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Y LOS PUEBLOS INDÍGENAS

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NATIVE MUSICAL TRADITIONS AND CHANGING GLOBAL SOUNDSCAPES IN SOUTH AMERICA

Introduction

The study of native musical practices and associated cultural meanings in Lowland South America has recently begun to grow at a more rapid pace. Several generations of anthropological researchers in Lowland South America have reported on the importance of verbal and instrumental genres of music in collective rituals and ceremonies. Yet only in the last thirty or so years have anthropologists who are trained as ethnomusicologists gone into the field with the specific goals of recording indigenous music and understanding how the production of musical sounds is situated in people's everyday social and economic activities, their forms of political organization and history, and their ways of conceptualizing nature and cosmos. A 1993 overview of the ethnomusicology of Amazonia concluded that "substantial works on the topic can be counted on the fingers of one hand" (Beaudet 1993: 527, my translation) and included two studies of vocal music among Gê-speaking peoples (Seeger 1987; Aytai 1985), one survey of Nambicuara music (Halmos 1979), and two works on music of the Tupí-speaking Kamayurá (Menezes Bastos 1978, 1989). By 2000, this list had grown to include major new studies of music among the Warao (Olsen 1996), Arawak-speaking Wakuénai (Hill 1993), and Tupí-speaking Wayãpi (Beaudet 1997). And in the last two decades, a number of important theses, dissertations, and books have expanded the field in new directions (Piedade 1997, 2004; Mello 2005; Brabec de Mori 2011, 2015; Seeger 2004; Deise Montardo 2009; Pedro Cesarinho 2008, 2011; Hill and Chaumeil 2011). In addition to this growing number of book-length studies, an increas-

ingly rich literature on specific genres of indigenous Amazonian music began to appear in scattered journals and edited volumes (Avery 1977; Beaudet 1989, 1992, 1999; Canzio 1992; Chaumeil 1993; Graham 1986; Hill 1979, 1986, 1987, 1994; Menezes Bastos 1995, 1999, 2011, 2013, 2014; Seeger 1979, 1991; Piedade 1999, 2011, 2013, 2014; Mello 2011). My paper will build upon this rapidly growing field of study and provide a survey of recent ethnomusicological research in Lowland South America that has demonstrated how native musical traditions are creative, dynamic sociocultural processes in which musical sounds and voices play a central role in such varied domains as gender relations, ecology, exchange, hierarchy, ritual, cosmology, and history.

Among other things, the new generation of ethnomusicological research in Amazonia has demonstrated that the study of indigenous music is anything but a narrowly specialized, esoteric field; rather it is an expansive process that has identified previously unopened portals into and untrodden pathways across many of the most thematic topics within anthropology. The strength of the new generation of ethnomusicology in Amazonia is not only that it explores music in conjunction with many classical anthropological topics such as gender, ecology, violence, exchange, hierarchy, ritual, cosmology, and history; but also that it does so with respect to current anthropological interests such as the ethnography of the senses, a focus on meaningful human engagement with the natural environment, and the intersection of different "regimes of value" as Amazonia becomes more closely connected to other parts of the globe. Moreover, this holistic, integrated approach to studying indigenous Amazonian music is not merely another layer of symbolic or other meaning on the traditional cake of anthropological culture; it is rather taking us more and more deeply into the very core of these indigenous cultural worlds and, in the process, transforming the way anthropologists understand the rich diversity of cultural and linguistic traditions that continue to develop in the indigenous communities of Lowland South America.

Earlier generations of anthropologists documented the great significance of indigenous narratives about the origins of ritually powerful genres of singing and chanting as well as associated genres

of instrumental music played on a bewildering variety of wind instruments – flutes, trumpets, and clarinets. Yet despite a widespread recognition that the acquisition of specialized musical practices had momentous consequences for early humans (i.e., mythic ancestors or primordial human beings) and played a direct role in the creation of fully differentiated human social worlds, studies of these musical forms and their complex interrelations with narrative practices only began to take shape in recent decades.

Interest in these interconnections between music and myth can be traced back to Levi-Strauss's influential argument that mythology forms a mediating category between "two diametrically opposed types of sign systems – musical language on the one hand and articulate speech on the other" (1969: 27). Although Levi-Strauss never clearly demonstrated his theory of myth as the mediator between musical language and articulate speech in *The Raw and the Cooked* (1969) or the other three volumes of the *Mythologiques* (1973, 1978, 1981), his structuralist approach did stimulate subsequent generations of researchers to look more closely into the nexus of interrelations between myth and music.

Two pioneering studies, one in cultural anthropology (Seeger 1987) and the other in linguistic anthropology (Basso 1985), opened the way for the surge of interest in ethnomusicology that began in the 1980s and '90s and that continues today. These two strands became increasingly intertwined in the discourse-centered approaches to culture that emerged in the 1980s and '90s. Works such as *Native South American Discourse* made an important contribution to ethnomusicology by demonstrating that "It is impossible to study language use in lowland South America without paying attention to the intimate relationship between musicality and speech" (Sherzer and Urban 1986: 9). By giving fine-grained attention to the rhythm, tonality, meter, timbre, in short, musicality of discourse genres that are not overtly identified as music, the analyst can discover an entire range of meanings that are overlooked in other approaches. The boundaries between spoken speech and sung speech are by no means clear-cut. In many cases, the musicality of speech is conceptually and pragmatically integrated within genres of spoken speech, such as narratives and ceremonial dia-

logues. Discourse-centered studies have demonstrated the complexity of interrelations between spoken and sung discourse genres, of music-within-and-about-myth and myths-about-and-within-music. In short, indigenous genres of sung speech in Lowland South America cannot be adequately understood apart from genres of spoken speech and the subtle shadings of musicality and semanticity embodied in all genres of oral discourse.

After providing a brief survey of how ethnomusicologists working in Lowland South America have developed new ways of understanding such varied topics as gender relations, ritual and cosmology, ceremonial exchange, environmental relations, and history, I will explore the tension between two processes that work in tandem in the indigenous musical traditions of the region. On the one hand, musicalized genres of speaking and related genres of instrumental music are the most important medium through which vital cultural and linguistic forms, values, and knowledge are transmitted with minimal changes across multiple generations of human existence. On the other hand, these same genres of vocal and instrumental music are the basis for radically transforming received social traditions in contexts of rapid, often traumatic historical changes. In my recent efforts at understanding this musical dialectic of continuous cultural transmission and radical social transformation, I have developed a concept called "musicalizing the other". Researchers working in diverse regions of South America have documented the importance of musical performance as a process of acknowledging the otherness of the other (defined not only as other indigenous groups, affines, and non-indigenous peoples, but also as non-human species or objects, and various categories of spirit-beings), or making history through engaging and sharing the social time and space of others, yet always returning to one's own identity.

The final section of my paper will explore some of the diverse ways in which native South American musical traditions, understood as dynamic socio-historical processes of "musicalizing the other", have served indigenous communities as ways of engaging with non-indigenous people and institutions. Case studies from my own fieldwork with indigenous Arawak-speaking communities in

Venezuela and Colombia will demonstrate the power of collective shamanic musicalization as forms of historical engagement with non-indigenous agents whose activities threaten the current existence and future persistence of local indigenous communities and their distinctive cultural practices. Other case studies will provide a brief survey of how indigenous communities are engaging with popular musical genres that are becoming increasingly accessible via mass media, the internet, and new social media. These culturally specific ways in which native musical traditions are changing in the context of global soundscapes provide important insights into how indigenous communities are navigating contemporary identity politics in South America.

Brief Survey of Ethnomusicology in Lowland South America

Attention to musicality, musical performance, and their interrelations with language and speech has grown exponentially in the last two-to-three decades, but the degree to which specific topics have been developed is highly variable and inconsistent. In some topical areas, such as gender relations and ritual/cosmology, there has been a rapid proliferation of new publications that are beginning to provide the basis for a completely new comparative understanding of music and gender. For example, earlier generations of ethnologists tended to characterize the sacred flutes played in collective rituals throughout the Upper Xingu region as an exclusively male-dominated musical practice that only served to more sharply divide men – the owners of the instruments – from women, who lost their ownership of the flutes in mythic times. In place of this simplistic, polarized view of ritually powerful men versus mythically disempowered women, we are now beginning to gain a far more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of how women's singing and men's instrumental music are two sides of a single, complex set of ritual performances that can be understood as a social poetics of death, life and love. Among the Arawak-speaking Wauja, women compose *kawokakumã* songs using melodies from the men's sacred *kawoká* flute music (Piedade 2004, 2011, 2013; Cruz Mello 2005, 2011). In addition, women compose new songs from their dreams that subsequently become the basis

for new melodies in the men's repertoire of *kawoká* flute music. The men's musical techniques of motific variation, the women's composing songs through lexicalizing flute melodies and dreaming new melodies, and the passing back and forth of dreamed, memorized melodies across the gender divide between men and women integrates these two sides of Wauja social poetics (Hill 2013). The women's songs socialize the men's flute music through adding meanings drawn from the mythic past and everyday social life to the same melodies. By means of this two-stage, dialogical process of men's flute-playing and women's singing, a Wauja poetics of social life transforms the predatory violence of dangerous spirit-beings (*apapaatai*) into the harmonious, yet provocative, sexual relations between men and women.

It is noteworthy that this new, deeper and more nuanced understanding of gender relations in the Upper Xingu region would almost certainly not have emerged without the close collaboration between a male and female team of field researchers (husband and wife – Acacio Piedade and the late Maria Cruz Mello) who were both highly accomplished musicians (composers and performers) as well as doctoral candidates in social anthropology. And we now have a second male and female research team, an ethnomusicologist (Tomasso Montagnani) and a linguistic anthropologist (Bruna Franchetto), who are providing equally in-depth studies of the Carib-speaking neighbors of the Wauja, the Kuikuru. Taken together these studies have demonstrated that there are homologous complexes of male-controlled sacred flute music and women's ritual singing among the Arawak-speaking Waura (Piedade 2004, 2011, 2013; Mello 2005, 2011) and the Carib-speaking Kuikuru (Franchetto and Montagnani 2012; Montagnani 2011). Although Waura and Kuikuru communities have developed these ritual complexes in linguistically and culturally distinct ways, they have synthesized these masculine and feminine forms of lexical-musical creativity into virtually identical overall patterns of collectively enacting the powerful beings of myth. The Upper Xingu demonstrates how ritual communication is better understood as a process that simultaneously supports external linguistic differences within multilingual discursive areas (Basso 2009, 2011) and complex internal differentiation with deep historical roots (Gumperz

1996). In the case of the Upper Xingu, the arrival of Carib- and Tupi-speaking groups during the late colonial period (Basso 1995; Heckenberger 2005) means that these processes of intercultural relatedness have been unfolding over a period of approximately two-and-a-half centuries.

We are reaching a point in the history of ethnomusicology and the ethnology of Lowland South America where there is a sufficient amount of reliable, high-quality ethnographic knowledge based on intensive, long-term fieldwork with specific indigenous peoples and a critical mass of professionally archived research collections of recorded musical and verbal arts that new comparative understandings of the place of musical sounds and words in ritual and cosmology are possible. Specialized genres of musical and verbal art are intertwined throughout the region, and it is through studying the interrelations between music and speech (or musicality and lexicality) that the most important advances are being made. As mentioned above, one way of approaching these complex interrelations is to follow Levi-Strauss's idea of exploring mythic narratives as the mediating category between musical language (e.g., specialized genres of ritually powerful discourse) and the language of everyday speech (e.g., the fully lexicalized discourses of social dialogue and conversation). This approach calls attention to the intertextual linkages between mythic meanings and musical sounds. Mythic narratives about music and its origins can be understood as a metadiscursive commentary about musical-verbal arts, or an intracultural/-linguistic translation between specialized, ritually powerful genres of musicalized speech and the articulate speech of everyday social life. Among the Arawak-speaking Wakuenai of the Upper Rio Negro in Venezuela, for example, a mythic narrative about the origins of ritually powerful chanted and sung speech (*malikai*) explains how this discourse genre originated when the body of the primordial human being of myth emitted powerful sounds that opened up the world for the first time and created all the species and objects of the natural world.

"Kuwái began to speak the word-sounds that could be heard in the entire world. The world was still very small. He began to speak,

'Heee'. The sound of his voice ran away and opened up the world"[1].

Later, in a dialogue between Kuwái and a wasp-person messenger (*Kaalimaatu*), Kuwái performs a soliloquy in which he reveals that the secret to his life-giving, world-creating powers is that his body consists of all material things – water, trees, vines, stones, steel tools – with the exception of fire. These two passages of mythic speech explain the fundamental principles of ritual power in Wakuenai society: that it is musical (a sound that opens up the world) and that it emanates from a mythic being who includes all things within a single being. Non-specialists listening to this mythic narrative can thus gain a basic understanding of the workings of ritual power even though only accomplished specialists, called *malikai liminali* (owners or keepers of the sacred chants), can truly understand the secret musical language performed in rituals.

In a more general, comparative sense, this approach to understanding interrelations among myth (verbal art), music (ritual performance), and articulate speech is useful for interpreting the plethora of mythic narratives found across Lowland South America that describe the origins of musical practices – both verbal and instrumental – as a radical step in the process of creating culturally and linguistically specific universes of form and meaning from the undifferentiated animal-humanness of primordial mythic times. The origin of ceremonial dance-music, called *madzerukai*, among the Wakuenai of Venezuela, for example, is understood as the pivotal moment in the creation of a fully human social world. For it was through teaching this ceremonial dance-music – songs and various instrumental pieces – that the mythic owner of manioc and other garden plants taught his sons how to ask their ceremonial hosts for food, drink, and other things. Ceremonial singing and music-making was thus the first moment when the animal-humans of mythic times began to interact in a peaceful manner and through reciprocal giving-and-taking rather than through endless cycles of violence and revenge.

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[1] Digital recordings of these narratives are available on the Archives of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA) website (*www.ailla.utexas.org*) in the third Curripaco collection (KPC003R301, 'The Powerful Sound that Opened Up the World').

This mythic approach to musical performance is an important point of departure for understanding the interrelations between music and speech in Lowland South America. However, it is only one of several possible approaches, and in my view it is not the most important and productive one for ethnomusicologists. By looking at mythology as the mediating category between musical language and articulate speech, the Levi-Straussian model privileges myth over ritual performances of music and the language of everyday social life. When we remove myth from the pedestal that Levi-Strauss placed it upon and instead place musicalized speech and sound at the center of analysis, a much more interesting theoretical approach to myth-music interrelations begins to come into view. Placing musical sound and speech at the center leads to an understanding of music as the principle means of mediating relations between the animal-humans of primordial mythic times and fully human beings, both living and dead, of historical times. And by extension, music becomes a means for mediating relations between human beings as members of social communities (however locally defined as families, clans, phratries, language groups, etc.) and a wide variety of 'others', defined not only as mythic animal-humans but also as various categories of spirit-beings, non-human species or objects, other indigenous groups, affines, and non-indigenous peoples. This 'music-centered' approach is supported by a number of ethnographic studies from a variety of linguistic affiliations and across widely separate geographic locations in Lowland South America (Basso 1985; Whitten and Whitten 1988; Graham 1986, 1995; Hill 1993, 2009, 2011; Piedade 2011; Mello 2011; Franchetto and Montagnani 2012). Music, or more specifically musicalized speech and instrumental sound, provides a privileged means for human trafficking with the undifferentiated world of mythic animal-humans, while language and speech (including mythic narratives) are the pathway to fully differentiated, socialized men and women and clearly distinct groups of kin and affines. Yet the boundary between music and speech, or musicality and lexicality, is extremely fuzzy and permeable, and it is precisely in these gray areas of lexicalized musical sounds (e.g., musical 'voices') and semi-lexicalized, musicalized speech that we find the sources of shamanic powers of transformation and journeying between regions of the cosmos.

The recent flourishing of ethnomusicological research on gender relations, ritual, and cosmology in Lowland South America has not been matched by the development of a more substantial literature on the importance of music as an adaptive cultural instrument through which native Amazonian peoples have created ways of engaging with the natural environment. I will therefore offer only a brief summary of some of my own work on this topic in hopes of inspiring other researchers to consider initiating comparable studies in their own field-based writings. In a number of short publications (Hill 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1994, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, n.d.), I have explored the ecological dimensions of musical practices among the Arawak-speaking Wakuénai of southernmost Venezuela. Sacred rituals in which shamans and chant-owners perform ritually powerful songs and chants play an important role in shifting local communities into a more tightly integrated, hierarchical mode of political organization during times of seasonal stress, such as the lack of fish and other aquatic animals that people experience during the long April-through-September wet seasons in the Upper Rio Negro (Hill 1984), as well as during periods of interethnic tensions at moments of historical crisis (Hill 1989, 1994). Conversely, collective ceremonial music and dance modulate human social relations into more expansive and egalitarian patterns of exchange between kin and affines in ceremonial cycles called *pudáli*, in which one kin group presents a large gift of smoked fish and game meat to their hosts in another community and receives a reciprocal gift of processed manioc pulp at a later ceremony (Hill 1984, 1986, 1987, 1989, 2009, 2011b). The plant species which the Wakuénai use to make their musical instruments – ceremonial and sacred aerophones – are imbued with a multiplicity of social and mythic meanings, which are in turn connected to the behaviors of various non-human animal and fish species that are the basis of human survival in the Upper Rio Negro (Hill 2011a). Musical sounds and associated discourses about music play a central role in the way indigenous people attribute mythic and social meanings to the variety of natural sounds: the 'singing' of birds, frogs, and insects; or the sound of a river filled with spawning fish. Verbal interpretations of natural and/or humanly fashioned sounds; giving animal names to musical instruments, melodies, or associated

dances; naming animal spirits in ritual chants and songs; and narratives about mythic space-times in which human and animal beings are not yet differentiated; all these practices are ways of relating to the natural environment of the Upper Rio Negro as a universe of sound-producing, signifying animal and fish species (Hill, n.d.). Ethnomusicology and musical anthropology are directly relevant to the new field of multispecies ethnography, or studies of the contact zones "where lines separating nature from culture have broken down, where encounters between *Homo sapiens* and other beings generate mutual ecologies and coproduced niches" (Kirksey and Helmreich 2010: 546). In the indigenous communities of Amazonia, musical performance, musicalized ways of speaking, and narrative discourses about music work to create contact zones with non-human species that allow for 'mutual ecologies' and political economies based on musicalizing the other[2].

Studies of the importance of musical practices as part and parcel of the ways in which indigenous Amazonian peoples understand their place in history between remembered pasts and imagined futures are another topical area that needs to be developed. In a study of 19th Century millenarian movements in the Upper Rio Negro region (Wright and Hill 1986), the use of primary historical sources about the movement led by Venancio Camico on St. John's Day of 1858 allowed for the identification of the exact genre of sacred music that Venancio and his followers were singing at the height of their movement. Significantly, this same genre of sacred music, called *kapetiápani* ("whip-dance"), also became the focal performance led by Wakuénai shamans in July of 1981 during a musical protest against exploitative economic practices by which merchants were increasing the indebtedness of indigenous people living in the Colombian town of San Felipe (Hill 1994, 2002). The spirit-naming practices used in sacred chants and songs are used as an indigenous way of remembering the historical past in narra-

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[2] The opportunity for such studies has not yet been realized but would provide a corrective to overly intellectualist approaches, such as perspectivism and other so-called 'ontological' theories, that prioritize thought over hearing, speaking, and other sensuous ways of knowing. Perhaps the answer to Kohn's *How Forests Think* is a monograph-length study on *How Forests Sing*.

tives about the emergence of ancestor-spirits in primordial mythic times (Hill and Wright 1988, Hill 1990). Among the Carib-speaking Makushi and Akawaio of Guyana, a genre of chanted and sung speech known as "memory verses" (*maiyin*) are directly employed in interpreting mythic and historical pasts (Hill and Staats 2002). Moreover, musical practices are important cultural tools that allow indigenous Amazonian peoples to create new interpretive and political spaces as they navigate through the globalizing nation-states of contemporary Latin America.

Musical Dialectics: Formalization and Transformation

Musical practices simultaneously encompass distinct, yet interrelated, processes of 1) formalization, or the building of continuity through an ideal of perfect transmission of forms and meanings across generations of time, and 2) transformation, or the moving of persons and groups across different mythic worlds, regions of the cosmos, communities of people, stages of the life cycle, geographic places, and historical periods. I will discuss each of these two processes in separate sections below, but it is important to keep in mind that both processes are always operating in any given musical event. One or the other of the two processes acts in a dominant fashion in each musical performance, but the subordinated process is always present and discernible to some degree and there is no simple binary opposition between formalization and transformation.

Musical formalization plays a central role in cultural persistence. Until the relatively recent adoption of written texts, audio and video recordings, the internet, and new media in native communities of Amazonia, the formalization of linguistic and cultural knowledge in musicalized speech and performance was the primary means for transmitting vital knowledge across many generations of time. This formalization, or building continuity and long-term persistence through ritually powerful music, is not a process of freezing time in a supposedly ahistorical mythic time frame or a denial of historical change but a dynamic process of navigating historical time through creating an arc of cultural and linguistic forms that is relatively stabilizing, or changing in only minimal ways.

However, the flexibility of meaning construction allows for radical transformations of the meanings of linguistic and cultural forms through re-signification. For example, the term *maariye* (white heron feathers) refers to *Kuwai,* the primordial human being of myth in the sacred rituals and ceremonies of the Wakuénai of Venezuela. In these traditional contexts, the invocation of *Kuwai* places the collective singing of *kapetiapáni* into a mythic temporal framework which is anything but static, the turning inside-out and upside-down of the world created by the musical naming power of *Kuwai.* However, when the same term was used in performances of a musical protest in July of 1981, it was an evocation of the historical displacements that the Wakuénai, Yeral, and other indigenous peoples of the Upper Rio Negro were experiencing as they became residents of semi- or peri-urban towns of several hundred people rather than smaller, dispersed villages with populations of less than 100.

Musical formalization is also a very powerful, hierarchical process, since it approximates an ideal of perfect transmission of linguistic and cultural forms across many generations of time that have unfolded between mythic ancestor-spirits and their human descendants, both living and dead. When understood as a way of asserting continuity or even permanence of the relations between specific kin groups (phratries or sibs) and geographic places or areas, musical formalization is a territorializing practice, or a way of transforming mere geographic space into humanly significant, cultural place. This territorializing dimension of musical formalization is clearly evident in the Wakuénai practice of spirit-naming called "heaping up the names in a single place." In the second part of childbirth rituals, for example, chant-owners will invoke a generic category of spirit-names, such as aquatic animal spirits (*umawarinai*) and begin 'heaping up the names in a single place' of fish and other edible aquatic species. There is a gradual process of moving from one category of spirit-names to another, such as from aquatic animals to forest animals, but most of the chanted spirit-naming takes place within each category. In terms of musicality, these chants are performed in a steady metronomic rhythm, with little or no change in tempo from beginning to end. Microtonal rising of the pitch is not totally absent but is only minimally

present over the course of the hour-long series of chants[3]. Thus, highly formalized musical chanting and spirit-naming are a means of musically and verbally defining the center of mythic space, the place where living humans are connected to the mythic ancestor-spirits, the geographic locations and territories that the ancestors created for contemporary humanity, and the natural connectedness of newborn infants and their parents via the foods that the parents consume and their transmission to their infant children via maternal milk.

This process of hierarchical territorialization through musical formalization is not oriented to the past in a linear sense, as in the Western view of the historical past as something that is finished and 'behind' or 'beneath' human beings living in the present era. Rather, as is the case among the Nasa of Tierradentro in the Colombian Andes, memory of the past (*Us yakni*) is understood as "the unity of our identity. Our ancestors, the elders, are in front, guiding our actions in the present, the foundations of the future of our people" (Jesus Enrique Pinuacue 1997, quoted in Gow and Rappaport 2002: 58). Wakuenai narratives about the Trickster-Creator (*Made-from-Bone*), for example, are not regarded as something existing only in the past but also refer to a future time when the world will be inhabited by 'new people' (Hill 2009; Wright 1998). And among the Akawaio, Makushi, and other Carib-speaking groups of the Guyana Shield region, hymns and memory verses that form the basis of daily ritual practices in the Alleluia religion are said to be the words they will need to know in heaven. Everyone expects to communicate in heaven using these words, but no one yet knows what the corresponding meanings will be (Staats 2003, 2009). Semantic, or referential, meanings will not carry across to the millennium on the other side of time. Instead, the words as forms or

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[3] Digital recordings of *malikái* chanting and singing for childbirth rituals and female initiation are available in the first Curripaco collection (KPC001) in the Archives of Indigenous Languages of Latin America (AILLA, *www.ailla.utexas.org*). Other sound recordings available in the same collection include instrumental and vocal music from the traditional exchange ceremonies, called *pudáli*, shamanic curing songs (*malirríkairi*), and sung demonstrations of melodies played on sacred flutes. The instrumental music of sacred flutes and trumpets along with sacred singing and chanting for male initiation rituals are included in the second Curripaco collection (KPC002).

sound images will persist to the end of time. Perhaps with the slate wiped clear of existing meanings, these sacred linguistic and musical forms will be free to start over again by taking on new meanings. The millennium, or heaven will be a place in which new worlds of meaning will be constructed from the ashes, or empty linguistic and cultural forms, of the present world.

Musical formalization and historical memory are not isolated from improvisation and imagination. Formalization always acts in tandem with the radically transformational powers of musical sound and speech. Musical formalization acts like a 'tether' that keeps transformational powers within limits and under human control. Among the Tupian Kayabi of central Brazil, for example, Jawosi rituals that allow warriors to see their encounters with others 'from the enemy's point of view', place limits on 'Other-becoming', or identification with 'Others'. Jawosi songs are performed as dialogues in which groups of young, mostly unmarried women repeat each of the male warrior-soloist's lines. According to Suzanne Oakdale, the female chorus in Jawosi rituals "may in fact work as a tether, keeping the narrators tied to the living Kayabi community and guarding against too much identification with these others" (2005: 158). This ritual is clearly designed to allow for expression of the radically transformational power of musical speech while at the same time preventing this power from becoming dangerous or even life-threatening for the singer and his audience.

Musicalized speech and sounds are just as widely associated with transformational, shamanic powers of movement, displacement, discontinuity, and historical engagement with various categories of 'others': mythic ancestor-spirits, spirits of the dead, animal and plant spirits, affines, neighboring or distant indigenous peoples, and non-indigenous peoples. In previous publications (Hill 1993, 1994, 2004, 2013), I have used the term 'musicalization' to refer to this process of using non-verbal or semi-verbal patterns of sound to enact various kinds of social transformation: lifecycle transitions, shamanic journeys, exchanges between affines, revitalization movements, political-economic resistance, and so forth. Musicalization, or the production of musical sounds as a way of socializing relations with affines, non-human beings and various

categories of 'others', is perhaps best understood as a process of creating a naturalized social space in which human interactions are densely interwoven with the sounds and behaviors of fish and other non-human animal species. By paying close attention to the details of musical sounds and their organization in ritual and ceremonial performances, we can better understand how indigenous Amazonian peoples enact these transformations between self and other, human and non-human, living and dead, kin and affine.

In formal terms, musicalization is a process of using musicality to activate and energize speech and thus to make it more beautiful, powerful, and capable of transformations. The use of musical sounds to energize speech is perhaps most clearly expressed in shamanic curing rituals, in which loud-soft contrasts, echoing, acceleration and deceleration of *tempo*, *crescendo* and *decrescendo*, microtonal rising, and percussive sounds creates a public social enactment of the shaman's battle with mythic and other supernatural causes of disease. Among the Wakuénai of Venezuela, for example, shamanic singing (*malirríkairi*) is a musical and choreographic process of journeying from the world of living people to the houses of the dead located in a dark netherworld and retrieving the lost souls of sick or dying persons. This process of journeying away from the living and returning with the patient's soul is enacted in a number of ways. Movement, or breaking through to the houses of the dead, is musically performed through the use of sacred rattles made with powerful quartz stones. The accelerating and decelerating percussive sounds of the shaman's rattle serve as sensible markers charting the course of his spiritual travel. In their singing, shamans repeat each verse in a soft, almost ventriloquistic, echoing that musically effects a return to the world of the living. The shaman also uses different starting pitches in each of the many songs making up a curing ritual, and there is considerable microtonal rising of pitch within each of the songs (Hill 1992, 1993). Shamanic singing is always performed while seated on a low bench and facing the eastern horizon, and in the intervals between songs shamans give physical, bodily expression to the musical transformations that are the main channel of engaging with spirits of the dead, mythic beings, and other powerful beings. Between their songs, shamans stand up, take several steps away from their

benches, begin pulling spirits into their rattles by sucking in air and tobacco smoke, and vomit up the physical cause of their patients' disease. Returning to their patients and other family members, they blow tobacco smoke over their heads, suck on the patients' bodies, and vomit up splinters or other disease-causing agents. Shamanic rituals mobilize a combination of musical sounds and bodily actions to transform subjective relations – fear of death, illness and misfortune, conflict and anger – into sensuous, audible, visible, tangible materialities.

These dynamic musical transformations are not merely representations or symbols of the shamanic journey to and from spirits of the dead; rather they *are* the transformation of shamans from living human beings into mythic animal-humans. The shaman's musical journey across different regions of the cosmos is not a process of transforming into animal-humans in order to see humanity from the 'other's' point of view, as certain perspectivist theories would have us believe. Shamanic musical transformations are far more profound and efficacious than a mere shifting of perspective between humans and non-humans, an idea that is based on a simplistic and romantic misinterpretation of myth as a literal crossing over of human consciousness and social cognition into the realm of non-human animal species. Rather, shamanic musical transformations are a singing-into-being (Basso 1985) of a transformational, primordial time and space of mythic animal humans and then employing that transformational space to effect changes in human individuals, families, and communities. Musical transformations – dynamic processes such as acceleration and deceleration, *crescendo* and *decrescendo*, microtonal rising, percussion, and loud-soft contrasts – are ways of transforming sick individuals into healthy persons; restoring proper relations among body, society, and cosmos; moving individuals or groups across stages of the life cycle. Without these musical transformations, there can be no ritual power.

In major rites of passage, such as childbirth and puberty initiation rituals, musical transformations embody within themselves the processes of transition from one stage in the life cycle to another, from unborn fetus inside the maternal womb to newborn infant in

the external social world, or from young boys and girls dependent upon parental nurturance to self-reliant adult men and women. Among the Wakuénai of Venezuela, for example, the most dramatic expression of musical transformation takes place at the moment when a young woman is initiated into adulthood through a series of *málikai* singing and chanting over the sacred food (*káridzámai*) that marks the end of her period of ritual fasting. On the morning of her coming of age ritual, the girl-initiant's mother prepares a pot of hot-peppered, boiled fish or game meat in a large bowl and presents it to a chant-owner (*málikai limínali*). The food is covered with *ya-grumo* leaves, but small holes are left in the covering to allow the chant-owner to blow tobacco smoke over the food during intervals between periods of singing and chanting. The chant-owner places a large woven basket upside down over the pot of sacred food and, together with a shaman or other assistant, begins tapping out a loud, rapid rhythm on the basket with ritual whips (*kapéti*). In the opening song for female initiation, the chant-owner uses four distinct pitches and invokes the primordial human mother (*Ámaru*) and child (*Kuwái*) of myth living in the sky-world (*éenu*). After singing the spirit-names of these powerful mythic beings, the chant-owner sings the name of the celestial umbilical cord (*hliépule-kwa dzákare*) that connects the sky-world of mythic, ancestral beings to the navel of the world at Hípana, the place of mythic emergence. The singing and rapid, percussive tapping of whips continues for several minutes before transforming without interruption into a slower chanting of place-names along the Aiarí and Isana rivers. In a series of twenty-one chants lasting for nearly six hours, the chant-owner names all the places along the Isana, Negro, Cuyarí, Guainía, and Casiquiare rivers that form the ancestral territories of the various Wakuénai phra-tries. In the final chant, ritual specialists name the mythic home of Ámaru at Mutsípani ("Palm grub-dance"), a site along a curved stream near the place of emergence at Hípana. Before performing a final blessing and blowing tobacco smoke over the sacred food for the last time, the chant-owner sings-into-being the celestial umbilical cord that connects the sky-world of mythic ancestors to the world of the living at Hípana. The food and the girl-initiant are then both taken outside where they become the objects of the elders' collective ritual advice, which brings the ritual to an end.

In female initiation rituals, Wakuénai ritual specialists use four distinct, sung pitches in the opening song to directly embodies, or sing-into-being, the chant-owner's movements up to the sky-world of mythic ancestors and connection of this powerful realm to the world of living people via the celestial umbilical cord. Loud, rapid drumming of whips on the overturned basket covering the girl-initiant's sacred food also makes the connection between sky-world and terrestrial world audible and material. When the chant-owner modulates into a slower paced, chanted series of place-names along the rivers criss-crossing the Isana-Guainía drainage area, he materializes the mythic process of creating an expanding world of places through the women's playing of sacred flutes and trumpets in various regions. This dynamic expansion, or 'opening up', of the world is performed as a series of musical transformations in a set of twenty-one chants that make use of different starting pitches, acceleration/deceleration of *tempo*, microtonal rising, percussive sounds, and loud/soft contrasts. Finally, to reiterate the fact that this geographic movement across the world is not just some aimless meandering or wandering around, the closing *málikai* song of female initiation returns to exactly the same four sung pitches as the opening song and to the loud, rapid percussive tapping of whips over the upside-down basket. The dynamic musical transformations of the chanted journey, or 'opening up of the world', unfold within the stabilizing opening and closing songs and the naming of the cosmic umbilical cord that connects mythic ancestors to their human descents, both living and dead, at the center of mythic space. In effect, the opening and closing songs are ways of creating the mythic center, the alpha and omega of human social worlds, in relation to which all human social transformations take place as dynamic, chanted musical movements away-from and back-to the center of the world.

Changing Global Soundscapes in Lowland South America

In this concluding section of my paper, I will explore some of the diverse ways in which native South American musical traditions, understood as dynamic socio-historical processes of "musicalizing the other", have served indigenous communities as ways

of engaging with non-indigenous people and institutions. Shamanic singing and collective musical practices that are rooted in principles of shamanic ritual power and journeying across cultural, linguistic, and other boundaries have become forms of historical engagement with non-indigenous agents whose activities threaten the current existence and future persistence of local indigenous communities and their distinctive cultural practices. At the same time, younger generations in many indigenous communities are actively experimenting with musical styles that have become available through mass media, such as radio and television, and through new social media like Facebook. The culturally specific ways in which native musical traditions are changing in the context of global soundscapes is an important field of study for ethnomusicologists and can provide important insights into how indigenous communities are navigating contemporary identity politics in South America.

An excellent example of how shamanic musical traditions serve as a cultural tool for 'musicalizing the other' is found in the published writings of Carlos Alvarado Narváez, known as Mishki Chullumbu (Sweet Bee), a Napo Runa elder who is an intellectual, musician, author, and poet of prodigious insight and talent (Uzendoski n.d.). In addition to being a leader in the organizing of indigenous Napo Runa communities in defense of their territorial and cultural rights, Chullumbu is also the author of an indigenous historical work, *Historia de una cultura a la que se quiere matar, vol. 1 and 2* (*The History of a Culture that they want dead* vol. 1 and 2), that communicates "Napo Runa memory of the past as well as their lived experiences with spirits and beings of the forest" (Uzendoski n.d.). Of particular interest here is the fact that musicality and singing are central features of Chullumbu's historical vision of Napo Runa struggles to persist as an autonomous people in the context of predatory economic practices that began in the Spanish colonial expansion in South America during the 16th century and that continue in the late 20th and early 21st centuries as an increasingly cannibalistic form of conquest. In combination with powerful visionary substances derived from local plant species, music constitutes "a multi-modal technology of sound + substance developed by the ancestors for specific circumstances of healing, sorcery, and/or in this case, escape" (Uzendoski n.d.) from the agents of a

cannibalistic capitalist economy that seeks to destroy and extinguish Napo Runa communities and their distinctive cultural practices.

Indigenous peoples living in the Upper Rio Negro region in the early 1980s were experiencing similar practices of economic exploitation at the hands of local non-indigenous merchants (Hill 1994, 2002). The fact that merchants were placing the Wakuénai, Yeral, and other indigenous peoples into conditions of debt peonage was nothing new, since such practices had been taking place throughout the previous two-and-a-half centuries. What was new in the Upper Rio Negro region in 1981, however, was the fact that the local merchants were intercepting material goods, such as cement and gasoline, that the Colombian and Venezuelan governments had sent to the region for the explicit purpose of providing economic support for urbanized indigenous families, whose way of life required that they have access to such commodities. It was in the context of this doubly exploitative form of capitalism in which indigenous people were being indebted by purchasing materials that had been stolen from them in the first place that a powerful shaman from a nearby village led a group of Wakuénai and Yeral families in a series of musical dances on *mawi*, or *yapurutu*, flutes, and a variety of other vocal and instrumental performances that formed the main activities of a traditional *pudali* ceremony. This musicalization of the other, or a musicalizing of ethnic and class relations in the river towns along the Upper Rio Negro, came to a dramatic conclusion when the visiting shaman led a group of men in performing the song known as *kapetiápani* ('whip-dance'). Only in very extraordinary circumstances, such as the social protest against local merchants in July 1981, would it be permissible for anyone to perform the sacred *kapetiápani* song in the context of ceremonial musical dances of *pudáli*. In more normal conditions, *kapetiápani* is only performed in sacred rituals and ceremonies that commemorate the moment when the Trickster-Creator pushed the primordial human being of myth into a bonfire, and the world shrank back to its original tiny size. This singing-into-being of the cosmic transformation of the world in July 1981 was an indigenous musicalization of non-indigenous people and the cannibalistic economics of double exploitation that they had brought into the Upper Rio Negro region (Hill 1994).

Collective musical performances often form a central part of indigenous ways of expressing and recovering cultural identities in situations where these have been ignored, suppressed, or denigrated by outsiders. Just as speaking in indigenous languages when addressing national or international audiences is a powerful symbol of authenticity that generates symbolic capital for leaders of indigenous movements (Graham 2002), indigenous vocal and instrumental music carries the expressive and practical force of entire indigenous communities. We could see the power of song in action among the Xavante, Kayapó, and other Gê- and Tupí-speaking peoples of Central Brazil, for example, as they collectively sang- and danced-into-being an indigenous alliance in opposition to the proposed building of a hydroelectric dam on the Xingu River at Altamira in 1989 (Beckham 1989; Graham 2002; Turner 1992). What are the processes of musical changes that unfold in such moments of history and across such massive movements between radically different regimes of value? How do indigenous musical practices change when the purpose of performing music is no longer primarily that of connecting a community of people to ancestor spirits or other symbols of the origin of their social world but also to create, with ever-increasing urgency, new political and interpretive spaces for such sacred connections to persist in the globalizing nation-states of South America?

Indigenous Amazonian musical practices and associated discourse forms, such as ritual wailing, ceremonial greeting, dialogicality, mythic narrative, speech reporting, special languages, and shamanistic uses of language, play a key role in processes of creating new cultural and linguistic forms and meanings. These genres of music and discourse allow speakers of different languages "to interact intensely, borrowing discourse forms and processes from one another, such as myths, songs, and even entire ceremonies" (Beier, Michael, and Sherzer 2002: 137). The role of musical performances and discourses as bridges that have allowed indigenous Amazonian peoples to establish social relations across linguistic differences and to build these cross-linguistic relations into multilingual area networks is a topic that deserves more attention from ethnomusicologists than it has received in the past. In areas such as Northwestern Amazonia, for example, ethnographers working

in a variety of different linguistic settings have documented how closely related genres of personal drinking songs, or sung dialogues performed by pairs of men and/or women, have flourished in communities affiliated with Arawak (Hill 1983, 1987; Journet 2000), Tukano (Chernela 1993, 2003; Hosemann 2013), Saliba (Girón 2005), and Makú (Epps 2008) families. These parallel traditions of ceremonial drinking songs are centrally important features of social interaction in contexts of intercommunal feasting between groups that are either actual or potential affines. The use of these musical, dialogical speech genres in such widely divergent linguistic settings suggests that they form part of a regional discourse area (Hosemann 2013) that most likely has deep historical roots dating back well before the arrival of expanding Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish empires into the lowlands of northern South America in the 16th century. The fact that a single discourse genre, or a set of closely related musical and dialogical speech genres, is performed in a variety of languages from at least four different families once again supports Basso's argument (2011: 156) that researchers need to focus on multicultural social networks rather than culturally homogenous sodalities and to recognize that multilingual discursive areas are more useful in approaching indigenous Amazonian linguistic diversity than an assumption of monolingualism.

As ethnomusicologists and anthropologists studying the musical traditions and languages of indigenous Amazonian peoples, we must also pay close attention to the intergenerational changes that are unfolding at a rapid pace across Lowland South America. Just as language shifts are taking place as younger generations are learning national languages and ceasing to practice their native languages, so too are indigenous youths increasingly experimenting with new styles of music available through radio, television, recordings, and the internet. Among the Waiwai of southernmost Guyana, for example, men's flute playing was traditionally an important expression of manhood in which flute music provided a central way of demonstrating shamanic powers to attract game animals as well as sexual prowess in attracting women as lovers. Yet the younger generation of Waiwai men have abandoned the playing of flutes, "stating without exception that it is 'hard to blow'" and instead "have embraced a new medium in the form of battery-powered

cassette players" in ways that largely reproduce the social purposes of flutes (Alemán 2011: 222). Although some things have been lost and have undergone permanent change in this process of replacing flutes with boom boxes, other things have been gained as the younger generation of Waiwai men are coming of age in, and actively engaging with, a world filled not only with natural sounds and shamanic songs but also with a diverse soundscape of Guyanese and Brazilian popular music as well as American gospel and country music. Where this process will ultimately end up is impossible to predict, but it is clear that by shifting from flutes to boom boxes, these young men are re-creating a distinctively Waiwai social world under radically different historical conditions than those lived by their fathers and grandfathers.

Generational shifts of this kind are taking place in villages, towns, and cities across Lowland South America as indigenous peoples move from oral traditions to literacy and from word-of-mouth to the Internet in a matter of years. The many ways in which indigenous peoples accept, reject, and modify these new technologies and the access to their own and other musicalities that come along will be a rich field of study for ethnomusicologists and other researchers. Some indigenous groups, like the Suyá and Kamayurá of Central Brazil, refuse to allow any recordings of their traditional music to be placed on the Internet in digital formats, even for purely academic purposes of research and preservation (Anthony Seeger and Rafael Menezes Bastos, personal communications, November 2008). Other peoples like the Baniwa (Coripaco) of Brazil and the Wakuénai (Curripaco) of Venezuela have actively sought to have recordings of their narrative and musical traditions made available on their own websites or in research archives, such as the Archives of Indigenous Languages of Latin America at the University of Texas (www.ailla.utexas.org). The Baniwa-Coripaco of Brazil established a school in 2005, called the Escola Pamaali, for training young people in their indigenous cultural traditions. According to their website, the school is designed to provide youths with education in a location that is closer to their home communities and that would be a means for recovering and valorizing their culture. The object of the school is to "form persons who can live within and outside of their community without losing their own

individual identity" (*www.pamaali.wordpress.com*, translation mine). Recovery of traditional genres of collective music and dance, as well as sacred shamanic song and chant, figures prominently in the school's activities.

The Pano-speaking Marubo of western Brazil provide an example of an indigenous community that can at absorb new forms of musical expression from historical contacts with other indigenous peoples without abandoning their own specific ways of making music. Marubo elders claim that the end-blown flutes made of plastic and played by younger men are not Marubo but foreign (*nawa*), or "Inca", a phenomenon that apparently results from interactions between Marubo and Quechua-speaking men who worked together during the Rubber Boom of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Marubo have institutionalized the generational differences between elders and youths by allowing youth to "incorporate *nawa* elements into Marubo rituals, while a core set of ritual actions organized by elders remains central to the Marubo self-definition" (Ruedas 2011: 301). In contrast to the Waiwai process of replacing flutes with boom boxes, the Marubo institutionalization of generational differences allows for the addition of new musicalities – "Inca"-style flutes made of plastic and cassette recordings of Brazilian dance music – to the elders' tradition of singing and drumming during ceremonial feasts celebrating the making of a new hollowed-out log drum (*ako*). At the same time, however, the Marubo ability to absorb new musicalities resembles the Waiwai replacement of flutes with boom boxes in as much as it, too, results in a culturally specific way of engaging with the changing global soundscape.

Across Lowland South America, indigenous peoples have developed a rich variety of musical traditions and have attached a mind-boggling array of culturally specific meanings to these musical discourses, instruments, and sounds. These musical practices and their cultural meanings are central to indigenous ways of reproducing their social worlds by connecting them to natural processes of regeneration and serve as cultural tools for navigating the increasingly complex global soundscapes of the 21st Century. Understood in these terms, indigenous Amazonian musical tradi-

tions are not merely aesthetic expressions of cultural differences or folkloristic remnants of a supposedly pristine indigenous past but dynamic and creative practices of interpreting and engaging with the contemporary world we all share.

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