perspectives into account and develop a certain knowledge that can be accepted as “the common good” (Pohl & Hadorn, 2008). A unique objective for transdisciplinary research is the joint problem-solving of (primarily) societal conflicts. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the Wayana are conflicting with wildlife organizations and mutual trust has decreased. This research has taken inspiration from various transdisciplinary research (Agrawal, 1995; Leach & Fairhead, 2018; Mark et al., 2011; McGregor, 2004; Wilson, 2008) in order to better understand knowledge of the cosmological world of the Wayana, how fauna is portrayed in this cosmological world and how this ties together with the terrestrial world of the Wayana.

As a singular researcher in the discipline of linguistics, carrying out a transdisciplinary research would prove difficult, so this research has mainly drawn inspiration from previous

researches. For this research specifically, the context of culture was examined as much as possible to discover variegated knowledge.

A common view in science is that traditional indigenous ecological knowledge is inferior to modern academic knowledge. Indigenous knowledge or traditional ecological knowledge, such as medicinal knowledge is often regarded as inherently spiritual and therefore non- or pseudo-scientific. In this research specifically, the topic of fauna taxonomy could be regarded as spiritual. Indigenous knowledge can contribute to our understanding of different human perceptions of the world, material and spiritual. These perceptions allow for multiple perspectives of knowledge to co-exist without an inherent hierarchy.

3. The Categorization of Fauna

This chapter focuses on the linguistic data and the cultural data elicited during two fieldwork sessions on the Wayana language in the village Apetina, Suriname. Section 3.1 and 3.2. focus on the overarching term provided for animals by the Wayana and the five categories into which all animals are grouped. Besides anecdotes, linguistic analyses are also presented for the elicited terms. Section 3.2.1. compares fauna categories from Wayana with fauna categories that occur in Trio. Section 3.3. discusses fauna excerpts that can be found in Wayana mythology and Section 3.4. describes all additional data gathered on fauna during fieldwork, but without analysis.

3.1. Animate Beings as a Hyper Term

The first elicitation session with one of the *basjas* of the village brought forth the word *mëkpalëtom*, which was translated to Dutch by a younger Wayana speaker as *dier* ‘animal’, *dieren* ‘animals’ or *alles* ‘all’. During multiple elicitation sessions with different speakers throughout the duration of the fieldwork, *mëkpalëtom* was always provided as the overarching term in Wayana for all the animals. The term *mëkpalëtom* consists of two parts: *mëkpalë* and the nominal collective marker *-tom*. While *mëkpalë* was translated to ‘animal’ or ‘all’ from Dutch, it seems to encompass a deeper meaning of ‘animate beings’, depicted in a Wayana-French dictionary (Camargo & Tapinkili, 2010, p. 92) as “animated entities, whose name should not be spoken”. There has been no indication from the Wayana speakers in Apetina that the animals that make up *mëkpalëtom* are animate entities that may or may not be spoken about. A proper etymology of *mëkpalëtom* is still unclear. In Tavares’ grammar of Wayana (2005) there is no mention of *mëkpalëtom* as animal(s), what is mentioned however is *ëki* as

‘animal’ (p. 37), which is the same word for ‘animal’ or ‘pet’ in the Trio language (Meira, 1999, p. 193). The nominal collective marker *-tom* that follows *mëkpalë* does not translate directly to a meaning of collectivity, but rather to a meaning of plurality. In this thesis, the nominal collective markers *-tom(o)* and *-kom(o)* will be glossed as a collective but translated as plural. The meaning of *mëkpalëtom* in my analysis is ‘animate beings’, as it encompasses more than solely ‘animal(s)’.

The Wayana have five subcategories wherein animals are categorized. Based on my observations, there is no indication that there are more than these five subcategories of animals. However, the possibility must not be excluded and further research on this topic is encouraged, not solely for informational purposes, as Raven, Berlin & Breedlove (1971, p. 1212) state, but for communicating about organisms with ones who understand the nature of the organisms discussed. The subcategories elicited during this research are *tëpëlamó* (in the sky), *kawënotom* (high up, in the trees), *loponokom* (on the ground), *tunakwalitom* (in the water) and *ëtënkóm* (dangerous). These subcategories are discussed and analyzed below. This categorization of fauna could inform us of their culturally significant features and the active ethnobiological knowledge the Wayana possess.

3.2. The Five Categories of Fauna

The first category of animals is the *tëpëlamó*, the animals that are seen flying in the sky. A linguistic analysis of *tëpëlamó* will be given below. This category includes – but is not limited to – the animals *kuhku* ‘owl’, *lele* ‘bat’, *lanoko* ‘big bat’, *tukui* ‘hummingbird’, *meu* ‘orange rock rooster’ and *kulum* ‘king vulture’. These flying animals were all named frequently by the Wayana when asked for examples of animals that fall into the category *tëpëlamó*. The *kulum* ‘king vulture’ is also mentioned as an example of a flying animal that the Wayana

never eat due to the king vulture's diet. I hypothesize that the stories surrounding the scavenging *kulum* indicating that it eats carcasses prevent the Wayana from including it in their own diet. Interestingly, one of the birds that was mentioned, the *powisi ëwok*, is not categorized into *tëpëlamó* but categorized into the *loponokom* category, which is discussed later in this chapter. This *powisi ëwok*, which is also known as the black curassow, is categorized as such as it does not seem to fly, only run. Animal behavior or habitat is thus an important criterion for the categorization. This could serve as evidence that the categories are based on habitat or cosmological layers and not simply on shared morphological or ontological characteristics.

While this category ostensibly signifies the animals with the ability of flight, its literal translation is 'ones with fruit'. This translation implies that this category of flying animals is not named after their shared characteristic of flight but more so after their diet of fruit. This makes for an interesting subject as flying animals are not exclusive in their consumption of fruit and not all flying animals are frugivores.

If we dissect the word form for this category in Wayana, the term *tëpëlamó* consists of the noun for 'fruit' *ëpëli*, an adverbializer *t-N-le* (an allomorph of the recognized *t-N-ke* construction for 'having') and the collective marker *-amo*. However, this construction solely signifies the 'collective having of fruit', and does not indicate any form of participants. Tavares (2005:175-176) inserts the allomorph *-Ø*, indicating a participant nominalizer in the construction. In turn, *tëpëlamó* can be glossed as example 1:

1. *tëpëlamo*

t-ëpëli-le-Ø-amo

HAVING.AVLZ¹-fruit-HAVING.AVLZ-PTN.NMLZ²-COLL³

“ones with fruit”

The second category is titled *kawënotom*. The most prominent feature noted in this category is that the animals are neither seen solely in the air nor solely on the ground. The most frequently mentioned animals in this category by the Wayana when speaking of *kawënotom* are *okomë* ‘wasp’, *kukui* ‘firefly’, *makui* ‘jumping tamarin’, *ili* ‘sloth’ and *silik silik* ‘grasshopper’.

This suggests that the categorization is more based on habitat as a layer of space than on behavior as such; and again, not on anatomy. While these animals have the ability to roam on the ground and have the ability to fly, they are commonly found higher up. One analysis for this category is that the animals classified as *kawënotom* predominantly reside in the forests either in trees, bushes or plants. The word form for this category can be linguistically analyzed into three elements: the adverb *kawë* ‘high’ or ‘tall’, the participant nominalizing suffix allomorph *-no*⁴, and the previously mentioned nominal collective marker *-tom(o)* where the final vowel is omitted. Therefore, *kawënotom* can be glossed as example 2 and could either be translated as ‘high ones’ or ‘tall ones’. As ‘high’ was mentioned more frequently than ‘tall’ as a translation for the adverb *kawë*, I analyze the meaning of *kawënotom* as ‘high ones’.

¹ AVLZ ‘adverbializer’

² PTN.NMLZ ‘participant nominalizer’

³ COLL ‘collective’

⁴ In Tavares’ grammar (2005, p. 174), the participant nominalizing suffix *-no* is said to only occur on non-derived adverb forms. However, in the elicited term *loponokom*, this same participant nominalizing suffix does occur on a derived adverb form and does not seem restricted to non-derived adverbs forms only.

2. *kawënotom*

kawë-no-tom(o)

high-PTN.NMLZ-COLL

“high ones”

The third category of animals is *loponokom*. This category features the animals that are found residing predominantly on the ground. The animals frequently mentioned by the Wayana in this category are *hapakala* ‘iguana’, *maipuli* ‘tapir’, *pëlë* ‘bullfrog’, *kapau* ‘deer’, *alisimë* ‘giant anteater’, *kuliputpe* ‘turtle’, *kulasi* ‘chicken’ and *ijoi* ‘lizard’. While some of these animals can also reside on other areas, their main feature is seen as residing on the ground. As mentioned before, the *powisi ëwok* ‘black curassow’ is categorized under *loponokom* and not under *tëpëlamo* as it resides on the ground and not in the air. Similarly, the *kulasi* ‘chicken’ is also categorized under *loponokom*, in spite of its ability to fly – be it rather limited, it is not categorized as *kawënotom*.

We can linguistically dissect *loponokom* as follows: *lo* was directly translated as ‘ground’ or ‘earth’ by the Wayana, giving the impression that *lo* could be classified as a noun. However, formed with locative marker *-po*, it appears to transform to an adverb form. Following this form is the previously mentioned participant nominalizing suffix allomorph *-no* and the nominal collective marker *-kom(o)*, which also occurs on postpositions that are nominalized by use of said suffix *-no*; and it drops the final vowel. The term *loponokom* can be glossed as seen in example 3 and is analyzed as “ones on ground”.

3. *loponokom*

lo-po-no-kom(o)

earth-LOC⁵-PTN.NMLZ-COLL

“ones on ground”

⁵ LOC ‘locative’

The fourth category is *tunakuwalitom*. The animals found in this category are said to reside mainly in and around water. This category includes – but is not limited to – the animals *awawa* ‘giant otter’, *jukini* ‘small otter’, *hoke* ‘thorny catfish’, *aimala* ‘aimara’, *kolopinpë* ‘pike’ and *letkë* ‘sea catfish’. These animals were mentioned frequently. One mention of a snake that was seen frequently in and around the water is the *kunolo ëkëi*, named after the *kunolo* ‘scarlet macaw bird’. This snake is said to prey on hatchlings of the scarlet macaw. However, whether this snake is categorized under *loponokom*, *tunakuwalitom* or *ëtënkom* (discussed below), was unclear to me. As this snake was reported being seen in the water during an elicitation session on snakes found in Apetina, it will be classified as such in this thesis. This category implies that the animals either live in the water, such as the *kolopinpë* ‘pike’ and the *hoke* ‘thorny catfish’, or reside near a body of water and occasionally swim in water, such as the *awawa* ‘giant otter’ and *kunolo ëkëi* ‘red snake’.

We can dissect *tunakuwalitom* into four elements: *tuna*, translated by the Wayana as ‘water’, *kuwa* as a container-like postposition that translates to ‘in water’, the participant nominalizing suffix allomorph *-li*, which follows a container-like postpositions that ends in *-wa*, *-ja*, *-ta* or *-na* (Tavares, 2005, p. 171) and the collective marker *-tom(o)*. The term *tunakuwalitom* can be glossed as seen in example 4 and is analyzed as “ones in the water”.

4. *tunakuwalitom*

tuna-kuwa-li-tom(o)

water-POST⁶-PTN.NMLZ-COLL

“ones in the water”

⁶ POST ‘postposition’

The final and very remarkable category is named *ētēnkōm*. This category contains the animals that ‘are seen as different from the normal animals’ as mentioned by the younger Wayana speakers I spoke to. They also depicted the animals in this category as animals that eat other animals and people. The list of animals in this category consists of the *kaikui* ‘jaguar’, *kaikui istaino* ‘tiger’, *ipo* ‘manatee or sea cow’ (also mentioned in Tavares, 2005, p. 267 as “mythical river being”) *ēkējuimē* ‘anaconda’, *alimina* ‘electric eel’, *sipali* ‘stingray’, *waněk* ‘fire ant’, *munēt* ‘scorpion’, *kumepep* ‘centipede’, *pija* ‘harpy eagle’ (it is still unsure whether *pija* truly means the harpy eagle or a different white eagle, however characteristic and feature descriptions led me to believe that *pija* is the harpy eagle), *akawaktao* ‘brown eagle’, *kuluwajak* ‘big caterpillar’, *mulokot* ‘big piranha’, *pēnēimē* ‘big piranha’ and the *kunkusimēnē*. It is not certain what animal exactly the *kunkusimēnē* is, but from descriptors it seems to be a fast, brown spider found in the forest. Further research suggests that this spider could possibly be a Brazilian wandering spider or a Goliath bird-eating spider but this cannot be determined properly. Interestingly, other spiders such as tarantulas are not included in this category.

There is little information in earlier literature that discusses *ētēnkōm* except in Camargo & Tapinkili (2010, p. 36) wherein the first part of the title *ētēn* is translated as “caterpillars and carnivorous aquatic beings, belonging to Wayana mythology”. ‘Monsters’ was also a suggested term by one Wayana speaker, which succinctly encompasses the meaning behind this category. I analyze *ētēn* as dangerous beings. In addition to the root *ētēn*, we see the collective marker *-kom(o)* which follows the non-derived noun. The term *ētēnkōm* can be glossed as seen in example 5 and is analyzed as ‘dangerous beings’.

5. *ētēnkōm*

ētēn-kom(o)

dangerous.being-COLL

“dangerous beings”

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All in all, there are five categories for fauna in Wayana based on my research in Apetina. The first four (*tëpëlamo*, *kawënotom*, *loponokom* and *tunakwalitom*) are essentially reflecting layers of space based on habitat and not on anatomy. The animals found are either grouped into living in the sky, high up (tree level), on the ground or in the water. This categorization of fauna in Wayana coincides with one of Jara's (2002, p. 118) hypotheses on the classification of Amazonian zoology. The animals are ostensibly not categorized based on their physical characteristics but on their observed behavioral patterns and habitation. The fifth category (*ëtënkom*) does not seem to be based on the habitat of the animal but on the level of danger of the animal. Interestingly, the animals mentioned in this category are found in Wayana mythology which could play a role in the categorization of these animals. Paulsen (2019) has done extensive research on animal motifs in Caribbean mythology and shows that mythology can give important cues with respect to the conceptualization of animals. For example, the jaguar and the anaconda are generally assigned the roles of the masters of land and water respectively. The jaguar and the anaconda share similar qualities in Caribbean mythology and are regarded as dangerous and powerful animals with the potential to eat humans (Paulsen, 2019, p. 193). These qualities coincide with the proposed categorization of both animals in Wayana.

3.2.1. Fauna in Trio

While the Wayana recognize five categories wherein fauna is categorized, the Trio recognize four categories. These categories are *kaputaonton*, those who inhabit the sky such as birds and bats (lit. 'sky-group'), *wewetaonton*, those who inhabit the trees such as sloths and monkeys (lit. 'tree-group'), *tunahkaonton*, those who inhabit the water such as frogs and fish (lit. 'water-group') and *ototon*, those who live on the ground. The literal translation for *ototon* is 'meat-

group' and seems to refer to game animals residing on the ground such as the tapir and the agouti (Carlin, 2018, p. 9). Comparable to Wayana, three of the categories in Trio are based on habitat and not on the physical characteristics of the animal. However, unlike Wayana, the Trio do not have a separate category for animals based on their level of danger. Another distinction can be found in the animals residing on the ground. These animals are categorized by the Wayana under *loponokom*, a descriptive term based on the habitat of the animal (the ground). With the Trio, the only category named for animals residing on the ground is *ototon*. However, this seems to exclusively refer to game animals (what the translation of this category also seems to suggest). Whether there is a separate category for non-game animals that reside on the ground is not verified.

3.3. Fauna Excerpts in Wayana Mythology

The categorization and importance of fauna in Wayana is also deeply embedded in the orally transmitted mythology. To give a conceptualization to the reader, I present some excerpts from these myths. The work of Chapuis & Rivière (2003) contains many myths about the creation of the world, and these include polymorphism, celestial beings and fauna portrayals. Some remarkable examples are discussed below⁷. All four Wayana myths can be found in Appendix B, along with their translations in French.

6) *Ēkējuimē eitoponpē* (p. 358) “The being of Anaconda/The history of the Anaconda”

- a. *Tikai ēkējuimē wēlii upak. Imnelumimna wēlii. Imnelumimna wēlii mēklē pēk.*
(...) *Malalonme tētihe tēkhe. Malonme tēnēpkai tīhnēlē.*

⁷ I provided a free English translation in (b) to the examples in (a).

- b. “The tale of the anaconda and the woman. The woman (is) without husband. The woman without husband said about the anaconda. (...) So they copulate. So right away she is pregnant.”

This story describes a meeting with an anaconda. This anaconda is not regarded as ‘just any’ animal, but as a being that the woman is able to copulate and have children with, as portrayed in the story. Following the birth of their children, the brother of the woman decides to kill the anaconda. This is one of the stories in which an animal plays a crucial role in Wayana mythology because of their human-like status.

7) *Sisi, nunuwë silikë malë eitoponpë (p. 278)* “The being of the sun, moon and stars/The history of the sun, moon and stars”

- a. *Tumëkhe, silik silik tumëkhe. (...) Malonme mëklë tumëkhe, ikohmantop ilitpon.*
- b. “It arrives, the grasshopper arrives. (...) Then (the grasshopper) arrives, creator of the night.”

In this particular story, the grasshopper is responsible for creating nightfall. Before the arrival of the grasshopper, there was said to only be daylight. This story is deemed important as the cassava beer produced by the Wayana had never been able to ferment. When nightfall came, the cassava beer was able to ferment as this was only possible at night (i.e. in the dark). Cassava beer, also known as *kasiri*, is an important part of Wayana culture, as seen in the above-mentioned story, is relevant in oral mythology. Walking around the village, *kasiri* is continuously being made, filtered, fermented and drunk. Whether it is fermented or unfermented, *kasiri* is always available.

The story of the grasshopper also reveals the creation of the moon, the sun and the stars. While the creation of these celestial bodies does not involve a particular mention of any animals, this origin story does demonstrate an interesting connection between the terrestrial world and the cosmological world: A brother and sister decide to copulate and, after being shamed by a family member, they go to the sky and cling to it. They decide to hide there forever and live as the moon. With regard to this origin story, Chapuis & Rivière (2003) mention that “le monde du rêve et monde terrestre ne sont jamais véritablement séparés: l’espace-temps du premier exerce une sorte de tutelle sur le second” [the terrestrial world and the dream/cosmological world are never truly separate: space-time exerts tutelage over the terrestrial world] (p. 143).

8) *La transformation des humains en oiseaux (p. 250) “The transformation of humans into birds”*

- a. *Kijapok tuwai, tuwai wayaname. Kijapok tëwehenemai pitë.*
- b. “The toucan dance, dance like Wayana. The toucan turn around quickly.”

This story shows polymorphism as found in many Wayana stories. Nowadays, the ability to shapeshift is said to be lost, with the exception of shamans who are believed to still possess this power. Polymorphism abilities are part of the “metamorphism phase” of Wayana mythology (Chapuis & Riviere, 2003). A significant particle in the quote above is the facsimile *-me* following *wayana*. Noted by Hough (2008), this facsimile shows the discrepancy between appearance and reality often seen in Wayana and Trio oral mythology (Carlin, 2004). While the toucans in this story may seem like ordinary birds, they dance as the ‘humans’ (i.e. Wayana) do. The polymorphism depicted in many stories is but one element of a larger holistic

cosmological structure. This cosmological structure also plays an important role in the categorization of fauna in Wayana.

9) *Tulupele eitoponpë* (p. 826) “History of the Tulupele”

- a. *Më, Tulupele tihe tilitponuja tan: ëkëjuimë watki tipkëlëi, alimina watki tipkëlëi, mëlëke tipilëi inëlë ëkëjuimë watki. (...) Tumpon, tumpon! tikai lëken sike tahpule tahpule tahpule kai... Tuwëi, hei tuwëi... (...) Mëlëme hei ënunomna tētihe Wayana. Uwa, mololep, lome ipo lëken, mulokohtom lëken. Jalawalep, lome itikimila sike.*
- b. “The Tulupele is made by the creator: it cuts off the tail of an anaconda, it cuts off the tail of a gymnotus⁸, with this it whips the tail of the anaconda. (...) It (the Tulupele) thrashes as it is pierced over and over, they kill, they kill. (...) The Wayana no longer fear this place. There are dangers, but only manatee or big piranha. There is the giant otter, but it is not disturbed.”

This story recounts the interaction of the Wayana with the Tulupele, a mythological creature made to kill any that crosses its path. In the story, the Wayana kill this creature in order to clear the river for safe passage and transport. Unlike previous excerpts, this story is not a mythological origin story, but instead an example of the Wayana interacting with a mythological creature in a negative way. It shows that the spiritual power of animals is not of a historical nature but omnipresent, as this story takes place after the creation of the Wayana/the world. I infer the Tulupele to be in the “dangerous beings” class, as the implicit comparison is made between the Tulupele, the *ipo* ‘manatee’ and the *mulokot* ‘big piranha’,

⁸ A freshwater fish often found in South America

both of which are contained within *ëtënkom*. The Tulupele is also mentioned in Camargo & Tapinkili (2010, p. 21) as “the extinguisher of the Wayana”.

This section presented a small sample of mythology in which fauna is embedded in Wayana. The stories highlight the relevance of fauna in the oral culture and how these depictions of animals may be related to the perspective of fauna in Wayana. Animals are responsible for many natural phenomena, which can be seen with the grasshopper story, as it is responsible for the night. It is also shown in the Tulupele story that not all mythological creatures with powers are benevolent, and sometimes the Wayana are forced to interact with said creatures to survive.

3.4. Additional Observations

During fieldwork in Apetina, additional data was gathered on fauna that are less central to this thesis. This includes data on animals that are never eaten, data on sound symbolic animals in Wayana and an example of an extinct animal.

The sound symbolic animals in Wayana are composed of three elements: a lexical item referring to the sound the animal makes combined with the verb *ka* ‘say’ and affix *-ne*. The particle *-ne* is described as an agentive nominalizer by Tavares (2005, p. 130). These elements together translate to ‘the sayer of X’. Two examples of sound symbolic animals elicited are frogs, *pakapakane* and *pepekane*.

Animals that are said to never be eaten include snakes, frogs, otters, jaguars, insects and the king vulture. The king vulture is, as previously mentioned, not eaten as it is known to feed on carcasses. This particular diet renders the animal not suitable for consumption according to the Wayana. Snakes, frogs, otters, jaguars and insects are said not to be eaten as

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this is how it has always been. Why exactly this particular set of animals is not eaten is material for future research.

One animal mentioned to be extinct is the *kapiwala* 'capybara'. This animal was described as 'pig-like', and was hunted as they were considered troublesome.

4. Taxonomy

By grouping together related concepts, humans are able to categorize the world around them and in turn understand and act on their environment. This categorization of concepts is said to be an inherent human trait. The systematic organization of the categorized concepts is the process of classification.

In this chapter I will discuss the taxonomic ranks described in Section 1.2. that are deemed universal by Berlin, Breedlove and Raven (1973) and whether the categorization of fauna in Wayana fits in these specific taxonomic ranks.

4.1. ‘Universal’ Taxonomic Ranks

To recapitulate, the main universal taxonomic ethnobiological ranks proposed are the unique beginner, the life-form, the generic, the specific and the varietal. These ranks are arranged hierarchically and each of the taxa assigned to the ranks are mutually exclusive. The Wayana animal terms I have elicited could be analyzed under the tenets of Berlin, Breedlove & Raven’s ‘universal’ taxonomic ranks. Such an analysis would then require the term *mëkpalëtom* to be the unique beginner, as this is the taxon that properly includes all other taxa of the animal domain. The life-form taxa, immediately subordinate to *mëkpalëtom*, would then be *tëpëlamom*, *kawënotom*, *loponokom*, *tunakuwalitom* and *ëtënkom*.

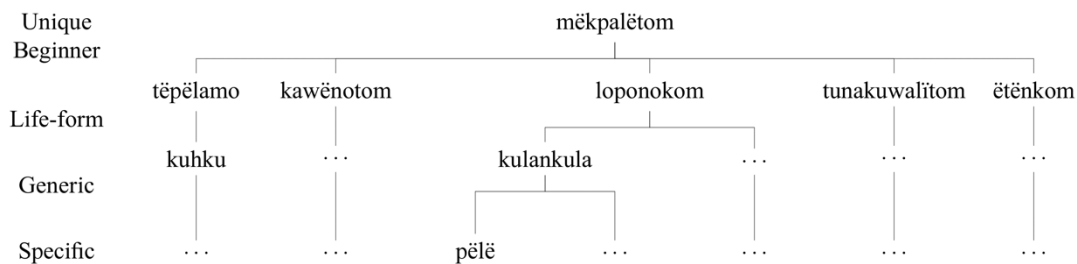


Figure 1. Hypothetical Taxonomic Skeleton.

From there, one can insert the generic and specific taxa into a hypothetical taxonomic skeleton, as seen in Figure 1. Figure 1 explicates the general taxonomy under Berlin, Breedlove & Raven's theory.

The decision to consider *tépélamo*, *kawënotom*, *loponokom*, *tunakuwaliton* and *ëtënkôm* as life-form taxa is crucial, as these are not traditional life-form taxa in the way Berlin, Breedlove & Raven intended. As discussed in Section 1.2. life-form taxa are typically labelled as primary lexemes, with life form examples glossed as 'tree', 'fish' or 'bird' and are often few in number. In my data, the categories that I have elicited that are immediately subordinate to *mëkpalëtom* do not adhere to the traditional definition of life-form taxa. While they are immediately subordinate to the unique beginner *mëkpalëtom*, they are not classified solely on biological features (such as with 'fish'), which produces a higher level of biodiversity in a given category compared to a traditional classification. Another example is the category *ëtënkôm*, which encompasses dangerous animals. This is not a traditional life-form taxon. This implies that the definition of life-form taxa is not inclusive enough to be deemed universal. The categorization of fauna in Wayana on its own does not provide definitive counter evidence against a universal theory of taxonomic rank, but does explicate that the definitions are not inclusive enough. It may be the case that classification varies according to cultural interests and this should be taken into consideration. Future approaches into a potential universal theory for taxonomic ranks should consider categorical perception to be closely related to the culture and the mythology of a community.

5. Fauna in the Stellar Constellations

The importance of fauna is also seen in a different domain, namely the cosmological domain. The constellations seen by the Wayana play an important role in their day-to-day ecological management. While the traditional stellar constellations known in modern western society and their names stem from the Greek, the Wayana have their own names for the groups of stars seen from their village. When the Wayana are directly situated under a constellation that is at its zenith, they associate the appearance of this constellation with certain climatic seasonal manifestations and are thus able to determine the ‘season’ on the basis of said constellation. The term ‘season’ will be used loosely as the objective of this research is not to compare Western definitions to Wayana definitions but to go about having a better understanding of what we can call the Wayana calendar. The Wayana constellations will not be linked to a specific period of time from the Gregorian calendar as it is not clearly specified when exactly these ‘seasons’ begin and when they end. Another factor to be considered is that the researchers and travelers found in various sources who elicited these constellations were spatially separated and may have linked months to constellations according to their elicitations in villages, where the zenith of a certain constellation could occur at a different period of time. These specific results on the stellar constellations of the Wayana are based on the research conducted in Apetina, in the south of Suriname.

These constellations have been elicited from one elder in Apetina, the father of the *basja*, who still had the knowledge of these constellations and how they are to be interpreted. The interpretations of these constellations were given in Dutch by a younger Wayana speaker (and translated to English by me). The linguistic analysis of the constellations is presented thereafter. The order of the constellations named by the elder Wayana speaker follows the cycle of the water level of the Tapanahoni river. These constellations named in order are *inau*

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‘high water’, *jalamatatpi* ‘highest water’, *jalaka* ‘normal water’, *ipetpin* ‘dry time’, *sitikonko* ‘normal water, nice weather’, *tapalukawa* ‘less rain, only seen between 8PM and 6AM’, *ololihku* ‘dry time’, *kujalihku* ‘dry time, time to burn *kostgrond* (Sranantongo: cultivation grounds)’ and *onolehku* ‘start of the rain’. There is a chronological order to the stellar constellations but these are not discrete.

The constellations elicited are tabulated below in Table 1.

Constellation	Natural cycle
<i>inau</i>	high water
<i>jalamatatpi</i>	highest water
<i>jalaka</i>	normal water level
<i>ipetpin</i>	dry time
<i>sitikonko</i>	normal water level with nice weather
<i>tapalukawa</i>	less rain
<i>ololihku</i>	dry time
<i>kujalihku</i>	dry time
<i>onolehku</i>	start of rain season

Table 1. Stellar constellations corresponding with the natural cycle.

The constellation *jalaka* was linked to the month January, the month this fieldwork research took place⁹, and the constellation *ololihku* was linked to the month September in Apetina. From the position of these constellations and their subsequent interpretation the Wayana are able to anticipate the approaching seasonal climatic expectations. When the constellation of *kujalihku* is at its zenith, the Wayana know that the dry period has arrived and that it is time

⁹ Sadly, during fieldwork in January the weather was too cloudy to look at the stars and all discussed evidence is taken from oral stories.

to burn their *kostgrond*. When the constellation of *jalamatapī* is at its zenith, the water in the river is at its highest. Time is measured on the basis of the stellar constellations.

Some of these names are descriptive terms that are based on animals that are found in abundance, and some are simple descriptive terms based on the constellations. The constellations based on animals are *jalaka* ‘tarantula’, *ololihku* ‘iguana’, *kujalihku* ‘red-green macaw’ and *onolehku* ‘tiger heron’¹⁰. Remarkably, three out of these four animal constellations take the enclitic =*hku*, which indicates a marker of ‘in quantity’ or ‘in quality’ (Jackson, 1972, p. 72) and is understood to mean ‘in abundance’ (Carlin, 2017, p. 240). As mentioned in Chapuis and Rivière (2003, p. 300) the constellations seem to refer to the reproduction period of the animals. For example, when the constellation *kujalihku* reaches its zenith, red-green macaws are found in abundance. Interestingly, the constellation for tarantulas, *jalaka*, does not seem to take the marker for quantity, but from personal experience I can confirm that they are definitely in abundance during the period of *jalaka*. Other sources on Wayana (Duin, 2009; Camargo & Tapinkili, 2010) show more animal constellation terms with enclitic =*hku*, namely *munēt* ‘scorpion’, *kaikui* ‘jaguar’, *ėkėi* ‘snake’ and *sipali* ‘stingray’. During my fieldwork, these specific animals were not mentioned as constellations. Magaña (1987, p. 72) lists the names of the months of the year in chronological order with their respective animal reproduction period. In this research he briefly mentions the meaning of the enclitic =*hku* to be ‘stellar’, a sentiment echoed by Duin (2009, p. 197): *ihku* means ‘constellation’ in Wayana. Apart from various sources (Carlin, 2017; Jackson, 1972) stating this enclitic to mark quantity or quality, these studies attempt to correlate the stellar constellations to specific months of the year while this may not be accurate.

¹⁰ The bird ‘tiger heron’ has been deduced from descriptive terms, from ‘golden stripes animal’. In Camargo & Tapinkili (2010, p. 47) *onole* is said to be the *Tigrisoma Lineatum*, also known as the tiger heron, a small bird commonly found in the Southern hemisphere in wetlands.

The constellations elicited that use descriptive terms are *jalamatatpi* and *ipetpin*. These constellations seem to indicate what shape can be seen in the sky at the time the constellation is at its zenith. The first descriptive constellation mentioned, *jalamatatpi* consists of the noun for ‘chin’ *jalamata* and the devaluative suffix *-tpi*. This suffix in combination with body parts indicates a meaning of ‘severed’ or ‘extracted’ (Tavares, 2005, p. 157). Therefore, the constellation *jalamatatpi* is indicative of the shape of a ‘severed chin’.

The following constellation is *ipetpin*. This constellation contains the body part ‘thigh’ *ipet* and is followed by the privative suffix *-pin* (Tavares, 2005, p. 176), denoting the absence of a quality or attribute that is normally present. This constellation shows the one ‘without thigh’. In various sources (Carlin, 2017; Duin, 2009) this constellation is concluded to be Orion, the constellation that is considered one of the most prominent stellar constellations to be seen.

The constellations that do not seem to use either descriptive or animal terms are *inau*, *sitikonko* and *tapalukawa*. Whether these are abstract terms is still unclear, as a translation for all three is not yet construed. What is elicited however, is that the constellation of *inau* indicates the expectation of the high-water level in the river. In different sources, the constellation *inau* signals the arrival of the Pleiades (Camargo & Tapinkili, 2010, p. 40 “*inawu*”, Chapuis & Rivière, 2003, p. 300; Duin, 2009, p. 193), a constellation commonly associated with the arrival of rainy weather (Magaña, 1987, p. 67). In Hugh-Jones’ (1979, p. 170) research on the cosmology of the Barasana in Colombia, the setting of the Pleiades at dusk indicate that the rain season is arriving. The rain showers that follow are aptly named *Nyokaoro Hue* ‘Pleiades rains’ by the Barasana. In Wright’s (2013, p. 204) research on the shamanic knowledge of the Baniwa in Brazil, the appearance of the Pleiades marks an important time in the year. When the Pleiades set in the sky, heavy rain falls and forest fruit ripens. Based on these previous sources on the Pleiades and the information from the Wayana

on the constellation *inau*, the arrival of the Pleiades and the association with (heavy) rain seem an important theme in indigenous calendars.

The constellations *sitikonko* and *tapalukawa* seem to overlap in time according to the elicitation. The constellation *sitikonko* signals the arrival of a normal water level in the river paired with nice weather overall in the village. This name seems to be derived from *silikë konko* to *silikonko* (to *sitikonko*), found in Camargo & Tapinkili (2010, p. 114) where it is translated as Venus, thought to be one of the brightest objects to see in the sky at night. This term from which the name of the constellation is derived can be translated as *silikë* ‘star’ with the vocative form for ‘the brother of the mother’ *konko* (Camargo & Tapinkili, 2010, p. 76). The constellation *tapalukawa* is seen during the time *sitikonko* is also reaching its zenith, between 8PM and 6AM. This constellation was described by the Wayana as the constellation that showed when there would be less rainfall and is also seen when *sitikonko* is seen. No direct translation was elicited but again in Camargo & Tapinkili (2010, p. 120), *tapalukawa* is mentioned as “great star who stands in front of Venus”.

The constellations and how the Wayana interpret them show that the cycle of the Wayana calendar deviates from the Western calendar as it focusses on the state of the river and the animals found around them to measure time. This shows a cycle of the natural world that is not comparable to merely aligning constellations to months.

6. Conclusion

This present work aimed to add a more comprehensive understanding of the categorization of fauna and their cultural significance in Wayana to the current body of available work. The research was conducted by means of fieldwork with native Wayana speakers in the village of Apetina in Suriname. During this research, it became clear that the Wayana have (at least) five separate categories for fauna based crucially on habitat or animal behavior, instead of morphological or ontological characteristics, as discussed in Chapter 3. These categories fall under the overarching term *měkpalětom*, often translated as ‘animal(s)’ by the Wayana, but seemingly encompassing a deeper meaning of ‘animate beings’. Four of the established categories of fauna fall in the habitat criterion: *těpělamo* (in the sky), *kawěnotom* (high up, tree level), *loponokom* (on the ground) and *tunakuwalitom* (in the water). Animals of different species and anatomies can be found in the same category, such as the *okomě* ‘wasp’ and the *ili* ‘sloth’ in the *kawěnotom* category. The fifth established category, *ětěnkom*, is ostensibly based on (dangerous) animal behavior. These animals were aptly named ‘monsters’ by one of the native speakers. The animals mentioned in the *ětěnkom* category could have a certain cultural significance as they are often found in Wayana mythology. Furthermore, Wayana provides convincing data that traditional theories on taxonomic ranks are not inclusive enough to be labelled universal. The cultural significance of the animals mentioned in *ětěnkom* and the inclusiveness (or exclusiveness) of the traditional theories on taxonomic ranks are material for further research.

The role of fauna is solidified in the mythological canon of the Wayana. As mentioned above, certain animals found in Wayana mythology are believed to possess spiritual powers and are often classified as dangerous beings. Many of these myths are origin stories of the creation of the world and living beings, amongst which the Wayana themselves. An important

power which is attributed to animals and specific humans (e.g. shamans) is polymorphism or shapeshifting, which is a recurring theme in Wayana mythology as a whole.

The importance of fauna is also expressed in the cosmological domain of the Wayana. During this research nine different stellar constellations were named and identified. These constellations play an important role in the indigenous ecological management. As discussed in Chapter 5, as a result of the position of the stellar constellations and the interpretation of these constellations, the Wayana are prepared for the approaching seasonal climatic conditions. Additionally, the position of stellar constellations that are named after certain animals, such as the *olohku* constellation (indicative of a dry time), signals the start of the reproduction period of the animal. In the case of the *olohku* constellation, it marks the reproduction period of the iguana. This indigenous calendar illustrates the ecological management of the Wayana and not simply the alignment of constellations to certain months of the year as the constellations are in chronological order, but not strictly in discrete fashion. Besides the subject of constellations in indigenous calendars, the stories and meanings behind them would make for an intriguing topic for further research.

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Appendix A

This appendix lists the animals cited in Wayana texts by Chapuis & Rivière (2003, p. 1045), translated to English from French by the scientific names. These animal names in Wayana were presented to native speakers during elicitation sessions.

WAYANA	ENG
aimala	aimara
akawak	marail guan
alakakai	blue-winged parakeet
alalawa	blue macaw
alama	bee
alawata	howler monkey
alimi	monkey
alimina	electric eel
alu	black-tailed hairy porcupine
asitau	coumarou (?)
atula	kingfisher
awawa	giant otter
awila	black vulture
ëkëjuimë	anaconda
ëwok	black curassow
ëwotpëtëkë	ruddy pigeon
haikane	vampire fish (?)
halatawai	pike characin

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hapakala	gold tegu
heli	big ant
hoke	thorny catfish
holoho	great tinamou
kalau	red-throated caracara
kapasi	nine-banded armadillo
kapau	red brocket (deer)
këlëpukë	weasel
kolopinpë	pike cichlid
kuhku	owl
kujali	red and green macaw
kujuwi	blue-throated piping guan
kukui	firefly
kulaikulai/ëlekelu	orange-winged amazon
kulankula	frog
kulasi	chicken
kulëu	spectacled owl
kulikuli	southern mealy amazon
kulima	cornbird
kuliputpë	sea turtle
kului	marbled wood-quail
kulum	king vulture
kunolo	scarlet macaw
lanoko	big bat
lele	bat

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letkë	sea catfish
maipo	variegated tinamou
maipuri	south american tapir
makahoho	woodcreeper
makui	red-handed tamarin
malakana	chestnut-fronted macaw
malapi	white-winged swallow
mamhali	grey-winged trumpeter
matawale	butterfly peacock bass
mawe	smoky jungle frog
mulokoimë	south american trout (?)
mutu	amazonian motmot (bird)
napiwak	carp (?)
oklai	blackish nightjar
okomë	wasp
olotoko	rooster
opak	mosquito
owau	capuchinbird
pajakwa	yellow-rumped cacique
pakila	collared peccary
palawa	yellow-crowned amazon
palawana	guianan toucanet
palutete	parrot
pasi	red acouchi (rodent)
patakasi	wolf/tiger fish

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pehpe	great horned owl
pëinëkë	peccary
pëlë	big bullfrog
pëne	piranha
pëti	scaled pigeon
pija	white eagle
pijokoko	?
pililik	white-head marsh tyrant
pilisi	golden-winged parakeet
sijeu	ring-tailed coati (raccoon family)
sikale	blackbellied cuckoo
sikë	sand flea
silik silik	grasshopper
suwi	little tinamou
tukui	hummingbird
uluma	duck
waimutukuli	ant
walamali	snake
wantinke	?
watau	?
wetu	crimson-crested woodpecker

Appendix B

This appendix contains the four Wayana myths that are discussed in Section 3.3 Fauna Excerpts in Wayana Mythology. These myths describe the history of the anaconda, the creation of the night and the celestial bodies, polymorphism and the death of the mythological creature Tulupele.

Ėkėjuimė eitoponpė (p. 358)	L’histoire d’Anaconda
<p>1. Tikai Ėkėjuimė wėlii upak.</p> <p>2. Imnelumimna wėlii. Imnelumimna wėlii mėklė pėk: “Eeeee! Ėkėjuimė atpė! Mėhkė hek imnelume, Ėkėjuimė!”, tikai wėlii.</p> <p>3. Tika tikai lėken lep, tawake lėken lep.</p> <p>4. “Alenahek!”, tikai imepin, “alenahek, mėnmėkja nai ėwėkjanai malalė epėknai mentėja wayana katip nai mėnėtija”, tikai.</p> <p>5. “Talala, itėtohmehek tunakwak pėtuku januktatohme”, tikai wėlii.</p> <p>6. Malonme tikohmamhe aptau, tikohmamhepsik aptau, titėi, apėtumhak Ėkėjuimė titėi. Tuh tuh tuh tuh...</p> <p>7. “Umėkjahe!”</p> <p>8. “Mėk? Ėnikpa man?”</p> <p>9. “İu”, tikai, “İu wai, Alikla!”</p> <p>10. “Mėk? Ėnikpane Aliklame wayana?”, tikai.</p> <p>11. “Ėwenka kapaman?”, tikai mėklė, akon, “ėwenka kapaman Ėkėjuimė metalepa? Mėklė tapek kapa, mėklė?”</p>	<p>1. C’est le conte de l’anaconda et d’une femme, autrefois.</p> <p>2. La femme n’avait pas de mari. La femme qui n’avait pas de mari (dit) au sujet (de l’anaconda): “Oh! Quel gros anaconda! Viens donc comme mon époux, l’anaconda!”, dit la femme.</p> <p>3. Elle ne faisait que plaisanter, elle blaguait seulement.</p> <p>4. “Attention!”, dit une autre, “attention, il va venir (et voudra) te faire l’amour, il va venir te voir (la nuit) sous l’aspect humain”, dit-elle.</p> <p>5. “Tant pis, je préfère aller dans l’eau pour devenir belle!”, dit la femme.</p> <p>6. Puis le soir au crépuscule, alors qu’il fait presque nuit, il vient, l’anaconda vient d’une fière allure. Tuh tuh tuh tuh...</p> <p>7. “Me voilà!” (dit-il).</p> <p>8. “Quoi? Qui es-tu?” (demande la fille).</p> <p>9. “Moi”, dit-il, “c’est moi, Alikla!”</p> <p>10. “Quoi? Qui est l’individu Alikla?”, dit-elle.</p> <p>11. “As-tu donc oublié?”, dit celle-ci, sa sœur,</p>

<p>12. “Mëëëë! Ękëjuimëja lëken ko ma wika: ‘aimët, ìnnelume eikël’, wika”</p> <p>13. “Uwa, talële kapolola man ëkëjuimë, monmëi! Tiwëmëhe, Alikla lëken numëk!”, tïkai, tëhet pëk.</p> <p>14. “Mëk! Ękëjuimë kapaman? Ęëëë, ëtikëpa ìnnelume!” tïkai, wayana katip sike, pëtuku kupëjau sike, imijata, imijatalìhnë.</p> <p>15. Tëtalepai apsikan ëkëi esike!</p> <p>16. Malonme tëtìhe tëkhe. Malonme tënëpkai tìhnëlä.</p> <p>Tëtìhe ipeinom. Tìnikhe kolepsik, tìnikhe. Tanuntai wëlii.</p> <p>17. Malonme, wapot mitak tìtëi: “Ęhomhe wìtëjai!”, tïkai.</p> <p>18. Malonme ipi tìwiptëi tulum. “Ęhomtamisipsik!”, tïkai.</p> <p>19. Kailen tawëla sike upak Wayana ëtap lëken, tëhjontëi lëken ëtatke.</p> <p>20. Malonme: “Ęhomhepsik itëjai!”</p> <p>21. Lome mëklë, ëkëjuimë, tìmelekai.</p> <p>22. Kilim tïkai tìmeleka tìhwë wapot umit kilimame.</p> <p>23. “Mëk? Ęnikpa mëi? Ęnikjamkomke kohëk manatëi tìnnelumke?”, tïkai.</p> <p>24. “Eeee ëkëjuimë ken jelelep jaha!”, kai.</p> <p>25. Malonme tuwëi ipilija: tahpule... tahpule... maka! inene pìtpike, pìlëuke, helë sijalonme kulekome ëkëjuimë pile.</p> <p>26. Upak kunmëlamkom moiwake tìlëke, pìlëuimë ke, ma hemalë helëke, tìleke howoi man ke kunmëlamkom,</p> <p>27. inenepitpì tuwëtohme, mìhen.</p> <p>28. Malonme tìlëmëphe, inëlä, hakpa!</p> <p>29. Timatapëk inëlä, ëlewe kohle tëtìhe.</p>	<p>“as-tu donc oublié que tu as salué l’anaconda? N’est-ce-pas lui, celui-là?”</p> <p>12. “Bah! J’ai juste dit ça à l’anaconda: ‘viens, sois mon époux!’, ai-je dit”</p> <p>13. “Impossible, aucun anaconda ne peut venir jusqu’ici, ils sont loin! C’est un autre Alikla qui est venu!”, dit (l’anaconda) en se présentant.</p> <p>14. “Quoi? C’est toi (le soi-disant) anaconda? Bon, deviens donc mon mari!” dit-elle, parce qu’il a l’aspect humain, parce qu’il est beau et tatoué, que c’est un jeune homme, que c’est encore un jeune homme.</p> <p>15. Mais en fait elle a (bien) salué un jeune serpent!</p> <p>16. Après quoi ils copulent. Puis (Alikla) la met rapidement enceinte. Ses enfants grandissent. Quelques temps passent. Le (ventre de) la femme gonfle.</p> <p>17. Peu après, (Alikla) va auprès du feu: “Je vais me réchauffer!”, dit-il.</p> <p>18. Puis le frère (de la fille) descend (du hamac). “Je (vais aussi) me réchauffer un peu!”, dit-il.</p> <p>19. Comme autrefois les gens n’avaient pas de moustiquaires (mais) juste des hamacs, ils s’enroulaient dans les hamacs.</p> <p>20. Alors: “Je vais aussi me réchauffer!” (dit le frère).</p> <p>21. Mais lui, l’anaconda, le touche (involontairement).</p> <p>22. (L’homme) frissonne dès qu’il le touche en déplaçant des braises.</p> <p>23. “Quoi? Qui est celui-là? Qu’avez-vous donc à épouser n’importe quoi?”, dit-il.</p> <p>24. “(Au diable) cet anaconda qui me fait peur!”, (s’irrite)-t-il.</p>
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<p>30. Malonme towokom tuwëi ipeinomompilija.</p> <p>31. Asimhak tëtihe ipeinomompï! Ënik katip? Talanme Salumen katip aptau. Salumen katip aptau tot, titëi towokom titontonmai pitë tahton tahton.</p> <p>32. “Eeee, peitopitütpi ëkëjuimë peinom ken itonton meha!”, tikai. Tëwemekëmëi tot: “Umëkëmë, nitëimëja hemë konko pona emna ëtukhe ëtawokhe”, tikai tot.</p> <p>33. Tëwewalamaliptëi kiji amuke. Malonme hemele titëi.</p> <p>34. Pilëu potitpë wayana, pile potitpë kulumuli tihe ejahe.</p> <p>35. Aaaa tëhalëi tot hemele towokom wëi, tuwëtpon lëken.</p> <p>36. Enuwëmnomotpë towokom ënuwëla, mëklë lëken tuwëi tahpule tahpule tulu: maka!</p> <p>37. Moloinë, tëhalëimëitot tijumkom eneimëi tunakwak.</p> <p>38. Tijekom tëlëi. “Aji, mama, papak pona, konko emna nuwë papak tuwëi sike” “Ëëëë!”, tikai ijekom. Titëi.</p> <p>39. Malonme titëi wayana ametak, tipanakmai. “Ënik neha monona?”, tikai.</p> <p>40. “Tapa nika? Mëlë mëlë mëlë mëlë nika”, tikai.</p> <p>41. “Ale! Ënik nahek mëklë, kupawanakom tapek lepka mëklë?”, tikai wayana, “henetatën!” Titëi epo.</p> <p>42. Palasisi po, kole ëhëhtautot: Taliliman, Tikolokem, Meikolo, ëhmelë... Hamakatom ëlewe talilimankom tëtihe... Ailëlële man Meikolohe Palasisi.</p>	<p>25. Puis le frère tue (Alikla): il le transperce, flop, fini... avec ce que (l’anaconda) avait créé, avec des flèches, ces flèches-ci que l’anaconda a rapporté pour nous pour toujours.</p> <p>26. Autrefois nos flèches étaient en moiwa, en pilëuimë, (alors) qu’aujourd’hui c’est (fait) avec ceci, nous les faisons nous-mêmes avec ce qui est léger,</p> <p>27. avec ce que (l’anaconda) a apporté et qui a servi à le tuer, hélas.</p> <p>28. Puis (l’anaconda) meurt, lui, brutalement!</p> <p>29. Sur (sa dépouille) qui pourrit les mouches deviennent nombreuses.</p> <p>30. Ensuite, leur oncle sera tué par les enfants (de l’anaconda).</p> <p>31. Ses enfants grandissent vite! (Ils deviennent) comme qui? Peut-être comme Salumen. Quand ils ont l’âge de Salumen, ils vont voir leur oncle et l’agacent avec leurs flèches.</p> <p>32. “Ah, les orphelins de l’anaconda me cassent les pieds!”, dit-il. Ils rentrent chez eux: “Nous revenons, mais nous irons encore chez notre oncle pour boire et manger”, disent-ils.</p> <p>33. (Les garçons) s’habillent avec des pousses de kiji. Et cette fois ils vont (chez l’oncle).</p> <p>34. Une pointe usagée de flèche pour homme, une pointe en roseau est refaite par eux.</p> <p>35. Et ils partent pour en finir avec leur oncle, seulement (avec) celui qui a tué (leur père).</p> <p>36. Ils ne tuent pas (les oncles) qui n’ont pas tué (leur père), ils n’abattent que celui-ci: ça y est!</p> <p>37. Ensuite, (les garçons) repartent trouver leur père dans l’eau.</p>
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<p>43. Mëk tïkai upak wayana: “Alikï jepe jo!”, tïkai ëkulephanme, ma Palasisi “bosu!” tïkai ëkulephe, ëmelëken palasisitom, Ulanteme... ëhmelë ëkulephe wayana tëtalepai malëhken lëken, tïkai Wayana ënipanakmala.</p> <p>44. Hemalë lëken man Palasisi omijau pophtë peitopït ëhmelë, sikolopëk esike lëken.</p> <p>45. Huwa, enetpï kohle tëtïhetot: “Eeee, kupawanakome nesi!”, tïkai, “këpekom, mëhe, ipokan”, tïkai, “Palasisitom”, kanë.</p> <p>46. Ipanakmai mënmejai tïkai iu, ten tïkai wapot tulëi ija, panëk. Malëla! Hemalë, peitopït ipanatala!</p> <p>47. Huwa eitoponpë mëhe Palasisi kupawanakome, mënkaimëhneja tamusitom.</p> <p>48. Huwa lëken, maka neha!</p>	<p>38. Ils emmènent leur mère. “Maman, allons chez papa, nous avons tué notre oncle parce qu’il a tué notre père” “D’accord!”, dit leur mère. Ils s’en vont.</p> <p>39. Par la suite, des gens vont en aval, et entendent (du bruit). “Qui est là-bas?”, disent-ils.</p> <p>40. “Ça fait comment? Cela bourdonne”, disent-ils.</p> <p>41. “Mince! Qui est-ce donc, ce sont peut-être des amis à nous?”, disent les gens, “allons les voir!”. Ils arrivent sur le lieu.</p> <p>42. Il y a là des Blancs, beaucoup (de gens) mélangés: des Noirs, des Blancs, des Aluku, de tout, des Saramaka que sont devenues les mouches noires... C’est pour cela que les Blancs apprécient les Aluku.</p> <p>43. Les Indiens, jadis, se demandaient qui c’était: “aliki jepe jo!”, disent à jamais (les Noirs marrons), et les Blancs disent définitivement “bonjour!”, tous les Blancs, les Hollandais... tous saluent les gens à jamais de cette façon, disaient les Indiens qui ne comprenaient pas.</p> <p>44. C’est seulement maintenant que tous les enfants parlent correctement la langue des Blancs, simplement parce qu’ils vont à l’école.</p> <p>45. Voilà, ceux qu’on avait découverts étaient devenus nombreux: “Bon, soyons amis!” disait-on, “nos amis, eux, sont gentils”, disait-on, “les Blancs”, racontait-on.</p> <p>46. J’écoutais, dis-je, en silence, en allumant le feu, moi. Pas comme (vous)! Aujourd’hui, les enfants n’écotent plus (les histoires)!</p>
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	<p>47. C'est ainsi que les Blancs sont devenus nos partenaires, racontaient les anciens.</p> <p>48. Voilà tout, c'est fini!</p>
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Sisi, Nunuwë silikë malë eitoponpë (p. 278)	L'histoire du soleil, de la Lune et des étoiles
<p>1. Tëwelisi tëkhe. Malonme:</p> <p>2. "Tohmepa ëpi akëlë man, ëpiliija mëtëkpoja?", tïkai imepïn ipi akon.</p> <p>3. "Këken? Ètëkulanmamënai, emna!", tïkai.</p> <p>4. "Lome tëwëtëkhe manatëi!", tïkai,</p> <p>5. "kuwenetëu wunmamë hemalë, mëhekjatëi!", tïkai,</p> <p>6. "ëpiliija manai tëkhe!", tïkai,</p> <p>7. "ëwailon nunmamë mëhe ëpi, mëklëlënmamë mëhe ëjekomemna!", tïkai,</p> <p>8. "lome ëme tëkhe!", tïkai. Èh tïkai.</p> <p>9. Moloinë, tïpisiptëi sike tëwëhalëitot sija kapunak, nunuwëk wak: kapu pëkena tëwëhapëihe.</p> <p>10. "Èh emna nëhalëjai!", kala.</p> <p>11. Tïkai lep emna nëhalëjai, emna nëtonamjai tïkai kenem helë pëkëna tütëtotpme. Tëtonamtopme tütëi.</p> <p>12. Moloinë tot tëwëtonamhe.</p> <p>13. "Wantëlëpsik këneimëjai", tïkai, "hei aptau lëken këneimëjai!", tïkai, "hei këneimëjai!", tïkai.</p> <p>14. Hei këneimëjai tïkai sisi ekaktatopoja këneimëjai!", tïkai, "ahpela wai!", tïkai, "emna mèneimëjai!", tïkai.</p> <p>15. "Tamïketëu emnapëk?", tïkai. "Uwanma kalanma manatëi?", tïkai, "ëh emna nëtomamjai", tïkai.</p> <p>16. Ah tëneimëi talëtpene tïkaitot talë aptau lële man talihna, tih ahpela.</p>	<p>1. (Lune) baise avec sa sœur. Puis:</p> <p>2. "Pourquoi es-tu donc avec ton frère, à te faire baiser?", dit un autre frère.</p> <p>3. "Quoi? Nous ne baisons pas, nous!", dit (la sœur).</p> <p>4. "Pourtant vous avez baisé!", dit-il,</p> <p>5. "je vous ai vus aujourd'hui, vous copulez!", dit-il,</p> <p>6. "ton frère te baise!", dit-il,</p> <p>7. "vous avez la même mère, avec ton frère, vous avez la même mère avec celui-là!", dit-il,</p> <p>8. "mais il te baise!", dit-il (à sa sœur). Elle acquiesce.</p> <p>9. Ensuite, parce qu'il leur a fait honte, ils sont partis là-bas dans le ciel, dedans la lune: ils se sont accrochés au ciel.</p> <p>10. Ils n'ont pas dit: "on va y aller!"</p> <p>11. Pourtant ils l'ont dit (à leur façon), ils ont dit qu'ils allaient se cacher mais sans dire qu'ils allaient (au ciel). (Lune et sa sœur) font ça pour disparaître à jamais.</p> <p>12. Ensuite, ils se sont cachés.</p> <p>13. "Plus tard, vous me reverrez", a dit (Lune), "une fois que nous serons là-bas!", a-t-il dit, "vous me reverrez par là-bas!", a-t-il.</p> <p>14. "Vous me reverrez vers là où le soleil se lève", dit (Lune), "je ne mens pas!", dit-il, "vous allez me revoir!", dit-il.</p>

<p>17. “Eh ahpela toma kija!”, tĭkai, “tĭtĕi toma kija tĕtonamhe toma kija!”, tĭkai.</p> <p>18. “Tohme lĕlepa?”, tĭkai.</p> <p>19. “Kĕken tuwalĕlanmawai!”, tĭkai.</p> <p>20. “Makatopmĕlanmamĕ ma wĭkane, ĕwepetopkomela.</p> <p>21. ‘Apĕikĕpa, ĕmnelume ĕtapĕikĕ, emnelume apĕikĕ, ĕpitme apĕikĕ, kaikuime ĕwaptau manai mala!’, wĭkanepsik lĕkenĕmĕ.</p> <p>22. Moloinĕ tĭtĕi iwĕlisi, tĕlĕnmahenma mĭhen”.</p> <p>23. “Ahpĕnma, mĕhe”, tĭkaitot iwĕkĭtot ipilam. Talahku tumĕkĕmĕi: umĕkĕmĕpinme maka tĕhalĕitot!</p> <p>24. Huwa mĕnkaimĕhnĕja lĕken papak.</p> <p>25. Nunuwĕ helĕ ma tĕwĕlisi ĕkheinĕ itĕtpĭ, mĕnke Sisi malalĕ. Heje, heilĕle mĕnekakte hei sisi.</p> <p>26. Sisi mĕnekaktaimĕja tĭkai, nunuwĕ hei. Mĕnekaktaimĕja sisi tĭkai. Mĕnejahĕ tĭkai kokopsik tĭkai.</p> <p>27. Ah kokopsik tĕnei tĭh pulaman hei: mĕ ahpela kapatoma tĭkai. Sija mĕntĕja, tĭkai, sija mentĕja nunuwĕ tĭkai.</p> <p>28. Hei mĕntĕja nunuwĕ, tĭkai masike, masike mĕntĕimĕja.</p> <p>29. Mĕnehenepoinĕ ja tĭkai. Nunuwĕ mĕntĕimĕja tĭkai nunuwĕ mĕntĕimĕja tĭkai sija tĭkai sisi malĕ.</p> <p>30. Masike tĕneinei sisi, emtak emtak nunuwĕ tĭtĕi sija huwa ĕtakĕlĕ helĕlĕ akĕlĕ.</p> <p>31. Heiman ijumen ma, sisi, malĕla nunuwĕ mĕntĕjahku.</p> <p>32. [Masike wipohnĕpĭjai lĕken helĕ pĕk kai papak. Ekalĕtoponpĭ tĭtamuluja tĭtamu nekalĕtpĭtĭjum nekalĕtpĭ.</p>	<p>15. “Que direz-vous sur nous?”, dit-il, “rien du tout, vous n’allez rien dire!”, dit (Lune), “car nous allons nous cacher”, dit-il.</p> <p>16. On dit qu’on les voit à ce moment-là, lorsque la lune est exposée, et c’est exact.</p> <p>17. “Eh bien, c’est tout à fait vrai!”, dit (le frère qui leur a fait honte), “ils sont bien partis et se sont cachés!”, dit-il.</p> <p>18. “Mais pourquoi donc (sont-ils partis)?”, lui demande-t-on.</p> <p>19. “Je ne sais pas!” répond-il.</p> <p>20. “Ce n’est pas pour provoquer ça que j’ai dit cela, pas pour que vous vous enfuyiez.</p> <p>21. ‘Eprene-le, mariez-vous, prends-le comme ĕpoux, prends-la comme ĕpouse, vous faites ça comme si vous ĕtiez des chiens!’, c’est tout ce que je leur ai dit.</p> <p>22. Puis ma sĕeur est partie, (Lune) a fini par l’emmener!”.</p> <p>23. “Il est cinglĕ, lui”, disent leur famille, leurs frĕres. C’est impossible de s’en retourner (sur terre): ils sont partis pour ne plus revenir!</p> <p>24. Voilà vraiment ce que disait mon pĕre.</p> <p>25. Lune est celui qui est parti aprĕs avoir copulĕ avec sa sĕeur, disait (mon pĕre), et ce fut pareil pour Soleil. Par là, (le soleil) se lĕve bien par là.</p> <p>26. On disait que le soleil allait reparaĭtre, et la lune par là. On disait que le soleil allait reparaĭtre. Tu (le) vois, le matin, disait-on.</p> <p>27. Et on le voit le matin qui brille là: c’est donc vrai (cette histoire) se dit-on. (Le soleil) part vers là-bas, dit-on, et la lune par là.</p> <p>28. Elle part par là-bas, la lune, ainsi dit-on, car elle y va à nouveau.</p>
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33. Masike ma wikei ëja mëlë tuwalëpsik lëken:
mïja tuwalëla titën kapamëmëi.

Peptame iwaptau manu wai tuwalë, manu kunumusi
hapon papak tilëmëphe!

34. Aptau manu wai tuwalë, manu tïpanakmai
pëtuku, panëk! Masike mëhalëja mawikei
ipanakmatëk.

35. Ëja heman: tïnot ke mehatëken kunumusime
mehatëken tïnot ke... Ëja heman wayana, ëjahe man
walawalam wikei, mëhalëja ipajamoja.

36. Uwanma ënipanakmala, masike ma wikei ëja,
ëja lëken maka.]

37. Ëtïneha ehet, helë ehet?

38. Uwanma, tuwalëla nunuwë ehet, titën
kapamëmëi eluwa ehet malë wëlii,
ehet titën kapamëmëi. Wantëlepsik wikaimëjai ëja.
Ipohnepëmëjai pitë tëkutpon malë wëlii.

39. Tohme nikohman ja, nawaine huwa? Tuwalë
kaman?

40. Mëklëlëja tïhe. Upakaptau, tawainai helë katip
lëken wëliham pëken tïtëi wayana tih tih tih tih...

41. Ikohmamïla upak, ikohmantop ënilïla. Okï tïhe
mëlëlëtau okï tëlïhe, akon mat pïtau. Ulu mëlëlëtau
lëken.

42. Ikohmamïla. Kole tïnikhe ikohmamïla: tëpamhe
wayana.

43. Talïhnau tëvehekhe wayana. Wëliham pëkën
tïtëi. Tëvehekhe malëken. Tïtëi set setme lëken tïtëi
eluwa pom wëlii akëna.

44. Maa talahku tïnikhe wayana? Inïktopkom mele,
moloinë ipok tëtönamëmëi huwa!

45. Moloinë helë tïhe, ikohmantop.

29. Elle va reparaître, dit-on. La lune s'en va, dit-on,
la lune s'en va par là, dit-on, avec le soleil.

30. Ensuite on revoit le soleil, il va en sens inverse de
celui de la lune, au même niveau, pareillement.

31. Il est de ce côté-là à jamais, le soleil,
contrairement à la lune qui se déplace.

32. [Et donc je ne fais que réfléchir à propos de ça,
disait mon père. C'est ce que son grand-père lui avait
relaté de ce qu'il avait retenu de ce que son grand-
père avait raconté.

33. Donc ce que je te raconte c'est seulement le peu
que je sais, la suite je l'ignore car je l'ai oubliée. Si
j'avais été grande, j'aurais pu tout savoir, si mon père
était mort quand j'étais assez âgée!

34. J'aurais pu en savoir davantage si j'avais bien
écouté, moi! C'est pourquoi je dis (à mes petites-
filles) de bien écouter.

35. Ils viendront vers vous: vous aviez une grand-
mère, elle était vieille votre grand-mère... Les gens
viendront vers vous, ils viendront vers vous pour
discuter, dis-je à mes petites-filles.

36. (Mais) elles n'écoutent rien, c'est donc à toi que
je raconte, rien qu'à toi.]

37. C'est quoi le nom de cette histoire-là, son nom?

38. Bof, j'ignore le nom de (l'histoire) de la lune, j'ai
oublié le nom du garçon et de la fille, je les ai
oubliés. Si je m'en souviens, je te le dirai plus tard. Je
vais d'abord réfléchir à la fille et à son amant.

39. Pourquoi est-ce-qu'il fait nuit et jour? Est-ce-que
tu le sais?

40. Ça a été créé par (Kuyuli). Jadis, les chercheurs
de filles allaient en plein jour comme vont les gens en
ce moment.

<p>46. Tumëkhe, silik silik tumëkhe: “Umëkjahe!”, tïkai, “etïne, molo? Okï lep kane molo? Tïhawatai lep kane?”, tïkai.</p> <p>47. “Uwanma!”, tïkai.</p> <p>48. Kulok kulok kai: uwanma jakwe asiphak.</p> <p>49. “Ma tohmepa ijehnalane okï?”, tïkai.</p> <p>50. “Uwa ijehnal!”</p> <p>51. “Ëh, hemalëkowïjeh nanïpjai! Hemalë ëkohmanjai, ëwïnikjai!”, tïkai. Ma tïkohmamhe.</p> <p>52. “Kulasinai tïkëi, kulasi mijai moloinë mënetapanja: tokleha, mënke tïkai awainalihtau”, tïkai.</p> <p>53. Ma kului monona mijai ëhematakmïjai monona. Wama tïkapkë, moloinë mijai mapëptëjai.</p> <p>54. Moloinë mënetapanja. Ëhelepïlanai eikë!</p> <p>55. “Ikohmamïla manai. Molonalë, ëwawainaimëjailë. Moloinë tïkohmanhe maka mijasi tïtëi”</p> <p>56. Ma maka, tïkohmamhe peto!</p> <p>57. “Tohmelëlepa nikohmam? Ìkohmam tohme mïhen lëken kapa numëk? ëtïkai numëk, ikohmantop enephe lëken?”, tïkai, “keilehe?”</p> <p>58. Maka neha. Ìnikïla tawainai wayana.</p> <p>59. Moloinë awaina tïpohnëphe. Mëklë tëtapamhe kului akename: tokolalum tokolalum tokolalum kai mëklë tïlïtpï.</p> <p>60. “Tëpsik lëlepa nawaina?”, kai. Tënk, mijalë: tokolalum tokolalum tokolalum tokolam... Tëlëkene mijalë: tokolalum tokolalum tokolalum.</p> <p>61. Ma molo hemele kulasi hemele tokoleha, tïlïtpï hawe.</p> <p>62. Ma nawaina, hawe.</p> <p>63. “Ah, nawaina uwalep ikohmamïla!”</p>	<p>41. Il n’y avait pas de nuit autrefois, la nuit n’avait pas été créée. On faisait la bière de manioc et dans le même jour on la buvait, le jour même de sa préparation. De même la galette de manioc (se faisait) en un seul jour.</p> <p>42. Il n’y avait pas de nuit. Beaucoup de temps a passé sans nuit: les gens étaient habitués.</p> <p>43. Les gens copulaient en plein jour. (De même) les chercheurs de filles. On copulait ainsi. Ils allaient comme à l’affût, les hommes allaient s’étendre (au hamac) avec les femmes.</p> <p>44. Alors, comment dormaient les gens? Ils dormaient comme d’habitude, puis ils se réveillaient normalement!</p> <p>45. Puis voilà que la nuit a été créée.</p> <p>46. Il arrive, le criquet arrive: “J’arrive!”, dit-il, “qu’y-a-t-il ici? Y-a-t-il de la bière de manioc? Est-elle en train de fermenter?”, demande-t-il.</p> <p>47. “Pas du tout!”, lui dit-on.</p> <p>48. Il (en) boit: effectivement c’est (encore) doux et chaud.</p> <p>49. “Bon, pourquoi la bière de manioc ne fermente-t-elle pas?”, dit-il.</p> <p>50. “C’est vrai qu’elle ne fermente pas!”</p> <p>51. “D’accord, dorénavant je la ferai fermenter! Dorénavant il va faire nuit, tu vas dormir!”, dit-il. Et il va effectivement faire nuit.</p> <p>52. “Crée le coq, va le mettre là et il chantera: cocorico, voilà ce qu’il criera avant l’aube”, dit (le criquet).</p> <p>53. De même tu vas créer le kului et tu le placeras là, sur le chemin là-bas. Tresse l’aroman, et fais-en des ailes.</p>
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<p>64. Malonme mëklë tumëkhe, ikohmantop ìlïtpon. “Ëkohmantëu ka?”</p> <p>65. “Ïna, emnanma nëhelep!”</p> <p>66. “Ikomamïla manai tëi wïkamë, ëwawainaimëjatëi wïkamë!”</p> <p>67. “Okï kapa nijehna hemele” “Uwa, weneimëjai ken!”</p> <p>68. Powep: upak tïjehnai hemele! “Upak tïjehnai!”</p> <p>69. “Enepkë pa ïwokï wëlii! Eh, mëheleptëu?”</p> <p>70. “Ïna, emna nëhelep!” “Eh, ahpe manatëi! Ëhehepïla eitëk wïkanmamë!”, kai. Mënkaimëhnëja papak.</p> <p>71. Kai tïkohmahe katïpïla, hemalë lëken man ipok upak katïpola. Masike helë lëken tïmulimhelë. Silikëtom kohle mëklë silik silik kïja.</p> <p>72. Masike mëlëkompëk wayana tëwehelephe, mëlëkom pëk helëkom eitop pëk ënenela esike! Mëklë lëken anumhak silik silik. Mëlëkom tïhe masike mëlëkom umitïnme man inëlë.</p> <p>73. Ma, maka neha helë, lëken wïka ëja.</p>	<p>54. Après, il chantera. Sois sans crainte!</p> <p>55. “Tu n’auras pas la nuit pour toujours. Il fera jour à nouveau comme à présent. Puis il fera nuit (quand) le soleil partira” (dit le criquet).</p> <p>56. Et ça y est, il fait nuit!</p> <p>57. “Pourquoi donc fait-il nuit? C’est pour que j’aie la nuit qu’il est venu? Qu’est-ce-que (le criquet) est venu faire? Seulement apporter la nuit?”, disent (les humains), “il nous déteste donc?”</p> <p>58. Ça y est. Les gens passent la nuit sans dormir.</p> <p>59. Puis on devine le jour. Celui-ci, le kului, chante en premier: tokolalum... fait-il, celui-ci, celui qu’on a créé.</p> <p>60. “Quand va-t-il faire jour?”, se demandent (les gens). Silence: encore une fois le kului chante. Aussitôt, encore une fois: tokolalum...</p> <p>61. Enfin, le coq chante là-bas, pour toujours, cocorico fait-il jusqu’à l’aube, celui qu’on a créé.</p> <p>62. Et il fait jour, c’est le lendemain.</p> <p>63. “Ah, il fait jour, il ne fera donc pas toujours nuit!” (se rassurent les gens).</p> <p>64. Puis (le criquet) revient, le créateur de la nuit. “Vous avez eu la nuit?” (demande-t-il).</p> <p>65. “Oui, nous avons eu peur!”</p> <p>66. “Je vous ai dit que vous n’auriez pas la nuit pour toujours, qu’il ferait à nouveau jour!</p> <p>67. “La bière de manioc est-elle vraiment fermentée (maintenant)?” “Bah, je vais voir!”</p> <p>68. On soulève le couvercle: elle est déjà vraiment fermentée! “Elle est déjà fermentée!”</p> <p>69. “Apporte-moi donc ma boisson, femme! Alors, vous avez eu peur?” (s’en-quiert le criquet).</p>
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	<p>70. “Oui, nous avons eu peur!” “Ah, vous êtes stupides! Je vous avais pourtant dit de ne pas avoir peur!” C’est ce que me racontait mon père.</p> <p>71. Aujourd’hui personne ne pense plus que nous aurons la nuit, à présent tout est bien, pas comme autrefois. Et donc ça a toujours continué ainsi. Les étoiles sont nombreuses grâce au criquet.</p> <p>72. C’est pour cela que les gens ont eu peur, parce qu’ils n’avaient jamais vu de choses pareilles! Lui seul était puissant, le criquet. Il a créé tout cela parce qu’il est le maître de cela.</p> <p>73. Bon, voilà c’est fini, c’est tout ce que j’ai à te dire.</p>
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Wayanatom anuktatoponpë tolopit tom me (p. 250)	La transformation des humains en oiseaux
<p>1. Kijapok tuwai, tuwai wayana me. Kijapok tëwehenemai pitë. Tëwehenemai tiwihle.</p> <p>2. Tuna ënelila, ëhmelë ëtukula, tihamotom ënëla... Pëkënatpë tutakan titëi. Tiwihle tutau.</p> <p>3. Tiwihle mëje, tanme wan wiki katip tutau. Tëpëjephe tëtihe tëpijem katip tuna enelila sike. Tëwehenemai mëwihnë tot.</p> <p>4. Masike tumëkëmëi mëklë tatalitpë. Malonme molona tëtilëmëi walunak: pole pole kaimëi.</p> <p>5. Kajak kaimëitot. Akename tumëkëmëi mëklë, ëkëmnë man kulum me tanuktahamo tumëkëmëi okomë ke: man mëklë tiwë.</p> <p>6. Malëla man mëhe, masike kan man owau tëmenumhe, itëtpi lep kulum malë. Itëtpi manu lep, lome tëmenumhe, tëpëjephe tëtihe sike mihen.</p> <p>7. Malonme owau itëla. Muleja tënei.</p>	<p>1. Les toucans dansent, ils dansent sous forme humaine. Les toucans ont commencé par respecter des règles. Ils les suivent depuis longtemps.</p> <p>2. Ils ne boivent pas d’eau, ne mangent pas de tout, s’abstiennent de viande... Un seul (toucan) est parti chasser et pêcher. Il reste longtemps en forêt.</p> <p>3. (Il reste) longtemps là-bas, peut-être une semaine. Il a faim comme les postulants à l’initiation car ils ne boivent même pas d’eau. (Les toucans) suivent beaucoup de règles.</p> <p>4. Et donc celui-là, qui a été en forêt, s’en revient. Après, (d’autres) rentrent le soir là-bas, au village: ils arrivent.</p> <p>5. Ils font du bruit. Celui-ci, (le toucan), est revenu en premier et derrière viennent ceux qui vont se</p>

<p>8. “Mëklën mamë kumu epï, mëkja nepï epï!”, tïkai. 9. “Ëëh! Ìtëla manai!”, tïkai. Kijapok lëken tîtëi. 10. Tuwaitot helë katïp aptau walunak. Tëhmomëmëi tot, tëtukhetot, kumu tëpihe. Walunak, tot tuwai. 11. Awainalihtau – siksi julu mënke wayana –, mëlë aptau tekilïmai tot, mëlë tîtëtîtëi, pëmïtïimë. Pëmït atpë, tëwëhanukhe kawemhakanapsik hemele, tïwïptëimëi sijalë. Moloinë tëwëhanukëmëi hemele. 12. Awainanma malë lëken helë uhpona mijalë. Ululuh! Ewukom tëpënai. 13. Molo tëtapamëmëi: kijakwen! kijakwen! Owau tom: owauuuu! 14. Tëhamoi. Iwëhamotpï mëklë kanëke mëwai! 15. Tëtupukhe lep kulum katïp inëlë: upuhpotïmna. Masike mëklë iwëhamotpï lep owau. Kijapokohtawëla man hemalë, kumu epïneme. 16. Èhmelë kisi tom kumu epïneme tëtïhe, palawana, mutu tom. 17. Mutu tom man upuhpotïmna menejatëi lële! Kohle tot tëhalëi. Wayanatpëtom tanuktai, upak. 18. [Mëlë katïp lëken ekalëi wayana, lamna po ipanakmaimëhnëjai, mëlë katïp lëken, ekalënanom tamusitom. Hemalë tamusi tomomna, ëtululahle tot. Hemalë, kutatëi, kuwetuwenkakom malë lëken, umelele lëkene tëntën. Epola inekalëlahle manatëi hemalë, ënipanakmala esike. Malëla eihe wayana, upak, mëha kom ekalëi.] 19. Malalë kulum me tanuktai kai wayana, wayanatpë tom lep. 20. Lome helë lomönë ke tanuktai tot, kulum me tîtëi.</p>	<p>transformer en vautour pape à cause des guêpes: mais c’est une autre histoire. 6. La coracine chauve au contraire (ne va pas se transformer) car elle a chapardé, celle qui devait pourtant partir avec le vautour pape. Elle devait pourtant partir, mais elle a chapardé car elle avait faim. 7. Après cela, la coracine chauve n’a pas (pu) partir. Un enfant l’a vu (chaparder). 8. “C’est bien elle qui a mangé du comou, elle a mangé le comou des autres!”, dit-il. 9. “Ah! Tu ne pourras pas partir!”, dit-on (à la coracine). Seul Toucan partira. 10. (Les villageois) dansent le soir, à cette heure. Ils se rassemblent, se restaurent, mangent du comou. Le soir, ils dansent. 11. Avant l’aube – les gens disent (maintenant) six heures –, c’est alors qu’il bouge, qu’il se déplace, le panier magique. Un grand panier qui monte un peu haut, et redescend au même endroit. Ensuite il va remonter à jamais. 12. A l’aube, il apparaît encore une fois au-dessus des (nuages). Ululuh! Le son de leur flûte s’arrête. 13. Alors, (Toucan) chante à nouveau: kijakwen! kijakwen! Les coracines chauves (font): owauuu! 14. Elles pleurent. On m’a bien dit qu’elles avaient pleuré! 15. (Les coracines) sont pourtant coiffées à la façon du vautour pape: rasées. Et donc, elle, la coracine chauve, a vraiment pleuré. Elle n’est plus avec le toucan et ne mange plus de comou.</p>
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<p>21. Malalë tēwuke mēklë. Tinëlë kala mēklë. Hakēne tinikēmēi, tumēkēmēi kanpë tēnephe: kohle kanpë ekepīlīh!</p> <p>22. Lome timēk! Okomē – okomē katohme man ēlewe pumo –, elewe pumo ekepīlīh!</p> <p>23. Tēpihe mēlë timēkem ejahe. Kajak tikai wēliham malë, peitopit. Malonme tuwai mēlëlë katip lë, walunak tot tētakimai uwai.</p> <p>24. “Kulummēklë!” Tuwai inamolo, maa malalë: kuluwenwen kuluwenwen tikai tot.</p> <p>25. “Kulum mēklë!”</p> <p>26. Maa, mawu tihe. Tala mawu tēhanukhe ikatop!</p> <p>27. Mawu tihe ēwa, tēwakom, malonme: “Sipkëlë nai!”, tikai molon, lomonoja.</p> <p>28. “Maa witējahe, kono!”, tikai. Monokenela titēi!</p> <p>29. Ēēē tikai molonkom, molonkomoptile ēhalēmnom.</p> <p>30. Aaaa tēhanukhe tot, malalë tēhanukhepsik.</p> <p>31. Jokojoko tikai, awaina malēken, mēlë pēmītiimē. Maa ikalihtau tēwētihe tot mēlë pona tumpak! tumpak! tumpak!</p> <p>32. Tala ētuputīla?</p> <p>33. Tēhanukhe tot malēken tēwuke lēken: kuluwenwen! kuluwenwen! Helë uhpona kai tītiptai.</p> <p>34. Mija tētihe...</p> <p>35. Pēmītiimē ēhenela: wajak wajak teeeh kaitot, tēhalēi...</p> <p>36. Tulum kai! Kapu lēken tētapuwai.</p> <p>37. Tikai kanë ipanakmaimēhnejai. Huwa lēken, maka neha!</p>	<p>16. Tous les kīsi sont (quant à eux) devenus des mangeurs de comou, (de même que) les palawana et les mutu.</p> <p>17. Vous voyez, les mutu sont chauves! Ils sont partis nombreux. Ceux qui étaient des humains se sont transformés, autrefois.</p> <p>18. [Les gens racontaient cela, je l’ai entendu au milieu du village, (raconté) comme ça, par les vieux conteurs. Aujourd’hui il n’y a plus de vieux, on ne fait plus de veillées. Aujourd’hui, nous-mêmes (les anciens), nous nous couchons tout de suite, nous dormons et faisons le silence de suite. C’est pour ça que vous n’avez rien à raconter aujourd’hui, parce que vous n’entendez rien. Les Indiens n’étaient pas comme ça, autrefois, et racontaient (des histoires).]</p> <p>19. Les gens disaient qu’ils se sont transformés en vautour, que (ces derniers) sont vraiment d’anciens humains.</p> <p>20. En fait ils se transformaient à cause des décès, ils s’en allaient en vautour.</p> <p>21. De même, ils avaient des flûtes. Ils ne se pressaient pas. Ils dormaient deux nuits, revenaient avec du boucané: il y avait beaucoup de boucané!</p> <p>22. Mais ça puait! Des guêpes - on dit guêpes pour les larves de mouches ēlewe -, il y avait beaucoup de larves de mouche ēlewe.</p> <p>23. (Les gens) mangeaient ce qui puait. Les femmes et les enfants faisaient du bruit. Puis ils dansent au même moment, le soir, ils commencent à danser.</p> <p>24. "C’est le vautour!" (disent-ils). Ils dansent, et jouent également de la flûte.</p> <p>25. "C’est le vautour!"</p>
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	<p>26. Puis on fait du (fil de) coton. Je me demande comment le fil de coton est monté!</p> <p>27. Ils font une corde en coton, leur corde, puis: "Ne coupez pas!", disent ceux (de la corde) à ceux qui étaient au sol.</p> <p>28. "Bon, j'y vais, compère!", dit (le vautour). Ce n'est pas à l'improviste qu'il part!</p> <p>29. Ceux du village acquiescent, ceux qui ne partent pas.</p> <p>30. Puis (les autres) s'élèvent, ils ont un peu monté.</p> <p>31. Elle se balance dès que le jour se lève, celle-là, la nacelle magique. Et, quand elle bouge, (les vautours) sautent dessus...</p> <p>32. Comment (la nacelle) ne se remplissait-elle pas?</p> <p>33. Ils s'élèvent tous en jouant de la fûte: kuluwenwen! Et voilà qu'ils atteignent les cieux, et (les sons de flûte) s'atténuent.</p> <p>34. Ils étaient loin...</p> <p>35. Le panier merveilleux disparaît: ils se sont envolés à jamais, ils sont partis...</p> <p>36. (Le ciel) gronde! Il s'ouvre (pour les laisser passer).</p> <p>37. Voilà ce que j'entendais (raconter autrefois). Voilà, c'est fini!</p>
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<p>Tulupele eitoponpë (p. 826)</p>	<p>L'histoire du Tulupele</p>
<p>1. Më, Tulupele tihe tilitponuja tan: ëkëjuimë watki tipkëlëi, alimina watki tipkëlëi, mëlëke tipilëi inëlë ëkëjuimë watki.</p> <p>2. Malonme, tihe kumaka uputpime. Malonme tëtihpsik aptau ituna tihe apsik. Moloinë peptamepsik tëtihpe ituna.</p>	<p>1. Bon, le Tulupele est fabriqué par son créateur de cette façon: il coupe la queue d'un anaconda, il coupe (aussi) la queue d'une gymnote, avec laquelle il fouette la queue de l'anaconda.</p> <p>2. Ensuite il a mis un fromager comme tête.</p>

<p>3. Peptame tētihe maipuli mumkē atpē katīp tētihe, talilime. Talon talilime, talon matawanaimē. Tulupele tatīlila awomi “pītum pītum...” tīkai.</p> <p>4. Malonme tētihe aptau: “Ma, wayana nai tēkē, wayana mēnemekja talē, amēnēpkak! Tunakwak mēmēmjai moloinē kanawamalimehe ton panpala!” mīkei. “Alalawa ēwekī wījai”, tīkai inelē tilitpon.</p> <p>5. Ma, tītēmēi. “Talē eikē!” ... pelem pelem pelem... “Kaikē nai!”, tīkai.</p> <p>6. Tuwalēla wayana, upak, tumēkhe Aletani wena topai.</p> <p>7. Alalawa tīkai alalawa. Ton!</p> <p>8. Maka, tēmēmhe mēlē ikutpēkuwak lep, lome sija ehema molo. Tepolepkai tunakwak, tunahle, helē Aletanikwak.</p> <p>9. Mala lēken tulupele tom. Mala Jalīkwau aptau, malalē, ehema molo: mēlē ailē tumēkhe kanawa, talimai lēhken, lēhken. Aaan, tuwalē wayana tētihe.</p> <p>10. “Mēlēkatīp uwa! Mēklē hapon man talē, Palukwalī hapon”, tīkai: “Palukwalī hapon man talē. Mala man Aletanikwau, wayana ēja, mēklē hapon tīlītpī iwalē masike tēneiheman!</p> <p>11. Tīh. “Ēēē!”</p> <p>12. Kanawa mela sike kanawa sitpīlī, ēkupi, “ēkupi” mēnke wayana, ētipena pitpē, mēpu pitpē, elekesi pitpē, kanawatom masike, tīhnēlē tēhemotontolomai.</p> <p>13. Peptame sike, maipuli katīp esike, alimatse. Aaa: “Uwa, tēnei heman, hemalē!”, tīkai.</p> <p>14. Aaa tītēi tokolon! tokolon!... Elikhe tītēhemlē, ipipīn tītēi enetohme.</p> <p>15. Aaa “kalalawa!”: mēhekan iwalē! “kalala, kalala!...”. Tulupele pele pele... ipīpona, ipimepsik lēle man molo.</p> <p>16. Mēlē tēnīptēi... topon... pilalala... kulup pole, polep kai helēk wak, Aletanikwak.</p> <p>17. Ton! Tontolo!</p> <p>18. “Eee, mēhe, talē man ēilanu! Tulupele, tulupele me man!” Tēwelamai, wei! Telamaimēi wayana.</p>	<p>Puis, dès que (le tulupele) grandit un peu, (son créateur) lui fait une mare. Et sa mare devient un peu plus grande.</p> <p>3. Il devient comme un gros bébé tapir, (mais) noir. Celui d’ici (du Litany) était noir, le matawanaimē était noir. C’est pourtant un tulupele, bien que son cri fasse "pītum... "</p> <p>4. Ensuite, quand il devient (grand): "Bon, mange des gens, des gens viendront par là, coule-les! Tu jailliras de l’eau et tu projetteras le canot, tu le retourneras!", dit (son créateur). "Je te fais un animal familier, le ara bleu", lui dit son créateur.</p> <p>5. Ensuite, (son créateur) repart. "Reste-là!"... pelem... "fais ça!", lui dit-il.</p> <p>6. Les Indiens ignoraient cela, jadis, et ils venaient sur le fleuve Litany lui servir de pâture.</p> <p>7. L’ara bleu crie alalawa! Plouf! (Le matawanaimē, prévenu), plonge.</p> <p>8. Ça y est, il plonge dans son étang, mais par là il a un accès au fleuve. Il aboutit au fleuve, le vrai fleuve, le Litany que voici.</p> <p>9. Les tulupele (agissaient) vraiment de cette façon. Sur le Jari aussi, il y avait un accès: chaque fois qu’un canot venait, il était projeté. Enfin, les Indiens commencent à connaître (ce danger).</p> <p>10. "(Ça ne se passera) plus comme cela! Un de cette sorte est là, comme (celui qui est) sur le Parou de l’Est", disent-ils: "un comme celui du Parou est ici. C’est pareil sur le Litany, il dévore les gens, il a peut-être été fabriqué comme l’autre, et donc il faut le trouver!" (décident-ils).</p> <p>11. Ils y vont. "D’accord!"</p> <p>12. Comme ce ne sont pas des pirogues (mais) de vilaines embarcations, des canots en écorce, "ēkupi" disaient les Indiens, en écorce de machin, ces canots étaient en écorce de mēpu, en écorce d’elekesi, pour cette raison, ils se retournaient facilement.</p>
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<p>19. Ma, Malani uputpëme, tēhetalepai. “Moloman mēklē ētēn, tulupele, matawanaimē mēklē!”, tīkai upak wayana.</p> <p>20. Kumalawai, ēhehtau Wayanahle heje, heje, Malani uputpëme.</p> <p>21. Masike: “Uwa, tēnei man, mēklē hapon mēklē!”</p> <p>22. Malonme tījalamtēi epo, ekatau, monmēi ituhtau. Heje ikutpē kumtau tēhapēihe. Itupo tītēi. Moloinē tījalamtēi, titalamtēi.</p> <p>23. Mēje inelē emopo. Tēn tīkai, tuwalēla sike.</p> <p>24. Titalamtēi. “Ma, itēkma, ēhene pota!”, tīkai.</p> <p>25. Ēēh! Tītēi, mēlē kanawa eketpējau, tokolon, tokolon... Kalala!</p> <p>26. Pelum pelum pelum... Tēipalēkenela, tuwēi ehematau, pēwēina sike!</p> <p>27. Tumpon, tumpon! tīkai lēken sike tahpule tahpule tahpule kai... Tuwēi, hei tuwēi...</p> <p>28. Lome tīmīlkhela, mēje Palukwalī katīpīla: talilime lēken maipuli katīp, ēhmelē lēken talilime.</p> <p>29. Aa tītēi, pelum pelum pelum... topon!... Ton! Ton! Tīlēmēpīme lēken sam sam... Uno wayana. Umēkīa wayana, umēkīa wayana.</p> <p>30. Aaa tunonkai, Palasisitomoja lēken tunonkai.</p> <p>31. Aletani wena, Wamahpan wena wayana Poitija tēhemaptēi, ēkulephe Palasisija.</p> <p>32. Mēlēme hei ēnunomna tētīhe wayana. Uwa, mololep, lome ipo lēken, mulokohtom lēken. Jalawalep, lome itīkimila sike.</p> <p>33. Mēje uwa, ikutpēkwau, tēn tīkai, lome uwa, uwa: wayana tētēhalēi.</p> <p>34. Sija tumēkhe, tītēi Jalikwak, uwa. Huwa eitoponpē.</p> <p>35. Jalīkwau mala mēlē katīp tuwēi, akenamepsik Palukwau tuwēi huwa, lome tīmīlkhela mēhe.</p>	<p>13. Comme (le tulupele) est gros, parce qu’il est (gros) comme un tapir, il (les) renverse. Alors: "Non, il faut le trouver, cette fois!", disent-ils.</p> <p>14. Alors (quelqu’un) y va en pagayant... C’est quelqu’un qui va se faire tuer, un téméraire qui va pour l’observer.</p> <p>15. Et (on entend) "kalala!": c’est sûrement lui! "kalala! kalala!... (Ça fait) tulupele pele... sur la colline, (car) il y a une petite colline, par là-bas.</p> <p>16. (Le monstre) sort de sa tanière, plonge, nage, plonge la tête, et parvient à ce fleuve, au Litany.</p> <p>17. Une détonation, deux détonations.</p> <p>18. "Ah, c’est lui, il y a là un être terrible! Tulupele, c’est le tulupele!" Ils s’en reviennent, s’en retournent! Les Indiens font demi-tour.</p> <p>19. Et, à la source du Marouini, ils se rencontrent (pour s’unir). "Le dévoreur est là, le tulupele, c’est le matawanaimē!", ont dit les Indiens autrefois.</p> <p>20. C’étaient des Kumalawai, mélangés à des Vrais Wayana (qui se sont rassemblés) ici, de ce côté, à la source du Marouini.</p> <p>21. Et donc: "Bon, on l’a vu, c’est (un monstre) qui ressemble (au tulupele du Parou de l’Est)! » (disent-ils à ceux qui arrivaient).</p> <p>22. Ensuite ils font un échafaudage en ce lieu, à côté, loin dans la forêt. Ils ont accosté là-bas, à l’embouchure de l’étang. Ils vont en forêt. Ensuite ils montent un échafaudage, ils construisent un piège.</p> <p>23. (Le tulupele) est sur le sommet de la colline. Il est tranquille, parce qu’il ne sait pas (ce qui se trame).</p> <p>24. Ils achèvent le piège. "Allez, vas-y, vas te montrer!", disent-ils (au téméraire).</p> <p>25. Le temps passe. Il y va, lui (l’appât humain), dans ce mauvais canot, il pagaie... Kalala! (chante l’oiseau),</p>
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	<p>26. Pelum... (fait le tulupele en descendant de la colline)... (Il ne vient) pas pour rien, parce qu'ils le tuent sur le chemin, du côté gauche!</p> <p>27. Il n'arrête pas de bondir parce qu'on le transperce maintes fois... Ils le tuent, ils le tuent par là...</p> <p>28. Mais il n'est pas orné de motifs, celui-là n'est pas comme celui du Parou de l'Est: il est seulement noir comme un tapir, seulement noir de partout.</p> <p>29. Il part, pelum... et plonge!... Rien qu'en mourant (il provoque) deux détonations et des vagues... Les Indiens sont épouvantés, Ils n'y vont pas, ils ne vont plus (dans le Haut Litany).</p> <p>30. Plus tard on a surmonté la peur, ce sont juste les Blancs qui ont dominé la peur.</p> <p>31. Le cours du Litany, celui de la Wamahpan, c'est Poiti qui les a tracés pour les Indiens, c'est un Blanc qui l'a fait pour toujours.</p> <p>32. Depuis lors, les Indiens ne craignent plus cet endroit. Certes, il y a bien (des dangers) mais seulement des ipo, des mulokot. Il y a bien le yalawa, mais on ne le dérange pas.</p> <p>33. Il n'y a rien là-bas, dans l'étang, c'est calme, il n'y a rien de rien: les Indiens (peuvent) voyager (maintenant).</p> <p>34. Ils viennent jusqu'ici et vont au Jari sans encombre. Voilà l'histoire.</p> <p>35. Ils ont tué (le monstre) comme cela sur le Jari, et sur le Parou un peu plus tôt, mais celui là (du Jari) n'était pas orné de dessins.</p>
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