Copyright

by

Christine Marie Beier

2001

## Creating Community:

Feasting among the Nantis of Peruvian Amazonia

by

Christine Marie Beier, B.A.

Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts

The University of Texas at Austin

December 2001

Creating Com	nmunity:
Feasting among the Nantis	of Peruvian Amazonia
	PPROVED BY
SU	JPERVISING COMMITTEE:
Joe	el Sherzer
Eli	zabeth Keating

For the community of Montetoni

## Acknowledgements

Every word on these pages reflects the contributions of many wonderful people who have touched my life. Without their gifts of insight, support, and encouragement, my life would not be as rich as it is and the ideas you find here could never have taken form. While I am grateful to so many, I will mention here those who have contributed the most to the completion of this study.

Most of all, I am indebted to my friends in Montetoni. Their patience, trust, and generosity over the years have taught me so much... *noxanti xameti itimajigi montetonixu*.

I cannot find words to express the joy that Lev Michael has brought to my life or the depth of the gratitude I feel for all that he and I have shared together. Any insight in this study is the result of our collaborations and conversations day after day and year after year. Thank you, Lev.

I would like to thank Joel Sherzer, Elizabeth Keating, and Tony Woodbury for all the time and wisdom they have shared with me as I have struggled to learn new ways of understanding human beings.

I thank Margo, Fran, and Sue for loving me enough to accept all of my crazy ideas and impulses over the years, no matter how scary they found them.

I thank Nathaniel Gerhart and Carolina Izquierdo for sharing with me friendship and a sense of humor, especially during the toughest moments we shared in the Urubamba River valley. I am honored to call Nata and Caro *nosyaninxa*.

The following individuals and organizations have provided financial support over the years that has made continuing my work in Peru possible: Cabeceras Aid Project and every one of its supporters; Charles Munn; the National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship Program; and the Liberal Arts Graduate Research Fellowship Program of the University of Texas.

Creating Community:

Feasting among the Nantis of Peruvian Amazonia

by

Christine Marie Beier, M.A.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2001

SUPERVISOR: Joel Sherzer

This study examines contemporary feasting practices in the Nanti community of Montetoni in the Amazon Basin of southeastern Peru. First formed in 1992, Montetoni is a village unlike any Nanti settlement that preceded it. Over the years since coming to reside together in Montetoni, villagers have adapted many aspects of their daily activities to accommodate their new multi-family settlement.

Since 1997, feasting has emerged as both the locus and the focus of village wide-sociability in Montetoni. In this study I explore the historical and social contexts through which contemporary feasting practices have emerged and continue to emerge. I examine in detail many salient aspects of feasting and situate feasting practices in relation to Nanti social practices more generally. In feasting, Nantis form and transform social relationships that cross family and residence group boundaries. I propose that it is through feasting together that Nantis create community in their village.

vii

## **Table of Contents**

Section 1.	Intro	duction	1
Section 2.	Disci	Disciplinary context	
	2.1	A discourse-centered approach to ethnography	8
	2.2	Performance and framing in Nanti feasting	15
	2.3	Nanti practices and practice theory	20
	2.4	Communicative ecology	21
Section 3.	The I	Nanti Language	23
	3.1	Orthography and phonology	23
		Figure 3a. Nanti consonant chart	27
		Figure 3b. Nanti vowel chart	28
	3.2	The Nanti language from	
		a sociolinguistic perspective	28
	3.3	Aspects of Nanti grammar	31
		3.3.1 The verb complex	31
		Figure 3c. Examples of basic verb morphology	34
		Figure 3d. Other verb affixes	36
		3.3.2 Epenthesis	37
		3.3.3 Animacy	38
		3.3.4 Pronouns	38
		3.3.5 Possessive nouns	39
		3.3.6 Clitics	40
		3.3.7 Noun affixation	40
Section 4.	Historical context for this study		41
	4.1	Talk about the past	41
	4.2	Geographic location	44
	4.3	Prior to the 1950s	45
	4.4	The 1950s and 1960s	46
	4.5	The 1970s	47
	4.6	The 1980s	48

		4.6.1 Nanti characterizations of their move	
		to the Xamisuja	51
	4.7	1992: The founding of Montetoni	52
	4.8	1993 to 1995	52
	4.9	1996 to 1997	53
	4.10	Cabeceras Aid Project	54
	4.11	1997 to the present	56
	4.12	The distance between Xamisuja and Tinpija	57
	4.13	The novelty of village life	59
	4.14	Montetoni today	60
	4.15	Quality of life on the Xamisuja	66
	4.16	The future of the village	67
Section 5.	Aspects of cultural context		70
	5.1	Evidentiality in Nanti discourse	71
	5.2	Sickness and curing practices	73
	5.3	Gender roles	75
	5.4	Sexatsi and oburoxi	76
	5.5	The semiotics of food	77
	5.6	atsi nonxamoso, 'well, I'm off to visit'	80
	5.7	Topics of daily conversation	82
	5.8	Personal names	83
	5.9	nosyaninxa	84
	5.10	Peresetentes and the concept of people	
		who speak on behalf of other people	85
Section 6.	Feast	ing	88
Section 7.	The structure and form of Nanti chanting		93
	7.1	nomatixi, 'I chant'	93
	7.2	xarintaa, improvised chanting	94
	7.3	The structure of chant formulae	97
		Figure 7a. xirajari ximaro	99
		Figure 7b. jaro tsex tsex	100
	7.4	Repetition and variation in chanting	100

Section 8.	Sonya	a's xarintaa	104
	8.1	Introduction	104
	8.2	Segmental representation of Sonya's	
		chanting and <i>xarintaa</i>	105
	8.3	Line-by-line free translation	113
	8.4	Contextualized interpretation	118
Section 9.	Chant	formulae	121
Section 10.	Trans	formations	129
	10.1	Transformations of group	129
	10.2	Transformations of affect	130
		10.2.1 Affect outside the feast	130
		10.2.2 Affect inside the feast	133
		10.2.3 An areal-typological	
		perspective on transformation of affect	135
	10.3	Transformations of speech	136
		10.3.1 piximaro	137
		10.3.2 noginorijaxenpi	139
		10.3.3 Barentin and Sonya	140
		10.3.4 aryoxa pabisaxi	141
Section 11.	The m	naking of a feast	145
	11.1	Oburoxi production in the village	145
	11.2	Making oburoxi	147
	11.3	Feast chronology	152
		11.3.1 Clearing the <i>xanpo</i>	152
		11.3.2 The soccer game	154
		11.3.3 Communal meals	157
		11.3.4 The chanting begins	160
		11.3.5 Chanting and drinking through	
		the night and into the morning	163
		11.3.6 After the chanting and drinking stops	169
	11.4	The days between feasts	170

Section 12.	The m	ulti-sensory experience of feasting	172
Section 13.	Inside	and outside the feast: a concise comparison	177
		Table 13a. Inside and outside the feast	177
Section 14.	Emerg	gent aspects of feasting	180
	14.1	Antecedents of contemporary feasting practices	180
	14.2	A theory of emergence	182
	14.2	Recent emergences	185
		14.2.1 Acting on anger	185
		14.2.2 atsi noxemisanti, 'so, I will listen'	188
	14.3	Long-term possibilities	190
Section 15.	Conclusions and future directions		191
	15.1	Concluding remarks	191
	15.1	Future directions	193
Appendix 1.	Ajoror	ra oxamoso	194
Appendix 2.	Image	s from Montetoni	209
References			222
Vita			226