

# CHAPTER 1

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## **On Committing Kamsá to Writing: Improvisations and Collaborations**

*John H. McDowell*

### **Abstract**

Revisiting my prolonged adventure as an ethnographer of communication in Colombia's Sibundoy Valley, which spanned the 1970s and 80s, I take note of a language-learning process that at last secured for me a modest level of competence in the Kamsá of my host family and community. My return to Sibundoy Valley days is grounded in two instructive stories, one mythical and the other historical, performed in my presence by Taita Bautista Juajibioy; these stories anchor Kamsá civilization in its spiritual and material quadrants. The process of learning Kamsá in the field involved working my way through a series of speech genres, beginning with the readily accessible nicknames known as "ugly names," passing through the sayings of the ancestors and mythic narratives, and culminating in the partially opaque ceremonial speaking. At every step along the way, I was the beneficiary of a collaborative procedure that depended on both the skills and good nature of my Kamsá hosts. Each of the speech genres we worked on had its lessons, but the ceremonial speaking, which pushes Kamsá morphology to its limits, created puzzles and challenges that taught us much about the language but eventually resisted our best efforts at elucidation of language form and meaning. I have taken the liberty of including ten photographs that I made and shared over the years, to provide a visual feel for the place and its people of those times. Some of those pictured are still among the living, but, alas, several have since entered the domain of perpetual peace.

### **Introduction**

The teaching and learning of indigenous languages happens in all kinds of scenarios—in homes and schools, at community events, on the internet, and importantly, in ethnographic field settings. I want to talk about my experiences in learning the Kamsá language, spoken as a native tongue by several thousand people whose roots are in the Sibundoy Valley of southwestern Colombia, through an apprenticeship that took place not in the classroom but in the field. The learning and teaching of language that take place in field research are a vital component of the ethnographic process and often are central to the success or failure of ethnographic projects. Moreover, it is common for the fruits of ethnographic work to find their way into constructions of language and culture that become representative of the community to the outside world and that have significant impact within the community in recuperative projects. Linguistic exchange is a crucial node in the process of making sense across barriers of language and culture, and solid arguments can be advanced for taking a closer look at how these exchanges transpire (Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Heath and Street, 2008). My former teacher and present colleague and friend, Joel Sherzer, proposed that we dedicate this STILLA 2008 panel to revisiting our work with indigenous communities and their languages; to that end, I offer in this paper an assessment of

key features in the linguistic exchanges that brought me and my Kamsá hosts into a collaborative effort to probe the Kamsá ethos. These comments are addressed to the field stages of *doing the ethnography of speaking*, a practice that runs in tandem with *doing ethnopoetics*. In this retrospective I restrict my attention to the collaboration between fieldworker and native, and have little or nothing to say about a later stage, what has been for me a lonelier operation, of preparing texts for publication.

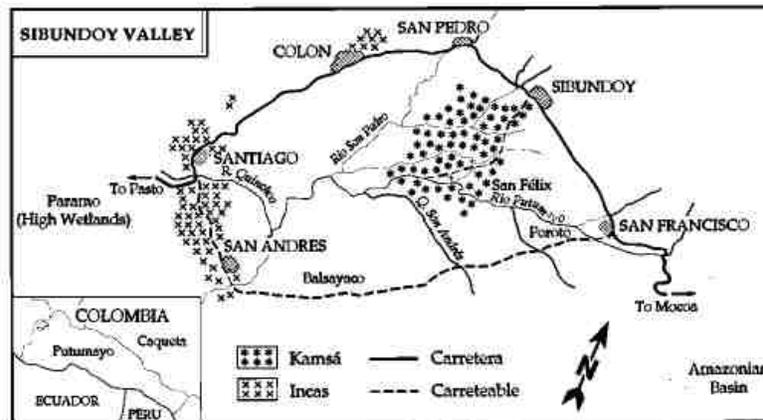


Figure 1. Map of Sibundoy Valley

In working with the Kamsá community in Colombia's Sibundoy Valley, I found myself among speakers of a language isolate, apparently the last living dialect of the Quillasinga family of languages, for which there was and continues to be very little in the way of published materials. The language was so obscure that it had been referred to by several different names (Coche, Mocoa, Sibundoy, Camsa, Kamsá—young activists today insist on the term Kamäntsá) and mistakenly aligned with the Chibchan family of languages in some taxonomies (Loukotka, 1967). Hence, I have struggled to fashion sparse existing resources into a serviceable method for documenting oral tradition and verbal art performances. Throughout this process, I worked closely with my Kamsá hosts, the Juajibioy and Jacanamijoy families, to develop a viable means of capturing Kamsá talk in writing. In this essay, I want to revisit some of the many improvisations and collaborations that fueled this process and examine ceremonial speeches in Kamsá as verbal expressive acts that challenge our best efforts at transcription and translation. Performances in genres like this one highlight unsuspected capabilities of the code by laying out inflective paradigms and then stretching them to the limits, and sometimes beyond.

### The Kamsá World of Words

Some years ago I had occasion to be in San Juan de los Pastos, the city better known as Pasto, capital of the southern Colombian department of Nariño. There I came into contact with members of the two indigenous communities resident in the not-too-distant Sibundoy Valley—the Kamsá and the Ingas, the latter speaking the northernmost dialect of the Quechuan language family. I heard about a certain Alberto Juajibioy, a Kamsá gentleman who was working as a museum curator at the Universidad de Antioquia in Medellín, and was able to make the acquaintance of this kind and knowledgeable man and initiate a friendship with him that was to last until his recent death. Alberto wrote for me two letters of introduction, one to a mestizo

family in the town of Sibundoy, another to his father, the distinguished elder, taita Bautista Juajibioy, who had been elected *gobernador* of his community six times.



Figure 2. Taita Bautista instructing



Figure 3. Alberto in Medellín

Armed with these letters, I made my way to the Sibundoy Valley and contacted the mestizo family Alberto had recommended me to; they, in turn, sent two of their sons to guide me out into the *vereda* where taita Bautista and his extended family resided. I met taita Bautista and his wife, mama Concepción, in September of 1978 and made arrangements to occupy a room in the nearby house of Bautista's daughter María Juajibioy and her husband Justo Jacanamijoy and their children. Before this deal was sealed, I had to persuade Justo that a white man like me could abide the infliction of fleas, and reassure María that I would indeed be able to eat her cooking.



Figure 4. Justo's and María's house



Figure 5. María is planting corn

During the course of a year spent with this host family, I found remedies for the fleas and I prospered on María's cooking. Much more than that, I acquired a home with good, caring people to look after me and take an interest in my work.

I want to return to the talk I heard and recorded from taita Bautista that very first afternoon in vereda San Félix near the headwaters of the Putumayo River. This white-haired, elegant man had been talking to priests and anthropologists for a long time and he knew very well how to represent his people and his culture to outsiders. But he was also recognized by his community as a sage elder. That very first visit I was able to document an interesting spate of talk delving into the cosmological and political setting of the Kamsá. In the late afternoon sunshine, several family members and neighbors got together for some informal conversing and sharing a drop or two of *bokoy*, the homemade maize beer, which gave way after a while to a counseling session with taita Bautista expostulating on points of belief and history he marked as foundational for the community. A group of middle-aged men were his primary audience, but he kept me in the loop by intermixing Kamsá and Spanish, and occasionally sending my way additional bits of information and explanation.



Figure 6. María and her mother, mama Concha (Concepción)

I select here for presentation two pieces of the discourse of that afternoon, my introduction to the Kamsá world of words. The first situates the Kamsá people in relation to the rise of civilization in the Sibundoy Valley; the second traces a somber history of dispossession in more recent times. Both reach deeply into a trove of traditional knowledge and implicate a rich forum of storytelling in the mythic narrative vein. As a folklorist, I felt I had stumbled upon the mother lode, and my subsequent work with Sibundoy Valley materials can be seen as a quest to unravel the clues offered in these words spoken by taita Bautista (see McDowell 1983, 1990, 1994), a process I want to examine briefly in this paper. But first, let's ground ourselves in the two-pronged exposition taita Bautista put forward for the benefit of his junior peers, and for me, that distant September day.

The first text delves into mythic time; I have called it "Kaka Tempo: The Raw Time," and I present it in the original mixed Kamsá-Spanish and in my English translation:

1 "Kaka Tempo: The Raw Time"

*cuentan, ¿no?*

They tell it, see?

*tiempo de la oscuridad yibets tempoka*  
The time of darkness, the dark time.

*y ya tiempo de luzna binyen tempoka*  
And later the time of light, the dawn time.

*y ya otra kaka tempoka tiempo crudo comían todo crudo kaka tempo*  
And later another, the raw time, the time of rawness, they ate everything raw, the raw time.  
(laughs)

*todo tiempo crudo que comían crudo pues todo*  
All the raw time they ate everything raw.

*toda fruta, todo crudo, crudo, crudo como antes no había candela*  
Every fruit, everything raw, raw, raw, since before there was no fire.

*por eso se llama kaka tempo tiempo crudo*  
That's why it is called the raw period, the time of rawness.

*después ya que hubo candela entonces ya aprendían a cocinar*  
Later when there was fire, then at last they learned how to cook.

*antes que sabía gustar como habían muchos*  
Earlier I used to like it, since there were many,

*habían estado conversando los mayores*  
the elders would be conversing

*uno estaba allí oyendo todo*  
one was there hearing everything.

*antes de la llegada de los misioneros*  
before the arrival of the missionaries.

Taita Bautista situates himself as an alert young fellow tuning into the talk of his elders when he was but a child. Sketching out the cosmic ages, taita Bautista highlights the progression from darkness all the way through to the beginning of modern times, marked by the arrival of the missionaries. I was to learn that the body of Kamsá mythology traces in key moments in this sequence—the first rising of the sun, the acquisition of fire and seed corn, the vanquishing of the *aucas*, a substrate population, and the subduing of spiritual power so that the Kamsá world would be conducive to the establishment of civilization. These actions leading to the founding of civil society were carried out by the ancestors, a generalized stratum of first people, only one of whom, the demigod and culture hero, Wangetsmuna, was named. As I interpolated the wisdom of these stories into lessons conveyed in the other Kamsá speech genres I was studying, I came to

see that these ancestors were pivotal in Kamsá thought, that, as the ceremonial speech formula has it, *tsjiyetsashekwastona*, “surely I am following in their footsteps” (see McDowell 1990).

The second text I have salvaged from taita Bautista’s instructive talk, which I call “Carlos Tamoabioy’s,” has to do with more modern events, and I present it in English translation, for purposes of efficiency:

## 2 “Carlos Tamoabioy’s”

This place is Carlos Tamoabioy’s...  
 One has to know how things were.  
 This is our land; he left it to us.  
 He delivered the papers, signed by his hand.  
 The will and testament is housed in Quito,  
 the deed in Popayán...  
 Later this place became a reservation,  
 the property of the Indian.  
 This land, from the Patascoy Volcano to the Tortuga,  
 from doña Juana (a volcano) to,  
 what is the name of that river?  
 It borders on Los Laboneros.  
 The people of this place are the owners,  
 the true owners.  
 The people of this place didn’t know how to hold it.  
 But Carlos Tamoabioy provided for us.  
 Because we didn’t heed him,  
 we have been thrown off our own land.  
 And then we sought help from a native lawyer,  
 Leandro Agreda, like this, a very small man.  
 He fought hard for us,  
 he defended the Indian well.  
 The people of this place must respect him.

One of the missionaries told me:  
 “What if you people had said:  
 ‘Five days warning and all whites must leave,  
 because there is a law.’”  
 But due to our ignorance,  
 they have stolen our land. (laughs)  
 We, the people of this place, being the real owners.  
 And the writing is housed in Quito,  
 the deed in Popayán.

As the afternoon shaded into evening, taita Bautista returned to foundational matters, but approached them from the other end of the temporal continuum, from the more recent past. Picking up with the arrival of the missionaries, he mentioned the names of two historical figures who fought for the rights of the indigenous people, taita Carlos Tamoabioy, the early eighteenth-

century cacique who left his lands to his people, and Leandro Agreda, an early twentieth-century *tintorillo* or self-trained lawyer, who vigorously argued for indigenous land rights in the local and regional legal system (Bonilla, 1972). In spite of these precedents and efforts, taita Bautista observes, the indigenous people have had only limited success in preserving their hold on the land.

These two discourses framed for me an agenda of inquiry—to gain an understanding of the distinctive Kamsá cosmology, and to assess the current situation of a people that has suffered alienation from its land during the time of the missionaries. My principal avenue of insight would be the traditional forms of discourse that flourished in private conversations and in public ceremonies. But to achieve my goals, I required a tool I did not yet possess—the ability to transcribe, translate, and understand these discourse forms at the heart of my project.

### **Collaborative Ethnopoetics**

I was able to spend an entire year in the Sibundoy Valley from September of 1978 to August of 1979, with support from a Fulbright fellowship. I knew that mythic narrative was a living force in the community, and I wanted to explore the corpus of tales and see how they related to personal and collective concerns. In the course of living with the Kamsá I came to see the centrality of speech in the conduct of community affairs and to appreciate the importance of two additional speech genres, sayings of the ancestors and ceremonial speech-making. During that Fulbright year and in later visits to the valley, I actively sought out storytellers and storytelling situations, I sampled and tried to understand the extensive corpus of sayings, and I attempted to document and penetrate the ceremonial speaking discourse, a mode of verbal artistry that was in decline and has since all but vanished. I also became aware of special modes of speaking practiced by traditional doctors, and added these to my list of targeted verbal practices.

Clearly, securing a handle on these speech forms depended upon a degree of mastery of Kamsá that I have not yet obtained, even at the date of this writing. Due to the paucity of available materials on the Kamsá language—there is to date no dictionary or full-scale grammar—I was unable to prepare myself very much in advance of my arrival to the Sibundoy Valley. Hence, my language learning has been very much a seat-of-the-pants operation, part of a continuous exchange I entered into with my host family—I offered them accounts of far-away peoples and places, and in return, they instructed me in the ways and words of their people. I did have recourse to Linda Howard's preliminary phonological analysis of the Kamsá language (1967), which I was able to adapt into a workable orthography for my own purposes. And a small book co-authored in 1973 by Alberto Juajibioy, *Bosquejo etnolingüístico del grupo Kamsá de Sibundoy, Putumayo, Colombia*, gave me my initial grounding in the complex morphology of the Kamsá verb.

One forum that turned out to be very instructive was the arena of nicknames, a lively practice among the Kamsá, where colorful individuals receive a *podeska wabainá*, Kamsá for “ugly name,” names that are used exclusively in the absence of the individuals they refer to (McDowell, 1981). These miniature verbal art objects embody lexicon and basic grammatical categories in an accessible medium, and provide as well much furtive mirth and delight. I began writing down the names I encountered in a little notebook, and was soon warned by my Kamsá friends to guard that notebook lest it fall into the wrong hands and provoke offense.

Here is a sample of what can be gleaned about Kamsá grammar from Kamsá nicknames:

*The prefix –wa/-was*

**Waschichila** (“Pisser”). Kamsa and Spanish; wa- is a prefix that humanizes or intensifies; chichi is Spanish vernacular for ‘urine’. Given to “a woman who was fierce, and when she became angry, she would piss in her clothes.”

**Wastorchena** (“Piece of Cake”). Kamsa and Spanish; was- the intensifying prefix; torchena, from Spanish for ‘cake’. Given to “a woman who liked to drink; there she would sit showing all her private parts.”

*The nominal classifier -be*

**don Watungabe** (“Sir Balls”). Spanish term of respect, don, and a Kamsa derivative of wasungabe, ‘ball’. Given to a man with a speech defect, who substitutes /t/ for /s/.

*Negative nominal classifiers –txe and -bja*

**Diablontxe** (“Big Devil”). Spanish root, diablo, devil; Kamsa suffix -ntxe, signifying something large and ugly. Given to a large man who “goes to parties in traditional dress and likes to fight.”

**Manavallubja** (“Worthless”). Inga, Spanish, Kamsa composite: mana, Inga for ‘negative’; valle, Spanish for “worth”; -bja, Kamsa dispeptive suffix. Given by a grandmother to a small child.

These and many other particles highlighted in the nicknames would reappear throughout the verbal materials I was gathering, and my work with my Kamsá hosts on the nicknames offered a pleasurable framework for beginning my analysis of Kamsá grammatical categories and processes.

But a deeper incursion into the intricacies of the language was required. Since I was set adrift in the Kamsá world of words without much in the way of a paddle, I had to engage in an improvised and highly collaborative mode of language learning, a crash course, if you will, and very much on-the-spot. It all came down to capturing the sound and sense of the language, and I have termed “collaborative ethnopoetics” the process we—my Kamsá hosts and I—developed through a prolonged process of trial and error (see McDowell, 2000). Though I realize each case is different, I believe that doing ethnography of speaking calls for an intensely collaborative process between the scholar and the community, and that these collaborative techniques need to be openly presented and discussed. In an effort to walk this talk, let me describe, briefly, how my Kamsá hosts and I conspired to get at the sound and sense of Kamsá verbal art productions.

I had access to fine storytellers such as taita Bautista, Mariano and Estanislao Chicunque, María Juajibioy, Justo Jacanamijoy, and others, so I very quickly accumulated a significant corpus of mythic narrative performances on audio cassette tape. Without exception, these recordings derived from performances for Kamsá audiences, so I was confronted with a need to



Figure 7. Justo and Fidel, swapping words while drinking maize beer (*bokoy*)

transcribe, translate, and contextualize materials emanating from intra-group communication. There were three specific facets to the collaborative method that evolved as Justo and María, my adopted parents, and their children, especially Juan and Angel, combined with me to track down phrases and meanings in the verbal performances I was recording in the Sibundoy Valley:

1. Working through the Spanish language as a shared communicative platform.
2. Repeating, slowly and clearly, each spoken phrase as it sounded on my field tapes so that I could commit it to writing.
3. Revisiting each of these phrases for a careful analysis of meaning.

By the end of this laborious process, we were fairly confident that I had in writing the words to the stories, and that we had worked together to produce a reasoned translation of each story into Spanish.<sup>1</sup>

There were interesting complications to each of these facets. Kamsá phonology is difficult, and I never could hear the distinction between the phonemes I write as /sh/ and /x/, the palatal and retroflex fricative, respectively. With my Kamsá helpers, we devised this method—whenever I heard either of these sounds, I would ask if it was the /sh/ as in *shema* (woman) or the /x/ as in *kex* (dog). Spanish was a common second language uniting my hosts and me, so it proved irresistible to fall back on it as *lingua franca* for our work. This processing of Kamsá via Spanish would seem to harbor some danger but I found that working the Kamsá through the Spanish provided valuable insights into how my hosts understood the Kamsá of these verbal texts. I began to think about the psychological reality of the morpheme, and the compatibility and lack thereof between languages, as my hosts selected from the palate of available semantic units in the Kamsá originals in producing their Spanish translations. My careful parsing of the Kamsá agglutinations seemed overblown by comparison to the trim Spanish formulations I was getting from Justo and María and their sons. Much of the semantics in the Kamsá didn't appear to consciously register for them, and they were content to let context and performative features such as intonation carry a good portion of this semantic labor.

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<sup>1</sup>In going back over these texts and tapes, I have noted places where my collaborators made changes in the original spoken version; this is a matter worth study in its own right.

### Ceremonial Speaking: The Limits of Language Learning

It was with reference to ceremonial speaking that I came to realize that some discourse imposes limits to intelligibility. If we had not established our collaborative ethnopoetics, I might not have grasped the fact that even the most knowledgeable among my Kamsá helpers, even the elders, could not provide for me a close parsing of the complex verbal constructions typical of Kamsá ceremonial speaking. Elders like taita Bautista and Mariano Chicunque could formulate these phrases in the requisite up-tempo chanting, but when asked to explicate this verbal production, on a phrase-by-phrase basis, they could not do it. Unlike the nicknames and the mythic narratives, these speeches remained partially opaque to even their creators, though these men had no difficulty conveying the general sense of all but the most difficult phrases. Here my efforts at language learning came to grief against the resistance afforded by an advanced form of verbal virtuosity, a skillful display of artistry that pushed the code to its functional limits.

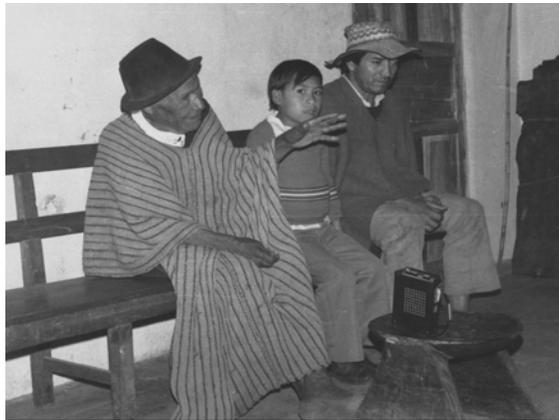


Figure 8. Taita Mariano telling a tale

The ceremonial speaking created an initial challenge due to its performance features—a rapid pacing, the overlapping of voices (McDowell, 1983). But even once these were surmounted through the replaying tactic that was at the core of our collaborative ethnopoetics, points of resolute ambiguity persisted. There were two kinds of problems in decoding this elaborated code. One was the way certain locutions operated more as verbal props than semantic elements, much as David Murray (1977) describes for the verbal paraphernalia of Navajo ceremonialism. Phrases like *ndoka remidio*, part of the litany of Kamsá ceremonial speaking, defy close translation. Literally we could translate this phrase as “sin remedio” or “without remedy,” but it works in the speeches much more like “so be it” in English, as a means of connecting adjacent units in the speeches. Much of this litany in the Kamsá speeches, the repeating units that served a ritual purpose, could not be taken for its literal meaning.

The second major source of opacity in Kamsá ceremonial speaking is the prevalence of cumbersome lexical items accumulating two or three times the normal inflectional load. A core piece of the artistry is formulating these ponderous terms, often built upon the backs of highly resonant Spanish loan words and exploiting the agglutinating capacities of Kamsá to the hilt. For example, consider this remarkable word-cum-phrase occurring in a greeting speech by Mariano Chicunque:

Kanye palabra nyetxá kwatabonjiyetenoxebwachina.  
A word since we have surely come together in this place.

The final word of this phrase can be parsed as follows:

kwa-ta-bo-n-j-i-ye-t-en-o-xebwachina

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

- (1) *kwa*: intensifier, in this case marks the speaker's mood of certainty; here translates as "surely."
- (2) *ta*: historical aspect, marks action that has been completed prior to the moment of speech; here translates as past tense.
- (3) *bo*: benefactive, indicates that the action performed is of benefit to the actors; here translates as "for our good."
- (4) *n*: an affirmative evidential, indicates that the speaker is witness to the event named in the verb; here translates as "so I see."
- (5) *j*: a verbal marker; does not translate.
- (6) *i*: first-person singular marker, "I."
- (7) *ye*: marker of legendary discourse, bringing into play the ancestral realm; here translates as "like our ancestors."
- (8) *t*: repetition marker, indicates that this action has happened before; translates as "again."
- (9) *en*: reciprocal marker, indicates that the action conjoins two or more participants, translates as "each other."
- (10) *o*: preverb qualifier, indicates that the action is accidental rather than designed; translates as "by chance."
- (11) *xebwachina*: verbal root meaning "to come together; to meet."

This string of elements produces the following replete translation into English: "So I see that it happens we have surely come together once again for our mutual benefit as in the days of the ancestors." It could be argued that since this is ceremonial speech, a heightened verbal medium, it merits translation in its replete form. On the other hand, my Kamsá helpers were not inspired to produce equally florid locutions when they recreated these speech phrases in Spanish, though they did case these translations in a slightly formal Spanish.



Figure 9. A ceremonial blessing



Figure 10. Kamsá native doctor, with curing branches and quartz crystal in hand

Kamsá ceremonial speaking brought me and my Kamsá interlocutors to the brink of unintelligibility. Recurring phrases composing this speech variety's litany resisted literal translation, and seemed to operate more like ritual objects than semantic constructs. Complex, multi-morphemic word bundles revealed possibilities that are present in the grammar but that defy the kind of swift processing necessary in everyday talk. Coming to grips with the ceremonial speaking proved to be instructive to me—on the way verbal artistry explores and extends the formal capacities of the language, and on the way language can serve as an accoutrement to ritual activity.

### Conclusion

As an ethnographer of communication in Colombia's Sibundoy Valley, I was, conspicuously, a language learner. My curriculum was the verbal art forms of the Kamsá, and I graduated from an elementary course in nicknames to an intermediate course in mythic narratives, and finally moved on to advanced training in ceremonial speaking and the quasi-verbal languages of the native doctors. My instructors were my congenial hosts, who dedicated many patient hours to my improvement. They were able to see progress on my part, their star pupil, and I was able to gain valuable access to the world of Kamsá words. These words converged on the ancestors as the cosmic and political matrix of Kamsá thought.

It is worth noting that I was not exclusively a pupil as there were occasions calling for me to take on the role of instructor. Juan Jacanamijoy was a teenager at the time and knew the Beatles' songs, but had little idea what the lyrics were about; I was able to provide translations. Towards the end of my year's stay, I began teaching Justo and María how to write their native language, which to them was purely a spoken language. We had several evening sessions with notebooks and pencils as I walked them through the orthography I had developed for my own purposes. What I mostly recall from these sessions is how delighted they were to see that their language could be displayed in letters, and how difficult it was for them to make this transition from speech to writing.

Committing Kamsá to writing has been a continuing challenge for me. It is an exercise that brought me into close proximity with my Kamsá hosts as it became our shared project.

During the many hours I sat, notebook in hand, tape recorder nearby, sorting out *shema* from *kex* and sifting through the clusters of morphemes, my Kamsá hosts and I worked as partners in a common endeavor. At times, it seemed that Justo and María were more intent than I was on moving forward with the project. They came to share my agenda, which held meaning for them too, as both were already serious students of their own language and culture, positioned as untrained but sensitive insiders. Aware of the impact of external forces, worried about the loss of traditional practices, Justo and María had many of the same concerns I brought to the study of Kamsá verbal arts.

Committing Kamsá to writing was also the vehicle that illuminated for me the hovering presence of the *antewanos*, the first people, over all the affairs of the current day. At the root of every Kamsá saying, mythic narrative, and ceremonial speech is the example of the ancestors, makers of Kamsá civilization and guarantors of cosmic order. Creating a collaborative ethnopoetics was productive in its own right, as a forum binding me and my hosts to a common purpose, but it had the instrumental value of making palpable for me a universe in which the culture hero and demigod, Wangetsmuna, set things straight by blowing the horn his grandfather the thunder had provided him with—from that moment on, the animals remained animals, and the people, people.

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