
REVIEW ESSAYS

DEATH, MEMORY, AND LANGUAGE: New Approaches to History in Lowland South American Anthropology

Janet M. Chernela
Florida International University

- THE LAST CANNIBALS: A SOUTH AMERICAN ORAL HISTORY.* By Ellen B. Basso. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995. Pp. 319. \$40.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)
- FROM THE ENEMY'S POINT OF VIEW: HUMANITY AND DIVINITY IN AN AMAZONIAN SOCIETY.* By Eduardo Viveiros de Castro. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1992. Pp. 407. \$60.00 cloth.)
- YANOMAMI WARFARE: A POLITICAL HISTORY.* By R. Brian Ferguson. (Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press, 1995. Pp. 449. \$55.00 cloth, \$27.50 paper.)
- TO DRINK OF DEATH: THE NARRATIVE OF A SHUAR WARRIOR.* By Janet Wall Hendricks. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1993. Pp. 316. \$35.00 cloth.)
- SANUMA MEMORIES: YANOMAMI ETHNOGRAPHY IN TIMES OF CRISIS.* By Alcida Rita Ramos. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995. Pp. 346. \$50.00 cloth, \$19.95 paper.)

"Principles ousted one another,
heroes of the mind overthrew each
other with unheard-of rapidity,
and in the last three years . . . ,
more of the past was swept
away in Germany than at other times
in three centuries."
Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels,
The German Ideology

Lowland South American anthropological studies continue amid a clamoring of intradisciplinary disputes. Despite this din, several crucial advances have been made that deserve discussion. They speak to some of the most challenging epistemological dilemmas faced by the social sciences today. As the scholarly debate rages on, indigenous peoples are negotiating for lands, for political leverage, and for cultural and physical survival.

The object of scholarly debate is the anthropological word, its purpose, and its power. The debate has been characterized as a conflict between scientific and interpretive-humanistic positions. The so-called scientific (or “scientistic”) extreme holds that objective assessment of an external reality is the realizable goal of anthropology, made possible through disinterested observation and methodological rigor. In contrast, the postmodern humanistic critique asserts that ethnography is a literary creation whose false “scientism” obfuscates underlying interest in both ethnographer and native. At its extreme, the interpretive-humanistic perspective holds to an epistemological relativism in which ethnography is a “literature of observational fact”—no more authoritative than any other fictive work whose coherence and orderliness result from rhetorical devices. Proponents of this position claim to be “modern,” suggesting a paradigm shift in anthropology away from traditional ethnographic description and explanation and toward an interactive and interpretive ethnographic process in which goals of objectivity are unattainable and misapplied. Postmodernists also criticize the “scientific approaches” for neglecting the role played by anthropology in the service of hegemonic powers. These critics call for a thorough recognition and critique of colonial and neocolonial influences in shaping what anthropologists have misrepresented as isolated “peoples without histories.”

The literature on lowland South America provides an important playing field for this debate and raises significant questions regarding the goals and assumptions of the anthropological project. Each of the approaches discussed here offers a response to criticisms of static, reductive, or essentialist portrayals of culture and society. Rather than pronounce ethnological analysis as dead or turn to less rigorous methodologies, these authors provide refined approaches in which the ongoing dynamism of culture is the project. The approaches to be reviewed here fall into neither the postmodernist nor the scientistic extremes. Rather, they break new ground and move the field in important new directions.

The destruction of South American Indians over the last four centuries and the reconstruction of those events in texts by anthropologists and surviving Amerindians provide an appropriate vantage point for evaluating this debate. I will therefore examine the concepts of death and history in lowland South American anthropology to gain insight into the contemporary challenges facing the discipline and the region.

The ethnology of the Yanomami of Venezuela and Brazil persuasively points to the historic embeddedness of the anthropological project. This body of ethnological texts serves as a reading of the schisms and disputes within the discipline over three decades. I will begin by contrasting two new works on the Yanomami, one by Brian Ferguson that follows a “scientific methodology” and the other by Alcida Ramos that may be described as interpretive. I will situate the two books within an abbreviated history of debate among Yanomami scholars and bridge the divide between them in discussing three new books on lowland South American anthropology.

The Yanomami Wars

One of the most prominent ongoing debates within anthropology concerns whether the Yanomami are violent, and if so, why. Napoleon Chagnon’s characterization of the Yanomami as “the fierce people” in his widely read book by that title (1968) was eventually rejected by a number of Yanomami specialists, among them Alcida Ramos (1987), Bruce Albert (1989, 1990a), and Jacques Lizot (1994a, 1994b). Citing Yanomami behavior and self-representation as “evidence,” Chagnon defended his position, reaffirming that the Yanomami reputation as violent was earned (1979a, 1979b, 1988, 1992). Chagnon’s explanation for Yanomami violence echoed that of the Yanomami themselves: they war because of disputes over women. Chagnon attributed Yanomami violence to male reproductive striving for genetic dominance (Chagnon 1979a, 1979b, 1988a, 1988b).

In response, Marvin Harris strongly criticized Chagnon’s reliance on informant self-representation (Harris 1974, 1977, 1979, 1984a, 1984b). He used the case to exemplify the role of anthropology in uncovering the truths obscured beneath informants’ belief systems. Harris supplied an alternative explanation for Yanomami warfare based on Chagnon’s data and his own deductive reasoning rather than on first-hand experience.¹ Harris’s distant approach viewed Yanomami conflict as an adaptive response to conditions of population concentration that might limit the availability of necessary game resources.² The constellation of behavior that William Divale and Marvin Harris (1976) labeled the “male supremacist complex” is a vicious cycle of causality involving female infanticide, uneven sex ratios, and warfare over women.³ Contradicting the represen-

1. This thesis was first considered in 1970 by Jane Bennett Ross, a Columbia University graduate student.

2. For further discussion of game availability, Yanomami settlement patterns, and warfare, see Chagnon and Hames (1979), Ferguson (1989a), Good (1987, 1989), Hames (1979, 1983), Lizot (1977), and Sponsel (1983a).

3. For rebuttals of Divale and Harris (1976), see Fjellman (1979) and Dow (1979).

tations of anthropologists who worked closely with the Yanomami, Harris argued that Yanomami violence, represented as male competition over women, actually served (without the Yanomami being conscious of it) to create a distance between groups that was crucial for ensuring nutritional levels adequate for survival (see also Allman 1988; Booth 1989; Dow 1979; Horgan 1988; Lizot 1977, 1994a, 1994b; Sponsel 1983b).

Brian Ferguson's latest work, *Yanomami Warfare: A Political History*, builds on this debate, giving a Wolfian twist to an essentially Harrisonian approach. Ferguson's is the most "scientific" of the approaches reviewed in this essay, and I present it here as an excellent example of one of the prevailing paradigms in the field. Because the implications of Ferguson's study are the most strongly anti-colonial, I also use it to illustrate the fallacy of the postmodern critique that the scientific view does not recognize global power relations.

The approach taken by Ferguson to the Yanomami case is known within the field as "etic," following Harris's usage of the terms *emic* and *etic* (1968, 568–77). According to this formulation, *emic* refers to the elicited statements of "natives," reflecting individual perceptions and cultural meanings, while *etic* refers to a level of explanation arrived at through the empirical investigation of the observer-analyst.⁴ The method and its language allow for a separation of levels of explanation that adapts the ethnological enterprise to the hypothesis-testing procedures of the natural sciences.

Ferguson's approach merges these neofunctionalist methodologies with a Wolfian historical approach (Wolf 1982) to combine features of cultural ecology and political economy. According to this model, Yanomami warfare is driven by factors related to the production, control, and distribution of scarce technological (not natural) resources. The "need" for these manufactured goods, created by their limited availability and greater energetic efficiency, sets in motion a system of conflict perpetuated by ideological motives. The emphasis on technology rather than on resources per se recalls Julian Steward's concept of the cultural core, while attention to energetic efficiency owes its pedigree to Steward's mentor, Leslie White, who greatly influenced ecological anthropology. For evidence of energy expended in using steel rather than stone axes in felling gardens, Ferguson relies on experimental measurements made among the Yanomami by Robert Carneiro (1979a, 1979b).

Whereas early cultural ecologists presented cultures as static, choosing functionalist methodologies to explain the interrelations of parts to a whole, Ferguson is concerned with causal relations. Compare, for ex-

4. Ferguson follows Harris's usage of the terms *emic* and *etic* rather than approximating the original 1954 intent of the linguist Kenneth Pike, who first coined the terms based on analogy with the words "phonemic" and "phonetic" (Pike 1954, 8).

ample, cultural ecologist Andrew Vayda's treatment of conflict as an adaptive feature that returns a cultural system to an equilibrium state (Vayda 1961). In Ferguson's argument, following Eric Wolf and Karl Marx, these processes are created by human agency rather than by ecological necessity. They worsen life rather than improve it and drive change rather than preserve stasis.

With origins in Edward Tylor's notion of a "science of culture," the goal of this approach is to compare traits broadly within and across cultures in order to arrive at regularities and generalizations. Ferguson's hypothesis emerges from his broad synthesis (elaborated in 1984) that war is a "total social fact" motivated by economic factors (Ferguson 1984, 1990a, 1990b). In *Yanomami Warfare*, Ferguson tests this hypothesis against the Yanomami case and finds a fit. In his view, the Yanomami demonstrate material motives through violent actions that eliminate resource competitors, capture valuables, and exploit outsiders. The particular engine that pushes Yanomami warfare is competition over scarce trade goods that are available only through a limited number of localized Western agents. Although Ferguson postulated in 1989 that war drives populations out of areas (1989b, 258), his present formulation posits that war causes the agglomeration of settlements for defense and for access to trade centers.⁵

With Neil Whitehead, Ferguson earlier explored global state expansion as it generates and transforms warfare among the native populations of South America (Ferguson and Whitehead 1992). They proposed that the influence of states extends beyond formal recognized frontiers into "tribal zones" rife with conflict. The phrase *tribal zone*, which they coined, refers to the zones adjacent to expanding nation-states. The concept builds theoretically on the notion of the "tribe" considered by the late political theorist Morton Fried (Ferguson's mentor) to represent a political formation more complex than an autonomous band that is directly or indirectly formed by the presence of a proximate state. Like his influential mentor, Ferguson finds few cases of warfare that under scrutiny can be said to occur in precontact nonstate conditions. He believes "understanding of the history of state penetration . . . [to be] an essential explanation for . . . warfare among indigenous peoples inhabiting these zones" (p. 14; see also Fried 1967, 1968).

Ferguson's conclusion directly contradicts the long-standing illusion of the Yanomami as the last of the pristine isolated savages. That image was created largely by journalists and photographers, but some responsibility also lies with ethnographers.⁶ For example, one anthropologist recently reported visiting a Yanomami village never before seen by a

5. For earlier work on trade, population, and social dynamics among the Yanomami, see Colchester (1982, 1984), Hahn (1981), and Peters (1973).

6. Published literature on the Yanomami, also known by the name Waika, has been available for over forty-five years. For early examples, see Hilker (1950) and Barker (1953).

Westerner, when in fact, the village was the former research base of another anthropologist. Ferguson's point is that Yanomami warfare "almost invariably follows identifiable changes in the presence of Westerners—including anthropologists—and that without those changes there is little or no war" (p. 7). Unlike Chagnon, who credited Yanomami violence to an ideological value placed on "fierceness," Ferguson argues that Yanomami intensive warfare is "not an expression of Yanomami culture itself. It is, rather, a product of specific historical situations: the Yanomami make war not because Western influence is absent but because it is present" (p. 6). In *Yanomami Warfare*, Ferguson explores three centuries of history in the Orinoco-Mavaca Basin of Venezuela (the location of Chagnon's research) to identify patterns related to expansion and contraction of nearby state systems and thus explain Yanomami violence anew.

The hypothesis regarding material motivation is not open to scrutiny on the basis of informants' own accounts and explanations because these are regarded as "false," rationalized by belief systems. The principal assumptions underlying this approach are the rationality of all behavior and the functionality of belief systems in the service of practical economic ends. Death is "expensive," and its high "cost" requires that violence be rationalized by means of a belief system that motivates lethal activity while obscuring the very motives that underlie it. Ideological factors are mere surface appearances of deeper material forces that may be realized through empirical procedures. Harris and Ferguson's distinction between the "emic" and the "etic" thus reshapes Marxist goals around a natural science model of efficacy. Using a scientific trope in methodology and exposition, the task of social science here is to glean the material function of the beliefs under analysis through methods of investigation that can be verified and replicated.

Having established a formal analytical model, Ferguson then tests it "in a piecemeal but repetitive and cumulative fashion against the patchy information assembled in the histories of conflicts" (p. 14). The argument's claims on truth hinge on the accumulation and organization of "evidence," which Ferguson as agent of facts compiled meticulously from first-hand sources.⁷ Ironically, it is by authority of first-hand observation that Ferguson constructs the supporting evidence of his proposition. According to this reasoning, Ferguson's lack of first-hand knowledge of the Yanomami in no way impedes the goals of the approach, which are to provide the rational explanation for the seemingly irrational behaviors of the Yanomami and to comprehend further the worldwide processes underlying warfare.

Ferguson as writer narrates himself out of the narration. Facts

7. These sources include the accounts of anthropologists, missionaries, journalists, travelers, and biographers or autobiographers. For examples of the last category, see Biocca (1970) and Valero (1984), which recount the story of Helena Valero, a non-Yanomami who was raised among the Yanomami and narrated her own experience.

speak for themselves on their own behalf. The narrator is distanced (never having worked among the Yanomami) and as such claims a capacity for a more dispassionate stance and thus greater objectivity. But if putatively real events, themselves derived from narratives, are then construed as though they existed independently of any narrator, what kind of reality is being described, and how is the reader to evaluate it?

A point overlooked by postmodern critics is that while the “etic” program holds observation to be paramount, the paradigm is based largely on deductive, rather than inductive, procedures. For example, an a priori condition of scarcity of basic needs and inadequate means for satisfying them underlies the coherence and sense in the Ferguson account. Identification of some events as cause and others as effects, based on a principle of the primacy of need, imbues the events with meaning and transforms chaos into pattern. Thus the “true story” behind Yanomami warfare emerges from the chaos and anarchy of ethnographic data collection as it is transformed into “objective historic narrative.”

In this most empiricist of works, death becomes an abstraction. Ferguson places the responsibility for the cycle of Yanomami violence squarely on the influence of a Western presence. Yet it is a death without pathos. Ferguson’s fierce talk is aimed at an academic audience—he seems unconcerned with the Yanomami per se except insofar as they serve his general thesis. As will be shown, the Yanomami face innumerable threats to their existence, according to reports by the American Anthropological Association (1991), Survival International (1991), the Anthropology Resource Center (1981), and the Committee for the Creation of the Yanomami Park (CCPY) (1979, 1989a, 1989b). These realities provide the background for Ferguson’s lurch forward in the punctuated progression of competing paradigms for authority within the scholarship of conflict and political history of Latin America. Lost is the conclusion of his 1989 work that “life is worse for war” (Ferguson 1989b, 258).

Rumor as Historical Narrative

While Ferguson’s authority derives from his distance from the subject matter, Alcida Ramos’s authority derives from her closeness to it. A Brazilian anthropologist, Ramos has worked among the Yanomami for over twenty-five years as observer, participant, and advocate and has published an impressive body of work (Ramos 1972, 1979, 1987, 1991; Ramos and Taylor 1979). She shares Ferguson’s moral positioning regarding the global origins of Yanomami conflict, but here the similarity ends.

Ferguson’s etic approach may be contrasted with the interactive and interpretive approaches of anthropologists whose goals are to outline the models by which members understand their own societies or whose methodological foci are the products of individual consciousness. Ramos’s

approach takes as its subject matter the (emic) accounts and explanations of the Yanomami themselves, without neglecting other levels of analysis.

Ramos's innovative *Sanumá Memories: Yanomami Ethnography in Times of Crisis* is in part a revision or translation of earlier work in English or Portuguese. This work takes a bold approach to individual, ethnic, and inter-ethnic identities as examined through cosmology and death. Ramos approaches death from symbolic as well as political-historical perspectives. For the Sanumá, a subgroup of Yanomami, life and death are interpenetrating and mutually productive: "The process that transforms an infant into a child, a child into . . . old age [for the Yanomami] does not end with death or with the reduction of the physical body to ashes" (p. 169; see also Taylor 1976). Instead, the dead continue to impact the lives of the living along the contours of a person's passage through life. At death, an individual's spirit is freed from the body by cremation, and the ashes are ritually ingested by the living. The spirit returns to the House of Dead Souls, a reservoir of the unborn and the dead. Ramos describes the House as a "memory bank . . . , brimming with cosmological information and with eschatological resources that can be used and reused in a general and impersonal way. This eschatological memory bank, at one and the same time, stores up human spirits and recycles new Sanumá lives" (p. 171).

Ramos's approach in *Sanumá Memories* utilizes various narrative voices within a single scholarly work. One of the most original of these devices is rumor as allegoric narrative. Ramos's rendering of the rumored death of a Maiongong man at the hands of a white man (p. 241) is accomplished by adapting notes from her 1974 field diaries into direct speech in a theatrical format that includes seven acts, scenes, stage directions, and intermissions. The approach is serious and well grounded yet playful. Ramos casts the drama with sixteen characters, including the anthropologist-author, a U.S. missionary, and an inter-ethnic Yanomami-Maiongong family. She refers to this enactment as "history . . . in farce and tragedy" (p. 246).

Ramos calls the rumor an allegory of inter-ethnic worlds (p. 256) whose central theme is death (p. 251). According to the rumor, a Maiongong man who lived among the Sanumá Yanomami and adopted their ways was killed by a white man. Unpacking the meanings and motives within the subtexts of the rumor illustrates a history of mutual representations and inter-ethnic relations among the Maiongong, Yanomami, and whites.

Ramos maintains that such rumors frequently accompany situations of social ambiguity and tension (see also Firth 1967). In her view, a rumor indicates a failure in communication: "Ingenious artifacts that they are, rumors are informal, improvised, and collective devices to ventilate those moods that are bound to occur in touchy situations. Given their often allegoric character, rumors have the capacity to bring out problems with-

out risking serious conflicts, as might be the case if more direct and explicit means of communication were used" (p. 257). Ramos explains, "By using imagery that mixes the plausible and the improbable, the said and the unsaid, the rumor renders three-dimensional those implicit regions that are normally flattened out by the conventions of everyday living" (p. 256).

Ramos regards a rumor as a form of "condensed narrative" (p. 256), and she deciphers it to reveal layers of multiple meanings and emotive contents that would not be expressed otherwise. Yet the point that the rumor is the author's reconstructed narrative rather than a naturally occurring instance of speech raises questions about the appropriateness of a methodology based in cojoining the social with the linguistic. Her choice of the term *decipherment* suggests the unpacking of a linguistic code. Yet the code under analysis is actually a recollection of an imagined event—a rumor of a rumor, so to speak.

What is a rumor, and how may it be used analytically in the anthropological endeavor? A rumor is a semantic prototype in which the experiences told are refracted, at odds with later information. A rumor thus merges the actual with the possible. It frames and constructs a post hoc account of an alleged experience and supplies interpretation about that talked-about experience. It is "a representation that 'interprets itself'" (p. 256; see also Clifford 1986). The rumor refracts but also illuminates, shaped by the meanings, relations, and realities of a social world.

Historian Hayden White commented that because history is "fragmentary and always incomplete, historians have to make use of . . . the constructive imagination . . . [of] what must have been the case" (1978, 83). White elaborates, "A historical narrative is not only a reproduction of the events reported in it, but a complex of symbols which gives us directions for finding an icon of the structure of those events" (1978, 88). A rumor is such an icon.

The "etic" anthropological paradigm is a dispassionate literary form modeled on the tropes of the natural sciences. Ramos's dramatization of the rumor might appear to challenge empirical scholarship and the assumptions on which "objective" ethnographic reporting is based. A suggestion of this view is found in the title of *Sanumá Memories*. The post-modern argument is that the texts of ethnographies are themselves products of the fictive capabilities of the narrative and the temporal and interest constraints of recorder and recorded. A retrospective text is shaped by memory, as much for the oral historian as for the anthropologist. And perhaps for both, memory is shaped by forgetting. The anthropological text, then, may itself be considered as "rumor": a textual reconstruction at one remove from its source, a representation of a representation.

But if Ramos's interpretation of rumor may be read as an attack on traditional anthropological method, Ramos is not an epistemological relativist. She maintains a conventional partition separating an "objective re-

ality" and a "perceived reality" (p. 257). As she explains, "Rather than being 'objective' reports of something that happened, rumors are hyperbolic representations of a given reality as it is perceived by those who live it" (p. 257). Ramos's approach is reflexive insofar as she is part of the events she recounts. But she does not abandon the possibility of a reality that may be captured by a participating observer and communicated (although altered) through the writing process.⁸

At the time of telling, a rumor is false. This one, however, eventually became true because the underlying structural relations and ethnic tensions conveyed by the rumor were fundamentally accurate. Ramos observes, "Like an eerie prophecy, it [the rumor] foretold Lourenço's murder by white men more than sixteen years before it happened" (p. 257). The impact is effective not merely through the merging of distinct multivocalic "historical" and "imaginative" discourses but because of the power of the latter to convey the truths of the former and the related importance of the interpenetration of genres.

During twenty-five years of responsible and concerned work among the Yanomami, Ramos has witnessed increasing destruction and disaster, particularly from diseases brought to the Yanomami by invading gold miners. Her chronology begins with the military government of the early 1970s, which targeted Amazonia for large development projects in order to integrate the North and establish there a stable state presence. One of the most ambitious programs was an extensive road network that would link the North with the industrial South and with neighboring countries in the Amazon Basin. In this vast system of planned roadways, the *Perímetro Norte* was intended to provide an east-west corridor that would extend through Colombia and allow Brazil access to the Pacific. Construction began in 1973 but was discontinued in 1976 after fewer than 250 kilometers of roadway had been cut. Most of this roadway was inside Yanomami territory. The *Perímetro Norte* was a failure that led nowhere, but it nonetheless "succeeded in depleting the southern portion of the Yanomami population at an unprecedented rate" (p. 271). Federal development in the north literally opened the way for a massive and uncontrolled invasion into the Yanomami area by wildcat miners in search of gold. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed epidemics and violence that accompanied waves of invasions by gold miners.⁹ The road became a conduit of death.

8. For a different but related reflexive approach to Yanomami studies, see Michaels (1982).

9. For more on the invasions of Yanomami lands during the 1980s and 1990s, see Albert (1990b, 1992, 1994), Davis (1979), Lizot (1976), Pinto (1989), Ramos and Taylor (1979), Ramos and Taylor, eds. (1979), Santilli (1989), Sponsel (1981, 1994), Turner (1991), Turner and Kopenawa (1991), Weiss and Weiss (1993), and Arvelo-Jiménez and Cousins (1992). See also sev-

Ramos describes the changing political dynamics from the 1960s, when she began her fieldwork, through the 1990s. Her data conform to the predictions of Ferguson's model. Sanumá Yanomami moved from the forest interior to a mission on the Auaris River. As Ferguson would have predicted, the village was unusually large, with more than one hundred persons. Ramos recognizes that the main reason for settling at this site was the prospect of acquiring trade goods provided by missionaries in exchange for services and food. Yanomami further away from mission centers received Western goods only indirectly through trade with other Indians.

Deaths due to disease vastly outnumbered mortalities caused by ax-fights, consigning the latter to a permanent place in the annals of the anthropological imagination and drawing attention to the skewed priorities of academicians. Ramos draws a historical parallel with the contemporary destruction of the Yanomami and the once thriving and populous Tupian Tupinamba of the seventeenth century. She explains, "As the gold rush expanded and more Yanomami perished, I had the disconcerting fantasy of being aboard a time machine on a journey back to the seventeenth century from which I was forced to watch the massive collapse of the coastal Tupinamba, a numerous indigenous population that was extinct before the eighteenth century dawned. Was it possible the Yanomami were to be the Tupinamba of the twenty-first century? . . . This time, however, the plight of the Indians was being closely observed and reported by both anthropology and the electronic media" (pp. xv–xvi).

History and Cosmology

In another Brazilian approach that mediates the interpretive with the historic, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro takes up the question of Tupian past and present, history and symbolism. *From the Enemy's Point of View: Humanity and Divinity in an Amazonian Society* is a meticulous and literate translation by Catherine Howard from the Portuguese original, *Araweté: Deuses canibais* (1986). This work responds to a series of paradigmatic axioms that launched anthropological debates of special pertinence to the anthropology of Amazonia. Among them is the supposition of a single symbolic macrostructure for all South American Indian societies, proposed by Claude Lévi-Strauss (1963). The analytic procedure known as "structuralism" assumed dual opposition as a universal principle, underlying all meaning and therefore fundamental to any interpretive process.

eral articles in the *The New York Times* by James Brooke: "In an Almost Untouched Jungle, Gold Miners Threaten Indian Ways," 18 Sept. 1990, p. C1; "Venezuela's Policy for Brazil's Gold Miners: Bullets," 16 Feb. 1992, p. A20; "Miners Kill 20 Indians in the Amazon," 20 Aug. 1993, p. A10; "Attack on Brazilian Indians Is Worst since 1910," 21 Aug. 1993, A3; and "Gold Miners and Indians: Brazil's Frontier War," 7 Sept. 1993, p. A4.

According to this schema, native South American societies and their textual products were perceived as “cold” or “closed,” meaning static and ahistoric (Lévi-Strauss 1969). Following the dialectical program advanced by Lévi-Strauss, Eduardo Viveiros de Castro considers critically the ahistoricity of this heritage while building on its structuralist methodology. The analytic goal of *From the Enemy's Point of View* is to construct an Araweté concept of personhood by drawing together themes from social organization, shamanism, cosmology, and the collected chronicles of Europeans who reported on early Tupian life.

Viveiros de Castro carries out an “experiment” in the Lévi-Strauss tradition with the intent of demonstrating the logical synthesis that connects retrospectively a small remnant population of Tupian Araweté in central Brazil back to a thriving Tupian culture complex from the sixteenth century. The final analytic operation places Tupian cosmology in a larger comparative context of South American cultures, differentiating rather than subsuming them into a superordinate South American conceptual system.

At the heart of this approach lies an important critique of the representation of society as bounded and interiorized: Lévi-Strauss's “closed society.” Viveiros de Castro brings to bear on this argument the conceptualization and symbolism associated with Araweté cannibalism. He reports, “the souls of the dead are devoured by cannibal deities who then resuscitate them from bone. In so doing, the dead become immortal, like gods, and human destiny is a process of ‘Other-becoming’” (pp. 253–54). Thus for the Araweté, person and society are inherently open and in transition, where death is the structuring locus of Araweté identity and cosmology, “the event that throws into motion society and person” (p. 254). In this scheme, it is the dead who animate the living, and death becomes the “productive event.”

It is perhaps not coincidental that death is found at the center of a profound and moving Brazilian anthropological literature on Amazonian indigenous peoples. The Tupian language family, of which the Araweté are a remnant group, comprised one of the most numerous populations in pre-Columbian lowland South America. Their numbers were quickly reduced in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries as Europeans colonized the Brazilian coast. The Tupian Araweté eluded white society until 1976. Constricted by the expanding frontier of the Trans-Amazon Highway, they appeared at a government “attraction post” on the Ipixuna tributary of the Xingú River, some hundred miles south of the town of Altamira in northern Pará. Fully a third of the population died in 1976 and 1977. By 1982 only 136 Araweté survivors remained, all living at the Ipixuna post. Of the many connecting threads that demonstrate the logic of Araweté cosmology, cannibalism, and personhood, the most poignant is that linking death as actual and Death as conceptual.

Both Viveiros de Castro (the most symbolic-interpretive) and Fergu-

son (the least symbolic-interpretive) present events as real rather than imagined and as “found” rather than constructed. Despite a crucial difference over what is supportive “evidence” of the arguments at hand, the narrative in each study represents a construction at great remove from the original. Each resulting narrative, whether scientific or symbolic, is a mimesis of events selected, categorized, and groomed for academic argument. The process is a cannibalistic one in which events are processed, transforming the dead into words and thus endowing them with immortality as they are consumed or read. Transparency is sacrificed to narrative quality.

Language and History

Anthropologists of diverse viewpoints would probably agree that rigor in data collection and transparency in reasoning are critical to any and all processes of scholarly discourse through which a cultural truth is approximated. In this regard, a powerful and promising instrument for representational data has appeared in the discourse approach. In this approach, well exemplified in the works of Ellen Basso and Janet Hendricks, what is said becomes the object of analysis. The endeavor builds on foundations established in interactional sociolinguistics, conversational analysis, and the ethnography of communication.¹⁰

For example, *The Last Cannibals: A South American Oral History*, the most recent in a trilogy of books by Basso on Kalapalo narrative, applies the paradigm of discourse analysis to interpretations of Kalapalo history (see also Basso 1973, 1985, 1987). Basso uses nine texts recorded in the Upper Xingú of Brazil between 1967 and 1982 (and translated by her from the original Kalapalo) to address the role of language in death, memory, and history.

As these tales document and this essay reiterates, history is a discourse concerning the dead of war and their relations with the living. In recounting stories of warfare, enemies, and cannibals, the Kalapalo tales ostensibly describe a prior period in the lives of the Kalapalo, allowing them to distinguish themselves from violent others and a violent past. In contrast to their “fierce neighbors,” such as the club-carrying speakers of Gê, the restrained Kalapalo characterize themselves as a people who fight only “with words” (p. 15).

The Kalapalo tales illustrate the fundamental role of violence as a

10. Anthropological linguists take as their unit of analysis actual conversational turns within sequences rather than isolated utterances. The method of recording everyday interactions through video or audio tape recordings and then analyzing a stream of talk emerged from several sources: the empirical traditions of conversational analysis (for one example, see Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974); sociology (Garfinkle 1967, 1972; Goffman 1961); and other ethnographic methodologies that value the attempt to capture behavior faithfully with a minimum of external intervention.

boundary-marking event. Basso observes, "In warrior biographies, a contrast is first developed between the hero's local community and some nearby hostile group, variously called . . . ferocious . . . , stinking . . . , treacherous . . . [or] club-carrying cannibals" (p. 20). Violence as practiced by one group against another or against an insider who has gone against his or her own dramatizes inclusion and exclusion, the human community and its delimitations (see Collins 1974). What is remarkable is that the war stories recounted in this volume reflect an ideological shift in the boundaries that delineate the moral community over time.

Thirty years ago, the Carib-speaking Kalapalo were removed to Brazil's showcase indigenous reserve, the Parque Indígena do Xingú in Central Brazil, where they were brought into proximity with formerly hostile groups. Basso demonstrates how an ideology and a discourse of reconciliation were constituted over time. After initially perceiving the new neighbors as dangerous adversaries requiring the community to defend itself with ferocious aggression against potential advances, the same neighbors were eventually recognized as sharing commonalities. The Kalapalo category *angikogo*, translated by Basso as "fierce," shifted the parameters of reference as new allegiances formed and the distinctions between one's own community and those of former strangers and enemies became blurred.

Today there are no palisaded villages, no violent battles, no torture of captives, no cannibalism, no grotesque mutilations, and no trophy taking. Even so, depictions of killing, torture, and mutilation abound as compelling devices in Kalapalo narratives. To Basso's abhorrence, warriors and feuds continue to be some of the most frequent topics in Kalapalo narratives. I would suggest that violence is dramatically powerful because it entails a violation of integrities—both individual and social—that are essential to group participation and definition. Basso emphasizes individuality and moral choice in the construction of a dynamic native South American history: "What we learn from Kalapalo stories about the past is that some [who were] . . . involved in warfare attempted to alter the patterns of raiding, kidnapping, and cannibalistic blood feuding . . . so as to redefine themselves and their enemies as members of a single moral community" (p. 21).

Central to the processual character of Kalapalo narrative is its internal and external dialogicality. Rather than being centered in a monologic narrator whose voice justifies and authenticates norms, Kalapalo story-telling involves a narrator and a listener-respondent who participates actively. More important, the genre is "internally dialogic" (Basso 1986), with portions of speech allocated to different spokespersons, producing a voice-within-a-voice or a quoted frame within the text. Basso interprets the use of quotation as a form of verification, as when a "witness" is called on as a spokesperson. I would note that an alternative use of attribution, observed among the Tukanoan Wanano, is to distance the speaker from the message of the quoted passage (Chernela 1993).

Another example of the potential for a “discourse-centered approach” to the study of culture and history is Janet Wall Hendricks’s *To Drink of Death: The Narrative of a Shuar Warrior*. Like Basso, Hendricks starts with the idea that culture is constituted and transmitted through specific speakers. To this end, she takes up the autobiographical narrative of Tukup, a Shuar warrior and shaman of wide repute.

Tukup’s narrative is a self-consciously conceived oral history that is itself a commentary on the performer-speaker. Tukup uses a mode of historical representation that shares the characteristics of a chronicle and utilizes both realistic and narrative forms. The central organizing principle of his narrative is his own life from the retrospective of the moment of speaking. Performing purposefully before Hendricks’s tape recorder, the autobiographical narrator is constructed as important locally as well as to a broad potential readership. Hendricks supplies relevant contextual data to flesh out these narratives and render them understandable to the reader. The ethnographer makes plausible and cohesive a series of individual autobiographical “stories” that are themselves congeries of “facts” that have been processed, interpreted, and packaged for the listening audience—including the anthropologist.

Lévi-Strauss proposed in 1969 that warfare was the negation of exchange. Tukup’s narrative, however, suggests the contrary. Feuding may be regarded as a kind of exchange mode or dialogue between families who send and receive reciprocal messages of hostile actions, a subset of the larger category of communicative exchange.¹¹ Tukup, who is related to both the Shuar and their former enemies the Achuar,¹² is thus a significant connector of boundaries who carefully orchestrates and manipulates his separate affiliations. His narrative demonstrates the way that principles of reciprocity are applied to the exchange of deaths in warfare and retaliatory raiding. The narrative justifies killing as a means of rectifying an inherited imbalance that is corrected by trading in deaths:

If my son killed someone,
I, the elder,
would I not be killed?
Yes. (Pp. 272–73)

Tukup’s is an economy of war that persists because it is justified on the grounds of imbalance. But what appears as an eternal imbalance of mortality can be overturned when a balance is declared. Only an assessment of equity is capable of producing peace. The factors that contribute to the decision and timing to end a feud are complex because any ongoing accounting can be declared in balance with ample argumentation:

11. For a different approach to warfare as a form of exchange, see Chernela (1993).

12. For general discussions of Shuar and Achuar culture, see Harner (1973) and Descola (1994).

They killed us.
They killed just one man.
They killed two women.
Indeed then, they killed only one man.
Then, we ourselves
we killed a man.
And again
we killed a man . . .
And we killed so many.
we both killed each other equally . . .
Thus we finished each other. (Pp. 282–83)

Violence is the most prominent theme in Tukup's narrative. Except for a brief sequence in which he recounts founding a Shuar center that bears his name (p. 289), his narrative is almost entirely devoted to feuding expeditions. Stories of violence compel listeners long after the practice of violence has been diminished. Incidences of warfare between the Shuar and Achuar dramatically declined in the mid-1960s, due primarily to missionary influence and the formation in 1964 of an autonomous Shuar Federation in southeastern Ecuador. But Hendricks reports that killing continues to be viewed as an appropriate means of settling disputes. The traditional motives for fighting—competition over women and accusations of witchcraft—have now been expanded to include disputes over land and cattle. Her data speak to Ferguson's broad thesis but supply the argument with needed complexity and precision.

Tukup's autobiographic narrative may provide significant insights into Shuar warfare from the point of view of one of the last surviving warriors, but Hendricks's more significant point is that the stories contained in a narrative reveal more about the speaker than about the way the world is. A central goal of *To Drink of Death* is "to discover the subjective point of view in . . . recreating his [Tukup's] experiences for an audience. One of the difficulties in this task is that the individual is shaped by culture so that individual meanings become blurred with cultural meanings" (p. 28).

In taking up the importance of individual contributions in historic representation, Hendricks's scholarship departs from traditional anthropological approaches to narrative. Hendricks shares with Western historians a sense of the significance of the speaker as an individual, whose subjective meanings, intentions, perceptions, interests, goals, interpretations, and representations must all be taken into account. But whereas Western historians have necessarily been concerned with the writings of individuals, the focus of anthropology has been on that which is collective. While social historians rely on data derived from the written manuscripts of individuals, ethnographers transcribe audio recordings of naturally occurring speech in which individual contribution is often obscured.

Language and the Production of History

Who makes culture? Who or what causes it to change? And how is change perceived? Taking speech as the locus of culture and culture change, the works of Basso and Hendricks utilize discourse to offer a new historical and ethnological synthesis for considering native South American society. The works address questions concerning the creative influences and emergent processes that contribute to a dynamic notion of culture as produced and reproduced by language.

Basso's and Hendricks's studies weave together several strands of discourse theory in utilizing the tools of linguistics to capture the transitions, formations, and transformations of culture in time. Through a methodology centered on the act of listening, Basso's and Hendricks's works illustrate the extent to which history is representational, created in the practice of talk, and dependent on the perspective of the speaker. The methodology provides an approach to culture as an ever-changing phenomenon.

Basso's and Hendricks's approaches to discourse mainly follow those of Hayden White (1978), Joel Sherzer (1987), and Gregory Urban (1991) (see also Sherzer and Urban 1986). Historian Hayden White contributed to the breakdown of the distinction between the "myths" of non-literate peoples and "factual representations" of Western histories. The discourse-centered approach of Urban and Sherzer has built on the sociolinguistics of Erving Goffman, John Gumperz, Dell Hymes, and William Labov but emphasizes morphological features (the medium, not the message) as communicative in their own right.¹³

History and Cannibalism

As anthropology finds itself at the juncture of modernization, peoples formerly portrayed by its scribes as "outside" or "without history" are now regarded as producers of history. The different approaches reviewed here, being of and about the dead, illustrate how different observers and participants construct the fundamentally human issues of killing and dying, creating history and individual identity through remembering the dead and constructing or formulating a relation between the dead and the living. In so doing, these authors model not just the past but the present and the future.

The making of history may be described as a gastronomic process or "endocannibalism" in which a speaker or writer consumes the past and produces it anew as "history." Authorship is either recalled or erased, de-

13. See Goffman (1961, 1976), Gumperz (1971, 1982a, 1982b), Gumperz and Hymes (1964, 1972), Hymes (1962, 1964, 1971, 1974), and Labov (1970).

pending on custom and circumstance. The retrospective text will reveal the vantage point of the speaker, while the dialogic of speaker-listener (or writer-reader) recreates the present and transforms a group's identity in the world. The process is a kind of "ethnophagy" in which a people creates itself through memory, language, interpretation, and invention.

Each of the works reviewed here, in taking as the vehicle of its thesis one focal problem in lowland South American ethnology, considers the question of history in small-scale societies that lack written historic documentation. Each of the treatments exemplifies a prevailing approach within the contested arena of anthropological authority. Ferguson's "etic" approach, Ramos's interactive approach, Viveiros de Castro's interpretive approach, and Basso's and Hendricks's discourse approach all represent refinements and advancements within a disputed field.

To bring meaning to a chain of events is as much a goal of Tukup's narrative as of those of Viveiros de Castro, Ferguson, and Ramos. Each account is a well-made story with great temporal depth and breadth of subject matter. The authors distinguish between events worthy and unworthy of reporting, as they collapse difference into similarity and find cause in sequences of events to persuade the reader to accept a moral or pedagogical position. Each author attempts to persuade by argumentation and draws on evidence to substantiate or convince. But the questions considered by each author and the relevance of what is considered "evidence" differs among them.

Each author positions herself or himself vis-à-vis the subject matter as proximate or distant. Ferguson, exemplifying the "etic behaviorist school," and Tukup, the autobiographic Shuar warrior, share certain similarities in narrative. Each selects evidence of what is "seen" and "heard" to convince the listener-reader of the argument. In Ferguson's account, the furthest from the events in time and space, facts are presented as though they "speak for themselves" or "stand alone." In this "absence" of a narrator, the author gains authority. Least credence is awarded to Tukup because as an actor in his own narrative, his interest is foregrounded. Tukup's account, based on his own observations and participation, is considered the least objective.

For Ferguson and other proponents of the etic school, the event is prior to and separate from the act of remembering. In etic studies of Yanomami violence, data derive from the accounts of Westerners whose observations of the Yanomami have been inscribed in their own historical narratives. These accounts are considered more reliable than the spoken statements of representatives of cultures because, according to the eticists, a society will pay the high "cost" of death in the form of motivating and obfuscating ideological constructs.

For other anthropologists, the objects of investigation are the publicly and collectively endorsed models that societies produce in order to

make sense of their own situations. Basso's and Hendricks's methodology of "listening" may be contrasted with a methodology that rests on "observation." In the discourse-centered approach, the subject of analysis is the event as it exists in and through the performance of speech: what is said is the artifact of the event and the focus of analysis. The problem is how individuals reconstruct the dead and the past, and in so doing, how they make history. With Basso and Hendricks, readers learn of death, dying, and killing from the point of view of the victors and victims. In their examples, warfare is a talked-about and highly personalized violence, embodying communicational and ritual aspects absent in the battles between states. It is the attitude toward death of a people for whom death is always at one's shoulder.

Fierce Talk

The textual language of anthropologists — a "metacode" (a code about codes) used to communicate "findings" to colleagues—necessarily collapses difference into a constructed similitude. Social groups and actions, including fights with and without axes, are organized into sets to achieve coherency of argument and minimize differences among them.

For example, Yanomami violence falls within the category of warfare, according to Ferguson, because of the structured pattern of intergroup antagonism (p. 11). Ferguson accepts the accurateness of the characterization of "fierceness" and uses the terms *war* and *warfare* independent of the scale of phenomena described. *Angikogo* in Kalapalo, translated as "fierce" by Basso, refers to a specific set of characteristics that may not necessarily correspond to the representations of fierceness maintained by other groups, including Westerners or Yanomami.

When the brothers Orlando and Cláudio Villas-Boas established the Xingú National Park in 1961 by grouping together diverse native peoples, they contributed to the distinction between "fierce" and "friendly" by using these terms to label communities on the basis of their reputation for aggression toward Westerners. Are the usages of "fierce" by the Yanomami, the Kalapalo, and Westerners equivalent?

For Tukup and a number of Kalapalo speakers who have been listened to closely, fierceness appears to be a posturing, a form of "fierce talk." The performance of fierce talk may not require fierce acts in the present, as the Kalapalo and Shuar cases show, but it is impassioned by the litany of recollections and reconstructions of death and dying, cannibalism, and mutilation. The spectacle of violence, ostensibly intended to distance and repel, also attracts listeners, as stories of violence continue to compel them. Through these tales, acts of violence are ingested and incorporated by the attentive audience. The talk of violence thus delineates distances and proximities, identities and allegiances as it occurs.

In the discourse approach, two fundamental problems are confronted: the production of culture and the production of the anthropological narrative. Addressing both issues has become crucial in contemporary anthropology. Focusing on the words and figures of speech employed by speakers to talk about their own situations may bridge in part the lacuna that plagues anthropological description and analysis. By including as much material in closely worked translation as possible and by paying greater attention to the translation process, the discourse approach attempts to make the data and the interpretation more transparent.

Death is indisputably the most natural of phenomena. Yet we cannot contemplate death without meaning, nor meaning without context. In this sense, death and memory are mutually engendering. Death may be a subject of narrative plot development, but death itself undergoes change as the historic circumstances of the speakers are altered over time. Death is thus morphologically key to any social or historic construction. The retrospective text is a House of the Dead brimming with potential as the agency of the dead continues via the meanings and powers attributed to them.

Conclusion

The anthropological performance, like that of the oral historian, places conflict at the center of narrative, attempting to manage mortality through language and memory. What is at stake on the anthropological battleground is nothing less than a violation of integrities. A collapse of boundaries between the disciplines of history and anthropology, between linguistics and anthropology as well as other recent mergers and acquisitions result in new syntheses that threaten former alignments.

Like the Kalapalo, anthropologists wage their wars with words, demarcating ideological boundaries and group affiliation through violent reciprocal exchange. But paradigms, in not sharing the same sets of assumptions, are not corrigible or reconcilable across frameworks (Kuhn 1962). As the examples presented here illustrate, the dispute over paradigms will not be resolved, nor can it be because practitioners do not agree on assumptions, baseline criteria for evaluation, evidence, or goals. Thus no evaluation process can exist external to a theoretical program. Each may be evaluated only in terms relevant to the question at hand, the coherence of the argument, and the logic of the argument, according to the assumptions and goals of the framework within which it is set.

The present debate within anthropology has been described as "an experimental moment" (Marcus and Fisher 1986). Some have speculated that a paradigm shift within a discipline may be discerned through the presence of a crisis (measured by degree of resistance and debate) that results when new approaches are introduced. If this is the case, anthropology indeed may be in the grips of a paradigmatic revolution. The ap-

proaches presented here, in demonstrating several new syntheses that introduce dynamism into formerly static or “closed” approaches to lowland South American anthropology, contribute to the ongoing dialogue within a heterodox and heteroglossic modern anthropology.

REFERENCES

ALBERT, BRUCE

- 1989 “Yanomami ‘Violence’: Inclusive Fitness or Ethnographer’s Representation?” *Current Anthropology* 30:637–40.
- 1990a “On Yanomami Warfare: Rejoinder.” *Current Anthropology* 31:558–63.
- 1990b “Développement Amazonien et sécurité nationales: Les Indiens Yanomami face au projet Calha Norte.” *Ethnies*, nos. 11–12:116–27.
- 1992 “Indian Lands, Environmental Policy, and Military Geopolitics in the Development of the Brazilian Amazon: The Case of the Yanomami.” *Development and Change* 23:35–70.
- 1994 “Gold Miners and the Yanomami Indians in the Brazilian Amazon: The Hashimu Massacre.” In *Who Pays the Price? The Sociocultural Context of Environmental Crisis*, edited by Barbara Rose Johnston, 47–55. Washington, D.C.: Island.

ALLMAN, WILLIAM F.

- 1988 “A Laboratory of Human Conflict.” *U.S. News and World Report* 104, no. 14 (11 Apr.):57–58.

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

- 1991 *Report of the Special Commission to Investigate the Situation of the Brazilian Yanomami*. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.

ANTHROPOLOGY RESOURCE CENTER

- 1981 *The Yanomami Indian Park: A Call For Action*, Cambridge, Mass.: Anthropology Resource Center.

ARVELO-JIMENEZ, NELLY, AND ANDREW COUSINS

- 1992 “False Promises: Venezuela Appears to Have Protected the Yanomami, But Appearances Can Be Deceiving.” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (Winter):10–13.

BARKER, JAMES

- 1953 “Memoria sobre la cultura de los Guaika.” *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano* 1, nos. 3–4:433–89.

BASSO, ELLEN B.

- 1973 *The Kalapalo Indians of Central Brazil*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- 1985 *A Musical View of the Universe*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- 1986 “Quoted Dialogues in Kalapalo Narrative Discourse.” In *Native South American Discourse*, edited by Joel Sherzer and Greg Urban, 119–68. Berlin: Mouton-De Gruyter.
- 1987 *In Favor of Deceit*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.

BIOCCA, ETTORE

- 1966 *Viaggi tra gli Indi Alto Rio Negro-Alto Orinoco*. 4 vols. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- 1970 *Yanomama: The Narrative of a White Girl Kidnapped by Amazonian Indians*. New York: Dutton.

BOOTH, WILLIAM

- 1989 “Warfare over Yanomamo Indians.” *Science*, no. 243:1138–40.

CARNEIRO, ROBERT

- 1979a “Tree Felling with Stone Ax: An Experiment Carried Out among the Yanomamo Indians of Southern Venezuela.” In *Ethnoarchaeology*, edited by C. Kramer, 21–58. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1979b “Forest Clearing among the Yanomamo: Observations and Implications.” *Antropología*, no. 52:39–76.

- CCPY (COMISSÃO PELA CRIAÇÃO DO PARQUE YANOMAMI/COMMITTEE FOR THE CREATION OF THE YANOMAMI PARK)
- 1979 "Yanomami Indian Park: Proposal and Justification." In RAMOS AND TAYLOR, EDS., 1979, 99–169.
- 1989a "The Threatened Yanomami." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 13, no. 1:45–46.
- 1989b "Brazilian Government Reduces Yanomami Territory by 70 Percent." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 13, no. 1:47.
- CHAGNON, NAPOLEON
- 1968 *Yanomamo, the Fierce People*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.
- 1979a "Mate Competition: Favoring Close Kin and Village Fissioning among the Yanomamo Indians." In CHAGNON AND IRONS 1979, 86–132.
- 1979b "Is Reproductive Success Equal in Egalitarian Societies?" In CHAGNON AND IRONS 1979, 374–401.
- 1988a "Male Yanomamo Manipulations of Kinship Classifications of Female Kin for Reproductive Advantage." In *Human Reproductive Behaviour: A Darwinian Perspective*, edited by Laura Betzig, Monique Borgerhoff Mulder, and Paul Turke, 23–48. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1988b "Life Histories, Blood Revenge, and Warfare in a Tribal Population." *Science*, no. 239:985–92.
- 1992 *Yanomamo*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- CHAGNON, NAPOLEON, AND RAY HAMES
- 1979 "Protein Deficiency and Tribal Warfare in no. Amazonia: New Data." *Science*, no. 203:910–13
- CHAGNON, NAPOLEON, AND WILLIAM IRONS, EDS.
- 1979 *Evolutionary Biology and Human Social Behavior: An Anthropological Perspective*. North Scituate, Mass.: Duxbury.
- CHERNELA, JANET
- 1993 *The Wanano Indians of the Brazilian Amazon: A Sense of Space*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- CLIFFORD, JAMES
- 1986 "On Ethnographic Allegory." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, edited by J. Clifford and G. Marcus, 98–121. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- COCCO, LUIS
- 1972 *Iyewei-teri: Quince años entre los Yanomamos*. Caracas: Salesiana.
- COLCHESTER, MARCUS
- 1982 "The Economy, Ecology, and Ethnobiology of the Sanema Indians of Southern Venezuela." Ph.D. diss., Oxford University.
- 1984 "Rethinking Stone Age Economics: Some Speculations concerning the Pre-Columbian Yanoama Economy." *Human Ecology* 12, no. 3:291–314.
- COLLINS, RANDALL
- 1974 "Three Faces of Cruelty: Towards a Comparative Sociology of Violence." *Theory and Society* 1, no. 4:415–40.
- DAVIS, SHELTON
- 1979 "Yanomamo Park Proposal: A Critical Time for Brazilian Indians." *Anthropology Resource Center Newsletter* 3, no. 4:1.
- DESCOLA, PHILIPPE
- 1994 *In the Society of Nature: A Native Ecology in Amazonia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- DIVALE, WILLIAM, AND MARVIN HARRIS
- 1976 "Population, Warfare, and the Male Supremacist Complex." *American Anthropologist* 78, no. 2:519–38.
- DOW, JAMES
- 1979 "Women Capture as a Motivation for Warfare: A Comparative Analysis of Intra-Cultural Variation and a Critique of the 'Male Supremacist Complex.'" In *Rethinking Human Adaptation: Biological and Cultural Models*, 97–115. Boulder, Colo.: Westview.

FERGUSON, R. BRIAN

- 1984 "Introduction: Studying War." In FERGUSON, ED., 1984, 267–328.
- 1989a "Game Wars? Ecology and Conflict in Amazonia." *Journal of Anthropological Research*, no. 45:179–206
- 1989b "Ecological Consequences of Amazonian Warfare." *Ethnology*, no. 28:249–64.
- 1989c "Do Yanomamo Killers Have More Kids?" *American Ethnologist* 16, no. 4:564–65
- 1990a "Explaining War." In *The Anthropology of War*, edited by John Haas, 26–55. School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1990b "Blood of the Leviathan: Western Contact and Warfare in Amazonia." *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 2:237–57.
- 1992a "A Savage Encounter: Western Contact and the Yanomami War Complex." In FERGUSON AND WHITEHEAD, EDS., 199–227.
- 1992b "Tribal Warfare." *Scientific American* 266, no. 1:108–13.

FERGUSON, R. BRIAN, ED.

- 1984 *Warfare, Culture, and Environment*. Orlando, Fla.: Academic Press.

FERGUSON, R. BRIAN, AND NEIL L. WHITEHEAD

- 1992 "The Violent Edge of Empire." In FERGUSON AND WHITEHEAD, EDS., 1992, 1–30.

FERGUSON, R. BRIAN, AND NEIL L. WHITEHEAD, EDS.

- 1992 *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*. Santa Fe, N.M.: School of American Research Press.

FIRTH, RAYMOND

- 1967 *Tikopia Ritual and Belief*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon.

FIJELMAN, STEPHEN M.

- 1979 "Hey, You Can't Do That: A Response to Divale and Harris's 'Population, Warfare, and the Male Supremacist Complex.'" *Behavior Science Research* 14:189–200.

FRIED, MORTON

- 1967 *The Evolution of Political Society: An Essay in Political Anthropology*. New York: Random House.
- 1968 "On the Concepts of 'Tribe' and 'Tribal Society.'" In *Essays on the Problem of Tribe: Proceedings of the 1967 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society*, edited by June Helm, 3–20. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

GARFINKEL, HAROLD

- 1967 *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- 1972 "Remarks on Ethnomethodology." In *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, edited by John Gumperz and Dell Hymes, 301–24. New York and Oxford: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston and Basil Blackwell.

GOFFMAN, ERVING

- 1961 *Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction*. Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs-Merrill.
- 1976 "Replies and Responses." *Language in Society* 5, no. 3:257–313.

GOOD, KENNETH

- 1987 "Limiting Factors in Amazonian Ecology." In *Food and Evolution: Toward a Theory of Human Food Habits*, edited by Marvin Harris and Eric Ross, 407–21. Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press.
- 1989 "Yanomami Hunting Patterns: Trekking and Garden Relocation as an Adaptation to Game Availability in Amazonia, Venezuela." Ph.D. diss., University of Florida.

GOOD, KENNETH, AND DAVID CHANOFF

- 1991 *Into the Heart: One Man's Pursuit of Love and Knowledge among the Yanomama*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

GUMPERZ, JOHN J.

- 1971 *Language in Social Groups*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- 1982a *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1982b *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

GUMPERZ, JOHN J., AND DELL HYMES

- 1964 "The Ethnography of Communication." *American Anthropologist* 66, no. 6, pt. 2:1–186.
- 1972 *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Latin American Research Review

HAHN, ROBERT

- 1981 "Missionaries and Frontiersmen as Agents of Social Change among the Rikbakca." In *Is God an American? An Anthropological Perspective on the Missionary Work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics*, edited by S. Hvalkof and P. Aaby, 85–107. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.

HAMES, RAYMOND

- 1979 "A Comparison of the Efficiencies of the Shotgun and the Bow in Neotropical Forest Hunting." *Human Ecology* 7, no. 3:219–52.
- 1983 "The Settlement Pattern of a Yanomamo Population Bloc: A Behavioral Ecological Interpretation." In *Adaptive Responses of Native Amazonians*, edited by R. Hames and W. Vickers, 393–427. New York: Academic Press.

HARNER, MICHAEL

- 1973 *The Jivaro: People of the Sacred Waterfalls*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor.

HARRIS, MARVIN

- 1968 *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*. New York: Thomas Crowell.
- 1974 *Cows, Pigs, Wars, and Witches: The Riddles of Culture*. New York: Random House.
- 1977 *Cannibals and Kings: The Origins of Culture*. New York: Random House.
- 1979 "The Yanomamo and the Causes of War in Band and Village Societies." In *Brazil, Anthropological Perspectives: Essays in Honor of Charles Wagley*, edited by Maxine Margolis and William Carter, 121–32. New York: Columbia University Press.
- 1984a "A Cultural Materialist Theory of Band and Village Warfare: The Yanomamo Test." In **FERGUSON, ED.**, 1984, 111–40.
- 1984b "Animal Capture and Yanomamo Warfare: Retrospect and New Evidence." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 40:183–201.

HILKER, CARLTON

- 1950 "Guaika Indians of Venezuela." *Brown Gold* 8, no. 7:9.

HORGAN, JOHN

- 1988 "The Violent Yanomamo." *Scientific American* 258, no. 5 (May):17–18.

HYMES, DELL

- 1962 "The Ethnography of Speaking." In *Anthropology and Human Behavior*, edited by T. Gladwin and W. Sturtevant, 15–53. Washington, D.C.: Anthropological Society of Washington.
- 1964 *Language in Culture and Society*. New York: Harper and Row.
- 1971 "Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking." In *Social Anthropology and Language*, edited by E. Ardener, 47–93. ASA Monograph no. 10. London: Tavistock.
- 1974 *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

KUHN, THOMAS S.

- 1962 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. 2d ed. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

LABOV, W.

- 1970 "The Study of Language in Its Social Context." *Studium Generale* 23:30–87.

LEVI-STRAUSS, CLAUDE

- 1963 *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- 1969 *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon.

LIZOT, JACQUES

- 1976 *The Yanomami in the Face of Ethnocide*. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.
- 1977 "Population, Resources, and Warfare among Yanomami." *Man* 12:497–515.
- 1985 *Tales of the Yanomami: Daily Life in the Venezuelan Forest*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 1994a "'Words in the Night,' the Ceremonial Dialogue: One Expression of Peaceful Relationships among the Yanomami." In *The Anthropology of Peace and Nonviolence*, edited by Leslie E. Sponsel and Thomas Gregor, 213–40. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner.
- 1994b "On Warfare: An Answer to N. A. Chagnon." *American Ethnologist* 21, no. 4:845–62.

MARCUS, GEORGE E., AND MICHAEL M. F. FISHER

- 1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.

- MARX, KARL, AND FREIDRICH ENGELS**
 1970 *The German Ideology: Part One with Selections from Parts Two and Three, Together with Marx's Introduction to a Critique of Political Economy*, edited by C. J. Arthur. New York: International Publishing (first published in 1846).
- MICHAELS, ERIC**
 1982 "How to Look at Us Looking at the Yanomami Looking at Us." In *A Crack in the Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*, edited by Jay Ruby, 133–46. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- PETERS, JOHN F.**
 1973 "The Effect of Western Material Goods upon the Social Structure of the Family among the Shirishana." Ph.D. diss., Western Michigan University.
- PIKE, KENNETH**
 1954 *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*. Vol. 1. Glendale, Calif.: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- PINTO, LUCIO FLAVIO**
 1989 "Calha Norte, the Special Project for the Occupation of the Frontiers." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 13, no. 1:40–41.
- RAMOS, ALCIDA RITA**
 1972 "The Social System of the Sanumá of Northern Brazil." Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin.
 1979 "Rumor: The Ideology of an Inter-Tribal Situation." *Antropológica* 51:3–25.
 1987 "Reflecting on the Yanomami: Ethnographic Images and the Pursuit of the Exotic." *Cultural Anthropology* 2, no. 3:284–304.
 1991 *Yanomami: A Homeland Undermined*. Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs.
- RAMOS, ALCIDA, AND KENNETH TAYLOR**
 1979 "Yanoama Indians in Northern Brazil Threatened by Highway." In **RAMOS AND TAYLOR, EDS.**, 1979, 1–41.
- RAMOS, ALCIDA, AND KENNETH TAYLOR, EDS.**
 1979 *The Yanoama in Brazil*. Copenhagen: Anthropology Resource Center, International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, and Survival International.
- ROSS, JANE BENNETT**
 1971 "Aggression as Adaptation: The Yanomamo Case." Graduate paper, Columbia University.
- SACKS, HARVEY, EMANUEL A. SCHEGLOFF, AND GAIL JEFFERSON**
 1974 "A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation." *Language* 50:696–735.
- SANTILLI, MARCIO**
 1989 "The Calha Norte Project: Military Guardianship and Frontier Policy." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 13, no. 1:42–43.
- SHERZER, JOEL**
 1987 "A Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture." *American Anthropologist* 89, no. 2:295–309
- SHERZER, JOEL, AND GREG URBAN**
 1986 *Native South American Discourse*. Berlin: Mouton–De Gruyter.
- SMOLE, WILLIAM**
 1976 *The Yanoama Indians: A Cultural Geography*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- SPONSEL, LESLIE W.**
 1981 "Situación de los Yanomama y la civilización." *Boletín Indigenista Venezolano* 20, no. 17:105–16.
 1983a "Yanomama Warfare, Protein Capture, and Cultural Ecology." *Interciencia* (Caracas) 8, no. 4:204–10.
 1983b "The Yanomami Debate." *Science Digest* 91, no. 2:9.
 1994 "The Yanomami Holocaust Continues." In *Who Pays the Price? The Sociocultural Context of Environmental Crisis*, edited by Barbara Rose Johnston, 37–46. Washington, D.C.: Island.
- SURVIVAL INTERNATIONAL**
 1991 *Yanomami: Survival Campaign*. London: Survival International.

TAYLOR, KENNETH I.

- 1976 "Body and Spirit among the Sanumá (Yanoama) of North Brazil." In *Medical Anthropology*, edited by F. X. Grollig and H. B. Haley, 27–48. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton.

TURNER, TERENCE

- 1991 "Major Shift in Brazilian Yanomami Policy." *Anthropology Newsletter*, no. 32:1ff.

TURNER, TERENCE, AND DAVI KOPENAWA YANOMAMI

- 1991 "I Fight Because I Am Alive: An Interview with Davi Kopenawa Yanomami." *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 15, no. 3:59–64.

URBAN, GREG

- 1991 *A Discourse-Centered Approach to Culture*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

VALERO, HELENA

- 1984 *Yo soy Napeyoma: Relato de una mujer raptada por los indígenas yanomami*. Caracas: Fundación La Salle de Ciencias Naturales.

VAYDA, ANDREW P.

- 1961 "A Re-Examination of Northwest Coast Economic Systems." *Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences* 23:618–24.

WEISS, ZEZE, AND MARTIN D. WEISS

- 1993 *The Yanomami Massacres and the Role of a Powerful Anti-Native Alliance*. New York: Amanaka Amazon Network.

WHITE, HAYDEN

- 1978 *Tropics of Discourse*. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press.

WOLF, ERIC

- 1982 *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.