Everything has its Jaguar

A narratological approach to conceptualising Caribbean Saladoid animal imagery

Appendix D

The “animal” personages in the narratives

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General layout of Appendix D

In Chapter 4 all narratives are studied as a full dataset. In order to create an in-depth analysis they are clustered according to "animal" actors and subsequently further categorised according to unifying motifs and themes. A summary of the main points of this detailed analysis is included in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The complete and detailed analysis based on the set methodology (see Chapter 3) is provided in this Appendix.

In line with Chapter 5, the sections are divided into "animal" clusters. The choice of "animals" is argued in 5.1 and founded on: (a) prominent identified Saladoid zoomorphic *adornos,* and (b) anomalies, i.e., "animals" not (yet) identified as zoomorphic iconographical features, but prominent in the narratological dataset. This Appendix discusses all set "animal" clusters, separately indicated from A to F.

Each of the aforementioned clusters (A to F) start out with general remarks, based on the analysis of the cluster as a whole. Thus the analysis of all of the narratives that include a specific "animal"-actor and/or references to that "animal". In order to establish significant variations in patterns and themes the results of this overall inquiry are compared to the analysis presented in Chapter 4.

The narratives are next further divided into sub-categories hereby enabling a more in-depth analysis. These sub-categories are based on similar motifs and themes, e.g., all Jaguar narratives concerning the origin of fire. The analysis of each sub-category is compared to that specific cluster as a whole.

To exemplify: Jaguar narratives as a whole (n=127) are compared to the analysis in Chapter 4 of *all* narratives (n=706) in order to establish significant variations in, for instance, the motifs, specific temporal or spatial contexts. The narratives of the sub-categories (e.g., Jaguar and the origin of fire) are compared to Jaguar narratives as a whole, hereby identifying significant variations within one cluster (i.e., Jaguar narratives).

For each cluster, multiple sub-categories are identified. They are designated with a number for example A1 or A2 which, however, do not account for all narratives of that particular cluster. The narratives not discussed in one of the sub-categories are addressed separately in a category entitled "Other narratives". The concluding paragraphs are excluded from this Appendix, because they have been integrated into Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

A. The Caiman/Alligator

In section A, all narratives with Caiman/Alligator personages and/or including references to these reptiles take in a central position. A number of narratives refer to Crocodile, but are also included here. Since the narratives lack information on the level of species, the personages

are referred to as Caiman/Alligator.[1] This cluster encompasses 42 narratives in total.[2] The layout of this paragraph follows the set methodology and thus is in line with Chapter 3. Results are compared to the outcome of Chapter 4 in order to enable statistic comparisons and to arrive at a conclusion.

Let us begin with general remarks based on the total dataset comprising 42 Caiman/Alligator narratives which are then further categorised (clustered) according to motifs and recurrent themes (see sections A1-A3). These clusters are submitted to a more in-depth narratological and structural analysis. The general remarks in combination with the analysis of the clusters provide the answers to the research question: "Which attributes and roles are ascribed to Caiman/Alligator in South American oral tradition?" and "With what or whom it is associated in the narratives, and in which context?".

A. General remarks

Narrative functions

A total of 163 narrative functions are documented for the 42 narratives. Table A1 displays the distribution of the narrative functions of the Caiman narratives. No significant variation is observed when the results of the Caiman/Alligator narratives are compared to the general outcome set in Chapter 4 (see 4.1 under the sub-heading *General remarks*).[3] Only the functions: (a) ensuring knowledge, and (b) identity are relatively more frequently encountered among the Caiman/Alligator narratives (resp. function (a) 6 against 3 percent, and function (b) 7 against 4 percent).

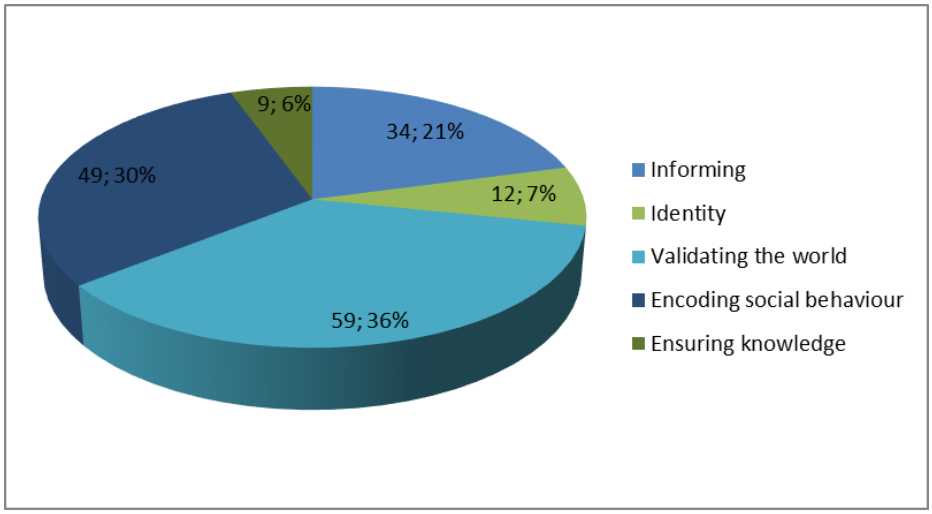
When zooming in on the function validating the world, the sub-type "dealing with ogres/the weird" is significantly more dominant in the corpus of Caiman/Alligator narratives (19 percent in Caiman narratives against 9 percent in general). See Appendix C, Table C-8 for an overview of all the registered narrative functions, including sub-functions.

[1] For a description of the species, see 7.1.2.

[2] All Caiman/Alligator narratives included here are numbered: 1, 18, 24, 69, 78, 90-1, 99, 107, 152, 157, 172, 226, 245, 250, 300, 314-5, 335, 343-4, 356, 364, 422, 453, 467, 471, 489, 503, 534, 560-1, 563, 603, 609, 615-6, 622, 627, 653, 705 and 1096.

[3] χ^2 (4) = 1.53, ρ = 0.11 (not significant).

Table A1 Narrative functions of Caiman narratives (%).

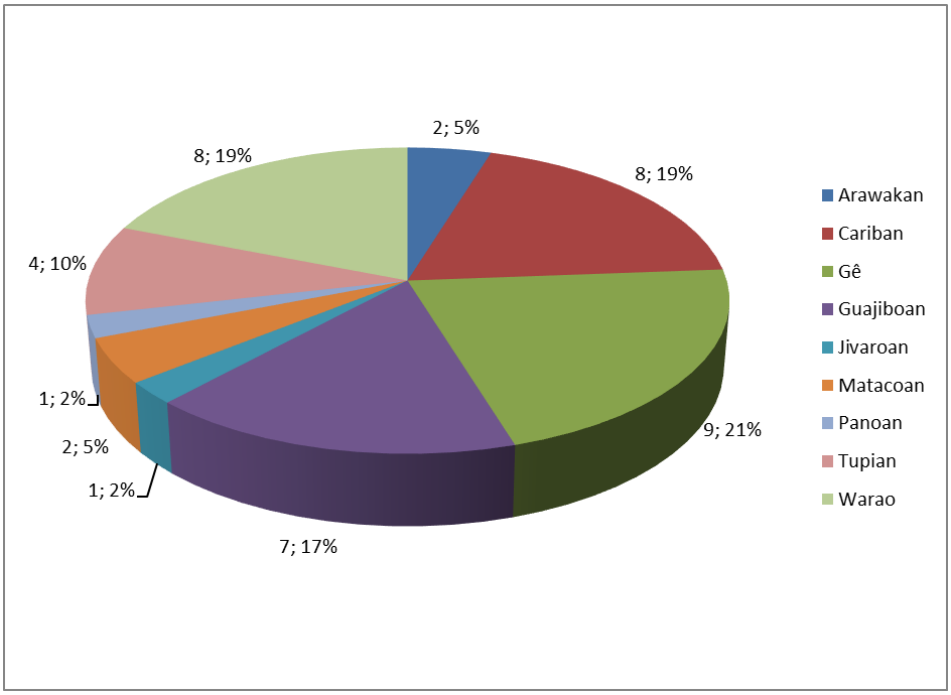


Linguistic affiliation

The narratives have been studied in relation to their linguistic affiliation in order to establish whether (particular) cases do indeed correlate to specific linguistic affixations or geographical areas. The Caiman/Alligator narratives are spread across nine language families: Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Matacoan, Panoan, Tupian and Warao, see Table A2. The reader is referred to 7.1.1, Figure 7.1 for more detailed information on geographical distribution and the specific affiliation of the narratives. Figure 7.1 displays a plot of the narratives on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America).

The linguistic distribution of the Caiman/Alligator narratives is in line with the overall distribution (see 4.1.2). The most prominent language families are included in this dataset. The percentages match those of the overall distribution whereby the Gê and Warao narratives are slightly overrepresented (Gê: 21 against 15 percent in general; Warao: 19 against 14 percent). The Cariban is slightly under-represented (19 against 24 percent). In sum, 25 (60 percent) of the 42 narratives hail from the core area. The remaining seventeen which stem from areas and countries located more landward, therefore, provide insights into the regional dissemination pertaining to motifs and themes.

Table A2 Linguistic affiliation of Caiman narratives based on language family (%).



A. Fabula-layer: events, actors and setting

Events: main events and motifs

To establish whether Caiman/Alligator is associated with specific events and/or actions a distinction has been made between main events (which are predefined categories) and the documented motifs that provide information on specific events within the narrative (see section 4.2).

For fifteen narratives, main event(s) is/are documented as are two main events in five narratives. The most recorded event is: rescue (n=10) which features in nine cases, followed by quest (n=4) in four. Deception (n=2) is recorded in two narratives. Abduction, travelling and truth finding all occur just once.

Only five of these main events are directly linked to the Caiman/Alligator personage. Rescue is recorded in three cases, and deception and truth finding both once. Interestingly, all three records on rescue have different sub-categories: firstly restoring order (Story no. 622[4]; Sikuani,

[4] See Appendix B for a list of all narratives with references. The bibliography at the end of this Appendix lists all sources used for collecting the narratives included in this dissertation.

Guajiboan), secondly abduction (Story no. 503; Warao) and thirdly warning about an imminent danger leads to an escape.

Zooming in on motifs directly linked to the Caiman/Alligator personage, the "Top 5" comprises: (1) origin of objects (e.g., bench) and "animal" traits (e.g., colour, insolence; n[5]20); (2) Helpful/friendly "animals" (e.g., they aid people, or others such as spirits or the creator, or they are paramours; n=18); (3) transformation, various (n=11); (4) devastating Caiman/ Alligator (n=10), and (5) punishments (n=10).

Origin of characteristics

The most common motifs concern the origin of "animal" traits and the origin of objects. Physical characteristics of Caiman/Alligator are then explained or addressed in these narratives, e.g., a tongue is cut off as a punishment for lying (see Story no. 69; Cariban). Or, a tongue is pulled out in search of fire, after being wrongfully accused of stealing fire (see Story no. 364; Akawaio, Cariban). In other narratives, notches/scales are the results of punishment, after being beaten (see Story nos. 705, 1096; Arawakan, Cariban (Macushi)). We also learn that Alligator constantly breaks wind (see Story no. 503; Warao).

In Story no. 422 (Yukpa, Cariban), a Caiman was a medicine man who wishes to establish the depth of a body of water after a flood. Together with other "animals", he destroys the gigantic wall of mud, after which the water escapes. A huge quantity of sand remains on the backs of Armadillo, Turtle and Caiman, which can still be seen today.

Other narratives contain motifs pertaining to Caiman's haunt. Story no. 603 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) explains how Alligators arrived at the Meta River (a tributary of the Orinoco River which flows through eastern Colombia and southern Venezuela). In Story no. 226 (Sherente, Gê), Alligator is described as the Owner of the "third Creek".

Four narratives with motifs on "insolence" are of interest. They make it very explicit that a Caiman/Alligator should never be insulted. In Story no. 503 (Warao), in which Alligator continues to break wind, the protagonist informs the Alligator he smells pleasantly thereby not insulting him. In Story nos. 245 and 563 (Sherente, Apinayé (Gê)), the protagonist is chased after delivering an insult. In Story nos. 157 and 250 (Tembé, (Tupian)), the Caiman/Alligator explicitly asks the protagonist to insult him, but then goes in pursuit.

Origin of objects

In Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban) the origin of agriculture is directly linked to Alligator who presents his daughter along with all kinds of stock to the protagonist (Perëpërëwa). The

[5] Here n refers to the number of narratives in which a motif is registered. Multiple motifs of one category can be documented in one narrative.

daughter teaches him everything about agriculture and how to build a village. In Story no. 78 (Arawakan), Sun creates humans from a Caiman.

Caiman/Alligator can directly or indirectly be linked to certain ceremonies. In Stories nos. 335, 534 and 627 (2x Gê, Guajiboan), the protagonist(s) visit the (under)water realm to be taught specific rituals or knowledge (e.g., names of fish, songs, welcoming customs). In Story no. 627 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), an already married Amerindian takes his son to the Fish peoples and marries a woman from the (under)water realm. They travel underwater and learn greeting traditions as they come across various "peoples". Whenever this Amerindian meets an Alligator, he is always told to answer him. In Story no. 356 (Kaliña, Cariban), a man is abducted by malicious spirits to then be taken to their village, where he is informed that he would marry the chief's daughter. Upon arrival, he has to sit on the back of an Alligator and the daughter brings him a drink.

The Caiman/Alligator bench is a motif encountered in various tales. Sitting on a Caiman/ Alligator or a Caiman/Alligator-shaped bench is part of a (marriage) ceremony as in Story nos. 91 and 107 (Cariban, Warao). In Story no. 99 (Warao), the Sun grabs an Alligator and changes it into a bench as it went fishing (see also section A3a).

The helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator

The second most common motifs concern a helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator (see also A1). In certain cases, however, the Caiman is a treacherous friend, who may help you but then tries to gobble you up. Thus numerous narratives contain motifs pertaining to this reptile's helpful and its treacherous nature (see also under the sub-heading *Devastating Caiman/Alligator*, page 10 and A1). Elsewhere it is portrayed as a woman's paramour, or it assists spirits and cannibals.

In four cases, a woman has a secret Caiman/Alligator paramour. Once others discover their surreptitious affair they then (attempt to) kill the Caiman/Alligator (see Story nos. 453, 560, 615, 622, 653; Warao, Gê, 3x Guajiboan). For instance, in Story no. 560 (Apinayé, Gê), women participate in sexual intercourse with Alligator on a daily basis. Men uncover these activities and kill the "animal". In response, the women murder the men and leave the village. In Story no. 622 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), an elderly woman feeds an Alligator and stays away a long time. Tsamani dons his grandmother's dress and visits the place where his grandmother has intercourse with Alligator. When the Alligator tries to mount the grandson, he kills it. Having found her paramour dead, the elderly woman feels very angry. Story no. 653 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) contains only a short reference to a woman's relationship with an Alligator which prevents a protagonist named Chamaní and others to enter the upperworld. Again, in this narrative, Alligator is killed and the woman avenges the reptile's death. In Story no. 615 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), a woman has an affair with a handsome Caiman. Her husband and brother-in-law follow her to then attack the Caiman, who, however, manages to escape. After Caiman, now a shaman, has cast a spell, the woman murders her husband and brother-in-law. In Story no.

453 (Warao), a married young woman entertains a secret lover who, as they bathe, transforms into an Alligator.

The Caiman/Alligator is helpful to spirits or other creatures (see Story nos. 24, 152, 1096 (2x Cariban, Gê). In Story no. 24 (Cariban), a white cannibal called "*Letterhoutstomp"* devours all Amerindians who were hiding on an island. When the cannibal discovers their whereabouts, he creates a vessel in the form of a Caiman as a means of transport. Shamans implore the Snake spirit to kill this cannibal. Having been devoured, his boat drifts off and can still be seen on the bank portrayed in stone, resting on a rock. In Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê) the Caiman assists a malicious water spirit which is a transformed Fish. This Caiman tells the malevolent spirit where the Amerindian protagonist (a woman) is hiding, but only after she rejects him. In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban) Alligator acts as Sun's helper. Alligator, however, fails as a guard/watchman to then receive a beating as a punishment. Next, Alligator presents his daughter to Sun and, in fact, creates a wooden wife for Sun.

By and large, Caiman/Alligator is the protagonist's helper and/or friend. The most common motif describes Caiman/Alligator when assisting people(s) to cross bodies of water (see Story nos. 24, 157, 250, 343-4, 503, 561, 563; Cariban, Tupian (Tembé, Shipaya, Munduruku), Gê (Krahô, Cayapó-Gorotire, Apinayé), Warao). Caiman/Alligator is also helpful when, in Story no. 422 (Yukpa, Cariban), a flood destroys everything whereby only 20 pairs of "humans/animals" survive. After Caiman shaman/medicine man determines the depth of the water, the leader of "animals" causes the mud wall to collapse, allowing the water to flow freely.

In Story nos. 18, 335 and 534 (Cariban; 2x Gê), a Caiman/Alligator teaches arts and crafts. In Story nos. 335 and 534 (both Gê), a man having burned himself then cools down in the river before transforming into a Caiman/Alligator. Having learned the names and customs of Fish, he returns home to teach the Cayapó peoples Fish dances. In Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban), Caiman feels sorry for the culture hero Përëpërëwa and provides him with a wife as well as cultivated food and other gifts.

Transformation

Motifs on transformations are overall very common and are directly related to the Caiman/Alligator personage in multiple stories (see also A2), for instance, when Caiman transmutes into an object or a human, or vice versa. In Story no. 489 (Warao), pursued cannibals fall in a pond. After the Amerindians murder them, they transform into Alligators and other creatures. An Alligator can transform into an object, too: in Story no. 99 (Warao), Sun grabs an Alligator by the neck and changes him into a bench (see also A3a). In Story no. 24 (Cariban), a cannibal creates a Caiman to serve as a means to transport and in the end it transforms into a rock.

A man who transmutes into a Caiman/Alligator is the most common motif (see Story nos. 300, 335, 453, 467, 471, 534; 609; Jivaroan, 3x Warao, Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire, Cayapó-Kuben-

kranken), Guajiboan (Cuiva)). A Caiman/Alligator transforms into a man in Story nos. 534, 615; Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Cuiva (Guajiboan)). Transformation can be the result of, for instance, the wish to escape death or to elude pursuers (see Story no. 609; Cuiva, Guajiboan). It can also be caused by extreme thirst (see Story no. 300; Jivaroan) or by excessive grief (see Story no. 46; Warao).

Devastating Caiman/Alligator

As already stated in the above descriptions of the helpful/friendly Caiman/Alligator, this reptile often acts a treacherous counterpart. Thus, six of the ten narratives which include motifs concerning a devastating Caiman/Alligator also contain motifs pertaining to a helpful "animal" (see Story nos. 152, 157, 250, 344, 364, 563). Most recurrent are more general motifs featuring Caiman/Alligator as a devastating or treacherous "animal" (see Story nos. 152, 157, 172, 364, 563; Gê (Karajá), Tupian (Tembé), Panoan (Cashinahua), Cariban (Akawaio), Warao).

Several motifs provide us with information on the reason why the Caiman/Alligator is to a certain extent devastating, for instance, because he refuses any help. In Story no. 245 (Sherente, Gê), the protagonist (after molesting his mother), comes across an Alligator in the middle of a river. He begs it to allow him to sit on its back, which Alligator refuses. The protagonist then makes fun of its nose to then be chased by this reptile. Recurrent are the motifs describing either a hypocrite who pretends to be a friend but then launches an attack or a victim who is lured into approaching under false pretences (see Story nos. 250, 344, 563; Gê (Krahô, Apinayé), Tupian (Munduruku)). In other narratives, "*Lewoo"* (Sun's food, which is "like" a Caiman) swallows a man.

Punishments

Motifs concerning punishments are the fifth most common and vary highly. In narratives featuring the Caiman/Alligator paramour, adultery is punished, whereby the lover is often killed, or at least beaten up by village men, the husband and/or brother-in-law. In response the Amerindian lover punishes these men by murdering them. Other motifs indicate the cause of the punishment, e.g., in the case of lying (see Story no. 69; Cariban) and cowardice (see Story no. 18; Trio, Cariban). The nature of the punishment is also translated into various motifs comprising burning or beating to death, transformation or inflicting wounds (see Story nos. 172, 453, 534, 1096; Cashinahua (Panoan), Warao, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Macushi (Cariban)). In Story nos. 69, 705 and 1096 (Cariban (Macushi), Arawakan), specific "animal" traits are the result of punishment (see also A. Story-layer).

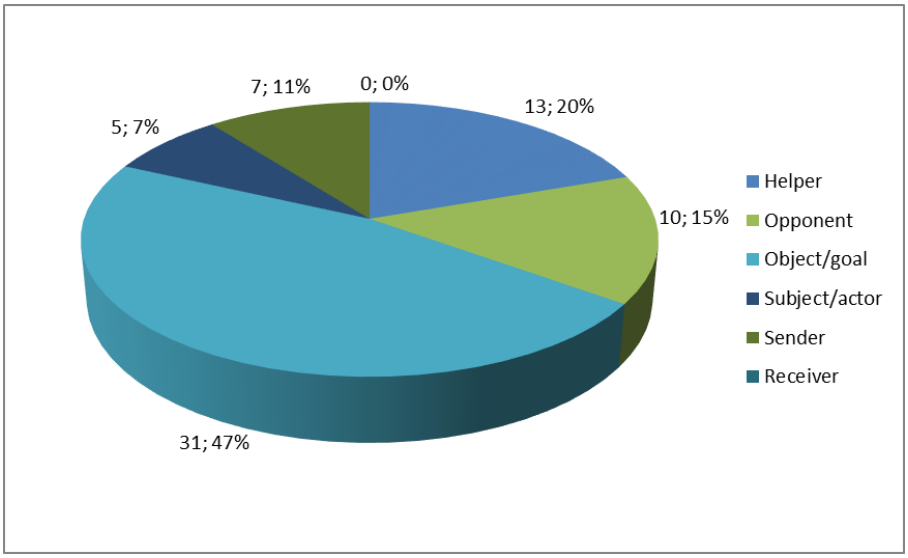
Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

This element of the fabula is closely related to the Greimas's six actants. The most common hereof as to Caiman/Alligator comprises: object (n=31) followed by helper (n=13), opponent (n=10) and sender (n=7), see Table A3. In addition, five records ascribe the actant subject/ actor, whereas none pertain to the actant of the Caiman/Alligator as receiver.

When compared to the division of Greimas's actants in general (see 4.2.2), we see a significant variation.[6] It is more often ascribed the role, or actant, referred to as object/goal (47 against 34 percent in general), and opponent (15 against 10 percent). However, Caiman/Alligator is less ascribed the actant of subject/actor (7 against 17 percent) and sender (11 against 17 percent).

In its role as object, it is commonly an object in itself (n=13), because it is hunted (n=3), killed (n=6) or a paramour (n=4). The Caiman/Alligator being a result of a transformation (n=10) also occurs frequently. As a helper, he provides goods (n=1) or assists the protagonist with a task or quest (n=7). As a sender he introduces new objects (n=1) and/or his advice leads to subsequent actions (n=6).

Table A3 Caimans/Alligators divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



In Story nos. 91 and 489 (Cariban, Warao), Caiman/Alligator is explicitly described as a (transformed) spirit and, in Story nos. 422 and 609 (Yukpa (Cariban), Cuiva (Guajiboan), as a transformed shaman. In Story nos. 615 and 616 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) the Caiman/Alligator is also explicitly ascribed shamanic qualities.

It is explicitly stated that Alligators are hunted (albeit unclear as game, food or otherwise). In Story no. 90 (Warao), a man lies to his wife, telling her he was catching Alligator, to then murder her. While in Story no. 616 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), a shaman and his wife come across one during a march. The shaman kills the Caiman/Alligator and the couple bring the meat home. In Story nos. 314 and 315 (Matacoan), *Lewoo*, a water monster resembling Caiman, is

[6] $\chi^2(5) = 12.36$, $\rho = 0.030$ (significant; α 0.05). However, insignificant with α 0.01.

described as Sun's food. Sun asks the protagonist to hunt it for him. No records are present of the Caiman/Alligator being kept as pets.

Interactions with other "animal" personages

To establish with whom the Caiman/Alligator is associated it is interesting to note with which other "animal" personage(s) it interacts. As many as 135 records of other "animals/birds/fish" occur along with Caiman/Alligator, many of which co-occur in more than one narrative. The most recorded "animals" are: (a) Fish, n=9 including piranhas, but also Dolphins (n=1), Eels (n=3), Sharks (n=1), and Stingrays (n=1); (b) Woodpecker, n=9; (c) Jaguar, n=8; (d) Birds, n=8, but also Shorebirds and waders (n=6), Parrot-like birds (n=4), Vultures (n=4); (e) Snake, including anacondas (n=6), and (f) Ants, n=5.

Fish

Caiman/Alligator and Fish appear in Story nos. 18, 107, 152, 335, 471, 534, 561, 622, 627; various, Cariban, 4x Gê, 2x Guajiboan, 2x Warao). Records on other water "animals" are: Dolphin (n=2; Story nos. 453, 471; Warao), Eel (n=2; Story nos. 152, 489; Gê (Karajá), Warao) and one record of Shark (see Story no. 107; Warao) and Stingray (see Story no. 627; Guajiboan, Sikuani).

The motifs and themes which apparently link up these actors comprise transformation and the origin of culture, or certain ceremonies. In order to visit the Land of Fish, the protagonist transforms himself into a Caiman/Alligator to then learn about the Fish ceremonies, songs, dances and names. The origin of culture in relation to both Fish and Caiman is also present in a narrative in which Caiman/Alligator has a Fish daughter. He gifts his daughter as well as all kinds of cultural goods and knowledge to the Amerindian protagonist.

Caiman, Fish and other aquatic creatures are also related through the quality of transformation. Repeatedly the protagonist or other actors transmute into these aquatic creatures/animals when entering bodies of water. In this context, they can change into for example Fish, Caiman and Dolphin.

Birds & Woodpecker

Remarkably, numerous narratives contain references to both Caiman/Alligator and Woodpecker (n=9; Story nos. 69, 78, 157, 245, 314-5, 422, 653, 1096; various, Arawakan, 3x Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, 2x Matacoan, Tupian). Woodpecker co-occurs even more frequently than Birds (n=8; Story nos. 78, 99, 152, 157, 250, 344, 364, 609; various, Arawakan, Cariban, 2x Gê, Guajiboan, 2x Tupian, Warao). The only in four tales co-occurring birds are: Heron (Story nos. 152, 157, 561, 563; 3x Gê, Tupian), Parrot-like birds (Parrot, Macaw and Parakeet) see Story nos. 18, 152, 561, 226; Cariban, 3x Gê) and Vulture (Story nos. 18, 172, 226, 250; Cariban, 2x Gê, Panoan).

Motifs concerning a helpful "animal" interrelate Caiman/Alligator with Birds (in general) as do specific "birds" such as Woodpecker and Heron (see Story nos. 69, 152, 157; Gê). For instance, when the protagonist is in need of help, the Caiman/Alligator assists him to cross the river, while a Heron hides him inside its beak and a Woodpecker tries to carry him on its back (see Story no. 157; Tembé, Tupian). In Story no. 69 (Cariban), Woodpecker, Rat and Alligator are asked to spy on Agouti (Dasyprocta), who is well fed, whereas humans lack food. Caiman/ Alligator and "Bird" are thus ascribed the same role.

Especially within the Sky world context, the latter two "animals" interact and are often associated with Sun when considering their characters. Sun created men and women from a Caiman. One man puts Birds/Woodpecker on guard in order to find out who is stealing his Fish, which turns out to be Caiman/Alligator (see Story no. 78; Arawakan). In Story nos. 314-5 (Matacoan), Sun's daughter marries Woodpecker because it is an excellent honey collector. After being devoured by *Lewoo* (a Caiman-like creature on which Sun feeds), Woodpecker is rescued/revived by Sun. In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban), Caiman/Alligator provides Sun with a wife made of wood. Having no vagina, Woodpecker provides her with this body part.

Snake/Anaconda

Six narratives feature both Caiman/Alligator and Snake/Anaconda (see, Story nos. 24, 99, 107, 300, 356, 489, 627 (various, 2x Cariban, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, 3x Warao). Like Caiman/Alligator, Snake is ostensibly an agent closely associated with the quality of transformation (as are others, e.g., Frogs). This quality (or motif) seems to intertwine them into the context of the narrative. This phenomenon is very explicitly executed, for instance, in Story no. 489 (Warao). Here cannibals drown and then transform into creatures such as Water serpent and Caiman/Alligator. In Story no. 300 (Jivaroan), a man initially transmutes into a Frog and then into a Caiman/Alligator. His final form was a giant Serpent.

Of interest, too, is the fact the Caiman/Alligator transforms into, or serves as, a bench, whereas a Snake is transmuted into, or used as, a rope (see Story no. 99; Warao). In Story no. 107 (Warao), the protagonist is seated on a Caiman/Alligator-shaped bench as part of (marriage) ceremony. Moreover, he has to sit on a Water snake as part of another initiation rite (see also A3a).

Their shared *symbolism** and ascribed role(s) is also illustrated in Story no. 627 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) set in the water world where the protagonist is taught all kinds of ceremonies. He now learns that Water snake and Caiman/Alligator are both very dangerous and must be greeted in a special manner. Once again these actors are interlinked by the fact they are strong, powerful and potentially dangerous agents (Masters of the Water realm), strongly related to their quality of being able to transform. No statements as to which of the two (Caiman vs. Anaconda) is the strongest or most dangerous occur in the narratological context.

With one exception: in Story no. 24 (Cariban) shamans call upon the Snake spirit to kill an approaching cannibal seated on a Caiman-shaped boat.

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

As to the Caiman/Alligator narratives, the dichotomy village vs. forest is dominated by the forest, which is in line with the general pattern. In sum, as many as nineteen (83 percent) records pertaining to a forest (spatial) context and four (17 percent) to a village context have been encountered. Story no. 78 (Arawakan) has both a village and a forest registration. It describes how a Caiman steals the fish of a man within a forest setting. Having later married Caiman's sister, his Caiman father-in-law kills him. In the end his Caiman wife visits her mother-in-law to murder her (within a village context).

With only four records featuring a village context, the role(s) ascribed to Caiman/Alligator in this context differ: it is ascribed the role of object/goal (as a paramour in Story no. 622), as a helper (providing advice and cultural goods in Story nos. 18 and 534) and as opponent (he murders her Amerindian mother-in-law in Story no. 78). Within a forest setting, he ascribed the roles of helper (n=2), object/goal (n=9), opponent (n=4), sender (n=2) and subject/actor (n=3).

The thirteen records with a temporal setting are all set during the daytime. The majority hereof deal with protagonists which endure many adventures. In many cases the temporal setting is not explicated. Numerous (n=40) records relate Caiman to a specific cosmic layer. For eight tales two cosmic layers are documented. The most dominant hereof is the cosmic layer of water (n=29), seconded by the sky layer (n=8). Three records of other cosmic layers are related to Caiman, all occur but once: cave (*axis mundi*), land and the underworld.

The Sun plays a role in a number of narratives. Sun has *Lewoo* (a Caiman-like creature on which Sun feeds) as a food source, creates humankind from Caiman or is otherwise directly linked to the Caiman/Alligator personage. The sky layer is repeatedly recorded because of this interrelatedness between Sun and Caiman/Alligator.

Unfortunately, there are not enough records dealing with the cosmic layers (other than water) to establish if any relationships between a cosmic layer and an ascribed role exist. Four out of five records concerning the opponent-role are linked to the water layer. Within this context, the Caiman/Alligator is also frequently depicted as a helper, object, sender and subject.

Sub-conclusion: fabula of Caiman/Alligator narratives

Caiman/Alligator narratives are widely distributed and encountered in nine language families. In 42 cases, the Caiman/Alligator is portrayed as a treacherous opponent, even as a creature that may devour you. This tragic outcome is often related to the prohibition of insulting him. On the other hand, Caiman/Alligator is also depicted as a helpful "animal" (to both spirits and shamans) that introduces culture and is associated with various ceremonies. Moreover, there

are references of a shaman and a spirit that transform into a Caiman/Alligator, and references of a Caiman/Alligator that demonstrates shamanic qualities. The Caiman is not only linked to shamanism by transformations but also through the duality as a giver and a taker of life.

Physical features explicitly mentioned (and/or explained) in the narratives are: the absence of a tongue and its notches**.** Here any references to Caiman/Alligator-shaped benches are remarkable. In a number hereof the Caiman simply serves as a bench. These benches are associated with greeting and marriage ceremonies. A Caiman-shaped bench created by Sun as he went fishing is apparently linked to Caiman as the Master of a body of Water (e.g., lake, creek, river) and all it contains.

These aspects of the Caiman/Alligator personage are all part of the most common motifs of which the "Top Five" are: (a) a helpful animal, (b) motifs pertaining to origin, (c) a devastating animal, (d) transformation, and (e) punishments.

Water is the chronotope in which the Caiman/Alligator operates. However, connotations with the sky layer are common, too, as a result of the fact that Sun directly interacts with Caiman/Alligator. These encounters mainly occur within a forest setting, probably during the day as the protagonist has either set off on a journey or is attempting to escape from his opponent.

When focussing on with whom the Caiman/Alligator is associated, the following "animals" stand out: Fish, Woodpecker, Jaguar, Birds (in general, also including various specific "birds"), Snake and Ants. The Caiman/Alligator narratives are further categorised below. Moreover, the proposed interrelatedness between the abovementioned "animals/birds" and Caiman/Alligator is further explored in relation to the story motifs.

A. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Story forms the second layer of narratological analysis. It provides us, in a concrete manner, with insights into how the narrative is presented to the audience. In this paragraph the focus lies on the characterization of Caiman/Alligator.

Characterization

The mode of characterization for the Caiman differs significantly from the general pattern (see 4.3.1).[7] The most common mode of characterization is indirect in 63 percent (n=24) of the cases, thus significantly less than in general (76 percent). This contrasts with the application of analogy, which is (relatively) common for the Caiman/Alligator personage (n=6; 16 percent, in contrast to 6 percent in general). In addition, eight records regarding a direct characterization of Caiman/Alligator have been registered.

[7] $\chi^2(2) = 7.11$, $\rho = 0.029$ (significant). The suspected frequency of Analogue is only two, making this test less accurate. However, the critical value for is: α 0.05 (5%) is 5.99.

Certain aspects or features of the Alligator are emphasized by applying either an analogy or a direct characterization. Remarkably, as to the analogue descriptions, the records concerning a Caiman/Alligator are either utilised or transformed into a bench (n=6). One record of an Alligator "created" as a means of transport exists.

Direct

In Story no. 343 (Shipaya, Tupian), Caiman/Alligator is directly characterized as being "a soft-hearted one". In Story no. 422 (Yukpa, Cariban), it is described as a medicine man, a powerful leader and excellent diver. Other direct traits are more descriptive of physical features. In Story no. 615 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), the Caiman paramour is referred to as very handsome, wearing a long blue loincloth and a belt made of hair. In Story no. 69 (Cariban) and Story no. 364 (Akawaio, Cariban), the tongue of the Caiman/Alligator is removed, in the former narrative as a punishment for lying and in the latter tale while searching for fire (which explains its present anger). The aforementioned Story no. 422, states that the sand on its back can nowadays still be observed (as with Armadillo and Turtle). In Story nos. 705 and 1096 (Arawakan, Macushi (Cariban)), its scales are explained as the outcome of being beaten up by Sun.

In Story no. 609 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), a shaman transforms himself into a Caiman in order to escape from a devastating "bird". It is mentioned here that he set off for the deepest part of the lake where, as is explained, Caimans hide so that hunters will not spot them.

Analogue

In Story no. 24 (Cariban), the Caiman is analogous to a means of transport, it is stated here, too, that the Caiman (transport) changes into a rock. As described above, six cases relate Caiman/Alligator to benches (see Story nos. 78, 91, 99, 107, 356; Arawakan, 2x Warao, 2x Kaliña (Cariban)). The Caiman transforms into a bench. Or, a bench is shaped in order to resemble Caiman. See section A3a for a more elaborate discussion hereof.

Duration

In the field of narratology, the duration is studied by relating real time (approached by the accumulation of pages) to narrated time, i.e., time as presented in the narrative itself. As much as 94 percent of all narratives fall within the short range and take up to 5 pages.

The durations have been documented for 37 Caiman-narratives resulting in 40 records on duration. The analyses here are corrected because two narratives are documented from multiple sources/authors (Story nos. 18 (from 3 sources) and Story no. 622 (from two sources). Hence numerous records concern the duration, as each source has its own page numbering, but these versions all share the narrated time. Nonetheless, for Story no. 622 the real time for the two versions differs: one falls in the middle range (7 pages), the other in the long range with eleven pages. Therefore, after being corrected for these doublures, there are 37 (unique) records on narrated time and 38 for real time.

As much as 92 percent (n=35) hereof falls within the short range, occupying 1-5 pages. One version of Story no. 622 falls in the middle range: 6-11 pages. Story nos. 18 and 653 fall within the long range: more than 11 pages. When studying the narrated time, only ten (27 percent) narratives are short (cover less than one up to several days), six cases cover a narrated time of weeks, while all the others cover a lengthy narrated time spanning either months (n=10) or years (n=11), hereby indicating that the Caiman/Alligator narratives are more "epic" in the sense they present us with an elaborate storyline.[8]

Sub-conclusions as to the story-layer

The Caiman/Alligator personage is frequently described either by an analogy or directly. Various attributes are emphasised, both physical and behavioural. The physical attributes dealt with in the narratives are probably displayed as scales or indentations. The absence of a tongue, however, is not likely to occur as an iconographical feature. Utilising Caiman/Alligator either as a bench or as means of transport is repeatedly recorded as an analogy.

Studying the duration shows the narrated time is overall lengthier, hereby indicating a more epic or mythical storyline, whereas the real time is short. In the following paragraphs, the 42 Caiman/Alligator narratives are further categorised on the basis of their motifs. Two main sub-clusters have been identified: (a) the helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator, including the Caiman paramour, and (b) Caiman/Alligator as a result of transformation.

A1. The helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator

Motifs concerning a helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator are common. In total fifteen narratives have been included in this sub-cluster. They include the following summarised example:

> A man's children persuade him to dance. When he steps on a dry branch and falls into the river. The children row off in their canoe, leaving him behind. An Alligator gives the man a ride on his back. However, while travelling downstream the Alligator repeatedly breaks wind. As not to offend it, the Amerindian tells the reptile its odour is pleasant. They pass by mangroves with hanging roots which the Amerindian climbs up. The Alligator urinates, turns around and shakes its head. The Amerindian falls over to then turn into a Sloth. [Story no. 503 (Warao); abridged]

Story nos. 18, 24, 69, 152, 157, 250, 343-4, 364, 422, 503, 534, 561, 563, 1096 (Cariban (Trio, Akawaio, Macushi, Yukpa), Tupian (Tembé, Shipaya, Munduruku), Gê (Karajá, Krahô, 2x Cayapó-Gorotire, Apinayé), Warao) all share similar themes.

[8] A statistical Chi-squared analysis is only possible for the narrated time. For real time, this analysis is unreliable because of the low quantity of records for narratives numbering more than 5 pages (n=3) and as a result hereof very low expected values. However, the narrated time reveals a significant variation: $\chi^2(2) = 4.49$; $\rho < 0.10$ (significant).

A1. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These narratives basically consist of the same events: (a) the protagonist escapes from imminent danger, (b) the opponent goes after the protagonist, (c) a protagonist in need of assistance, and (d) "Animals" help a protagonist whereby order is restored after which the Amerindian returns safely.

Several cases continue with (e) "animals" demand something in return, (f) a protagonist fulfils this need after which: (1) order is restored, or (2) the "animal" proves to be an unreliable helper and punishments follow even after fulfilling its demand. Or, the protagonist fails to fulfil the "animal's" demand after which penalisation follows.

The most common motifs within the fifteen narratives directly linked to the helpful Caiman/ Alligator are: (a) helpful animal, (b) the origin of specific objects and "animal" traits, (c) devastating/treacherous animal, and (d) punishments.

Helpful

Because these narratives are all part of the sub-category entitled "Helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator" motifs concerning a helpful "animal" have been recorded in all cases. In Story nos. 18 and 534 (Trio (Cariban); Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)), the Caiman/Alligator teaches the protagonist arts and crafts. In Story no. 18, the Caiman provides the protagonist with a wife as well as all kinds of cultural goods. Moreover, he is taught how to sow and weed. In Story no. 422 (Yukpa, Cariban), in which only "animals" play a role, the Caiman/Alligator is depicted as a (shamanic) leader of all "animals" in their common battle against the flood. In Story no. 69 (Cariban), sky world dwellers ask, for instance, the Caiman/Alligator to keep watch who, having failed to do so, is punished.

The Caiman/Alligator carries the protagonist across a body of water, or the protagonist comes across this reptile in the middle of the river (see Story nos. 24, 125, 157, 245, 250, 343-4, 503, 561, 563; Tupian (Tembé, Shipaya, Munduruku), Gê (Karajá, Krahô, Cayapó-Gorotire, Apinayé, Sherente), Warao). There are two more stories (Story nos. 152 and 245; Karajá, Sherente (Gê)) that feature this motif, which are, however, not included in this category of "A1. Helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator". Here the Caiman/Alligator does not (pretend to) help the protagonist. They have thus not been included in this sub-category. In Story no. 245, the Alligator refuses help and subsequently the protagonist insults it after which it sets off in pursuit. In Story no. 152, the Caiman/Alligator wishes to make love and as the protagonist refuses, it does not help her.

Origin

Motifs that either explain or describe certain "animal" traits dominate motifs regarding the origin of objects. For instance, the Alligator in Story no. 503 (Warao) constantly breaks wind.

Story nos. 69 (Cariban) and 364 (Akawaio, Cariban) explain the absence of its tongue. In Story nos. 250, 503 and 563 (Krahô (Gê), Warao, Apinayé (Gê)), Alligator should not be insulted, or else it will explicitly ask the protagonist to insult him. In Story no. 1096, (Macushi, Cariban), Caiman/Alligator receives a beating from Sun as a punishment whereby Sun slashes it with a cutlass all over its body. Next, each blow becomes a scale.

Devastating

As a devastating or treacherous "animal", Caiman/Alligator fails to assist, even pursues and/or kills the protagonist. In Story nos. 157, 250 and 344 (Krahô (Gê), Tembé, Munduruku (Tupian)), it helps the protagonist to cross a river, but then chases after him/her anyway (see Story nos. 157, 250, 344; Krahô (Gê), Tembé, Munduruku (Tupian)). In Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê), it does not help the woman to cross the body of water, after she refuses to have sexual intercourse, and then betrays her. In Story nos. 157 and 250 (Tembé (Tupian), Krahô, (Gê)), the Caiman/ Alligator explicitly asks the protagonist to insult it, but once he/she does so he/she was chased by it.

Punishments

Motifs concerning punishments are recurrent, as is the motif regarding pursuit as a form of punishment. Narratives feature this motif whereby an "animal" breaks a taboo (see Story nos. 250, 563; Krahô, Apinayé (Gê)). As stated above, the origin of certain characteristics is on occasion also the outcome of a certain punishment (see Story no. 1096; Macushi, Cariban). As Caiman/Alligator fails as a guard and lies about this, its tongue is cut off as a punishment (see Story no. 69 (Cariban)).

Roles and actors in the narratives

The following roles can be distinguished here:

(a) Sender: now and again the Caiman/Alligator is the sender as it either provides information or its advice leads to subsequent actions (see Story nos. 18, 152, 157, 422, 534; Cariban (Trio, Yukpa), Gê (Krahô, Cayapó-Gorotire), and Tupian (Tembé). In Story nos. 18 and 534 (Cariban (Trio), Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire)), two Fish are attributed with this role. Eel is ascribed this role in Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê) as are Jaguar (see Story nos. 152, 344; Gê (Karajá), Tupian (Munduruku)) and Birds (see Story no. 157; Tembé, Tupian).

(b) Object/goal: the Amerindian protagonist is often the object (is pursued). Both Fish and Birds are hunted. Various other "animals" fulfil this role once or twice.

(c) Helper: in addition to the helpful Caiman/Alligator, other "animals" also act as assistants. For instance, "Birds" (e.g., Heron) hide the protagonist in their beaks, while other Birds act as messengers. Fishes teach certain ceremonies (see Story no. 534; Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). In Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban), the daughter of Caiman (a Fish) instructs the protagonist on agriculture and building villages. In Story no. 69 (Cariban), along with Caiman, Woodpecker and Rat are asked to serve as guards, too.

(d) Subject/actor: the protagonist, all helpers and opponents feature in these narratives.

(e) Opponent: the Caiman/Alligator is an opponent (see Story nos. 152, 250, 344, 364, 563; various Gê, Tupian, Cariban). The only other "animals/birds" ascribed the role of opponent in more than one narrative are: Birds and Jaguar. In Story no. 250 (Krahô, Gê), predatory "birds" gang rape the heroine. In Story no. 344 (Munduruku, Tupian), Birds form one of many obstacles blocking the protagonist's way. In Story no. 344, the protagonist has unpleasant encounters with female and male Jaguars. In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban), Jaguar eats the culture heroes' mother.
(f) Receiver: this role is not documented here. No one other than the protagonist himself benefits from the actions.

Of the 45 records on other "animals/birds", only a small number repeatedly co-occur with Caiman/Alligator. Birds (in general) are recorded in Story nos. 152, 250, 344, 157 and 364 (Gê (Karajá, Krahô), Tupian (Munduruku, Tembé), Cariban (Akawaio)). Four records of Jaguar can be found (see Story nos. 152, 343-4, 1096; Gê (Karajá), Tupian (Shipaya, Munduruku), Cariban (Macushi)). Heron is the most dominant "bird" encountered among the specific "birds" (see Story nos. 152, 157, 561, 563; Gê (Karajá, Cayapó-Gorotire, Apinayé), Tupian (Tembé)). Fish (including Eel and Piranha) are recorded in Story nos. 18, 152, 534 and 561 (Cariban (Trio), Gê (Karajá, 2x Cayapó-Gorotire)). Caterpillar, Deer and Monkey occur in two narratives only.

With whom is the Caiman/Alligator directly associated? Or, with whom does it directly interact? In this sub-cluster only Birds and Fish are directly intertwined with the Caiman/ Alligator personage.

Fish and Caiman/Alligator

In Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban), a Caiman is depicted as a provider of culture, when gifting its daughter, a *Waraku* Fish, to the protagonist. She appears before him a second time in the shape of Soni (Vulture). In Story nos. 335 and 534 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), a man transforms into an Alligator while cooling off after burning himself in a fire. While submerged he learns the names and dances of all the Fish. He then returns to teach those names (and dances) to all the Cayapó. In this sub-cluster the Caiman and Fish are interconnected being either set in the origin of culture or in certain cultural/spiritual ceremonies.

In Story no. 152 (Gê, Karajá), malicious Fish kill all men to then take on the outward appearance of men/husbands. One wife is not fooled and escapes. During her search for safety she comes across a Caiman/Alligator. It refuses to help her, but does inform her of the whereabouts of the malicious (transformed) Fish.

Birds and Caiman/Alligator

Birds are often chased after, but are also portrayed as assistants. The role of helper interrelates the Caiman and Birds in a (nearby) aquatic context. For instance, whenever the

protagonist is in need of help, the Caiman/Alligator assists him when crossing a river, while a Heron hides him in its beak. In Story no. 157 (Tembé, Tupian), this "bird" hides the boy from Alligator. On the latter's command, the "bird" spits out the fish, but keeps the protagonist concealed. In Story no. 250 (Karajá, Gê), the same event transpired, but now the protagonist is hidden by Rhea (*Rhea* sp.) and Wasps.

Other

Other remarkable interactions or association are worth mentioning here. For example, in Story no. 24 (Cariban), a cannibal creates a Caiman for himself as a means of transport in order to reach Amerindians hiding on an island. However, their shamans implore the Snake spirit to kill the cannibal seated on the Caiman. In Story no. 364 (Akawaio, Cariban), only "animal" actors take the stage. This tale deals with the large flood focussing on the origin of "animal" traits. Many "animals" do not like Alligator and falsely accuse it of stealing the fire. Their leader forces Alligator to open its mouth and extracts its tongue.

Setting

The helpful Caiman/Alligator is set in a water and forest context. The protagonist often encounters the Caiman actor while escaping from an enemy in the forest. Attempting to cross a river (or another body of water), he/she comes across the Caiman/Alligator. In two instances, the Caiman/Alligator is set in a village context (see Story nos. 18 and 534). In Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban), it is the provider of culture, whereas in Story no. 534 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) an event (which serves as a catalyser) takes place within a village setting. When a child falls into a fire, its uncle follows to later cool down in a river. Here he transforms into a Crocodile, returns to the village and teaches all his discoveries.

Although a temporal setting is not very explicit in the narratives, the most dominant temporal setting is most probably the daytime. The protagonist travels to meet for example Heron, Tapir and Monkey.

A1. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

The majority of the direct descriptions of the Caiman/Alligator personage forms part of this sub-cluster. In 30 percent hereof a direct description has been provided (see Story nos. 69, 343, 364, 422, 1096; Cariban, Shipaya, (Tupian), Akawaio, Yukpa, Macushi (Cariban)). The direct mode of characterization is especially linked to helpful Caiman. In 19 percent (n=8) of the Caiman/Alligator narratives the "animal" is directly characterized. The helpful, but also treacherous, Caiman acquired its physical traits as a result (punishment) of its behaviour. Story no. 24 (Cariban) has an analogue description. See section A. Story-layer for a more detailed description of the characterization of the Caiman personage.

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between the narrated time within the narrative itself and the real time (approached by the narrative's number of pages). Seventeen records have been found in fifteen narratives on duration whereby Story no. 18 numbers three sources.

In line with Caiman/Alligator narratives overall, the majority are short, between 1 and 5 pages (see section A. Story-layer). Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban) is lengthy, covering 11 pages. However, this sub-category shows a discrepancy as to the narrated time. By and large, the Caiman narratives are relatively long (73 percent lasting for weeks or more). However, those included in this sub-cluster have a shorter narrated time 40 percent (n=6). The fact they measure (less than) several days, indicates they deal with a particular event and are less epic. These narratives disclose a wide variation in narrated time ranging from (less than) several days (n=6), weeks (n=1), months (n=1) up to years (n=9).

A1. Concluding remarks on "The helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator"

In this sub-cluster the helpful Caiman/Alligator is not only portrayed as a somewhat treacherous, demanding assistant whenever the protagonist crosses a body of water, but also as a provider of culture. In Story no. 18, Caiman is explicitly ascribed the latter role, whereas a man, who during this quest is transformed into a Caiman/Alligator, discovers the names as well as the dances of Fishes to present them to humankind (see Story nos. 335 and 534).

Various motifs are common in this sub-cluster. The helpful as well as treacherous "animals" comprise the origin of objects and motifs which involve punishments and pursuits. The majority of these motifs cohere, whereby the needy protagonist receives help from an "animal", because he is chased by another. This event provides us with a further example of how these motifs are interrelated: the protagonist insults the helpful Caiman/Alligator, resulting in the "animal" pursuing the protagonist, too.

The chronotope, or the setting, is directly linked to its natural habitat: water. Although Caimans are nocturnal creatures, in the narratives they are apparently active during the day. Unfortunately, no direct descriptions of any temporal setting have been encountered.

The most common narrative functions here are: validating the world (n=26), encoding social behaviour (n=14) and informing (n=11). The function ensuring knowledge is documented on four occasions as is identity.

Caiman/Alligator paramour

Excluded from this sub-cluster are Story nos. 78, 560, 615, 622 and 653 (Arawakan, Gê (Apinayé), Guajiboan (Cuiva, 2x Sikuani)) in all of which a woman entertains a (secret) Caiman/Alligator paramour. These narratives have been omitted for being not explicitly linked to motifs concerning a helpful Alligator. Nevertheless, they are worth mentioning here because they are familiar to the Sikuani and Cuiva (Guajiboan) and Gê (Apinayé) indigenous groups and presumably also to other Amerindians. In Story no. 78 (Arawakan), a man marries a Caiman's sister. All cases end in an unfortunate manner, whereby avengers carry out punishments and/or murder and subsequent acts of retribution.

Narratives regarding a helpful or friendly Caiman/Alligator are broadly distributed amidst the Cariban, Gê, Tupian and Warao language families. If the Caiman paramour segments are to be included, the same applies to Arawakan and Guajiboan narratives.

With whom does Caiman/Alligator interact?

Caiman/Alligator co-occurs with several other "animals", hereby revealing that a direct interrelatedness between "animal" actors is perhaps generally speaking absent. A direct correlation can be observed pertaining to "birds" and fish. Both Birds (including Heron) and Caiman are ascribed the role of helper of the protagonist. In Story nos. 157 and 563 (Tupian, Gê), a Heron hides the protagonist from the Caiman/Alligator chasing after the protagonist. Moreover, Caiman/Alligator and Fish correlate in the context of the origin of culture. In Story no. 18 (Cariban), the Fish daughter of the Caiman teaches the protagonist all about cultivation including, for example, how to build villages. In Story nos. 335 and 534 (Gê), a man after being transformed into a Caiman/Alligator introduces certain ceremonies related to Fish to Cayapó (Gê) communities.

A2. Caiman/Alligator as a result of transformation

Although motifs concerning transformations are overall very common (for the highest ranked motifs, see Chapter 4) many narratives include motifs regarding a transmutation directly related to the Caiman/Alligator personage. Here a Caiman transforms into an object or person and/or a person transforms into a Caiman/Alligator. In total eleven cases include motifs directly linked to the Caiman/Alligator personage.

This, yet to further analyse, sub-cluster numbers eight narratives all with similar themes in which a man/woman transforms into a Caiman/Alligator (Story nos. 300, 335, 453, 467, 471, 489, 534 and 609 (Jivaroan, 5x Warao, Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire and Cayapó-Kubenkranken), Guajiboan (Cuiva)). For example:

> A Kotera, a man-eating bird, attacks an Amerindian (not a Cuiva) catching fish. Having dived into the water, he transforms into a caiman in order to escape and then manages to run back to the camp where the residents kill the pursuing bird. [Story no. 609 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) abridged].

A2. Fabula: actions/events, actors and setting

Actions and events

The abovementioned eight narratives consist of basically the same events in the course of which the protagonist: (a) is in danger or distress, (b) hides, escapes in water, and (c) transforms into a Caiman/Alligator(-man). When the order is restored, the option arises whereby the protagonist (Caiman/Alligator) teaches and introduces valuable secrets to mankind.

The most common motifs encountered within these narratives are: (a) transformation, various (n[9]7), (b) escapes/taking refuge (n=4), (c) punishment (n=3), and (d) origin of objects (n=3). Motifs pertaining to transmutation and punishment are both directly related to the Caiman/Alligator personage.

Transformations

In total, 28 "Transformation" motifs have been recorded for the eight narratives of this sub-cluster. In addition to the dominant motif, namely a man transmuting into this "animal", other motifs are documented, too. In Story no. 300 (Jivaroan), the transformation of a boy occurs after he ignores a warning and consumes the meat of a Serpent. He does not succumb but once tormented by thirst cannot stop drinking. He first turns into a Frog, then into an Alligator and finally into a Water serpent. Having reached a huge size, he warns his friend a flood will take place. In Story no. 467 (Warao), the transmutation occurs when a desperate husband in pursuit of his wife and child (transformed into Monkeys) jumps into a river. In Story no. 609 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) which serves as an example of this sub-cluster (see p. 23), the transformation is an attempt to escape from imminent danger.

Escapes and refugees

Of the four motifs regarding escapes or refugees, two are directly related to Caiman/Alligator. In Story no. 609 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), the protagonist is chased by Kotera, the man-eating bird, and escapes by diving into the water where he transforms. In Story no. 534 (Gê, Cayapó-Gorotire), a man runs into the water in order to cool down after burning himself. Amerindians hide in a tree to avoid danger. The protagonist climbs up a tree to survive the flood (see Story no. 300; Jivaroan). In Story no. 471 (Warao), women climb the highest tree to escape from an ogre.

Punishments

Motifs concerning punishment are linked to the Caiman/Alligator. In Story no. 453 (Warao), two lovers were bathing, when the paramour of the adulterous wife transforms into an Alligator and the wife herself into a Dolphin. In Story no. 534 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), an uncle steps into the fire because his nephew has fallen into it. Having run into the water in order to

[9] See p. 5, note 5.

cool down, he transmutes into a Crocodile. As in Story no. 300, a transformation is a boy's punishment for eating Snake meat.

Origin

Motifs concerning the origin of religious ceremonies are recorded in Story nos. 335, 534 (Gê; Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Cayapó-Gorotire). Both are very similar: a man voluntarily burns himself, enters a body of water and then transforms. Submerged in the water world, he learns all the names of the fish and their songs to then teach them to his male and female community members. Story no. 627 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), which is not part of this cluster, also reports on a man who accompanied by his son visit Fish peoples who also teach them many things. The link with the Cayman/Alligator in this narrative is: the Fish peoples instruct them how to greet dangerous "animals" such as a Caiman/Alligator.

In Story no. 471 (Warao), the origin of the fear of walking alone in the jungle is addressed. Meeting an ogre or transforming into an "animal" are a but few of the terrifying things that may befall you. In the latter narrative an Amerindian falls into a river and transmutes into an Alligator.

Actors

(a) Sender: Fish and Alligator are ascribed the role of sender (see Story nos. 335, 534; Gê). Here Fish teaches the protagonist various things. The protagonist (now an Alligator) next shares this knowledge with members of his community.
(b) Object/goal: Caiman/Alligator is often ascribed this role, as it is the result of a transmutation (see Story nos. 335, 453, 467, 471, 534, 609). Other "animals" considered the outcome of a transformation are: Rodent, Fish, Peccary (see Story no. 471), Dolphin (Story nos. 471, 453), Monkey (Story no. 467). In Story nos. 335 and 453, the "animal" personages (Fish and Monkey) form either the object goal itself or are hunted.
(c) Helper: both Fish and Caiman/Alligator are ascribed the actant helper.
(d) Subject/actor: Amerindians, helpers, senders and opponents.
(e) Opponent: In the only record of an ascribed role of opponent, Story no. 609 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), Birds oppose the protagonist. Here the mythical "Bird" named Kotera attacks the protagonist.
(f) Receiver: no records.

Within this cluster Caiman/Alligator interacts (in)directly and with other "animals", namely Fish (n=3), Dolphin (n=2) and only once with Birds, Frog, Monkey, Peccary, Rodent and Snake. Caiman/Alligator is directly related to Fish because a man transforms into an Alligator in order to visit the Fish world. Here he is taught their names and songs (see Story nos. 335, 534; Cayapó, Gê).

In this specific sub-cluster the interrelatedness between Caiman/Alligator and other "animal" actors generally speaking focusses on their shared quality of transformation. Fish, Dolphin and

Caiman/Alligator are all “water animals”. Within the context of water, the protagonist can transmute into either of these “animals” (see Story no. 471). In Story. 453 (Warao) the paramour of a married woman changes into a Caiman/Alligator, while the wife herself transforms into a Dolphin. Diving into a body of water to turn into a Caiman/Alligator is a strategy to avoid any danger. In Story no. 609 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) the man-eating “Bird” named Kotera chases after the protagonist, who then escapes by transmuting into a Caiman as he dives into a body of water. As to Frog, Snake and Caiman/Alligator: in Story no. 300 (Jivaroan), a man transforms into a giant Serpent, after being a Frog and a Caiman/Alligator. Frogs, Snakes and Caiman/Alligators all seem to be agents closely associated with being able to transmute.

Noteworthy, certain Warao narratives, albeit excluded in this sub-cluster, link Snake and Caiman to the context of transformation. In Story no. 489 (Warao) cannibals drown to then transform into, for instance, a Water serpent and Caiman/Alligator. In Story no. 107 (Warao), the protagonist is seated on a Caiman/Alligator-shaped bench as part of (marriage) rite. Later on, in the same tale, he has to sit on a Water snake as part of another *rite de passage*. In Story no. 99 (Warao), Sun longs for the daughter of an elderly man. Once while fishing, Sun changes an Alligator into a bench and a Snake into a fish arrow, so he could feed this man. After the latter he was satisfied, Sun receives the daughter as his wife.

In addition, the other “animal” actors (Rodent, Peccary, Monkey) are all intertwined into the context of transformation. A woman and child transmute into Monkeys. Her distressed husband tries to chase after them to next enter a body of water before transforming into a Caiman/Alligator. In Story no. 471 (Warao) Amerindians turn into Peccaries. Or, a human transforms into a malevolent ogre after devouring a Rodent. When certain people wish to visit their transmuted relatives, they fall into the river before changing into Caiman/Alligators.

Setting

In all narratives, the Caiman/Alligator actor is set in the water layer. The transmutation mainly takes place as the protagonist enters a body of water. In Story nos. 335 and 534 (Cayapó, Gê), a man (purposely) burns himself in a village setting, after which he enters the water and transmutes. All remaining narratives are positioned within a forest setting, in which the transformation takes place either during a fishing expedition or after pursuing someone into the forest, etc.

The temporal setting is not very clear as very few records on this issue have been documented. On occasion, the transformation occurs during a hunting or a fishing trip. In Story no. 453, this event takes place after the lovers had enjoyed breakfast, thus in a daytime setting.

A2. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

Most narratives simply state that the protagonist transforms into a Caiman/Alligator. Therefore, direct characterization is absent. Only a single instance do we find a direct

description of any behavioural qualities (see Story no. 609; Cuiva, Guajiboan). Here a shaman transforms himself into a Caiman in order to escape from a ferocious bird. It is also mentioned here that the shaman went to the deepest part of the lake. It is further explained that Caimans hide in the deepest part so that hunters cannot spot them.

Duration

The duration of the narratives in this sub-cluster reveals a discrepancy with the overall Caiman/Alligator narratives, hereby falling in line with real time. By and large the narratives number 1-5 pages. The narrated time is significantly shorter. Four out of eight narratives have a narrated time of up to several days. All in all, only 27 percent of the cases reveal such a short narrated time (see section A. Story-layer). The short real time in combination with a short narrated time indicates a type of narrative that unfolds around a single event.

A2. Concluding remarks on "Caiman/Alligator as a result of transformation"

This sub-cluster consists of eight narratives in total. Caiman/Alligator is the result of a functional transmutation. It either helps the protagonist to escape from danger or is apparently an act of despair. However, most transformations take place within an aquatic context. Instances in which the Caiman/Alligator is the outcome of a transformation are recorded in the languages: Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Cayapó-Gorotire), Guajiboan (Cuiva), Jivaroan and three Warao (3x).

In addition to motifs regarding transformations, motifs pertaining to escapes and taking refuge are common, too. Three narratives also include motifs concerning forms of punishments and the origin of objects. In two versions of a Gê narrative, a Caiman/Alligator introduces the knowledge and ceremonies of Fish to mankind. In another case, the knowledge is shared that entering the forest on your own is very dangerous and could even lead to an undesired transformation.

The motif of transformation interrelates Caiman/Alligator to other "animal" actors. In the aquatic context, Amerindians may transform into Fish, Dolphins or Caiman/Alligator. In one instance, a man transmutes from a Frog into a Caiman and finally into a Water snake. All these creatures are agents provided with the quality of transformation.

A3. Other Caiman/Alligator narratives

29 out of 42 stories are discussed in the previous paragraphs, whereby thirteen Caiman/ Alligator cases remain unaddressed, namely Story nos. 1, 90-1, 99, 107, 172, 226, 314-5, 356, 603, 616 and 705 (various; Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Matacoan, Panoan, Tupian, Warao).

Studying these thirteen examples in relation to the total corpus of Caiman/Alligator narratives, themes or clusters of motifs identify the Caiman/Alligator as: (a) Bench, (b) Food, and (c) Dangerous animal.

A3a. Bench

A recurrent theme comprises a Caiman/Alligator being either transformed into a bench or the mentioning of a bench shaped in the form of "animal" (see Story nos. 78, 91, 99, 107, 356; Arawakan, 2x Warao; 2x Kaliña (Cariban)). This Caiman/Alligator-shaped bench is related to meeting and marriage ceremonies. In several narratives, the (potential) son-in-law is requested to manufacture a bench which resembles his Caiman/Alligator father-in-law (see Story no. 78; Arawakan). Or, the protagonist is told to sit on such a bench as he receives the daughter of the spirits as his wife (see Story no. 91; Cariban).

However, these benches are also explicitly related to the water realm. They presumably refer to the Caiman as the Master of Water and all it contains. As discussed in section A2 (see page 23) Sun wishing to feed a man, transforms an Alligator into a bench and a Snake into a fish arrow, which seems to indicate that the Alligator bench is related to fishing success (see Story no. 99, Warao).

In Story no. 107 (Warao), a man catches a water-woman to take as his wife. One day the couple sets off to meet her parents who reside in the water realm. Her father gives the man a bench to sit on, which was a large Alligator. In Story no. 356 (Kaliña, Cariban), a man goes out to wash himself during the night. He then is abducted by malicious spirits who inform him he must marry their chief's daughter. As the group arrives at the village where these spirits live, the man is placed on the back of a Caiman/Alligator. Next, the chief's daughter brings the man something to drink.

A3b. Food

In several narratives, Caiman/Alligator is hunted or explicitly described as a source of food. In Story nos. 314 and 315 (Matacoan), *Lewoo* (a Caiman-like creature on which Sun feeds) is mentioned as being the food of Sun who asks the protagonist to fetch it for him. In Story no. 90 (Warao), a man takes revenge and lies to his wife when he tells her he is going to hunt Alligator. In Story no. 616 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), a shaman and his wife come across a Caiman/ Alligator during a march. The shaman manages to kill the "animal" and the couple bring the meat home.

A3c. Thief

In Story no. 705 (Arawakan), Otters and Caimans/Alligators arrive during the night to destroy the fish traps the Amerindians had placed during the day. This thievery is punished by a beating, which causes scales/notches to appear on the thief's back. In Story no. 78 (Arawakan), a man discovered that Caiman had stolen his catch and then kills the thief. In Story no. 364 (Akawaio, Cariban), other "animals" falsely accuse Caiman/Alligator of stealing the fire. Their leader, next, forcibly opens its mouth in search of the fire and cuts its tongue. In Story no. 300 (Jivaroan), a large Serpent steals the catch of hunters. Having killed it, a huntsman eats its meat despite being warned. He becomes thirsty, transforms into a Frog, then into a Caiman/ Alligator and finally into a Water snake.

A3d. Dangerous/treacherous "animal"

As stated above, there is no separate cluster for perfidious or dangerous Caiman/Alligator narratives, because six hereof describe a helpful, friendly alligator and also include motifs concerning its more treacherous qualities. In addition to these six cases, four others report the Caiman/Alligator to be either devastating or false-hearted. Moreover, these stories portray it as a (potentially harmful) threat. In Story no. 172 (Cashinahua, Panoan), it bites a man in the leg. In response hereto another man hits this "animal". Too scared to go fishing, these men now return home. Other narratives refer to the fear of a biting Caiman/Alligator or to the danger of such an "animal" devouring you (see Story nos. 91, 250, 344; Cariban, Gê (Krahô), Tupian (Munduruku).

In total, eleven (26 percent) narratives include motifs regarding a devastating or treacherous Caiman/Alligator (see Story nos. 91, 152, 157, 172, 245, 250, 314-5, 344, 364, 563; various (Gê, Tupian, Panoan, Cariban, Warao)). They number even fourteen (33 percent), when including the cases in which Caiman either is or is accused of being a thief (see Story nos. 78, 300, 705; 2x Arawakan, Jivaroan).

A3e. Additional themes

Story nos. 1, 226 and 603 do not fit any of the sub-clusters or categories described above. In Story no. 1 (Munduruku, Tupian), a Tortoise outwits a Caiman/Alligator and Jaguar. Tortoise detains the reptile in a hole until its voice becomes inaudible and it dies. In Story no. 226 (Sherente, Gê), Jaguar rescues a boy to lead him to several creeks as the boy is thirsty. At the third creek, the boy drinks hereby emptying it, despite the pleas of Alligator, who Owns this Creek. In Story no. 603 (Cuiva, Sikuani), Gulls advise Turtles that the river they inhabit is dirty and that they should move. Next, all kinds of Turtles, Iguanas and Alligators move to the Meta River (a tributary of the Orinoco River that flows through eastern Colombia and southern Venezuela).

B. Birds

In total 67 specific "birds" are documented in the narratives, including the general category Birds. These specific "birds" account for 490 records, spread across 303 (43 percent) documented narratives. As it is impossible, nor necessary, to study all the specific "birds" individually, this section focuses on the most recurrent hereof. By far the most common comprises further unspecified references to "Birds" (n=81).[10] Nevertheless, the following specific "bird" groups are also studied in more detail, as separate clusters: (a) Birds of prey (e.g., Hawk, Eagle, (Caracara) Falcon (n=57 for 54 narratives), (b) Scavenger birds, e.g., Vulture,

[10] All the 81 narratives included are numbered: 2, 9, 21, 34, 47, 60, 70, 74, 78, 80, 99, 102, 120-1, 131-3, 145-6, 152, 157-8, 162, 170-1, 182, 185, 190, 196, 198, 247-8, 257, 260-3, 280, 299, 308-9, 324, 334, 336, 344, 347-8, 354, 360, 364, 383, 385-6, 395, 408, 413, 415, 417, 430, 448, 452, 463, 476-7, 480, 491, 496-7, 511, 545, 571, 591, 608-9, 612, 623, 629, 638, 657, 691 and 711.

Buzzard, Condor (n=71 for 70 narratives), and (c) Nocturnal birds, e.g., Owl and Nightjar (n=40).

In addition to the abovementioned avian groups discussed in separate clusters (B3-5), certain specific "birds" deserve extra attention as a result of: (1) their (repeated) identification in the iconographical record (a to c; see 2.1.2, and (2) their remarkable role(s) and associated motifs encountered in the narratives (d and e). These additional specific "birds" are[11]: (a) Parrot-like including Ara, Macaw, Parrot and Parakeet, n=49 for 45 narratives; (b) Duck, n=14; (c) Shorebirds and waders; Flamingo, Heron, Ibis, Crane, Stork/Egret, Curlew, Lapwing and Bittern, n=34 for 30 narratives[12]; (d) Hummingbird, n=27, and (e) Woodpecker, n=31.

This section will mainly focus on the general category of Birds, but whenever considered relevant the abovementioned (a to e) specific "birds" will also be addressed. Only Birds of prey, Scavenger birds and Nocturnal birds are dealt with as separate clusters, because of their dominance in both the (avian) narratological and iconographical dataset.

B. General remarks

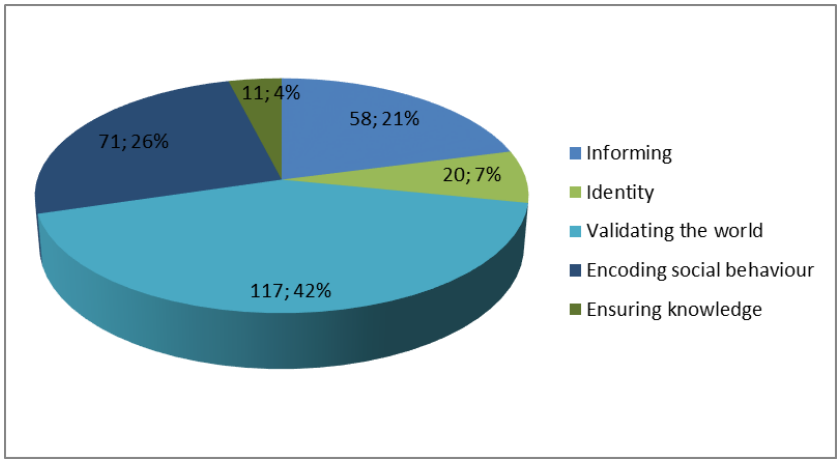
Narrative functions

All in all 277 narrative functions are documented as to the 81 narratives featuring Birds (general). The most common hereof is: validating the world (42 percent, see Table B1). Within this category, the predominant sub-functions are: (a) the origin of "animal/bird" characteristics, and (b) why things are as they are. The narrative function entitled encoding social behaviour is registered in 71 cases (26 percent). By far the most recurrent sub-function is: exhibiting (in)correct behaviour. The third most common narrative function pertaining to Bird narratives is: informing (21 percent). The most common sub-functions are: (a) how to carry out certain activities, and (b) what food (not) to eat. See Appendix C, Table C-7 for a complete list of all documented narrative functions.

[11] Specific species are dealt with in Chapter 6.

[12] Waldron (2010; 2016) identifies Stilt birds (herons, ibises, egrets) as a recurring iconographical motif, along with the Pelican and Frigate birds. In the present research, the term applied pertaining to these avian species is: Shorebirds and waders. For, when compared with Waldron's identified species, certain additional species are included. However, both the Pelican and Frigate birds have been omitted here, as no (or insufficient) proof of these species is encountered in the recorded narratives.

Table B1 Narrative functions of Bird narratives (%).



Comparing these results with the general outcome of the overall narrative functions (see Chapter 4, under the sub-heading *General remarks*) reveals a significant variation.[13] Narrative functions more frequently recorded for the "Bird" narratives are: identity (7 percent against 4 percent in general), validating the word (42 against 40 percent), ensuring knowledge (4 against 3 percent). Less frequently identified for Bird narratives are: encoding social behaviour (26 against 29 percent) and informing (21 against 24 percent).

Specific "birds"

As to the specific "birds", discrepancies are highlighted in comparison with narrative functions for Birds in general. Stories featuring Ducks (n=14) disclose a different distribution of narrative functions. These cases are less informing (only 9 percent against 21 percent Birds in general), but they score relatively high as to ensuring knowledge (8 against 4 percent). The identity function as to Duck narratives is in line with Birds in general (8 against 7 percent).

Hummingbird narratives have relatively high scores in the function encoding social behaviour (36 against 26 percent in general). A very common sub-category comprises ceremonies/traditions (n=11). Narratives with a Woodpecker identity are overrepresented with 9 percent (against 7 percent in general). The most common subdivisions are: origin of tribes and the origin of peoples. Neither the narratives featuring Shorebirds and waders nor the Parrot-like narratives (i.e., Macaw, Parrot, Parakeet) display any specific discrepancies.

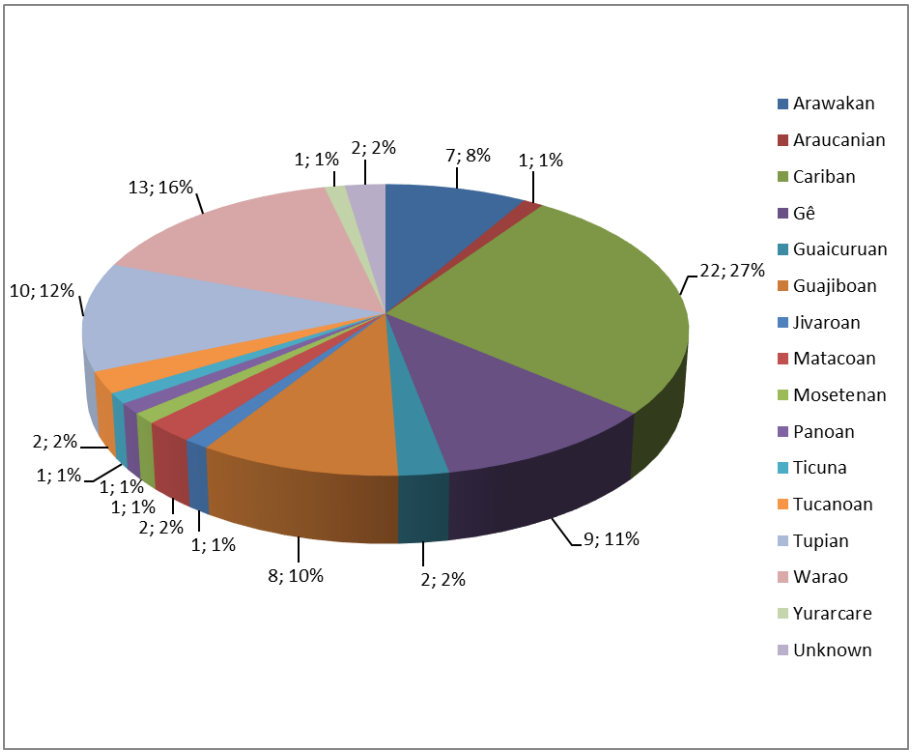
Linguistic affiliation

The narratives are studied in relation to their linguistic affiliation in order to establish whether (particular) Bird narratives correlate with specific linguistic affixations or geographical areas. These narratives are encountered in the following fifteen (plus two unknown) language families: Arawakan, Araucanian, Cariban, Gê, Guaicuruan, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Matacoan,

[13] $\chi^2(4) = 9.53$, $\rho = 0.049$ (significant, critical value α 0.05 = 9.24).

Mosetenan, Panoan, Ticuna, Tucanoan, Tupian, Warao and Yuracare (see Table B2). Multiple language families are recorded for two stories: Story no. 162 in Arawakan and Tucanoan, and Story no. 386 in Cariban and Warao.

Table B2 Linguistic affiliation of Bird narratives based on language family (%).



The linguistic distribution of the Bird narratives is in line with the overall distribution of the narratives, revealing no significant variations (see 4.1.2).[14] The most prominent language families are all dealt with in this dataset whereby the percentages match those of the overall distribution. It may be noted here that the Tupian narratives are slightly overrepresented with 13 percent (against 8 percent in general) and that the Guajiboan narratives are slightly underrepresented (10 against 16 percent).

Of the 83 records pertaining to the linguistic derivation, almost half (n=39) fall within the core area. The other 44 stem from regions and countries located more in the interior, providing further insight into the regional distributions of motifs and themes. The reader is referred to 6.1.1, Figure 6.1 for more detailed information on geographical distribution and the specific

[14] $\chi^2(7) = 7.76$, $\rho = 0.35$ (not significant). Languages with $n < 20$ in the overall distribution are considered a single category. The conditions of the Chi-squared test (80 percent of the expected frequencies > 5 and none < 1) are thus met with.

affiliation of the narratives. Figure 6.1 displays a plot of the narratives on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America).

Specific “birds

See Table B3 for the linguistic affixation(s) of each story (by Story number) of the included specific “birds”, several of which are overrepresented in certain language families. For instance, six of the fourteen Duck narratives are recorded in Sikuani (Guajiboan) language. The remaining eight all have different linguistic origins, albeit that in total 64 percent stem from the core area. The Shorebirds and wader narratives are overrepresented in Guajiboan (n=11) and Gê (n=8), they are also documented in Arawakan, Warao, Cariban, Jivaroan, Tupian, Jivaroan and Yuracare, whereby 62 percent hail from the core area as defined in 1.2.1.

Not a single Arawakan story features Parrot-like birds, which are, however, present in most large language families, e.g., in the Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Tupian and Warao narratives of which 60 percent originate from the core area. Hummingbird narratives (n=27), too, are distributed among the Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Tupian, Warao and one unknown (Rio Negro area) language families. They cover a broad geographical region whereby 71 percent stems from the core area. Woodpecker narratives (n=31) are also widely distributed, whereby 56 percent stems from the core area. These tales are encountered in eight language families: Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guaicuruan, Guajiboan, Matacoan, Tupian and Warao.

Table B3 Linguistic affiliation of specific bird narratives.

Linguistic Affiliation	Story nos. of Parrot-like birds (n=45)	Story nos. of Ducks (n=14)	Story nos. of Shorebirds and waders (n=30)	Story nos. of Hummingbirds (n=27)	Story nos. of Woodpeckers (n=31)
Arawakan - Apurinã			283		
-Island Carib				12	
- Lokono, unspecified		104	121	74, 78, 697	78
-Taíno					7
Cariban -Arekuna	130		131		
-Bakairí	148	148			
-Kaliña	710				
-Macushi					1096
-Trio	18, 29, 61, 67			29	50, 67
-Wayana	4, 149				
-Yabarana				348	
-Yukpa				437	420, 422
-unspecified	19, 358, 403	24		83, 98, 402, 413	69
Gê - Apinayé	691		563	454	511
- Bororo	189			189	
-Botocudo				305	306
-Canela-Apanyekra					256
-Cayapó-Gorotire	191, 515, 561		251, 527, 561		
-Cayapó-Kubenkranken	192				
-Kaingáng		151	151		
- Karajá	152		152		
- Krahô	318		567	567	
-Opayé	304			304	
-Ramkokamekra-Canela				566	
-Sherente	226				245
-Timbira	194				
-unspecified					256
Guaicuruan - Toba	200, 205				311, 312
Guajiboan - Cuiva			575, 586-588, 591, 612		584

-Sikuani	635, 651, 655, 684	619, 621, 623, 648, 673, 689	639, 646, 661, 676	619, 650, 657, 661	623, 624, 651-53
Jivaroan -Jibaro			282	296	
Matacoan	199, 206	322			260, 313-15
Ticuna	336				
Tupian - Guaraní	149			187	
-Munduruku	145				263
- Tembé	301, 302		157		157, 160
-Tupi		334			
Warao	16, 445, 464, 474, 479, 480, 493, 498	16	79, 480, 482, 538	79, 98, 112, 497	463, 464, 480, 496
Yuracare			185		
Unknown - Aré		150	150		
-Amazonia			270		
-Rio Negro			141	141	

B. Fabula-layer: events, actors and setting

Events: main events and motifs

In order to establish if Birds (in general) are associated with any specific events and/or actions, a distinction is made between main events (i.e., predefined categories) and the documented motifs that provide information on certain events within the narrative.

Main events are documented for 25 Bird narratives. For a number hereof, multiple main events are registered. Rescue is by far the most common main event and occurs, on ten occasions. Quest is registered in five, deception in four and abduction in three cases. Quest and rescue are overall the most common main events (see 4.2.1), of which only six are directly linked to the Bird personages, to wit, rescue on two and quest, abduction, fun and deception all on one single occasion. The specific "birds" either reveal no discrepancies or number insufficient records concerning main events.

Motifs

Zooming in on the 158 motifs directly linked to the Bird personage, the "Top 5" hereof comprises: (a) the origin/acquisition/creation of objects (n[15]35), including the origin/ explanation of "animal" traits, (b) helpful Birds which also serve as advisor, rescuer, messenger and the provider of goods (n=37), (c) transformation, various (n=23) (d) shamanism, including "magic" (n=21), and (e) the devastating/malicious Bird (n=14).

[15] The n refers to different stories in which a motif appears. Total documented motifs may be higher for more than one motif can be registered for one specific story.

Origin of things

The most recurrent motifs deal with the origin of objects whereby the majority (n=25) concerns "animal" characteristics. Motifs regarding the origin of objects include: the origin of day and/or night (Story nos. 158, 348; Tembé (Tupian), Yabarana (Cariban)), fire (Story no. 691; Apinayé, Gê), decorative art (Story no. 385; Waiwai, Cariban), languages (Story no. 299: Jivaroan), funeral rites (Story no. 477; Warao), agriculture (Story nos. 70, 395; Cariban, Warao), tools (Story no. 417: Cariban) or tobacco (Story no. 417). Recurrent motifs pertain to the origin of people or "animals" as well as the time wherein any distinction between humankind and fauna did not yet exist (see Story nos. 99, 280, 430, 476, 511; 2x Warao, Matacoan, Yukpa (Cariban), Apinayé (Gê)).

Story no. 476 (Warao) explains that humans originally lived in tree tops to discover the Earth below them only after an Amerindian had shot an enormous Bird. Mankind descends to the ground through this hole. In Story no. 475 (Warao), a boy shoots a Turkey with similar result (see also Story no. 484 (Warao) in which an "animal" is shot). This theme on sky inhabitants discovering the Earth through a hole is also encountered in Story no. 69 (Cariban), Story no. 182 (Mosetenan) and in Story nos. 517 and 521 (Gê-speaking Amerindians).

Birds are frequently more indirectly associated either with the origin of the world or with male and female humans, as part of what could be considered "origin stories". These not only deal with demiurges that created men/women but also with narratives that explain the world as we know it, e.g., the origin of day and night, the Sun and Moon, and the differentiation between species (including mankind and "animals") (n=23; Story nos. 2, 70, 78, 99, 121, 146, 158, 162, 170, 182, 185, 280, 299, 324, 336, 348, 360, 364, 386, 413, 476, 480, 623; 3x Arawakan, 6x Cariban, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Matacoan, Mosetenan, Ticuna, 2x Tucanoan, 2x Tupian, Yuracare, 5x Warao).

Story nos. 9, 80, 131, 248, 257, 260-1, 336, 364, 413, 480, 496 and 691 (Arawakan, 2x unknown, 3x Cariban, 2x Gê, Matacoan, Tupian, Ticuna, 2x Warao) also encompass various as well as diverse motifs concerning "animal" traits, e.g., the origin or nature of its physical appearance, its colour or feet. Other motifs refer to behavioural aspects of birds, e.g., its vocalisation/songs (see Story nos. 21, 34, 60, 248, 280, 299, 334, 430; 4x Cariban, Gê, Matacoan, Jivaroan, Tupian).

Helpful Birds

Of the 81 Bird narratives, 37 include motifs related to helpful Birds (see also B1). In comparison, fourteen cases concern motifs linked to malicious/devastating Birds. Many of these diverse, "helpful" motifs portray Birds either as a messenger (see Story nos. 2, 102, 132, 198, 408, 415, 448, 711; 6x Cariban, Gê, Warao) or a guard (see Story nos. 2, 78, 491, 657; Cariban, Arawakan, Warao, Guajiboan).

However, other motifs describe Birds as advisor, rescuer or the provider of goods/gifts. A number hereof are more descriptive of a specific helpful act carried out by the Bird personage(s), e.g., Bird builds a house for a protagonist (see Story no. 133; Taulipang, Cariban), Bird rescues a man while descending from a great height (see Story no. 74; Arawakan) or Bird gives a warning (see Story no. 448; Warao). Story nos. 121, 247 and 336 (Arawakan, Gê, Ticuna; see B1. Fabula-layer) feature motifs in which Birds are the Owners of, or provide, Drinks (e.g., palm wine, maize beer, water).

Transformation

Transformation is, in general, a very common motif as Birds demonstrate by means of the transmutations from: (a) man into Bird (n=12), (b) (part of) "animal/bird" into "animal/bird", n=5; (c) "objects" (excrement, ashes) into "animal/bird", n=2, and (d) spirit into "animal/bird", n=2.

Shamanism

The motifs as to shamanism involve "magic" activities, or magic objects/results. Magic may be the outcome of: (a) intoxication or bathing (see Story nos. 162, 261, 299; Arawakan/Tucanoan, Tupian, Jivaroan), and (b) motifs added to magic objects, e.g., magic (menstrual) blood (see Story nos. 257, 260-3, 480, 496; unknown, Matacoan, 3x Tupian, 2x Warao), (c) darkness, fire, song (see Story nos. 47, 280 and 348 (2x Cariban, Matacoan). Moreover, motifs may concern tasks/activities carried out magically, e.g., creating a storm/wind, rain, causing the sky to rise/descend or draining a pond in a magical manner (See Story nos. 133, 158, 170, 247-8; Cariban, Tupian, Arawakan, 2x Gê). Story no. 711 (Trio, Cariban) explicate that spirits transform into Birds and that shamans communicate through these "birds".

Devastating Birds

Motifs linked to malevolent, or devastating Birds, contrast those which concern helpful Birds. Such motifs concert abduction (see Story no. 623; Sikuani, Guajiboan), mutilation (Story nos. 299, 364; Jivaroan, Cariban (albeit that in Story no. 364, Ants mutilate the Bird), rape (see Story nos. 386, 480; Cariban, Warao) and treacherous "animals/birds" (see Story nos. 21, 157; Cariban, Tupian). In Story nos. 308, 608-9 and 629 (Guaicuruan, 3x Guajiboan), Birds are described as either ogres or cannibalistic demons.

Tasks and quests

In addition, narratives include motifs regarding specific tasks or quests directly linked to the Bird personage(s) which play a part in it. Certain tasks are very specific, e.g., robbery, safeguarding, carrying a person to the upperworld, or "chipping out a vagina" (see Story nos. 99, 324, 364, 386, 415, 463, 657; Warao, Tucanoan, Cariban, Warao, Cariban/Warao, Guajiboan). Moreover, motifs describe the Birds as object of a quest/task such as capturing Bird (Story nos. 299, 309, 348, 360; Jivaroan, Guaicuruan, Cariban, Warao) as well as quests

for a husband (see Story no. 395; Warao) or for water, food, etc. (See Story no. 308, 248, 348; Guaicuruan, Gê, Cariban).

Motifs in relation to specific "birds"

The "Top 5" list of motifs of specific "birds" are revealed in Table B4 to be further specified in the following paragraphs.

Table B4 "Top 5" motifs of specific "birds".

Top 5	***1***	***2***	***3***	***4***	***5***
Parrot-like birds	Origin/traits (n=17)	Helpful "animal" (n=16)	Tasks/quest (n=16)	Transformations (n=9)	As pet (n=8)
Ducks	Helpful "animal" (n=7)	"Boats" (n=5)	-	-	-
Shorebirds and waders	Origin/traits (n=28)	Helpful "animal" (n=21)	Tasks/quest (n=17)	Family affairs (n=17)	Shamanism, magic (n=14)
Hummingbirds	Helpful "animal" (n=16)	Origin/traits (n=12)	Tasks/quest (n=6)	-	-
Woodpeckers	Helpful "animal" (n=22)	Origin/traits (n=22)	Tasks/quest (n=16)	Marriage (n=6)	-

Parrot-like birds

Specific tasks or quests frequently associated with Parrot-like birds deal with capturing "birds" and/or its eggs (n=8). This event may relate to the fact that these "birds" are chased to eat, or for its feathers (see Story nos. 200, 403; Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), Cariban) and/or are caught to be kept as pets. In Story nos. 4 and 145 (Wayana (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian), these "birds" are the helpers/pets of (malicious) spirits.

Recurrent themes within the group of "Origin motifs" comprise the origin of fire. Being the sole possession of a single person, "animals" attempt to steal the fire whereby Parrot either burns its beak or fails (see Story no. 493, 498; Warao). In Story no. 651 (Sikuani; Guajiboan), the Parrot and Macaw have no success, when the fast flying Green parrot then manages to steal the fire. Narratives relating these "birds" to (the origin of) food, drink and *yopo** beans include Story no. 655 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) in which Parrot brings *yopo** beans (produced by Sun's wife). In Story no. 206 (Matacoan), Parrot keeps a watch to then discover that women are the thieves. Next, when these women discover Parrot, they throw beans at him. It is because these beans hit Parrot's tongue that this "bird" can no longer speak.

In Story no. 474 (Warao), a Parrot brings along a stick of *yuka*,* from which in due course humankind learns to make cassava. In Story no. 464 (Warao), an Amerindian husband teaches his Parrot-brothers-in-law how to extract *yuruma**. In Story no. 336 (Ticuna), a man asks his Macaw-wife for maize beer. Having taught him to create fish by throwing splinters of the "*a: ru-pana"* (unspecified tree) into the water), she asks him to make a wooden canoe. Story nos. 19, 358, 710 include records on a (pet) Parrot-wife, who secretly prepares a dinner. According

to Story no. 710 (Kaliña, Cariban), all Amerindians are descendants of the offspring of a Parrot-wife and an Amerindian male.

Narratives recur in which either Parrot-like birds or Amerindians throw fruit down from a tree (see Story nos. 205-6, 318, 793; Warao, Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), Matacoan, Krahô (Gê)). In Story nos. 199 and 200 (Matacoan; Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan)), Macaw/Parrots are hunted and thrown down from up the tree.

In multiple narratives, the protagonist(s) hunt Macaw, after which they/he meet(s) Jaguar. In a number of cases, Jaguar not only saves, adopts, provides food and gifts but also teaches how to hunt and make a fire. This Jaguar leads to the discovery of important goods and knowledge, e.g., the Honey festival (see Story nos. 191-4, 226, 301-2 and 691; 5x Gê, 2x Tupian).

References to the talkative nature and to this Bird's feathers frequently occur, too. This plumage serves to mark a certain road (see Story no. 635; Sikuani, Guajiboan), to adorn (Sun's) crown/cap (see Story nos. 130, 148, 684; Arekuna, Bakairí (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)) and to make clothes (see Story no. 591; Cuiva, Guajiboan). See, for instance, Story no. 479 (Warao) which explains that once God had created Amerindians they understood "Parrot-language", whereas the Creole people were able to understand each and every Bird. Story no. 445 explains why Parrots and the Warao are no longer friends: after Parrots had insulted the Warao, these "birds" were banned to the forest and now hunted. Story no. 206 (Matacoan) mentions not only that men were once "animals" unable to speak (there were no women at that time) but also that Parrots were unable to speak because their tongues had been hit with seeds.

Other references concern their screams/shrieks (See Story no. 474; Warao), or simply that the Parrot mentions an escape, or keeps a watch and informs the protagonists what he had seen (see Story nos. 16, 145, 149, 152; Warao, Munduruku (Tupian), Karajá (Gê)). In Story no. 681 (Wayana, Cariban), the screams or observing the Blue-and-yellow Macaw and the Scarlet Macaw heralds the arrival or presence of malevolent spirit named "Tulupere", who attacks Wayana.[16]

Ducks

Only 44 records of motifs directly linked to the Duck personage are encountered. Therefore, only two types of motifs have been identified whereby: (a) Ducks assist when carry Amerindians across bodies of water (see Story nos. 148, 673; Bakairí (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)), teach arts and crafts (see Story no. 16; Warao), or heal men (see Story no. 689; Sikuani), and (b) in significantly numerous cases Ducks learn mankind to use a canoe (see Story no. 648; Sikuani), escape from a deluge in a canoe (see Story no. 150; Aré, unknown), are

[16] See 6.2.1 for an elaborate description of Tulupere in Wayana (Cariban) narratives.

portrayed as the Owner of a Canoe and participate in its origin (see Story no. 16) and are involved in transforming an object (i.e., a canoe) into a Duck (see Story no. 334; Tupian).

Narratives featuring a Duck is often related to culture heroes and demiurges ("Before time"), whereby it is not so much positioned in a mundane, but in a shamanic setting, associated with the origin of the world and objects it houses.

Shorebirds and waders

Notable are motifs linked to family affairs, e.g., associated with married couples, siblings (see Story nos. 150, 185, 226, 282, 567, 587-8; Aré (unknown), Yuracare, 2x Gê, Jivaroan, 2x Guajiboan) and/or mother/father and son (see Story nos. 131, 152, 157, 270; Cariban, Gê, Tupian, unknown) and with marriages or incestuous relations.

Shorebirds and waders can be related to the origin of things. For instance, Stork and Ibis are associated with the separation of Heaven and Earth. The "*Ucu* stork" and the "*Tsaqui* ibis" push Heaven upwards (see Story no. 575; Cuiva, Guajiboan). Stork is linked to the origin of cultivated plants (see Story no. 283; Arawakan) as Stork, Heron/Egret are linked to the origin of fish poison, bows and arrows and Mika, the earthenware pot (See Story nos. 131, 251, 282, 586; Cariban, Gê, Jivaroan, Guajiboan).

These "birds" also are interrelated to shamanism, as they connect shamanic knowledge with paraphernalia. In Story no. 612 (Guajiboan), a Heron teaches a man how to protect himself with black facial paint against devastating "birds" and bats (presumably referring to shamanic knowledge). In Story no. 79 (Warao), a (soon-to-be) shaman sends Heron off to acquire some tobacco. Having failed to do so, he is killed. In Story no. 639 (Guajiboan), a poisoned, deceased shaman intoxicates many villagers in revenge after transforming into a Heron.

In addition to tasks and quests, many motifs concern escaping from pursuers by for example hiding in trees, mountains and a "bird's" beak These motifs are also repeatedly related either to floods (see Story nos. 150-1; 283; Aré (unknown), Gê, Arawakan) or to other dangers involving bodies of water, e.g., drowning or tipping over canoes (See Story no. 152; Gê). In Story nos. 150 and 151 (Aré, Gê), an Ibis acquires land, even creates a mountain, so the protagonist can escape from the flood.

Specific motifs are tied to physical or behavioural qualities of these "birds". For example, in Story nos. 587-8 and 661 (Guajiboan), they are poor hunters/fishers. Their beaks are strong (see Story no. 567; Gê), or serve to hide humans in (see Story nos. 152, 157, 561, 563; 3x Gê, Tupian). A number of these qualities have negative connotations, e.g., the "bird" is the bringer of a disease (see Story nos. 251, 527, 567; Gê), or, e.g., seeing a large Heron-like bird in flight is regarded a malicious omen (see Story no. 527; Gê). However, in Story no. 567 (Gê), a Heron is called upon to cure a sick man by removing the ant from his ear with its strong beak.

In addition to the five most common motifs, six narratives involve a type of container linked to Shorebirds and waders. These containers are worth mentioning here as they are recorded for four linguistic families, indicating a wide geographic distribution. These six examples are, therefore, not simply versions of one and the same narrative. In Story no. 629 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a Heron owns a wooden water container, which serves as its lake. In Story no. 676 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a Lapwing (a wader, subfamily Vanellinae) female wishes to spend the rainy season in hanging pots. In the latter two narratives, these containers serve these "birds" as a haunt. In Story no. 270 (unknown, Amazonia), an Egret-woman without a vagina gives birth to Fish. This "bird" is, therefore, a container herself. In Story no. 480 (Warao), Crane and Ibis acquire their colouration as they enter a vessel containing menstrual blood.

In Story no. No. 282 (Jivaroan), Heron steals two eggs which were cultural gifts from the Sun and Moon. One egg had fallen, whereas the other hatched to become Mika, the earthenware pot. Story no. 283 (Arawakan) mentions a vessel placed in the Sun. It contained boiled garbage which a multitude of Storks had collected. Once cooked, they feed on this rotten substance. When one day their chief breaks this pot, the Earth is immediately flooded, burning all trees and rivers. In Story no. 121 (Arawakan), "birds" make a pot of *cassiri**. After children throw this vessel to the ground, the *cassiri** grows into rivers and creeks. Batatas creep out of the ground las toads do. Peppers turn into Scarlet ibises and Flamingos. Cotton changes into White Herons, Silk grass into Blue Herons, and Rays and Devil Fish become ponds and pools.

Hummingbirds

As a helpful "bird", the Hummingbird serves as: (a) a messenger or advisor (see Story nos. 565, 619, 650; Gê, 2x Guajiboan), (b) a healer/curer (See Story nos. 565-6, 467; 2x Gê, Arawakan), and (c) a guard or he who leads a man who has lost his way to his home (see Story nos. 29, 74, 79; Cariban, Arawakan, Warao). Studying the motifs concerning tasks assigned/related to Hummingbirds, a number hereof pertain to Hummingbirds stealing, for instance, fire or tobacco (see Story nos. 112, 296, 304, 348; Warao, Jivaroan, Gê, Cariban). Story no. 697 (Arawakan) describes how a man has to take medicine in the form of Hummingbird-soup in order to improve his poor hunting skills.

Focussing on motifs concerning the origin of things and "animal/bird" traits, the origin of tobacco (seeds) is associated with Hummingbird (see Story nos. 79, 402, 657; Warao, Cariban, Guajiboan). The origin or acquisition of shamanic tools is described in Story no. 189 (Gê), acquiring honey in Story no. 304 (Gê), acquiring water in Story no. 305 (Gê) and the origin of childbirth in Story no. 650 (Guajiboan). In the latter narrative, Hummingbird shows humankind the position in which to have natural births, informing women to wait for the placenta to appear, so that men no longer have to cut open their wives. The Island Carib Story no. 12 (Arawakan) is also of interest: it associates specific seeds with Hummingbirds. In this narrative, a girl is presented with three seeds: (*gambo* (ochre), *corochra* (lavandre, *Renealmea caribbaea*), *pois* (pea, *Inga laurina*)) which she must throw whenever she hears a

Hummingbird sent to spy on her. Having done so, the plants magically grow, hereby slowing down the spying "bird" who immediately starts to suck.

"Animal" traits explicated as motifs concern the fact that Hummingbird is regarded a clever "bird" (see Story nos. 79, 296, 402; Warao, Jivaroan, Cariban). It is courageous and hardworking (see Story nos. 29, 189, 304; Cariban, 2x Gê). In Story no. 567 (Gê), its weak beak is referred to as being too soft to remove an Ant from a patient's ear. However, in other versions of this particular narrative, Hummingbird successfully remove the Ant in order to cure the man (see Story nos. 565-6; Gê). Negative traits are nevertheless stressed, too, e.g., bullying (continuously asking for the head of an Amerindian), lying (see Story nos. 12, 413; Arawakan, Cariban) and selfishness when refusing to share water (see Story no. 305; Gê).

Woodpeckers

The Woodpecker contributed the demiurge in order to either create humankind or a vagina (see Story nos. 7, 420, 480, 1096; Arawakan, 2x Cariban, Warao). Woodpecker also assists the protagonist by providing food (see Story no. 306; Gê) or when serving as a rescuer, guard or messenger (see Story nos. 50, 69, 78, 245, 256, 422, 437; 4x Cariban, Arawakan, 2x Gê).

Various motifs concern the origin of things and the characteristics of the "bird" itself. The origin of people and fire feature in Story nos. 7, 420, 496 and 1096 (Arawakan, 2x Cariban, Warao) and in Story nos. 256, 511, 584 and 651-2 (2x Gê, 3x Guajiboan) respectively. Story no. 7 (Taíno, Arawakan) describes a time when men were without women. While the men were bathing, human-like creatures fell some trees. They were neither men nor women and had no male or female genitalia. As the men finally get hold of them, they call out for Woodpecker who was called Inriri. Having bound their hands and feet, they then tie Woodpecker to their bodies. Woodpecker picks and burrows holes down from where a woman's genitalia are normally located. This how Amerindians say they were provided with women.

Woodpecker is directly linked to the origin of fire in two cases. The first hereof, Story no. 652 (Guajiboan), states explicitly that he is the sole owner of fire. In Story nos. 256 and 511 (Guajiboan, Gê), Woodpecker having created a crown consisting of (his own?) feathers that gleamed like fire for Sun to wear warning him that this item should never touch the ground. However, when it did, as the outcome of Moon's jealousy, a fire rages across the world (see Story nos. 256, 511; Guajiboan, Gê). The most recurrent motif with regard to the origin of things comprises the acquisition of honey (see Story nos. 311, 313-5, 511; 3x Matacoan, Gê).

Specific characteristics elaborated by means of motifs are the reasons why Woodpecker has a short tail (see Story no. 480; Warao). As to the origin of its crest, see Story no. 651 (Guajiboan). As to the origin of its colour, see Story nos. 260 and 496 (Matacoan, Warao). Story nos. 260, 263 and 306 (Matacoan, Tupian, Gê) describe the nature of its beak which is very strong and is used as an axe. Or, an axe turns into its beak. Associations linked to

Woodpecker's behaviour, for instance, concern the way it flies whereby it rests and does not move in a straight line (see Story nos. 50, 157; Cariban, Tupian). Woodpecker is, however, also described as a magic "bird" (see Story nos. 306, 463; Gê, Warao) and as Master of Tools (see Story no. 653; Guajiboan). The term "tool" presumably again refers to its axe-like beak.

Woodpecker is also regarded a sought after husband. This explains the repeated motifs regarding marriage. This "bird" is depicted as a well-known honey collector (see Story nos. 311-4; 2x Guaicuruan; 2x Matacoan), because of its ability to extract honey and the larvae of bees from hollow trees which is quite an arduous task. In Story no. 511 (Apinayé, Gê), Sun receives honey from Woodpecker. In Story no. 464 (Warao), a woman marries Woodpecker after hearing it has better food than her husband. It then teaches its brothers-in-law how to extract wine. This event probably once again refers to honey, which is considered Woodpecker's wine (see section 6.2.5 under the sub-heading *"Woodpecker" in the narratives*).

Tasks associated with Woodpecker are: (a) chipping out a vagina or deflowering a girl (see Story nos. 7, 480, 1096; Arawakan, Warao, Cariban), and (b) felling a tree or cultivating a field (See Story nos. 160, 463, 511; Tupian, Warao, Gê). Woodpecker is also, in vain, sent off to fetch fire (see Story nos. 584, 651; Guajiboan). In Story no. 652 (Guajiboan), Woodpecker prevents the fire from being stolen and succeeds in extinguishing it. Another task repeatedly related to Woodpecker comprises quests for missing persons (see Story nos. 311-5; 2x Guaicuruan, 3x Matacoan) as well as for vengeance (see Story nos. 311-2, 314-5; 2x Guaicuruan, 2x Matacoan).

Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

This element of the fabula is closely related to Greimas's six actants of which three dominate the Bird personage. The helper-role is documented in 34 cases, followed by object/goal in 26 and sender in 21 cases. The least encountered, even in general, is registered seven times, to wit, as receiver (see Table B5).

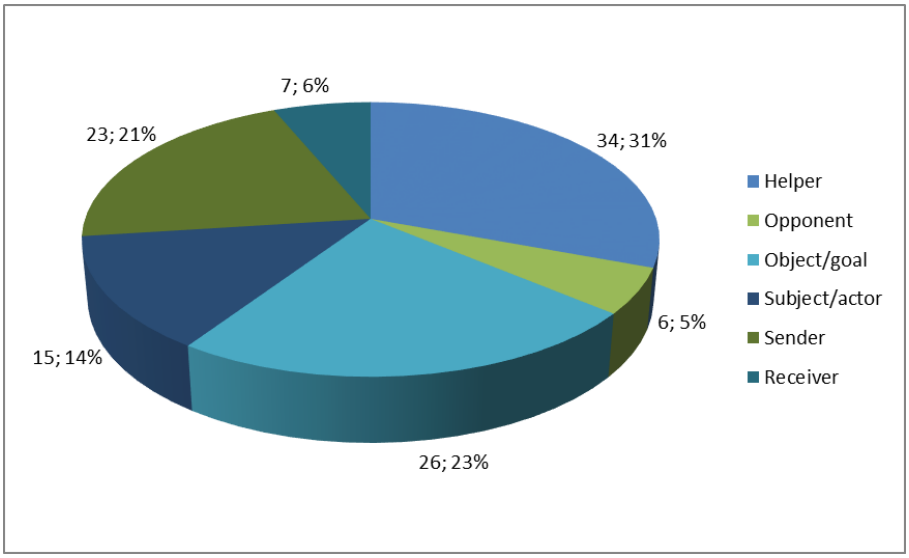
Zooming in on these actants and their sub-categories, while serving as helpers, Birds assist the protagonist with his/her goals (n=14) or act as providers of goods (n=5). Whenever Birds are objects, this is often the result of a transformation (n=15). Otherwise, they themselves form the object/goal, i.e., the aim of the protagonist (n=6). Six records pertain to hunted Birds. As a sender, Birds mainly act as advisors. Their advice/information leads to subsequent actions (n=16). However, Birds are also responsible for the introduction of new objects which the protagonist then desires (n=5).

Compared to the overall distribution of Greimas's actants (see 4.2.2), there is a significant variation in the ascribed roles of Birds.[17] This observation illustrates that Birds are more likely to be ascribed the role of helper (31 against 20 percent), but also that the role of receiver is

[17] $\chi^2(5) = 21.83$, $\rho = 0.00056$ (significant).

overrepresented in Bird narratives, i.e., 6 against 2 percent in general. Birds, therefore, apparently benefit more from events described in the narratives when compared with other "animal" personages. Moreover, Birds are less likely to be an opponent and a subject (resp. 5 against 10 percent and 14 against 17 percent).

Table B5 Birds divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



Specific "Birds"

In the following paragraphs, only the discrepancies are highlighted for Greimas's actants ascribed to the specific "birds". Compared to Birds, in general, the Parrot-like birds disclose a discrepancy in their ascribed role of object/goal, which is registered on nineteen occasions (33 against 23 percent for Birds in general). Parrot-like birds are hardly ever an opponent (n=1; 2 against 5 percent) and act as helper in eighteen instances (31 percent equalling the percentage of Birds in general).

The few records for the Duck narratives obscure any comparison (statistically) with the pattern established for Birds. Ducks are more often ascribed the role of subject/actor (n=4; 22 against 14 percent), role of opponent (n=2; 11 against 5 percent) and slightly more as helper (n=6; against 31 percent). In comparison to Birds, they are not as frequently ascribed the role of object/goal (n=2; 11 against 23 percent).

Hummingbirds are even more likely to be ascribed the role of helper (42 against 31 percent). Only in Story no. 305 (Gê) is Hummingbird ascribed the role of opponent (when refusing access to water). Hardly ever is it the object/goal itself (n=3; 8 against 23 percent) featured, but it does act as a sender (n=10; 25 against 21 percent) and as an actor within the narratives (n=7; 18 against 14 percent).

Shorebirds and waders are also more often ascribed the roles of helper (n=19; 35 percent), subject/ actor (n=10; 18 percent) and object/goal (n=14; 26 percent), and less common as an opponent (n=2; 4 percent), sender (n=8; 15 percent) and receiver (n=1; 2 percent).

Woodpecker is by far most often ascribed the role of helper (n=27; 47 percent), followed by subject/actor (n=12; 21 percent). It is less ascribed the role of object/goal (n=9; 15 percent) or sender (n=7; 12 percent) and again only on two occasions (3 percent) ascribed the role of opponent.

Birds as shaman/spirit

A shaman transforms into a Bird (see Story nos. 545, 608; Gê, Guajiboan). It demonstrates shamanic power/behaviour (other than changing identity/transforming) in Story nos. 145, 280 and 308 (Tupian, Matacoan, Guaicuruan). The eagle-shaped "bird" named Kotera is described as mythical and man-eating and has the size of a Douglas D-3 aircraft (see Story nos. 608-9; 612; Cuiva, Guajiboan). Story no. 476 (Warao) refers to an enormous "bird". In it, humans, who still inhabit the sky world, discover the Earth after shooting this huge "bird". Next, it fell through the foliage, hereby opening a passage to the ground.

In addition there are narratives in which a spirit transmutes into a Bird, or a Bird is explicitly described as a spirit or as a soul (see Story nos. 21, 248, 452, 477, 629, 711; 2x Cariban, 2x Warao, Gê, Guajiboan). In Story no. 21 (Cariban), the Koehtan/Kuiftiran (Family Tyrannidae; e.g., the short-crested flycatcher, *Myiarchus ferox*) which vocalises at dusk are regarded "ghosts". Story no. 629 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) mentions that spirits transform into "*Bujío*-Birds" to then be capable of smelling humans (which "smell like raw meat") and devour them. In Story no. 248 (Bororo, Gê), ill-treated boys transmute into Birds, "the kind associated with Butauodogue spirits". Imitating their vocalisation will cause a gentle rain to fall. Story no. 711 (Trio, Cariban), reports that familiar spirits were once visible, but after being maltreated they left and changed into Birds. Shamans can only converse with them through these Birds. In Story no. 477 (Warao), the souls of deceased Amerindians appear as large, white Birds.

However, by and large, the above references to mythical/shaman/spirit Birds are not related to Birds in general but linked to *specific* "birds". They are. However, included in this general section, because the "bird" was (initially) not identified as a specific species. Therefore, they were tagged as Bird and indeed not as a specific "bird". Consequently, there is ***not one*** record of Birds (in general) as a shaman or spirit.

Specific "birds" as shaman/spirit

The majority of the specific "birds" reveal no discrepancies worth mentioning. As to the majority of narratives featuring specific "birds" only a few records indicate that the "Bird" personage is directly described as being a transformed shaman or spirit.

As to Woodpecker, five records relate the "bird" directly to shamanism. In Story nos. 306 and 314 (Gê, Matacoan), a shaman transforms into a Woodpecker. In Story nos. 496, 311-2 (Warao, 2x Guaicuruan), the Woodpecker demonstrates shamanic powers/abilities when it searches (and finds) its wife with a magic arrow (see Story nos. 311-2). Or, it is referred to as a "magician" in Story no. 496. A Woodpecker is encountered as a transformed spirit in Story no. 624 (Sikuani, Guajiboan).

Pet or game

For records pertaining to Birds either being hunted or already caught as game, see Story nos. 157, 196, 309, 348, 360 and 591 (2x Tupian, Guaicuruan, Cariban, Warao, Guajiboan). However, in Story nos. 192-4 and 476 (see section B6a), "hunting Birds" do indeed lead to subsequent actions. Remarkably, no records on Birds (in general) being kept as pet exist. This absence is likely the result of Birds being kept as pets are specific avian species (see below).

Specific "birds" kept as pets

Investigating if certain specific "birds" are either explicitly kept as pets or considered game reveals that Parrot-like birds are indeed kept as pets (n=8) or hunted (n=7). Shorebirds and waders are kept as pets or tamed (see Story nos. 251, 527; Gê). In Story no. 482 (Warao), Crane is a game bird but pecks out the hunter's eyes. He had chased the Crane for an Amerindian from another village, who had told him that Crane's meat is delicious.

The only aspect of Birds in general and/or specific "birds" to be repeatedly recorded comprises the explicit mentioning of their plumage. Two records are linked to the feathers of Birds in general (see Story nos. 171, 385; Panoan, Cariban). Three records concern the plumage of Ara/Macaws (see Story nos. 148, 515, 635; Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan). One record deals with Parrot (see Story no. 130; Cariban) and one with Partridge (see Story no. No. 635; Guajiboan). These records describe for example the Moon or Sun donning a headdress consisting of "bird" feathers (see Story nos. 171, 130; Cashinahua (Panoan), Arekuna (Cariban))[18]. In Story no. 385 (Waiwai, Cariban), an Anaconda teaches mankind how to utilise feathers. In Story no. 635 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a number of girls during their search for a husband are instructed to follow the trail marked by Macaw feathers.

Interactions with other "animal" personages

In order to establish with whom Birds are associated, it is interesting to research any other "animal" personage(s) they interact with within the narratives. As many as 220 records (encountered in 68 narratives) of other "animals" occur in the same narrative as Birds. Needless to say, multiple "animals" can act together with Birds in one and the same story. The six most recurrent hereof are: (a) Snake; n=14, (b) Scavenger birds; n=13, of which Vulture; n=10, (c) Jaguar; n=10, (d) Woodpecker; n=9, (e) Monkey; n=9 and (f) Shorebirds and waders;

[18] Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban) mentions that Moon donned a hat made of Yapu (*Crested oropendola*) feathers while Sun wore a hat consisting of red Ara and toucan feathers.

n=9. Bird is apparently by far most often associated with the Amerindian protagonists, who call out for the Bird's help. In its role as an assistant, the Bird often betrays or tells on other "animals", thus thwarting these other "animal" personages.

All the (overall) most recorded "animals" in the narratives are listed in a "Top 5" (see 4.2.2). Tapir is not listed in the "Top 15" of most recorded "animal" actors. Nonetheless, six narratives mention both Birds and Tapir. Remarkably, Woodpecker is also present in this "Top 5", but excluded from the abovementioned "Top 15".

Birds and Snake

A clear association with "Snake" is encountered. For, once this reptile is killed, its skin is divided amongst all "birds" hereby providing them with their colouration and/or other features (see B2. Fabula-layer). Story no. 120 (Arawak) simply refers to this event of Birds killing the Great serpent. This tale describes how the murderous Owl finds a package, after which the course of events unfolds. On the other hand, Story no. 299 (Jivaroan) refers not only to the time when all "animals", "birds" and "fish" resembled humans but also to how these three all cooperated in order to kill the Great Serpent because it had slain many members of their kind. Together they manage to cut off its head and flay it. Apparently, the motif regarding Birds killing the (Great) serpent and then sharing pieces of its body is familiar to the Cariban, Arawakan and Jivaroan.

However, Story no. 385 (Warao) describes how Anaconda-people teach Amerindians to apply plumages in a decorative manner. In Story no. 162 (Arawakan), a Snake kills an Agami heron (*Agamia agami*), the mother of a culture hero who himself had Snake-shaped stars positioned on his forehead and later turned into the Pino, i.e., the constellation of the Great Serpent.

Interaction with other "animal" personages and the specific "birds"

To display any discrepancies Table B6 presents the "Top 5" listing all the specific "birds".

Table B6 "Top 5" list of "animals/birds" that co-occur with specific "birds".

Top 5	***1***	***2***	***3***	***4***	***5***
Parrot-like birds	Jaguar (n=10)	Scavenger birds (n=9)	Birds of prey (n=7)	Birds (n=6)	Various (n=4)*
Ducks	Snake (n=5)	Jaguar (n=4)	Vulture (n=4)	Monkey (n=4)	Fox (n=3)
Shorebirds and waders	Birds (n=9)	Caiman/Alligator (n=6)	Parrot-like bird (n=5)	Snake (n=5)	Fish/Eel (n=4)
Hummingbirds	Birds of prey (n=8)	Ant (n=7)	Birds (n=6)	Monkey (n=5)	Scavenger birds (n=5)
Woodpecker	Caiman/Alligator (n=9)	Birds (n=9)	Ant (n=6)	Vulture (n=5)	Parrot-like bird (n=4)

*In the Parrot-like bird narratives multiple "animals/birds" co-occur in four cases pertaining to Caiman/Alligator, Shorebirds and waders, Frog, Toad and Woodpecker.

The following paragraphs further explore with whom specific “birds” are associated. Only those narratives are elaborated upon in which the “birds” either directly interact or are directly related to the other “animal/bird” personage.

With whom are Parrot-like birds associated?

When looking into which other “animal” personages the Parrot-like personages are associated with, it becomes clear that the most common are: Jaguar (n=10) and other “birds” (Scavenger, Birds of prey, Birds in general). Parrot-like birds also co-occur in four narratives dealing with Caiman/Alligator, Shorebirds and waders, Frog and Toad.

Jaguar and Parrot-like birds

Parrot-like birds and Jaguar co-occur in ten cases, several of which include a direct association ostensibly related to a preference expressed by both “animals” regarding a similar tree. In Story nos. 301-2 (Tembé, Tupian), both the Jaguar and Macaw opt for the same tree, which is the very location where Jaguars “gather their honey, collect the blossom” (i.e., their prey, see 6.2.1 under the sub-heading *“Parrot-like birds” in the narratives*) and where Macaws eat seeds. In these narratives, the hunter comes across a Jaguar when hunting Parrots (i.e., hunting them from his hunting blind high up the tree).

In Story no. 226 (Gê, Sherente), a brother is left behind in a tree, while gathering young Macaws. Jaguar finds him and takes him along. Other Gê narratives have similar themes, especially Story no. 192 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken) and Story nos. 193, 691 (Apinayé). A very similar topic is encountered in Story no. 200 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan): a husband and wife go out to hunt. He climbs up a tree to throw down Parakeets. His wife, having eaten these “birds” raw, turns into a devastating Jaguar-women.

Caiman/Alligator and Parrot-like birds

In Story no. 561 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) they do not interact, but both serve as helper of the protagonist when assisting a girl to escape from a cannibal. The Parrot does so by covering the hole through which she had attempted to flee, by allowing the Alligator to let her cross the river seated on its back. In another Gê (Karajá) narrative, Parrot assists the protagonist, while Alligator does not help her. Apparently “she had to be willing” which was not the case. In Story no. 18 (Trio, Cariban), a Parrot and a Caiman are kept as pets. Here a Crocodile named Ariweimë is a bringer of culture who repeatedly sends its daughter off to help the Amerindian protagonist named Përëpërëwa. In the end, Ariweimë tries in vain to murder Përëpërëwa and then Ariweimë brings Përëpërëwa to the Hereafter (*Entu*), even though Ariweimë wishes to revenge his daughter.

Others and Parrot-like birds

In Story no. 336 (Ticuna), Frog and Macaw, among others, are both potential wives for a great hunter, whose mother insults them. When Frog falls pregnant, this huntsman brings her home

with him as his wife. Having returned with black beetles for his wife, his mother thinks he ate them. After changing the beetles into pepper, she gives these insects to her daughter-in-law who then leaves. In Story no. 336 (Ticuna), too, a Macaw woman is accused of being lazy. Having left, she teaches a man a fishing technique whereby splinters from a tree (*a: ru-pana*; tree species unknown) are thrown into the water.

Toad is depicted as the Owner of Fire. Parrot is one of the "animals" which, when trying to steal it, burns its beak (see Story nos. 439, 498; Warao). In Story no. 29 (Trio Cariban) Frog, who Owns a Drink, provides drinks for everybody attending a party where Macaw colours itself with blood of the Itana (osprey, *Pandion haliaetu*).

Heron and Parrot are both helpers: Parrot hides the entrance of hole in which the protagonist is hiding or tells/warns the protagonist. Heron hides the protagonist in its beak (see Story nos. 152, 561; Gê Cayapó-Gorotire, Karajá).

With whom are Ducks associated?

Investigating with whom Ducks are associated is noteworthy as they are not specifically linked to other "birds" (contrary to the majority of specific "birds"). Ducks only co-occur on five cases with Snake and in four with Jaguar, Vulture and Monkey. Fox (n=3) can also be coupled with Duck as a personage.

Duck and Snake

In Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban), both Snake and Jaguar, as do various other "animals", co-occur with Duck. Here Twins are raised by Jaguar, whose mother killed their mother. During one of their many adventures, their aunt tells them to fetch water, all three kinds of which Water snake owns. One of the Twins drinks the impure water and dies to later return to life. The Twins ask a Duck to carry off this water. In another Twin narrative, Story no. 689 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), the eyes of the abandoned Twins are lost. Next, two Ducks teach them how to regain their vision by utilising tree resin. Later on, in the same tale, a seven-headed Snake acts as an opponent to the Twins, but it is killed by two Dogs. Thus, wherever Snake acts as an opponent, Ducks assist the protagonist. A

In Story no. 344 (Munduruku, Tupian), the protagonist is married to the daughter of Great Snake. In those days there was no night time. The wife asks her husband to send his servants off to take the night from her father. Having arrived in a canoe at Great Snake's place, they ignore a warning and open an edible fruit furnished by a palm (*Astrocaryum tucuma*), which Great Snake had given to them. When the night falls, "animals" come alive: those residing in the forest become either "birds" or quadrupeds, whereas aquatic creatures transmute into Fish and Duck. A fisherman also transforms into a Duck, his boat becomes the "bird's" body and the oars its feet.

In Story no. 619 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), culture hero Purna[19] travels to the sky world to marry two sisters. His father-in-law (who has taken the shape of a Snake) first tries to kill him and later forces him to carry out all kinds of tests. Finally, Purna murders the father-in-law by means of a trained Condor. Next, because his wives wish to revenge their father's death, he transforms one of them into a Duck.

Jaguar and Duck

The Duck's association with Jaguar is also based on an aquatic context. Story no. 151 (Kaingáng, Gê) provides us with an explanation for the fact that Jaguars like both water and land as a habitat. This narrative is set just after a huge flood which the culture heroes named Raingang, Kanurukre and Kame survived with the help of Duck. Then during the night Kanurukre creates Jaguars, Tapir and Anteaters out of ash and embers. He tells Jaguars to eat humans and "animals" inhabiting the forest. Initially, Tapir did not grasp his assigned obligation and is then instructed to eat leaves and fruit. Having finally created Anteaters, Kanurukre is so tired, he more or less fails. This is why it is an Anteater is unsuccessful, incomplete animal. However, after finding out Jaguar had killed many humans, these culture heroes tried to punish them by drowning. The fact that a number of Jaguars are able to escape explains why they also live in water. Story no. 344 (see the above section entitled *Duck and Snake*) deals with the origins of both Jaguars and Ducks. In this narrative sentient beings residing at a river, including a fisherman, transform into Ducks, while a basket transforms into a Jaguar. In Story no. 16 (Warao), Jaguar opposes the protagonist Haburi whom, among others, Duck helps by stealing a boat.

Monkey and Duck

In Story nos. 623 and 648 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Duck opposes the deity by abducting his wife. Monkey assists this deity with getting her back. In Story no. 344 (also discussed in the aforementioned sections entitled *Duck and Snake* and *Jaguar and Duck*) describes how a Monkey originates during the same event during which disobedient servants, who are sent to fetch the night, transmute into Monkeys.

Vulture and Duck

In Story no. 140 (language unknown) which stems from the Rio Negro region (Colombia), Duck is married to one of King Vulture's daughters. Duck's mother-in-law dislikes him as she regards him lazy. In the end Duck sets fire to his parents-in-law. In Story no. 648 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), King vulture sends off Duck to abduct the deity's wife. In a second version of Story no. 623 (Sikuani), King Vulture and Duck both try to abduct the deity's wife.

[19] Purnamininái*li*, abbreviated "Purna", is the name of the creator encountered in the Guajiboan narratives.

With whom are Shorebirds and waders associated?

These “birds” co-occur with Birds (in general) on nine occasions, in five cases with Parrot-like birds, in six with Alligator, in five with Snake and in four with Fish/Eel. As to the Shorebirds and waders, a direct relation with the natural habitat apparently exists. For instance, Fish as a natural food source, and Alligator and Snake as natural predators.

Alligator and Shorebirds

In Story no. 651 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), both an Alligator and a Heron act as helpers of the female protagonist: a Heron hides her and Alligator assists her to cross a river seated on its back. In Story no. 563, Apinayé, Gê), the Crocodile is insulted while carrying a man across a body of, but he escapes, again concealed by a Heron. Very similarly, in Story no. 157 (Tembé, Tupian), again Alligator pretends to wish to help a man. At midstream, Alligator wishes to be insulted, which the man refuses to do, after which he is chased, almost killed and once again hides inside a Heron’s beak.

Snake and Shorebirds

In a Yuracare version of the Twin/culture heroes (see Story no. 185; isolate), the protagonists call upon a Stork to slay the malicious Snake that has killed all Amerindians. Interestingly, Story no. 162 (Arawakan) mentions an Agami “bird” couple (heron, *Agami agami*) which produces offspring comprising two human children (i.e., Pleiades and Pino). The male child has snake-shaped stars on his forehead, likes shooting birds and kills his father as well as the shaman. After a large Serpent murders his mother, he takes her to Heaven where they transform into Pino, the Great Serpent constellation. His sister turns into the Pleiades.

Fish/Eel and Shorebirds

In Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê), devastating Fish-men having devoured all the male spouses set off in search of their wives. One woman escapes to be helped by a Heron who hides her and her child inside its beak. In the same narrative, an Alligator and an eel refuse her assistance because “she wasn’t willing”.

Story no. 563 (Apinayé, Gê) explicitly refers to Heron hiding a man in a basket full of Fish (Heron’s basket is its beak, see 3.4.1). The same reference is found in Story no. 157 (Tupian; Tembé). Again a Heron conceals the protagonist in its beak along with four fish. Story no. 661 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) states that Heron catches Fish and acts as helper, but fails in attempt to catch a large Fish holding a man in its stomach. These two narratives also explain that Fish stem from Eel bones. Story no. 121 (Arawakan) also deals with the origin of various species. In this tale, a pot filled with cassava beer (*cassiri**) is spilled. Once the streaming liquor had turned into a river and creeks, batatas crept out of the ground as toads do. Moreover, peppers transmuted into scarlet ibises and flamingos, cotton into white herons, silk grass into blue herons. Rays and devil fish became ponds and pools. In Story no. 270 (unknown, from Amazonia), an Egret-woman without a vagina gives birth to Fish.

All kinds of metaphors are explained in Story no. 538 (Warao). When we read “simulate a snake”, this means “to catch a Hoku fish with line and bait”. And, “to crack the legs of a brown Heron” means “to collect food stuffs and go hunting.”

Birds of prey and Buzzard

Although Birds of prey and Buzzard are not listed in the aforementioned “Top 5”, several references are worth mentioning here. In four cases the hunting skills of Shorebirds and waders are compared to those of Birds of prey. In two Cuiva (Guajiboan, Story nos. 587-8) versions, Heron is depicted as an unsuccessful hunter. His wife leaves him for Osprey (Story no. 588) or Hawk (Story no. 587) because these two successful predators supply her with delicious Fish. In Story no. 661 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a large Fish devours the son of culture hero named Purna who next sends “birds” off to catch that Fish. Various Herons catch small Fish but River Hawk returns with the Fish that has his son inside it.

In Story no. 567 (Krahô Gê), Buzzards and Hawks request a Heron, among other “birds”, to remove an Ant from a ill male’s ear. Thanks to its strong beak, only Heron succeeds in doing so. The Buzzards and Hawks feed on the pus.

With whom is Hummingbird associated?

Hummingbirds generally speaking co-occur with other “birds” (Birds of prey, Birds in general and Scavenger birds) as well as with Ants (n=7) and Monkeys (n=5). For a description of Hummingbirds being associated with Birds of prey, see section B3 and for Ants section F of this Appendix. Studying all five cases featuring Monkeys and Hummingbirds, they do not directly interact nor seem to be mutually linked.

Scavenger birds and Hummingbird

These “birds” are intertwined within the shamanic realm, but do not always interact directly (see Story nos. 189, 348, 565-7; Cariban, 4x Gê). In the latter three (Gê) narratives, Hummingbird removes an Ant from an ill male’s ear. In Story nos. 566 (Ramkokamekra-Canela) and 567 (Krahô), Hummingbird performs this act on request of Buzzard. In Story no. 565 (Apinayé), after removing the Ant, a Flesh Fly calls upon Scavenger birds who then accompany the sick man to the sky world.

With whom is Woodpecker associated?

Woodpecker is not only related to other “birds” (Birds in general, Vulture and Parrot-like), it also co-occurs with Caiman/Alligator in nine and with Ant in six narratives. The inter-relatedness between Vultures and Ants results from its links to shamanic practices and will be elaborated upon in section F.

Caiman/Alligator and Woodpecker

Caiman and Woodpecker are encountered in Story nos. 78, 314-5, 422 (Arawakan, 2x Matacoan, Cariban). Alligator features in Story nos. 69, 157, 245, 653, 1096 (2x Cariban, Tupian, Gê, Guajiboan).

In Story no. 78 (Arawakan) men are created from Caiman/Alligator. After stealing a man's Fish, Woodpecker is put on guard in order to protect it, without success. A "bird" named Bananenbek (Banabeki, yellow-rumped cacique, *Cacicus cela*) did warn the man on time. In other cases, Woodpecker and Caiman/Alligator are portrayed as potential assistants. In Story no. 157 (Tembé, Tupian), the protagonist requires assistance in order to cross a river. Woodpecker fails as it cannot fly in a straight line, while Caiman/Alligator pretends to help. Next, because the protagonist refuses to curse, he is almost devoured. Story no. 245 (Sherente, Gê) similarly recalls how the protagonist asks to be helped by Caiman/Alligator as he swims across a river. Having insulted the reptile, it chases after him. The protagonist reaches the shore where. Having distracted this Caiman/Alligator, a Woodpecker offers him a place to hide.

In Story nos. 314-5 (Matacoan), Sun's daughter wishes to marry Woodpecker because it is an excellent honey collector. A Fox not only attempts to mate with Woodpecker's wife but also later tries to deceive Woodpecker by imitating her. His wife returns to Sun's place where Woodpecker having killed Fox, finds her. Feeding on Alligators (*Lewoo*), Sun asks Woodpecker to hunt one down in the course of which the reptile eats Woodpecker. Sun then causes this Alligator to vomit hereby creating Woodpeckers.

In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban), Sun's catch is stolen after which Sun puts various "animals" on guard, in vain. Having placed Alligator on guard, he continues his trade and is detected by Sun. When Sun slashes him as punishment, Alligator begs to remain alive and presents his daughter to Sun. Not father to a daughter, Alligator creates a wooden child. When Woodpecker is asked for help, it chips out a vagina.

Story no. 422 (Yukpa, Cariban) describes a huge flood. A member of the Yukpa community, having declared to be a Woodpecker, then flies off in order to ascertain the extent of this natural disaster. Caiman determines the depth by throwing all kinds of "animals" into the floodwaters, which all perish. Crab establishes the depth by diving. Caiman, an excellent diver, swims to the wall to dig it out from below. As soon as other "animals" dig from above, this wall collapses.

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

As to the 49 (60 percent) Bird narratives, 53 records concern the setting: the dichotomy village vs. forest. The forest dominates this setting (in line with the general pattern: 72 percent forest). As many as 40 (75 percent) records pertaining to a forest context and only thirteen (25 percent) to a village setting have been encountered. Of the latter settings, two are set in

the garden (see Story nos. 121, 395; Arawakan, Warao). Of the forest settings, one is set in an abandoned village site and the other at a temporary hunting site.

Setting for specific Bird narratives

Considering Parrot-like narratives, the setting differs, whereby 12 out of 27 (44 percent) are set within a village context. For three narratives both a village as a forest setting are registered. Similarly, Hummingbird is characterised by means of 41 percent set within a village context (n=7), of which a single case contains records regarding both settings. As to the Shorebirds and waders, in addition to the forest and village setting, two "birds" (the Stone curlew and Bittern) are explicitly staged in a savannah setting (see Story no. 646; Guajiboan).

Setting in relation to ascribed role(s)

Within the forest context, Birds act as helper (n=17; 36 percent), opponent (n=2; 4 percent), object/goal (n=11; 23 percent), subject/actor (n=3; 6 percent), sender (n=10; 21 percent), receiver (n=4, 9 percent). Numerous narratives ascribe the Bird multiple roles. In Story no. 47 (Trio, Cariban), the Bird acts as opponent and receiver. In Story nos. 78, 99, 198, 386 and 491 (Arawakan, 3x Warao, Gê (Bororo)) as helper and as sender. In Story no. 185 (Yuracare), the Bird acts as helper and as object and in Story no. 336 (Ticuna) as object and receiver.

Within a village context, Birds act as helper (n=3; 23 percent), object/goal (n=5; 38 percent), subject/actor (n=2; 15 percent), sender (n=2; 15 percent), receiver (n=1; 8 percent). No records of Bird ascribe the role of opponent within a village context. In Story no. 395 (Warao) the Bird is also ascribed the role of subject as receiver within a village context. However, an insufficient number of records combine a role within a village setting in order to establish any significant variation with roles within the forest setting, especially as the few village records are dispersed over several roles.

In relation to the specific "birds"

Again only discrepancies have been highlighted. However, for all these specific "birds" no significant variations can be established due to the low number of records. The Parrot-like birds within a forest setting is ascribed the role of helper (n=2), subject/actor (n=2), object/goal (n=7), sender (n=4), and receiver (n=1). Within a village context, the Parrot-like birds is ascribed the role of helper (n=5), subject/actor (n=1), object/goal (n=6) sender (n=2) and receiver (n=1). The role of opponent is absent. Investigating the subdivisions pertaining to the role of object, only one record of the Parrot-like birds is the outcome of a transformation. These "birds", being objects themselves (n=7), are either hunted (n=3) or killed (n=2).

Hummingbird within forest settings is ascribed the roles of helper (n=4), opponent (n=1), subject/actor (n=1), object/goal (n=2) and sender (n=2). Within a village context, it is only ascribed the roles of helper (n=5) and sender (n=2). As a helper, the Hummingbird assists the

protagonist with a specific task/quest (n=4). Only on a single occasion does it provide goods. As an object, it is an object itself (n=2). As a sender, its information leads to subsequent actions (n=3) and introduces new things (n=1).

For Shorebirds and waders, nineteen records concern the interrelatedness between role and setting. Fifteen are set within a forest setting, and two in a savannah and two in a village setting. In a forest setting, Shorebirds and waders are ascribed the roles of helper (n=5), object/goal (n=5), opponent (n=1) and twice as subject/actor and sender. Within a village setting, the "bird" is ascribed the role of sender, for the Shorebird introduces new things which Amerindians want for themselves. As a helper, it supports the protagonist with a task. Within the Savannah context, the "birds" are the result of a transformation (object), because a brother and sister repeatedly visit the savannah before transmuting into a Bittern and a Stone Curlew.

As to Woodpeckers, 33 records are based on thirteen narratives. In a forest setting, Woodpeckers are even more likely to be ascribed the role of helper than Birds in general (n=13; 48 percent) and less the role of opponent (n=1; 4 percent). Within a forest setting, Woodpecker is also ascribed the roles of object/goal (n=5), sender (n=3) and subject/actor (n=5). Within a village context, Woodpeckers are ascribed the roles of object/goal (it is an object goal itself, n=3), subject (n=2) and helper (n=1).

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

Cosmic layer

Considering the Bird narratives, the cosmic sky layer is by far the most dominant (n=26; 76 percent). Other cosmic layers in which the "Bird" personage (s) are set comprise land/ mountain (n=1; 3 percent) and water (n=7; 21 percent). Woodpecker and Hummingbird both reveal a very similar distribution of cosmic layers in which they are set.

The other specific "birds" display a certain variation in cosmic layers. Interestingly, as to the Parrot-like birds, one record concerns the underworld (see Story no. 681; Guajiboan) and four records (25 percent) concern a land setting, of which two are specified to a moriche palm grove.

The Ducks are more often set in the water layer (n=7; 70 percent) and land (n=2; 20 percent). Shorebirds and waders disclose a preference for both Water (n=9; 41 percent) and sky (n=11; 50 percent). One record concerns the *axis mundi* and one a mountain (land) setting.

In general, the land setting is the most common to be encountered in the narratological content, followed by sky and water. Apparently, as to Birds, the cosmic sky layer prevails, with a shift towards the water layer for aquatic "birds" (e.g., Ducks, Shorebirds and waders). Within the narratological context, there is thus a direct link between the preferred natural habitat of

these aquatic “birds” and the cosmic layer it is positioned in. This assessment could also explain why Parrot-like birds are more placed in a land setting, as they are kept as pets in the villages.

When combining the specific role of the “Bird” personage and the cosmic layer it is set in, a clear correlation between the two can ostensibly not be established. In the sky world, Birds act not only as helper (n=9), opponent (n=3), object/goal (n=5) and subject/actor (n=2) but also as a sender (n=4) and receiver (n=2). Within the water context, however, records of most roles are recorded. Only the roles of opponent and receiver are absent.

Temporal setting of Bird narratives

As to the temporal settings, four records concern day, four pertain to sunrise and five to a nocturnal setting. Story no. 657 (Guajiboan) displays a record on a day and a nocturnal setting. Notably many records concern sunrise (n=4; 31 percent against 7 percent regarding sunrise/sunset settings in general). This phenomenon can be explained as Birds become active at dusk and are subsequently associated with this temporal setting. However, the percentages are obscured as a result of the low number of records. As to specific “birds”, the records are inconclusive: only five or less records on temporal settings exist.

Sub-conclusion: fabula-layer of Bird narratives

Based on the 81 narratives featuring Birds, an image appears of helpful beings that act as messengers, guards and/or providers of goods of both shamans and Amerindian protagonists, placed in a more secular setting (e.g., as a guardian, messenger in a village setting, or as advisor on a fishing trip, or as provider of beverages). Birds also appear as the embodiments of spirits or souls. These stories often contain an explanatory component concerning the origin of things and mankind, including the discovery of the land layer as well as the event leading to the differentiation of species.

The spatial status in which Birds act within the narratives is a forest setting and the sky layer is most common. The preferred natural habitat of a specific “bird” is apparently linked to the narratological context. Thus aquatic “birds” are more likely to be framed in a water setting, whereas “birds” are kept pets in a land setting. Although the night dominates the temporal setting, records of sunrise/sunset are also encountered. Various birds “announce” the day/night-time. Therefore, this temporal setting is perhaps to be expected.

In 68 narratives (i.e., 84 percent), Birds co-occur with other “animal” personages. The most recurrent hereof are Snakes (n=14), Scavenger bird/Vulture (n=11), Jaguar (n=9), Woodpecker and Monkey (n=9). In sections B1 and B2, the supposed interrelatedness between these personages is addressed.

Sub-conclusion on specific “birds”

Parrot-like birds

Parrot-like birds are also depicted as helpful “birds”. In addition to the ascribed role of helper, they are even more frequently ascribed the role of object/goal. This is the outcome of the fact that the eggs of these “birds”, as well as the “birds” themselves, are hunted for food or to keep/raise them as pets. They are even portrayed as wives. Parrot-like birds are set within a village context in the cosmic land layer. Two records specify the spatial setting to a moriche palm grove scenery.

Parrot-like “birds” are associated with (presumably) the Master of certain Food or Drinks. These “birds” contribute to a shamanic as well as to a more mundane setting. Investigating with which creatures Parrot-like birds are associated, they apparently co-occur with Jaguars and other “birds”, i.e., Scavenger birds, Birds of prey, Shorebirds and waders, and Birds in general. They also co-occur in four narratives which include Caiman/Alligator, Frog and Toad.

Duck

Ducks, again as a helpful “bird”, are placed in a water setting. As a helper, Ducks assist Amerindians to cross bodies of water, teach art and handicrafts or act as healers. Numerous motifs are associated, for example, with the origin of canoes or with boats serving as a means to escape. Ducks are explicitly described as boat owners. This interrelatedness between Ducks and boats may best be illustrated by Story no. 334 (Tupian) in which a boat transforms into a Duck.

Research on with whom Ducks are associated indicates that Ducks are not as often linked to other “birds”, as is the case with most other (specific) “birds”. Ducks only co-occur with Vulture on four occasions, but Jaguar and Snake both co-occur in a large number of narratives. In addition, Monkey (n=4) and Fox (n=3) may be interrelated to Duck as a personage.

Shorebirds and waders

Shorebirds and waders are placed in a water or sky setting and again mainly portrayed as helpful “birds” (both in a shamanic and more a mundane setting). Notably, in three instances, these “birds” are explicitly described as *not* being a good hunter/fisher. The beaks of these “birds” are a physical feature and repeatedly documented as a motif. Shorebirds and waders utilise their beaks to hide people in. References are made to the nature of these beaks as being either strong or weak. In the iconography of Shorebirds and waders, beaks are also an identifiable feature of these “birds”.

Shorebirds and waders are also linked to the shamanic realm because they are related to the origin of important cultural goods (e.g., cultivated plants, fish poison, arrows, the earthenware pot named Mika, but also as helpers of shamans and as containers, i.e., Masters, of Water,

Rain or Storm. In the narratives, Shorebirds and waders co-occur with Birds, Caiman/Alligator, Snake, Parrot-like, Fish and repeatedly compared to Birds of prey, which are better fishers.

Hummingbird

Being a helpful "bird" the Hummingbird not only serves as a messenger, advisor, acts but also as a healer and a guard or a guide accompanying a man who has lost his way back to his house. In addition to its ascribed role of helper, it is also often encountered as a sender.

In general, the more positive associations prevail: Hummingbirds are characterized as clever, brave and hard working. Although only one record of a Hummingbird demonstrating shamanic power (see Story no. 402; Cariban) is registered. Apparently, a proof of relatedness between Hummingbirds and shamanic practice is observed here. In this case, the Hummingbird itself forms part of a cure. Moreover, various references link this "bird" to (the origin of) tobacco and shamanic paraphernalia. These "birds" are also associated with other important cultural gifts and know-how, e.g., fire, childbirth and the manufacture of cloth.

Woodpecker

As a helper, the Woodpecker assists the demiurge in order to create humans or a vagina. This "bird" also acts as a provider of food, rescuer, guardian or messenger. Remarkably, in three narratives, it chips out a vagina and/or helps the demiurge to create humans.

The narratives stress the Woodpecker's physical features. Its short tail and crest are mentioned once, the origin of its colour twice and its beak is described on three occasions whereby it is either too soft or too hard and/or utilised as an axe. Woodpecker is described as the Master of Axes (or Tools). A further behavioural trait referred to is the fact that it rests in flight and never flies in a straight line.

A relation with shamanic practices arises from the narratives. Five records explicitly describe Woodpecker as a transformed shaman, as an assistant of the shaman protagonist, or that the "bird" demonstrates shamanic power/abilities.

B. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Story is the second layer of narratological analysis which provides insights into the concrete manner the tale is presented to the audience. As to the "Bird" narratives, their characterization and duration will be reflected upon below.

Characterization

As established in Chapter 4, the overall most dominant mode of characterization is indirect (76 against 18 percent being direct and 6 percent analogous, see 4.3.1). Pertaining to the analysed Bird stories, 44 records on characterization are encountered for a total of 40 narratives (49 percent). Birds are characterized indirectly on 28 occasions (62 percent), directly in fifteen cases (33 percent), and analogously twice (4 percent). Two modes are

recorded with regard to four narratives. Birds are thus relatively more often directly characterized, hereby indicating a significant variation.[20]

The direct characterization, as well as the analogy, serve to describe Birds resulting in insights into how the Amerindians perceive Birds. Story no. 477 (Warao) reports that souls (of deceased Amerindians) appear in the form of a large white "Bird". Story no. 638 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) mentions that a man with an almost cut-off head transforms into a Makoko "bird" (species unknown). Story no. 629 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) explicitly describes how spirits transmute into Bujío "birds" (species unknown). Humans smell like raw meat to these "birds", so humans will be devoured by them.

Physical attributes dealt with in certain narratives. For instance, in Story no. 9 (Island Carib of Dominica, Arawakan) a man transforms into a Bird with a yellow beak and claws. In Story no. 336 (Ticuna), the "ugly feet" of a Bird-woman (species unknown) are explicitly described. By far the most direct physical reports concern (the origin of) this "bird's" beautiful plumage (see Story nos. 80, 131, 257, 260, 261-3, 480, 691; Arekuna (Cariban), Aré (unknown), Matacoan, Shipaya (Tupian-extinct), Tupian (Guarani, Munduruku), Warao, Apinayé (Gê)).

Characterization of the specific "birds"

For all the specific "birds" the preferred mode of characterization is indirect. Nevertheless, certain variations exist. Indirect characterization is the only mode of characterization registered for both Parrot-like birds and Shorebirds and waders. These "birds" are described indirectly and not, by means of an analogy. The majority of the remaining specific "birds" show no significant variations. When investigating specific "birds" the application of an analogy is absent in favour of indirect characterization.

The now succeeding paragraphs present a more detailed description of specific "birds" characterized either directly or by means of an analogy.

Ducks

In one of the ten Duck narratives for which a mode of characterization has been registered, the Duck is characterized by means of an analogy. A rock located in the middle of the river is referred to as Kaiwiri, a white-faced whistling duck.

Hummingbird

Four records on a direct characterization of the Hummingbird are observed. In Story no. 402 (Cariban), it is described and respected as the smartest of all "birds" and participates in a game in order to find out who can fly the highest and fastest. It is responsible for providing tobacco.

[20] $\chi^2(2) = 6.69$; $\rho = 0.04$ (significant).

In Story no. 79 (Warao), the Hummingbird is described as small and fast, and thus able to obtain tobacco seeds from their protector. In Story no. 29 (Trio, Cariban), this "bird" is noted as always busy. Story no. 437 (Yukpa, Cariban) includes a direct characterization based on a physical attribute of a Hummingbird, whereby the few white feathers visible under its wings signify its craftsmanship as a weaver/cloth maker. In this narrative, it teaches a woman how to weave cotton in very fast way.

Woodpeckers

Of the 30 Woodpecker narratives which record characterization, twelve are direct and two are analogous. All the others are indirect. Several direct characterizations relate to this "bird's" behaviour. Story no. 50 (Trio, Cariban) explicitly mentions that Woodpeckers (and pigeons) can rest while flying. This is the reason why they survive floods, while other creatures perish. Story no. 157 (Tembé, Tupian) reports this "bird" could not fly in a straight line with a protagonist on its back. Woodpecker is described as a well-known honey collector (see Story nos. 311-5; 2x Guaicuruan, 3x Matacoan).

A Woodpecker's physical characteristics are (directly) described. For instance, how it breaks its tail (see Story no. 480; Warao) or how it creates a head adornment consisting of red feathers for Sun (see Story no. 256; Gê). Comments on its strong beak are delivered, either directly (see Story nos. 260, 263, 463; Matacoan, Tupian, Warao) or by means of comparing analogously it to an axe (see Story nos. 306, 653; Gê, Guajiboan).

Duration

Within the field of narratology, the duration is studied by relating the real time (approached by an accumulation of pages) to the narrated time, i.e., the time as presented in the narrative itself. In general, the narratives (94 percent) fill up to 5 pages. As to the 75 records on duration, 87 percent (n=66) fall within this short range, five records (7 percent) within the middle range (6-10 pages) and four records (5 percent) within the long range covering 11 or more pages.

Looking into the narrated time, it falls line with the general distribution, revealing no significant variation.[21] As much as 48 percent (n=36) cover a narrated time of either months or years. In general, this volume amounts to 42 percent. Ten narratives cover a narrated time of weeks, see 4.3.2). The real time, as well as the narrated time, are thus rather long, indicating a slightly more epic nature.

Sub-conclusions as to the story-layer

Most Birds are described as helpers, assist the protagonists, give directions/advice or provide goods. The Bird personage is on occasion characterized by means of its behavioural and/or

[21] $\chi^2(2) = 1.14$; $\rho = 0.57$ (not significant); the narrated time of Bird narratives is in line with the general (i.e., expected) pattern. The Chi-squared test is not applicable when researching the variation in real time because the few records on narratives covering more than 5 pages lead to very low expected values.

physical attributes either through an analogy or directly. The colouration of the Bird's feathers or head is repeatedly described. The shape and strength of its beak and talons (if present) are explicated, too. These features may well be portrayed in the case of Birds in general and with specific "birds".

Behavioural qualities described in the narratives concern, for instance, the way the Bird flies or its vocalisation (song vs. cry) as well as specific qualities such as being the Owner of Tobacco (Hummingbird) or, in the case of Woodpecker, being able to cut through rocks with its beak and to collect honey.

In the following sections (B1 and B2), the 81 "Bird" narratives have been categorised on the basis of their motifs. This clustering rests on the most common themes and motifs as established in this section. The specific "birds" are not further clustered in order to limit the present research. Moreover, such a classification would presumably not lead to any more in-depth knowledge and understanding of the roles these "birds" play within the narratives. For a separate discussion of these specific "birds", see Chapter 6, section 6.2.

In addition to the various clusters comprising Bird narratives, three categories of "birds" are dealt with treated as a separate cluster, to wit, Birds of prey (section B3), Scavenger birds (section B4) and Nocturnal birds (section B5). The narratives featuring these "birds" are separately clustered because they are identified in iconographical records (see 5.1). Narratives concerning these "birds" are both numerous and, as will be shown, avian personage(s) play significant roles.

B1. Helpful Birds

As has been established (see B. Fabula-layer), helpful Birds is a common motif which is recorded in 37 cases (46 percent). Within this group, three main themes are identified: (a) Bird as a messenger, advisor and speaker of the truth, (b) Bird as the provider of goods, and (c) Bird as an assistant responsible for carrying out specific tasks. These three themes combined number 30 narratives. In order to provide the reader with an impression of these themes, three summaries are presented, one for each theme.

Bird as a messenger, advisor and speaker of the truth (n=10)

> Long ago there was a village near a river. Bird always warned the villagers of a stranger's arrival. In this village lived a happy family: father, mother and two daughters. The eldest daughter never left her mother's side. When her mother fell ill and died, the daughter was inconsolable. The eldest daughter saw her mother's footstep one day and she cried. Bird asked her what was wrong and she told it how her mother had died. Bird told her it could help and asked the daughter to make a basket. Having done so, Bird told her to get into the basket. Bird then flew off with the basket to take the girl to Heaven. Here, mother and daughter met, but when Tamusi saw the girl, he sent her back. [Story no. 415 (Cariban) abridged]

All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 2, 34, 78, 102, 132, 145, 170, 185, 198, 408, 415, 448, 491, 657; Wayana (Cariban), 4x Cariban, 2x Arawakan, Taulipang (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian), Yuracare, Bororo (Gê), 2x Warao, Sikuani (Guajiboan).

Bird as the provider of goods (n=8)

> In a village lived a man, Kanaimio, who always had a solution to everything. A little Bird brought him tobacco seeds. Many years later the same man received a pipe from the same Bird. One morning Kanaimio left his house setting off on a walk which lasted many years. Tired and exhausted, he rested against a huge tree and fell asleep. Suddenly a Tansie grandfather asked him: "Why are you here, what do you want?" As he sounded angry, Kanaimio ran away, fell and started running again. Tansie grabs Kanaimio's legs and they struggle. Then Kanaimio looks into Tansie's gentle eyes, who cries and tells the man: "Grandson, you are in the village of your ancestors. They once lived and died here. The tree against which you fell asleep is called … ". At that moment Kanaimio woke up to find bosoeremarie and a pipe. He returns home with the two gifts. Later he discovers how to use them: oeremarie as cigarette paper. The pipe the Carib lost. [Story no. 417 (Cariban); abridged]

All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 121, 133, 170, 182, 247, 336, 347, 417; Arawakan, Taulipang (Cariban), Chané (Arawakan), Chimane (Mosetenan), Bororo (Gê), Mapudungun (Araucanian), Ticuna, Cariban.

Helper with task (n=8)

> Kuwai, the culture hero, carved a woman out of the trunk of a wahokahu tree. Koneko the Bird creates her vagina. She is a beautiful woman and Kuwai lived very happily until one day a spirit (or Boa) carries her off. Kuwai sits down on a branch and weeps. [Story no. 324 (Cubeo, Tucanoan); abridged]

All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 99, 158, 280, 324, 348, 386, 463, 497; 3x Warao, Tembé (Tupian), Matacoan, Cubeo (Tucanoan), Yabarana (Cariban), Warao/Cariban.

B1. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

The narratives of this sub-cluster consist of basically the same events whereby the protagonist is: (a) in distress or in need of help, either consciously or not, (b) requests help from Bird(s), and (c) visited assisted by Bird(s) who assist, spy, advise, warns, and/or provides a "gift". If their advice is followed or warnings addressed, the challenge is overcome and order restored. If their advice or warnings are ignored, then evil/bad luck befalls a protagonist.

The most common motifs are: (a) the helpful "animal/bird", n[22]30; (b) tasks and/or quests, n=17; (c) the origin of things and/or characteristics, n=17; (d) culture hero(es), n=12; (e) transformations, n=11; and (f) family affaires, n=9.

Helpful Bird

Not surprisingly in a cluster of "Helpful Birds", all narratives include motifs regarding helpful "animals/birds", whereby not only helpful Birds but also other "animals", e.g., a helpful Frog (Story no. 2), Jaguar (Story no. 185; Yuracare, Isolate) and Otter (Story no. 198; Bororo, Gê) are referred to. Other motifs provide insight into how these "animals" are of assistance: Birds carry individuals to the upperworld (Story no. 415; Cariban), or provide wings allowing the protagonist to fly (Story no. 182). In Story no. 182 (Chimane, Mosetenan), the creator receives feathers from Bird (named Kena) for he wishes to (re)visit the earth. This Bird taught him how to fly.

Specific gifts that Birds provide include tobacco and wine/*cassiri**. In three narratives, Bird is Owner/provider of a certain type of Beverage. In Story no. 336 (Ticuna), an Arapaço (species unknown) "bird" provides the protagonist with a gourd field containing *bacaba* palm wine and a Macaw-woman prepares maize beer. In Story no. 121 (Arawakan), Bird prepares a large pot full of *cassiri**. In Story no. 247 (Bororo, Gê), Aquatic Birds store water in large heavy pots.

Birds also advise or direct a man on his journey. Both Bird and other "animal" actors are linked to specific motifs regarding their helpful nature: provide shelter, signal warnings and/or teach arts and handicrafts (Story nos. 2, 170, 182, 185, 336, 448; Wayana (Cariban), Chané (Arawakan), Mosetenan, Yuracare, Ticuna, Warao). Most common and also reason for this cluster is: the motif "Birds as messenger" (Story nos. 2, 102, 132, 198, 408, 415, 448; Cariban (Wayana, Taulipang), 2x Carib), Bororo (Gê), Warao).

Tasks and quests

Motifs pertaining to tasks and quests are also repeatedly recorded and often related to helpful Birds, the former category of motifs. The motif "Task: capturing animal" is documented in Story nos. 2, 185, 408 (Wayana (Cariban), Yuracare (Isolate), Cariban). A quest for vengeance occurs in Story nos. 198 and 408 (Bororo (Gê), Cariban). The task of carving a vagina for a wooden maiden or woman recurs in Story nos. 99, 324 and 386 (Warao, Cubeo (Tucanoan), Warao/Cariban). For other tasks concerning spying, see Story no. 198; Bororo (Gê). And, for killing or scaring a dangerous snake, see Story nos. 185, 497 (Yuracare, Warao). For more specific tasks: emptying a well with an open basket, growing back trees after a world-wide fire, moving up the sky or returning Sun into his basket, see Story nos. 158, 280, 348, 463 (Tembé (Tupian), Matacoan, Yabarana (Cariban), Warao) respectively. Quests related to Birds deal with a quest for a home or a wife (see Story nos. 170, 366; Chané (Arawakan), Ticuna)

[22] See p. 5, note 5.

respectively. For the quest for the world's end or for other worlds, see Story nos. 102 and 182 (Cariban, Mosetenan).

Origin of things and/or characteristics

For thirteen narratives, motifs regarding the origin of things and/or "animal" traits are identified. The origin of a constellation (or star) is addressed in Story nos. 2, 102 and 132; Cariban (Wayana, Taulipang) as is the origin of night (see Story nos. 158, 348; Tembé (Tupian), Yabarana (Cariban). Story nos. 99, 170 and 185 (Warao, Chané (Arawakan), Yuracare) dwell upon the origin of mankind, of men or on the dissemination of a tribe. Motifs also explain or describe the origin of tobacco, *kumi* (Story nos. 133, 417), maize (Story no. 133), rivers, creeks (Story nos. 182, 121). More specific motifs concern a religious ceremony (Story no. 2; Wayana, Cariban), the origin or nature of an animal's traits, e.g., smell and vocalisation (Story nos. 2, 121, 280, 336) or fire (Story nos. 2, 170; Wayana (Cariban), Chané (Arawakan)).

Family ties and culture heroes

The fourth cluster of motifs entitled "Family ties" catches the attention, for it is not part of the "Top 15" (see 4.2.1). The presence of these motifs ostensibly places the "Bird" personage (literally) within a familiar context. These motifs include: receiving assistance from grandmother (Story no. 2; Wayana, Cariban), from husband and wife (Story nos. 132-3, 185, 198; 2x Taulipang (Cariban), Yuracare, Bororo (Gê)) and from mother and son (Story no. 2; Wayana, Cariban) or siblings (Story nos. 132-3, 185; 2x Taulipang (Cariban), Yuracare), or a disapproving mother-in-law (Story no. 336; Ticuna).

Motifs linked to culture hero(es) also frequently occur. They inform us on how they are born, reared or nursed and their adventures (Story nos. 2, 182, 185, 336; Wayana (Cariban), Mosetenan, Yuracare, Ticuna). A number of these narratives not only deal with family ties but also dwell upon the deeds of culture heroes, e.g., ascending to Heaven (Story nos. 102, 132; Cariban (1x Taulipang)), killing his sister's Snake son (Story no. 448; Warao) and the lonely culture hero (Story no. 185; Yuracare). Birds often assist the culture hero(es) or the demiurges.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished here:

(a) Helper: Birds, Hares, Worms, Dragonflies, Toads, Jaguars, Otters and Storks who take on the role of assistant;
(b) Opponent: Jaguar (n=2), Deer, Fish, Owl, Turtle and Snake, Amerindians and the creator (including Sun/Moon) are actant as opponents;
(c) Subject/actor: Amerindian protagonists and the helpers who also act as subjects;
(d) Object/goal: "Animals" which are hunted or killed, e.g., Deer, Fish, Monkey, Tapir, Snake, Otter and Jaguar. These creatures can be objects by themselves. In Story no. 182 (Chimane), a shaman plays with Crickets and sits down on a Snake. In Story no. 336 (Ticuna), the protagonist applies the jaw of a Piranha in order to scratch. In that same narrative, the protagonist has various "animals" as wives/paramours, for instance, a Bird-,

Macaw-, and Worm-woman. Being the result of a transformation, for example, Ant, Armadillo, Birds, Capybara, Deer, Dog, Peccary, Flamingo, Fish, Heron, Ibis and Stingray, are ascribed the object role;

(e) Sender: "Animals" ascribed the role of sender. In Story no. 415 (Cariban), Bird advises a girl to make a basket and then brings her to the upperworld. In Story nos. 185 and 198 (Yuracare, Gê), Birds are ascribed the role of sender, too. On two occasions Jaguar acts as sender as do various other "animals" in one specific case;

(f) The role of receiver is absent in most narratives.

Interrelatedness between Birds other "animal" personages

In 83 percent (n=25) of these narratives, other "animal" actors also take the stage. Various "animals" co-occur in multiple cases along with Birds. Snake is encountered in six instances with Birds (Story nos. 99, 182, 185, 324, 448, 497; 3x Warao, Chimane (Mosetenan), Yuracare, Cubeo (Tucanoan)). Multiple "animals" co-occur in five cases: Jaguar (Story nos. 2, 34, 132, 185; Cariban (Wayana, Taulipang, Trio), Yuracare), Ant (Story nos. 34, 78, 185, 463; Trio (Cariban), Arawakan, Yuracare, Warao), and Nocturnal birds (Story nos. 2, 78, 158, 491, 657; Wayana (Cariban), Arawakan, Tembé (Tupian), Warao). Birds co-occur with Fish, Frog and Vulture in four cases. In total, eighteen tales are encountered in which multiple "animals/birds" either act or are mentioned, amounting up to seven "animals/birds" in Story no. 185: Ant, Jaguar, Monkey, Paca, Chicken, Snake and Stork.

In most narratives, there is no direct interaction between Bird and the other "animal/bird" personages. In the aforementioned Story no. 121, Bird having prepared a large pot of cassava beer (*cassiri*), asks a child to watch it and not to spill it. Turtle urges the child to throw down the pot, which results in the origin of various species. Turtle opposes Bird in this particular narrative.

In the aforementioned Story no. 497, protagonists asks various "birds" for assistance, but only the Barcova, a snake-eating "bird", was able to scare off the Serpent. In Story no. 158 (Tembé, Tupian), all Birds help to push the sky upwards, but because Bat refuses to do so, this species now sleeps upside down. Story no. 348 (Yabarana, Cariban) explains how the Sun (i.e., the Sun bird) escapes. After the subsequent catastrophe, a Conote bird (which resembles Woodpecker) is sent to fetch to the Sun. Having found it, this "bird" throws it down to the earth with help of a tuft of woolly cloud. White Monkey receives the parcel to place the Sun back into its cage.

However, the most dominant interrelatedness between Birds and other personages is based on Birds informing on them. The Birds repeatedly provide information on the Amerindian protagonist with regard to what the other personages had done (e.g., Birds tell the protagonists (Twin) that their Jaguar "mother" ate their birth mother (see Story no. 2; Wayana, Cariban), Otters, or Cayman are advised to catch Fish and not their wives, or the

protagonist is told that “grandmother” stole his fish (see Story nos. 2, 78, 198; Wayana, Arawakan, Bororo (Gê)). In Story no. 408 (Cariban), Bird informs an elderly woman, who had set off on a fishing trip, of the gossip and news originating from the “animal” world. Bird also warns her that although she normally would catch many fish, a large Fish will devour her on that day.

There is evidently no interrelatedness between Birds any other “animal” personages, merely with the Amerindian protagonist. Birds come to his/her help. Its only relatedness to other actors (mainly in the role of opponents) is by telling on them and betraying their deeds.

Setting

As to records (n=19) on a village or forest setting, only three hereof feature a village (including field/ garden), whereas sixteen (84 percent) are set in a forest. The cosmic layers indicate a preference for sky (n=12) and land (n=6). The fact that the Bird personage repeatedly comes to the protagonist’s help in a forest, i.e., a land setting can explain the land setting. As to the single record of water (Story no. 274; Quechua), the water setting is linked to aquatic “birds”. The cosmic layer related to the sky is documented for this narrative, too. In Story nos. 198 and 448 (Gê, Warao), the Bird personage spies near a waterside in order to find out who steals the fish, or to warn of approaching danger. Here the Bird itself is positioned in a land setting. Only three records on temporal setting exist. Although not explicated in the narratives themselves the events unfold during the daytime, while the Amerindian protagonist is active in the forest.

B1. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

All but one record concerns indirect characterization. Here, in Story no. 336 (Ticuna), the Arapaço “bird” (wood creeper, *Nasica* sp.) is characterized directly: it transforms into a very pretty woman, but her feet are unattractive. The indirect mode of characterization is overall preferred (see section B1. Story-layer).

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between the narrated time within the narrative itself and the real time (approached by the number of pages). In total, 25 records on duration are registered.[23]

When compared with Birds in general, these narratives have a longer narrated time, whereby 72 percent (n=18) has a narrated time of either months or years (Birds in general: 48 percent). Narratives with a short (shorter than a day or a couple of days) narrated time number only

[23] There are actually 26 records, as two records (sources) pertain to Story no. 102. However, since both the real time and the narrated time are the same, in the analysis it is considered a single record. As the number of records on duration is low, this double record would obscure the analysis even more.

six.[24] In line with the general pattern of "Bird" narratives, the short range (n=21, 84 percent against 87 percent in general) dominates the real time. Three narratives fall within the middle range (up to 10 pages) and one in the long range, numbering 11 or more pages.

B1. Concluding remarks on "Helpful Birds"

In this sub-cluster regarding helpful Birds, the Bird actor plays a (minor) role within the unfolding narrative as a performer of tasks, an advisor, a messenger of the protagonist, or as a provider of goods or gifts. These "birds" are indirectly characterized and primarily placed a forest (land) or sky setting. As a messenger, advisor or provider, the "birds" take on a catalysing function, providing the Amerindian protagonists with the knowledge to proceed with their deeds.

As Bird only fulfils a minor role, most narratives include other "animal" personages as well as an Amerindian protagonist. Moreover, as most cases describe how the Bird(s) help an Amerindian protagonist caught up in "family affairs" (i.e., concerning an adulterous wife, a thievish mother-in-law, quarrelling siblings/culture heroes). Serving as a guardian and a messenger, Birds are portrayed as a likely friend and helper of Amerindians.

The most common gifts Birds provide are their feathers and a type of beverage (e.g., maize beer, water, palm wine). Noteworthy is that in Story no. 385 (Waiwai, Cariban), an Anaconda presents men with bird feathers and teaches men the purpose of plumage. Story no. 591 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) describes how Spider makes clothes for white people from these feathers. When the Cuiva die and turn white, Spider also makes their clothes. The various tasks Birds perform may vary, but they include giving protection, spying as well as more specific tasks such as regrowing trees, moving the sky upwards and carving a vagina into a wooden woman.

The prevailing narrative functions for these tales are: (a) validating the world (n=42), which is in turn dominated by the sub-category "why things are as they are" and by the explanation of "animal" traits, and (b) encoding social behaviour (n=34) primarily by exhibiting (in)correct behaviour. The third most common narrated function is informing, e.g., on which food (not) to eat and how specific tasks are to be carried out (n=25). Eleven cases also contain elements of identity as a narrative function and six include the function ensuring knowledge.

[24] $\chi^2(1) = 5.77$, $\rho = 0.016$ (significant). For this Chi-squared test, the categories referred to as short and middle ranged (shorter than a day up to several weeks) have been combined in order to meet with the criteria of this test hereby indicating that the narratives in this sub-cluster are significantly longer than if compared to Bird narratives in general.

B2. Origin of Bird colouration

The most popular motif pertaining to Bird narration comprises "The origin of things". Among this cluster of motifs, "The origin of Bird traits" is most dominant and specifically the cause of Bird colouration. In this paragraph, all fourteen cases with this (or related) motifs are analysed.[25] An example hereof is:

> There once lived a gigantic Water boa, with beautiful scales. As all Birds and humans feared this Snake, they agreed to kill it, deciding that the one who was successful could have its skin. Cormorant shot an arrow with a rope into the Snake's neck and wrapped the other end around a tree; all Birds helped it to move the Snake. Therefore, these helpful Birds were allowed to keep the piece of skin they had carried/lifted. This is how Birds acquired their beautiful feathers. [Story no. 80 (unknown source); abridged]

In this sub-category, Story nos. 29, 193 and 596-7 are included although they do not feature a Bird personage. These tales are added here because the motif "Origin of the colouration of a bird" is recorded which is for example linked to a specific "bird" such as Vulture.

B2. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These abovementioned narratives consist of basically the same events whereby: (a): the protagonist is in distress and needs help, (b) "birds" and/or "animals" come to assist or perform a certain task, (c) their undertaking action results in "animal" traits (a bird's colouration, the shape of its beak), either a form of punishment or a reward, and (d) order is restored. A number of narratives differ in structure, as the protagonist acts here like a certain "animal" or "bird" to then transform into one. For instance, the Owners of black and blue Hammocks, who prefer rotten and malodourous food, turn into Vultures.

The most common motifs encountered in the fourteen narratives pertain to: (a) the origin of things and/or characteristics, n[26]14; (b) the helpful "animal/bird", n=10; (c) tasks and/or quests, n=10; (d) punishments, n=6, and (e) transformations, n=6. The motifs correlating all narratives in this sub-category all concern (the origin) of a "bird's" colouration. Hence, they are part of the motifs regarding the origin of things and/or "animal" traits. The motif "Origin of the colouration of a bird" is recorded for Story nos. 29, 80, 131, 193, 257, 260-3, 480, 496 and 691 (various). In certain cases a more detailed motif has also been recorded, such as the origin of the colouration of Woodpecker (see Story nos. 260, 496; Matacoan, Warao). Or, the motif "Why Vulture is black" (see Story nos. 260, 480, 596-7; Matacoan, Warao, 2x Cuiva (Guajiboan)). Other (physical) "animal/bird" traits encountered as motifs are: Why an "animal" has a short tail (See Story no. 480; Warao). More generalised motifs regarding the

[25] All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 29, 80, 131, 193, 257, 260-3, 480, 496, 596-7 and 691 (Trio (Cariban), unknown, Arekuna (Cariban), 2x Apinayé (Gê), Aré (unknown), Matacoan, Shipaya (Tupian-extinct), Guarani (Tupian), Munduruku (Tupian), 2x Warao, 2x Cuiva (Guajiboan)).
[26] See p. 5, note 5.

origin and nature of a “bird’s” beak or talons feature in Story nos. 29, 260, 263, 480; Trio (Cariban), Matacoan, Munduruku (Tupian), Warao). Motifs associated with the creation of “animals/birds” themselves (e.g., Vultures) by means of transformation (see Story nos. 596-7; Cuiva, Guajiboan) have been added to this category.

Motifs that partly explain the origin of “animals” or of “animal” traits, for instance, the appearance of an “animal/bird” is either the result of marking or of painting (see Story nos. 262-3; Parintintin, Munduruku (Tupian)). Or, the “animal/bird” obtains its traits as a reward (see Story nos. 80, 131; unknown, Arekuna (Cariban). In Story no. 80 (unknown), Birds acquire their beautiful plumage, having been allowed to keep a piece of Water boa skin with beautiful scales after helping to kill it.

The majority of motifs concerning the Origin of things and/or “animal” characteristics are directly or indirectly related to “animal/bird” traits. However, other motifs related to origin do occur. Two narratives contain motifs on the origin of fire/cooking (see Story nos. 193, 691; 2x Apinayé, Gê). Story no. 691 deals with the origin of spinning. In Story no. 496 (Warao), men are created from wood.

The second most common motifs concern helpful “animals/birds”. In Story no. 29 (Trio), (specific) “birds” act as assistants to the creator or to culture heroes, such as Orion. In another narrative (Story no. 260, Matacoan), Birds assist the Trickster named Tawkscwax, when all its body orifices are sealed with bee wax. The opening of “closed” body orifices is also encountered in Story nos. 480 and 496 (Warao) in which Birds (try to) open the membrane (presumably the maidenhead) of a wooden girl.

Birds help the protagonist with his test(s) and endurements in various ways (see Story nos. 80, 131, 193, 262-3; unknown, Arekuna (Cariban), Apinayé (Gê), Parintintin, Munduruku (Tupian)). Here other “animals/birds” also act as a helper: Jaguar adopts a human son and raises him (see Story nos. 193, 691 (Apinayé, Gê), Armadillo wounds Moon (see Story no. 261; Shipaya, Tupian) and Monkey, a magician, fails to rupture the wooden girl’s hymen (see Story no. 496 (Warao).

Various tasks and quests are recorded as motifs for these narratives. In three hereof the protagonist steals eggs or its young from an Eagle or Macaw (see Story nos. 193, 262, 691; 2x Apinayé (Gê), Parintintin (Tupian)). Another recurrent motif concerns a quest for taking revenge (see Story nos. 260-3; Matacoan, Tupian (Parintintin, Munduruku)). Motifs linked to the adoption of children are encountered in Story nos. 131, 193, 263, 691; Arekuna (Cariban), 2x Apinayé (Gê), Munduruku (Tupian). In Story nos. 193 and 691 (Apinayé, Gê), Jaguar adopts an Amerindian and, in Story no. 131 (Arekuna, Cariban), a Fox adopts an Amerindian son. In Story no. 263 (Munduruku, Tupian), Eagles adopt an abandoned eagle fledgling. Other task-related motifs concern capturing, killing, shooting and/or guarding (see Story nos. 29, 261,

691; Trio (Cariban), Shipaya (Tupian-extinct), Apinayé (Gê)). In Story no. 480 (Warao), Bird is asked to deflower a girl.

Motifs pertaining to the quest for revenge and punishment are interrelated. The quest for revenge may either result in the punishment of the one sought after, or even the punishment of the avenger. Two motifs in this category specify the interrelatedness between the actors involved. In one case, a son avenges his murdered mother. In Story no. 260 (Matacoan), a mother avenges her daughter who had been devoured by the Trickster by sealing all its body orifices with bee wax. The reasons for taking revenge can vary from incest (see Story no. 261; Shipaya, Tupian), to unkindness and/or evil/bad behaviour (see Story nos. 193, 691; Apinayé, Gê). Death is the most recurrent outcome of taking such revenge (see Story nos. 131, 263; Apinayé (Gê), Munduruku (Tupian)) followed by mutilation and abandonment (see Story nos. 260, 691; Matacoan, Apinayé (Gê)).

Three motifs are recorded of a man transforming into a Bird or Vulture (see Story nos. 262, 596-7; Parintintin (Tupian), 2x Cuiva (Guajiboan)). In Story no. 261 (Shipaya, Tupian), a man transmutes into a Tapir.

Actors

The following Greimas's actantial roles can be distinguished in abovementioned narratives:

(a) Helper: The most recurrent assistants are "birds", which comprise various specific "birds", but also others: Birds (n=2), Falcon, Eagle, Fox, Hare, Jaguar, Monkey, Vulture, Woodpecker (n=2). They either provide food (Birds (n=3), Frog, Jaguar (n=2) or help the protagonist with his task/quest (Ara, Armadillo, Birds (n=6), Cormorant, Dragonfly, Eagle, Hummingbird, Jaguar, Nightingale, Nightjar, Peccary, Tapir (n=2), Vulture, Wild boar, Woodpecker (n=3), (Wood)worm (n=2)). In Story nos. 193 and 263 (Gê, Tupian). Bird, toucan and *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.) are deemed unsuitable because of weakness to render any assistance.

(b) Opponent: Parrot-like, Eagle (n=2), Jaguar, Mosquitoes, Sparrow, Turtle (n=2), Vulture, Wasp.

(c) Subject/actor: Amerindian protagonist and the helpers also act as subject.

(d) Object/goal: Various "animals/birds" are object because: (a) they are either hunted (Ara, Macaw, Eagle, Fish) or killed (Snake, Tapir, Turtle), (b) the result of a transformation (Stingray, Tapir, Ibis, Heron, Flamingo, Fish), and (c) they form an object/goal for themselves (Bee, Birds, Cricket, Eagle, Fox, Frog, Macaw, Piranha, Snake, Vulture, Worm).

(e) Sender: Various "animals/birds" are ascribed the role of sender. Acting as such in Story no. 347, Birds introduce something which humans then desire. In Story nos. 121 and 247, the Bird's advice leads to subsequent actions. Eagle, Vulture and Jaguar are ascribed this role twice and several other "animals/birds" only once.

(f) Receiver: Birds are ascribed the role of receiver (n=5), as are Crow and Frog.

Interrelatedness between Birds and other "animal" personages

This cluster consists of fourteen narratives, but only ten hereof feature Birds as actors. The remaining four cases are included because they include motif(s) concerning the origin of the colouration of a (specific) "bird". In these ten Bird narratives, in all but one, also other "animal/bird" actors are encountered. In total, Birds occur along with 25 other "animals/birds", only some of which co-occur in multiple stories and are dealt with here.

Woodpecker co-occurs with Birds in Story nos. 260, 263, 480, 496 (Matacoan, Munduruku (Tupian), 2x Warao), with Tapir in Story nos. 131, 261, 691 (Arekuna (Cariban), Shipaya (Tupian-extinct), Apinayé (Gê)), with Eagle in Story nos. 262 and 263 (Tupian; Guaraní, Munduruku), with Macaw in Story nos. 480 and 691 (Warao, Apinayé (Gê)) and with Vulture in Story nos. 496 and 691 (Warao, Apinayé (Gê)).

By and large, there is no direct interaction between the Bird personage and that of other "animals/birds". Woodpecker is explicitly mentioned as one of the "birds" that acquired its colour along with other traits. Other "animal/bird" actors are presented with their specific colours and traits in the course of the same event as Birds are: Vulture is the last to turn black (see Story no. 496; Warao). Woodpecker, as well as Ibis, Macaw and Crane, are explicitly mentioned as specific "birds" who acquire their colourful plumage by climbing into a pot filled with menstrual blood (see Story no. 480; Warao).

Snakes

A direct link between Birds and Snakes does apparently exist. In Story nos. 80 and 131 (source unknown, Arekuna (Cariban)), Birds kill the Snake resulting in their colouration. Story no. 80 (unknown derivation) features a beautifully scaled Water boa, which is feared by all Birds and Amerindians who decide to kill it. Whoever succeeds in doing so is permitted to keep this Boa's skin. Thus all Birds having assisted to kill the Water boa are allowed to take a piece of its skin. This is how they acquired their beautiful feathers. The lengthy Story no. 131 ends with a boy who poisons the water whenever he bathes, killing all the fish. He had not wished to bathe, but his father forces him to. After the boy had been murdered, his father sought revenge and asked several Birds, of which only two were able to kill the murderer to then bring the Snake on dry land. Assisted by all the Birds, the father flays the Snake to then divide the pieces of its skin among not only these Birds but also the land animals. This is how certain "birds" acquired their distinct features such as their flute (i.e., beak). When the boy's grandmother walks through the forest holding her grandson's corpse, fish poison grows wherever the boy's blood drops on the ground. In sum, this tale combines the motifs of Snake, blood, Birds, "animal/ bird" traits and fish poison.

Others

Both Armadillo and Eagle indirectly are responsible for the colouration, because they invite Birds to the scene in which they are coloured. Armadillo shoots the Moon, after which Birds bathe in the pool of blood resulting from this event (see Story no. 261; Shipaya, Tupian-extinct). Eagles invite Birds to a party, albeit under the premise Birds had to "tattoo" themselves or be painted with blood (see Story nos. 262-3; Parintintin, Munduruku (Tupian)).

Setting

The Birds included in this cluster entitled "Origin of Bird colouration" are generally speaking placed within forest (land) setting, hereby serving as a helper of the protagonist. Story nos. 80, 131 and 480 (unknown, Arekuna (Cariban), Warao) directly link Birds to the cosmic water layer. Story nos. 257 and 261 (source unknown; Shipaya (Tupian-extinct)) are placed within a sky setting. Only Story nos. 257 and 496 explicitly refers to a temporal setting. The narratives are mainly set during the daytime, whenever the protagonist is out and about. Story no. 257 (source unknown) mentions that if children play outside after midnight, this results in their ascending to the sky world. In Story no. 496 (Warao), the wooden wife of the Lord of Light and of daytime is picked in "a certain area" after which blood suddenly appears.

B2. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

In this cluster Origin of Bird colouration, by far the most dominant mode of characterization comprises the direct mode (82 percent; n=11 to 33 percent for Bird in general). This is the outcome of the fact that the beautiful plumage and/or colouration of Birds is explicitly described. Although in the majority of cases, the colouration is not described in detail, the hues of the feathers is stressed as a remarkable physical attribute of Birds.

Whenever specific "birds" are mentioned, further detailed physical descriptions are often provided. For instance, the fact that Scarlet Ibis is red, Crane is white and Woodpecker's tail is cut (see Story no. 480; Warao). Vultures are black because the blood they bathed in has already coagulated (see Story nos. 480, 496; Warao). Vultures are characterized analogously, for they stem from a man who feeds only on excrements and sleeps in a filthy old black hammock (see Story no. 596; Cuiva, Guajiboan). In addition, Buzzards are the first "humans" who own black and blue hammocks, and only eat rotten, malodourous food (see Story no. 597; Cuiva, Guajiboan).

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between the narrated time within the narrative itself and real time, which is approached by means of considering a narrative's number of pages. In total, sixteen records pertaining to duration are registered for the fourteen stories, as two sources are documented for Story nos. 80 and 193. The two versions/records concerning Story no. 80 are short in real time as well as in narrated time, and thus counted as a single record in any further analysis. However, Story no. 193 includes two

records of a short narrated time. However, in real time the versions vary: the first covers 2 pages, and the second with 6 pages falls in the middle category. Hence both are taken into consideration here.

Real time is in accordance with Birds in general, 87 percent (n=13) of the records (to 87 in general) are of a short real time, up to 5 pages. The narrated time reveals a discrepancy, as only 27 percent (n=4) of the records (to 48 percent for Birds in general) comprise a narrated time of either months or years. The shorter narrated time indicates the narratives unfold around a specific event in time (i.e., the origin of "animal" traits, e.g., "bird" colouration), and are less about an (epic) adventure of heroes.

B2. Concluding remarks on "Origin of Bird colouration"

In this sub-cluster of Bird narratives, the Bird actor takes the stage, often as an assistant, resulting in acquiring a colouration. Birds are characterized directly because colouration forms the main theme of the narratives. However, the direct characterization is more detailed whenever specific "birds" are described. There are no records of Birds explicitly described (or acted) as either a shaman or a spirit.

Motifs linked to the "Origin of Bird colouration" are wide-spread and stem from the core area as well as from far beyond. All in all, six narratives fall within the core area: Story nos. 29 (Trio, Cariban) and 131 (Arekuna, Cariban), Story nos. 480 and 496 (Warao) and Story nos. 596-7 (Cuiva, Guajiboan). In addition, Story no. 261 (Tupian-extinct) borders on the core area. Story nos. 193 and 691 (Apinayé, Gê) hail from further south, but still from northern Brazil. Story no. 263 (Tupian, Munduruku) stems from Central, South Brazil and Story no. 260 is handed down in the Matacoan language. The linguistic affiliation of Story nos. 80 and 257 remains unknown. This geographic and linguistic distribution clearly indicates this theme or motif is widely distributed.

Looking into the narrative function(s) of these narratives, the function referred to as validating the world prevails, as they all explain the origin of "animal/bird" traits. Other recurrent functions are: (a) encoding social behaviour mainly by means of exhibiting (in)correct behaviour, but also by discussing taboos (n=2), and (b) informing by revealing how specific things are done, where to find all matter of items and what food (not) to eat.

In general, the narrated time in this B2 sub-cluster entitled Origin of Bird colouration is short in comparison with the narrated time in Bird narratives. This assessment can be explained by the fact that the origin of the Bird's colouration is the main theme: the entire narrative focuses on this event. In the majority of Bird narratives, the Bird personage plays a minor role as a messenger, helper or advisor, whereas the narrative itself has a more epic nature.

The recurrent "cause" of the Birds' colouration mentioned in the narratives comprises (menstrual) blood. Birds are either spattered by it or bathe in a pool of blood. This wide-spread

combination of motifs is recorded for narratives originating from various linguistic sources: Trio (Cariban), Warao, Matacoan and certain Tupian versions. The only other recurrent cause of the birds' colouration are the scales of Snake/Water boa, see Story nos. 90 and 131, of which only one linguistic origin, to wit, Arekuna (Cariban) is known. Here, Birds kill the Snake to divide its skin/scales and next acquire their colouration.

B3. Birds of prey

Birds of prey narratives are considered a sub-cluster in this chapter because they are frequent actors in the narratological content. The "birds" encountered are Falcons (including the Caracara falcon), Eagles and Hawks.[27] All in all, these birds are recorded in 54 (7.6 percent) narratives, which number a total of 57 references to specific Birds of prey.

B3. General remarks

Birds of prey narratives are widely distributed, however 54 percent of these narratives stem from the core area. A large number of these stories are recorded in Guajiboan (either Sikuani (n=9) or Cuiva (n=2)), as much as 80 percent have a different linguistic source. Language families represented are: Arawakan, Bororoan, Cariban, Gê, Guaicuruan, Guajiboan, Matacoan, Tacanan, Ticuna, Tupian and Warao. The origin of one narrative remains unknown. All narratives are plotted on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America), see 6.3.1, Figure 6.22 for a map of the geographical distribution.

The narrative functions of Bird of prey narratives are in line with those registered for Birds in general. The function validating the world prevails, whereby the most common sub-functions again are the origin of "animal/bird" characteristics and explaining why things are as they are. The second most common function concern encoding social behaviour, by exhibiting incorrect behaviour. Informing succeeds this function and deals with which food (not) to eat and how to do specific things.

All 54 narratives (including four references of Birds of preys) are considered to form one cluster, although sub-clusters are identified.[28] The variation in themes and motifs will be addressed in the following paragraphs but not analysed as separate sub-clusters. The narrative chosen as an example hereof has a very common (structural) lay-out and theme:

> Two brothers find a Falcon nest up in a tree. The younger brother climbs the tree to acquire a young Falcon, but the elder removes the stairs and walks away, leaving his brother behind. The young Falcon's parents appear and the boy tells his story. The parental birds ask him if he wants to become a Falcon and he agrees. The parental birds gather all their friends and they all start

[27] See 6.3.2 for a description of the specific species.

[28] The narratives including Birds of prey are numbered: 11, 26, 29, 49, 60, 67, 77, 98, 124, 155-6, 160-1, 200, 205-6, 224, 230, 245, 250, 258, 262-3, 281, 285, 309, 328, 342, 361, 401, 413, 418, 441, 445, 497, 507, 547, 566-7, 571-3, 577, 587, 619-20, 622, 637, 648, 655-6, 661, 667, 692; For linguistic affiliation see 6.3.1, Figure 6.22.

to sing. Feathers and claws grow on the man and he becomes a Falcon. They teach him how to fly. The Falcons wish to kill the (former) boy's elder brother. The elder brother spots the Falcons and tries to shoot them three times. Then a Falcon grabs him with its claws and pulls him up. A swarm of predatory birds devour the elder brother only leaving bones behind. The younger brother can take the form of Falcon but as yet also his human form. As a human, he returns to his village. Because people have not seen him for a very long time, they think he came from the devil's place and would not follow him. He gathers the elders and others who follow him to a house to dance. Then he takes all of them with him up into the air. Other villagers try to retrieve them but in vain. That night there is a heavy rain and everything is flooded. Several people saved themselves by climbing a tree/palm. In the dark, they talk to each other like toads to then transmute into Toads. [Story no. 161 (Tembé, Tupian); abridged]

B3. Fabula: actions/events, actors and setting

Actions and events

Although the Birds of prey narratives are not further divided into separate clusters, four clusters could easily be distinguished if based on their various structures and main events. These clusters refer to Birds of prey as aggressors (1), as sought-after objects (2), as a helper (3) and as a result of a transformation (4). All four clusters are addressed here in short.

In Story nos. 250, 262-3, 401, 497, 571-3, an 619-20 (4x Gê, 2x Tupian, Cariban, Warao, 2x Guajiboan), the Birds of prey act as aggressors that terrorise, abduct and/or kill people. Birds of prey may also act as helpers and aggressors (see Story no. 161; Tembé, Tupian - above), These narratives feature the "bird" aggressor have a similar lay-out in which: (a) devastating Birds of prey terrorise Amerindians, (b) Amerindians prepare themselves and set out in revenge; as helpers the Birds of prey are trained to assist in a quest for revenge, (c) a devastating "Bird" is either punished or killed, and (d) order is restored.

In Story nos. 67, 161, 224, 262 (Trio (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian), Shipaya (Tupian-extinct), Guarani (Tupian)), a Bird of prey is ascribed the role of object, although not being sought after for revenge, but an object itself, e.g., the protagonist is in search of its eggs or in search of the "birds" themselves, for instance, to keep as pets. These narratives with the "bird" as object generally have a lay-out in which: the protagonist(s): (a) want(s) something (e.g., a "bird" itself, its eggs, something "bird" possess), (b) set(s) out in order to obtain it, (c) is opposed in reaching a goal (after being abandoned in a tree), (d) fail(s) in an attempt or is/are assisted by Birds of prey to achieve a goal, or succeeds by trickery, (e) order is restored, and (f) as an option receive(s) rewards whereby good things befall Amerindian, or others (e.g., birds' colouration (see Story no. 262; Parintintin, Tupian), save(s) villagers from a flood (see Story no. 161; Tembé, Tupian), learn(s) how to produce fire by friction (see Story no. 224; Shipaya, Tupian-extinct).

In addition, the Bird(s) of prey are again to a certain degree an object themselves in other stories which have a different lay-out. In Story no. 230 (Ticuna), a virgin fiancée of Tortoise

seduces Falcon to next run off together. Story no. 55 (Tembé, Tupian) includes a statement that Falcon plays the trumpet. All feel happy when he would come and dance with them.

In the third identified sub-cluster, the Birds of prey act as helpers, a role also present in certain narratives dealt with in the aforementioned clusters. As an assistant, its role is mainly insignificant. The Bird(s) of prey come to help the protagonist in times of need by means of:

(a) keeping watch and acting when needed (see Story nos. 160, 205-6; Tembé (Tupian), Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), Matacoan). In Story no. 328 (Tacanan), Birds of prey inform the protagonist of his wife's ill fate.
(b) hiding or retrieving someone on request (see Story nos. 200, 622, 661; Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)).
(c) performing, on request, a specific task. We read that Caracara Falcon provides a magic remedy that transforms protagonist into a Howler Monkey (see Story no. 124; source unknown); Harpy Eagle sneezes, creating a "strong creeper", which the protagonist utilises to climb down a tree (see Story no. 258; Kachuana, Cariban); Eagle leads starving people to where the body of a gluttonous deity named Moconamoco is located (see Story no. 281; Mojo, Arawakan). Here *Chiriguare* Hawks and *Kotsale* Eagles (among other "birds") lift up the fallen sky (see Story no. 577; Cuiva, Guajiboan).

Lastly, in eight narratives, an Amerindian, or "something" transforms into a Bird of prey. In two hereof this transmutation into a Hawk unfolds after intoxication with *yopo** (see Story nos. 655-6; Sikuani, Guajiboan). In Story no. 245 (Sherente, Gê), the protagonist's parents transmute into Falcons "who liked smoke" after he had burned down their house in revenge. In Story no. 285 (Bororoan), Sun changed into a Falcon in order to escape fire (while Moon turns into an Owl). Story nos. 156 and 342 (Tembé, Tupian) describe how a hunting party was attacked and slain, after ignoring a warning. In the end, the severed head of a murdered huntsman transforms into a huge predatory "bird", which kills many, but is killed in the end. In other stories (Purna) the culture hero transforms meat into Eagles/Hawks in order to contribute to his revenge. These "birds" are reared to kill and abduct (see Story nos. 619-20; Sikuani, Guajiboan).

Numerous motifs (n=1006) are recorded for the 54 "Bird of prey" narratives. The most common motifs tied to the Bird of prey actor here are: (a) origin of things and/or characteristics (n[29]20), (b) helpful "animal" (n=14), (c) tasks and/or quests, n=13; (d) shamanism or magic, n=11, and (e) devastating "Bird", n=10.

[29] See p. 5, note 5.

The origin of things

Motifs concerning "The origin of things" for Birds of prey are very diverse. They again pertain to the origin of: (a) fire (see Story no. 224; Shipaya, Tupian-extinct), (b) of snuff/mind-altering substances (see Story nos. 655-6; Sikuani, Guajiboan), and (c) fishing tools (see Story no. 587; Cuiva, Guajiboan). The majority of these motifs are linked to "animal/bird" traits. Story nos. 29, 413, 573 (2x Cariban including, 1x Trio, Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire)) dwell upon its large (tree trunk-like) claws. Story no. 413 (Cariban) describes its large beak. Other motifs concern behaviour such as which food is to be eaten. For instance, an Eagle devours a baboon (see Story nos. 67, 566, 692; 2x Cariban including 1x Trio, Gê (Ramkokamekra-Canela)). Moreover, these "birds" herald sunrise or the rainy season (see Story nos. 49, 77; Trio (Cariban), Arawakan). They are only active at night (see Story no. 571; Krahô, Gê) and are kept as pets in Story nos. 67 and 692 (2x Cariban including 1x Trio).

Helpful and/or devastating "animal/bird"

Expressing a supportive trait, Birds of prey: (a) teach arts and crafts (see Story nos. 67, 224, 258, 263; 567; 2x Cariban, 2x Tupian, Gê), (b) stabilise the sky (see Story no. 577; Cuiva, Guajiboan) (c) lead men or act as healers, rescuers (adopters of children) or guards (see Story nos. 11, 26, 161, 200, 205-6, 258, 263, 281, 441, 667, 692; various sources) or act as messengers (see Story nos. 11, 160, 328, 566, 619, 637; Arawakan, Tupian, Tacanan, Gê, 2x Guajiboan), and (d) provide men with food or gifts (see Story nos. 67, 258; Trio, Kachuana (Cariban)). In Story nos. 250, 262-3, 401, 497, 571-3 and 619-20 (various sources), Birds of prey are dangerous and devastating man-eaters. These creatures abduct, kill and devour others, on occasion in order to support the protagonist during a quest for vengeance. Therefore, they are both helpful as well as devastating "birds".

Tasks and quests

Tasks/quests related to Birds of prey are, for instance: causing rain to fall (see Story no 77; Arawakan) or rescuing victims from inside a belly (see Story nos. 622, 661; Sikuani, Guajiboan). Various motifs regarding the task of stealing eggs or capturing the "birds" themselves occur in Story nos. 67 and 161-2 (Trio (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian), Tucano (Tucanoan)) as do tasks relating to its role as a helper, e.g., "guarding" (see Story nos. 160, 205-6; Tembé (Tupian), Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), Matacoan). Birds of prey also assist in quests for vengeance (see Story nos. 619-20; Sikuani, Guajiboan).

Shamanism and magic

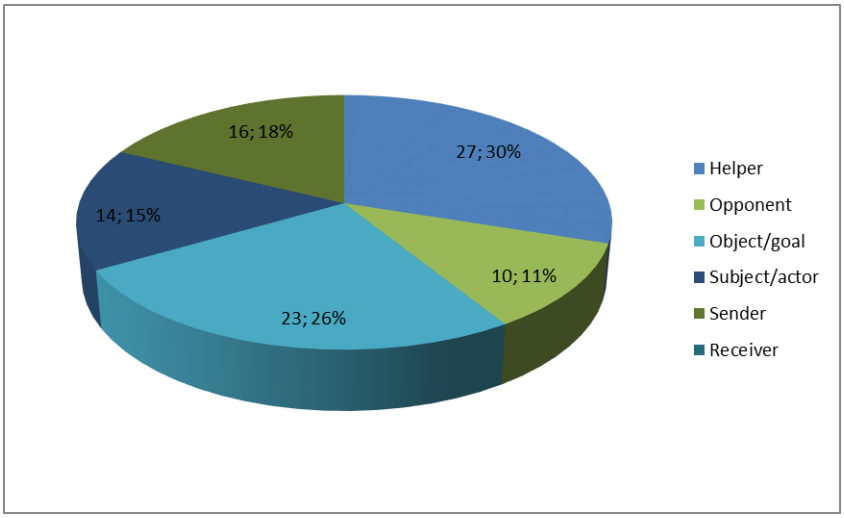
Motifs concerning shamanism and magic also recur in relation to Birds of prey. The "bird" itself is described as a shaman in Story nos. 124, 161, 309; 620 (unknown source, Tupian, Guaicuruan, Guajiboan). Motifs regarding "magic abilities" such as invisibility, magic songs, cure or the outcome of magic (see Story nos. 11, 67, 161, 567, 656, 687; Arawakan, Cariban, Tupian, Gê, 2x Guajiboan) are encountered, too.

Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

As to ascribed roles of a Bird of prey, they are congruent with those attributed to Birds in general (see Table B7).[30] The differences in these roles prevail in the roles of opponent and receiver. The former is significantly more attributed to Birds of prey (n=10; 11 against 5 percent for Birds in general). The latter role is not documented at all when compared with Birds in general: 6 percent. The remaining roles, however, fall more in line with those ascribed to Birds in general. Birds of prey are slightly less often ascribed the role of helper (n=27; 30 against 31 percent for Birds in general) and sender (n=16; 18 percent; Birds in general: 21 percent). Birds of prey are slightly more ascribed the role of subject/actor (n=14; 15 percent; Birds in general: 14 percent). The role of object/goal (n=23; 26 percent) is in compliance with Birds in general.

Zooming in on these roles and its sub-categories, as helpers the Birds of prey assist the protagonist with his/her efforts (n=6) or are a provider of goods (n=3). When Birds are objects, they are often the result of either a transformation (n=10) or are the object/goal themselves, i.e., the effort of the protagonist (n=7). Six registrations pertain to the Birds of prey being hunted or killed. As senders, the Birds mainly act as advisor. Their advice/information leads to subsequent actions in narratives (n=12). They are also responsible for the introduction of new things the protagonists then desire (n=4).

Table B7 Birds of prey divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



Birds of prey as shamans/spirits

In only one case is a Bird of prey explicitly described as a transformed shaman (see Story no. 620; Sikuani, Guajiboan). In it, a brother of the culture hero/shaman named Kuwei is killed.

[30] $\chi^2(5) = 11.94$; $\rho = 0.04$ (significant; α 0.05), but insignificant with α 0.01.

Pieces of his body are transformed into two Eagles. In five narratives, Birds of prey demonstrate shamanic qualities (see Story nos. 124, 161-2, 309, 567; source unknown, 2x Tupian, Guaicuruan, Gê) in which for example falcons when vocalising cause feathers and claws to grow on a man, who then transforms into a Falcon. In Story no. 124 (source unknown), a Caracara falcon provides a woman with a magic remedy by means of which she changes into a Howler monkey. In Story no. 161 (Tembé, Tupian), a Falcon sings after which a boy transforms. In Story no. 306 (Guaicuruan), Carancho (a Falcon) curses Fox and causes its stomach to secrete honey.

Three records feature a Bird of prey as a transformed spirit (see Story nos. 156, 342, 418; 2x Tupian, Cariban). In Story nos. 156 and 342 (Tembé, Tupian), a malicious murderous skull transmutes into a Falcon-like being. There are also five records of a mythical or huge Bird of prey (see Story nos. 401, 441, 572-3, 692; 3x Cariban, 2x Gê). Story no. 441 (Yukpa, Cariban) mentions that a giant Eagle (named Seremo) safeguards a mountain. In Story no. 572 (Apinayé, Gê), Sun creates a giant Eagle (named Aondiotí) in order to test the courage of mankind. In Story no. 573 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), a giant man-eating Eagle terrorises Amerindians. In Story no. 401 (Cariban), a king named Kuwano, who reigns over all the predatory "birds" abducts and kills, only to be murdered himself after being injured by many arrows. In Story no. 692 (Cariban), a large Eagle rescues a young Amerindian.

Birds of prey as pets or game

Story no. 692 (Cariban) describes how a young Carib catches a young Eagle to then bring it home, where the Eagle becomes quite tame. Story no. 67 (Trio, Cariban) mentions that two brothers wish an Eagle as a pet, but one of the two marries Eagle's daughter and stays with her Eagle family. In Story no. 262 (Parintintin, Tupian), two elderly Amerindians, long-time friends, enter the forest to look for Harpy eagle eggs and find an eaglet.

Interrelatedness between Birds of prey and other "animal/bird" personages

The "Top 5" listing "animals/birds" with whom Birds of prey co-occur within the narratives are: Scavenger birds (n=12), Ants (n=9), Hummingbirds (n=8), Parrot-like birds and Jaguars (n=7) and Snakes (n=6). Compared to Birds in general, three of these six "animals/birds", namely Scavenger birds, Jaguars and Snakes are listed in the "Top 5" of Birds in general. In this paragraph, only those instances are elaborated on in which Birds of prey are either directly related, or directly interact, with others.

Scavenger bird and Birds of prey

Scavenger birds act as opponent, whereas a Bird of prey functions as a helper of the protagonist. For instance, in Story no. 77 (Arawakan), King Vulture, a father-in-law, demands all kinds of impossible tasks to finally attempt to kill his son-in-law and then sets the world on fire. The Amerindian protagonist warns all "animals" as well as Rainbird/Laughing Falcon (see also 6.3.4). In Story no. 160 (Tembé, Tupian), a Falcon helps the protagonists as a watchman

during one of these tasks the abovementioned father-in-law sets who, having noticed this deception, wishes to kill his son-in-law who manages to escape.

Scavenger bird and Birds of prey can also take on similar roles. In Story no. 224 (Shipaya, Tupian-extinct), both King Vulture and Eagle are the only Owners of Fire. The demiurge tries and manages, to steal it from them by means of trickery. Eagle teaches him how to use and make fire (by means of friction) in the end.

Bird of prey may call upon a Scavenger for help, or to carry out a task. In Story no. 566 (Ramkokamekra, Gê), a Caracaraphy falcon finds a sick man. Thinking the man has died, it calls for Vultures to devour this man. In Story no. 567 (Krahô, Gê), the sick man is found by Buzzard, who then calls upon King Buzzard, Hawks and Black buzzards. Having formed a circle, the King buzzard, the Common buzzard, the Big black hawk together with the Hawks named Gükügbre and Kë (Krahô, Gê) sit on top of each other. They then take the sick man to the sky world, cure him and improve his vision, after which they hold a festival of Hawks named Pembgahóg.

In Story no. 637 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a Caracara (Falcon) calls for King vulture. In need of help, the protagonist asks a Caracara to fetch his grandfather, King Vulture. In Story no. 64 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) a Scavenger calls for a Bird of prey. In this case, King Vulture is in pursuit of Purna who sets a trap by telling a man to pretend to be dead and covering him with worms. King Vulture first sends off Caracara (Falcon) and then Hawk, who both notice the man is alive. Next, when trying to eat the man King vulture is seized and plunged into boiling water. In his rage, he names all kinds of diseases.

Birds of prey and Scavenger birds have to a certain degree been compared. Story no. 250 (Krahô, Gê) provides an explanation about the house (nest) of these “birds”. This lengthy narrative contains various episodes of which only one focuses on Birds of prey and Scavenger birds. In it, all kinds of predatory “birds” gang rape a girl. Once deceased and after her body starts decomposing, each “bird” obtains a piece of her vulva. It is hung on a perch out to dry and grows till it covers the roof of their huts. Hawk is the first to receive a piece of this vulva and has a fine house, but the share of a Vulture named Urubu remains quite small, dry and shrivelled.

When compared (see Story no. 258; Kachuana, Cariban), King vulture’s nasal mucus is fluid, whereas Harpy eagle’s discharge is thick. Therefore, the protagonist, stuck in a tree and left behind by monkeys, could only utilise Harpy eagle’s creeper to climb down. Harpy eagle then informs him how to take revenge: first cut the liana to resemble “the Harpy eagle’s arrow” (perhaps referring to its talons or beak, see 3.4.2) and then to shape it according to his instructions. The protagonist kills many Howler monkeys in revenge, except one.

Ant and Birds of prey

For the interrelatedness between Ants and Bird of prey (Hawk/Eagle), see part of section F. Within the sky world context, Ants and Birds of prey act as helpers of the shaman protagonist (see Story nos. 77 (Arawakan), 619-20, 622 (Sikuani, Guajiboan)).

Hummingbird and Birds of prey

Eight narratives featuring Hummingbirds as well as Birds of prey but they are not often interrelated within the narratological context. Story no. 413 (Cariban), in which all "birds" once formed one large family, but later become estranged. It describes how Hummingbird gossips with Eagle (*Harpia harpyja*); named Gonini. "Hummingbird told the latter that Kujakin (another "bird") told him Gonini was very cruel and greedy. In anger, Gonini sweeps Hummingbird off its feet and repeatedly hits Kujakin on its beak (which swells up and has been large ever since).

In Story no. 98 (Warao) a man tries to scare off a Snake by telling him Hummingbirds (i.e., they herald day) are coming, but only when Snake spotted a Chicken Hawk it became afraid and let the man go. In Story no. 619 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) both Hummingbird and Hawk are asked for help, but both do not succeed in their attempt. In Story no. 661 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Hummingbird opposes his brother-in-law, the creator named Purna (see note 19, p. 50). As a result hereof a Fish swallows Purna's son. After the River Hawk named Kuyáwitsi catches the Fish, Purna resuscitates his son. Here again, Hummingbird and the Bird of prey are not directly related, whereby Hummingbird is Purna's opponent, while the River Hawk acts as helper.

Parrot-like birds and Birds of prey

A number of narratives feature Parrot-like birds as well as Birds of prey. One hereof numbers two versions in which they share the role of watchman. When women from the sky world steal game, stored on thatched roofs, Parrot fails as a watchman and becomes unable to speak. Hawk is successful as it cuts the rope the women utilise to climb down. He acquires two wives and the other women are divided (Story nos. 205-6; Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), Matacoan). In Story no. 445 (Warao) Parrots are fed to Hawk, who tries to convince people to leave meat behind for Jaguar, hoping Jaguar would eat humans as well.

In Story no. 655 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) Hawk, Sun's brother-in-law, discovers that his sister grows *yopo** beans, next he insists on having sexual intercourse with her. However, as he is too abusive all the seeds disappear. In anger, Sun transforms his brother-in-law into a Hawk who now searches for more *yopo**. Finally, several Parrots provide him with *yopo** beans after which humans begin to grow them.

Jaguar and Birds of prey

In Story no. 573 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), huge man-eating Eagles are killed by giants armed with clubs and lances which have a strong tip made of jaguar bone. Birds of prey kill Jaguars in, for

instance, Story no. 200 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan). Here a Jaguar woman who eats raw meat also devours her husband and a number of villagers. She is killed by Falcon, which her children call upon for help. In Story no. 156 (Tembé, Tupian), Jaguar and Bird of prey take on a similar role, namely as malevolent spirits that murder people. In the case of the Bird of prey, a malicious skull begs the protagonist to bring it along. The Protagonist tricks to then bury the skull, which having freed itself, kills all it comes across on its path. By that time it resembles a Falcon and a shaman shoots it through its eyes.

In other narratives, Birds of prey and Jaguar are tricked or deceived. In Story no. 667 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a Crested Caracara helps Jaguar to guard Rabbit inside a cave, but Rabbit tricks the "bird" and escapes. Jaguar is so angry he wishes to eat Rabbit, who by means of a trick manages to escapes. In Story no. 507 (Warao), Turtle tricks Jaguar, who loses its necklace in a bet. Hawk attempts to take the necklace from Turtle but dies during the fight for it. Turtle utilises this "bird's" feathers to fly.

Snake and Birds of prey

Birds of prey and Snakes co-occur in Story nos. 98, 441, 497, 619-20 and 637 (2x Cariban, Warao, 3x Guajiboan). In the majority hereof these two creatures are directly related. A Bird of prey attacks a devastating Snake (father-in-law). Or, it explicitly states that Snakes fear Birds of prey, see Story no. 98 (Warao) and 619-20 Sikuani (Guajiboan). In Story no. 497 (Warao), a shaman first kills a ferocious Eagle. In another episode of this same narrative, the shaman asks the Barcova "bird" to scare off Snakes which are transformed sticks.

Setting

Birds of prey are not only staged in the sky world (n=21) but also in either the land (n=5) or in water layer (n=5). In sum, 27 records concern a village or a forest setting. The latter setting (n=23; 83 percent) prevails here even more so than for Birds in general, of which 75 percent is positioned in a forest setting. Thus only four records pertaining to Birds of prey are placed within a village setting. Because this category comprises multiple species, three narratives have multiple records on their settings, as more than one Bird of prey is registered. It may be added here that, unfortunately, the temporal setting is inconclusive as only five records are encountered. However, four of these records are set during the daytime.

Setting in relation to the ascribed role

Here the setting in relation to ascribed role(s) for Birds of prey is compared to Birds in general. In the forest setting, Birds of prey are less likely to be ascribed the role of helper as are Birds in general (n=6, 22 percent; Birds in general: 37 percent) and more likely the role of opponent (n=3; 11 percent, in general 6 percent). Birds of prey are also more likely ascribed the roles of subject/actor (n=5, 19 percent; Birds 6 percent) and object/goal (n=8; 30 percent, Birds 22 percent), but less likely a sender (n=5; 19 percent, Birds 22 percent). No records of Birds of prey are attributed to the role of receiver (Birds in general: 8 percent). As to the four records

of Birds of prey placed within in a village context, three roles are documented for these predatory birds: object/goal (n=2), helper (n=1) and sender (n=1).

Sub-conclusions regarding Fabula

Based on the 54 narratives featuring Birds of prey, they are portrayed in a sky world and in a forest setting as dangerous, devastating man-eaters (and spirits). Nevertheless, the second most common motifs are related to helpful "birds" because as helpful "birds" they either teach arts and crafts or guide men, act as healers, guards or rescuers.

Birds of prey also feature as shamans or as being related to shamanism. The "Bird" itself is described as a shaman or as a motif related to, for instance, being invisible, magic songs, a cure or the result of magic, causing rain to fall and being associated with the quality of transformation, etc.

Birds of prey interact with various "animals/birds" within the narratological setting. The "Top 5" list of "animals/birds" with whom Birds of prey co-occur within the narratives are: Scavenger birds (n=12), Ants (n=9), Hummingbirds (n=8), Parrot-like birds (n=7), Jaguars (n=7) and Snakes (n=6).

B3. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

Of the 29 records on the characterization of Birds of prey, one is analogue and four are direct. The remaining records are all indirect. In Story no. 573 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), a giant man-eating Eagle is characterized directly as well as analogously. It has extremely large eyes, tree trunk-like claws and the mouth of a Tapir. Its plumage resembles huge "babana" leaves (*Musa* sp., Banana tree).

In Story no. 413 (Cariban), the Eagle named Gonini is described as large and strong, with large claws and beak. In Story no. 67 (Trio, Cariban) reports it is invisible to prey whenever it closes its eyes. Two narratives mention unidentified "birds". In the first hereof (see Story no. 401; Cariban), a "Bird" named *Kuwano/Koe-ano* is characterized as "King of all predatory birds", a dangerous killer residing in the upperworld of plenty. Secondly, a bird called Kotera is described as a mythical man-eater, and being as large as a Douglas DC-3 airliner and shaped like an Eagle (see Story no. 608; Cuiva, Guajiboan).

Duration

In the field of narratology, duration is studied by relating real time (approached by accumulation of pages) to narrated time, i.e., time as given in the narrative itself. All in all, 51 records on duration have been documented. Story nos. 77, 98, 619 and 622 (Arawakan, Cariban/Warao, 2x Guajiboan) have multiple records, which result in the same narrated time.

However, for Story nos. 77, 619, 622, a different "real time" has been recorded. The analyses are corrected for doublures (i.e., 50 records for real time vs. 47 for narrated time).[31]

For Birds of prey, the majority of narratives (82 percent, n=41) fall within the short range, taking up to 5 pages Story nos. 77, 160, 547, 567, 622 and 661 (Arawakan, Tupian, 2x Gê, 2x Guajiboan) fall within the middle range (6-10 pages) and Story nos. 571, 619, 622 (Gê, 2x Guajiboan) fall within the long range covering more than 11 pages.

As much as 43 percent (n=20) has a narrated time of either months or years, which is in line with the pattern in general, see 4.3.2). In sum, 45 percent (n=21) has a narrated time spanning not more than a few days. These narratives in general again indicate that the longer the real time is, the longer the narrated time is, too. When looking into stories pertaining to Birds of prey, only those with a narrated time of weeks show a small increase of real time, in comparison to those with a narrated time of months.

B4. Scavenger birds

Scavenger bird narratives are considered a sub-cluster because they frequently (n=71) occur as actors within the narratological content. The specific "birds" included in this cluster are Buzzards, Condors and Vultures.[32] All in all, they are recorded for 70 narratives.

B4. General remarks

Documented for eleven language families,[33] many (65 percent) derive from the core area. Even within a language family there is a wide variety of languages represented here. For instance, narratives with a Cariban denomination are encountered among the Yabarana, Yukpa, Wayana, Waiwai, Trio, Taulipang, Arekuna and even the Bakairí in Central/Southern Brazil. Scavenger bird stories are also known far beyond the core area: Peru, Brazil and Bolivia. Each narrative is plotted on a map of the stufy region (the Caribbean and South America), see 6.4.1, Figure 6.27 for a map of the geographical distribution.

The narrative functions of the Scavenger bird narratives are in line with those registered for Birds in general, whereby a slight increase of the narrative function referred to as validating the world (with 44 percent against 40 percent for Birds in general), is determined. Within this cluster, the most common sub-categories are: (a) the origin of "animal" traits, (b) why things as they are, and (c) the origin of worlds and all it contains. The second most common narrative function is: encoding social behaviour which is dominated by exhibiting (in)correct behaviour

[31] Multiple records on duration occur whenever a narrative is extracted from multiple sources. The number of pages (i.e., real time) may in those cases vary, whereas narrated time (time span of the narrative itself) cannot.
[32] See section 6.4.2 for a description of specific species.
[33] All language families in which narratives featuring Scavenger birds appear (n=70) are: Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Irantxe, Mosetenan, Panoan, Tacanan, Tucanoan, Tupian and Warao. An unknown language family hails from the Rio Negro region.

as well as a ceremonial/traditional practice. In turn, informing succeeds this sub-category. Here how to do specific things and what food (not) to eat prevails.

The Scavenger bird narratives are dealt with as one cluster and are not further divided into sub-categories.[34] The variation in themes and motifs will be addressed in the following paragraphs but not be analysed as separate clusters. The narrative chosen as an example has a very common layout (structural) and a common theme:

> An apprentice to priesthood desires to marry the daughter of two-headed Vulture. She gives him magic wings and they go to the kingdom of Vultures in the clouds. Before being accepted the future son-in-law must pass several tests. First, he had to bail out a well with an open weave basket and succeeds with the help of a Bird. His next challenge was to fell a stone tree. This time Woodpecker helps him fulfil his task. Because the Amerindian received outside help, his father-in-law is not satisfied. He has to perform the third task: carve a wooden image of his father-in-law, who he had never seen. The man then transforms into a Lizard to secretly spy on his father-in-law. Making too much noise as a Lizard he transmutes into an Ant. This time he manages to get a good look at his father-in-law to then he carves out a perfect resemblance. However, because of his spying, his father-in-law still is not satisfied. Next, he has to build a house in the harbour. The Amerindian is about to start his task when Dragonfly warns him that his father-in-law is about to kill him. The Amerindian is thus better off going home. Having received magic wings with which to do so, He takes Dragonfly's advice and returns to Earth. The woman whom the Amerindian was about to marry, follows him. When he rejects her, she curses him by promising to devour him when he dies. This is why Vultures feed on human carrion. [Story no. 463 (Warao); abridged]

B4. Fabula: actions/events, actors and setting

Actions and events

As stated above the narratives differ in structure and motifs. Although the Scavenger bird narratives are not further divided into separate clusters, two clusters can easily be distinguished based on the various structures and main events of these stories: (1) Scavenger birds as beautiful women, and (2) Scavenger birds as healers.

In several narratives, the Scavenger birds are described as beautiful women and/or are yearned for in the sense that the protagonist wishes to marry the "bird" (see Story nos. 3, 77, 85, 130, 133, 160, 678, 696 (Wayana (Cariban), 2x Arawakan, Warao, Arekuna (Cariban), Taulipang (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). The general layout of these tales comprises a protagonist who:

1. is in need of a spouse (either consciously or unconsciously),

[34] All narratives including Scavenger birds are numbered: 3, 18, 26, 57-9, 67, 77, 85, 115-6, 128, 130, 133-5, 140, 148, 159-60, 163, 171-2, 178, 182, 189, 220, 222-6, 232, 241, 250, 258, 303, 348, 397, 414, 419, 424, 459-60, 463, 487-8, 496, 498, 500, 564-8, 571, 591, 596-7, 612, 623, 637, 640, 648, 677-8, 690-1, 696, 708: various, see 6.4.1, Figure 6.27.

2. takes the stage as a potential spouse,
3. has to prove his worthiness and faces challenges,
4. overcomes challenges with the help of various assistants,

5a. succeeds in acquiring a bride,
5b. befalls evil in revenge.

The Scavenger birds act as healers in Story nos. 3, 128, 135, 178, 414, 564-7 (Carib, Wayana, 2x Taulipang (Cariban); Cashinahua (Panoan); Apinayé, Ramkokamekra-Canela, Krahô (Gê)). The layout of these narratives features a protagonist:

1. who is in distress, sick or wounded,
2. who receives help from an "animal/bird" after which he is cured,
3. *optional*: who is brought to the sky world to be provided with goods, knowledge and skills. Having returned home, he restores the order,
4. *optional*: whereby a helper benefits from his assistance and is rewarded as an act of reciprocity.

Interestingly, Story no. 172 (Cashinahua, Panoan) is very similar to the Gê narratives presented in this category: a wounded man is left alone by his wife, who remarries, and by fellow villagers after his wound became infected and smelled terrible. The man is visited by Vultures, who then call for King vulture. In this Cashinahua narrative, however, the man hits King vulture and steals his clothes. Next, a Rat and not a King vulture cures the man. The man went after his people and remarries his wife since she still prefers him over her new husband.

Vultures also cause diseases instead of curing the ill, and is thus depicted as Masters of Death, Life and Immortality. In Story no. 648 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), King vulture curses Furna by mentioning all kinds of diseases. The latter continually answers that diseases do not exist. Having fallen asleep, Furna no longer answers King vulture. This explains why humans cannot defend themselves against witchcraft and die. In Story no. 232 Karajá (Gê), a woman asks King vulture how elderly men can be rejuvenated. Flying too high, his reply is only be heard by trees and certain "animals". Story no. 58 (Trio, Cariban), a Vulture warns the Trio only "to answer stone" (=life) and not to answer sickness. It also told them that when people die they would return as babies and that they only needed to keep these babies clean. As the Trio did not listen, people still die. As they fail to do so, disease and death are introduced.

In Story no. 414 (Cariban), a white-headed (King) Vulture owns a ring which can bring deceased humans back to life. Having taught a red-headed (Turkey) Vulture how to use this item, it then keeps the ring to itself. In Story no. 59 (Trio), King vulture's son named Puhpënpe, whose image is a star, teaches Amerindians about "disease". Puhpënpe is still present, mourning his dead son, in the form of red-eyed maggots. Puhpënpe is dangerous: malicious maggots and worms will show up at your feet in order to irritate your skin.

In Story no. 564 the two (curer and killer) are combined, because Vultures cure a man of his disease to then murder his wife's new husband. In Story no. 57 (Trio), the son of Vulture is captured by a man whose wife had not been able to bear children for him. Although the son leaves a cure against death with his mother she nonetheless passes away. In addition, indirect associations (see Story no. 222; Mbya, Tupian) refer to: (a) the fact that Vultures pretend to revive a corpse, and (b) narratives in which the protagonist is brought back to life, not by Vulture but either by a Twin brother (see Story no. 148; Bakairí, Cariban) or by Lightening (see Story no. 222; Mbya, Tupian).

A total of 390 motifs are recorded pertaining to the 70 Scavenger bird narratives. The most common hereof are: (a) origin of things and/or characteristics; n[35]38, (b) helpful "animal"; n=38, (c) tasks and/or quests; n=35, and (d) shamanism or magic and transformation; n=17.

The origin of things and/or characteristics

In the category of motifs concerning the origin of things and "animal" traits, the source of fire is encountered on multiple occasions. Story nos. 159, 220, 222-5 (Tupian) portrays King vulture as the (sole) Owner of Fire. Several men, with Toad's help, successfully manage to steal or take the fire from him (see Story nos. 159, 220, 222-5; Tupian). Other motifs are linked to: (a) the origin of disease (see Story nos. 57 and 648; Trio (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)), (b) death (see Story no. 648; Sikuani), (c) to seeds/agriculture (see Story no. 460; Warao), and (d) mind-altering substances, curare, or tobacco (see Story nos. 57, 303; Trio (Cariban), Münkü (Irantxe)). On the origin of Vulture or the specific physical/behavioural traits (see Story nos. 596-7; Cuiva, Guajiboan).

Related to motifs regarding the origin of things comprise numerous cases in which the Sun and (King) Vultures are intertwined (see Story nos. 116, 130, 148, 160, 223, 232, 348; 4x Cariban, Tupian, Gê). Vulture is explicitly mentioned as the Owner of the Sun or even of the Celestial light (see Story nos. 116, 148, 232; 2x Bakairí (Cariban), Karajá (Gê)). In Story no. 130 (Arekuna, Cariban) a man sits under a tree in which Vulture perches to allow its excrements to fall onto the man, who next asks the celestial light for assistance.

The motif regarding the dropping of excrement as well as nasal mucus is apparently linked to (King) vultures. In addition to the abovementioned Story no. 130 (Arekuna, Cariban), Story no. 241 (Tacanan) describes Vultures dropping their excrements on a woman. Here, the Vulture acts both as a punisher and as a helper of a "bird". A woman eats this "bird's" food and as she complains Vulture then punishes her. In addition to dropping its excrements, he also spits on the woman, giving her a yellow colour. In Story no. 258 (Kachuana, Cariban), when the protagonist is abandoned high up a tree King vulture utilises his "nasal mucus" to create a creeper, or rope, along which the protagonist descends. However, this narrative explicitly

[35] See p. 5, note 5.

states that King Vulture's creeper was too weak. Nevertheless, a similar creeper created by Harpy eagle is strong enough for the protagonist to climb down. In Story no. 182 (Chimane, Mosetenan), a culture hero named Dohit wishes to visit the Earth and asks Vulture for help. Dohit removes the mucus from his nose, rolls it through his fingers and then utilises it as a rope to climb down to the Earth. When Vulture does likewise it falls to the ground.

There are 28 explicit references to the food (i.e., being raw, or malodorous/carrion) of Vultures encountered. They have obtuse beaks that cannot cut meat and must, therefore, depend on King vulture for assistance (see Story nos. 77, 148; Arawakan, Bakairí (Cariban)). Buzzard's house smells pleasantly because it eats fruit (see Story no. 459; Warao).

Another physical attribute made explicit comprises Vulture's "black" colour (see Story nos. 596-7; Cuiva, Guajiboan). Other motifs deal with behavioural aspects, for instance, explain why Vultures: (a) do not live in a beautiful house (Story no. 250; Krahô, Gê), (b) go about thieving (see Story no. 459; Warao), and (c) are friendly with Amerindians (see Story no. 59; Trio, Cariban). Only one reference to a Scavenger bird kept as a pet is recorded (see Story no. 3; Wayana, Cariban). Other unfavourable qualities attributed to Scavengers are: jealousy (see Story nos. 77, 677; Arawakan, Sikuani (Guajiboan)), boastfulness (see Story no. 414; Cariban), envy (see Story no. 397; Waiwai, Cariban) and unreliability (see Story no. 414, Cariban).

A remarkably large number of narratives depict Vultures as beautiful women (see Story nos. 3, 77, 85, 130, 133, 160, 678, 969; 3x Cariban, 2x Arawakan, Warao, Tupian, Guajiboan). Motifs regarding marriage between Vultures and Amerindian protagonists are common, too (see Story nos. 3, 77, 85, 130, 133, 463, 487, 708; 3x Cariban, Arawakan, 3x Warao).

Helpful bird

As a helper the Scavenger bird: (a) teaches arts or handicrafts (see Story nos. 57-9, 115, 232, 303; 3x Trio (Cariban), Arawakan, Karajá (Gê), Münkü (Irantxe)), (b) acts as a leader of other "animals" (see Story no. 85; Warao), (c) acts as a healer (see Story nos. 3, 128, 135, 178, 414, 564-7; various sources), and (d) serves as an advisor, rescuer, messenger, provider of food/gifts (see Story nos. 57-8, 115, 172, 178, 182, 258, 303, 348, 414, 419, 460, 463, 564, 567; various sources) and (e) carries/flies men to safety or to the upperworld (see Story nos. 26, 67, 163, 189, 564-7, 637, 677-8; various sources).

Tasks and quests

The tasks/quests are often related to the role of a helpful "animal/bird". Scavenger birds frequently travel to the upperworld (see Story nos. 134, 171, 488, 677-8; Cariban, Panoan, Warao, 2x Guajiboan). Abduction (by a bird) is a recurrent motif, too (see Story nos. 419, 623, 648, 708; 2x Cariban, Sikuani (Guajiboan)). For motifs concerning tasks and/or excessive demands in order to prevent a marriage, see Story nos. 77, 133, 160, 463, 487 and 696 (2x Arawakan, Cariban, Tupian, 2x Warao). Various tasks are related to deception, for instance,

by means of a feigned death (see Story nos. 57, 77, 140, 148, 159, 220, 222-3, 225, 232, 648, 696; various sources).

Shamanic practice

In the narratives, various motifs on shamanistic practice are interrelated to the Vulture. As stated above, the Vulture acts as a healer or is involved in the act of curing, but can also cause sickness and death. It creates new eyes from resin (see Story nos. 128, 135; Taulipang, Cariban), cures a wasp's bite (see Story no. 178; Cashinahua, Panoan), has a ring that can bring deceased back to life (see Story no. 414; Cariban), cures sores and removes a complaints causing ant (maggot?) from an ear (see Story nos. 564, 566-7; Gê (Apinayé, Ramkokamekra-Canela, Krahô (Gê)) and takes a sick man to the sky world for healing purposes (see Story no. 565; Apinayé, Gê).

In addition to curing the ill, the Vulture carries out shamanic practices and ceremonies, for instance, dressing up an Amerindian and painting him with "*roucou"* (i.e., red seeds of the achiote shrub, *Bix orellana*)*;* Story no. 564 (Apinayé, Gê), and instructing the use of tobacco, or *yopo** (see Story nos. 303, 690; Münkü (Irantxe), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). In Story 564 (Apinayé, Gê), Vulture makes a man sick, who later dies. In Story no. 567 (Krahô, Gê), Vultures teach a man to be a shaman and hold a festival for him. In various narratives, a shaman wishes to marry King vulture's daughter and has to prove his expertise to his father-in-law. In Story no. 690 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Furna transforms a body part of his murdered brother into a Condor.

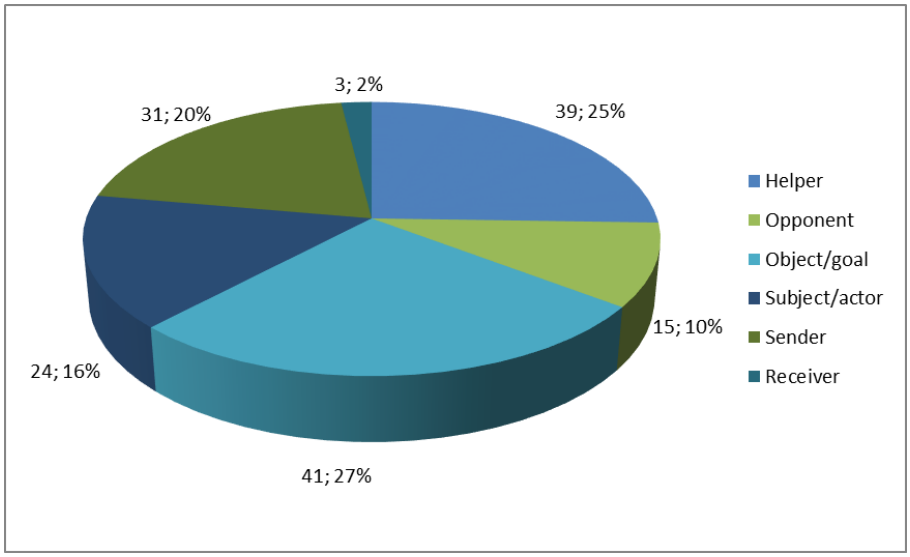
Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

The ascribed roles of the Scavenger birds differ significantly from those attributed to Birds in general (see Table B8).[36] Scavenger birds are slightly less often depicted as a helper (n=39; 25 percent), in general (31 percent) and a receiver (n=3; 2 percent, in general 6 percent) and more as an opponent (n=15; 10 percent, in general 5 percent), an object/goal (n=41; 27 percent, in general 23 percent), a subject/actor (n=24; 16 percent, in general 14 percent) and a sender (n=31; 20 percent, in general 21 percent).

Zooming in on these roles and the sub-categories, as a helper, Scavenger bird assists the protagonist with his/her desired goal (n=10) or serves as a provider of goods (n=10). Whenever a Scavenger bird is an object, it is by and large the result of a transformation (n=9) or the object/goal comprising the goal of the protagonist (n=30). Two records informs as to Scavenger birds being hunted or killed. As senders, these "birds" mainly act as advisors. Their advice/information leads to subsequent actions in the narratives (n=30). Scavenger birds introducing something new that a community then wishes to keep for itself is dealt with only one record.

[36] $\chi^2(5) = 12.67$; $\rho = 0.027$ (significant).

Table B8 Scavenger birds divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



Scavenger birds as shaman/spirit

Twelve records relate Scavenger birds to shamanism. In four hereof a shaman transmutes into a Scavenger bird (see Story nos. 115, 222, 424, 596; Arawakan, Mbya (Tupian), Yukpa (Cariban), Cuiva (Guajiboan)). In the remaining eight cases these birds demonstrate shamanic powers. A "mythical" two-headed Vulture features in Story nos. 134, 459, 463, 487 (Taulipang (Cariban), 3x Warao).

Pet or game

Only one record mentions that a Scavenger bird (a vulture) is kept as a pet (see Story no. 3; Wayana, Cariban). Not a single Scavenger bird is either hunted or eaten.

Interrelatedness between Scavenger birds and other "animal/bird" personages

The "Top 5" listing "animals/birds" with whom Scavenger birds co-occur within the narratives are: Birds (n=13), Birds of prey (n=12), Parrot-like (n=9), Jaguar (n=8). The "animals/birds" encountered on seven occasions are: Ant, Snake, Monkey and Toad. Compared to Birds in general, only Jaguar and Snake are listed in the "Top 5" of both. In this paragraph, only those narratives are elaborated on in which Scavenger birds are either directly related or directly interact with these others.

Notably, Lizard co-occurs six times with Scavenger birds. These records are even more interesting as Lizard is absent from the "Top 15" listing the most recurrent "animals" in general. All in all, only fifteen narratives have been recorded with Lizards.

Birds of prey and Scavenger birds

In section B3, the interrelatedness between Birds of prey and Scavenger birds has already been elaborated upon. In short, both groups of "birds" take on similar roles and frequently call upon each other for help. It is mainly the predatory "bird" that calls for the Scavenger. In other narratives, they oppose each other, whereby one acts as the protagonist's opponent, while the other helps him. For more on the interrelatedness between Birds of prey and others, see B3. Fabula, p. 75.

Parrot-like birds and Scavenger birds

In the stories, no direct relations between the Scavenger bird(s) and Parrot-like birds are recorded. Two instances are worth mentioning here because these "birds" take on similar roles. In Story no. 67 (Trio, Cariban), the protagonist needs help from "birds" in order to return home from the sky world. Vultures are not considered suitable for this task, because they fly like unstable canoes. Finally, a Parakeet brings the man home safely. Story no. 591 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) mentions that Spider makes clothes for white people from the plumage of "birds", including Parrots and Vultures.

Jaguar and Scavenger birds

In two Taulipang (Cariban) versions of one and the same narrative, namely Story nos. 128 and 135, Vulture provides Jaguar with new eyes after he had lost them, having foolishly tried to imitate a crab. Jaguars and Vultures are also portrayed as enemies. For instance, in Story no. 397 (Waiwai, Cariban), we read that Jaguars always bite Buzzards who, therefore, dislike them. In Story no. 226 (Sherente, Gê), Jaguar leads a thirsty man to various creeks to drink some water, one lake which *Urubu*, the common Vulture, owns. In Story no. 500 (Warao), Jaguar and Buzzard play similar parts. Once Turtle tricks, Jaguar asks for Buzzard's help because Turtle goes off with his collar. When Buzzard is tricked, too, he is defeated by Turtle who manages to get hold of his feathers.

Lizard and Scavenger birds

Although Lizards only co-occurs with Scavenger birds in six cases, this number is still noteworthy as in total only fifteen narratives feature Lizards. Therefore, Lizard is not listed in the "Top 15" of most recurrent "animal" personages in general. In Story no. 140 (source unknown), Vulture's daughter is married to Lizard. His mother-in-law thinks he works hard, but in fact, he is lazy (along with Owl who had married another of Vulture's daughters). Two other sons-in-law (resp. a Duck and a Dove) indeed work hard, but the Vulture mother-in-law considers them lazy, too. In Story no. 463 (Warao), a trainee shaman marries the daughter of two-headed Vulture. His father-in-law (i.e., a two-headed Vulture) forces him to carry out all kinds of tests, which he executes with the help of many. Finally, this trainee shaman transforms into a Lizard to then secretly spy on his father-in-law, so that he can carve a wooden image depicting him. Being a Lizard, he makes too much noise and succeeds only in his task after transmuting into Ants.

In Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban), Twin heroes have numerous adventures. Finally, they wish to take the Sun from King vulture and trick him after which they manage to acquire the Sun. At first they did not know what to do but in the end, they found a pot to store the Sun in. Not able to fall asleep, although it was dark, they acquire some sleep from Lizard. Story no. 116 (Bakairí) also focuses on this episode in the life of the Twin heroes. In this version, Bat's wife tells them to obtain sleep from Lizard.

Story no. 189 (Bororo, Gê) mentions that Lizards smell so badly that the boy who eats them passes out, which attracts Vultures. They first devour the Lizards to next start with the boy. Feeling for him, they took this boy to the mountain. Most narratives are either ostensibly directly related or include a level of interaction between the Lizard and Scavenger bird personages. The latter narrative may present a natural explanation: the fact that at least one species of lizard smells that much it attracts Vultures.

Setting

Scavenger birds are primarily staged in the sky world (n=51). Certain narratives position them on either the land (n=4) or in a water layer (n=3). With the sole exception of Story no. 397 (Waiwai, Cariban) all narratives include water and land scenery or are partly located within a sky setting. This story deals with Buzzard people organizing a large party for a woman who wishes to be married.

A forest setting (n=32; 73 percent) again prevails the village vs. forest dichotomy, although significantly less than in the case of Birds in general, for which 81 percent is positioned within a forest setting. In sum, twelve records of Scavenger birds occur within a village setting, of which four in a field.

Studying the various roles, the most common sub-division referred to a helper comprises the "bird" as a provider of goods (n=4) and "bird" helps an Amerindian/animal with a task/quest (n=2). As an object, the "birds" are either goals themselves (n=15) or the result of a transformation (n=2). As a sender, Scavenger birds provide the protagonist with Information/ advice that either function as a catalyst in the narrative (n=11) or introduces new things people then wish to acquire (n=1).

Unfortunately, the temporal setting is inconclusive here, due to the low number of records, but three out of four records are set during the daytime.

Sub-conclusions on the Fabula

Based on the 70 narratives, Scavenger birds are portrayed as malodorous "birds" that feed on carrion. Moreover, they often take on the physical manifestation of beautiful women whom Amerindians seek to marry. The roles ascribed to Scavenger bird follows the pattern of Birds in general, albeit slightly more ascribed the roles of opponent, object/goal and less as a helper. Various records link Scavenger birds to shamanism. In four cases a shaman transforms into a

Vulture, whereas in eight instances the Scavenger birds demonstrate shamanic powers. These "birds" act as healers or as Masters of Death, Life and Immortality in seven narratives. The dominant spatial setting here is the sky world. In addition to taking residence here, Scavenger birds also take/bring Amerindian protagonists up to this world.

Numerous motifs document specific "animal/bird" traits. As mentioned above, references with regard to their diets are at issue. In total, 28 explicit references concerning the food of Vulture/Scavenger are registered as to it being raw, malodorous or carrion. The most common physical references deal with it its beak and frequently relate to other bird's beaks, hereby presenting a strong vs. weak dichotomy.

The motif of marrying a beautiful (Vulture) woman is related to motifs concerning tasks and/or excessive demands to prevent marriages. Motifs with regard to deception have been encountered, for instance, when a Vulture woman is caught as the protagonist feigns death in order to attract Vultures.

Scavenger birds co-occur with other "animals/birds" in most narratives. The majority of these are included in the "Top 5" of the most common "animal" personages in general, i.e., Birds, Birds of prey, Jaguar, Parrot-like and Snake. Other "animals/birds" repeatedly co-occur together with Scavenger birds, to wit, Ant, Monkey and Toad. Notably, Lizards are not listed in the "Top 15" survey of most common "animals" encountered in narratives but co-occur five times with Scavenger birds (they do, however, form 33 percent of all Lizard narratives).

B4. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

As many as 58 records are registered pertaining to the mode of characterization of various Scavenger birds, which are, by and large, Vultures. In several cases, more than one type of Scavenger bird is characterized, e.g., a Vulture as well as Buzzard. Within one narrative Scavenger birds can be characterized differently. For instance, a Vulture according to the direct method and a Buzzard analogously. All in all, these 58 records only include 45 different narratives.

Of these records 7 percent (n=4) are analogue, 28 percent (n=16) direct and 65 percent (n=38) indirect. This sorts with the pattern for Birds in general (with 33 percent being direct and 4 percent analogue). Studying the analogies applied, in Story no. 67 (Trio, Cariban), the Vulture's flight is compared to an unstable canoe. Story no. 597 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) mentions that Buzzards were the first to own black and blue hammocks. In Story no. 640 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Vulture is compared to a Turkey because it has a wattle on its bill.

Several direct descriptions of a two-headed Vulture exist. In Story no. 459 (Warao), this "bird" is described as a white, older two-headed Vulture, who is king of all Vultures (named

Burearoba). Another story deals with the origin of the two headed-vulture (see Story no. 134; Taulipang, Cariban). In it an Amerindian protagonist first transforms into an all-consuming wolverine named Wöwöpodole to then, having met Vultures, attaches itself to one of them resulting in the creation of its left head. Delighted the Vulture now sets off for to the sky world.

Story no. 222 (Mbya, Tupian) explicates that, as a form of punishment, Vultures, once the sole Owners of Fire, are doomed to remain carrion-eaters, with no respect for the "big thing" (hereby referring to a corpse). Hence, they will never achieve perfect lives.

When lowering its feathers Vulture is described as a beautiful woman (see Story nos. 3, 77, 85, 133, 487, 678, 696; Wayana (Cariban), 2x Arawakan, 2x Warao, Taulipang (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Here the Amerindian (shaman) protagonist marries Vulture, but must first perform multiple, seemingly impossible tasks, when visiting his in-laws in the sky world.

Physical and/or behavioural features of Vultures are described in three cases. Story no. 708 (Cariban) features a red-headed King vulture with black and white feathers. In Story no. 414 (Cariban), both a white-headed Vulture (called Tamune) and a red-headed Vulture (called Tapire Upopo Krumu) are described. Tamune is good/kind and owns a golden ring which could make humans immortal, whereas Tapire Upopo Krumu is evil, dishonest and a show-off.

Story no. 85 (Warao) refers to the fact that, in a human form (such as a beautiful woman) Vulture dons a nose adornment, which is in fact its transformed beak. This observation fits the earlier description of the Vulture when compared to a Turkey because of a wattle on its bill. Its flight, a recurrent theme, Vulture is compared with an instable canoe. In Story no. 419 (Cariban), it is stressed that Vultures fly so high they are merely visible as a speck. This narrative indicates that both Arawak and Carib communities conceive Vultures as messengers of God. On the other hand, they are also described as dangerous child abductors.

Vultures are nearly always associated with decaying meat: it attracts them, their houses reek of it and they feed on it. In Story no. 459 (Warao) the malodorous house (its walls are covered in rotting meat) of Vultures is compared to the pleasant-smelling house of Buzzards who are described as vegetarians, who eat all kinds of fruit. Story no. 303 (Münkü, Irantxe) explicates Vulture's foul smell and the fact it is thin. Here the Vulture named Urubu is also said to possess one good and one bad/ poisonous kind of tobacco. This Vulture taught the Amerindian protagonist not only how to smoke but also how to utilise the poisonous tobacco when seeking revenge. Story no. 568 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) portrays the Vulture people as evil and black, with vulture-like voices, who eat decaying meat.

To conclude, pertaining to Scavenger birds (mainly Vultures) the fact is stressed that they are carrion eaters and thus malodorous. When they undress they are beautiful people, often

women. Physical features emphasised here are its “nose/beak” and the colour of either its plumage and/or head. Other references to its head concern a two-headed Vulture.

Duration

All in all, 69 records on duration were encountered regarding the Scavenger bird narratives. Two hereof have multiple records: Story nos. 18 (n=3) and 77 (n=2). The latter (Arawakan) narrative has different records on real time (one version covers 2 pages, the other 6 pages). The analysis of duration has been corrected for this duplication (i.e., 67 records for real time; 65 records for the narrated time.

The short range which covers up to 5 pages (n=51; 76 percent) prevails the real time. The middle range covers 6-10 pages (n=11; 16 percent) and the large range more than 10 pages (n=5; 7 percent). This assessment discloses that the real time differs significantly from the general distribution.[37] Remarkably many narratives fall in the middle and large range (13 percent compared to 8 percent in general). Therefore, Scavenger bird narratives number significantly more pages than average.

Moreover, the narrated time is significantly elonged, as 65 percent (n=42) has a narrated time of either months or years.[38] For Birds in general, this percentage is 48 percent and overall only 43 percent. The elongated real and narrated time indicate that the Scavenger bird narratives are more “epic”, with a storyline that includes multiple events (see section 4.3.2).

B5. Nocturnal birds

Nocturnal birds are discussed in this final sub-cluster of section B on the avian narratives. The specific “birds” included are Owls and Nightjars (also referred to as Goatsuckers and Night hawks).[39]

B5. General remarks

Together these “birds” are recorded for 40 narratives which originate from twelve language families. This observation indicates that narratives on Nocturnal birds are widely distributed among the indigenous groups of South America.[40] As seventeen cases (43 percent) hereof originate from the core area, it is highly likely they are known throughout the study region. All the narratives on Nocturnal birds are plotted on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America), see 6.5.1, Figure 6.34.

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[37] $\chi^2(2) = 21.81$; $\rho < 0.01$ (significant). The real time differs significantly from the general pattern (see 4.3.2).

[38] $\chi^2(2) = 12.27$; $\rho = 0.02$ (significant). The narrated time differs significantly from the general pattern (see 4.3.2).

[39] Specific species of owls and nightjars are discussed in section 6.5.2.

[40] All language families pertaining to the Nocturnal bird narratives (n=40) are: Arawakan, Bororoan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Lule-Vilela, Quechua, Ticuna, Tupian, Warao, Zamucaon and two unknown language families of which one stems from the Rio Negro region, see Figure B3.

The narrative functions of the Nocturnal bird narratives are in line with those registered for Birds in general. A slight increase of narrative function validating the world with 46 percent against 40 percent, in general, is noted. The function ensuring knowledge is relatively high and reaches 5 percent (against 3 percent in general). Notably, too, informing is underrepresented (15 against 24 percent in general).

Nocturnal bird narratives are considered as one cluster and, therefore, not further divided into sub-categories.[41] The variation in themes and motifs will be addressed below. The narrative chosen to serve as an example reveals a very common layout (structural) and a common theme:

> A couple goes fishing in the forest. During the night the man continues fishing, while the woman roasts fish. An old man with bushy hair, actually an Owl, approaches them asking for some Fish for his nephew. They give him some but he keeps returning asking for more. The couple thinks he is a forest spirit and leaves. When the Owl returned to devour them, they had already gone. The man, a shaman, drives Owl off with magic. [Story no. 630; Sikuani, Guajiboan; abridged]

B5. Fabula: actions/events, actors and setting

Actions and events

As stated above stories in this cluster differ in structures and motifs. Although the Nocturnal bird narratives are not further divided into separate sub-clusters, two clusters can easily be distinguished based on the various structures and main events: (1) hostile "birds", and (2) associations with night.

Hostile "birds"

In a number of cases Nocturnal birds are depicted as hostile "birds", malevolent spirits or terrifying ogres that frighten Amerindians, demand food and/or are cannibalistic eaters of corpses and/or killers (see Story nos. 156, 370, 571, 630-2, 657; Arawakan, Tupian, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Jivaroan). The general layout of these narratives includes:

1. a protagonist who is either travelling or on a hunting trip,
2. ignoring a warning (sign) or breaching a taboo,
3. evil befalling those who ignore warnings or breach taboos, whereby those who act accordingly remain safe,
4. restoring order.

[41] The narratives featuring Nocturnal birds are numbered: 2, 17, 21, 29, 78, 120, 140, 156, 158, 217, 259, 265-7, 270-1, 273-9, 282, 285, 370, 372, 464, 491, 515, 544, 546, 571, 619, 630-2, 657, 693, and 706 (various sources).

The above summary of Story no. 630 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) provides us with an example of this layout. The taboo breached or warning ignored is often made explicit within the narrative itself. In Story no. 632 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), boys mock Owl by imitating its sound. In Story no. 156 (Tupian), part of the hunting party does not listen to the warning delivered by a group member, who warns them about the strange event involving a stranger who passes by and then leaves. Next, a spirit named Kurupira murders those who ignored this prediction of ill fate that night. In Story no. 631 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), runaway girls (hereby expressing their conduct is disapproved of) receive fish from Owl. When they wish to eat it, the fish is already decaying, which in itself is an inauspicious omen.

In Story no. 370 (Trio, Cariban), an elderly woman chooses to stay behind in an abandoned village. The nocturnal spirits (Bat and Nightjar) do not affront her because she is still alive, but she decides to follow her grandchildren after this ordeal. In Story no. 571 (Krahô, Gê) devastating predatory "birds" and Owl attack a village. No clear breaches of taboo or the ignoring of warnings are encountered here. These devastating "birds" act as great avengers which results in culture heroes fighting them. Story no. 657 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) has a different scheme/layout. In it, the band-tailed Nighthawk (*Nyctiprogne leucopyga*) only plays a minor role as a guard, i.e., scaring off tobacco thieves by screeching "Uhá! Uhá! Uhá!".

Associations with the night

Story nos. 21, 120, 158, 276, 571 and 706 (Cariban, Arawakan, Tupian, Zamucoan, Gê, Jivaroan) focus either on the origin of night or on any behaviour associated with the nocturnal hours. Although the "night" motif is common, the narratives differ considerably in structure. Many stories are about Moon who has a Goatsucker as a wife or paramour. These tales often directly or indirectly explain why Goatsucker moans during the night, or at the Moon (see Story nos. 265-7, 282, 706; Jivaroan).

Story nos. 120 (Arawakan) and 158 (Tembé, Tupian) mentions that the night is contained in a package. In the former version, Owl having found this package and opening it is enveloped by darkness after which it can no longer stand daylight. In the Tupian version, the Tembé people set off in search of darkness/night because in those days they had to sleep during the day. A shaman leads them to two earthenware pots in which they hear the vocalisation of Owls and other nocturnal creatures. The Tembé open the pots and darkness/night appears along with those creatures of the night.

Story no. 276 (Ayoré, Zamucoan) provides us with an explanation for the fact that Goatsuckers "hide" during the day. They are looked out for in a quest for vengeance because Goatsucker has murdered lazy servants whose relatives wish to take revenge.

Motifs

While investigating the 40 Nocturnal bird narratives, 148 motifs have been recorded. The most common hereof are: (a) origin of objects and/or characteristics (n[42]25), (b) transformation (n=20), (c) hostile "bird/animal" (n=9), (d) tasks and/or quests (n=9), and (e) helpful "animal" (n=8).

Origin of the night and "animal/bird" traits

The origin of the night and the behaviour of nocturnal birds are both recurrent motifs (see Story nos. 21, 120, 158, 276, 571, 706; Cariban, Arawakan, Tembé (Tupian), Ayoré (Zamucoan), Krahô (Gê), Jivaroan). Motifs regarding the origin of disease (see Story nos. 277-8; Ayoré, Zamucoan) and fire (see Story nos. 217, 276-7, 693; 2x Ticuna, 2x Zamucoan) occur frequently, too. A remarkably large number of motifs concern the vocalisation of Nocturnal birds whereby sounds are either imitated or recognised. For instance, the "Bird" cries when the Moon rises serves as a sign for Amerindians to go to sleep, and/or it produces a remarkable, terrifying sound (see Story nos. 21, 78, 156, 158, 259, 265, 267, 372, 274, 464, 544, 706; various sources). Other aspects of the behaviour of Nocturnal birds refer to the fact they are only active at night and/or herald the arrival of the night, or moan at the Moon.

Why they return annually, their periodic behaviour, is also explained: because they wish to take revenge (see Story no. 279; Ayoré, Zamucoan). Other motifs focus on Nighthawk's movement, e.g., its flying around in low, agitated spurts and fluttering, trembling wings (see Story no. 546; Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). As to Nightjars, it is described how they acquired vulva-like gaping beaks (see Story nos. 217, 693; Ticuna).

Other motifs explicitly relate Nocturnal birds to a "bad omen" (see Story nos. 2, 78, 464; Wayana (Cariban), Arawakan, Warao). Or traits that describe them as lazy (see Story no. 140; source unknown, located in the Rio Negro region) and compassionate (see Story no. 370; Trio, Cariban).

Acts of Transformation

Transformation is a common motif, too. Notably, this act is related to excessive grief (see Story nos. 270-1, 279; unknown source from Amazonia, Guaraní (Tupian), Ayoré (Zamucoan)). In Story nos. 17, 156, 632 (Arawakan, Tembé (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan)) a spirit transmutes into a Nocturnal bird.

Tasks

Tasks linked to Nocturnal birds apparently pertain to more sinister associations, e.g., the quest for enemies and taking revenge (see Story nos. 277-9; Ayoré, Zamucoan). Punishment also recurs (see Story nos. 277, 515, 632; Ayoré, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Two

[42] See p. 5, note 5.

specific tasks are malevolent, to wit, raping a girl (see Story no. 631 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) and causing hunger by not feeding a brother (see Story no. 274; Quechua).

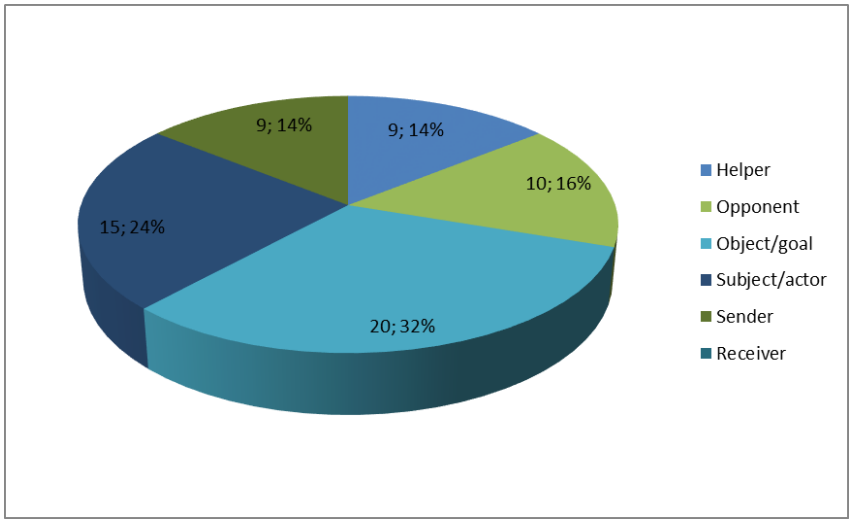
Hostile vs. helpful "birds"

Nocturnal birds are also depicted as hostile "birds", as malicious spirits or terrifying ogres that demand food, as cannibalistic corpse eaters and/or killers (see Story nos. 156, 370, 491, 571, 630-2, 657; various). They can also be related to more positive motifs when serving as helpful "birds", rescuers, messengers or guards.

Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

The ascribed roles of Nocturnal birds (see Table B9) differ significantly from Birds in general.[43] They are significantly less depicted as helpers (n=9; 14 against 31 percent in general) and slightly less as senders (n=9; 14 against 21 percent in general) and receiver (n0; 0 against 6 percent in general). They are more often ascribed the role of opponent (n=10; 16 percent, in general 5 percent), object/goal (n=20; 32 percent, in general 23 percent), and of subject/actor (n=15; 24 against 14 percent in general).

Table B9 Nocturnal birds divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



Zooming in on these roles and sub-categories: as helpers, Nocturnal birds assist the protagonist with his/her goals (n=3) or provide goods (n=4). Whenever these "birds" are an object, they are often the result of a transformation (n=15) or the object/goal themselves (n=4) or killed (n=1). As senders, they mainly act as advisors. Their advice/information leads to subsequent actions in the narrative (n=6). In three records, Nocturnal birds introduce something new that Amerindians then want for themselves.

[43] $\chi^2(5) = 3.30$; $\rho < 0.01$.

Nocturnal bird as a shaman/spirit

As to the Nocturnal birds, a remarkably large number of records either concern spirits that transform into such "birds" (n=7) or contain explicit references that Owls, in fact, are spirits. This association is encountered in narratives with various linguistic affiliations, see Story nos. 2, 17, 156, 370, 630-2 (Cariban (Trio, Wayana), Arawakan, Tupian (Tembé), Guajiboan (Sikuani). A shaman transforms into a Nocturnal bird in Story nos. 275 and 546 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). These "birds" demonstrate shamanic skills in Story nos. 372 and 491 (Warao). No records occur mentioning them being kept as pets or hunted or eaten (as game).

Interrelatedness between Nocturnal birds and other "animal/bird" personages

The "Top 5" listing the "animals/birds" with whom Nocturnal birds co-occur within the narratives are: Birds (n=7), Ants (n=5), Snakes (n=5), Birds of prey (n=5) and Hummingbirds (n=4). Compared to Birds in general, only one of these (Snake) is present in the "Top 5" of Birds in general. Story no. 619 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) features all of the aforementioned "animals/birds". At least two hereof co-occur together with Nocturnal birds (see Story nos. 29, 78, 544; Trio (Cariban), Arawakan, Krahô (Gê)). Only those stories are elaborated upon here if Nocturnal birds are either directly related or directly interact with these others.

Ant and Nocturnal birds

In Story nos. 217, 693 (Ticuna) Ant and Nightjar present goods: Ant provides a woman with sweet manioc while Nightjar gifts fire. In Story no. 544 (Krahô, Gê), a malicious man, having ignored a warning, is bitten by nocturnal creatures (Scorpion, large white Ant (perhaps referring to termites) and Snake), after which he screams and wails until turning into an Owl.

Snake and Nocturnal birds

The night is apparently the binding factor between Snake and Owl. In Story no. 120 (Arawakan), this is made very explicit when "birds" kill Great Serpent who Owns the Night (keeps it with him in case of emergency) and Owl finds its package containing darkness. In the aforementioned Story no. 544 (Krahô, Gê), night creatures (including a Snake) bite a malicious man before he transmutes into an Owl. In Story no. 282 (Jibaro, Jivaroan), Snake and Goatsucker do not directly interact. However, this narrative unfolds around Sun and Moon and family feuds. Being offspring of the creator and his wife, Sun and Moon have four children. Goatsucker is Moon's unfortunate paramour. Sloth (born to Moon and Sun) and Earthenware pot have a son, Water Snake, who later becomes Boa. Goatsucker is thus the paramour of Water snake's grandmother.

Nocturnal birds and Birds of prey

Nocturnal birds and Birds of prey are ascribed similar roles. In Story no. 156 (Tembé, Tupian), both Falcon and Owl are malevolent spirits, but here the pair do not directly interact. Here, too, the vocalisation of Owls, Tigers and other nocturnal fauna in combination with the sounds

of suffering humans is considered a clear sign of a spirit, named Kurupira, who takes human lives. In a succeeding episode of this narrative, a talking skull turns evil to then kill everything on its path before transforming into a Falcon. In Story no. 571 (Krahô, Gê), Nocturnal birds and Birds of prey are again ascribed a similar role as malicious opponents: now a village is terrorised by Hawks and Owls, which abduct and kill its inhabitants to feed to their young.

In Story no. 619 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a Hawk and an Owl are both ascribed the role of helper. Purna, a culture hero/shaman, has a devastating (Snake) father-in-law who is killed by a Hawk/Condor that Purna had raised and trained. Purna creates this "bird" from a body part of his younger brother who is devoured. Later on, Purna tries to escape from his wives who wish to revenge their father's death. During their quest, these wives mistake another man, named Kahuyáli, for Purna and cut off his leg. Kahuyáli then transforms things into "birds" (e.g., Hummingbird, Buzzard) in order to assist him, but they fail to inform others about his ordeal. Next, Kahuyáli transforms a bag into an Owl. This "bird" does manage to inform others, who then come to his help.

In Story no. 285 (Bororoan), the friends Sun and Moon wish to escape from a large fire. Sun thus turns into a Falcon and Moon into an Owl. Moon/Owl does not fly away but hides to be burned to death. Later Sun brings Moon/Owl back to life.

Hummingbirds and Nocturnal birds

In several narratives these "birds" are portrayed as helpers, e.g., when Kahuyáli creates "birds" to assist him, he transforms a piece of *yuno* (a magic substance shamans apply) into a Hummingbird which, as others cannot grasp its vocalisation, fails to warn them. Kahuyáli then transmutes a bag into an Owl, who does inform (is understood by) others who next assist him (see Story no. 619; Sikuani, Guajiboan).

In Story no. 29 (Trio, Cariban) both are called upon to help. Again Hummingbirds fail to serve as watchmen, but Nightjar succeeds and finds out who had stolen Orion's catch.

Setting in space and time

In sum, 23 records on a village vs forest setting have been encountered. Both settings are documented in Story nos. 278 and 464 (Zamucoan and Warao). Eight (35 percent) records of a village setting and fifteen (65 percent) of a forest setting are registered. These numbers display a discrepancy pertaining to the setting for Birds in general. When considering Birds, the dominance of forest settings is even more significant, amounting to 75 percent. However, the absolute number of records for Nocturnal birds is low, especially if the records of spatial setting and the ascribed role are combined.

Nocturnal birds are positioned in a land and the sky world setting (n=16). Several narratives stage them on the water layer (n=2). Story no. 274 (Quechua) specifically refers to a tree. Story nos. 270-1 and 273 (unknown and 2x Tupian) are set on land as well as in the sky. The two

water settings are placed on the river. In the first hereof, boys *en route* on this river mock an Owl (see Story no. 262; Sikuani, Guajiboan). In the second case, an Owl-spirit attacks a couple during their fishing trip (while roasting Fish) (see Story no. 630; Sikuani).

All in all, seventeen records are encountered within a temporal setting in which a night setting prevails (n=14; 82 percent). Story no. 657 (Guajiboan) mentions a sunset setting. Story nos. 279 and 693 (Zamucoan, Ticuna) unfold during the day.

Sub-conclusions on Fabula

Nocturnal birds are portrayed as (malevolent) spirits: opponents active at night either in a land or sky setting in both a village and forest settings. The motif helpful "animals/bird" only takes the fifth position in the list of most common motifs, whereas it is a very common motif for both Birds in general as for specific "birds". As an opponent, these "birds" frighten people, feed on corpses and are cannibalistic and/or killers. Only four narratives relate Nocturnal birds to shamanism.

Their relatedness to the nocturnal hours features in the motifs as well as in the set temporal setting. In addition to motifs pertaining to the origin of night, others interrelate the behaviour of Nocturnal birds to the night. These "birds" are ostensibly guardians (Masters) of the Night that become active between dusk and dawn when they vocalise. The sound they produce is an overall recurring motif. More behavioural features concern the manner the Nighthawk moves and explain the periodic behaviour whereby Nocturnal birds return every year. The only physical attribute present in the motifs is the Nightjar's gaping beak.

Nocturnal birds co-occur in narratives on Birds, Ants, Snake and Birds of prey. Hummingbirds and Nocturnal birds feature together in four cases.

B5. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

Six out of 23 records on the characterization mode of Nocturnal birds are direct (26 percent and Birds in general 33 percent) and all other Indirect (in general 62 percent). Story no. 276 (Ayoré, Zamucoan) explains why Goatsucker hides during the day. Story no. 274 (Quechua) directly interprets and clarifies Goatsucker's cries as demanding: "Make some flour! Make some flour". Story no. 546 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) describes why and how Nighthawks fly in low and agitated spurts. Story no. 370 (Trio, Cariban) states that Nightjar is the minister of the nocturnal spirits. Other narratives provide more information on Goatsucker's physical attributes. For instance, Story no. 693 (Ticuna) describes how it acquired his wide beak which resembles a vulva. In Story no. 630 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), an Owl is described as an elderly male with bushy hair.

Duration

In sum, 36 records, encountered in 33 stories, deal with duration for the Nocturnal bird narratives. Two hereof have multiple records: Story nos. 17 (n=3) and 619 (n=2). The latter has two different records on real time whereby one source covers more than 10 pages, the other 5 pages. The analysis of duration is corrected for these stories with multiple records (i.e., 34 records for real time as Story no. 619 (Guajiboan) is included twice. As many 33 records of narrated time, corrected for all repetitions since the narrated time is equal in every recorded version these each story.

The duration is evidently congruent with the pattern in general.[44] All in all, fifteen records (45 percent) of a narrated time of either months or years exist, compared to 42 percent in general. Real time is in line, too. The majority of narratives are short, filling up to 5 pages (n=30; 88 against 92 percent in general).

B6. Other Bird narratives

Of the 81 Bird narratives, 42 are clustered or addressed (see sections B1 and B2, leaving 39 not further analysed.[45] Specific "birds" (i.e., Parrot-like, Ducks, etc.) are not further sub-categorised but analysed as a single dataset. Consequently, they are not further dealt with here. The abovementioned 39 narratives include themes which are related to: (a) "bird" catching, (b) the origin of "birds" (e.g., through transformation), (c) devastating "birds", and (d) additional themes.

B6a. Related to "bird" catching

Various narratives refer to Birds as game, for instance, when hunted by a protagonist. This specific event has a catalyst function: hunting Birds is merely an introduction to the main narrative. For instance, a protagonist is now abandoned, meets Jaguar or loses his/her way (see Story nos. 157, 192-4; Tupian, 3x Gê). In Story nos. 360 and 476 (Warao), hunting Birds lead to the discovery of land. These narratives relate to the time when all beings frequented the sky world. The (enormous) Bird once fired a shot, creating an opening leading towards Earth: a huntsman spots daylight and treetops after which humans descend to Earth.

Story no. 591 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) states that the Mayareki people from Venezuela informed the Cuiva Amerindians that Spider: (a) creates clothes for the white people who shoot all kinds of "birds", and (b) it chews through a pile of feathers to make clothes. Moreover, whenever members of the Cuiva community pass away and turn white, Spider makes clothing for them to wear.

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[44] A Chi-squared analysis cannot be conducted in this case, as the expected values do not meet with the requirements of this statistic test.

[45] Sections B1 and B2 number 47 narratives. However, in section B2 several additional narratives are included because they contain motifs concerning the colouration of birds in relation to specific "birds" (e.g., vultures), but lack either a general Bird personage or a reference hereto.

Certain “birds” are not valued as game. In Story no. 196 (Tembé, Tupian), the Inhambu (*Tinamou* sp.) is considered to be inferior meat. However, in Story no. 309 (Toba Pilaga, Guaicuruan), two “poor chumuco birds” are caught by Fox and next are not appreciated by Carancho.

B6b. Origin of Birds (e.g., through transformation)

It is very common that Birds are the results of transformations (see also B. Fabula-layer). On occasion, the protagonist chooses to transmute into Bird for a specific reason. For instance, in Story no. 190 (Bororo, Gê), a boy in search of his mother changes into Bird in order to operate more effectively.

Two narratives in which thirsty people transform into “birds” during their search for water are somewhat related. In Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê), a child become so thirsty it transforms into Bird and flies off. In Story no. 545 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), extremely thirsty women send their heads off during the night to search for water. The husband of the second woman, who attempts the same, prevents the head from returning. After her demise, this head turns into Bird calling “bu, bu”. For more on “thirst” being referred to in relation to “birds”, see Story no. 247 (Bororo, Gê). In it, mothers and sisters treat ill men before changing into “birds”. One man remains whose brothers (i.e., birds) tell him that if he ever would become thirsty or too hot, he had to imitate their call “toka, toka, ka”. This would cause a cloud to appear carrying a little rain (see also 6.1.4 under the sub-heading *References to “birds” as omens*).

Story no. 477 (Warao) describes that after many Amerindians had died in succession a great white Bird (the soul) appears to inform Amerindians it is going to meet companions in the upperworld and that all Amerindians will follow. One other day they meet souls in an abandoned village whose hunger and thirst cause them to whine. Since then they provide food and water for the souls.

The transformation seems to be a punishment, or result of ill-treatment (see Story nos. 9, 146, 452). In Story no. 452 (Warao), Amerindians trick Howler monkey into eating its own kind. In revenge, it kills all but two. Both Amerindians escape and swear vengeance. They set fire to a tree in which Howler monkey together with his wife, children and paralysed servant are hiding. His wife and child are burned to death. Next Black birds, Bats and Lizards emerge from their ashes. Later various cultivated plants grow on that same spot. Story no. 146 (Munduruku, Tupian) reports on the origin of various peoples, who all appear from beneath the ground through a hole. Once tired and sleepy, “Father” tells the sleepiest person: “You are slow and lethargic, so you will turn into a Bird, Bat, Pig and a Butterfly. He informs others, who are not slow but beautiful: “You will be the beginning of a new era”. In Story no. 9 (Island Carib, Arawakan), a woman who is mistreated by her husband, takes her child and leaves him to search for a charm. Father/husband has pursued and found them. She tells him to go away. While leaving, he turns into Bird with a yellow beak and claws.

However, transmutations can also be the outcome of other events. Story no. 571 (Krahô, Gê) features a pair of culture heroes, who need to save their communities from devastating, malicious "birds" (Hawks and Owls). They transform the plumage of Owl/Hawk into all kinds of "birds". In Story no. 511 (Apinayé, Gê), Sun and Moon produced all kinds of "animals/birds" whereby Moon creates "birds" when transforming game acquired by Sun.

B6c. Devastating birds

A number of narratives include unspecified devastating Birds, presumingly referring to Birds of prey. As they are not specified, or unidentified, they are included in the general Bird section. Story no. 608 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) reports on how a man, who wishes to eat human flesh, transforms into Kotera, the mythical, man-eating "bird". This "bird" is described as enormous (i.e., the size of a Douglas DC-3 airliner). Story no. 612 (Guajiboan) relates how the protagonist learns how by painting his face with "Kayari"[46] to protect himself against a devastating Bat named Hao.

B6d. Additional themes

Story nos. 47 and 383 (Trio, Cariban) deal with the origin of the fire motif. Here Toad shows a Trio shaman two kinds of fire of which he may choose one. A bird called Marasi now enters and chooses the eternal flames. The Trio community is thus left with the smoking fire.

Characteristics

Section B2 discusses the origin of "bird" colouration. However, more traits of (specific) Birds are addressed in the narratives, for instance, bird songs. Story no. 334 (Tupian) explains the origin of various species, but also states that both the Inhambu (Family: Tinamidae) and the Cujubim (*Pipile cumanensis*) vocalise at regular intervals during the night, or to greet the dawn. Story no. 21 (Cariban) features the sounds of several "birds", such as the Nightjar. Its "wo-jou", or "wo-ka" is a signal for Amerindians to retire. The Koehtan aka Kuiftiran (Family: Tyrannidae) who vocalise at dusk are considered ghosts as they travel at dawn and produce a completely different sound during the day.

In Story no. 430 (Yukpa, Cariban), the Yukpa invite people from a neighbouring tribe to a feast. Their chief greets them by taking hold of their legs and throwing them up in the air. They next transform into Birds each with their own songs. Story no. 413 (Cariban) describes how "birds" become estranged from their next-of-kin. All "birds" once shared the same tribal father and mother, but having placed bets (e.g., pertaining to who is the prettiest) they finally become alienated.

Bird is depicted as a (potential) husband, e.g., in Story no. 354 (Cariban). In it, a lazy Bird son-in-law pretends to be ill so that he does not have to work the field or carry out any other

[46] Kayari is also a term the Katxuyana and Cariban people apply to warriors (see Girardi 2015: 93, note 19).

assigned tasks. In Story no. 395 (Warao), both Turtle and Bird wish to marry the same woman. Turtle did not work his field, whereas Bird who did so beautifully then marries her.

Other characteristics are addressed, too. For instance, Story no. 364 (Akawaio, Cariban) reports not only on how a trumpeter (Family: Psophiidae) "bird" falls into a fire ant nest after these insects had eaten its legs, but also on how Bush fowl feed on coals providing them with glowing throats.

C. The Dog

All 24 stories featuring Dog (*Canis familiaris*) personages and/or references to Dogs are central to this cluster.[47] The outcome hereof is compared to the conclusions presented in Chapter 4 to the benefit of establishing a contrast and in order to construe the results. This section follows the set methodology and layout in order to answer the research question: which attributes and roles are ascribed to canines and with what or whom are they associated with?

C. General remarks

In this paragraph, the Dog narratives are analysed as a comprehensive set, before being further clustered and categorised according to (clusters of) motifs. Firstly, the narrative functions are studied. Then the analysis focuses on the linguistic affiliation and geographic dissemination of the narratives.

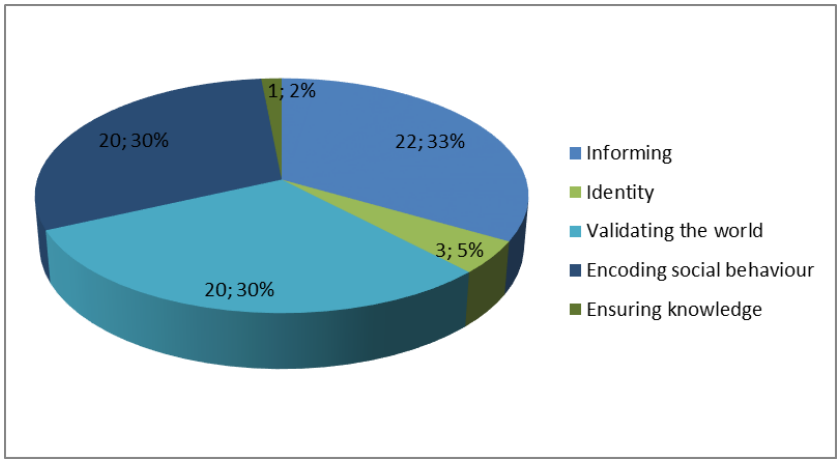
Narrative functions

Considering the narrative functions Dog stories are generally speaking informative, with either explicit or implicit references to hunting techniques, which food is appropriate and how certain things are to be done (see Table C1 and Appendix C, Table C-4, for a complete list of all sub-functions. In sum, 20 cases contain a strong moral component of how one should behave. In 20 cases, too, the world is to a certain extent validated: why are things as they are?

Comparing these results with the general outcome of the overall narrative functions (see 4.1.1), more Dog narratives are informative (33 against 24 percent in general) and a relatively smaller number serve the function validating the world (30 against 40 percent). All in all, however, the differences in narrative functions are insignificant.[48] When zooming in on the function informing, Dog narratives include the most common sub-types of this category: (a) which food (not) to eat, (b) how (not) to carry out certain activities, and (c) hunting techniques.

[47] All narratives included here are numbered: 19-20, 35, 40-1, 63, 71, 82, 132, 358-9, 423, 427, 461, 465, 470, 478, 555-6, 611, 660, 689 and 709-10 (Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Warao).
[48] $\chi^2(4) = 4.88$; $\rho = 0.3$ (not significant).

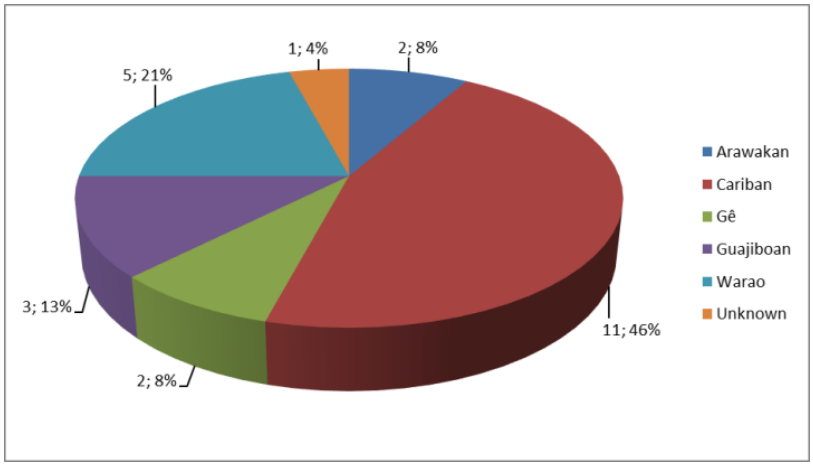
Table C1 Narrative functions of Dog narratives (%).



Linguistic affiliation

It is relevant to investigate the narratives in relation to their linguistic affiliations to then establish whether any specific Dog narrative correlates with certain linguistic affiliations or geographical areas. These narratives are encountered in five language families: Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan and Warao (see Table C2) which are also the most prominent in the narrative corpus of the present study. As to Dog narratives, Tupian is the only prominent language family to be absent (see 4.1.1). The Cariban and Warao language families have a strong presence here. The reader is referred to 5.2.1, Figure 5.1 for more detailed information on geographical distribution and the specific affiliation of the narratives. Figure 5.1 displays a plot of the narratives on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America).

Table C2 Linguistic affiliation of Dog narratives based on language family (%).



In comparison with the overall linguistic distribution of the narratives, the Dog narratives are overrepresented in the Trio (Cariban) and Warao narratological corpus and occur less

frequently in the Guajiboan and Gê traditions. A remarkably high number (46 percent) of these cases is Cariban, even though Cariban narratives are also overall the most common (24 percent, see 4.1.2).

C. Fabula-layer: events, actors and setting

Events: main events and motifs

To establish if Dog is associated with specific events and/or actions a distinction is created between main events (which are predefined categories) and the documented motifs that provide information on specific events within the narrative.

Main events are documented for only six narratives: quest on two occasions and rescue on three. Truth finding and contest are both documented once. Quest and rescue are overall the most common main events (see 4.2.1). The majority of these main events are directly linked to the Dog-personage in the narrative. Only rescue (in one case) and contest are documented as a main event, but are not directly linked to a Dog personage. Interestingly, the main event deception is not at all recorded for Dog narratives.

Zooming in on motifs directly linked to the Dog personage results in 74 motifs, of which the "Top 4" comprises: (a) helpful dog; n=16, (b) Dog as pet; n=14, (c) transformation whereby a dog changes into a human or vice versa; n=11, and (d) marriage of a human to a Dog, including the motif Dog as paramour; n=10.

Helpful pet

The Dog personage is apparently linked to situations in which the Dog helps others. The second most common motif "Dog as a pet" is related to the first motif. As a "pet", the Dog assists its Master, for instance, on a hunting trip it is set loose in order to catch game (see Story nos. 35, 71, 427, 611; Trio, Yukpa (Cariban), Cuiva (Guajiboan); unknown). The pet dog stays at home (or returns home) to prepare meals and clean the house (see Story nos. 19-20, 358-9, 710; 3x Kaliña/Cariban, 2x Arawakan), or gives advice/directions (see Story no. 41; Trio, Cariban).

Transformation

Transformation is overall the most common motif. It is, therefore, not surprisingly also mentioned in the "Top 4" list regarding motifs of the Dog personage. The transformation is the result of a Dog removing its clothes, after which now and again they are thrown on fire (see Story nos. 19-20, 41, 71, 358-9, 478, 710; 5x Cariban (Kaliña, Trio), 2x Arawakan; Warao). In the course of a night described in Story no. 611 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) people turn stones into hunting Dogs.

Marriage and offspring

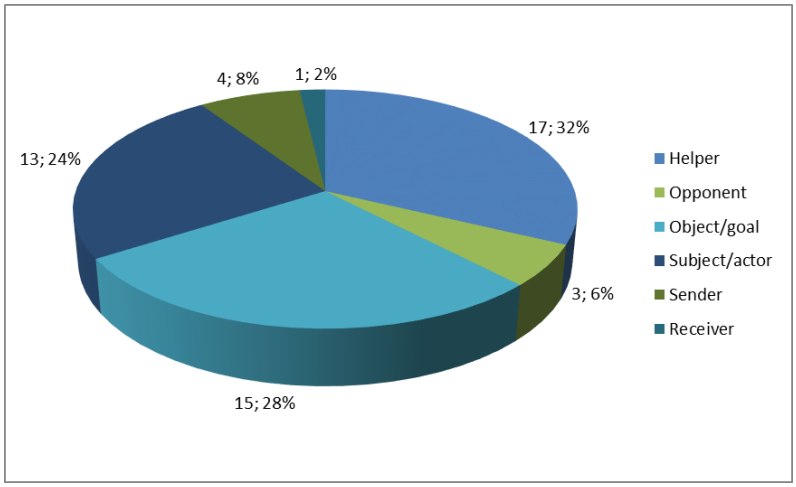
The act of marriage is also closely related to Dog. Marriage is a common motif and listed in the eighth position in the survey of most recurrent motifs. The Dog transforms into a

marriageable woman, or a girl/woman has a Dog lover, or has intercourse with her/his Dog. These relations on occasion result in (half-human) offspring (see Story nos. 40, 427, 470, 478; Trio, Yukpa (Cariban), 2x Warao). The Dog is described as the ancestor of all canines (see Story no. 40; Trio, Cariban), or even of the Warao themselves (see Story no. 478; Warao).

Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

This element of the fabula is closely related to Greimas's actants. The most common role for Dog is that of helper (n=17), closely followed by object/goal (n=15) and subject/actor (n=13). The Dog is more often a sender (n=4) than a receiver (n=1). Only in Story nos. 470, 555-6; Warao, 2x Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) is the role of opponent ascribed to the Dog personage (see Table C3).

Table C3 Dogs divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



When compared with the overall distribution of Greimas's actants, Dogs show no significant variation in the attributed roles.[49] However, Dogs are more often ascribed the roles of helper (32 against 20 percent in general), and subject/actor (24 against 17 percent). Dog is less frequently ascribed to roles of sender (8 against 17 percent), opponent (6 against 10 percent), and object/goal (28 against 34 percent).

The Dog is never ascribed any shamanic power (other than transforming when changing its clothes), nor is it explicitly portrayed as a (transformed) spirit. In Story nos. 555 and 611 (Cuiva (Guajiboan), Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)) the Dog is "somewhat" mythical. In the latter narrative, it is described as huge, even as large as a house. In the former case, Dog is called upon by hitting the ground with a stick after which stones transform into (hunting) Dogs.

[49] $\chi^2(5) = 9.26$; $\rho = 0.1$ (not significant).

As has been established above, Dog is often described as a pet. Records of Dogs being either hunted or eaten as game do not exist. Story no. 132 (Taulipang, Cariban) explicitly states that wild dogs are *not* eaten.

Interactions with other "animal" personages

In order to establish with whom Dog is associated it is meaningful to note with which other "animal" personage(s) it interacts. In this respect, only one "animal"-actor catches the attention: the Jaguar. Story nos. 63, 82, 132, 461, 465 (Trio, Taulipang (Cariban), 3x Warao) feature both Dog and Jaguar. The Dog is associated with Parrot in Story nos. 19, 358, 710 (Kaliña, Cariban). Other "animal" personages in the Dog narratives, that each occur twice are Snake (see Story nos. 63, 689; Trio (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)) and Fish (see Story nos. 35, 40; Trio, Cariban).

Parrot and Dog

In three Cariban narratives, the Dog and Parrot interact in a very similar fashion. They are set in the same spatial and temporal setting and perform (or are part of) the same events/actions. These three cases are presumably versions of one and the same narrative. Both "animals" are wives of the Amerindian protagonist (see also section C1. Fabula). The fact that Amerindians keep both Parrots in cages and dogs as pets could be the interconnecting factor between these two "animals" and seems to be reflected in these narratives.

Jaguar and Dog

Jaguar is by far the most recurrent "animal" personage within the narratological content of the present study. Little wonder Jaguar features in the Dog narratives, too. Both creatures appear in Story nos. 82, 461 and 465 (Warao). In Story nos. 82 and 465, the Dog kills and/or devours Jaguar who has killed Amerindians. In Story no. 461, Jaguar kills the dogs accompanying their Amerindian masters. Here, the Dog and Jaguar are opponents, just as the Jaguar is the adversary of the Amerindians (see also sections C1 and C2).

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

As to the Dog narratives, the village context prevails in the dichotomy village vs. forest. This fact contradicts the general dominance of forest contexts (see 4.2.3). The Dog narratives number seventeen (74 percent) records pertaining to a village context, against six (26 percent) which refer to a forest context.

The village vs. forest context in relation to the (actantial) role of the Dog is evidently not connected. As to the five forest records, the roles vary from helper, opponent, subject/actor to sender. All these roles are also encountered within the village context. The Dog interconnects these spaces especially because hunting Dogs kill game in the forest and bring it to the village (see also 5.2.4).

By contrast, the day-night dichotomy within Dog narratives closely resembles the general pattern. Unfortunately, this dichotomy is only documented for seven Dog narratives (Story nos. 358-9, 427, 556, 611 and 709-10) of which six refer to the daytime and only two to the night. In Story 427 (Yukpa, Cariban), the Dog acts during the day and the night. No references to dusk or dawn occur.

The cosmic layer(s) in relation to the actor and actions form another aspect of the setting. Story nos. 19, 427, 465, 470, 478, 611, 689 and 709-10 feature the Dog when acting on the land layer, the most common layer (see 4.2.3). Story nos.423, 470, 555-6, 689) refer to water. In Story nos. 470 and 689, the Dog acts on the land as well as in the water layer. The underworld and the water layer are both mentioned in Story no. 423.

In two of the three narratives in which the Dog takes on the role of opponent (Story nos. 470, 555-6; Warao, 2x Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), the story is set on the water layer (Story nos. 555-6: Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). This apparently confirms the observation presented in Chapter 4: water is related to the role of opponent (see 4.2.4).

Sub-conclusion: fabula of Dog narratives

The general frame set by the 24 Dog narratives comprises that of an “animal” in close association to humans. Both share spatial settings and live in the same space (village). As a personage in the narratives, it informs people about everyday life, marriage, hunting techniques, etc.

In general, the Dog has very positive connotations as a (pet) helper and a potential spouse. It is also associated with hunting, when directly helping to catch game and can also be portrayed as a cook. Dogs are never considered game. Although in general Dog has positive connotations, there seems to be a shift within the context of the cosmic water layer where the Dog is portrayed as an adversary.

Looking into with whom the Dog is associated, only one “animal” stands out: Jaguar, which is also by far the most common “animal” personage in the narratives. Within the narratological context, the Dog also seems to be associated with Parrot, Snake and Fish. In the following sections, the Dog narratives have been categorised. Moreover, the proposed interrelatedness between Dog and these other “animals” is further explored, in relation to the motifs encountered in the narratives.

C. Story-layer: characterization and duration

The second layer of the narratological analysis is referred to as Story-layer. As established in the methodological chapter (see 3.3.1), this layer is studied by means of two elements: characterization and duration.

Characterization

As determined (see 4.3.1), the overall preferred mode of characterization is indirect. This holds true for the Dog actor with its 20 records (83 percent) of indirect, two of direct and two of analogous (8 percent) characterization. The mode of characterization of Dogs is in line with the general distribution. However, the number of records does not suffice to conduct a reliable statistical analysis.

The two analogue descriptions emphasise the behavioural qualities of Dogs. Story no. 63 (Trio, Cariban) mentions that a boy can smell as can Dogs. In Story no. 32 (Taulipang, Cariban), a father and his children choose to transform into Wild dogs, which are never eaten and have no fear of bees. Interestingly, Story no. 478 (Warao) reports that the Warao are distrustful and flee from other people, "like Dogs do" because they are the offspring of Amerindians and a Dog-wife.

In Story no. 555 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), Dogs are described as "huge" as houses and as dangerous killers. Moreover, Amerindians raised two pups which are the ancestors of the larger breeds of Dogs. Wilbert & Simoneau (1978: 319) mention another version in which these "huge" Dogs are actually Jaguars. In Story no. 478 (Warao), a man sees a Dog lying down with a happy face to later witness it removing its skin and become a beautiful woman.

Duration

Duration is investigated according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). As much as 94 percent of the narratives fall within the short-range taking up to 5 pages. After correcting the three narratives with multiple records on duration, 23 narratives (96 percent) fall within the short range to cover between 1 and 5 pages. The remaining narratives can be considered middle range (between 6 and 11 pages).

Studying the narrated time, nine narratives (38 percent) are short (covering only a few days). All the other cases have a narrated time of either weeks (n=4), months (n=6) or years (n=5). This is in line with the overall narrated time, as 44 percent of the narratives have a short narrated time (see 4.3.2).

Sub-conclusions as to the story-layer

The Dog is most often indirectly characterized, which is, in general, the preferred mode. In Story no. 555 (Gê) Dog is described directly, as huge and dangerous. This may support the hypothesis that a different mode of characterization is chosen if a personage acts "out of

character". Only a small number of records of the Dog acting as an opponent are registered. Therefore, as yet, we have insufficient data to support this supposition.

Duration is in line with the general pattern because the majority of the narratives are short. In addition, there is only a minor increase in narrated time, indicating a more "epic" character of the Dog narratives.

In the following paragraphs, the 24 Dog narratives are further categorised based on their motifs. The identified sub-clusters are: (a) the Dog as a wife and paramour and (b) the Dog as a helper or a hunting companion.

C1. Dog as wife and paramour

In seven narratives the Dog personage acts as a wife or (inappropriate) lover. In this paragraph, they are categorised and analysed based on the set methodology.

> Every time a man returns from hunting, cassava awaits him. The man spies on his Dog and discovers her secret. He secretly returns home early from hunting and witnesses a naked woman preparing cassava. When she wishes to put on her clothes, he throws them into the fire. The woman was first his Dog. [Story no. 20 (Arawakan); abridged]

The other cases with similar themes are numbered: 19-20, 71, 358-9, 478 and 710 (3x Cariban, 3x Arawakan, 1x unknown source).

C1. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These narratives consist of basically the same events whereby a single, unmarried man:

(a) goes outside the house,
(b) returns to find a situation altered (of which he has no knowledge),
(c) wants to know what has happened and spies,
(d) learns of a secret which leads to desire,
(e) takes (the appropriate) action to get what he wants, after which the Dog-woman becomes his wife through *rites de passage* involving fire, changing clothes and the approval of her father.

The most common motifs present in all seven narratives are: (a) transformation, (b) clothes of "animal", (c) "animal" as a pet, (d) helpful dog, and (e) marriage. The actions within the narratives are mainly related to the protagonist's (subconscious) need for a spouse. The protagonist is driven by the desire to know/understand what happens while he is not at home. The underlying message may well be that the protagonist is indeed in need of a wife, whether he is aware of this or not.

The subsequent action of finding out the secret (by spying) makes the protagonist conscious of the fact he desires a wife. In order to make his pet canine suitable as a wife, he needs to take the appropriate steps. This procedure is a metaphor for real life, in which the act of marriage (a binding contract between two individuals) is surrounded by rituals, obligations and procedures.

The woman of choice, i.e., Dog, has to become a suitable spouse. Through a *rite de passage* the Dog has to detach herself from her former existence to then embrace her new life. This can be done either by changing clothes or by burning the Dog's "rope/clothes" in a (purifying) fire. In a certain narrative (Story no. 71; unknown source), her father's approval is explicitly required. In a number of these narratives, the Dog-wife is in conflict with herself at the moment her clothes are burned and tries to retrieve her "animal" clothing. She becomes an (Amerindian) wife in all the narratives.

Changing and/or burning clothes is overall one of the most recurrent motifs. By burning the "clothes", the subject (Amerindian) changes the perspective of the object (Dog; see also 3.4.2). This is an example of what is designated as: "A situation in which the subject of a perspective, or "self", is suddenly transformed into an object in the perspective of another being" (Viveiros de Castro 2012: 36). It is only through this action that the Dog can turn into, and see itself, as a spouse. When losing its adornments or clothes the subject will forget its next-of-kin who will no longer recognise it.

In Story no. 40 (Trio, Cariban), Dog is portrayed as a lover. With a different structure, it describes a world in which all humans have passed away, but for only one family. The eldest daughter desires a man, seduces a Dog and bears his children which are the ancestors of all Dogs. This explains why Dogs understand humans so well.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these narratives.

(a) Sender: the unmarried man, who by leaving his house, starts the action,
(b) Object/goal: primarily comprising game, for the man goes out hunting. As the narrative unfolds the Dog or wife, becomes the object/goal of the protagonist,
(c) Helper: the Dog helps the unmarried man in his quest for a wife by preparing food, washing and cleaning up,
(d) Subject/actor: the unmarried man and the Dog-woman are the subjects here,
(e) Opponent: absent,
(f) Receiver: only the unmarried man and the Dog-wife benefit from the subject's actions. In Story no 19 (Cariban), the naked (dog) women receive clothes from the men to wear (part of event e, see above).

A direct relation between Dog and Parrot is only encountered in Story nos. 19, 358 and 710 (Cariban). The former two are very similar and presumably versions of the same narrative.

Story no. 710 distinguishes itself by a slightly different ending, as it is extended. Both the Parrot and Dog wife have children. The daughter of Parrot has children with the son of Dog. In this way, the number of Amerindians multiplied. The roles of Dog and Parrot within the narratives are identical.

Setting

As the Dog features as a wife, it acts in a familiar setting: within the household and thus within a village context and during the daytime. All narratives take place in the cosmic layer of land.

C1. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization and duration

The characterization of Dogs is addressed in C. Story-layer. In this sub-cluster, the Dog transforms into a woman. Story no. 478 (Warao) explains that the distrustful nature of the Warao people is the outcome of their descent from Dogs. However, following the general pattern observed in the majority of the narratives, the Dog personage is determined indirectly.

Duration also is in line with the general pattern of Dog narratives (see C. Story-layer). All are short: covering between 1 and 5 pages. A wide variation in narrated time is encountered in each category, ranging from between (less than) a single day and several years.

C1. Concluding remarks on "Dog as wife/paramour"

In this category of Dog narratives, the Dog is portrayed as a pet, an "animal" very close to humans. Dogs are considered trustworthy, loyal, friendly, a helper, companion, and a potential spouse. The familiar setting in which the narratives unfold endorses this. Within this role, these narratives illustrate the role division between man/woman or husband and wife. Moreover, that marriage involves taking appropriate steps but also that she must detach herself from her former life by moving in with her husband. Therefore, the dominant narrative function here is referred to as encoding social behaviour (see 4.1.1).

The inappropriate lover

Dog that features as an explicitly inappropriate lover (see Story nos. 427 and 470 (Yukpa (Cariban), Warao) do not belong to this sub-cluster. The Dog is portrayed here as an "animal" with bad habits and unsuitable to marry or mate. However, this theme of an "animal" as an inappropriate lover is not specifically linked to the Dog personage, but fairly common in the narrative corpus. Other "animal" personages ascribed this role are: Tapir, Snakes (including Water boa/Anaconda), Alligator, Sloth, Lizard.[50] The main theme in this category is: marriage and/or intercourse with an "animal" improper, or tabooed.

[50] Narratives with other "animal" personages as improper paramours are numbered: 54, 68, 88, 95, 102-3, 105, 198, 214-5, 255, 324, 433, 526, 552, 554, 560 and 622 (6x Gê, 4x Cariban, 2x Arawakan, 2x Warao, Sikuani (Guajiboan), Tupian, Guaicuruan, Tucanoan).

In all the narratives which deal with this theme of an “animal” being an unbefitting paramour, a man/woman desires “animal” and has (secretly) an intimate relationship with the “animal”. Often this secret is revealed, resulting in evil befalling to the man/woman and or the lover (whereby breaking a taboo is punished) after which order is restored. Motifs linked to these events include punishments (e.g., being murdered or mutilated) and a quest for vengeance (see also section A1. Fabula, which describes the Caiman as an (in)appropriate paramour).

In contrast to the category of Dog as a wife, the Dog as paramour acts within a forest setting where the paramour is often met. Here, even if the Dog is a pet (implicitly “close” and living in the village) the act of adultery or the (sexual) encounters take place in a forest setting, again mainly during the daytime. It may be added here that the Dog gives birth at night (see Story no. 427; Yukpa, Cariban).

C2. Dog as helper or hunting companion

The helpful Dog is one of the most recurrent motifs and is also implicitly as well as explicitly described in the narratives as a hunting companion. This Dog as a helper theme is very diverse, but the general layout of these narratives is very similar:

> A man is lost in the forest and asks his Dog for directions. The Dog puts down its clothes and gives the man a lesson saying: “You never listen to me, you treat me cruelly, giving me bad food and hitting me.” But when the Dog tells the man which direction to take, he has learned his lesson. [Story no. 41 (Trio, Cariban); abridged]

In a number of these narratives, the Dog explicitly serves hunting purposes. Their general outline is very similar too:

> ... At night these peoples [without anuses] turn stones into Dogs that catch animals for them. They hit the ground with invisible arrows in order to make their dogs kill animals of their choice ... [Story no. 611 (Cuiva, Guajiboan); abridged]

Other narratives with a similar theme are numbered: 35, 41, 82, 423, 461, 465, 611, 660, 689 and 709 (4x Cariban, 3x Guajiboan, 3x Warao).

C2. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Events

The most common layout now features:

1. an Amerindian who is in distress and needs assistance,
2. a Dog-man/woman who provides help by means of advising, acting/rescuing,
3. an Amerindian who is either rescued or no longer in distress.

The most frequently encountered common motifs within these narratives are: (a) “animal” helps men, for example, leading them home, giving advice, carrying them, n=9; (b) taboo is broken, resulting in punishments, n=6; (c) Dog traits, n=6, and (d) Dog as pet, n=5.

Helpful “animal” (pet)

The described events are generalised in such a way that various narratives fit this layout. The fact that the Dog is brought along on hunting trips is apparently related to the Dog personage. Moreover, canines are sent off to kill “animals” (see Story nos. 35, 611, 461, 465, 660, 689, 709; Trio (2x Cariban, Cuiva (Guajiboan), 2x Warao, 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)), or they are left behind at the spots where hunts took place in order to devour the leavings (see Story no. 82; Warao).

The Dog personage carries two Amerindians across a body of water to the Land of the Dead (see Story no. 423; Yukpa, Cariban). In various traditions, the Dog transports recently deceased souls to the afterlife or is Lord of the Dead (see 5.2.4, under the sub-heading *Guardian of the soul*).The Dog helps men in several ways, none of which is unique to the Dog personage. For example, it provides its Master with directions (see Story no. 41; Trio, Cariban). Many more examples concern other “animals” performing the same acts. As this particular motif is often ascribed to Birds, giving advice/direction is, therefore, not unique to the Dog personage.

Taboo and punishment

Interestingly, the explanatory narrative (on p. 116) explicitly refers to “treating Dogs right”. In Story no. 709 (Trio, Cariban) a very similar motif appears: a hunting Dog speaks to its Master, telling him it is mistreated. The hunter then asks his mother to share meat with the Dog. In Story no. 465 (Warao), a form of mistreatment is also made explicit. Here a Dog avenges the death of its Master who is killed by a two-headed Jaguar. The Dog then kills Jaguar and is welcomed as a hero. In due course, Amerindians forget to feed the Dog which in despair kills one of them. These Amerindians blame themselves for not treating the Dog properly.

Dog characteristics

In the majority of these narratives, the Dog is either the protagonist’s pet or a hunting companion (see Story nos. 35, 41, 82, 611, 709; Trio (3x Cariban), Cuiva (Guajiboan), Warao). As a pet, it assists during hunting expeditions and gives advice to its Master. Other characteristics explained in these narratives pertain to the reason why the tongues of Dogs are lengthened and how they lost their ability to speak (see Story no. 660; Sikuani, Guajiboan). Story no. 41 (Trio, Cariban) features the forgiving and/or faithful nature of Dogs, who even after being mistreated help the protagonist.

Actors

(a) Sender: The man/woman is in distress or in need of something,
(b) Object/goal: that which the Amerindian needs,
(c) Helper: the Dog,

(d) Subject/actor: the man/woman and the Dog,
(e) Opponent: in several narratives, the man/woman is rescued from adversaries, e.g., ogres, malicious beings, snakes and jaguars,
(f) Receiver: in most cases this role is absent.

Within this cluster of narratives, Dog is associated with various "animals", but recurrently only with Jaguar (see Story nos. 82, 461, 465; Warao). Here Dog is associated with a devastating Jaguar. In Story nos. 82 and 465, Jaguar kills Amerindians to be killed in revenge. In Story no. 461, Dogs accompany Amerindians in a quest through the forest and are killed by Jaguars.

Setting

In these narratives, the Dog acts as a helper and/or a rescuer. These events mainly unfold in a forest setting during the day and only occasionally at night. Story no. 423 (Yukpa, Cariban) takes place in very different cosmological settings: underworld and water layer. Here a huge Dog carries two Amerindians across a body of water into the Land of the Dead. Land is again, by and large, the most common setting here.

C2. Story: characterization and duration

Both characterization and duration are in line with the Dog narratives in general (see C. General remarks). The preferred characterization mode is indirect, with no exceptions. Six out of seven cases are short and cover between 1 and 5 pages. Again the narrated time widely vary as almost all categories are present, ranging from between (less than) a single day and several years.

C2. Concluding remarks on "Dog as a helper or hunting dog"

An "animal" helper is, in general, a very common theme. Almost all Dog narratives include (a) helpful Dog(s). Of course, if these tales feature the Dog as a wife/paramour they also belong to the category of "Helpful dog". They are singled out because of the structures and interrelated motifs specific to that sub-cluster (see C1).

The Dog personage is ostensibly more intertwined with the theme: hunting companion, avenger and specific connotations on how Dog should be treated. The association with the Dog as a hunting companion confirms it serves during hunts. The specific directions on treating Dogs "well" underlines the Amerindian-Dog relationship with references to procedures, rituals and (mutual) obligations. These references are also present in the category "Dog as wife/paramour". This Amerindian-Dog interaction can also be studied in relation to the concepts of mastery and ownership (see 5.2.4).

C3. Other Dog narratives

Of the 24 Dog narratives, four do not fit the already ascribed clusters and themes (see Story nos. 63, 132, 555-6; 2x Cariban, 2x Gê). Story nos. 63 (Trio, Cariban) and 132 (Taulipang, Cariban) do not feature a Dog personage but do include references to canine qualities. Story

no. 63 includes a reference to a Dog's excellent ability to smell. This story mentions a boy who can smell as well as a dog. In Story no. 132, an Amerindian father and children, having left behind their treacherous wife/mother, decide to transform into Dogs, because "a dog is not afraid of bees and is not eaten".

Story nos. 555 and 556 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) portray the Dog as an enemy. The Dogs, or Dog-peoples, kill and devour Amerindians to be killed in revenge. In Story no. 555, the Dog personages are to a certain degree "mythical" as they are not only described as being equal to "the size of houses" but also characterized directly. They live in a lair located near a body of water. When an Amerindian attempts to catch one of these Dogs he loses his life. Using meat to distract the Dogs others then seized two of their pups.

In the Story no. 556, Dogs kill and devour Amerindians staying in a campsite near a lake, even though a boy had warned them. In revenge Amerindians cause this lake to boil, killing all the Dogs in it. Notably, in the two abovementioned cases, which both feature Dog as an adversary, the setting is positioned near a body of water: the cosmic layer with an "evil" connotation (see section 4.2.3).

Concluding of these four narratives the Dog is portrayed as an enemy in two (Story nos. 555-6, Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). Having the same linguistic affiliation they are not considered as a separate cluster here.

D. The Bat

In sum, 33 narratives feature a Bat personage or include specific references pertaining to Bats.[51] Because information on the specific bat species is largely absent, here the traits of as well as any references to bats have been not further specified.[52] In the following paragraphs these stories are studied following the set methodology in order to answer the research questions: Which attributes and roles are ascribed to Bat in the South American oral tradition and with what or whom is Bat associated within the narratives, and in which context?".

D. General remarks

In this paragraph, the Bat narratives are treated as a single cluster. First, several general aspects such as the narrative function and linguistic affiliation are addressed. The narratological study of the Fabula- and Story-layers follows.

[51] These 33 Bat narratives are numbered: 9, 53, 115-6, 145-6, 158, 171, 181, 204, 210-12, 331, 369-72, 374, 410, 435, 450, 452, 490, 505, 516, 558-9, 604, 612-3, 653 and 703 (various sources).

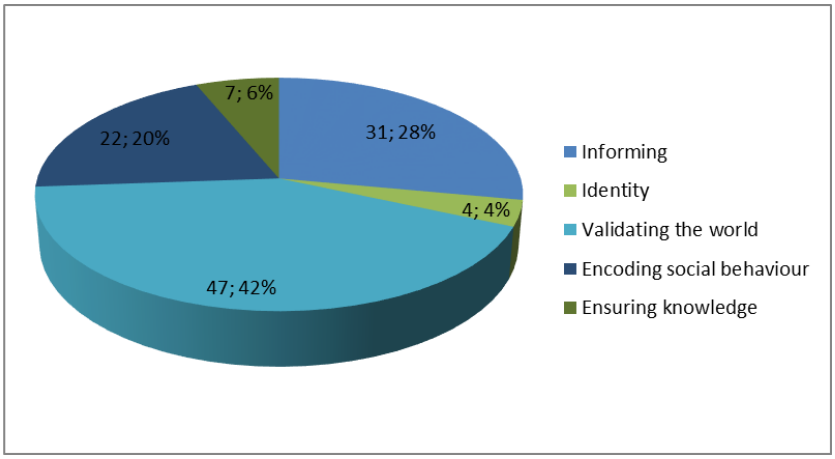
[52] Numerous species of bat (i.e., nectarivorous, frugivorous, insectivorous, carnivorous and sanguivorous (i.e., bloodsucking - species) inhabit the mainland and/or an island environment, see 5.3.2 for an in-depth discussion of this subject.

Narrative functions

In total 111 narrative functions are documented for the 33 narratives featuring Bat(s). The most common narrative function is: validating the world (42 percent), see Table D1. Within this category, the predominant sub-functions comprise the origin of "animal" characteristics and why things are as they are. The narrative function referred to as informing is registered in 31 cases (28 percent). The most recurrent sub-function is: how to carry out certain activities. The third most common narrative function encountered among Bat narratives is: encoding social behaviour by means of exhibiting (in)correct behaviour. See Appendix C, Table C-5 for a list of all documented narrative functions pertaining to the Bat narratives.

Comparing these results with the general outcome of the overall narrative functions (see 4.1.1) again reveals no significant variation.[53] Only the ensuring knowledge function occurs relatively more frequently among Bat narratives (6 against 3 percent). When focussing on the validating the world function, however, the sub-type dealing with ogres/the weird is significantly overrepresented in the corpus of Bat narratives (19 percent in this category against 9 percent in general).

Table D1 Narrative functions of Bat narratives (%).



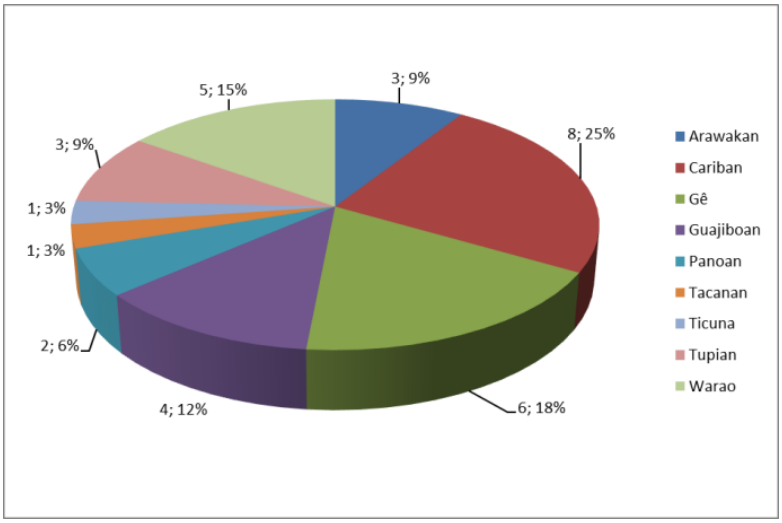
Linguistic affiliation

The narratives are studied in relation to their linguistic affiliation in order to establish whether (particular) Bat narratives correlate to specific linguistic affixations or geographical areas. Bat narratives occur in nine language families: Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Panoan, Tacanan, Ticuna, Tupian and Warao (see Table D2). The reader is referred to 5.3.1, Figure 5.6 for more detailed information on geographical distribution and the specific affiliation of the narratives. Figure 5.6 displays a plot of the narratives on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America).

[53] $\chi^2(4) = 7.07$; $\rho = 0.13$ (not significant).

The linguistic distribution of the Bat narratives is in line with the overall distribution of the narratives (see 4.1.2). All the most prominent language families occur in this dataset. The percentages match those of the overall distribution. As many as 20 of the 33 narratives stem from the core area (61 percent), whereas the remaining thirteen hail from regions located further inland thus providing insights into the distributions of motifs and themes.

Table D2 Linguistic affiliation of Bat narratives based on language family (%).



D. Fabula-layer: events, actors and setting

Events: main events and motifs

To establish whether Bat is associated with specific events and/or actions, the main events (which are predefined categories) are studied as are the documented motifs that provide information on specific events within the narrative.

Main events are only documented for eight Bat narratives and two main events for a single Bat narrative. Quest and rescue are overall the most common main events (see 4.2.1). This holds true for Bat narratives main event quest is recorded in five cases and main event rescue twice. The main events pertaining to abduction, deception and travelling are all documented once. Only four main events are directly linked to a Bat personage (actor) in the narrative. They refer to quest (n=3) and abduction (n=1).

Zooming in on motifs directly linked to the Bat personage, 100 motifs are identified, of which the "Top 5" comprises: (1) the devastating Bat, n[54]20, (2) transformation, various, n=8; (3) night/darkness, various n=6; (4) the haunts of various "animals", n=6, and (5) the bloodsucking "animal", n=5.

[54] See p. 5, note 5.

Devastating bat

The No. 1 motif is: the devastating "animal". Other motifs are intertwined with this motif, such as abduction by an "animal" (see Story nos. 371, 410, 558; 2x Cariban, Gê), a devastating "animal/spirit" that kills and eats a human (see Story nos. 53, 145, 371, 505, 558; 2x Cariban, Tupian, Warao, Gê) and a corpse eater (see Story nos. 369-70; Trio, Cariban). Needless to say, a bloodsucking "animal" is also "devastating". However, as it stands out as a separate motif, it is listed separately as No. 5. Other "animals" are devastating, too, for instance, in Story no. 331 (Ticuna) where Jaguar is the killer. In Story no. 516 (Gê), Mosquito and Grasshopper kill many people.

These motifs pertaining to a devastating "animal" are often intertwined with: (a) cannibalistic or malevolent spirits (see Story nos. 53, 145, 369-70, 374, 505; 4x Cariban, Tupian, Warao), (b) the transformation of spirits into vampires (see Story nos. 145, 505; Tupian, Warao), (c) Bat as a spirit companion (see Story no. 145; Munduruku, Tupian), and (d) recognizing a malicious spirit by means of its inordinate behaviour (see Story no. 369; Trio, Cariban). For Bat narratives including the "spirit" motif, see Story nos. 53, 145, 204, 331, 369-70, 374 and 505 (various sources).

Combining all these motifs related to devastating "animal" results in 20 narratives (more than half of the total Bat narratives), see Story nos. 9, 53, 115, 145, 171, 204, 210-1, 369-72, 374, 410, 435, 450, 505, 558, 612 and 703; various sources. For a further analysis of these srories, see D1.

Transformation

The motif listed as No. 2 in the "Top 5" concerns transformation and is overall the most common (see 4.2.1). The corpus of Bat narratives includes transmutations from: (a) spirit into vampire; n=2, (b) man into beast; n=2, (c) part of animal/human body into "animal"; n=2, (d) "animal" into "animal"; n=1, and (e) ashes into "animal"; n=1.

Night and darkness

Motifs concerning night and darkness also recur in Bat narratives. The origin of night occurs twice (see Story nos. 116, 158; Bakairí (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian)) as does primaeval darkness (see Story nos. 146, 516; Munduruku (Tupian), Gê). Other stories are more related to behavioural aspects whereby Bats herald the night (see Story nos. 158, 212; Tembé (Tupian), Tacanan). Story no. 558 (Apinayé, Gê) provides us with an explanation of why Bats are active at night. See section D2 for an in-depth analysis of these narratives.

Haunt

Motif No. 4 in the "Top 5" concerns the haunts of "animals". Nine narratives include an explicit reference to Bat's haunt reporting that it lives inside: (a) a cave (see Story nos. 9, 210-1; Arawakan, Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Cayapó-Gorotire), (b) a tree (see Story nos. 435, 450, 505; Yukpa (Cariban), 2x Warao), or (c) a mountain (see Story no. 371; Macushi, Cariban). Story

no. 53 (Trio Cariban) refers to a water pool serving as a gate to Bat's mountain village. Story no. 558 (Apinayé, Gê) features a village comprising hillside caves. Story no. 115 (Arawakan) mentions a (further unspecified) Bat's land, which a group of Amerindians enter during a journey.

Other: Cultivated plants/tobacco and laughter

Four narratives interrelate Bats with certain plants, see Stories nos. 9 (Island Carib, Arawak), 181 (Cashinahua, Panoan), 204 (Bororo, Gê), and 452 (Warao). In Story no. 452, both Bat and cultivated plants are the results of a single event of transformation. Here, the ashes of Howler monkey's paralysed servants, as well as its wife and children, transform into either Black birds (probably nocturnal birds), Bats, Lizards or cultivated plants. In Story no. 181, an elderly Rat decides to transmute into a Bat, because it is nocturnal and feeds on ripe bananas or papayas. It is also explained here that these Bats bite humans.

In Stories nos. 9 and 204 (see above), an association between Bat (spirits) and tobacco is set. In the latter case, the (spirit) Master of Tobacco appears in the form of a Vampire to teach Amerindians how to smoke correctly. In Story no. 9, a woman visits a zombie who lives in a cave to collect a charm. A human will die soon after this zombie is encountered. She wishes to apply the charm in order to gain command over her husband, who mistreats her. When visiting this cave you should take a white rooster or at least a little powdered tobacco to present to the Spirit of the Rock. The latter narrative may refer to a Bat-spirit. However, as tobacco is in general regarded the food of spirits, this supposed association is weak.

Motifs related to laughter feature in Story nos. 211-2, 374 and 559 (2x Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Tacana (Tacanan), Trio (Cariban)). Story nos. 374 and 559 are probably both versions of the same tale. The 23 narratives with "Laughing" as a motif are discussed in a separate cluster (see D3). It is, therefore, relevant to study how, in the above four Bat narratives, the Bat personage is related to this particular motif.

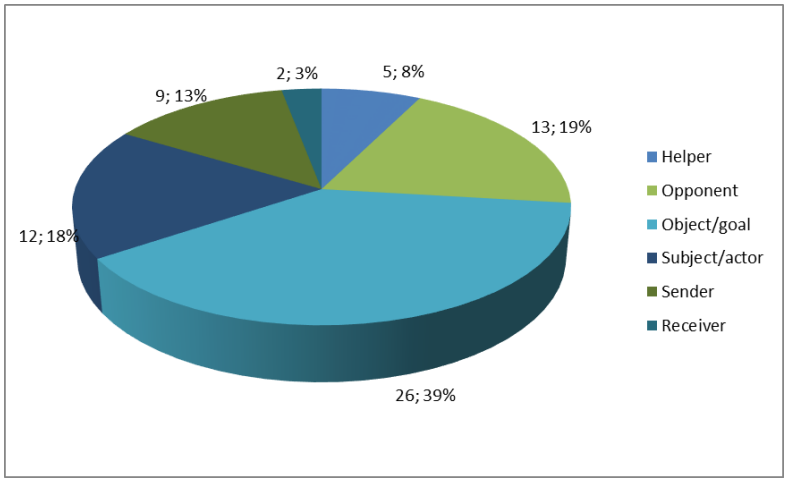
Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

This element of the fabula is closely related to Greimas's six actants. The most common role for Bat comprises object (n=26) followed by opponent (n=13) and subject (n=12). The role of helper only occurs in five cases. The Bat actor is more often a sender (n=9) than a receiver (n=2), see Table D3.

In comparison, the general distribution of Greimas's actants pertaining to the Bat reveals a significant variation.[55] Bat is more often ascribed the roles of opponent (19 against 10 percent in general) and object/goal (39 against 34 percent). It is less often attributed roles of helper (8 against 20 percent) and sender (13 against 17 percent). The remaining roles are in line with the general pattern.

[55] $\chi^2(5) = 13.78$; $\rho = 0.02$ (significant).

Table D3 Bats divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



Bat is explicitly described as a (transformed) spirit (see Story nos. 145, 204, 369-70, 374, 490, 505 (Tupian, Gê, Cariban, Warao) and in Story no. 204 (Bororo, Gê) also explicitly ascribed shamanic power. The Bat is referred to as a Vampire or bloodsucking Bat in Story nos. 204, 505, 653 and 703 (Gê, Warao, Guajiboan, Arawakan) and in Story no. 9 (Island Carib, Arawakan) as a "zombie". It is to a certain degree described as being either mythical or as "enormous" (see Story nos. 211, 371, 410, 612 (Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Macushi (Cariban), Cariban, Cuiva (Guajiboan)). The creature featuring in Story no. 211 is partly Bat and partly human.

Interactions with other "animal" personages

When establishing with whom the Bat is associated it is interesting to note with which other "animal" personage(s) it acts. Birds stand out, Bat and Birds appear in seven cases (excluding interactions with specific types of "birds", e.g., Vulture or Owl): Story nos. 9, 145-6, 158, 171, 452, 612 (Arawakan, 3x Tupian, Panoan, Warao, Guajiboan). The Bat and Vulture co-occur in Story nos. 115-6, 171 and 612 (Arawakan, Cariban, Panoan, Guajiboan) as do Bat and Lizard (see Story nos. 116, 452, 505, 653; Cariban, 2x Warao, Guajiboan). Bat and Snake interact in Story nos. 171, 181 and 604 (2x Panoan, Guajiboan).

Birds and Bats

In some, Bats and Birds originate (i.e., result from transformation) simultaneously. Story no. 146 (Munduruku, Tupian) describes how ugly, lethargic individuals transmute into Bats and Birds. In Story no. 452, (Warao), the ashes of the burnt wife, children and paralysed servant of Howler monkey transform into Black birds, Bats, Lizards and cultivated plants. In Story no. 9 (Island Carib, Arawakan), a husband transmutes into a "bird" after leaving his wife who no longer needs him. Earlier she visits a (Bat) spirit in order to gain control over her husband who mistreats her.

Two narratives describe how Birds and Bats (indirectly) oppose each other. In Story no. 145 (Munduruku, Tupian), Birds advise the protagonist how to escape from the bloodsucking Bat. In Story no. 158 (Tembé, Tupian), Birds asked Bat to assist them when raising the sky, but Bat refuses, after which he has to sleep upside down. Although Bats and Birds are mentioned together in seven cases, they do not seem to be directly interrelated. Bird is in general either a recurrent zoomorphic personage or a motif in narratives.

Vulture and Bat

Bat and Vulture co-occur in four cases. In Story no. 612 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), Bat and Vulture play the same role: attacking the returning protagonist, who visits the upperworld. On Heron's advice, the protagonist paints his face and is thus protected against these attackers. In Story no. 116 (Bakairí, Cariban), the Twin heroes take the Sun from Vulture to then have difficulties sleeping. A Bat wife advises them to fetch sleep from Lizard. Story no. 171 (Cashinahua, Panoan) describes a chopped-off head on a stick that states it could transform into Scorpion/Bat that would bite, forcing people to kill it. In the end, this head transmutes into Moon. Heavenly Vultures assist Moon by taking yarn and tying it to this head, after which it puts in its mouth to next turn into Moon.

In only one of these highly differing narratives do the Bat and Vulture interact directly. The sky world apparently links Bats and Vultures as they interact or co-occur in this specific context. Story no. 115 (Arawakan) consists of multiple separate episodes, one of which describes the dangers of bloodsucking Bat, another how a Vulture teaches Amerindians how to paddle. Forming two completely separate episodes, they do not seem to be directly related.

Lizard and Bat

Four narratives combine these two "animals". Two are related to transformations, of which one is mentioned above: Story no. 452, Warao (see sub-heading *Birds and Bats,* above). Here the ashes of the Howler monkey's burnt wife and paralysed servant transform into Lizards, Bats, Black birds and cultivated plants. In Story no. 505 (Warao), a girl escapes from malevolent spirits by transmuting into a Lizard. Later on in this tale, malevolent spirits transform into Vampire Bats.

In Story no. 116 (Bakairí, Cariban), a Bat-wife advises the Twin heroes to fetch sleep from Lizard after taking the Sun from Vulture. In Story no. 653 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Lizard and Bat play a role in a tale about “animals” who try to fell a magic fruit-bearing tree. Lizard crawls into the Master of Axes' anus, which results in retrieving axes and other tools. After death and diseases come to Earth, other “animals” wish to enter the upperworld which a Vampire Bat prevents them from doing.

The only direct associations here are: (a) they are the outcome of the same transformation, and (b) a Bat-wife directs the protagonist towards Lizard in order to fetch sleep. Due to a lack of coherence, it remains unclear if Bat and Lizard are truly interrelated motifs in the narratological context.

Other “animals/birds”: Owl, Fish

Having analysed the clusters, two other co-occurring “animals” are perhaps worth mentioning: the Owl (Story nos. 158, 372 (Tupian, Warao)) and (Cat)Fish (see Story nos. 115, 204, 703; 2x Arawakan, Gê). The fact both are nocturnal flying “animals” apparently links Owl to Bat. In Story no. 372 (Warao) they are explicitly related (as brothers-in-law) and together set off at night to scare people. In Story no. 158 (Tembé, Tupian), the vocalisations of Bats and Owls among other creatures heard from inside a pot informs the protagonist this vessel contains the night.

“Animals” that are ostensibly interchangeable with Bat as (devastating) night spirits are: Opossum and Nightjar albeit that Bat and Nightjar both interact within tales as “night spirits” (see Story no. 370; Trio, Cariban). Opossum is merely mentioned as being a similar malicious spirit that must be killed (see Story no. 53; Trio, Cariban). See also section D1.

Two of three narratives in which both Bat and Fish fulfil a role include multiple locales in which travelling Amerindians experience adventures. The Bat and Fish take part in separate episodes (see Story nos. 115, 703; Arawakan). This leaves only a single interesting narrative in which the Master of Tobacco appears in the shape of a Vampire to teach Amerindians how to smoke properly. The Amerindians had discovered the tobacco inside a Catfish’s stomach.

To conclude, the Bat personage is apparently foremost associated with “animals” sharing *symbolic** elements as the creatures of the night and as the embodiment of spirits such as Owl, Opossum and Nightjar. As a “flying opponent,” it also co-acts with Vulture. Only one narrative links tobacco to both Fish and Bat.

The supposed relation between Birds, Lizard, Snake, Vulture and the Bat personage is elaborated in sections D1-D3. See also 5.3.1.

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

Pertaining to the Bat narratives, forest prevails the dichotomy village vs. forest. This observation stems from the general conclusions (see 4.2.3). As many as 20 cases (77 percent) register a Bat acting in a forest context against six cases (23 percent) set within a village context. Of these forest contexts, the setting comprises a temporary hunting site (see Story nos. 115, 204, 703; 2x Arawakan, Gê). The setting consists of an abandoned village in Story nos. 369 and 370 (Cariban).

Within the village context, the Bat acts as a helper, object and sender. Within the forest context, however, these roles are supplemented with the roles of opponent and subject/actor. Zooming in on the role of object/goal, it appears that within a village context the Bat is object/goal itself (for instance when hunted). Within the forest context, the Bat is either killed or the outcome of a transformation. Only in a total of twelve occasions is the Bat itself an object/goal.

The day/night dichotomy shows a discrepancy with the general distribution of these temporal settings. Of the seventeen records of temporal settings, fifteen (88 percent) pertain to the night. The daytime (6 percent) and sunrise (6 percent) each register only once. In general, the dichotomy day vs. night is 51 against 42 percent respectively. Story no. 374 (Trio, Cariban) is the only reference to a daytime setting. Here Bat is also active at night.

Another aspect of setting comprises the cosmic layer(s) on which the "animal" personage acts. In sum, nine narratives (27 percent) document a cosmic layer setting. In four cases a cave is recorded as spatial setting. Caves are gateways (*axis mundi*) between the various layers. In three records this setting concerns the sky and in only one case the land (specifically a mountain) and the underworld. The incongruity between the general distribution of cosmic layers is encountered within the narrative corpus, as generally speaking both land and sky are the two major settings. The four cave cosmic layers are even more remarkable considering the fact that in the entire dataset only nine cases referring hereto are documented (see 4.2.3).

As to the four Bat narratives featuring a cave setting all roles occur with the exception of receiver. This observation may be considered an indication that a cave setting is indeed linked to the Bat and could, of course, be explained by the fact that caves form the natural habitat of bat species. Of the three sky settings, Bat acts as an opponent on two occasions. By and large, the sky world has a positive connotation (i.e., is more related to the role of helper) as established in 4.2.4.

Sub-conclusion: fabula of Bat narratives

Based on the 33 Bat stories a frame is set of a malevolent (devastating) "animal", a potential adversary frequently explicitly described as a spirit and ascribed the trait of being able to transform. Its most prominent role here is that of a devastating "animal" (i.e., avenger) that

abducts, kills, devours humans and/or sucks blood. Translated according to Greimas's actants, it is, therefore, often an opponent as well as an object because Bats are sought after to kill in revenge.

Bats seem to be common actors. Not only are they included in the most prominent language families of the core area, but they are also motifs regularly encountered beyond this region. The overall image of the Bat actor is very homogenous. It comprises similar motifs as well as spatial and temporal settings.

A forest setting prevails the spatial and temporal setting it features in. In two narratives, Bat lives in mountains. On various occasions, the Bat personage takes refuge in a tree. The (preferred) cosmic layer provides information on the spatial context, too. In four cases Bat is registered in combination with the cosmic layer of the cave, which is regarded a gateway between cosmic layers and worlds: through which spirits and shamans pass *en route*. This specific layer, therefore, interrelates the Bat to the realm of spirits. Within the corpus of Bat narratives, Bats repeatedly act as an opponent in the cosmic layer of sky, whereas in general, the sky world has a positive connotation.

Bats are mainly active at night. Only a single case refers to a dusk setting. Like Nocturnal birds, Bats apparently serve as guardians or Masters of the Night. As nocturnal "animals", this dominance is obvious. As Bats become active at dusk, more references to that temporal context could have been expected.

When investigating with whom the Bat is associated, several "animals/birds" stand out: Birds (in general), Lizards, Snakes and Vultures. In the following paragraphs (D1-4), the Bat narratives are further categorised. Moreover, the proposed interrelatedness between Bat and these other "animals" is explored in relation to the narration motifs.

D. Story-layer: characterization and duration

The second layer of narratological analysis is dealt with here, providing us with insights into the concrete way a narrative is presented to the audience.

Characterization

As established in 4.3.1, the overall preferred mode of characterization is indirect (76 percent vs. 18 percent direct and 6 percent analogous). As to the Bat personage, sixteen narratives register a mode of characterization whereby five cases include two types of characterization. The Bat is distinguished directly on nine occasions (43 percent), indirectly in eleven (52 percent) and analogous in only one (5 percent). As there are only sixteen records on characterization, a statistical analysis cannot be conducted. Nonetheless, whenever percentages are compared, a dominance of the direct mode is observed (43 against 18 percent in general).

It is fascinating to discern the Bat is described here: which aspects of Bat are emphasised? The outcome hereof can be categorised according to physical as well as behavioural attributes (see 5.3, Table 5.4). A direct description in Story no. 369 (Trio, Cariban) notably mentions that Bat wears human fingers as wrist adornments. Other physical characteristics described involve Bats feet, its long pointing nails, its nose patches and its enormous ears.

Unfortunately, the role of Bat and its characterization are intertwined only in a small number of cases. In addition, there are apparently no significant variations. Both the direct and indirect modes of characterization are present for all recurrent roles. Apparently, no different mode of characterization is chosen whenever Bat is "acting out of character", for instance, as an assistant (actant helper).

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time approached by the number of pages. Most narratives (94 percent, see 4.3.2) fall within the short range, taking up to 5 pages. There are 26 records on duration pertaining to the Bat narratives of which two fall within the middle range covering between 6 and 11 pages (see Story nos. 53, 171; Cariban, Panoan). Story no. 653 (Guajiboan) covers 14 pages, and all the 22 other stories (88 percent) are short.

Studying the narrated time: nine (n=16; 62 percent) narratives are short, continuing for only several days. All the remaining examples have a narrated time of either weeks (n=1), months (n=4) or years (n=5). As discussed in 4.3.2, only 44 percent of all narratives have a short narrated time. However, the difference (62% to 44%) may not be significant.[56]

The lengthier narratives (real time) are mainly those with the longest narrated time (i.e., more "epic" when considering succeeding events). A majority has a short narrated and real time, indicating a focus on either one or on a few main events.

Sub-conclusions as to the story-layer

The Bat personage is frequently described directly whereby various attributes are emphasised, both physical as behavioural. These explicated attributes are, therefore, highly likely to also be the obvious attributes to be encountered in other forms of Bat displays (e.g., iconography, ritual).

In the sections D1-D3, the 33 Bat narratives are further categorised based on their motifs resulting in the identification of three main sub-clusters: (a) the devastating Bat, (b) the Bat as a creature of the night and darkness, and (c) the Bat and laughter.

[56] $\chi^2(2) = 3.92$; $\rho = 0.14$ (not significant). Resulting from the low number of records, one of the expected values is below 5, causing the Chi-squared test to be less accurate. However, 1 percent is far from the critical 5 percent required when establishing any significance.

D1. Devastating Bat

Numerous narratives (n=18) feature a devastating Bat. As an adversary of Amerindians, this creature is often killed in revenge. In this context, the following sub-clusters can be identified: (a) malevolent Bats that kill, abduct and feed on humans; (n=10), (b) bloodsucking Bats; (n=5), and (c) Bats as spirits, or spirits as Bats; (n=8). These three sub-clusters combined constitute the corpus of devastating Bat narratives. In order to provide an impression hereof, one of each is provided below.

Malevolent Bat

> The cave is Bat's place, it has an opening in the roof. One Bat is caught but dies. Bats are the enemies of men and break their skulls open with anchor-shaped ceremonial axes. As the Bats escaped, they left these axes behind which fell into the men's hands. [Story no. 210 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Gê); abridged]

All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 9, 53, 210-11, 371, 410, 435, 450, 558, 612 (Island Carib (Arawakan), Trio (Cariban), Cayapó-Kubenkranken (Gê), Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Macushi (Cariban), Cariban, Yukpa (Cariban), Warao; Apinayé (Gê), Cuiva (Guajiboan).

The bloodsucking Bat

> Several men went hunting and they had to spend the night in Bat's land. All but one build a shelter for the night, although he was warned by the others. That night the Bats arrive and the man without a shelter asks if he may enter the shelters of the others, but they refuse. The next morning the man is sucked dry and all that remains are his bones. [Story no. 115 (Arawakan); abridged]

Other narratives with a similar theme are numbered: 115, 145, 171, 372, 703 (2x Arawakan, Cashinahua (Panoan), Munduruku (Tupian), Warao). Story no. 181 (Cashinahua, Panoan) features a Rat that transforms into a Bat. It feeds on fruit and bites humans. Lacking any (other) devastating traits it is omitted from this category.

The Bat as Spirit and Spirit as Bat

The majority of the narratives, but not all, which include Bat as a spirit or a spirit as Bat belong to the sub-category "Devastating Bats", as it concerns malevolent spirits. For instance:

> A man, a Trio takes shelter for the night in a house in an abandoned village, but in that house, he finds graves and dead bodies. He couldn't sleep. Bat-spirits arrive, entering the house and visiting the graves. The Trio blows on a piece of wood and threw it into the grave where all the Bats stayed. The Bats disappear. The next day the Trio man goes to another place, but that night the Bats attack again. They follow the Trio but then he stabs them. The spirits are now dead and the Trio returns home to tell about his ordeal. [Story no. 369 (Trio, Cariban); abridged]

Other narratives with references to Bat as a spirit or spirit as Bat are numbered: 9, 53, 145, 204, 369-70, 374, 505 (Island Carib of Dominica (Arawakan), 4x Trio (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian), Gê, Warao).

D1. Fabula: actions/events, actors and setting

Actions and events

These narratives consist of basically the same events in which:

(a) a prohibition (warning) is set,
(b) a prohibition is breached or a warning ignored,
(c) ill luck (e.g., disease, death, injury, abduction) befalls the protagonist,
(d) order is restored: men decide to take revenge or receive help,
(e) *optional:* (Bat) is hunted down and punished,
(f) *optional:* people are introduced to new/unfamiliar items (axes/decorative art).

The most common motifs within the eighteen narratives are: (1) devastating "animal", n[57]16; (2) punishments, n=10; (3) haunt of "animal", n=9; (4) "animal" characteristics, n=7, and (4) the origin of things, n=5. The actions within the narratives are mainly related to the acts of the devastating Bat: he kills and eats humans or abducts them. In order to restore order, they then take revenge and start a quest to find Bat who reacts by trying to escape and/or takes refuge.

Devastating "animal"

This sub-cluster of Bat narratives deals with malevolent (spirit) Bats that kills, abduct and feed on humans or suck their blood. Two narratives feature a helpful Bat actor/spirit, not an adversary. The first case refers to a Vampire, which teaches the protagonists the secret of smoking tobacco (see Story no. 204; Bororo, Gê). In the second case, the spirit Bats feed on the deceased, with the exception of an elderly woman who is still alive (see Story no. 370; Trio, Cariban). In Story no. 171 (Cashinahua, Panoan), a malicious head transforms into Bats as well as into other "animals" and objects. As this head could bite Amerindians, they are forced to kill it.

Punishments

Various motifs describe punishments since the malevolent Bat is repeatedly avenged. In several narratives, fire, or burning is the punishment inflicted upon the devastating Bat. Now and again this leads to its death when its home is set alight, for instance (see Story nos. 53, 211, 371-2, 435, 450, 505, 558; Trio, Macushi, Yukpa (Cariban), 2x Warao, Apinayé (Gê)). In Story no. 369 (Trio, Cariban) the protagonist first drives Bat spirits off by blowing on a piece of wood. Upon their return, he stabs them to death.

[57] See p. 5, note 5.

Haunt of Bat

As described in D-Fabula the haunt of Bat's is often described. In this sub-cluster all mentioned settings are encountered: a cave, tree and mountain. As well as the water pool as gateway Bat's village (see D. Fabula under the sub-heading *Haunt*, on page 122 for a detailed description).

"Animal" characteristics

Specific "animal" traits of Bats are also addressed, a number hereof describe behavioural and other physical traits. Behavioural aspects include: Bats sleep upside down (see Story nos. 211, 558 (Gê; Cayapó-Gorotire, Apinayé) and that they are only active at night (see Story no. 558; Apinayé, Gê). The Bats are described as sturdy (*cassiri**) drinkers that like to have parties (see Story no. 435; Yukpa, Cariban) or caress/tickle the Amerindian protagonist when they meet (see Story no. 211; Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). In Story no. 410 (Cariban), the King of all Bats, named Réré, abducts children when they are out at night.

Physical features stressed here comprise a long snout with which to suck blood (see Story no. 703; Arawakan), its large ears (see Story no. 505; Warao). The Bat actor is referred to as a giant (mythical) Bat in Story nos. 115 and 612 (Arawakan, Cuiva (Guajiboan)).

Origin of things

During the quest for vengeance, or as a result of that quest, mankind is introduced to new things, e.g., hatchets/axes, see Story nos. 210 and 558 (Gê; Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Apinayé). In Story no. 211 (Macushi, Cariban) they come across the decorative art inside Bat's cave. Story no. 369 (Trio, Cariban) describes Bat's wrist adornment made of human fingers. In Story no. 204 (Bororo, Gê), a Vampire teaches Amerindians how to smoke tobacco.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these Bat narratives:

(a) Sender: indirectly fulfilled by Bat. Its devastating behaviour causes the narratives to unfold. An Amerindian (elder) sends men (in Story no. 145, his daughters) off on a quest/journey (Story no. 115; Arawakan). Here a "bird" called Karang helps the eldest daughter and Parrot warns the Bat.

(b) Object/goal: people, as well as the Bat, are objects, being sought after, killed, etc. For a quest for an axe, see Story no. 115 (Arawakan) and for a quest for fruit, see Story no. 145 (Munduruku, Tupian).

(c) Helper: in general, this role is absent, but does now and again occur in individual narratives. For instance, a Heron or the mother of Fish assists the Amerindian protagonist in Story nos. 115, 145, 612 (Arawakan, Munduruku (Tupian), Cuiva (Guajiboan)), see below.

(d) Subject/actor: fulfilled by Bat, Amerindians and helpers.

(e) Opponent: Bat opposes humans and humans oppose (spirit) Bats.

(f) Receiver: In only two cases do humans benefit other than from an act of successful revenge when they acquire axes/hatchets and decorative art (see above).

In relation to other "animals"

Whenever Bat co-occurs with other "animal" actors, the latter are by and large not interrelated. In general, Bats are encountered along with various other "animal" actors: Toad, Lizard, Howler Monkey, Nightjar, Opossum and Otter.

Bat and Birds

As shown in the B and B1 sections, Birds in general serve as helpers. In this sub-cluster entitled Devastating Bat, Birds assist the Amerindian protagonist, and they, therefore, oppose Bat. In other narratives, Birds support him.

Story no. 612 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) features a direct relation between Bat, Heron, Vulture and the devastating mythical "bird" named Kotera. Here a Heron warns a man to protect himself when climbing down from the upperworld because Bat would otherwise attack him. Heron tells him to paint his face black with "kaytari". While descending, he is continuously attacked by Bats, Vulture and Kotera. In this story, Vulture is interchangeable with the Bat: a devastating (flying) opponent.

In Story no. 372 (Warao) Owl and Bat are either brothers-in-law and friends or partners in crime. Owl resuscitates Bat after it is killed. Parrot is the Bat's pet "animal" and acts as a messenger/guardian warning Bat when the girl escapes (see Story no. 145; Munduruku, Tupian).

Birds can also help the Amerindians and, therefore, oppose Bat. For instance, an unspecified "bird" referred to as Karang acts as an advisor when informing the Amerindian girl how to escape from the bloodsucking Bat (see Story no. 145; Munduruku, Tupian). In Story no. 115 (Arawakan), the Bunia (Vulture) teaches Amerindians how to paddle. There is no direct relation with the Bat personage here.

Bat and Fish

A direct relation between Bat and Fish does apparently not exist. A nation founded by Fish is visited during a quest, as is the Land of Bats (see Story nos. 115, 703; Arawakan). In Story no. 204 (Bororo, Gê) the Amerindians comes across tobacco in the stomach of a Catfish. The finder first keeps it a secret and smokes it on his own, but when others find this out they too smoke the tobacco, but in an incorrect manner. Next, the spirit of tobacco appears in the form of a Vampire who, as the Master of Tobacco, teaches the Amerindians to smoke properly.

Others

Other "animals" that co-occur with Bat, but apparently not linked to it are: Lizard, Frog and Otter. A girl when escaping from a malevolent (spirit) Bat transforms into a Lizard (see Story no. 145; Munduruku, Tupian). A (Bat) spirit hides its mother under a pot "like a toad" in Story no. 374 (Trio, Cariban). A friendly spirit in the shape of Vampire informs mankind how to smoke tobacco. If these instructions were not followed, one would suffer from poor vision and transmute into Otters (see Story no. 204; Bororo, Gê).

Fellow spirit

Certain "animals" are evidently interchangeable with the Bat. Nightjar (see Story no. 370; Cariban) and Opossum (see Story no. 53; Cariban) are malevolent (nocturnal) spirits, too, albeit that both are described as "night spirits" and act as companions, side by side. However, Bat (the president) instructs all spirits not to harm the elderly woman. On Opossum is merely stated: "Everywhere he [Amerindian protagonist] went he found the same situation ... sick people, sick people everywhere. And also all sorts of spirits, Opossums, Bats. He burnt them all to death" (cited from Story no. 53; Trio, Cariban).[58] In Story no. 505 (Warao), malevolent Bat spirits hide inside a hollow tree in an attempt to fool any pursuers by stating they are a "Grandfather of Howler monkeys".

Setting

The spatial and temporal settings for this particular theme are in line with the general setting encountered in Bat narratives (see section D. Fabula-layer). The devastating Bat primarily acts within a nocturnal forest context. Several narratives unfold in "abandoned villages" which, in this condition, are considered a sub-category of the forest context. Bat (and Owl) attack villagers at night (see Story nos. 371-2; Macushi (Cariban), Warao). In Story no. 450 (Warao) the malevolent Bat arrives, for the second time, at dusk to later kill and feed on humans.

As to devastating Bat, five records pertain to a cosmic layer, of which cave is the most dominant (n=3). Within this theme, one tale deals with the cosmic layer sky (see Story no. 612; Cuiva, Guajiboan) and one features land, specifically a mountain setting (see Story no. 53; Trio, Cariban).

D1. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

For eleven (61 percent) of the narratives in this cluster, records on characterization are documented. Two records occur in three narratives. Seven records (50 percent, but 64 percent of all narratives) refer to a direct characterization (see Story nos. 211, 369, 371, 435, 505, 558, 703 (Cayapó (Gê), Yukpa (Cariban), Apinayé (Gê)). One record is analogous (Story no. 115). The remaining six are indirect (see Story nos. 369, 371-2, 410, 450, 505; Cariban, Warao),

[58] For this tale referred to as "Another case of shamanic cannibalism", see Koelewijn 1987: 173.

hereby revealing, among Bat narratives, a slightly prevailing direct characterization pertaining to the devastating Bat, i.e., 50 percent vs. 43 percent in general (see section D. Story-layer).

Duration

Fourteen records on duration are registered. Duration is in line with the general pattern regarding Bat narratives, as all but one are short in real time and cover 1-5 pages. In addition, the "malevolent Bat" narratives correspondingly disclose a dominance as to short narrated time, with only two cases continuing for months and two cases spanning years. All the others (n=10) have a short narrated time measuring less than a day up to several days. However, comprising four narratives with a long narrated time, this category relatively displays a prolonged narrated time in accordance to Bat narratives in general: 19 percent with a long narrated time vs. 12 percent in general (see section D. Story-layer). A more "epical" personage of the devastating Bat narratives is hereby indicated as is, for instance, explained by means of the narratives describing long journeys, in the course of which humans also visit land inhabited by Bats.

D1. Concluding remarks on "Devastating bat"

This sub-category numbers eighteen narratives, which is 55 percent of the total dataset of Bat narratives. Looking into the geographic distribution of this sub-category, the following language families are encountered in the core areas: Arawakan (n=3; including the Island Carib of Dominica; see Story no. 9), Cariban (n=6, including 3x Trio; see Story nos. 53, 369, 374), Story no. 371 (Macushi), Story no. 435 (Yukpa), Story no. 612 (Guajiboan), Story nos. 372, 450, 505 (n=3, Warao), as well as further afield in Brazil: Story nos. 204, 210-1, 558 (n=4, Gê)) and Story no. 145 (Tupian, Munduruku). It is thus shown this theme is indeed widely known. The associations with the malevolent, bloodsucking, (nocturnal) spirits are apparently closely linked to the Bat personage.

Story no. 181 (Cashinahua, Panoan a language family of Peru, western Brazil and Bolivia) describes an elderly Rat, who no longer able to work, chooses to become a Bat, because this creature is active at night to feed on bananas and papayas. Next, this Rat transforms into a Bat that eats fruit and bites humans. This narrative has been omitted from this particular sub-category as it does not concern a "devastating (bloodsucking) Bat".

In this devastating Bat category, the malevolent Bat is portrayed as an opponent that hurts, kidnaps, and kills people at night. Other narratives depict the Bat as a vicious bloodsucker, against whom one should protect oneself by creating sufficient shelter. Bloodsucking is linked to the Bat, and is even utilised as an analogy: bloodsuckers are in fact either Bats or Bats acting as malevolent nocturnal spirits causing disease and death. They can also be associated with the deceased. For, Bat spirits visit grave sites in order to feed on the dead, as a direct description of Bats wearing human fingers as adornments on their wrists emphasises.

Its long snout, pointed ears and enormous size characterize the malevolent Bat. Narratives warn people against the (malevolent) Bat. It is explicated here not to interact with a Bat in order not to become one. In the majority of cases, an enemy should be defeated. Being hunted, Bat takes refuge in caves or trees. The Amerindians then set fire to these hiding places.

Axes/hatchets and the source of tobacco are for example associated with the origins of things in one case the spirit is explicitly described as the Master of Tobacco. The aforementioned Story no. 9 features a relation between the Bat spirit and tobacco. However, in general, tobacco is regarded an offering to honour for spirits and related to shamanism (see also 5.3.4).

Other "animals"

Although Bat co-occurs with various "animals", it only either repeatedly directly interacts or is directly associated, with Birds and Fish. Certain "birds" assist the Bat, e.g., its pet Parrot warns Bat and his Owl brother-in-law goes out hunting with him even reviving him. Other "birds" help the Amerindian protagonist and, therefore, oppose the malevolent Bat. Vampire teaches Amerindians how to smoke tobacco, retrieved from the stomach of a Catfish. In stories about an extended journey, both the Land of Fish and the Land of Bat are both visited.

Other direct associations occur with "animals" (e.g., Bat). Moreover, they are or can be malevolent (nocturnal) spirits such as Opossum, Nightjar and the aforementioned Owl. In spite of the various kinds of (malevolent) nocturnal spirits, a hierarchy seems to be in place. The Bat spirit named Matïtïkïri (see Story no. 370; Trio, Cariban) is president and instructs other nocturnal spirits (Nightjars) what not to do.

D2. Bat as a creature of the night and darkness

Six narratives reveal a direct relation between Bats and (the origin of) night. In a number hereof, deals with how Amerindians retrieve the night/ darkness. Elsewhere the inter-relatedness between Bats and night/darkness is merely a (sub-)motif:

> The Twin catch the Vulture that holds the Sun and takes it from him. From then on the night no longer exists. The Twin keeps the Sun in a pot. When they want to sleep, the Bat's wife advises them to fetch sleep from Lizard. [Story no. 116 (Bakairí (Cariban)); abridged]

Other narratives with similar themes are numbered: 116, 146, 158, 212, 516 and 558 (Bakairí (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian), Tembé (Tupian), Tacana (Tacanan), Gê, Apinayé (Gê).

D2. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

Interestingly certain narratives feature a world without a night (as in the above summary of Story no. 116), whereas others portray a world without a day (see Story nos. 158, 516; Tembé (Tupian), Gê). Of course, night and day are two sides of the same coin: we as humans cannot do without them. This leads to the following generalist scheme of events whereby mankind:

1. knows no night (thus cannot sleep) or day,
2. learns how and/or where to find the day/night,
3. retrieves darkness/daylight,
4. [optional] misuses the day/night,
5. is punished in due course.

This scheme of events is true for half of the six narratives: Story nos. 116, 158, 516 (Bakairí (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian), Gê). The remaining three merely explicate that Bat is active/lives during the night (see Story nos. 212, 558; Tacanan, Apinayé (Gê)). Story no. 146 (Munduruku, Tupian) start with "In the beginning all was dark", this leads to the origin of Bat.

The most common motifs encountered in these stories are: (a) night/darkness (its source; primeval darkness, darkness/sun in a package; n[59]4, (b) the quest for night/day; vengeance; n=4, (c) the "Animal" traits/behaviour; n=3, and (d) transformations with various sources; n=3.

Darkness and night

The darkness and/or night-motif is encountered in all narratives. In four cases, it stands on its own as: (a) the primaeval darkness (see Story nos. 146; Munduruku, Tupian) and 516 (Krahô, Gê), or (b) as the origin of night/day (see Story nos. 116; Bakairí, Cariban) and 158 (Tembé, Tupian). The night-motif is linked to "animal" behaviour when Bat either heralds the night (see Story nos. 158, 212; Tacanan) or when it is only active at night (see Story no. 558; Apinayé, Gê).

Quest

Quest is a recurrent motif and occurs in four cases. In three hereof the quest for either night (including darkness and sleep) or day/light (see Story nos. 116, 158, 516; Bakairí (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian), Gê) is encountered. This motif is linked to the third event whereby humankind retrieves darkness/daylight. Story no. 558 (Apinayé, Gê) describes the quest for vengeance.

"Animal" traits/behaviour

A motif occurring in three narratives concerns specific "animal" behaviour. It describes and/or provides an explanation for such conduct. Bat heralds the night in Story nos. 158 and 212 (Tupian, Tacanan). The sound of Bats, among other nocturnal "animals", inform people it is night time inside the pots (see Story no. 158; Tembé, Tupian). In Story no. 212 (Tacana), a wife is aware of her (Bat) husband arriving, for he plays on his flute when returning home after dark. Story no. 158 also explains why Bats sleep upside down: it is a punishment for not helping Birds push the sky upwards. Story no. 558 (Apinayé, Gê) explicitly states that (beings such as) Bats "only went out at night".

[59] See p. 5, note 5.

Transformations

Three narratives (Story nos. 146, 158, 516; 2x Tupian, Gê) number in total eight transformation-motifs of which only one is directly linked to Bat. In Story no. 516 (Gê), a man transmutes into a Bat in order to lead his people out of the impenetrable darkness into (day)light.

Actors

(a) Sender: A Bat wife sends Amerindian protagonists on their journey towards sleep (see Story no. 116 (Bakairí, Cariban). In Story no. 146 (Munduruku, Tupian) Father sends his son off on a quest in an attempt to bring him to death. In Story no. 158 (Tembé, Tupian) a shaman leads his people towards earthenware pots containing the night.
(b) Object/goal: In Story no. 116 (see above), Vulture and Lizard are objects as they own Sun and the Sleep. In Story nos. 212 (Tacanan) and 558 (Apinayé, Gê), Bats are objects themselves as they are killed by the protagonist(s). In Story no. 558, a Bat-boy is brought along to raise, but in vain as he passes away.
(c) Helper: In Story no. 116, too, Bat wife acts as a helper/advisor. In Story no. 516 (Gê), a Bat (i.e., a transformed man) helps his people by leading them towards daylight.
(d) Subject/actor: Amerindians, Bat, helpers and senders.
(e) Opponent: Armadillo (see above, Story no. 146), the Bat (see above, Story no. 558).
(f) Receiver: people benefit from their journey towards (day)light, for they no longer have to eat bark (see Story no. 516).

Interaction with other "animal" actors

Within this cluster, Bat interacts directly and indirectly with other "animals": Vulture (see Story no. 116; Bakairí, Cariban) and Owl (see Story no. 158; Tembé, Tupian). Bats also interact directly with Birds because Bat fails to help them push up the sky (see Story no. 158). In another Bat advises Amerindians to fetch sleep from Lizard (see Story no. 116).

Mosquitoes and Grasshoppers attack Amerindians guided by a Bat-man towards the light (see Story no. 516; Gê). Bats occur with various other (nocturnal) "animals/birds" as they are mentioned in the same sentence (and thus interchangeable within that context). For instance, in Story no. 146 (Munduruku, Tupian), ugly and lethargic people turn into Birds, Bats, Pigs and Butterflies.

Setting

Three narratives unfold in a forest setting (see Story nos. 116, 146, 558; Cariban, Tupian, Gê). Story no. 558 (Gê) includes a forest as well as a village setting. Isolated village settings are encountered only in Story nos. 212 and 516 (Tacanan, Gê). Story no. 558 partly takes place in the *axis mundi*. A cave serves as the home of Bats, whereas land is the most common cosmic layer. In five cases a temporal setting is registered (Story nos. 116, 158, 212, 516, 558 (Cariban, Tupian, 2x Gê)). They are all set in a nocturnal context.

D2. Story-layer: characterization and durations

Characterization

Although this sub-cluster only consists of six narratives, it is still worth mentioning that in these cases only a single record on direct characterization is documented. This observation is of interest as Bat in general is (relatively) often characterized directly and even more frequently as a devastating Bat (see sections D and D1 on Story). Only in Story no. 558 (Apinayé, Gê) is an analogous/direct description provided: a winged community named Cupêndiepe consisting of Amerindians, who fly only by night, as Bats do. In the remaining narratives, the Bat personage is indirectly described.

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time encountered within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). For four of the six narratives, an indication for the duration is provided. All three fall within the "short" range: 1-5 pages. However, the variation of narrated time is wide: several days, months, years (n=2). In relation to Bat narratives in general, the short real time is in line, whereas the dominance of long narrated time reveals a discrepancy (see section D. Story-layer). This again indicates a more epic character of these Bat narratives as nocturnal creatures.

Story no. 116 (Bakairí, Cariban), the shortest narrative, has an indicated narrated time covering months. Nevertheless, its narrated time is actually unclear and could even cover days. The indicated narrated time spanning years in Story nos. 146 and 158 (Tupian) can be explained by the fact that many events occur. Various themes and motifs are apparently combined. They either pertain to the start of a new era (see Story no. 146; Munduruku, Tupian) or describe how the night originates after the sky is moved upwards. Numerous incidents unfold in the course of these narratives. For instance, in the abovementioned Story no. 146, a father tries to trick his son, the underworld is discovered and ugly people partly transformed into "animals" climb out of the underworld. In addition, the cradle of various tribes is described thus: "This is how Munduruku, Mura, Ararat, Pamana, Uiamarn and others originate". This narrative ends with the dawn of a new era.

As so many motifs and themes are combined it seems remarkable that the "real time" in both these narratives is so short. Perhaps the audience is familiar with such themes (e.g., "moving the sky upwards"). Therefore, the narrator does not have to elaborate on that specific motif, only applying it in order to position the narrative within a specific temporal setting by either referring to other narratives or by simply activating a common/shared group knowledge.

D2. Concluding remarks on "Bat as the creature of night/darkness"

This category consists of six narratives in total, of which three have the origin of night/sleep as the main motif. As to the remaining three, only the "night" is linked to Bat as a behavioural aspect (e.g., Bat heralds the night; is only active at night). The fact this motif is well established

and stems from the wide variation in linguistic affiliation of the narratives, namely Bakairí (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian), Tembé (Tupian), Tacana (Tacanan), and Apinayé (Gê). It also points out that not one of these narratives falls within the core area, but that they are dispersed across Central Brazil up to Northern Bolivia. Moreover, as the general discussion of Bat narratives indicates, their most common temporal setting is the night, numbering 88 percent of the registered temporal settings (see D. Fabula-layer).

Bat is a nocturnal "animal" that becomes active at around sunset and mainly flies about at night, hence its association with night/darkness. Although these specific narratives stem from outside the core area, it is very likely that similar motifs and themes are known throughout the region of study. The fact that, for instance, the majority of the narratives on devastating Bats concern the dangers they cause when one stays outside at night (see section D1) underlines this observation.

Within this sub-cluster, Bat is not typified as an opponent, with the exception of the "malevolent" Bat (see Story no. 558; Apinayé, Gê). In Story no. 212 (Tacanan) Bat refuses to help Birds moving the sky upwards for which it is punished by having to sleep upside down. The Bat is ascribed the role of helper in Story no. 116 (Cariban, Bakairí) where a Bat's wife advises Amerindians to get "sleep" from Lizard. In Story no. 156 (Gê), a man transforms into a Bat in order to lead his community out of impenetrable darkness. In Stories nos. 158, 212 and 558, night/darkness is directly linked to Bat's behaviour: it either heralds the night or is only active at night.

D3. Bat and laughter

Four narratives relate Bat to laughter, two of which have Gê roots and are presumably versions of the same tale. Both are discussed as a separate sub-cluster because in total only 23 cases feature "Laughing" as a motif. It is, therefore, relevant to investigate how, in these four Bat narratives, the Bat personage is related to this particular motif.

> An Amerindian in a forest meets Bat, who tickles his body which makes him laugh. This is the first laughter ever to be heard. The Amerindian is taken to the Bat cave and tickled by all Bats until he faints. In revenge, Amerindians set fire to this cave, but all Bats escape except for one little Bat-boy who is taken prisoner. Raising the boy and letting him sleep upside down, he soon dies. [Story no. 559 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê); abridged]

Other narratives with references to Bat and laughter are numbered: 211-2, 374, 559 (2x Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Tacana (Tacanan), Trio (Cariban).

D3. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

Strongly resembling D2. Fabula (see p. 136), the most recurrent events in this category are: (a) the encounter of Amerindian and Bat(-man), (b) the event leading to laughter (e.g., tickling)

whereby the order is disturbed, (c) the evil that befalls a protagonist, and (d) the punishment that follows after which order is restored. The most common motifs within these narratives are: laughing/laughter, the origin of things, "Animal" behaviour and punishments.

Laughter

The binding motif in all four narratives is the fact laughter leads to an unfortunate outcome. In three cases, the Bat personage causes either the protagonist or itself to laugh (see Story nos. 211-2, 559; 2x Gê, Tacanan). In Story no. 374 (Trio, Cariban), the Bat personage is ridiculed, resulting in the Bat-spirit becoming malicious. Death and disease now enter this world.

Origin of things and "animal" behaviour

In this sub-cluster of Bat narratives, too, the origin of specific things is a recurrent motif. Two narratives also appear in the sub-cluster referred to as devastating Bat (D1), namely Story no. 374 (Cariban) featuring the motif the origin of death and disease, and Story no. 211 (Gê) featuring the motif of decorative art (i.e., Bat's cave is adorned with paintings and drawings). The origin of laughter is described in Story no. 559 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). These narratives also clarify "animal" traits and behaviour. The reason why Bat sleeps upside down is explained in Story nos. 211 and 559. Story no. 212 (Tacanan) explicitly mentions that Bat heralds the night, by playing his flute.

Punishments

Punishments are a recurrent motif in this category, too, as is also explained by the fourth event whereby an (implicit) taboo is broken after which order is disturbed. The ensuing punishments entail death, the destruction of property, the Bat becoming hostile, etc. In two Gê narratives, Bat is adopted and reared without success.

Actors

This sub-cluster comprises:

(a) Sender: although a clear sender is absent here, Bat plays this role when it tickles and takes the Amerindian back to its cave,
(b) Object/goal: the Amerindian and Bat are both ascribed the role of object,
(c) Helper: other Amerindians assist the protagonist (see Story nos. 211 and 559),
(d) Subject/actor: Amerindians and Bat, and if present helpers,
(e) Opponent: the Bat,
(f) Receiver: this actant is absent.

Within this cluster, Bat is not directly associated, nor does he interact, with other "animals". Here Amerindians and Bat interact directly.

Setting

Interestingly Bat acts in a village setting in three out of the four tales (see Story nos. 211-2, 559; 2x Gê, Tacanan). In Story no. 212, a wife murders her Bat husband because his laughter annoys her and she does not recognise him. However, in Story nos. 211 and 559, Bat acts and is encountered in a forest setting. This tale partly unfolds in Bat's house: a cave. In the three abovementioned narratives, one of the Bats is captured and brought back to the village to be reared there, which proves to be in vain.

The cosmic layers associated with Bat are land and the *axis mundi* (in the form of a cave). In two narratives a cave is explicitly mentioned as Bat's home. A temporal setting is registered for three of the four narratives, two of which unfold during the night (see Story nos. 212, 559; Tacanan, Gê). In a daytime narrative (see Story no. 374; Cariban), the Bat spirit is still good/friendly as it is active during this time of day. In Story no. 211 (Gê), the temporal setting remains unclear, but an Amerindian comes across a Bat (described as *kuben-nepre*: half man, half bat) while visiting his garden, implying a day-time encounter.

D3. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization and duration

In Story no. 211 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), the Bat personage is described directly. The Kuben-nepre has a human body but the wings and feet of a bat. Elsewhere the Bat personage is indirectly described. The small number of references to its duration sadly impede an in-depth analysis.

D3. Concluding remarks on "Bat and laughter"

The sub-cluster "Bat and laughter" contains four narratives. Overall motifs concerning laughter are common (found in 23 narratives in total). The laughter motif in relation to Bat is still noteworthy because a high variety is present within the Bat corpus, i.e., (a) Bat is mocked with a negative outcome for Amerindians, (b) Bat itself laughs with a negative outcome for itself, and (c) Bat causes Amerindians to laugh with negative results for both.

Only one narrative falls within the core area, which is Story no. 374 (Trio, Cariban), the other stories Story nos. 211 and 559 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) and Story no. 212 is Tacanan. However, motifs pertaining to laughter are also documented for other tales originating from the core area and beyond, as will now be discussed.

Laughter in narratives (in general)

The motif "Man's inordinate laughter brings unfortunate results" occurs in twelve cases. In Story no. 207 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan), the demiurge tickles and whoever laughs transmutes into an "animal". In Story no. 103 (Warao) one of two brothers ridicule a spirit. Having hereby revealed his whereabouts, he is caught and killed. In Story no. 153 (Karajá, Gê) two brothers laugh at Toad who proposes to be their wife, after which evil befalls them. In Story no. 214 (Munduruku, Tupian) and in the very similar Story no. 215 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan), a girl

with a forbidden Snake paramour laughs incessantly. Once others discover her secret, her husband and Snake offspring are killed. In Story nos. 693 (Ticuna) and 217 (Ticuna), Goatsucker and Nightjar respectively give away their secret of keeping fire in their mouths, when they laugh and a girl spots the fire. In Story no. 238 (Ticuna), one of the Twin brothers tricks his sister-in-law into laughing to then find out her whereabouts and rape her. Laughter (or laughing at someone) is explicitly forbidden in Story nos. 208-9, 213 and 453 (2x Munduruku (Tupian), Bororo (Gê), Warao).

Motifs concerning laughter and its negative consequences are well-known within the core area and beyond: central Brazil (Tupian, Munduruku, Guaraní), Bolivia (Tacanan), the southern Colombian border with Brazil (Ticuna) and even Argentina (Guaicuruan, Toba-Pilaga).[60] Remarkably, within the Bat corpus, four narratives feature this motif, as was discussed in this sub-cluster.

In these Laughter-narratives, Bat is not strongly defined as a malicious opponent, but in a more neutral manner and only regarded potentially dangerous after being insulted by means of laughter. Story no. 211 (Cayapó-Gorotire) explicates that Bat did not mean any harm to then prove this by "caressing" the Amerindian with its lengthy, pointing nails. In Story no. 212 (Tacanan), an Amerindian woman is married to a Bat. She kills him as his laughter annoys her. Moreover, she did not recognise her husband.

D4. Other Bat narratives

In sum, the aforementioned sub-clusters (D1-D3) cover 26 of the 33 Bat stories. Therefore, seven hereof do not fit any of these sub-clusters. These cases are numbered: 181, 331, 452, 490, 604, 613 and 653 (Cashinahua (Panoan), Ticuna, 2x Warao, 2x Cuiva (Guajiboan), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Four out of these seven share the motif "Transformation or emergence of Bats". Two pertain to a Bat trait and one refers to Vampire bats protecting the upperworld.

D4a. Emergence of Bats

Four of these narratives share a common motif, whereby Bats emerge/originate from something (see Story nos. 181, 452, 490, 613; Cashinahua (Panoan), 2x Warao, Cuiva (Guajiboan)). This motif also occurs in certain narratives that also form part of (one of the) sub-clusters (see Story nos. 146, 171, 516; Cashinahua (Panoan), Munduruku (Tupian), Gê)). Narratives with this specific motif are not considered a sub-cluster, as transmuting or emerging Bats is only a minor detail within these narratives which vary highly both in motifs and structure.

In just two of these seven narratives, Bats emerge within a positive setting in which a clever Amerindian transforms into a Bat in order to lead his people out of impenetrable darkness

[60] All narratives featuring "laughter"-motifs are numbered: 103, 153, 207-9, 211-5, 217, 238, 262, 280, 350, 453 and 599.

into the light of day (see Story no. 516; Gê). In Story no. 181 (Cashinahua, Panoan), an elderly Rat transforms itself into a Bat, because it wishes not only to feed on ripe bananas and papayas but also to hang upside down and to be active at night. In the other cases, the origin/ appearance of Bat has a more negative connotation. In Story no. 613 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) misfortune evolves from which Bats originate. Bats emerge from "evil", e.g., an enemy or a malevolent walking and talking head. In Story no. 452 (Warao), Bats emerge from the ashes of a burned howler monkey. Its body had been set alight in revenge for killing many Amerindians, who in turn had deceived and killed many Howler monkeys. In Story no. 490 (Warao) a malevolent brother is killed and chopped into pieces which turn into Bats, Horse flies and Flies referred to as Galofa. In Story no. 146 (Munduruku, Tupian), evil and ugly humans, along with a small number of beautiful people climb out of a hole in the ground. The slow and lethargic individuals transmute into Bats, Butterflies and Pigs. In Story no. 171 (Cashinahua, Panoan), a malicious head transforms into Bats as well as into other "animals" and objects. As this head could bite Amerindians, they are forced to kill it.

D4b. Final three Bat narratives

These stories are not part of a discussed sub-cluster. They do not concern the emergence of Bats or the fact Bat is the result of a transformation. Two of these three cases refer to a Bat trait (see Story nos. 604 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) and 331 (Ticuna)). The former tale explicitly states that Bats (and Snakes) are not eaten. In the latter narrative, Jaguar asks Bat for help after which only other demons come to its assistance hereby implying that Bat is a demon.

The third narrative (Story no. 653; Sikuani, Guajiboan) is very extensive, combining various motifs and plots found elsewhere. In short: a boy produces starch which magically turns into a magic fruit-bearing tree which when discovered "animals" wish to fell. Having first obtained axes, they manage to do so. As death is now introduced, culture heroes, and later also others, seek to enter the upperworld. However, Vampire Bats prevent this and these others trying to enter the upperworld transform into "animals". An episode follows in which a woman falls into a fish trap and dies. Her demise results in a quest for revenge which concludes with the daughter cutting the leg of the wrong man.

E. The Jaguar

In this section, all narratives including Jaguar take in a central position, also when they are referred to as Tiger. This cluster includes stories pertaining to references to Jaguars, which results in a cluster encompassing 127 narratives in total.[61] Jaguar is thus by far the most recurrent "animal" personages documented in the course of the present study. The layout of

[61] All these 127 Jaguar narratives are numbered: 1, 2, 16, 23, 34, 39, 44, 55, 63, 66, 73, 81-2, 84, 86-7, 89, 96, 101, 110-1, 113, 128, 132, 135-7, 147-9, 151-2, 154-6, 164, 174, 185-6, 191-4, 199-200, 207-8, 213, 216, 218-9, 221, 226-7, 236, 243, 246, 295, 298, 301-2, 328, 330-1, 333-4, 343-4, 350-2, 360, 368, 373, 377-8, 384, 389, 394, 396-9, 407, 416, 443, 447, 449, 458, 461, 465, 472, 486, 489, 498, 500-2, 504, 507, 524, 539, 541, 548-50, 557, 562, 573, 583, 590, 616, 618, 643-5, 649, 667-9, 671-2, 687, 691, 700, 707 and 1096 (various sources).

this segment follows the set methodology, in order to provide answers to the research questions: “Which attributes and roles are ascribed to Jaguar? With what and with whom he is associated in the narratives?”.

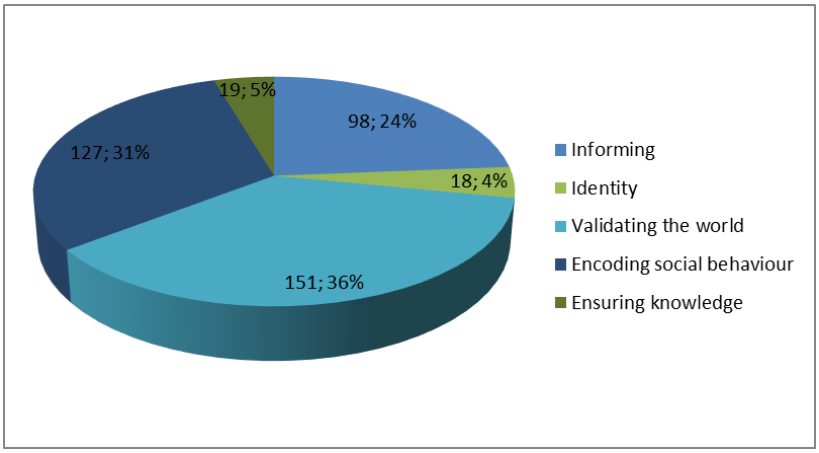
E. General remarks

The Jaguar narratives are here analysed as a comprehensive set, before being further clustered and categorised according to (clusters of) motifs. First, the narrative functions are investigated. Next, the analysis focuses on the linguistic affiliation and geographical dissemination of the narratives.

Narrative functions

Considering the narrative functions of the narratives featuring Jaguar(s), they mainly validate the world to a certain degree thus explaining why things are as they are. The second most common narrative function comprises encoding social behaviour, linked to narratives with a strong moral component dealing with how Amerindians ought to behave. More informative narratives follow featuring either ex- or implicit references to hunting techniques, to which food is appropriate and how certain things are to be done. Table E1 discloses the narrative functions of Jaguar narratives. For a complete list including all sub-functions, see Appendix C, Table C-6. These results are in line with the general outcome of the overall narrative functions (see 4.1.1).[62]

Table E1 Narrative functions of Jaguar narratives (%).

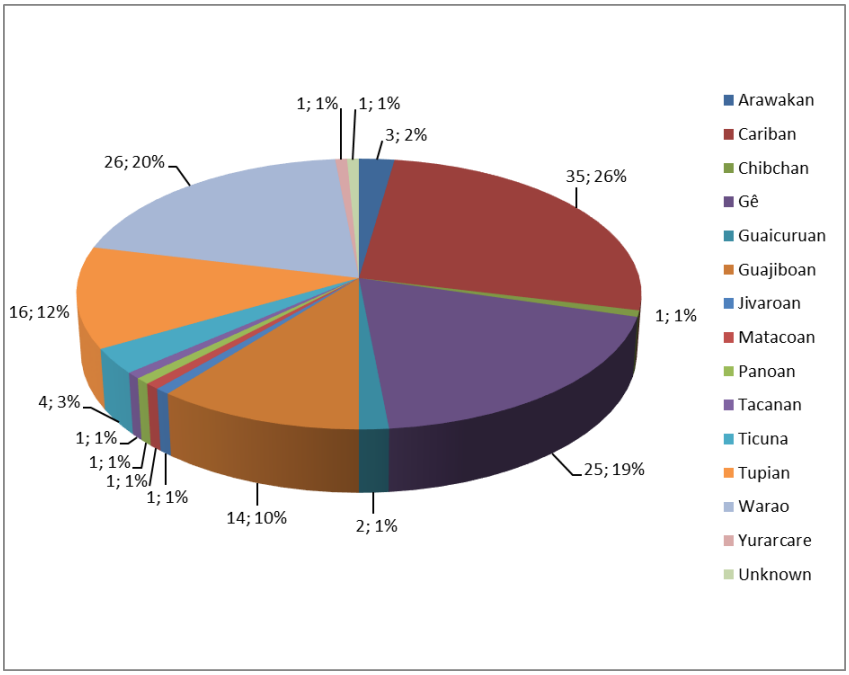


Linguistic affiliation

In order to establish whether (particular) Jaguar narratives correlate to specific linguistic affiliations or geographical areas, it is interesting to study the narratives in relation to their linguistic derivations. The Jaguar narratives are represented by thirteen language families, including all the most prominent ones (see Table E2).

[62] $\chi^2(4) = 2.99$; $\rho = 0.56$ (not significant).

Table E2 Linguistic affiliations of Jaguar narratives based on language family (%).



In comparison with the overall linguistic dissemination of the stories, the Jaguar narratives reveal significant variations in their distribution patterns.[63] Albeit slightly overrepresented among the Warao (20 percent, in general 14 percent) and Tupian (12 against 8 percent) communities, they are less recorded in the Guajiboan (10 against 16 percent) and Arawakan (2 against 7 percent) language families.

In sum, 132 records on linguistic affiliation are registered. For certain narratives, multiple affiliations are documented. They are apparently evenly distributed in the core area of this research. As many as 83 (63 percent) stories stem from the core area. Jaguar narratives are also found further afield: in central and southern Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina. The reader is referred to 5.1.4, Figure 5.12 for more detailed information on geographical distribution and the specific affiliation of the narratives. Figure 5.12 displays a plot of the narratives on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America).

[63] $\chi^2(7) = 19.87$; $\rho = 0.0059$ (significant). Languages with $n < 20$ in the overall distribution are considered as a single category in order to meet the conditions of the Chi-squared test (80% of the expected frequencies > 5 and none < 1).

E. Fabula-layer: events, actors and setting

Events: main events and motifs

In order to establish if Jaguar is associated with specific events and/or actions, a distinction is made between main events (which are predefined categories) and the documented motifs that provide information on specific events within the narrative.

Main events are registered for 52 narratives, resulting in 67 records. The most frequently documented events are related to quest (n=32), deception (n=26) and rescue (n=16). In general, the former two occur by far the most often (see 4.2.1). In addition, the contest records amount to fourteen, those on truth finding number four, on travelling number three and on abduction number only one.

These main events by and large directly relate to the Jaguar personage(s). Both rescue and quest are documented in fifteen cases. Deception is registered on ten occasions and contest on eight. Two records pertaining to main event concern truth finding, whereas one deals with travelling.

The motifs directly linked to the Jaguar personage focus on:

(a) origin of people and objects, including: (1) "animal" (n[64]88), and (2) "animal" traits (n=89),
(b) origin of objects (n=25),
(c) devastating Jaguar (n=63),
(d) punishments (n=44),
(e) tasks and quests (n=39),
(f) transformation (n=39),
(g) deception and foolishness (n=31),
(h) helpful jaguar (n=25).

Origins of people and objects

A remarkably large number of narratives include motifs related to the origin of objects and in particular to the origin of specific "animal" traits (n=89). Several motifs simply explain certain traits. Motifs regarding the origin of objects, people and "animals" (n=25) are also part of this category.

The origin of fire is a motif accounted for on ten occasions (see Story nos. 191-4, 219, 221, 226, 236, 246, 691; Gê (2x Apinayé, Cayapó-Gorotire, 2x Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Opayé, Sherente, Timbira), Chibchan (Cuna), Tupian-Guaraní (Kaiwa/Apapocuva)). Related stories describe the origin of cooked food and cooking, which in most Gê narratives are combined (see Story nos. 191-4, 691; Gê, various sources) as it is recorded in Story no. 227 (Gê, Opayé).

[64]See p. 5, note 5.

Other recurrent motifs pertain to the origin honey (see Story nos. 154, 301-2; Tupian, Tembé) and to “animals” (see Story nos. 151, 155, 360; Gê (Kaingáng), Tupian (Tembé), Warao). The origin of Arawakan peoples, who appear from Jaguar’s mouth to fight the Carib peoples is described in Story no. 407 (Cariban).

Three narratives directly link “clothing” and the origin of spinning to Jaguar. Story no. 136 (Taulipang, Cariban) explicitly states that Jaguars are not feared but desired for their skins. In Story nos. 192 and 691 (Gê Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Apinayé), the culture hero sees Jaguar’s wife spinning cotton as he enters her home. Various motifs on origin only occur once or twice, for example, the Spirit songs (see Story nos. 301-2; Tembé, Tupian), hunting equipment such as the bow and arrow (see Story no. 226; Sherente, Gê), glue applied when hunting (see Story no. 590; Cuiva, Guajiboan), flute playing (see Story nos. 1, 164; Munduruku (Tupian); unknown source (Amazonia)) and the names of rivers (see Story no. 583; Cuiva, Guajiboan).

The origin of “animals”, peoples and “animal” traits are overall very common. Interestingly, however, in the majority of narratives, it appears that Jaguar frequented the land layer before mankind did. Moreover, Jaguar as a natural predator plays a role in the division of “animals”, determining where they live and why they are either prey or predator (see Story nos. 151, 155, 360, 458; Gê, Tupian, Warao).

Even more common are motifs pertaining to the enmity between Jaguar and other creatures, both “human” and “animal”. These narratives often explain why Jaguars now eat or kill others, or why they are feared (see Story nos. 34, 110, 137, 151, 164, 185, 191, 208, 246, 368, 394, 397-8, 458, 501, 504, 539, 669; various sources). Or why Jaguar is not feared (see Story no. 136; Taulipang, Cariban). Narratives can also incorporate motifs regarding the friendship between “animals” (see Story nos. 128, 135, 147, 164, 501, 548-9; Cariban (2x Taulipang, Bakairí, unknown (Amazon), Warao, Gê (2x Cayapó-Gorotire)).

Story no. 407 (Cariban) mentions that all creatures had one and the same “tribe mother”, i.e., a huge Tiger named Arawa-Ojo. When the Carib challenge Arawa-Ojo by shooting many arrows at her, hundreds of Arawak jump out of her mouth.

“Animal” traits

Motifs concerning specific “animal” traits, either behavioural or physical, are encountered frequently. There is a high variety of motifs in describing physical qualities of Jaguar. Its personage is sometimes referred to as Jaguar-man (see Story nos. 55, 200, 583, 671; Trio (Cariban), Toba-Pilaga (Guaicuruan), Cuiva, Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Other motifs focus more on specific physical features, which are, therefore, also likely to be depicted in other “art” forms. For instance, on the fact Jaguar’s claws are curved, its eyes are described as fiery and luminous, its anus enlarged and its voice is compared to thunder or singing (see E. Story-layer, under the sub-heading *Characterization* fo an elaborate description).

Jaguar body parts can serve as toys, commodities or weapons (see E3b). In Story no. 541 (Gê, Apinayé), a monkey receives a flute made of Jaguar bone. In Story no. 573 (Gê Cayapó-Gorotire) a malevolent Bird of prey is killed by a lance tipped with Jaguar bone. In Story 557 (Cayapó-Gorotire), Frog peoples arm their fingers with Jaguar claws. In Story no. 200 (Guaicuruan, Toba Pilaga) Jaguar claws serve as a dog collar.

Jaguars can explicitly be mentioned as a pattern, a decoration or the like. In Story nos. 39 and 66 (Trio, Cariban) two woven Jaguars came to life. Next, when the brother who had created them pulls their tails and removes their clothes they change back into baskets. In Story no. 334 (Tupian), the origin of various "animals" is explained. Jaguar is the result of a transformed basket. Story no. 416 (Cariban) mentions a jaguar-shaped bench (referred to as "katoesjie").

Other motifs focus, or provide explanation, on the behavioural traits of Jaguars, hereby explicitly describing where Jaguars live, i.e., their villages or haunts (see Story nos. 151, 154, 185, 301-2, 331, 350, 384, 396, 458, 672; Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Ticuna, Tupian, Warao, Yuracare). Jaguar's eating habits are a recurrent theme as well, describing, for instance, what it eats, how it cooks food and why its ways have changed (see Story nos. 66, 87, 164, 191, 208, 221, 226, 246, 328, 350, 590, 644; various sources).

Certain motifs seem to contradict each other when portraying Jaguar as being either highly skilful or as a gullible fool. As a skilful actor, Jaguar is honoured for tracking, digging, climbing and, most frequently, hunting skills (see Story nos. 34, 55, 73, 89, 113, 227, 351-2, 360, 504; various sources). Jaguar is either a Trickster (see Story nos. 500, 507, 548, 550) or is tricked and thus portrayed as a gullible fool (see Story nos. 1, 16, 128, 135, 137, 147, 152, 164, 186, 208, 218, 243, 246, 368, 389, 394, 398-9, 500-1, 507, 539, 541, 548-50, 562, 590 and 667-9; various sources, see E3).

Two records on motifs describe Jaguar as a "magic" being. In Story no. 81 (Warao), a Black tiger kills all villagers after they ignore a warning to leave. This Tiger cannot be injured by lances and arrows. In Story no. 583 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) a very helpful Jaguar takes a man on a journey, naming the rivers and instructing him about the land before guiding him back home. These events may refer to a shamanic journey.

Other positive traits recorded as motifs are: forgiveness, generosity (see Story no. 691; Apinayé, Gê), and patience (see Story no. 34; Trio, Cariban). The negative connotations encountered are: boastfulness (see Story no. 407; Cariban), insolence (see Story no. 155; Tembé, Tupian), ferocity (see Story no. 44 (Trio, Cariban), selfishness (see Story no. 164; unknown source, Amazon) and ungratefulness (see Story nos. 194, 667 (Timbira (Gê), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Jaguar shows remarkable strength or self-control when managing not to laugh while being tickled (see Story no. 207; Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan). In Story no. 298 (Jivaroan), Black tiger is described as the strongest of all Jaguars and Leopard as the most agile.

Devastating jaguar

The second most common cluster of motifs concerns the devastating Jaguar. They occur in 63 narratives (50 percent, see E2). By far the most documented motifs are “devastating animal” and “hostile animal”. Other motifs further specify Jaguar’s devastating activities. A devastating Jaguar kills and devours the protagonist, abducts Amerindians or their children or acts as an opponent in contests (see E3). Narratives concerning devastating Jaguars being killed are numbered: 1, 2, 16, 81-2, 86, 111, 174, 185, 200, 226, 378, 384, 396, 449, 502, 550, 644 and 645 (various sources). For an elaborate discussion of Jaguar as devastating “animal” or spirit, see E2 *Devastating Jaguar.*

Punishments

Punishments are often correlated with motifs regarding a devastating Jaguar. Punishments, therefore, form the third most common group of motifs (recorded for 44 narratives). The first and foremost motif here concerns “Death as punishment for murder”. It is present in fifteen cases (see Story nos. 34, 84, 89, 96, 110, 149, 298, 330, 377, 489, 643-4, 668, 671 and 1096; various sources).

More detailed motifs on the nature of the punishment are encountered. For instance: being drowned or burned (see Story nos. 148, 151, 174, 200, 298, 330, 397, 562, 645; various Cariban, Gê, Jivaroan, Panoan, Guaicuruan, Guajiboan, Ticuna), or being boiled to death (see Story nos. 89, 389, 643; Warao, Cariban (Trio), Guajiboan (Sikuani)). Other punishments comprise being: (a) blinded or licked (see Story nos. 246, 368, 645; Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa), Cariban (Kaliña), Guajiboan (Sikuani)), (b) imprisonment (see Story no. 331, Ticuna), (c) beaten to death (see Story nos. 81, 643; Warao, Guajiboan (Sikuani)), (d) devoured by an “animal” (see Story nos. 84, 87; Warao, Cariban), and (e) mutilation (see Story nos. 81-2, 84, 86, 147, 246; 4x Warao, Cariban (Bakairí), Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa)).

Tasks or quests

Tasks and quests which have set the protagonists in action are often the driving force of the unfolding narratives. As to Jaguar narratives, various quests and tasks are identified. Journeys or quests in search of, for instance, vengeance or rescue are common (see Story nos. 1, 154, 298, 389, 394, 399, 449, 541, 548-9; various sources).

Tasks ascribed to the protagonist(s) and other personages on occasion relate to tests of character, e.g., regarding prowess, suitability, etc. (see Story nos. 34, 208, 333, 472, 539, 671; various sources). In certain cases, motifs describe a very specific task, e.g., stealing a tiger’s necklace (see Story nos. 394, 500, 507; Warao), making clothes from a slain enemy’s skin (see Story nos. 136, 218; Taulipang (Cariban), Gê), removing an organ (see Story no. 295, Ticuna), giving birth by opening a stomach (see Story nos. 149, 498; Cariban/Tupian, Warao), spying (see Story no. 352; Cariban) or delousing (see Story nos. 226, 298; Sherente (Gê), Jivaroan).

The act of recognition is in some stories directly linked to a quest for a certain person or "animal". Motifs of recognition are also recurrent and often specified, for instance: recognition by smell, voice, shadow (see Story nos. 16, 113, 136, 149, 156, 330, 351, 384, 501; various sources). Closely related hereto is the motif of "Shadow is mistaken for substance". Here the personage is recognised by its shadow, which is mistaken for the object itself. Or, a statue is mistaken for the living original (see Story nos. 191-4, 667, 691; Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire, Cayapó-Kubenkranken, 2x Apinayé, Timbira), Guajiboan (Sikuani)).

Transformations

In 30 narratives (24 percent), the motifs on transformation are directly linked to the Jaguar personage. These motifs are by far the most common overall, being recorded in more than 80 percent of the narratives (see 4.2.1). The most recurrent motifs in this category are the transmutations of a man/woman into Jaguar (n=11) and of a Jaguar into a man (n=8). A third transformation comprises putting on clothes/skin (n=6).

It may be added here that various motifs occur in three narratives: (a) transformation from object to animal, (b) transformation at will, and (c) "animal" traits established by means of a close association whereby acting like an "animal" implies becoming an animal.

A transformation from a man/woman into Jaguar is by far the most common motif. Eating Jaguar or Jaguar's food results in becoming Jaguar. For instance, in Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê), a woman is warned not to eat Jaguar's fat, but when doing so she transmutes into a Jaguar. Acting like this feline may imply becoming one. In Story no. 227 (Opayé, Gê) a woman desires Jaguar for a husband, as he is an excellent meat provider. Once married, she becomes an excellent hunter herself, growing claws, fangs and turning into a Jaguar. A woman having eaten her husband, then her children, changes into a Jaguar (see Story no. 199; Matacoan). In Story no. 524 (Crenye, Gê) a culture hero acts (while playing with other children) like a Jaguar. Next, he transforms into a real Jaguar and everyone flees in terror.

Whenever people mimic its appearance they can become a Jaguar as well. In Story no. 330 (Ticuna), men shoot at the trunk of a *tururu* tree. Having painted black spots on pieces of bark, those who wear this bark turn into Jaguars.

Shamans can transform into Jaguars, or a shamanic ritual is performed by them in order to transmute into a Jaguar. In Story no. 443 (Warao), a brother teaches his brother how to become a Jaguar by smoking a magic cigar. In Story no. 616 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), a couple comes across a resting Caiman. As the man wishes to kill this reptile, he prepares himself by consuming *yopo** to then transform into a Jaguar. In Story no. 687 a boy, filled with shame, because his mother has a secret incestuous relation with him, gets drunk on *yucuta** as well as *yopo** to then roar and transmute into a Jaguar.

The reverse chronology is recorded, too. For instance, a Jaguar who wishes to know how a man hunts a Peccary transforms into a beautiful woman to find this out (see Story no. 73: Arawakan). In Story nos. 89 and 504 (Warao) Jaguar disguises himself as an elderly woman in order to steal children.

In six cases the transformation takes place either when clothing is switched, or when a Jaguar in human manifestation is identified after the protagonist spots Jaguar's clothes (see Story nos. 34, 66, 216, 330, 350-1; 2x Cariban (2x Trio), 2x Ticuna). Also an object can transform into a Jaguar. In Story no. 66 (Trio, Cariban), two boys weave Jaguar-shaped patterns which come to life as do the patterns a boy weaves into baskets (see Story no. 39; Trio, Cariban). A basket transforms into a Jaguar in a narrative pertaining to the origin of night and various "animals" (see Story no. 334; Tupian).

Deception and foolishness

Jaguar is often also portrayed as a gullible fool, as the motifs concerning the origin of characteristics indicate. In relation hereto this trait features motifs regarding deception and stupidity (n=31). In certain narratives, Jaguars can deceive. In other cases, however, they are the object of deception (see also E3). Recurrent motifs in this category describe a victim tricked into death or injury, often self-inflicted.

Other motifs further concern deceptions in general: a deceptive bargain (see Story no. 590: Cuiva, Guajiboan), capture by deception (see Story no. 331; Ticuna), deception through bluffing or by substitution (see Story nos. 185, 562; Yuracare, Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire)) or when a jaguar is disguised as a human (see Story nos. 16, 643; Warao, Guajiboan (Sikuani)). In sections E3a-e these stories are more elaborately discussed.

Helpful "animal"

There are 25 narratives in which the motif of helpful "animals" is directly linked to the Jaguar personage. It is thus a helper himself or is assisted by a specific "animal". Specific motifs present us with insights as to how the Jaguar is helpful. They teach mankind how to seek or prepare food or how to be a food provider, they provide shelter (even adopt Amerindians) aid in recues or provides advise. See E4 for an elaborate discussion of these narratives.

Laughter

Not listed as one of the most frequent motifs, (excessive) laughter features as a theme in six narratives. Only in Story nos. 207-8, 213 and 350 (Guaicuruan (Toba-Pilaga), Tupian (Munduruku), Gê (Bororo), Cariban)), laughter is considered a motif. In the remaining two, a Trickster laughs (and claps its claws) when witnessing an adversary struggle (see Story nos. 1, 147; Tupian (Munduruku), Cariban (Bakairí)). It is interesting to study these motifs in relation to the Jaguar personage, as all in all motifs concerning laughter are recorded in only sixteen narratives (see also D3).

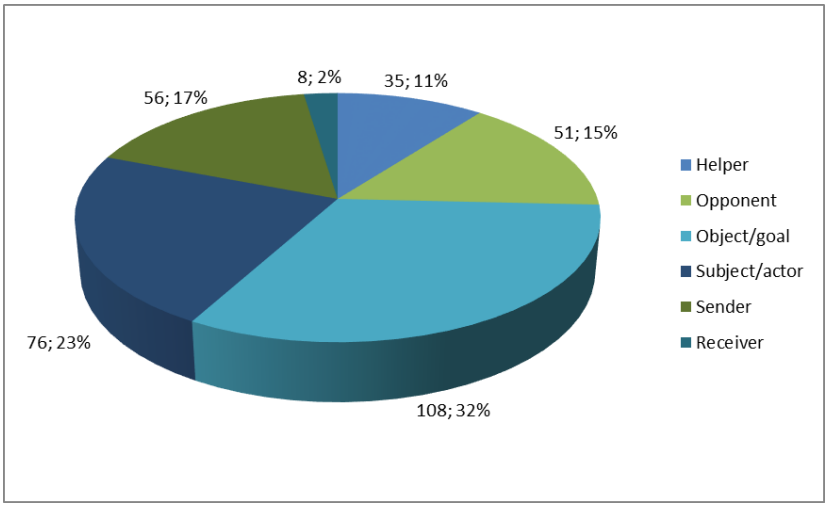
As stated above a Trickster makes fun of Jaguar (the object of his shrewdness) in two tales. In Story no. 1 (Munduruku, Tupian) Tortoise laughs and claps his hands as he lets himself fall on Jaguar's head, crushing its skull. Later Tortoise again laughs as he locks up Alligator. In another Trickster case, Jaguar laughs at Anteater who says he will kill Jaguar (see Story no. 147; Bakairí, Cariban).

Story nos. 207-8 and 213 (Guaicuruan, Tupian, Gê) include motifs on the taboo of laughing. Story nos. 207 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan) and 350 (Cariban) feature concerning the results of laughter, either positive or negative. In Story no. 207 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan) the demiurge tests Amerindians by tickling them. The laughers become "animals", whereas those who maintain self-control turn into either Jaguars or men-hunting Jaguars. In Story no. 208 (Munduruku, Tupian), Jaguar's wife warns her (Deer) husband not to laugh when her parents tickle him. He successfully withstands this ordeal. In Story no. 213 (Bororo, Gê), an Amerindian marries a Jaguar husband and falls pregnant. Warned not to laugh, but once provoked she smiles after which terrible pains befall and kill her. In Story no. 350 (Cariban), a hunter ends up in the home of Jaguar who inspects his arrows and asks questions. The answers make Jaguar laugh for as long as 2 hours and the man escapes.

Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

This element of the fabula is closely related to Greimas's six actants. The most common role for Jaguar is: object/goal; n=105; followed by subject/actor; n=76, then by sender; n=56 and opponent; n=51. For only 35 narratives is the ascribed role of helper recorded. The role of receiver is encountered in only eight cases (see Table E3).

Table E3 Jaguars divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



In comparison to the division of roles in general (see 4.2.2), a significant variation in ascribed roles is noted.[65] Jaguar is more likely to act as an opponent (15 against 10 percent in general) and as a subject/actor (23 against 17 percent) and less likely as a helper (11 against 20 percent) and slightly less an object/goal (32 against 34 percent).

Jaguar as game or pet

In Story no. 562 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), a Jaguar is roasted above a fire. A girl secretly feeds on its meat to next lose her mind and transmute into a wild cat. This narrative may refer to a taboo on eating body parts of Jaguar. No further references to Jaguar being hunted and eaten are recorded. Neither are there records of Jaguars held as pet. Only in Story no. 498 (Warao) does Toad own two pet Jaguars.

"Animal" aspects (shamanic, spiritual or mythical)

In the majority of narratives, the personage Jaguar (or now and again Tiger) is not further specified. Specific aspects recorded repetitively for the Jaguar pertain to:

(a) the black Jaguar (n=4; Story nos. 81-2, 110, 298; 3x Warao, Jivaroan),
(b) the spotted Jaguar (n=3; Story nos. 191, 298, 672; Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê), Jivaroan, Sikuani (Guajiboan)),
(c) the mythical Jaguar (n=6; Story nos. 81, 350, 407, 465, 486); these tales feature
    - the huge Jaguar (n=3; Story nos. 82, 350, 407; Warao, 2x Cariban)
    - the multi-headed Jaguar (n=3; Story nos. 407, 465, 486; Cariban, 2x Warao).

In addition to abovementioned aspects in certain cases either a shaman transforms into a Jaguar, a spirit takes on the guise of a Jaguar or the Jaguar personage is explicitly referred to as spirit.

The Jaguar is explicitly described as a transformed shaman (see Story nos. 55, 330, 616, 618; Trio (Cariban), Ticuna, 2x Cuiva (Guajiboan)). In Story no. 55 (Trio, Cariban), the family of a murdered woman calls in the shaman for assistance, hereby referring to a Jaguar-man. In Story no. 616 (Cuiva, Guajiboan) a shaman and his wife come across a Caiman during a march. The shaman, who wishes to kill the Caiman, prepares himself by means of *yopo** to then transform into a Jaguar. The Jaguar personage demonstrates shamanic qualities in Story nos. 16, 81, 89, 583 and 671-2 (3x Warao, 2x Sikuani, Cuiva (Guajiboan)), for instance, because the Jaguar-man/woman performs remarkable tasks, prepares remedies and/or enchants objects.

Jaguar is referred to as a spirit (see Story no. 707; Cariban). A spirit is described as taking the shape of Jaguar (see Story nos. 156, 461, 472, 689, 707: Tembé (Tupian), 2x Warao, Sikuani (Guajiboan), Cariban). The vocalisation of Tiger and other nocturnal creatures clearly indicates the presence of malicious spirits.

[65] $\chi^2(5) = 34.02$; $\rho = 0.00000236$ (significant).

Interactions with other "animal" personages

When establishing with whom Jaguar is associated it is interesting to observe with which other "animal" personage(s) it interacts. In sum, as many as 236 records of other "animal" personages feature in the same narratives as Jaguar. The only "animals/birds" with which Jaguar co-occurs in seven or more narratives are:

(a) Ara, Turtle (n=13) and Tortoise (n=5),
(b) Birds[66], Deer, Tapir, Anaconda/Snake (n=10),
(c) Frog, Monkey (n=9),
(d) Ant, Toad (n=8),
(e) Anteater, Caiman/Alligator (n=7).

The interrelatedness between Jaguar and other "animals/birds" is treated as part of each sub-cluster. This paragraph provides only a brief summary of the recurrent or remarkable connections and associations between the Jaguar personage and others.

Jaguar in relation to Birds and Ara

Birds are portrayed as truth tellers and helpers, but more frequently they assist the Amerindian protagonist, not the Jaguar actor. The following themes interconnect Jaguar and Birds whereby:

(a) the act of hunting Birds/Macaws serves as catalyst. Several Jaguar tales start with these Birds being hunted or a search for their eggs in the course of which the protagonist is abandoned and rescued by Jaguar,
(b) "birds" acting as adversaries steal fire: Birds (try to) steal Jaguar's fire. As a result hereof they become the object of its vengeance,
(c) "birds" as helpers provide new eyes: various "birds" create a new pair of eyes for Jaguar, or retrieve the eyes he has lost.

Jaguar and Turtle/Tortoise

Turtle and Tortoise are mainly associated with Jaguar in the Trickster narratives. Here Turtle/ Tortoise dupes, and often kills, Jaguar. This outcome often leads to (other) Jaguars chasing the Trickster. The following key themes are identified within this context:

(a) a contest of endurance, establishing who can survive the longest without food, water and on occasion air,
(b) killing from high up a tree where either a Turtle or Tortoise sits. When Jaguar tries to entice Turtle into descending, it deceives him. Jaguar is killed when Turtle throws either himself or fruit on Jaguar's head,
(c) a Jaguar's necklace; Turtle challenges Jaguar because it wishes to acquire the latter's necklace made of Jaguar teeth; such an adornment is not only a talisman but also a sign of prowess.

[66] Birds in general co-occur in ten narratives together with Jaguar, but in addition there are multiple specific "birds" that also co-occur in multiple stories, see B. Fabula, Table B6.

In Story no. 2 (Wayana, Cariban), a Twin narrative, Tortoise is the mother of culture heroes who crawl out of her eggs. In this case, Jaguar kills Tortoise. However, in the majority of Twin narratives, either Toad or Frog perform this role.

Jaguar related to Deer and Tapir (among others)

The two (main) sub-clusters in which Jaguar is related to Deer, Tapir, Anteater and Peccary are entitled "E1. The origin of fire" and "E3. The gullible Jaguar". In E1, Deer, Tapir and others serve as the carriers of fire. These "animals" visit Jaguar's house to fetch or steal, fire. Tapir takes on a special role as Jaguar and others deem suited or strong enough to carry off the burning tree/trunk.

In E3, the gullible fool, i.e., Deer, Tapir among others are Jaguar's food, the "animals" it preys upon. In the Trickster narratives, Jaguar is often attracted, i.e., lured into a trap laced with the (dead) meat of Deer or Tapir. In addition to Deer and Tapir, Peccary is repeatedly considered Jaguar food. On one occasion (Story no. 216; Ticuna) Caititu (i.e., a coloured peccary) is even explicitly described as the "highly seasoned" and "very peppery" food of Jaguar.

Jaguar and Anaconda/Snake

Jaguar and Snake either take stage or are both referred to in ten narratives. In which they are apparently interrelated by means of a water context whereby Jaguar frequents the realm of Land and Anaconda serves as Master of the Water layer. In their respective layers, they share much of their ascribed *symbolism**, because both are not only dangerous and powerful "animals" but also potential man-eaters. Jaguars, as well as Anacondas, populated the Earth long before mankind did (see Story no. 360; Warao).

Jaguar is to a certain degree also associated with the water layer. An excellent swimmer, Jaguar is portrayed as the Master of the Pool (see Story nos. 16, 550; Warao, Apinayé (Gê)) In Story no. 649 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) a Jaguar-people arises from a body of water.

Jaguar and Toad/Frog

Jaguar and Toad/Frog interact or are interrelated within numerous contexts and in combination with various motifs. Moreover, they are encountered: (a) as a Trickster when Toad/Frog deceives Jaguar, (b) as "Masters/Owners of Fire" linked to the origin of fire, (c) in Twin narratives, when Toad/Frog is the mother/Master of Jaguar; when Jaguar devours the culture mother, Toad/Frog protects the Twin heroes whereby both are often the victim of the Twin's vengeance, (d) when Jaguar, a hunter *pur sang*, and the Tree Frog assist protagonists in order to acquire hunting skills, or to improve these skills, and (e) in narratives and references pertaining to the belief that (Tree) Frogs have claws as Jaguar do and that they can transform into Jaguar.

Monkey

The nine narratives in which both Jaguar and Monkey act they are hardly ever interrelated in the narratological context.[67] In these tales Monkey serves as a catalyst. A man-hunting Monkey is caught and killed by Jaguar (see Story no. 185). In another Monkey helps Turtle up a tree, where Jaguar finds it (see Story nos. 164, 398, 541; unknown source, Tupian, Gê). Only Story nos. 218, 541 and 550 (Gê) feature Monkey as a Trickster here it deceives the gullible Jaguar. In Story no. 218 (Bororo, Gê) the Monkey even kills Jaguar to then cut his skin into strips with which it adorns itself. In Story no. 541 (Apinayé, Gê), Monkey rescues Turtle from Jaguar after which Turtle gives Monkey its flute made of jaguar bone. When Monkey meets another Jaguar, that Jaguar notices the material the flute (i.e., Jaguar bone) is made of. When Jaguar attempts to kill Monkey, the latter escapes.

Jaguar and Ant

Jaguar and Ants can on occasion be related. In the section about the Ant stories, their interactions are described in detail. This includes poisonous Ants living on Jaguar's head, Ants helping Jaguar and Ant hills as gateways to Jaguar's village (see F. Fabula, under the sub-heading *Actor: role and predefined dichotomies*).

Jaguar and Caiman/Alligator

The interrelatedness between these two "animals" apparently mirrors that of Jaguar and (water) Snake. Jaguar officiates as the Master of Land and Caiman/Alligator as the Master of Water. All three are dangerous, powerful opponents and bringers of culture at the same time. Three themes interconnect these creatures: (a) they are portrayed as the Master/Owner of bodies of Water (e.g., lake, pool), (b) they oppose and assist the protagonist during his many adventurous journeys in accordance with the opponent vs. helper-theme, and (c) they fall victim to trickery (see A. Fabula, under the sub-heading *Interactions with other "animal" personages*).

Jaguar and Anteater

Jaguar and Anteater are mostly intertwined in Trickster narratives, whereby Anteater draws Jaguar into an excrement context: comparing faeces in order to determine the better huntsman. In many such cases, Jaguar loses one or two eyes (see section E3). The supposed relation between Jaguar and other "animal" personages is further elaborated in the sub-clusters of the Jaguar narratives (see sections E1-E4).

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

As to the Jaguar narratives, a forest context dominates the forest vs. village dichotomy. Of the 121 records, 83 percent (n=101) are placed in a forest setting, of which nineteen cases in a village setting and only one in a cemetery. The forest is overall the most prevalent setting and

[67] These Monkey narratives are numbered: 151, 164, 185, 218, 334, 398, 541, 550, 562 (5x Gê, 2x Tupian, Yuracare, unknown source).

surpasses the Jaguar narratives (83 against 72 percent, see 4.2.3). Of these forest settings, a single narrative unfolds on a temporary hunting site, in the forest where the night is spent (see Story no. 87; Cariban). Story nos. 84, 465, 645 (2x Warao, Guajiboan (Sikuani)) are set in an abandoned village.

Studying if role and setting are interrelated, it shows that within a village setting significantly more records of the helper-role are present (18 vs 10 percent in the forest setting) There are no records of the Jaguar as subject/actor and receiver in a village setting. Within this setting, Jaguar is also relatively more frequent ascribed the role of object/goal (46 against 37 percent).

The day-night dichotomy also reveals discrepancies with the general pattern. As to Jaguar narratives, significantly more records of a night setting 62 percent (n=18) are encountered, while in general only 42 percent has a nocturnal setting (see 4.2.3). Dawn and dusk settings remain unrecorded.

The final aspect concerning the chronotope is the cosmic layer on which the personages operate. As to the Jaguar personages, the land layer dominates (77 percent, n=56), followed by water (12 percent, n=9), then the underworld (8 percent, n=6) and the sky (3 percent, n=2). In comparison to the general pattern: although land is overall dominant, it is even more prominent considering Jaguar narratives (77 against 46 percent), water again is ranked in the second position (12 against 23 percent). The underworld is slightly more present in Jaguar narratives (8 against 6 percent in general), but the sky again is featured significantly less (3 against 23 percent).

Sub-conclusion: Fabula of Jaguar narratives

The overall frame set, based on the 127 Jaguar narratives, comprises a dangerous “animal” and often an opponent as well as a duped gullible fool or as a Trickster who deceives others. Jaguar is, nonetheless, related to shamanic and spiritual contexts.

The origin of objects and especially of the traits of animals are the most common motifs pertaining to the Jaguar personage. Physical attributes explicated in the narratives are its claws and luminous eyes. In several cases, the Black tiger is described as the most dangerous of all.

Motifs concerning transformation directly related to Jaguar are very common. Mimicking a Jaguar, or eating its meat leads to being transmuted into a Jaguar as is, on occasion, a shamanic ritual involving *yopo** and *yucuta**. Jaguar also changes into a man/woman either by removing its clothes or by taking on a human form in order to abduct children or to marry an Amerindian.

In addition to the motifs concerning transformation, Jaguar is directly described as a powerful shaman and/or spirit. It is indeed a shaman because this feline is depicted as both a culture

giver (e.g., provider of protection, goods, knowledge) as well as a taker (e.g., avenger, killer, and predator *par excellence*). Moreover, it acts in all cosmic layers during the night and the day (i.e., as a traveller through both spatial and temporal realms), revealing all the shamanic qualities.

Motifs regarding punishment and quests are related to motifs regarding a devastating Jaguar. Punishments form a counter-reaction against the deeds of the devastating Jaguar, as are the set tasks and quest (e.g., vengeance). The more gullible, foolish trait of the Jaguar personage becomes obvious in motifs related to deceptions and foolishness. Here, Jaguar is often tricked into self-harm, even leading to its demise.

The most dominant cosmic layer comprises land, which correlates with Jaguar's natural habitat. Although Jaguars are excellent swimmers, the water layer still occupies the second place. In its role as object/goal, Jaguar is more frequently placed in an alternative cosmic setting (including the underworld). This positioning could be explained by the fact it is hunted across various cosmic layers, as will be further explored by means of analysing clusters of narratives (see below).

When investigating with whom Jaguar is associated, numerous "animals/birds" with whom it co-occurs are encountered in the narratives. Snake and Birds prove overall to be very common "animal" personage, and also Anteater and Tapir are both present in the "Top 15" of the most recurrent "animals" featured in the narratological corpus (see 4.2.2). These all frequently occur in the same narratives as Jaguar. Deer and Toad are also listed in the "Top 15", although less high but nonetheless worth mentioning. The thirteen tales in which Turtle also takes stage (27 percent of all Turtle narratives) is supplemented with five Tortoise narratives which are again absent from the aforementioned "Top 15". The Jaguar narratives are clustered (see below). The proposed interrelatedness between Jaguar and other "animal" personage is further explored in relation to narrative motifs.

E. Story-layer: characterization and duration

The Story-layer is studied by means of characterization and duration. This layer provides us with insights into the concrete way a narrative is presented to the audience.

Characterization

The overall most common mode of characterization is indirect (76 percent). The characterization of Jaguar is in line (i.e., shows no significant variation) with the general pattern.[68] The 111 records on characterization pertaining to the Jaguar narratives are based on 98 cases. Eighteen records (16 percent) of a direct mode and nine (8 percent) records disclose that Jaguar is characterized by means of an analogy. Physical and/or behavioural qualities can be emphasised by either an analogy or a direct description. The dominance of

[68] $\chi^2(2) = 1.16$; $\rho = 0.56$ (not significant).

indirect characterization indicates that the Jaguar personage does not require an explicit introduction or description.

Analogous descriptions of Jaguar

In Story nos. 368 and 399 (Kaliña (Cariban), Tupian) Jaguar's claws are described as knives which it always takes along. In Story 352 (Cariban) Jaguar is made fun of because of its claws. In Story no. 213 (Bororo, Gê) this analogy is absent, but a description is provided of how Jaguar cuts open a woman's stomach with its claws. This narrative includes an explanation for Jaguar's short tail: Turtle has bitten off a piece. In Story no. 399 (Tupian), a Turtle asks Jaguar for his "knives". Another analogue record refers to its claws. Here, in Story no. 373 (Trio, Cariban), a Frog transmutes into a Jaguar. The claws of this amphibian are compared to those of Jaguar. This tale further mentions that Frogs catch their prey as Jaguars do. Another analogy is drawn between Jaguar and "a coat". In Story no. 136 (Taulipang, Cariban), people say "I hear a beautiful coat" when they hear a Jaguar roar.

The other analogue descriptions are related to behavioural qualities of Jaguar, such as its excellent tracking skills. In Story no. 55 (Trio, Cariban) a Jaguar-man (with the qualities of Jaguar as well as of men) is capable of tracking a man to then make him retrace his steps. Jaguar as a man-eater is another behavioural quality often described directly. In Story no. 489 (Warao) Jaguars are compared to cannibals and referred to as Siawani, who can turn themselves into Snakes and Jaguars. The latter are apparently synonymous for danger or a killer. In Story no. 63 (Trio, Cariban) a man tries to fool others by saying Jaguar or Snake is responsible for a woman who had gone missing. In a warrior song (see Story no. 707; Cariban) Jaguar is called upon as a "spirit of violence". The next line of the lyrics states "burn our very being with your fire". Here, no literal (physical) labelling is given, but Jaguar is described as a spirit of violence. Moreover, fire is used as an analogy and probably refers to its strength and fury associated with a spirit of violence. Jaguar may appear as an elderly woman (often in order to abduct a child). Story no. 89 (Warao) mentions that Tiger continues to do what Tigers and Dogs do. However, what they both do is not made explicit but presumably obvious to the native audience (likely killing "prey animal")!

Direct descriptions of Jaguar

Direct characterizations often emphasise specific physical attributes. A recurrent explicit description comprises a two- or three-headed Jaguar (see Story nos. 465, 486, 504; Warao). In Story no. 330 (Ticuna), the black spots are recognizable physical attributes explicitly mentioned. People wearing pieces of bark painted with black spots (resembling Jaguar) transform into them. In Story no. 350 (Cariban) Jaguar without its clothes resembles men, but the protagonist recognises Jaguar when seeing Jaguar skins hanging.

In Story no. 227 (Opayé, Gê) this feline's physical features are combined. Here, a woman married to Jaguar grows claws, fangs and black spots. This transmutation scares her

grandmother who then kills the (Jaguar) woman. In Story no. 216 (Ticuna), a mother sees her son transform into a wild, spotted Jaguar.

As mentioned above, Jaguar's claws are a synonym to knives. However, Turtle employs them as toys (see Story no. 186 (Tupian). Jaguar's claws, as well as his teeth, serve as toys in Story no. 389 (Trio, Cariban). Jaguar is also analogous to a coat (see the aforementioned Story no. 136). Story no. 218 (Bororo, Gê) reports that Jaguar's skin is cut into pieces to be worn as an adornment by Monkey.

Jaguar's eyes are another explicitly described physical feature as fiery and luminous in Story nos. 135, 185, 246, 343, 643 and 645 (Cariban (Taulipang), Yuracare, Tupian (Apapocuva/ Kaiwa, Shipaya), 2x Guajiboan (Sikuani)). In Story no. 645 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) the protagonists observe eyes that shine but do not recognise Jaguar. This results in the husband's death, while the woman realises in time it is Jaguar and manages to escape with her child. In Story no. 185 (Yuracare), a four-eyed Jaguar manages to escape while other Jaguars are killed. In Story no. 643 (Sikuani) Jaguar's illuminating eyes as well as its tongue (as sharp as grass) form part of the description.

In Story no. 590 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), an explanation is provided as to how Jaguar's anus is enlarged. Here Jaguar is sodomised by Toad who with his large penis enlarged Jaguar's anus, enabling him to produce more arrow glue. In Story no. 207 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan). Story no. 672 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) provides a direct description of a Jaguar woman/wife. She is a hard worker and an excellent hunter because she spots "animals" before her husband does. In Story no. 472 (Warao) it was stated that Jaguar, in fact, was an ogre called Baisamo.

Other direct descriptions are related to Jaguar's strength and agility. In Story no. 298 (Jivaroan), various species of felines are to a certain degree labelled. The strongest, here, are Black tiger and an unknown species referred to as *yambiga*. The only creature to escape is the Leopard as it is the most agile. In Story no. 3 (Cariban), a Jaguar rescues the floating protagonist by pushing its tail through a hole in the barrel containing the hero. This narrative explicitly reports that "never was such an animal tamed".

Duration

In the field of narratology, the duration is studied by relating real time (approached by an accumulation of pages) to narrated time, which is time as given in the narrative itself. Jaguar narratives number 143 records, because multiple narratives have multiple records. These records include 129 unique records on duration. The majority hereof (94 percent) fall within the short range and take up to 5 pages. Jaguar tales form no exception, as 93 percent (n=120) fall within the short range and nine in the middle range (6 up to 10 pages).

The narrated time shows a high variation, but also is in line with the general pattern established in Chapter 4. When considering the Jaguar narratives, 47 percent (n=61) of the

records comprise a short narrated time (against 44 percent in general). As much as 40 percent (n=52) cover a narrated time of either months or years and 12 percent (n=16) of weeks. Both real, as well as narrated times, reveal no significant variation as to the general pattern, as is established in Chapter 4.[69]

Sub-conclusions as to the story-layer

The Jaguar is generally speaking indirectly characterized, which is by and large the preferred mode. Whenever Jaguar is either characterized analogously or directly, both physical and (mainly) behavioural qualities are emphasised. The physical, identifiable features described pertain to its claws (portrayed as Jaguar's knives), luminous eyes, skin and spots. Descriptions of two- and three-headed Jaguars also recur. Their behavioural qualities are: excellent hunting and tracking skills.

Investigating the duration, this factor is in line with the general pattern. Cases with a short narrated time and with a long narrated time number almost the same. This reveals the presence of narratives with a more "epic", "mythical" layout and very short ones dealing with a specific event.

In the following sub-clusters (E1 to E4), the 127 Jaguar narratives are further categorised based on their motifs. Hence four clusters are addressed in sections E1 to E4 entitled: (a) Jaguar and the origin of fire, (b) Devastating Jaguar, (c) Gullible Jaguar, and (d) Helpful Jaguar.

E1. Jaguar and the origin of fire

Remarkably, many Jaguar narratives include motifs concerning fire, most often regarding the origin and/or the acquisition of fire or more specifically of fire sticks (n=17). Two sub-categories are identified: (a) Jaguar as the Owner/Master of Fire, and (b) Jaguar's mother as the fire giver (a tale which is part of the corpus of Twin narratives). Combined they form the sub-cluster "Jaguar and of the origin of fire". One narrative from each sub-cluster is provided as an example below.

Jaguar as owner of fire

> Other animals acquired fire by causing a downpour which extinguished all the fires except the one located beneath Jaguar's hammock. A small Iguana manages to get hold of a burning stick from this fire and urinates on the remaining pieces of wood. It crosses a river with this catch. Jaguar is unable to swim and cannot reach it. [Story no. 219 (Cuna, Chibchan); abridged]

[69] Real time: χ^2 (2) = 2.95; ρ = 0.23 (not significant). One expected value is below 5, making the test less reliable. However, the established level of significance (23 percent) is far removed from the critical value of 5 percent. Narrated time: $\chi^2(2) = 0.51$, ρ = 0.78 (not significant). The variations in narrated time pertaining to the Jaguar tales discloses no significant variation considering the expected values.

Narratives with similar motifs are numbered: 191-4, 218-9, 221, 226, 236, 246, 691 and 707; Gê, (2x Apinayé, Cayapó-Gorotire, 2x Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Timbira, Bororo, Opayé, Sherente), Chibchan (Cuna), Cariban, Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa).

Twin stories: Jaguar's mother as a giver of fire

Various scholars discuss the very common narratives regarding the Twin (sometimes quadruplets) culture heroes, which are epic narratives that describe their lives from birth on, thus including their adventures and travels.[70] The origin of the fire-motif is frequently encountered in Twin narratives, but not present in each case. Considering all the Jaguar tales, five (36 percent) of the Twin narratives contain motifs pertaining to the origin/acquisition of fire, for instance:

> … Sun leaves his wife and she vows to find him. Her unborn children give her directions. However, a Wasp stings her and in an attempt to hit it, she hits herself. The unborn Twins think she hits them on purpose and refuse to provide any further directions. She loses her way to find the house of Toad (or Rain Frog). Toad takes care of her and the unborn. Jaguar, Toad's son murders the woman, but her sons survive to be raised by Toad. One of the sons kills Tiger and resurrects his mother from her bones. The children see Toad making fire without wood, spitting it out and licking it up. They also see how Toad applies a milky substance appearing from his mother's neck in order to make starch. Next, having killed her, they burn her. One of the sons swallows hot coals. Crane instructs them how to make fire. [Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban); abridged]

Narratives with similar (Twin) motifs are numbered: 2, 99, 148, 498, 1096 (Wayana, Macushi, Bakairí (Cariban), 2x Warao).[71]

E1. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

As stated above, two sub-categories can be distinguished, but all the narratives are dealt with as one sub-cluster. The origin of fire-motif recurs in the Twin narratives, but not in all. However, as the scheme of these two categories differs greatly both sub-categories have been provided.

The narratives featuring Jaguar as the Owner of Fire basically consist of the same events whereby:

1. *optional*: the protagonist lives with Jaguar-man/woman,
2. the Jaguar(-man/woman) is the sole Owner of Fire, all others have no fire,
3. the "Peoples/animals" are in need of fire,

[70] Levi-Strauss: *Mythologiques*, all volumes (Lévi-Strauss 1973, 1983 [1964], 1990 [1968], 1990 [1971]); Métraux 1946.

[71] All narratives with Twin motifs are numbered: 2, 16, 63, 96, 99, 148-9, 185, 213, 298, 377, 396, 498, 1096; Cariban (Wayana, Bakairí, Macushi, Trio), Warao, Tupian (Guaraní), Yuracare, Gê (Bororo) and Jivaroan.

4a. the Jaguar shares its fire, teaches how to make it, or
4b. the "animals" are sent or go to Jaguar in order to steal its fire whereby some fail, others succeed;
optional: Jaguar tries to retrieve its fire (failed),
optional: Fire "escapes" to then set trees on fire,
5. the "Animals"/peoples acquire fire and Jaguar lost it.

The following Twin narratives are more epic in nature, whereby the general outline is:
1. a woman is pregnant with a culture hero/Twin heroes set off on a quest (journey),
2. the unborn directs its mother,
3 the unborn is disturbed, injured or insulted, so no longer provides directions,
4. mother has lost her way and (unknowingly) enters Jaguar's village/home,
5. mother is hidden by the mother/owner of Jaguar,
6. Jaguar discovers a woman and kills and devours her,
7a. children are rescued and raised by their mother/owner of Jaguar. They magically grow in age and receive gifts,
8a. children discover the truth about the death of their natural mother,
9. take revenge by killing Jaguar and its owner/mother,
10. *optional:* fire is the outcome of this revenge.

The most common motifs encountered in these narratives concern:
1. The origin of fire (n[72]17)
   - the origin of cooking
   - the origin of rubbing sticks
   - the original fire is solely owned by one person or "animal"
2. The helpful "animal" (n=17) which
   - serves as a messenger
   - provides food to men
   - provides shelter or a nurse to a child
   - directs men on a journey
   - rescues, advises or presents gifts to men.
3. The theft of fire by an "animal" (n=8) whereby
   - futile attempts are made in order to circumstance a theft of fire.
4. The origin of other items, including "animal" traits (n=7) including
   - spinning
   - bird colouration
   - hearth; bow/arrow; maize, constellation/star.

[72] See p. 5, note 5.

Origin of fire and theft of fire

All narratives include motifs concerning the origin of fire and as well as helpful "animals". In eight cases fire is stolen by "animals" (see Story nos. 191-4, 219, 221, 226, 246; Gê (various), Chibchan (Cuna), Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa)). A certain number of these motifs are combined with those pertaining to a futile attempt to circumstance this theft. Here, Jaguar is often described as the sole Owner of Fire. Whenever peoples and/or "animals" desire this fire they either set off or are sent off to steal it. Some fail, while others succeed. For other "animals" that co-occur in these narratives see sub-heading *Other "animal" actors* below.

Toad Owns the Fire in Story nos. 99, 498, 1096 (2x Warao, Macushi (Cariban)). In Story no. 498 (Warao), "animals" try to steal the fire from Toad. While in Story nos. 99 and 1096 (Warao, Macushi (Cariban)), the Twins witness how Toad lights a fire without any wood: it spits it out and licks it up again. Interestingly, in Story no. 498 (Warao), a fire is stolen from its owner. In this case, it is not Jaguar, but Toad who owns the fire. Toad keeps two pet Jaguars who devour the mother of the culture (Twin) heroes. Notably, this particular tale starts with the theft of fire (although stolen from Toad and not from Jaguar). Next, this tale unfolds around the Twin myth-motifs and, therefore, bridges the two main sub-clusters concerning the origin of fire.

The origin of cooking-motifs are related to the origin of fire-motifs (see Story nos. 191-4, 221, 691; Gê). Because of the correlation between fire and cooking, they are considered part of the same group of motifs. For instance, in Story no. 227 (Opayé, Gê), Jaguar is not the Owner of Fire but described as an excellent provider of food and roasted meat, which it leaves behind on the roof of the house of its in-laws. The fact Jaguar is able to roast meat is regarded an implicit reference to his possession of fire. Placing food (such as cassava bread) on roofs is a well-known procurement of food. The Sun dries the food/bread allowing it to remain edible.

The origin of fire-motifs are even further specified when the origin of rubbing (fire) sticks is introduced (see Story nos. 99, 218, 221; Warao, Gê (Bororo, Opayé)). In Story no. 218, it is not Jaguar but a Monkey that applies rubbing sticks to make fire, after having sent Jaguar on an unsuccessful quest to acquire fire from Sun. Monkey then teaches mankind how to use fire sticks. In Story no. 221 (Gê) Prea successfully steals Jaguar's fire. Jaguar informs him how to utilise fire and how to make rotating sticks in order to create a fire.

Helpful "animals"

In the majority of narratives, Jaguar acts as a helpful "animal", for example, when rescuing an abandoned Amerindian and taking him in. In certain stories, other "animals" are helpful, too. For instance, a Rat introduces maize to mankind (see Story no. 236; Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Gê). Or, Toad takes care of protagonists (see Story nos. 99, 1096; Warao, Macushi (Cariban)). Other examples comprise "animal" helpers (e.g., Toad, Birds, Tapir) who help the protagonist in order to obtain fire from Jaguar. Various motifs specify how "animals/birds" assist by rescuing, adopting and giving advice.

The origin of objects

The origin of fire interrelates all narratives. In six cases this motif is combined with the origin of other things. For instance, maize is introduced by Rat (see Story no. 236; Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Gê), the craft of spinning is taught (or explained) by Jaguar's wife (see Story nos. 192, 691; Apinayé, Cayapó-Kubenkranken (Gê)) and Jaguar presents the bow and arrow (Story no. 226; Sherente, Gê). In Story no. 99 (Warao), Sun creates a bench out of Alligator and transforms Snake into a fish arrow.

Actors

The roles distinguished in the sixteen narratives featuring Jaguar and the origin of fire are:

(a) Sender: a role various "animals" play. Jaguar does so when acting as a caretaker and when providing goods/fire in Story nos. 148, 193-4, 219, 226, 236, 246, 691 (Cariban (Bakairí), Gê (2x Apinayé, Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Sherente, Timbira), Chibchan (Cuna), Tupian (Apapocuva/ Kaiwa)). Toad is ascribed the role of sender as a saviour and caretaker of the Twins (see Story nos. 2, 99, 246, 498, 1096; Cariban (Wayana, Macushi), Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa), 2x Warao). Lizard, who discloses the secret/truth to the Twins hereby directing them on their quest of vengeance (see Story nos. 498, 1096; Warao, Cariban (Macushi)).

(b) Object/goal: Jaguar is either the object of revenge or the object of thievery because "people/ animals" wish to steal its fire (see Story nos. 2, 148, 192, 218-9, 226, 246, 1096; Cariban (Wayana, Bakairí, Macushi), Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Bororo, Sherente), Chibchan (Cuna), Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa). Toad when serving as a caretaker is also the object of revenge in Story nos. 99, 498, 1096; 2x Warao, Cariban (Macushi). The "birds/animals" which the protagonist or culture hero goes out to shoot are also ascribed the role of object (in several cases).

(c) Helper: Jaguar acts as a helper by rescuing, taking in the abandoned protagonist and even providing him with various goods (see Story nos. 148, 192-3, 226, 691; Cariban (Bakairí), Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, 2x Apinayé, Sherente)). Toad acts as a helper in its role as the protector and raiser of the Twin heroes as well as a teacher/provider of fire (see Story nos. 2, 99, 194, 1096; Cariban (Wayana, Macushi), Warao, Gê (Timbira)). "Birds" and "animals" (help to) steal Jaguar's fire or assist by, for instance, telling the truth (in several cases).

(d) Subject/actor: Jaguar and all the helpers are actors within the narratives as are the Twin heroes or the protagonist.

(e) Opponent: Jaguar is the only opponent to be repeatedly recorded (see Story nos. 2, 218, 226, 691, 1096; Cariban (Wayana, Macushi), Gê (Bororo, Sherente, Apinayé)).

(f) Receiver: the records on Jaguar as a receiver comprise Story nos. 148, 246; Cariban (Bakairí), Tupian (Apapocuva/Kaiwa). In Story no. 148, Jaguar receives two women made of wood and, in Story no. 246, a new pair of eyes. Others ascribed the role of receiver are: Toad (see Story no. 498; Warao) and Prea (Story no. 221; Gê, Opayé). Prea manages to steal fire and in reward is taught how to cook and make fire.

Other "animal" actors

In all seventeen narratives on Jaguar and on the origin of fire, other "animal" personages are encountered, too. The most recurrent are: (a) Birds, n=11 including specific "birds" such as Ara, Macaw, Parrot (n=8) and Scavenger birds/Vulture (n=4); (b) Toad n=5; (c) Tapir n=3; (d) Lizard n=3, and (e) Snake/Anaconda n=3. "Animals" co-occurring twice along with Jaguar are: Alligator (see Story nos. 226, 1096; Gê (Sherente), Cariban (Macushi)), Prea (see Story nos. 218, 221; Gê (Bororo, Opayé), and Peccary (Story nos. 192, 691; Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Apinayé)).

The helpful truth teller/messenger: Birds

In eleven narratives (65 percent), Jaguar co-occurs with either Birds (general) or specific "birds" of which the Parrot-like (including Parrots and Macaws) are recurrent (n=8) as are Scavenger birds, of which Vulture is the most common (n=4).

In the sub-category of Jaguar as Owner of Fire, Birds often oppose Jaguar as they try to steal its fire, either successfully or not. These Birds (e.g., *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.), Mutum, Curassow (*Crax alector),* Waterfowl, the Turkey-like Jacu (genus Penelope) then become the object of Jaguar's vengeance, when it sets off in pursuit to retrieve its fire and/or to punish the thieves (see Story nos. 192-3, 226, 691; Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, 2x Apinayé, Sherente). In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban), the Twin heroes repossess fire after a Crane informs them how to make a fire.

Within the sub-category of Jaguar as Owner of Fire, various narratives unfold around an event of Bird hunting (or collecting their eggs) in the course of which the protagonist is abandoned. After a while a Jaguar passes which leads to the rescue of this Amerindian protagonist and Jaguar takes him in (see Story nos. 191-4, 226, 691; Gê, various sources).

In the Twin narratives, the Twin heroes are told the truth about what had happened to their mother and who their caretakers really are. In a number of cases a specific "bird" is mentioned, for instance, a Curassow (*Crax* sp.) in Story no. 2 (Wayana, Cariban), a Powis (*Crax alector*) in Story no. 96 and Ara in Story no. 149 (Cariban/ Tupian). However, in Story no. 498 (Warao) Lizard speaks the truth. The relatedness between them and the Jaguar personage is: the "bird's"/Lizard's honesty results in Jaguar's death. For, after being told the truth, the Twin heroes avenge their mother's death.

Birds more often help the Amerindian protagonist and thus in this role oppose Jaguar. In certain narratives, however, Birds directly assist Jaguar. For instance, in Story no. 246, Bird (*Inhambu* species) provides Jaguar with a new pair of eyes (see also section E3a).

The caretaker of the culture hero and Owner of Fire: Toad and Jaguar

The interrelatedness between Toad and Jaguar in the Twin narratives can be described as direct. Jaguar is portrayed as the son of Toad (see Story nos. 2, 99, 498, 1096; Cariban (Wayana, Macushi), 2x Warao). Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban) only mentions the mother of Jaguar (not explicitly stating it is Toad). Here Jaguar's mother kills the mother of the Twin heroes after which Jaguar raises the culture heroes. The Twins again find out the truth and kill their grandmother (Jaguar's mother): they burn her and the fire can still be seen in the sky today.

Only Story no. 246 (Tupian, Apapocuva/Kaiwa) refers to the event of the stolen fire. This tale starts with a Jaguar who weeps because Toad and Rabbit have stolen its fire. In the majority of Twin narratives, Toad, Frog and Jaguar are portrayed as the Owner of Fire. The Twins see Toad or Frog make fire and then steal it (see Story nos. 99, 1096; Warao, Cariban). In certain versions, Toad teaches them how to make fire (or the use of fire sticks), or provides them with fire. Toad is also said to hold fire in its mouth or anus (see Story nos. 2, 498; Wayana (Cariban), Warao).

The theft of fire and the Twin motifs is combined in Story no. 498 (Warao). Here the fire is stolen from Toad. First, the protagonist having sent a Parrot who fails then sets off to get it himself. Next, Toad leads a girl astray who, after arriving at Toad's house, dies. Jaguars (Toad's pets) now retrieve two sons from her stomach.

Considering all the Twin narratives, Frog/Toad is often portrayed as the caretaker of the Twin heroes and as Owner of Fire in a very similar manner. Jaguar is not always Toad/Frog's son but on occasion its pet. Whenever there is no (other) "animal" caretaker, Jaguar himself rears the culture hero(es).

Strong Tapir: the carrier of fire

Both Jaguar and Tapir co-occur in Story nos. 192-3, 691 (3x Gê) which are versions of one and the same narrative. Here Tapir is the "animal" considered strong enough to carry the burning trunk/tree as peoples or "animals" set off for Jaguar to get its fire. In Story no. 691 (Apinayé) various "animals" visit Jaguar, who only deems Tapir capable of carrying its fire. In Story no. 192 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken) men from the village transform into various "animals" as they set off to fetch the fire. The one who transforms into Tapir carries the (burning) trunk. In Story no. 193 (Apinayé) it is not made explicit that the "animals" are transmuted villagers, but again only Tapir is regarded suitable to carry the burning trunk or tree.

Snake, Lizard and Jaguar

Jaguar and Snake co-occur in Story nos. 148, 498, 707 (2x Cariban (Bakairí), Warao). Jaguar and Lizard co-occur in Story nos. 148, 498, 1096 (Cariban (Bakairí, Macushi), Warao). In these

cases, a direct interaction or association is often lacking. In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban) a Lizard, among others, is put on guard but, after failing, is not considered a vigilant watchman.

Snake as well as Lizard act in two narratives with Jaguar. In Story no. 498 (Warao) Lizard speaks the truth about what had happened to the Twin's mother, resulting in Toad's (i.e., Jaguar's mother) death. After this event, one of the heroes becomes the morning star and the other a Snake. In Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban) consists of multiple seemingly independent events in which the culture heroes endure a number of adventures. Having killed Jaguar's mother (Toad), their aunt gave them various tasks: to fetch sleep from Lizard and water from the Water snake who Owns three kinds of Water.

The final narrative to mention both Jaguar and Anaconda is actually a Cariban warrior song (Story no. 707). Here Jaguar and Boa constructor are called upon to engage in battle. "Tiger" is called the "Spirit of violence" and Tiger is asked to: "burn our very being with your fire". The Boa constructor is also called upon "to strangle its prey". Jaguar and Boa constructor are interlinked by the fact that both are dangerous (potential) killers and thus presumably at least partly share thier *symbolism**.

Jaguar and other animals

Various "animals" co-occur twice with Jaguar. However, they do not always directly interact nor are they directly associated with each other. Caiman/Alligator creates the mother of the Twin heroes in Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban). In Story no. 226 (Sherente, Gê), Jaguar rescues the protagonist from a tree and guides the thirsty man to three creeks, the third of which Caiman owns. Despite the latter's entreaties, the protagonist drains this creek. These two tales indicate a correlation between Jaguar and Caiman. The number of narratives in this cluster does, however, not suffice to determine any interrelatedness (see also section E. Fabula-layer).

Carriers of fire

Several "animals" take part in stealing (or receiving) fire from Jaguar. In addition to the already described "birds"(i.e., *Yao*, Mutum, Curassow, Waterfowl and Jacu), Tapir, Toad, Rabbit, Prea, Deer and Peccary also either take on this role or are explicitly mentioned as unsuitable to carry out this specific task. For instance, in Story no. 691 (Apinayé, Gê), Jaguar finds Peccary unsuitable to carry fire and gives its fire (trunk) to Tapir. In Story no. 192 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Gê), Peccary brings along the spun cotton and Deer brings meat from Jaguar's place. In Story no. 221 (Opayé, Gê), Prea successfully steals Jaguar's fire and is taught how to make fire and how to cook.

Setting

The most dominant setting is forest (n=15; 94 percent) because either the protagonist is abandoned in the forest to be rescued by Jaguar or a woman loses her way in the forest and then enters Jaguar's village. The only one record of a village setting is encountered in Story

no. 2 (Wayana, Cariban) in which both a forest as well as a village setting occur. Again a woman, having lost her way in the forest, enters Jaguar's village. Later Jaguars are invited to a festival by the Twin heroes who enter the forest in order to invite Jaguar to visit their constructed house and village (thus presenting a village setting). Here the Jaguars are tricked and killed.

The majority of narrated events at least partly take place during the day. As to the Jaguar personage, the dichotomy day vs. night is not often explicated. When a Jaguar marries an Amerindian woman, this points at a daytime event. In Story no. 2, the Twin heroes organise a festivity in order to invite, trick and trap all the Jaguars. As one Jaguar becomes a constellation, this may well have taken place in a nocturnal setting.

It is not (often) made explicit whether Jaguar acts during the day or at night, nonetheless, the latter temporal setting remains most probable. It is, for instance, only after a woman loses her way that she enters Jaguar's village (therefore presumably at or after dusk). There are references to constellations and the Moon as well. In addition, certain narratives state that Toad/Frog hides the mother. She is devoured as soon as Jaguar returns home from hunting to then smell and discover her. As Jaguars hunt at night, this may also refer to a nocturnal setting.

E1. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

Characterization is elaborately discussed in section E. Story-layer. Following the set general pattern, most records appertain to an indirect characterization. In this sub-cluster, however, the percentage of indirect cases is even higher (87 percent (n=13) against 76 percent). There is only one direct (Story no. 707; Cariban) and one analogous (Story no. 218; Bororo, Gê) characterization which seems to strengthen Jaguar's association with fire. The narrator did not need to characterize Jaguar by either means..

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by means of its number of pages). The seventeen narratives number 22 records on duration, because five narratives have been recorded from multiple sources.

Three narratives have a real time comprising 6-10 pages, all others are short. The majority of these narratives (n=9; 53 percent) have a short narrated time as well, measuring either less than a day or several days. This number is higher than when Jaguar narratives, in general, are considered, where 47 percent of the narratives have a short narrated time. This outcome can be explained by the fact that narratives in this sub-cluster mainly concern a single event: either the origin or the theft of fire.

The other cases have a narrated time of weeks (n=2; Story nos. 218, 226; Gê), months (n=2; Story nos. 2, 691; Cariban, Gê) or years (n=4; Story nos. 99, 148, 498, 1096; 2x Cariban, 2x Warao). As Twin narratives a part of this cluster, a long narrated time could be expected: they describe the lives of the (Twin) heroes.

Of the three stories with a longer real time, two also have a long narrated time of either months or years. Therefore, these three follow the general pattern whereby a short narrative prevails and the real time increases as the narrated time is lengthier. As the Twin narratives have a long narrated time (of years), all stories which combine the origin of fire with the Twin motif have a long narrated time (see Story nos. 2, 99, 148, 498, 1096; 3x Cariban, 2x Warao).

E1. Concluding remarks on "Jaguar and the origin of fire"

As to the way Jaguar is set, the following main categories can be distinguished whereby:

(a) Jaguar as the Owner of Fire often rescues and takes in the Amerindian protagonists, providing them with food, goods and fire. Jaguar can also be the object or focus of a quest, because people or "animals" want to steal the fire from him,

(b) in narratives forming part of the Twin sequence, Jaguar is the son or the pet of the Owner of Fire. Jaguar kills the mother of the Twin culture heroes, which results in their birth.

Narratives concerning Jaguar and the origin of fire are encountered across South America and are versed in the Cariban, Chibchan, Gê, Jivaroan, Tupian and Warao languages. However, the tales featuring Jaguar as Owner of Fire stem mainly from Gê languages.

The association with fire and cooked food or roasted meat are intertwined. Others envy Jaguar, because it is an excellent hunter able to roast meat. They then steal its fire forcing it to eat raw meat. By and large, Jaguar is not directly characterized. Although it is made explicit it is the (sole) Owner of Fire, the direct/analogous descriptions are not related to the fire motifs. These descriptions more generally associate Jaguar with being dangerous, strong and a very skilled hunter.

Common motifs concern the origin or acquisition of objects. In addition to fire, they comprise the origin of other cultural phenomena, such as spinning, bow and arrow, maize and Bird colouration. Jaguar is often portrayed as a helpful "animal" that acts as a rescuer, an advisor and a provider of goods. Moreover, it does not willingly provide others with fire, but it is stolen from it. In relation to this motif, motifs regarding the futile attempts to circumstance the robbery occur.

An investigation into the narrative functions reveals that the function encoding social behaviour is recorded for sixteen narratives, closely followed by the function validating the world which is recorded in fifteen cases. In absolutes, however, the latter function prevails with 30 records in total (multiple records per narrative). Other functions recorded for these narratives are: informing (n=12) and identity recorded in three cases. A common sub-category

registered for informing concerns on how to make fire (n=6) succeeded by information on good or bad omens and information on hunting techniques, both registered in three cases. Validating the world concerns the origin of "animal" characteristics (n=8), the origin of the world or objects it contains (n=6) and providing an explanation why things are as they are (n=10).

With whom does Jaguar interact?

Jaguar co-occurs and directly interacts with various "animals/birds". The most prevalent hereof are (specific) "birds" and Toad. Birds are portrayed as truth-tellers and helpers, but more often assist the Amerindian protagonist and not the Jaguar actor. Birds do now and again directly oppose Jaguar, for they steal its fire which results in becoming the object of Jaguar's vengeance.

Toad and Jaguar are related in the Twin narratives, in which Toad is either Jaguar's mother or the one that keeps Jaguars. In these tales, Frog is ascribed this role, too. Here Toad is often the keeper (Master/Owner) of Fire. One narrative (Story no. 246; Kaiwa, Tupian) refers to Toad and Rabbit stealing Jaguar's fire.

Other "animals" directly related or interacting with Jaguar are the "animals" that either carry off and/or steal Jaguar's fire. In addition to the aforementioned "birds", for example, Tapir, Rabbit, Prea, Deer and Peccary take on this role, too. Tapir does so because he is deemed either suited or strong enough by Jaguar and others to be able to carry off the burning tree/trunk.

Although Snake and Lizard also repeatedly co-occur with Jaguar, a direct relation or association does not become clear when considering this specific cluster of Jaguar narratives. Snake (Master of Water) and Jaguar (Master of Land) seem to share the association as a dangerous "animal".

E2. Devastating Jaguar

Motifs concerning a devastating, dangerous Jaguar dominate the corpus of Jaguar narratives. These motifs are present in 63 cases amounting to 50 percent of all Jaguar narratives. Being that common, they are studied in more detail in this sub-cluster. One such narrative reports:

> A boy witnesses how Black Tiger kills all women, but he escapes and warns the men. The men set off on a search party but all but two became too scared. Leaving only these brave two to kill Tiger: Jiggerfeet and Tabe-ahuba. After killing Tiger, they haunted the other men for not providing any help. They left their Dogs to finish feeding on Tiger which took ten days. [Story no. 82 (Warao); abridged]

All narratives with similar motifs (n=63) are numbered : 1-2, 16, 44, 63, 66, 81-2, 84, 86-7, 96, 101, 110-1, 113, 132, 149, 151, 154, 156, 174, 185, 191-2, 194, 199-200, 208, 226, 295, 298,

301-2, 328, 330-1, 344, 350-1, 369, 377-8, 384, 396-7, 407, 447, 449, 461, 465, 472, 486, 502, 504, 524, 550, 643-5, 671, 691 and 1096 (10x Cariban (2x Waiwai, 2x Wayana, Macushi, Taulipang, 4x Trio), Gê (3x Apinayé, Canela-Apanyekra, Cayapó-Gorotire, Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Crenye, Kaingáng, Sherente, Timbira), Guaicuruan (Toba-Pilaga), 2x Guajiboan (Sikuani), Jivaroan, Matacoan, Panoan, Tacanan, 3x Ticuna, Tupian (Guaraní, 3x Munduruku, 4x Tembé), 16x Warao, Yuracare).

E2. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

All narratives in this sub-cluster are dealt with as a single category, which could, however, be further divided into the following sub-categories: (a) the Twin narratives (n=13), of which four are discussed above (see E1). In these narratives, Jaguar frequently kills the mother of the Twins and (two) narratives in which Jaguar is absent as an actual actor, but is accused of being the potential killer, e.g., whereby its sound is a clear sign of danger. As a Jaguar actor is absent these are not further discussed here, see Story nos. 44, 63, 101, 111, 154, 156; 2x Cariban, 2x Trio (Cariban), 2x Tembé (Tupian).

The above leads to a large variety of narratives in this sub-cluster, which nonetheless consist of basically the same events whereby:

1. order is disturbed (e.g., a taboo is breached, an argument is set, a sign of ill faith ignored),
2. Jaguar(-man/woman) threats, kills and/or devours a person,

3a. order is restored,

3b. people take revenge and kill the devastating Jaguar after which order is restored; in certain narratives, other Jaguars come to take revenge, but (often) in vain.

The most common motifs within these narratives are:

1. Devastating Jaguar (all) whereby the most common sub-motifs are: (a) devastating “animal” kills and devours a person/man-eating Jaguar; n[73]21, and (b) abduction by “animal”; n=3,
2. Punishments; n=33, whereby the most common sub-motif is: a hostile Jaguar is killed; n=23,
3. “Animal” characteristics (n=29), with sub-motifs: (a) food of Jaguar; n=6, (b) village/haunt of Jaguar; n=7, (c) (not) skilful “animal”; n=4, and (d) stupid “animal”; n=4,
4. Tasks, tests/quests; n=23, whereby the most common motifs are: (a) deception; n=7 and (b) escapes; n=11,
5. The origin of objects; n=15, whereby the most common sub-motifs are: (a) origin of fire/cooking, (b) origin of spirit songs, ceremonials, and (c) origin of men or “animals”,
6. Helpful “animal”; n=13, of which the most common sub-motifs are: (a) nurturing a culture hero, adopting a child; n=7, and (b) providing food/shelter,

[73] See p. 5, note 5.

7. Taboo; n=10, whereby the most common sub-motifs comprise: (a) not able to cope with noises, (b) uttering a certain name, (c) killing an animal, (d) a forbidden lake, (e) compulsory answers, and (f) motifs related to the consequences of breaching taboos.

Devastating Jaguar

As this sub-cluster is based on motifs concerning a devastating Jaguar, all narratives, therefore, include these motifs. In the majority (n=21) of these stories, the Jaguar personage kills and on occasion devours other actors.[74] Motifs pertaining to abduction are the only other more descriptive motifs which indicate the reason why the Jaguar is so devastating (see Story nos. 110, 331, 504; 2x Warao, Ticuna). For instance, in Story no. 110 (Warao), a Black Jaguar catches and then brings along an Amerindian man for its sister to marry. In the end, her in-laws kill her resulting in the reason why nowadays Jaguars kill humans. In Story no. 331 (Ticuna) Jaguar abducts and kills (crying) children. In Story no. 504 (Warao), Jaguar abducts a child to rear it as its own daughter. She betrays him by burning its eyes. This explains why Jaguars are now the enemies of mankind.

In addition to a devastating Jaguar as an actor (opponent), certain narratives lack a Jaguar personage. Here signs of a nearby Jaguar (e.g., trail, its roaring sound) suffice to scare the protagonist(s). Hence, Jaguar is regarded a clear sign of danger. In Story nos. 44, 63, 101, 111, 154, 156 (2x Trio (Cariban), 2x Cariban, 2x Tembé (Tupian)), an (Amerindian) actor "blames" Jaguar when someone dies or disappears.

Punishments

The second most common motifs concern punishments. In 23 narratives, a hostile Jaguar is killed. This event is often related to the motif "Death as punishment for murder". The manner of death is frequently specified, for instance, when caused by beating or drowning (see Story nos. 151, 397; Kaingáng (Gê), Waiwai (Cariban)), by burning/boiling (see Story nos. 330, 643, 645; Ticuna, 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)), or when "animals" devour a protagonist (see Story nos. 84, 87; Warao, Cariban). Other recorded forms of punishments are: inflicting wounds or mutilations (see Story nos. 82, 84, 86, 330; 2x Warao, Ticuna), being licked by an "animal" (see Story no. 645; Sikuani, Guajiboan) or imprisonment (see Story no. 331; Ticuna). The Jaguar personage is often the victim of the punishment. Moreover, Jaguars avenge the death of their own, hereby punishing the punisher.

"Animal" traits

Motifs are documented that describe a Jaguar's traits, behavioural as well as physical. Physical qualities here concern its eyes, spots, claws and voice. Its eyes reflect light and/or are fiery (see Story nos. 643, 645; Sikuani, Guajiboan). Story no. 185 (Yuracare) mentions a four-eyed

[74] These narratives are numbered: 2, 81-2, 96, 110, 149, 151, 154, 185, 199-200, 295, 298, 330-1, 377, 396, 472, 644-5 and 1096 (4x Cariban, 5x Warao, Gê (Kaingáng), 2x Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Kariri, Matacoan, 3x Ticuna, 2x Tupian, Yuracare).

Jaguar. In Story no. 504 (Warao), Jaguar is punished by pouring hot liquid on it, thereby burning its eyes.

Recurring motifs concerning physical characteristics are: Jaguars with multiple heads, e.g., two-headed (see Story nos. 465, 486, 504; Warao) as well as three-headed (see Story no. 504; Warao). In Story no. 200 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan), Jaguar's claws are made into a dog collar.

Jaguar's vocalisation resembling or creating thunder is recorded in Story nos. 81, 110 (Warao). In the former tale, a Black Tiger attacks and kills a hunting party. This animal cannot be hurt by lances or arrows. When it approaches a sound similar to an approaching thunder is heard. Story no. 110 refers to a Black Tiger that produces a thunder-like noise.

Other motifs indicate that "creating/imitating" Jaguar is becoming a Jaguar. In Story no. 66 (Trio, Cariban), two boys weave a basket with Jaguar patterns, which transmute into real Jaguars. When these boys pull their tails they transform back into baskets. In Story no. 330 (Ticuna), a number of men take pieces of bark to then hammer them and paint black spots on them, resembling Jaguar's markings. Having donned these pieces, these men turn into real (malicious) Jaguars.

The motifs concerning behavioural qualities abound and disclose a high variety. They pertain to friendship as well as to animosity between Jaguar and other creatures. For instance: why enmity between Jaguar and men exists (see Story nos. 110, 191, 504; 2x Warao, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). Or, why Jaguar is feared or why he is a man-eater (see Story. Nos. 110, 151, 191; Warao, Gê (Kaingáng, Cayapó-Gorotire)). Story no. 208 (Munduruku, Tupian) deals with the reason why Jaguar fears deer.

More common are motifs concerning Jaguar's haunt and village (see Story nos. 151, 154, 185, 301-2, 331, 350, 384, 396; various sources, Cariban, Gê, Tupian, Yuracare, Ticuna). For the food it eats and how it once cooked his food, see Story nos. 66, 87, 191, 208, 226, 328, 350, 644 (various sources, Cariban, Gê, Tupian, Tacanan, Guajiboan).

More specific motifs describe Jaguar as a skilful hunter (see Story nos. 351, 504; Cariban, Warao), as a skilful digger and climber (see Story no. 113; Warao). This cluster also features the gullible, stupid Jaguar. Here, it is either tricked or acts as a Trickster itself (see Story nos. 1, 16, 208, 550; 2x Munduruku (Tupian), Warao, Apinayé (Gê)); see also E3.

Tasks

In sum, 22 narratives (37 percent) include motifs not only regarding tasks and tests but also deception and escapes. For instance: (a) Jaguar disguised as a human, or (b) a form of deceit through substitution, or (c) otherwise (see Story nos. 16, 113, 185, 331, 502, 643; 3x Warao, Yuracare, Ticuna, Sikuani (Guajiboan)). In Story no. 113 (Warao), Jaguar devours a man to take

his appearance in an attempt to deceive this man's wives, but they are not fooled. In Story no. 331 (Ticuna), Jaguar tells a child to smell its anus to then emit gas killing the child. Jaguar himself can also be duped: in Story no. 185 (Yuracare) a woman pretends to delouse Jaguar to then feed on the insects. Once this deceit is detected, Jaguar kills her.

As a gullible fool, Jaguar is also tricked into (self) injury (see Story nos. 2, 113, 331, 384, 502; Cariban (Wayana, Trio), 2x Warao, Ticuna). These motifs are dealt with in the sub-category entitled "The gullible Jaguar" (see E3).

Escapes are frequent events (see nos. 44, 110, 149, 174, 185, 330-1, 350, 449, 504; Cariban, Warao, Tupian, Panoan, Yuracare, Ticuna), for instance, when seeking refuge inside a cave or high up a tree in order to escape from a Jaguar.

The origin of objects (also the helpful Jaguar)

In addition to motifs explaining the origin of specific "animal" traits, motifs concerning origin are common, too. For the origin of spirit songs and ceremonies, see Story nos. 154 and 301-2 (Tembé, Tupian). As to the origin of mankind, "animals" or plants (see Story nos. 151, 328, 407 (Kaingáng (Gê), Tacanan, Cariban) frequently occur within the sub-cluster "Devastating Jaguar". The origin of fire and cooking are already extensively discussed in the above sub-cluster pertaining to the origin of fire (see section E1). The gathering of honey is recorded as a motif in Story nos. 154 and 301-2 (Kaingáng (Gê), Tembé (Tupian)) as is the acquisition of spinning in Story nos. 192 and 691 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Apinayé (Gê)).

The origin of a ceremony (or festival) and spirit song seems to be linked to the Jaguar personage. In Story nos. 154 and 301-2 (3x Tembé, Tupian), a man ignores his brother when he warns him not to shoot/kill Jaguar resulting in the Jaguar murdering him. His brother, having followed these Jaguars through an Ant's nest, enters Jaguar village to then marry a Jaguar-woman. In this village he witnesses the Honey festival and Jaguars singing their songs.

Certain motifs connect Jaguar to festivals, songs and music. Jaguar body parts (bone) are used as a flute in Story no. 1 (Munduruku, Tupian). In Story no. 331 (Ticuna), a Jaguar is punished by the demiurge, who secured Jaguar with his forelegs stuck in a hole. Jaguar then utilises its dance stick by means of its hind legs and starts singing in an attempt to evoke help from Bat and other demons.

Story no. 200 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan) refers to the origin of tobacco (often used in rituals and ceremonies). It describes how a devastating Jaguar-woman is burned, after devouring her husband as well as villagers before going after her children. Five days later tobacco rises from her ashes. The children turn her claws into dog collars indicating to everybody she is truly dead.

Jaguar as “culture giver” is also expressed by, for instance, when the man taken in (adopted) by Jaguar learns all about fire, roasted meat and spinning after witnessing Jaguar’s wife spinning (see Story nos. 192, 691; Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Apinayé)). In Story no. 226 (Sherente, Gê), Jaguar receives a bow and arrow from its caretaker. In Story nos. 149, 154, 185, 191-2, 194, 226, 344, 351, 504, 643 and 691 (various sources, Cariban, Tupian, Yuracare, Gê, Warao, Guajiboan), the motifs of helpful Jaguar are related to the Jaguar acting as a caretaker, rescuer of the culture hero, provider of shelter, food, advice and on occasion gifts. See E4 for more on the positive connotations of the Jaguar personage as looked into in the sub-cluster Helpful Jaguar.

Taboo

The sub-cluster “Devastating Jaguar” includes various motifs regarding taboos. These motifs are recorded in ten cases. The only motif to recur concerns a Jaguar (wife) that cannot cope with noises (see Story nos. 194, 330-1; Gê, 2x Ticuna). Story no. 194 (Timbira, Gê) states explicitly that Jaguar’s pregnant wife cannot stand any sound. In Story no. 331 (Ticuna), the crying of children annoys Jaguar. Having abducted these children, the demiurge punishes Jaguar. In Story no. 330 (Ticuna), boys made such a noise their malicious (Jaguar) grandmother appears. Next, they seize and kill her.

In Story no. 16 (Warao), a Jaguar owns a forbidden lake. Here a man, after being warned, goes fishing to later be killed by Jaguar (Tiger) who then takes the man’s appearance in order to deceive his wives, but in vain. Any “animal” who seeks permission to drink from this lake has to forward his name to Jaguar, the Owner of the Lake (see Story no. 55; Apinayé, Gê).

In Story no. 63 (Trio, Cariban), a woman is explicitly warned not to enter the forest alone because “someday a Jaguar will catch you” (Koelewijn & Rivière 1987: 127). In Story no. 154 (Tembé, Tupian), two brothers went on a hunting trip. One of them warns the other not to shoot the Jaguars. When his brother does so anyway, he is killed and taken to Jaguar’s village. In Story no. 174 (Cashinahua, Panoan), a Jaguar brings along an (Amerindian) wife, they have two children. Jaguar tells his mother not to eat them. His mother, however, eats the children and he kills her by burning her, because his mother told him this is the only way to do so.

In Story no. 350 (Cariban), a man without any hunting skills is left behind near a Jaguar track by members of his hunting party. When entering Jaguar’s village, Jaguar and his wife welcome them. Having noticed hanging Jaguar skins, he realises where he is and fears for his life. Meanwhile, Jaguar takes out the man’s arrows one by one asking him what he shoots with it. His answers made Jaguar laugh. Next, the man realises he should never answer Jaguar’s questions with “jaguar”. In the end, Jaguar laughs for 2 hours. The man escapes.

Actors

Various roles can be distinguished in the 63 narratives featuring the devastating Jaguar motif. In total, 322 records concern "animal" actors. Therefore, only those "animals/birds" ascribed a specific role in four or more narratives are discussed here.

(a) Sender: Frog acts as a sender in four cases. In the majority of narratives, Frog hides the mother of the Twins and rears the culture heroes, sending them off either on a quest or to perform tasks (see Story nos. 16, 96, 377, 384; Warao, 2x Cariban, Trio (Cariban)). Jaguar also acts as a sender in 28 narratives. In a number hereof it takes in an Amerindian to provide him with goods, which Amerindians then desire, forwards information resulting in certain actions, or its behaviour results in a reaction. (see Story nos. 16, 66, 81-2, 87, 96, 110, 149, 154, 156, 185, 192, 194, 208, 226, 298, 301-2, 328, 344, 350-1, 407, 449, 472, 504, 524, 691; various sources),

(b) Object/goal: Jaguar is an object/goal in 50 (73 percent) narratives. Often an object of revenge, when killed or sought after. In eight cases (Jaguar is the result of a transformation Story nos. 66, 110, 151, 156, 185, 199, 330, 524: various sources). In six tales a Macaw, or other Parrot-like birds, is object/goal of a hunter, chasing them (Story nos. 191-2, 226, 301-2, 691; Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Cayapó-Gorotire, Sherente, Apinayé), Tupian (Tembé)). Ants are presented as an object in Story nos. 154, 185, 301-2, 328 and 643 (3x Tupian (Tembé), Yuracare, Tacanan, Guajiboan (Sikuani)). In the majority of narratives, these insects are the result of a transformation,

(c) Helper: as numerous "animal" helpers occur, only those acting as an assistant in more than four narratives are mentioned. As discussed above, when dealing with the subject of recurrent motifs, Jaguar is also repeatedly ascribed the role of helper (see Story nos. 149, 151, 174, 185, 192, 226, 298, 301-2, 344, 351, 504, 643, 691: various sources). Birds are helpers in Story nos. 2, 132, 185, 328, 643, 691 (Cariban (Wayana, Taulipang), Yuracare, Tacanan, Guajiboan (Sikuani), Gê (Apinayé)). In certain cases, a specific "bird" acts as a helper, such as *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.), Woodpecker, Stork, Duck. Frog is recorded as a helper in Story nos. 16, 96, 350, 377-8 and 384 (2x Warao, 3x Cariban, Cariban (Trio)),

(d) Subject/actor: Jaguar and all helpers are actors within the narratives along with the Twin heroes or the protagonist,

(e) Opponent: as a result of the nature of the narratives in this sub-category, the most recorded opponent is Jaguar, mentioned as such in 37 cases. The only other "animals" repeatedly (twice) ascribed the role of opponent are: Snake (see Story nos. 44, 185 (Cariban (Trio), Yuracare) and Owl (see Story nos. 2, 156; Cariban (Wayana), Tupian (Tembé)),

(f) Receiver: In Story no. 16 (Warao), a Duck receives a boat and is taught how to use it.

Other "animal" actors

In 41 of the 63 narratives (65 percent) in addition to Jaguar also other "animal" actors have been recorded. Notably, in 20 cases only is a Jaguar actor observed. The seven other "animals/birds" most encountered within this sub-category are: (1) Birds, including specific

“birds” (in total n=21), most recorded are: (a) Birds in general; n=6, and (b) Parrot-like birds; n=10, (2) Frog; n=7 and Toad; n=2, (3) Ant; n=5, (4) Dog; n=5, (5) Tapir; n=5, (6) Peccary; n=4, and (7) Caiman/Alligator; n=4. Snake (Story nos. 44, 63, 185), Monkey (Story nos. 151, 185, 550) and Tortoise (Story nos. 1, 2, 44) co-occur in three narratives along with Jaguar.

Jaguar and Birds

Numerous narratives mentioned in this sub-cluster are also present in the cluster referring to Jaguar as Owner of Fire. Thus Story nos. 2, 16, 96, 149, 185, 191-2, 194, 226, 691 and 1096 (various sources), including the Twin narratives, are not dealt with here a second time. See section B1.

In the additional stories involving Bird, or specific “birds”, it is portrayed as an assistant and messenger (see Story nos. 132, 151, 328; Cariban (Taulipang), Gê (Kaingáng), Tacanan). Birds and Jaguar hardly ever directly interact in the narratives nor are they intertwined in any other way.

In Story no. 156 (Tembé, Tupian), Owl and Tiger are mentioned in one and the same sentence as being nocturnal. Their vocalisation is regarded a bad omen hereby indicating malicious spirits that kill Amerindians. In Story no. 344 (Munduruku, Tupian) a Jaguar and Birds, as well as a Caterpillar, are obstacles the protagonist has to overcome. In Story nos. 199-200 and 330 (Matacoan, Guaicuruan (Toba-Pilaga), Ticuna), a husband and wife set off on a hunting trip. As the man throws Birds/Parrots down from a tree, his wife eats the Parrots raw to then turn into a devastating Jaguar-woman killing and devouring everything she comes across.

Hunting Macaw or Bird is often a starting point of a narrative and the moment the protagonist meets the Jaguar actor (see Story nos. 301-2; Tembé, Tupian).

Jaguar and Frog, Toad

Several narratives included in this cluster are Twin stories (see Story nos. 2, 16, 96, 377, 1096). Their associations between Jaguar and Frog/Toad are addressed in E1. Fabula. Narratives in which Jaguar co-occurs with Frog or Toad are also part of a cluster with similar themes and motifs, perhaps even versions of the same narratives (see Story nos. 350, 378, 384, (3x Cariban, of which 1x Trio). Here, his brother-in-law, or a hunting party, leaves a very unskilled hunter behind in the forest on or near Jaguar’s trail, in the hope it will eat the man who then enters Jaguar’s village to meet the Jaguars. Having identified them as Jaguars he kills them. In Story no. 378 (Cariban), the fact he kills a Jaguar causes him to gain respect. He marries, acquires a larger house and even becomes a chief. However, still wishing to be a skilful hunter, he asks a (tree) Frog to assist him. In Story nos. 350 and 384, the man meets a Frog as he escapes from Jaguar’s village. This Tree Frog helps him, cleans his arrows by removing the fungus, or makes all “animals” lick him. Consequently, in both cases, the man becomes an excellent hunter but should never tell others about his ordeal.

In line with the Twin narratives, Jaguar is a malicious opponent or potential killer, whereas Frog is portrayed as a helper of the protagonist. In the Twin narratives, the Frog is a protector and provider of goods, including hunting equipment. In narratives regarding the unskilful hunter, the association between Frogs and hunting skills is even more explicit.

Jaguar and Ant

Three (Story nos. 154, 301-2; Tembé, Tupian) of the five cases feature both Ant and Jaguar personages are probably versions of one and the same narrative. Here Jaguars kill a man, who killed a Jaguar first after being warned not to shoot it. They take his dead body and enter a hole the size of an Ant nest in order to arrive at the village. The man's brother set off in pursuit and transforms into an Ant before descending into the underworld to witness the Honey festival.

The Twin Story no. 185 (Yuracare) mentions that poisonous ants live on Jaguar's head. In Story no. 328 (Tacana), Termites and Ant hills spring from a dead woman's brain. A Jaguar has eaten her flesh, but not her skin.

Jaguar and Dog

Dog and Jaguar both act and interact in only three of the five narratives. In Story nos. 82 and 465 (2x Warao), the Dog either kills or devours Jaguar. In Story no. 461 (Warao), Jaguar kills Dogs. In Story no. 82 (Warao) Black Tiger kills many men after which two brave men kill Black Tiger and leave him for their Dogs to feed on, a meal to be enjoyed during ten days. In Story no. 465 (Warao), two-headed Jaguar kills an Amerindian man. As his Dog seeks revenge it brings along a dwarf. Next, both attack one of Jaguar's heads and kill him. In story 461 (Warao), Amerindians come across a Jaguar that kills their Dogs.

Jaguar and Tapir

In the section E1, the interrelatedness between Jaguar and Tapir within the context of the origin of fire is addressed, whereby only Tapir is considered suitable and strong enough to carry off (Jaguar's) fire. In a Twin myth (Story no. 96; Cariban), the Twin heroes, after living with Frog, also live with Tapir for several days. Tapir provides them with shelter and food. The Twins then destroy Tapir's food supply and take leave after trying in vain to kill Tapir. Story no. 151 (Kaingáng, Gê) is themed the origin of "animals" and explains why Jaguars devour humans and why Tapirs feed on leaves. Tapir does not understand its task and, therefore, eats leaves.

Jaguar and Peccary

The link between Jaguar and Peccary is described in the sub-cluster E1 Jaguar and the origin of fire, as is the case with Tapir narratives. In Story no. 192 (Apinayé, Gê), Jaguar does not consider Peccary suitable to carry its fire. In another version of Story no. 192 (Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Gê), Tapir transports the fire and Peccary carries the spun cotton.

In Story no. 44 (Trio, Cariban), a shaman together with a chief's son hunts (the first) Peccary whereby Jaguar, among other "animals", block the way. The chief's son is sure to perish. In Story no. 330 (Ticuna), a Jaguar is hit by a spear to which a tooth of Wild Pig is attached.

Jaguar and Caiman/Alligator

This cluster includes four very different tales which feature Jaguar as well as Caiman/Alligator. Story no. 1 (Munduruku, Tupian) is a Trickster narrative in which Tortoise deceives both a Jaguar and an Alligator. Tortoise lets himself fall on Jaguar's head crushing its skull. In another episode of this story, Tortoise locks Alligator up inside a hole.

In Story no. 226 (Sherente, Gê), Jaguar rescues the Amerindian protagonist, who is left high up a tree, to then take him to a number of creeks for water. Alligator Owns the third Creek. Jaguar and Caiman fulfil the role of an assistant as well as of a potential threat. In Story no. 344 (Munduruku, Tupian) a young boy is taken by his maternal uncle to experience multiple adventures in the course of which the boy is assisted by Caiman, who accompanies him across a body of water to gobble him up later. This boy also experiences unpleasant encounters with both female and male Jaguars. During one episode, the boy attends to a Jaguar's wound, after which it, in turn, assists the boy by finally showing him the right track.

In Story no. 1096 (Macushi, Cariban), a Twin narrative, Alligator is assigned the task of guarding Sun's fish pool. When he fails to do so, Sun punishes him and Alligator begs for his life. Alligator then promises Sun a wife, but having no daughter, Alligator creates a woman. She is the Twin culture heroes' mother, who is led astray to be finally killed and devoured by Jaguar.

Jaguar and others

In this sub-cluster of Jaguar narratives, the Jaguar co-occurs with Tortoise, Snake and Monkey on three occasions. The cases featuring Jaguar and Tortoise, and Jaguar and Monkey vary highly. Tortoise acts as a Trickster (see Story no. 1; Wayana, Cariban). As mentioned in the above paragraph, Tortoise kills Jaguar, when it crushes the feline's skull after falling out of a tree and landing on top of him. In Story no. 2 (Wayana, Cariban), again a Twin narrative, in which the Twin heroes appear from Tortoise eggs. Jaguar here eats the Tortoise. While in Story no. 44 (Trio, Cariban) Snake, Tortoise and Jaguar all are ascribed a similar role because they all block the protagonist's road.

Monkey and Jaguar either directly interact or are intertwined. In Story no. 550 (Apinayé, Gê), Monkey and Jaguar interact and deceive each other. Monkey drinks from Jaguar's forbidden pool and kills Jaguar's son. Monkey is captured but escapes, after which Jaguars state they will catch him someday.

Again Jaguar and Snake share their association as potential, dangerous people eaters (see Story nos. 63, 185; Trio (Cariban), Yuracare). Both are blamed for the disappearance of a

woman (see Story no. 63) and both eat people. In Story no. 185, Jaguar devours the corpses of people a large Serpent had killed earlier.

Setting

Again the most dominant setting is forest (86 percent; n=54). There are nine records of a village context. Seven narratives document both a forest and village setting. Only in Story nos. 351 and 643 (Cariban, Guajiboan (Sikuani) is a village setting encountered. In Story no. 351 (Cariban), a young boy is told by his mother to visit his uncle Jaguar. Here he meets Jaguar's/uncle's daughter who hides him from her father. In Story no. 643 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a woman with a terrible itch stays at her house together with her grandchild, when a Jaguar visits her. Having cured the woman Jaguar then kills her grandson, when he goes out hunting the following day.

There is no clear relatedness between ascribed roles and setting. In the village setting, the Jaguar is ascribed the roles of helper, opponent, object and sender. Object is the most recurrent, falling in line with the ascribed roles in a forest setting.

In 26 narratives a temporal setting is recorded, of which three document both the day as well as the night. Twelve records refer to the daytime. Narratives do not often explicate as to whether Jaguar is active during the day or at night.

E2. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

In sum, 55 records on characterization are encountered in 47 narratives. Eight cases feature two modes of characterization. In nine records (16 percent) the Jaguar personage is at partly characterized directly (see Story nos. 208, 298, 330, 350, 472, 486, 504, 643, 645; various sources). In Story no. 63 (Trio, Cariban), Jaguar is characterized by means of an analogy. The specific ways of characterization are discussed in E. Story-layer. Pertaining to this sub-cluster, 82 percent of the records comprise indirect characterization, thus even a higher number if compared with Jaguar in general (i.e., 76 percent).

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). In total, 60 narratives number 72 records on duration because seven narratives have been recorded from multiple sources. As to this sub-cluster, the totals will be corrected for multiple narratives, because many are recorded from multiple sources. For instance, there are six records on the Haburi saga, because this tale is published by various authors.[75] Remarkably, half of them are documented with a short real time (whereby two cover 5 pages and one 2 pages). The remaining three fall

[75] Versions of the Haburi saga are published in van Capelle 1926: 66-73; van Kempen 1993: 43-7; Roth 1970: 122-6. Wilbert & Simoneau 1970: 231-2; 279-84, 301-7.

in the middle range (6-8 pages). Story nos. 86, 149, 191-2 and 194 have two records and Story no. 384 (Cariban) three on duration. In these cases both the real as well as the narrated time are identical.

Corrected for these multiple records, seven narratives have a real time of between 6 and 10 pages (including the Haburi saga), all others are short. Almost half (n=27, 45 percent) have a short narrated time, too, either shorter than a single day or several days, thus falling in line with the general pattern (47 percent). The other narratives have a narrated time of weeks (n=6), months (n=11) or years (n=16). Again these narratives follow the general pattern whereby short stories prevail. Moreover, an increase in real time is observed as the narrated time is lengthier.

E2. Concluding remarks on "Devastating Jaguar"

All 63 narratives in this sub-category are treated as one cluster and not further divided. The main distinction here is the presence of an actual devastating Jaguar actor vs. references or equations involving a devastating Jaguar. In certain cases, the sound or tracks of Jaguar equalises danger and potential death. A devastating event is related to the actions of a Jaguar (e.g., when someone has gone missing, this is explained thus: "Jaguar must have caught her").

The narratives concerning the devastating Jaguar are broadly distributed across South America and originate from the following twelve language families: Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Guaicuruan, Jivaroan, Matacoan, Panoan, Tacanan, Ticuna, Tupian, Warao and Yuracare. The majority hereof stems from Cariban (n=19), Warao (n=16) and Gê (n=10) languages.

As a devastating actor, the Jaguar personage not only kills and eats others, it also acts as an abductor. Motifs pertaining to punishments are thus very common. Punishments often result in the death of the devastating Jaguar. It acts as an avenger, too, for instance, when taking revenge on the death of one of its own. A number of narratives also provide an explanation for the enmity between Jaguar and other creatures, or even for its murderous nature.

Noteworthy are certain physical traits stressed in the narratives. For instance, Jaguar's illuminating eyes, its thunder-like roar, a terrifying sound, and its multiple heads. Its spots are an identifiable physical feature and are explicitly mentioned. Jaguar is also portrayed as an excellent hunter and climber. Interestingly, in several tales the differences between feline species are expressed: Black Tiger is known for his strength and Leopard for his agility.

Notably, too, is the fact that Jaguar's village or haunt is a recurrent setting. Most frequently the protagonist enters Jaguar's village unknowingly as he/she has lost his/her way in the forest. In the Tupian narratives, Jaguar's village is positioned in the underworld. Jaguars, as well as visitors, enter this village through a hole (the size of an Ant's nest) in the ground.

Motifs concerning the origin of objects often occur, too. Jaguar is portrayed as a culture giver or a provider. As described above (see E1), Jaguar, the Owner of Fire, provides the protagonist with goods, food and shelter. Here, too, narratives concerning the origin of the Honey festival are included. Other references to ceremonies comprise a narrative in which a Jaguar has a dancing stick which he uses when starting to sing for help. In another story, a Jaguar-woman is burned after which tobacco sprang from the ashes.

Another cluster of identified motifs involves various taboos. In a number of cases, probably versions of one and the same tale, Jaguar's wife cannot cope with noises. In another narrative, Jaguar cannot stand the sound of crying babies. In two narratives Jaguar Owns a forbidden Lake from which other creatures are not allowed to drink.

An investigation into the narrative functions reveals that the encoding social behaviour function is recorded for 55 narratives, closely followed by validating the world which is recorded for 50 narratives and informing (n=44). In absolutes, however, the validating the world function prevails with all in all 76 records and multiple records per narrative. Other functions recorded here are ensuring knowledge and identity (in nine and six cases resp.).

Common sub-categories registered for the encoding social behaviour function are: exhibiting (in)correct behaviour (n=52) and information on ceremonies and traditions (n=10). Common sub-categories for the informing function are: which food (not) to eat (n=11) and where to find specific objects (n=8), and on good/bad omens (n=7). By far the most registered function is: how to carry out certain activities (n=26) and more specifically: how to cure (n=3) and how to make fire (n=4) or hunting techniques (n=8).

The validating the world function concerns the origin of "animal" traits (n=28), the origin of the world or objects it contains (n=8) providing an explanation why things are as they are (n=20). Other sub-categories registered for the function validating the world are: dealing with the strange (n=6), shamans who (re)establish order (n=5) and why "animals" help or oppose humankind (n=4).

With whom does Jaguar interact?

In 65 percent of the Devastating Jaguar narratives, in addition to Jaguar, other "animal" actors have been recorded, the majority of which are Birds, Frogs, Ant, Dog, Tapir, Peccary and Caiman/Alligator.

The Trio narratives included in this cluster apparently correlate Jaguar and Frog/Toad to hunting skills and/or bravery. A Frog or Toad assist an unskilful hunter and he acquires hunting skills through a ritual. The role of Jaguar, here, is that of a dangerous adversary, because Jaguar would kill the hunter who is on his own. However, as the man had become an excellent huntsman thanks to a ritual, he kills Jaguar to then gain status and respect.

In Tupian narratives, Ants and Jaguars are bound by the underworld setting. Here, Jaguar's village and Ant's nest form gateways towards our world. Amerindians transformed into Ants follow Jaguar into the underworld, entering its village in order to witness the Honey festival.

Whenever Jaguar and Dog interact, the Dog personage is portrayed as a pet of the Amerindian protagonist. This pet either avenges the death of its Master/companion or is killed by a Jaguar they come across during a journey through the forest.

Jaguar and Caiman/Alligator are both strong powerful "animals": Jaguar frequents the land and Caiman the water world. Interestingly, Jaguar on occasion seems to bridge this difference when explicitly described as the "Owner/Master of a Pool", as Caiman often is, too. Both feature in Trickster narratives in which they are fooled/deceived by "harmful animals" such as Tortoise. Jaguar and Caiman/Alligator are portrayed as dangerous as well as a potential, but also a treacherous assistant. Both are potential bringers (and takers!) of culture.

E3. Gullible Jaguar

The Jaguar narratives include a special category in which it is either portrayed as a gullible, foolish personage, which is tricked by others or a Trickster himself (n=31). These tales are generally speaking not "epic" nor "mythical". Here only "animal" personages occur who focus around a single event, e.g., a challenge, an encounter, etc. Only a small number of "epic" narratives cluster around a protagonists' adventures, in which a Jaguar is fooled in a part of an episode.

Within this cluster of Gullible Jaguar, the following four separate sub-categories are identified whereby: (1) a Jaguar(-man/woman) loses his/her eye(s), (2) Jaguar parts are desired as tools, toys or instruments, (3) a Jaguar is challenged in a contest, such as: (a) a strength and endurance challenge, or (b) an excrement challenge, and (4) other stories which feature a foolish Jaguar.

E3a. Jaguar who loses his eye(s)

Jaguar loses one or two eyes in the course of seven narratives of which one states:

> Crab sends out his eyes to make them return afterwards. On Jaguar's request, Crab sends out the latter's eyes, but Aimara-father (*Hoplias aimara; Hoplias macrophtalmus*) gobbles them up. King vulture then makes another pair for Jaguar from tree resins. [Story no. 128 (Taulipang, Cariban); abridged]

Narratives with a similar theme are numbered: 128, 135, 147, 246, 368 and 548-9; 2x Taulipang (Cariban), Bakairí (Cariban), Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), Kaliña (Cariban) 2x Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê).

E3a. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These narratives share the following events whereby:

(a) the "animal" personage plays with its eyes,
(b) Jaguar wants to join the game,
(c) Jaguar fails in his attempts and loses its eye(s), thus in need of help,
(d) *optional*: the "animal" personage receives assistance:
  - new eye(s) is/are found and placed
  - one or two new eyes are made as a replacement
(e) the helper of Jaguar receives a reward (Jaguar leaves meat behind him; that "animal" is never killed again),
(f) order is restored.

In Story no. 368 (Kaliña, Cariban), Jaguar does not lose his eyes during a game. Instead it "steals" Turtle's meat. Next, Turtle takes revenge by peppering his part of the meat to then throwing it into Jaguar's eyes while asking him if he would like a piece of Turtle's delicious meat.

The most common motifs within the seven narratives are:

(a) Motifs linked to eyes (n[76]7)
  - eyes torn out magically replaced/mutilation by removing eyes
  - a person with unusual eyes
  - blinding as punishment
(b) Stupid "animal" (n=7)
  - a dupe tricked into self-injury
(c) Helpful "animal" (n=6)
  - "animals" as a healer
  - messenger
  - the friendship between "animals"
(d) A friend turns out to be a foe (n=4)
  - "animal" as a Trickster.

Motifs encountered in all narratives of course concern "eyes" and "stupid animals". Combined these two motifs form the basis for the sub-category entitled "Gullible Jaguar." Certain motifs linked to "eyes" are very descriptive, indicating a specific event, e.g., "Eyes torn out magically replaced" and "mutilation putting out eyes" (see Story nos. 147, 246, 548-9; Bakairí (Cariban), Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), 2x Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). The motif "Blinding as punishment" (see Story nos. 246, 368; Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian); Kaliña (Cariban)) is descriptive, too.

[76] See p. 5, note 5.

Other motifs do not indicate an event, but describe a physical attribute such as "a person with unusual eyes" (see Story nos. 128, 135, 246; 2x Taulipang (Cariban), Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian)). Motifs may also pertain to a game in which Crab and Jaguar send off their eyes which then return if they have not been eaten.

The motifs concerning stupid "animals" refer to foolishness with which Jaguar gets into trouble, resulting in the loss of its eyes. As to motifs with regard to trickery: a friend often turns out to be an enemy. This outcome may be related to the trickery motif that develops into self-injury (see Story nos. 246, 368, 548; Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), Kaliña (Cariban, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). In Story no. 368 (Kaliña, Cariban), Deer is tricked by Turtle and then jumps to its death. Later on, Turtle punishes Jaguar because it eats the most (Deer) meat. Turtle does so by peppering its part of the meat to then throw it into Jaguar's eyes.

Motifs regarding helpful "animals" also occur. For instance, the King vulture who makes Jaguar a new pair of eyes and acts as a healer (see Story nos. 128, 135, 147, 548-9; various sources). This category thus includes motifs concerning friendships between "animals".

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished:

(a) Sender: of which all the narratives include many examples, e.g., Anteater, Crab, Grasshopper, Jaguar, Rabbit, Toad, Turtle. Their invitations (or trickery) lead to the subsequent action.
(b) Object/goal: Jaguar is often target (goal) of the Trickster, e.g., as part of a contest (see Story nos. 147, 246, 368, 548-9; various sources), as are Deer (see Story no. 368 (Kaliña, Cariban), Anteater (see Story nos. 147, 549 (Bakairí (Cariban), Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)) and Turtle, whom Jaguar tries to catch after Turtle's deceit (see Story no. 648; Sikuani, Guajiboan).
(c) Helper: various "animals" help Jaguar finding its eyes or to make new ones, e.g., Agouti (see Story no. 147; Bakairí, Cariban), *Yao* (see Story no. 548; Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), King vulture (see Story nos. 128, 135; Taulipang, Cariban), Inhambu (see Story no. 246; Apapocuva/Kaiwa, Tupian), Blue bird (see Story no. 549; Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), and Inhambu/*Macuco* (see Story no. 246; Apapocuva/Kaiwa, Tupian).
(d) Opponent: both Jaguar and the Trickster act as an adversary. Often the Trickster first challenges Jaguar to then, when seeking revenge, become an opponent.
(e) Subject/actor: all helpers, opponents/Tricksters and Jaguar act in the narrative.
(f) Receiver: Jaguar, who is provided with new eyes (see Story nos. 128, 135, 147, 246, 548; various sources) and King vulture who receives his meat, which Jaguar leaves behind for him as a reward (see Story no. 135; Taulipang, Cariban).

Almost all narratives can be considered "fables" in the sense that only "animal" personages occur. Various "animals/birds" feature in more than one tale. Most frequently encountered is

Anteater (n=4), whereas Crab, Fish, Toad and Vulture occur twice. Specific "bird" are also very common: 2x King vulture, Inhambu/*Macuco* (*Enamus solitaries*), *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.) and Blue bird. Jaguar being at least one of the main personages, therefore, directly interacts with many of them.

Jaguar and Anteater

In Story nos. 147, 246 and 548-9 (Bakairí (Cariban), Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), 2x Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)), Jaguar interacts with Anteater. In all narratives, Anteater and Jaguar oppose each other, for instance, during challenges. In Story no. 246 (Apapocuva/Kaiwa, Tupian), Jaguar suggests challenges whereby Anteater first starts a test in which they compare excrement. Next, they engage in a Juggling contest using their eyes which results in Jaguar losing his eyes. Story no. 147 (Bakairí, Cariban) is very similar. It, too, begins with comparing excrement. Later Anteater invites Jaguar to dance to then scoop out Jaguar's eyes. In Story nos. 548-9 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) along the way Jaguar got a thorn in his eye (no. 548), or already had lost one eye (no. 549). Pretending to help, Anteater gouges out Jaguar's (other) eye. In other narratives, they meet after Jaguar has lost his eyes and Anteater either fakes or fails when assisting Jaguar.

Jaguar and Bird (including King vulture)

Birds ascribed the role of helper are: King vulture, *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.), Blue bird and *Macuco* (*Enamus solitaries*). They help Jaguar find his eyes, or provides new ones. King vulture utilises tree resin to make new eyes (see Story nos. 128, 135; Taulipang, Cariban). In Story no. 135, Jaguar thanks King vulture by leaving meat behind for him. On Anteater's request, *Macuco* (*Enamus solitaries*) creates new eyes consisting of water, with which Jaguar can see during the night. As a reward Jaguar has since then never killed that "bird" (see Story no. 246; Apapocuva/Kaiwa, Tupian). In Story no. 548 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), a *Yao* "bird" (*Grypturus* sp.) makes a new set of eyes for Jaguar. In Story no. 549 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê) a Blue bird (*Sialia sialis*) finds Jaguar's eyes.

Jaguar and Fish and Crab

In Story nos. 128 and 135 (Taulipang, Cariban), Jaguar and Crab interact in a challenge in which they send off their eyes. After Crab warns Jaguar a *Trakira* fish (species unknown) is nearby, Jaguar proceeds and the Fish then eats his eyes. Jaguar then threatens Crab but he escapes (see Story no. 135). In Story no. 128, Crab on request sends off Jaguar's eyes. However, it is an Aimara-father (*Hoplias aimara; Hoplias macrophtalmus*) that gobbles them up.

Jaguar and Toad

These two creatures interact in Story nos. 246 and 548 (Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). In the first narrative, an event is referred to in which Toad and Rabbit had stolen Jaguar's fire causing him to weep. Jaguar met Anteater in this setting where the episode on losing his eyes starts.

In Story no. 548 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), Toad is angry with Jaguar because he always passes by in front of him. Jaguar remarks to Toad it is not him, as there were many Jaguars. Jaguar then creates a loud noise pretending that many others are around. In response, Toad croaks for all he is worth hereby scaring off Jaguar, who while fleeing loses an eye when a thorn enters it. In both events, Toad acts as sender and opposes Jaguar.

Setting

These narratives concern "animals" interacting within a forest (land) setting. Therefore, these events presumably take place during the day time (a not explicated observation).

E3a. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

In all but one narrative is the Jaguar characterized indirectly. In one narrative, an analogy is (partly) drawn. Jaguar informs Turtle he always carries a knife: its claws. Turtle bites off a piece of its tail hereby explaining its short tail. In two narratives, the material of which his "new" eyes are made is mentioned: tree resin and water. These eyes allow him to see at night. As set in the general part of Jaguar narratives, its claws and eyes are overall expressly described features (see E. Story-layer).

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). All five narratives are short and fall within the 1 to 5 pages range. The narrated time is short, too, covering either less than a day or several days. This assessment is in line with fables in general which lack an epic element, but focus on one (main) event around which the narratives unfold.

E3a. Concluding remarks on "Jaguar who loses his eye(s)"

In this sub-category entitled "Gullible Jaguar" the Jaguar is set a foolish "animal" that ignores warnings or engages in treacherous games. All narratives are "fables" in the sense that only "animal" personages interact. Although this cluster consists of only seven narratives, three language families are featured: Cariban, Tupian and Gê. They thus form a popular in the northern part of South America and perhaps even further afield.

These narratives explain certain physical features of Jaguar, e.g., its short tail (a result of Turtle's bite) and eyes made of tree resin or water allowing it to see well at night. The following behavioural issues are also dealt with: (a) why is Jaguar befriended with specific creatures (mainly "birds"), he, for instance, leaves food behind for King vulture, (b) why does it not hunt/eat, for instance, the Blue bird, and (c) why there is enmity between Jaguar, for example, Turtle and Anteater.

These above issues addressed in the narratives are also expressed in the narrative functions especially in encoding social behaviour (n=6; in six cases). The narratives of this sub-cluster

serve to enjoy and cause the audience to laugh about Jaguar's foolish deeds, but they also exhibit (in)correct behaviour (e.g., when ignoring a warning). Even more frequently encountered is the narrative function validating the world (n=9; present in all seven cases), hereby explaining: (a) why things are as they are (friendship or enmity between "animals"), and (b) specific "animal" traits.

With whom does Jaguar interact?
Jaguar co-occurs and directly interacts either in a contest or game with Anteater, Toad, Turtle, Crab which often results in the two opposing each other. The "animals" serving as helpers to now and again receive a gift in return are: King vulture, Blue bird, *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.) and the Inhambu/*Macuco* (*Enamus solitaries*). In Story nos. 128 and 135 (Gê), Fish gobble up Jaguar's eyes.

E3b. Jaguar parts wanted as a tool, toy or instrument

This sub-category includes nine narratives in which Jaguar is often tricked into his own death or self-injury. Parts of its body are utilised in various ways:

> At a party Turtle's son is crying because he wants Jaguar claws to play with. His mother orders her husband to obtain them. When Turtle does so, it sees a thorny tree and hears Jaguar approaching. He tells Jaguar he is playing while climbing and jumping from the tree and rolling in its thorns. Jaguar dies when doing the same after which Turtle acquires its claws. [Story no. 186 (Guaraní, Tupian); abridged]

Narratives with similar motifs are numbered: 1, 164, 186, 218, 368, 389, 399, 500 and 541 (Munduruku (Tupian), unknown/Amazon, Guaraní (Tupian), Bororo (Gê), Kaliña (Cariban), Trio (Cariban), Tupi (Tupian), Warao, Apinayé (Gê).

E3b. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events
These narratives contain basically the same events whereby:
(a) *optional:* an event leads to the death of animal,
(b) Jaguar wants another "animal" to devour or play along with,
(c) another "animal" tricks Jaguar after which it dies,
(d) a part of Jaguar or an "animal" serves as a commodity,
(e) *optional:* others come to take revenge and then either fail to do so or give up. If they succeed the Trickster dies.

The most common motifs encountered within these narratives are:
(a) a stupid "animal", Jaguar (n[77]9) that is tricked into killing itself (e.g., jumping to death), induced to eat hot peppers or told to stand near a tree after which objects are thrown down to kill it,

[77] See p. 5, note 5.

(b) “animal” acts as Trickster (n=9), deceiving by means of bluffing, disguise and substitution,
(c) “animal” acts as a tool, toy or instrument (n=9), e.g., clothes made of a dead enemy’s skin or “animal” flees by putting on bird feathers,
(d) the food of “Animal”, Jaguar (n=8),
(e) punishments (n=6) comprising death (e.g., being eaten) and being blinded,
(f) the quest for vengeance (n=4).

The motifs featured in all narratives are, of course, a stupid “animal”, “animal” as a Trickster and “animal” serve as a commodity. The Trickster and the stupid “animal” oppose each other, whereas the latter is the object of trickery often in the form of deception.

Certain motifs provide concrete information on why or how (in which sense) the “animal”, Jaguar, acts in a gullible manner. By and large, this feline is tricked into killing itself (see Story nos. 186, 368, 389, 399, 500; Guaraní (Tupian), Kaliña (Cariban), Trio (Cariban), Tupian, Warao). Peppered food is thrown into Jaguar’s face (see Story nos. 368, 399; Kaliña (Cariban); Tupian). Or, it is told to stand near a tree. Next, the Trickster throws fruit down on Jaguar after which it dies (see Story no. 164; unknown Amazonian source).

After Jaguar’s demise, parts of its body serve as a commodity of sorts. The Trickster makes a flute from its bones (see Story nos. 1, 164, 541; Munduruku (Tupian), unknown Amazonian source, Apinayé (Gê)). Moreover, its claws are used as knives (see Story nos. 368, 399; Kaliña (Cariban), Tupian) or even as toys (see Story nos. 186, 389; Guaraní (Tupian), Trio (Cariban)). In Story no. 389, Sloth plays with Jaguar’s claws and also with its teeth. While in Story no. 218 (Bororo, Gê), Monkey keeps Jaguar’s skin as an adornment and also to scare off other “animals”.

In most narratives one “animal” is explicitly mentioned as being food for another creature. In general, Jaguar is attracted by carrion. Therefore, “Food of Jaguar” is a very common motif in this sub-category (see Story nos. 1, 164, 186, 218, 368, 389, 399, 500, 541; various sources).

The last two common motifs are directly related to the act of trickery. Often punishment is either part of trickery (see Story nos. 1, 164, 541; Munduruku (Tupian), unknown Amazonian source, Apinayé (Gê)) or succeeds this act in response (see Story no. 218, Bororo, Gê) as does a quest for vengeance (see Story nos. 1, 389, 399, 541; Munduruku, Trio (Cariban), Tupian, unknown Amazonian source). A punishment, for instance, comprises blinding Jaguar after he did not share its meat.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these narratives.

(a) Sender: the Trickster or counterpart of Jaguar acts as sender: Monkey (see Story nos. 164, 218; unknown Amazonian source, Bororo (Gê)), Turtle (see Story nos. 164, 186, 368, 399,

500; unknown Amazonia source, Guaraní (Tupian), Kaliña (Cariban), Tupian, Warao), Tortoise (see Story no. 1; Munduruku (Tupian). Of course, Jaguar through its action is also a sender;

(b) Object/goal: Jaguar is the object of trickery as is Deer. The latter is often the first to be duped to then become the object of desire (food) for Jaguar (see Story nos. 368, 500; Kaliña (Cariban), Warao). Alligator (see Story no. 1; Munduruku), Tapir (see Story no. 399; Tupian) and Buzzard (see Story no. 500; Warao) are also tricked. In general, the Trickster becomes an object, i.e., is sought after in vengeance as are Turtle, Tortoise and Monkey;

(c) Helper: Monkey assists Turtle as Jaguars wish to avenge the death of Jaguar (see Story no. 541; Apinayé, Gê). Toad helps Jaguar to guard Turtle, but Toad is eaten in the end as Jaguar thinks it had set Turtle free (see Story no. 164; unknown Amazonian source);

(d) Subject/actor: Jaguar, the Trickster and all helpers are actors;

(e) Opponent: Jaguar and the Trickster "animal" mutually oppose each other;

(f) Receiver: Monkey is presented with a Jaguar bone flute as a reward for helping Turtle. The Tricksters and on occasion Jaguar himself of course benefit from their own deeds. Moreover, Turtle manages to acquire Jaguar's "collar", its bones and claws. Jaguar steals Turtle's catch.

These narratives mostly lack an Amerindian protagonist and concern the sole interaction between "animals". In all cases Jaguar interacts repeatedly with other "animals" including Turtle (n=6), Monkey (n=3) and twice with Deer, Tapir and Tortoise.

Trickster that opposes Jaguar: Turtle, Monkey and Tortoise

This sub-cluster forms part of the section "Gullible Jaguar". In each narrative Jaguar is deceived and tricked, which ultimately leads to parts of Jaguar being applied as a commodity. In this cluster, Turtle (see Story nos. 164, 186, 368, 399, 541; unknown Amazonia source, Guaraní (Tupian), Kaliña (Cariban), Trio (Cariban), Apinayé (Gê)) as well as Monkey (see Story nos. 164, 218, 541; unknown Amazonian source, Bororo (Gê), Apinayé (Gê)) repeatedly feature as Tricksters. Whenever both Turtle and Monkey occur, Monkey assists Turtle. Monkey helps Turtle up in a tree in Story nos. 164 and 541 (Apinayé (Gê)) and even prevents Turtle from being avenged by other Jaguars (see Story no. 541; Apinayé).

Tortoise takes on a very similar role. In Story no. 1 (Munduruku, Tupian), Monkey helps Tortoise up a tree. When again a Jaguar passes by, it tries to lure out Tortoise, but Tortoise waits for the opportune moment and as he falls on top of Jaguar, Tortoise breaks Jaguar's skull and kills him. The same event occurs in Story no. 398 (Tupian), which is not included in this sub-category as Turtle did not kill Jaguar. Jaguar promised to catch Turtle, but fails to do so. Turtle falls on its head and its carapace was scattered. Next, Jaguar tries to gather all the pieces but finally gives up. In Story no. 389 (Trio), Tortoise kills Tapir, what attracts Jaguar. Tortoise kills then Jaguar as they eat together.

Jaguar is not only the object of trickery. It is often the first to dupe Turtle before stealing and eating Turtle's food or trying to eat Turtle who as a result hereof, in turn, tricks Jaguar. Thus these Tricksters oppose each other. However, in all cases, Jaguar loses and dies. On occasion other Jaguars attempt to take revenge for its death, but in vain.

That what attracts Jaguar: Deer and Tapir

The roles of Tapir and Deer in these narratives are identical and form part of the first catalysing event. They die whenever Turtle plays on a hill or dances around, a Deer (see Story nos. 368, 500; Kaliña (Cariban), Warao) or Tapir (see Story nos. 389, 399; Kaliña (Cariban), Tupian) wish to join in. The carrion then attracts Jaguar, who steals Turtle's meat or is even tricked beforehand. Both Deer and Tapir are, therefore, interrelated to Jaguar as a source of food.

Setting

Concerned with "animals" interacting, these narratives unfold in a forest (land) setting and most likely do so during the day (not made explicit).

E3b. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

The surprisingly large number of records on direct and analogue characterization for this sub-cluster (five out of nine) is caused by the fact that at least a body part of Jaguar is described, as it serves as a commodity. Especially its bones (used as a flute), claws (its "knife"), teeth, skin are explicated here (see section E. Story-layer for a detailed description).

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). All nine narratives are short and fall within the 1-5 pages range. The narrated time is overall short. However, two records of a narrated time spanning months and one record lasting weeks occur. Certain narratives do not concern a single event, but an accumulation of events, often including other "animal" personages. For example, in addition to Jaguar, other "animals" are tricked, too.

Two narratives include an episode that deals with a test (or trap) of endurance. Here an "animal" is locked inside a hole until its voice grows weak and it dies (see Story nos. 1, 368; Munduruku (Tupian), Kaliña (Cariban)). In Story no. 218 (Bororo, Gê), Monkey first tricks other "animals" before it meets Jaguar indicating a lengthier narrated time.

E3b. Concluding remarks on "Jaguar parts wanted as a tool, toy or instrument"

Again Jaguar is set as a gullible fool that ends up dead. Its Trickster, or a passer-by, utilises Jaguar's claws and teeth as toys, its bones as a flute and its skin as an instrument in order to deter others. Narratives in this sub-cluster originate from Cariban, Warao, Tupian and Gê. These languages are either spoken in the Guianas and the northern part of Brazil, or from

further to the South as is the case with a narrative handed down in a Munduruku (Tupian) language.

The various direct descriptions and those provided by an analogy focus on very specific identifiable body parts of Jaguar, such as Jaguar's claws, teeth and skin.

The most common motifs are all linked to the events of trickery and deception. Here Jaguar is duped, which leads to its demise. It also acts as an (unsuccessful) Trickster. Within this sub-cluster, a common motif comprises "food of Jaguar" (in the form of Turtle, Tortoise, Deer, Tapir) towards which it is often (un)intentionally lured. The narratives often begin with Jaguar trying to trick game, but because it fails to do so, it is deceived. Punishments are related to: (a) Jaguar because it attempts to trick game, and (b) the one who kills Jaguar when other creatures come to avenge its death.

Of the narrative functions, again the most dominant is encoding social behaviour (n=12; in eight cases). These tales are told to entertain, most probably to make the audience laugh about Jaguar's foolish deeds, but also pertain to exhibiting (in)correct behaviour (e.g., ignoring a warning). A less prominent narrative function is: validating the world (n=4; in three cases) in which "animal" traits are explained. One story is also informative.

With whom does Jaguar interact?

Jaguar co-occurs, and directly interacts, with various "animals" of which the Turtle, Tortoise and Monkey prevail and act as Tricksters. Other recurrent "animals" intertwined with the Jaguar personage are Deer and Tapir. They solely fulfil the role of its food, after attracting it to the scene of action. They also share Jaguars role, being the first to be tricked by Jaguar's counterpart.

E3c. Jaguar is lured into entering a contest

The last sub-category of narratives concerning "Gullible Jaguar" either describes how Jaguar enters a contest or how it is challenged and/or takes part in an argument resulting in it losing a valuable item, or to (self)injury or death. One of the thirteen narratives to fit into this sub-category reports:

> Jaguar always despises Turtle because it moves too slowly and has too weak a voice. One day Turtle asks Jaguar to help him in a test of strength and resistance. Turtle sits in a pit and Jaguar closes the entrance. After many days Turtle still answers firmly to Jaguar's call. Then Turtle says it is Jaguar's time to demonstrate its resistance by going without air, water and food. First Jaguar responds to Turtle's call which then becomes weaker. After the third time, there is no answer. Now lots of flies buzz around Jaguar, for it had died. [Story no. 539 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê); abridged]

Other narratives with similar motifs are numbered: 1, 136-7, 147, 243, 246, 394, 501, 507,

539, 590, 667 and 669 (Munduruku (Tupian), 2x Taulipang (Cariban), Bakairí (Cariban), Cayapó-Kubenkranken, Kaiwa/Apapocuva (Tupian), 3x Warao, Cuiva (Guajiboan), 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)).

E3c. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These narratives consist of the following events whereby:

(a) Jaguar and the Trickster animal meet,
(b) the Trickster, or Jaguar, proposes a challenge, test or bet,
(c) Jaguar is tricked/deceived,
(d) Jaguar loses and/or dies,
(e) *optional:* the friendship and/or enmity between "animals" is explained,
(f) *optional:* a second challenge (following the same pattern) unfolds,
(g) *optional:* Jaguar takes revenge whereby in the case of failure the avenger either gives up or dies.

In this cluster of thirteen narratives, Jaguar is duped into entering a foolish contest, which often leads to its death, an injury or the loss of goods. The most common motifs here are:

(a) the Gullible "animals"/stupid Jaguar (n[78]13) being tricked into self-injury or killing itself,
(b) Trickster (n=13), engaged in a fatal deceptive game and deceptive bargains, expressing shrewdness when dealing with the enemy,
(c) contests (n=13) of character, of strength/endurance, hunting skills contest, fear and a bet.
(d) friendship vs. enmity between "animals" (n=7), the friendship between "animals" or "animal" and plant, the origin of enmity between Jaguars and Turtles, and why Jaguars fear "animals".

The motifs encountered in all narratives establish the basis of this sub-cluster: Stupid "animal", "animal" as a Trickster and motifs regarding contests. The Trickster and the stupid "animal" oppose each other; the stupid "animal" is the object of trickery (often in the form of deception).

Several motifs provide concrete information on why or how the "animal" (Jaguar) is gullible. In most cases it is tricked either into killing himself (see Story nos. 243, 539; Cayapó-Kubenkranken (Gê), Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)) or persuaded to inflict self-injury (see Story nos. 147, 246, 590; Bakairí (Cariban); Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian); Cuiva (Guajiboan)). In Story no. 667 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Jaguar is forced to enter a bag before allowing itself to be tied up.

The nature of the contests varies, e.g., tests character and tests of endurance: which creature can survive the longest without any food, water and/or air (see Story nos. 1, 243, 501; Munduruku (Tupian), Cayapó-Kubenkranken (Gê), Warao). Only in Story no. 1 (Munduruku,

[78] See p. 5, note 5.

Tupian) not Jaguar but Alligator is in fact put inside a hole. Jaguar is tricked in another event within that same narrative. Other contests aim at revealing who sounds the scariest. For a contest between lightning and Jaguar or a song contest between Jaguar and rain, see Story nos. 136-7 (Taulipang, Cariban).

Other contests are related to comparing excrements, or to who is the best hunter (see Story nos. 147, 246, 669; Bakairí (Cariban), Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan))? This event also leads to a hunting skill contest. In Story no. 394 (Warao), Jaguar is challenged into a racing contest, but Turtle receives support from all his relatives and wins. Story no. 507 (Warao) starts with Jaguar who, having lost a bet with Turtle, loses his necklace. The exact nature of this bet remains unclear.

The majority of the narratives include explicit motifs regarding friendship and enmity between certain "animals". For instance, the very events described cause the present enmity between Jaguar and Turtle (see Story nos. 394, 501, 539; 2x Warao; Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). Moreover, an explanation is given as to why Jaguar fears Anteater, for Anteater tricked him in thinking he ate wild animals by swapping their excrements (see Story no. 669; Sikuani, Guajiboan). Story no. 667 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) mentions the ungratefulness of Jaguar when he tried to eat Caricari (Crested caracara) while helping him.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these narratives.

(a) Sender: the Trickster or counterpart of Jaguar acts as sender: Turtle (see Story nos. 394, 501, 539; 2x Warao, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)), Anteater (see Story nos. 246, 669; Apapocuva/Kaiwa (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan)), Tortoise (see Story nos. 1, 243; Munduruku (Tupian), Cayapó-Kubenkranken (Gê)) and Rabbit (see Story no. 667; Sikuani, Guajiboan). In addition to "animals", Rain and Lightning also take on the role as Trickster (see Story nos. 136-7; Taulipang, Cariban). Considering its deeds, Jaguar is a sender, too.

(b) Object/goal: Jaguar is the object of trickery as are Alligator (see Story no. 1; Munduruku, Tupian), Hawk (see Story no. 507) and Crested Caracara, named Caricari (see Story no. 667; Sikuani, Guajiboan). In general, the Trickster becomes an object, too, as they are sought after in vengeance (e.g., Turtle, Tortoise and Rabbit).

(c) Helper: both Agouti and Inhambu/*Macuco* assist Jaguar when putting its eyes back (see section E3a). Caricari helps Jaguar to safeguard Rabbit in Story no. 667 (Sikuani, Guajiboan),

(d) Subject/actor: Jaguar, the Trickster and all helpers are actors,

(e) Opponent: Jaguar and the Trickster "animal" oppose one and another,

(f) Receiver: Jaguar receives new eyes, with which it can see at night.

As all these narratives concern the interaction between “animals”, Jaguar repeatedly interacts with other “animals” including Turtle (n=4), Anteater (n=3). It does so twice with Tortoise, Toad and Rabbit.

Trickster that opposes Jaguar: Turtle, Tortoise Anteater and Rabbit

Turtle and Anteater both often feature as the challenger/Trickster. Anteater acts as Trickster around an event involving comparing excrement (see Story nos. 147, 246, 669; Bakairí (Cariban), Kaiwa/Apapocuva (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). In Story no. 147 (Bakairí, Cariban) Anteater suggests to Jaguar they should defecate with their eyes shut. When Jaguar does so, Anteater replaces its droppings with Jaguar’s, saying it had eaten meat, while Jaguar only had fed on termites. On another occasion, Jaguar challenges Anteater in a Tapir hunting competition, whereby Jaguar is tricked once again. Story no. 669 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) is very similar because the comparing of faeces is followed by a hunting test. Story no. 246 (Kaiwa/Apapocuva, Tupian) is again very similar as, after comparing excrement, they engage in an eye-juggling contest. The resemblance is striking, considering these tales stem from the North (Sikuani) to Central (Bakairí, Apapocuva) to Southern Brazil/Paraguay (Kaiwa).

Another re-occurring competition deals with endurance: who can survive the longest without food, water and/or air. Jaguar and Turtle face this challenge in Story nos. 501 and 539 (Warao, Cayapó-Gorotire (Gê)). Jaguar faces Tortoise in Story no. 243 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). In Story no. 1 (Munduruku, Tupian) it is not Jaguar but Alligator whom Tortoise challenges in the same contest. Here, Tortoise kills a Jaguar by throwing fruit from a tree on its head before eating it and making a flute from one of its bones.

Rabbit and Jaguar form counterparts in two cases. Story no. 246 (Kaiwa/Apapocuva, Tupian) includes only a short reference to Toad and Rabbit stealing Jaguar’s fire. In Story no. 667 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Rabbit and Jaguar meet in successive encounters when Jaguar is duped again and again. This repetitive leads to it being tied up, beaten and thrown into boiling water. In the end, it died after being put in a sack.

In Story no. 394 (Warao) Tiger pretends to be Turtle’s friend. Entering a contest in order to establish who is the fastest results in Jaguar being tricked and losing its necklace. Turtle manages to escape Jaguar’s quest for vengeance. Story no. 507 (Warao) shortly and simply refers to a wager between Black-eyed turtle and Jaguar whereby the former obtains Jaguar’s necklace. This outcome may be linked to the abovementioned challenge or to a similar one.

Jaguar and Toad

Two dissimilar narratives feature both Jaguar as well as Toad. Story no. 246 (Kaiwa/ Apapocuva, Tupian) contains only a short reference to Toad, referring to a completely different story: Jaguar starts to weep after hearing from Grasshopper that Toad and Rabbit have stolen its fire. In Story no. 590 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), Toad (Jaguar’s brother) and Jaguar

argue about who should bugger who first. Finally, Jaguar concedes and Toad has its way, leaving Jaguar with an enlarged, stinking and an "arrow glue"-dripping anus. Next, Toad escapes into a hole, where Jaguar cannot reach him.

Setting

These narratives which describe "animals" interacting are set in a forest (land) setting and are most likely to unfold during the day (not made explicit).

E3c. The Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

As all but two records include an indirect characterization, this phenomenon is, therefore, slightly more dominant than in Jaguar narratives overall (85 against 76 percent). Jaguar is not explicitly introduced to the audience. These narratives focus more on Jaguar's "foolish" behaviour.

Duration

Duration is studied according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). All thirteen narratives are short and fall within the 1-5 pages range. The narrated time is longer than those of the former two sub-categories, in accordance with the Jaguar narratives in general (see E on Story). In only five cases (38 percent) does a narrated time measure either shorter than a day, or a couple of days. A remarkably large number of tales has a narrated time of weeks (n=5) and three (23 percent) a narrated time of months. The nature of the tests explains the lengthier narrated time. An endurance test takes at least several days, even weeks or months. While other narratives indicate multiple encounters over time.

E3c. Concluding remarks on "Jaguar is lured into entering a contest"

Although Jaguar is again regarded a gullible "animal", it does not always result in its demise, but to an injury or losing valuables (e.g., a necklace). Again, the thirteen narratives are distributed across a large area, as the language families (Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Tupian, Warao) encountered here indicate.

Within this sub-cluster, Jaguar is only (partly) directly characterized in a single narrative and through analogy in another case. Here its blood (arrow glue) drips from an enlarged anus. Moreover, a beautiful coat is referred to whenever people hear Jaguar sing. It is opposed in competitions, wagers and arguments in which friendship and enmity is often the outcome.

These aspects disclose the most prevalent motifs. All narratives document motifs pertaining to the gullible Jaguar, the Trickster and competitions. The latter comprise: (a) contests of character including strength and endurance, (b) hunting contests including the comparison of excrement in order to establish which creature eats meat or does not, and (c) wagers and arguments. In addition, motifs are recorded concerning friendship and more frequently

enmity. These contests are often result in enmity between the Jaguar and the Trickster who are enemies from that moment on.

The most common narrative functions here are: encoding social behaviour (n=12; in 11 narratives) and validating the world (n=17; in 12 narratives), explaining not only why things are as they are but also the "animal" traits. Here informing is recorded twice and ensuring knowledge in one case. Story no. 507 (Warao) mentions various rivers, which the creator of all rivers effectuated.

With whom does Jaguar interact?

Jaguar co-occurs and directly interacts with various other "animals". The most prevalent are the Tricksters: Turtle, Tortoise, Rabbit and Anteater. Toad (Jaguar's brother) acts as a Trickster when sodomizing Jaguar leaving him with an enlarged, blood ("arrow glue") dripping anus.

E3d. Other narratives on the gullible Jaguar

Although most of the narratives featuring a gullible Jaguar fit into one of the abovementioned sub-categories, several do not. Numbered 152, 208, 398, 550, 562 and 668 (Karajá (Gê), Munduruku (Tupian), Tupian, Apinayé (Gê), Sikuani (Guajiboan)), they are discussed in short below.

Jaguar fooled

Several narratives include an encounter with a Jaguar in which this feline is fooled. In Story no. 152 (Karajá, Gê), various adventures are described leading to a mother and child seeking refuge. The child runs off because of thirst. The mother meets a Jaguar, who wonders how her child acquired such beautiful spots. She answers: "with wax". Next, Jaguar undergoes a wax treatment in the course of which it dies. A similar event is described in Story no. 562 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê). Here Jaguar meets a mother and daughter. Having admired the daughter's body paint, Jaguar is tricked and tied up above a fire to die. In both narratives, the girl eats its flesh, which results in her transformation.

In Story no. 398 (Tupian) Monkey helps Turtle up a tree, but it could not get down. When a Jaguar passes by, Jaguar promised to catch Turtle but fails to do so. Turtle falls on its head and its carapace was scattered. Next, Jaguar tries to gather all the pieces, but because tortoise fall on her head she continually led him to search on the wrong places. Jaguar searched and searched but finally, he gave up and left. Then turtle 'called' her pieces and all pieces came back to Turtle and her shell was healed. From that moment onwards Jaguar never wanted to see Turtle again and when he sees one will eat it.

Several narratives describe the marriage of the protagonist to a Jaguar's daughter. On one occasion the future husband is unaware of the fact his bride's family are Jaguars. Having met them, he tricks them in order to escape. In Story no. 208 (Munduruku, Tupian), Deer-man discovers his in-laws are Jaguars when they place Deer meat on the table. The following day

Deer-man catches Jaguar and puts its flesh to the table of his (Jaguar) in-laws. It is now their turn to be horrified. Keeping a mutual watch on each other, Deer-man informs his Jaguar in-laws that he sleeps with open eyes and that whenever awake his eyes are shut. Consequently, Jaguars do not dare to escape when Deer-man's eyes are closed (thinking he is awake) and fled as he wakes up. Now Deer-man escapes in the opposite direction. In Story no. 668 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) Jaguar and Deer meet. When Jaguar asks Deer how to eat seeds, he is tricked into stepping onto his own testicles and dies.

Successive meetings between Jaguar and Monkey are described in Story no. 550 (Apinayé, Gê). Here Jaguar is the Master of a Lake. When Monkey is no longer allowed to drink from this lake, Monkey tricks Jaguar by means of a disguise in order to drink from it. Jaguar then creates a replica made of rubber tree milk and places it close to the water's edge. When Monkey inquisitively approaches, its hand remains stuck on this replica and Jaguar catches him. He then calls other Jaguars to lock Monkey up a cage in order to fatten him. Jaguars place one of their sons on guard, whom Monkey tricks by saying he wants to help to cut wood. Next, as his cage is opened, he is able to escape.

E3e. Concluding remarks on "Gullible Jaguar"

In sum, 31 narratives form part of this sub-cluster, amounting to 24 percent of all Jaguar narratives. They are versed in a huge variety of languages, stemming from the Guianas, Venezuela and the northern part of Brazil: Cariban, Warao, Tupian, Guajiboan and Gê. One narrative with Munduruku (Tupian) roots originates from the South.

The stories are further (sub-)categorised into: (a) Jaguar who loses its eyes, (b) Jaguar body parts desired as a tool, toy, or commodity, and (c) Jaguar challenged in a contest. In six remaining cases, Jaguar is deceived and overall framed as a foolish "animal" that either ignores warnings or is lured into a situation which leads to its death, mutilation or (self) injury. Especially in the second sub-category, Jaguar is repeatedly characterized directly or through an analogy whenever specific body parts are described, e.g., claws (i.e., its knives), teeth, skin and bones used as flutes.

The most common motifs are all linked to the events of trickery, deception and competition. This fact not only explains the friendship and enmity between Jaguar and other "animal" personages, but also appears in the narrative functions such as encoding social behaviour (n=25). They are told for fun, most probably to make the audience laugh about Jaguar's foolish deeds and pertain to the function exhibiting (in)correct behaviour (e.g., ignoring a warning). The narrative function validating the world (n=24) is also frequently encountered. It either explains why certain things (e.g., friendship, enmity between species) are as they are, or explicates specific "animal" traits. The third documented narrative function informing" (n=5) deals with how to carry out certain activities, and which food (not) to eat. The function ensuring knowledge is only registered once.

With whom does Jaguar interact?

Jaguar can co-occur and directly interact with various “animals”. The most prevalent hereof are the Tricksters, who also interact among each other. This often results in Crab, Turtle, Toad, Tortoise, Rabbit, Anteater and Monkey opposing each other.

In the first sub-category certain “animals” (King vulture, Blue bird, referred to as *Yao* (*Grypturus* sp.), Inhambu/*Macuco* (*Enamus solitaries*)) act as assistants and on occasion receive gifts in return. In two cases, Fish gobble down Jaguar’s eyes.

Other recurrent “animals” intertwined with the Jaguar personage are Deer and Tapir. They are often described as this feline’s food and attract it to the scene of action. Sharing Jaguar’s role, they are also the first to be tricked by Jaguar’s counterpart.

E4. Helpful Jaguar

References to a helpful Jaguar are observed in 25 narratives. A large number hereof includes a devastating Jaguar personage as well. Although they differ in structure and motifs these narratives are still analysed as a single cluster. An example hereof is:

> An Amerindian brings his brother-in-law Botoque along when catching Macaw young. Botoque climbs up but only finds two eggs. He throws them down, but they become stones and hurt his brother-in-law, who before leaving in anger destroys the ladder holding Botoque. A spotted Jaguar sees Botoque's shadow. Wishing to catch it, he finally notices the boy. Jaguar, who can speak, asks what had happened. He then invites Botoque to his place. First, the boy is too scared but finally goes along. Jaguar adopts the boy, but his Amerindian wife dislikes him and does not treat him properly, does not feed him and scratches him. At Jaguar’s home, the boy grills meat and sees fire for the first time. One day Jaguar gives the boy a bow and arrow and teaches him how to use them. He also tells him to use them against his wife in time of need. The boy then kills Jaguar’s wife and takes off in fear. Returning to his village, he takes some grilled meat with him. The villagers decide to steal Jaguar’s fire and do so. From then on Jaguar no longer eats any grilled meat and is very angry at everybody, especially humans. [Story no. 191 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê); abridged]

All the narratives in the category entitled “Helpful Jaguar” are numbered: 23, 89, 148-9, 154, 185, 191-4, 216, 221, 226-7, 298, 344, 351-2, 504, 583, 643, 672, 691, 700, 707 (Arawakan; 3x Cariban (Bakairí, Wayana), Gê (Cayapó-Gorotire, Cayapó-Kubenkranken, 2x Apinayé, Timbira, 2x Opayé, Sherente), Guajiboan (Cuiva, 2x Sikuani), Jivaroan, Ticuna, Tupian (Guaraní, Tembé, Munduruku), Yuracare, 2x Warao).

E4. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Events

(a) man/woman travels/hunts in the forest,
(b) man/woman in need,
(c) Jaguar(-man/woman) comes to his/her assistance,

(d) taboo is breached, a secret revealed, a protagonist misbehaves,
(e) punishment follows or benefits are lost,
(f) order is restored/the current situation.

The most common motifs related to the Jaguar personage within these narratives are:
(a) helpful "animal" (n[79]25),
(b) origin of objects and "animal" traits (n=16),
(c) devastating Jaguar (n=16),
(d) matrimonial and family ties (n=12),
(e) punishments (n=10).

Helpful Jaguar

Motifs concerning helpful Jaguar are the most recurrent. Its helpful deeds unite these narratives. Certain motifs specify how or why Jaguar is of assistance. Either Jaguar or its mother take in the protagonist(s), providing shelter, food and on occasion even presenting specific gifts (see Story nos. 89, 148-9, 185, 191-4, 226, 298, 691; various sources). Jaguar also acts as an advisor (see Story nos. 191-4, 226, 691; all Gê) or directs/accompanies men on their journey (see Story nos. 192-4, 216, 226, 344, 583, 691; Gê (various sources), Ticuna, Tupian (Munduruku), Guajiboan (Cuiva)). Jaguar is a saviour or rescues the protagonist (see Story nos. 23, 191-4, 226, 691; Cariban, 6x Gê), for instance, when helping an abandoned Amerindian down from a high tree. Or, when an Amerindian floats around in a body of water inside a barrel, Jaguar puts its tail through a hole in order to pull him to safety.

Origin of objects and "animal" characteristics

All in all, six narratives contain motifs regarding the origin of objects and/or "animal" traits. The origin of cooking and fire prevail (see Story nos. 191-4, 221, 227, 691; see also the sub-cluster *E1. Jaguar and the origin of fire*). The remaining such motifs concern the origin of spinning, honey, the Honey festival, bows and arrows.

Motifs can also explain or describe specific "animal" traits. In Story no. 352 (Cariban), Jaguar is ridiculed because of its curved claws. Other physical traits made explicit are: its many heads (see Story no. 504; Warao) and luminous eyes (see Story no. 643; Sikuani, Guajiboan).

In Story no. 185 (Yuracare), four-eyed Jaguar escapes the revenge of the culture hero by climbing up a tree where Moon conceals him. Ever since this event Jaguars are nocturnal. Other behavioural qualities represented in motifs comprise Jaguar's hunting skills (see Story nos. 89, 227, 351-2, 504 (2x Warao, Gê (Opayé), 2x Cariban). For instance, in Story no. 227 (Opayé, Gê), a woman states she wishes to be Jaguar's daughter because then she would have all the meat she can eat. Jaguar arrives to take this girl as his wife. In another narrative,

[79] See p. 5, note 5.

Jaguar's daughter tries to convince her husband she should hunt, being a better hunter. Her husband fails to catch the prey, but she succeeds. When Jaguar finds out his son-in-law did not kill his own prey, he takes revenge in an attempt to kill him.

Devastating Jaguar and punishments

Both helpful and devastating Jaguars co-occur. For instance, the mother of Jaguar acts as rescuer and protector, while her sons try to kill and eat the protagonist (see Story no. 185; Yuracare). Or, Jaguar is friendly, but its wife tries to eat the culture hero (see Story no. 193, 226; Gê). The devastating Jaguar often kills and eats others. See the above sub-cluster entitled *E2. Devastating Jaguar*.

The motifs on punishments often relate to those of the devastating Jaguar who is either avenged for misbehaving or acts as avenger himself. In this sub-cluster, the most common punishment is: death by murder or drowning.

Marriage and family ties

A surprisingly large number of narratives contain motifs on marriage and on other family affairs. A marriage to Jaguar is documented in Story nos. 148, 191, 216, 226-7, 298, 351-2, 672 and 700 (various sources). In Story no. 298, a Jivaroan woman marries Jaguar. When delousing her Jaguar-husband, she spits out the lice in disgust. Now enraged, Jaguar kills and devours his pregnant wife. Jaguar's mother manages to rescue the two eggs after which the Twin culture heroes hatch. Other family relations concern mother and son, brothers and in-laws (see section E1).

In Story no. 34 (Trio, Cariban), a Trio male brings a wounded Jaguar back to his home. As a reward, Jaguar offers him his daughter as wife. The Trio does not desire the daughter and kills her. This is the reason why Jaguar and Trio hate each other so much.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these narratives:

(a) Sender: The most recurrent senders here are both Jaguar and Birds (including specific "birds"). Both advise and/or send the protagonists on quests. Jaguar introduces new objects (e.g., fire, bows and arrows) which Amerindians then desire (see Story nos. 154, 192-4, 226-7, 583; various sources). Jaguar provides directions or information to send the protagonist(s) on a quest or journey (see Story nos. 185, 193, 216, 298, 344, 351-2, 504, 583, 672, 691; various sources).

(b) Object/goal: Various "animals" (Ants, Ara/Macaw, Birds, Snake, Tapir) personages are ascribed the role of object/goal. By far the most recurrent is Jaguar (n=16). As an object, this feline is hunted, killed or the object of desire (e.g., as spouse).

(c) Helper: In addition to Jaguar, more recurrent helpers have been identified. For instance, Birds serve as messengers. Peccary (see Story nos. 192, 691; Gê (Cayapó-Kubenkranken,

Apinayé)) and Tapir (see nos. 192-3, 691; Gê) are the "animals" that assist with carrying fire from Jaguar's place.

(d) Subject/actor: Jaguar, all helpers and if present the Amerindian protagonist(s) are all actors.

(e) Opponent: in addition to devastating Jaguars, various "birds" are recorded as an opponent (e.g., Ara, Birds, Sparrow, Vulture).

(f) Receiver: in Story no. 221 (Opayé, Gê), Prea steals fire but is instructed how to use it (i.e., to create flames by means of fire sticks). After spreading the fire, Prea becomes the heroin of the village. In Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban), Jaguar receives two wives (made from a tree) from culture hero Kamuschini. In Story no. 352 (Cariban) Opossum receives Jaguar's daughter as a wife.

The following analysis of the actor comprises the study as to with which other "animal" personages the Jaguar directly interacts. He co-occurs with numerous other "animals", but the four most dominant are: (1) Birds, including specific "birds" (in total 26). Here, the most common specific "birds" are: (a) Ara/Macaw; n=8, (b) Birds, general; n=3, (c) Vulture; n=3, (d) *Yao*, *Grypturus* sp.; n=2, (e) Toucan; n=2, (2) Tapir; n=4, (3) Snake; n=3, and (4) Peccary; n=3.

The majority of the narratives in this cluster entitled "Helpful Jaguar" are also part of one or more of the other sub-clusters. The interrelatedness between Jaguar and these other "animal" personages is thus addressed in one or more of the above sub-clusters (E1-E3). Those not yet addressed are discussed below.

Jaguar and Peccary

In Story no. 216 (Ticuna), (coloured) Peccary is explicitly described as the highly seasoned and very peppery food of Jaguar. When an Amerindian who had lost his way ends up at Jaguar's place, he is warned by Jaguar's daughter not to show any discomfort when eating the extremely spicy (i.e., highly seasoned and very peppery) coloured Peccary meat that Jaguar had caught and prepared. In Story no. 227 (Opayé, Gê), a girl spots the carcass of Peccary to then think of Jaguar, as she pined for a husband who would present her with meat.

Jaguar and Snake

There is no clear interrelatedness between Jaguar and Snake in this cluster. Story no. 148 (Bakairí, Cariban) is one of the Twin narratives describing how Jaguar raises the Twin heroes (see also E1). It includes an episode in which their aunt tells the Twins to fetch water, the three kinds of which are owned by Water boa. Jaguar is on occasion portrayed as the Owner/Master of Water.

In Story no. 23 (Cariban), Jaguar rescues the floating hero who is stuck inside a barrel floating on a body of water. It puts its tail through a hole to then bring the hero to safety. Here, too, it is stated that Boa at the time this event took place was still utilised as an anchor rope/chain

and a gangway (Dutch: “loopplank”). Apparently, water interconnects the Jaguar and Snake personages.

Setting

All in all, 28 records concern the village-forest dichotomy, as encountered in 22 narratives. As many as nineteen records (68 percent) concern a forest setting, whereas nine (32 percent) pertain to a village setting. If multiple records on the same role in the same context occur, they have been counted as one. Jaguar is both staged in a forest as well in a village setting (see Story nos. 89, 298, 352, 504, 672; various sources).

Studying the setting in relation to the ascribed role(s) indicates that Jaguar is often an object/goal within a village setting (n=5). This can be explained by the fact that an Amerindian protagonist marries (and has children with) Jaguar. Other roles in this context are: helper (n=3), sender (n=1) and opponent (n=2). As an opponent, Jaguar disguises himself as an elderly woman to then abduct a baby girl from her home (see Story no. 89; Warao). In Story no. 643 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Jaguar both acts as an opponent and helper. He enters a round house in which an itching woman hides her grandchild. Jaguar cures her itch to then find, kill and devour her grandchild.

Within the forest context, Jaguar is recorded in the helper-role in eleven narratives, as an object/goal in six cases (in seven records), twice as opponent, once as receiver, and in ten cases as sender and in four instances as subject/actor. In this context, the Jaguar is often an object and a frequent object of vengeance implying it is killed. As the majority of the narratives take place in either an Amerindian village or in Jaguar’s village, the dominant cosmic is the land-layer. Two records pertain to a water setting and one to an underworld setting.

Only eight records on the temporal setting night vs. day are observed, of which seven have a daytime setting and one a nocturnal setting. As the majority hereof portray Jaguar as a caretaker, the former setting prevails.

E4. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

In sum, 32 records on characterization are registered. In seven narratives two records on characterization are documented (mainly indirect and direct). Two records (6 percent) on analogue, eight (25 percent) on direct characterization and 22 (69 percent) indirect are observed. Compared to the characterization of Jaguar in general, the percentage of direct characterization is high in this sub-cluster (25 against 16 percent). This could indicate that the helpful Jaguar is “out of character”. A more explicit introduction or description is required in order to explain its “helpful” nature (see also section 4.3.1). Especially Jaguar’s positive qualities are dwelled upon, as are its excellent hunting skills (e.g., when providing food), its nature to work hard and its power/strength. For a detailed survey of the direct and analogue description, see section E. Story-layer.

Duration

All in all 32 records concern duration for the 25 stories in this sub-cluster. The reason for this: the multiple sources of the six narratives. Story no. 23 even has three sources. Four narratives have a real time of 6-10 pages, all others are short. As so many narratives have multiple records (a result of multiple sources), this situation needs to be corrected for the narrated time. For instance, thirteen records with a narrated time of "years" are registered for ten narratives. Once corrected, the 25 narratives number ten records (40 percent) of narrated time amounting to years, four records (16 percent) continue for months, two (8 percent) records for weeks and nine (36 percent) for days. The helpful Jaguar tales overall have a long narrated time: 56 percent span a narrated time of either months or years, compared to 40 percent in general. This observation indicates they more "epic" or mythic in nature, thus not event-driven. Numerous narratives deal with culture heroes, who Jaguar has adopted and raised, indicating a long narrated time.

E4. Concluding remarks on "Helpful Jaguar"

The 25 narratives within the sub-cluster entitled "Helpful Jaguar" differ in structure and motifs. A number hereof includes motifs on friendly, helpful Jaguar by means of motifs regarding a devastating Jaguar. However, the Helpful Jaguar narratives are widely encountered in the corpus of the following linguistic families: Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guajiboan, Jivaroan, Ticuna, Tupian, Yuracare and Warao.

Jaguar is in general staged in a forest (land) setting during the daytime. He (or she) is often the object of desire and sometimes marries the Amerindian protagonist. Jaguar-man/woman is a recurrent theme/motif. Very often, too, Jaguar is a rescuer and/or caretaker hereby taking in, or protecting, the protagonist or culture heroes. On occasion Jaguar's mother does so, protecting the culture hero(es) from her "evil" sons. As a caregiver/husband the Jaguar provides food, shelter, now and again even goods. The Jaguar is often portrayed here as an excellent hunter (meat provider) and, therefore, a sought after husband (or wife). Acting like a Jaguar also often implies transmuting into one, thus becoming an excellent hunter oneself, acquiring claws, fangs and spots.

In general, the most dominant narrative function is validating the world (n=44; in 21 narratives). The most common sub-categories not only explain why things are as they are but also "animal" traits. Encoding social behaviour (n=29; in all narratives) by exhibiting (in)correct behaviour and describing certain ceremonies and traditions. Informing is the third most common sub-category with 24 records mentioned in nineteen narratives.

With whom does Jaguar Interact?

The majority of the narratives already form part of another sub-cluster headed "Jaguar and the origin of fire" and "the devastating Jaguar". Therefore, the interaction with other "animals" has already been described. The helpful Jaguar mainly co-occurs with Birds and specific "birds" (n=26) as well as with Tapir (n=4), Snake (n=3) and Peccary (n=3).

E5. Other Jaguar narratives

Of the 127 narratives, as many as 108 are covered in the sub-clusters E1 to E4 of Jaguar narratives. The nineteen stories which do not do not fit any of these sub-clusters are numbered: 39, 55, 73, 155, 207, 333-4, 343, 360, 373, 416, 443, 458, 489, 557, 573, 616, 649, 687; 2x Arawakan, 4x Cariban, 2x Gê, Guaicuruan, 3x Guajiboan, 3x Tupian, 4x Warao. These nineteen narratives are briefly discussed here according to themes also identified in the various (sub-)clusters: (a) origin of "animals" and peoples, (b) marriage, and (c) transformations into Jaguar.

E5a. Origin of "animals" and peoples

The origin of objects and of "animal" (or specific "animal") traits are common motifs in most clusters. Here, too, narratives include motifs and insights into the origin of "animals". In Story no. 155 (Tembé, Tupian), a Jaguar father misbehaves when singing a very insulting song. If he had not misbehaved all "animals" would still have resembled humans who can sing. In Story no. 334 (Tupian), a servant ignores a warning and opens the edible fruit of the Tucumán palm (*Astrocaryum vulgare*). Next, when night fell, all things present in the forest changed into quadrupeds and "birds". A basket even transmutes into a Jaguar.

In Story no. 207 (Toba-Pilaga, Guaicuruan), the demiurge tests humans by tickling them. Those who laughed change into "animals", whereas those humans which Jaguar prey upon turn into land "animals". Those who escape, take refuge in a body of water to become aquatic "animals". Humans who remain in self-control either transform into Jaguars or huntsmen who chase Jaguars. In Story no. 649 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), the origin of various tribes is explained. When Fish jump up, their scales drop back into the water and transform into humans. The tribe is named after the Fish. When Jaguar emerges from the water, it turns into a human and its skin falls into the water.

Story no. 458 (Warao) explains why "animals" live where they do. A storm destroys houses (then inhabited by Jaguars) and trees. Tapirs, in an attempt to escape Jaguar, run towards moriche palm groves (*Mauritia flexuosa*) and still live in treetops. Jaguar also tries to climb up the trees only to be shot by people from above. Now scared of people, Jaguar from then on lives in the forest on its own. After Jaguar has left, the people appear from the moriche palm groves and build huts on the banks.

Story no. 360 (Warao) explains how people descended from the sky world where a renowned, skilled hunter named Okonorote hunted birds. Having shot one, he cannot find the arrow but did discover a hole through which he sees daylight and treetops. While descending he observes wild animals devouring their prey. In those days Jaguar and Snake "had their own way". After Okonorote hunts Deer to bring it to the sky world, all the others wish to descend, too. The final woman to do so is stuck in the hole.

The origins of “animals”, peoples and “animal” traits are described very often. Notably, in a large number of narratives, it is apparent that: (a) Jaguar frequents the land-layer before mankind did, and (b) being a natural predator, Jaguar fulfils a role in the division of categories of animals (prey vs. predator).

E5b. Marriage

Motifs relating to marriage are identified in section E4 entitled “Helpful Jaguar”. In Story no. 73 (Arawakan), a Jaguar transforms into a beautiful woman in order to see how a huntsman chases a Peccary. Once married, together they are even more successful hunters. During a visit to the hunter’s family, his Jaguar wife warns him not to disclose her true identity. After doing so, she leaves him in shame. In Story no. 333 (Arawakan) a shaman has difficulties in finding a husband for his beautiful daughter. Having rejected many candidates including Jaguar, he finally regards Electric eel, the Master of Thunder, Lightning and Rain, to be a suitable match.

E5c. Transformations into Jaguar

The importance of Jaguar’s claws as an identifiable feature is addressed in section E3, Fabula, sub-heading *Transformations*). Here, the numerous direct descriptions of his claws can be found, too. On two occasions (see Story nos. 373, 557) the claws of Frogs are compared to those of Jaguars. Frog even transforms into a Jaguar, for Frogs have claws resembling Jaguar’s. Moreover, they catch their prey as Jaguar does (see Story no. 373; Trio, Cariban). In Story no. 557 (Cayapó-Gorotire, Gê), a cannibalistic tribe of Frog-men are described as having red bodies and large teeth, wearing twisted strings around their waists instead of bracelets. They reinforce their fingers with Jaguar claws.

In Story no. 489 (Warao), cannibals attack Amerindians. It is mentioned here that these cannibals are able to transform into Jaguars and Anacondas. As the Amerindians kill cannibals, they transform into Anacondas, Trees, Electric eels and Crocodiles. In Story no. 616 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), a shaman transmutes into a Jaguar in order to kill a Caiman whom he and his wife come across during a march. Story no. 453 (Warao) features two brothers of which the elder is able to turn into a Jaguar. He teaches his brother how to do so by smoking a special cigar. As Jaguars they plunder a cemetery. In Story no. 687 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a boy filled with shame transforms into a Jaguar. He discovers his widowed mother had sexual intercourse with him. Out of shame and intoxicated by *yopo** and *yucuta**, he roars. As night falls, he enters the forest to become a Jaguar.

F. Ants

In sum, 45 Ant narratives are recorded.[80] These insects are not (yet) identified as Saladoid iconographical features, but Ants are frequently documented in the narratological content they are included in this study as an anomaly (see 5.1.2).[81]

F. General remarks

This paragraph starts off with studying the 45 Ant narratives as a single cluster, focusing on their narrative functions, linguistic affiliation and distribution, hereby continuing with the analysis of the Fabula- and Story-layer. In sections F1 and F2 the narratives are further clustered and dealt with in more details to be able to answer the following research questions: (a) which attributes and roles are ascribed to Ants in the Amerindian oral tradition?, (b) with what or whom are they associated within the narratives, and in which context?, and (c) with what or whom are they associated within the narratives?

Narrative functions

In total 148 narrative functions have been documented for the 45 narratives featuring Ants, see Table F1, and for a complete list hereof Appendix C, Table C-9. The most common narrative function is validating the world (46 percent). Within this category, the predominant sub-functions are: the origin of "animal" traits and why things are as they are. The narrative function encoding social behaviour is registered in 45 cases (31 percent). By far the most recurrent sub-function is: exhibiting (in)correct behaviour. The third most common narrative function among the Ant narratives is informing (20 percent). Ensuring knowledge is not registered for this cluster.

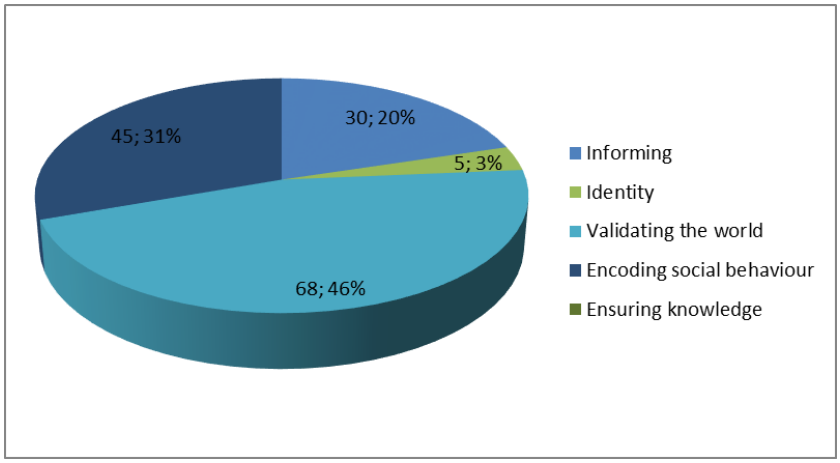
Comparing these results with the general outcome of the overall narrative functions (see 4.1.1) no significant variation in narrative functions can be observed.[82] Only ensuring knowledge is completely absent in the corpus of Ant narratives. However, this category only takes on 3 percent in general.

[80] All 45 narratives included are numbered: 25, 34, 43, 77-8, 83, 98, 103, 125, 147, 154, 185, 202, 217, 230, 253, 288, 301-2, 312-5, 328, 343, 433, 454, 463, 544, 565-7, 576, 619-20, 622, 647, 654, 656, 666, 675, 688, 690, 693, 696.

[81] See 7.7.2 for a discussion of Ant species of the South American and Caribbean region.

[82] $\chi^2(4) = 7.53$; $\rho = 0.11$ (not significant).

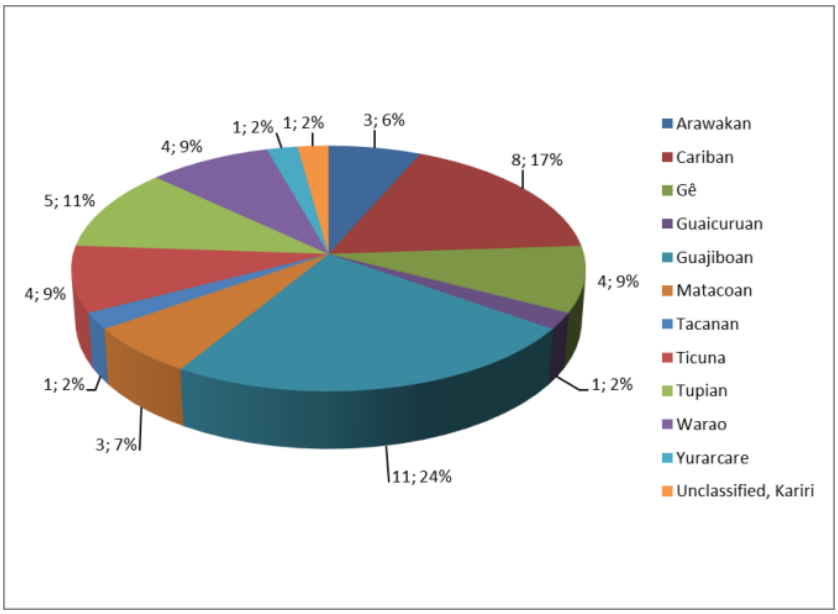
Table F1 Narrative functions of Ant narratives (%).



Linguistic affiliation

These narratives are studied in relation to their linguistic affiliation in order to establish whether (particular) Ant narratives correlate to any specific linguistic affixations or geographical areas. These narratives are forwarded in twelve language families which include Kariri (unclassified), Arawakan, Cariban, Gê, Guaicuruan, Guajiboan, Matacoan, Tacanan, Ticuna, Tupian, Warao and Yuracare, see Table F2.

Table F2 Linguistic affiliation of Ant narratives based on language family (%).



The linguistic distribution of the Ant narratives is in line with the overall distribution of the narratives (see 4.1.2). All of the most prominent language families are included in this dataset. The percentages match those encountered in the overall distribution. However, a relatively large number of languages, also beyond the core area, display a low frequency overall (e.g., Yuracare, Tacanan, Kariri). Of the 45 narratives, as many as 25 (56 percent) originate from the core area. The remaining 20 stem from regions located up-country. They, therefore, provide insights into the regional distributions as to motifs and themes. The reader is referred to 7.2.1, Figure 7.8 for more detailed information on geographical distribution and the specific affiliation of the narratives. Figure 7.8 displays a plot of the narratives on a map of the study region (the Caribbean and South America).

F. Fabula-layer: events, actors and setting

Events: main events and motifs

To establish if Ants are associated with specific events and/or actions, a distinction is made between main events (which are predefined categories) and the documented motifs that provide information on specific events occurring within the narrative.

Main events are documented for nineteen Ant narratives. For a number hereof, multiple main events are registered. Rescue is by far the most frequent main event and is documented in twelve cases. It is followed by quest, which is registered in six cases. Together these two are overall the most common main events (see 4.2.1). Deception is documented for three narratives and the main events entitled abduction, deception and contest (of endurance) in two instances. Truth finding occurs once. Only two of these main events are directly linked to Ant personages here, namely rescue.

Zooming in on motifs directly linked to the Ant personage has resulted in 68 examples, of which the "Top 6" comprises: (1) helpful insect; n[83]15, (2) transformation, various; n=12, (3) "animal/insect" traits/habits; n=11, (4) tasks, various; n=11, (5) punishments; n=8, and (6) origin/acquisition of objects; sexual organs; n=6.

Helpful insect and tasks

The first and foremost motif is "Helpful insect" (n=15). It includes specific helpful activities such as: leading a lost man back home (see Story no. 98; Cariban), protecting (see Story no. 656; Sikuani, Guajiboan) or advising the protagonist (see Story no. 217; Ticuna). The motif listed as No. 4 (Tasks, various) is closely related to No. 1, because as a helper the Ants perform various tasks which are repeatedly related to "suitor's tests" (see Story nos. 77, 463; Arawakan, Warao) whereby a mother or father-in-law demands tasks to be carried out by their potential son-in-law. Such tasks, in which the Ants assists the protagonist, include: (a) felling trees (see Story nos. 185, 202, 288, 654; Yuracare, Kariri (unclassified), Ticuna, Sikuani (Guajiboan)), (b) growing a field on a rock (see Story no. 34; Trio, Cariban), (c) delousing (Story

[83] See p. 5, note 5.

no. 185; Yuracare), and (d) revealing the true identity of a (possible) opponent (see Story nos. 312-5; Toba (Guaicuruan), 3x Matacoan).

Transformation

The second most frequently encountered motif here pertains to transformation. In general, however, this motif is the most common (see 4.2.1). The corpus of Ant narratives comprise the following motifs (documented as directly related to the Ant actor). They concern transmutations whereby:

(a) a man turns into an insect (n=5) or into Ant's hill (n=1),
(b) spying activities take place (n=4),
(c) a part of an animal/human body turns into "animal" (n=3),
(d) an insect turns into a person (n=2),
(e) an insect turns into another "animal" (n=1),
(f) a spirit turns into an "insect/animal" (n=1).

"Animal" traits

Other common motifs related to specific characteristics of Ant describe its behaviour/habits or physical traits. Several motifs are linked to Ants being hard workers (see Story nos. 77, 125, 666; Arawakan, Kaliña (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)) and wise (see Story no. 25; Kaliña, Cariban). Ants can be ascribed more negative qualities such as causing diseases (see Story nos. 565-7; Gê (Apinayé, Ramkokamekra-Canela, Krahô)). In Story nos. 83 and 576 (Cariban, Cuiva (Guajiboan)), Ants are (giant) man-eating insects. Ants can be poisonous, too (see Story no. 185; Yuracare). Story no. 125 (Kaliña, Cariban) explicitly mentions the "disagreeable scent" of the *Sauba* Ants.

Punishments

Ants bite to punish in Story nos. 103, 313-4, 544 and 567 (Warao, 2x Matacoan, 2x Krahô (Gê)). In Story no. 576 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), women are devoured by gigantic Ants, because they had broken the medallions given to them earlier. In Story no. 83 (Cariban), a hunter is almost eaten by Ants for lying down under an overlapping Wood-ant's nest (see Story no. 83; Cariban). In Story no. 454 (Warao), Ants are the result of a punishment: a malicious basket/skull drowns after which in the end Ants appear from the skull's nostrils.

Origin/acquisition of objects

Because the origin/acquisition of objects-motif is featured remarkably often, I have chosen to add it to the motifs directly linked to the Ant personage. Seven Ant narratives link (indirectly or directly) the acquisition or origin of objects to Ants. Story no. 43 (Trio, Cariban) describes how the Trio receive spirit songs, an explicit description comprising a ritual involving Ants. The Master of Spider monkey rolls around in (Sireinji) Ants and soon screams out in pain. In Story nos. 217 and 693 (Ticuna) Ant is linked to the origin of fire and/or a cultivated plant (sweet manioc). In Story no. 576 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), Ant is associated with the origin of night. Story

no. 230 (Ticuna) provides us with an explanation regarding (origin) of specific Ant traits: how this insect acquires immortality (the property of shedding skin).

Sexual organs

Another noteworthy motif to repeatedly occur in Ant narratives concerns sexual organs, of which the vagina is the most prominent. Although the Ants are not always directly associated with this motif, it remains remarkable that six cases (13 percent) directly refer to sexual organs (see Story nos. 314, 565, 567, 619-20, 656; Apinayé (Gê), Krahô (Gê), 3x Sikuani (Guajiboan)). In general, Ants or other creatures bite the genitalia either as a means of punishment or as a way to establish the identity of a personage. In Story no. 619 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) all but one piranha swims out of the vagina of Purna's wife. In Story no. 620 (Sikuani), a man/paramour transforms into a blood-sucking tick in order to hide from his lover's parents, hereby entering vagina after she advises him to do so. In both the above mentioned narratives the protagonist (the man) utilises leaf-cutter Ants to lure his father-in-law out.

In Story no. 576 (Cuiva, Guajiboan), men wear clay medallions owned by Black Ants and Grasshopper. The women laugh at these men and tell them to get rid of these items. One day the women break the medallions causing the sky to fall down. Grasshopper and Black Ant descend from the sky world to eat the women, especially their vaginas. This devouring continues until pygmy Kingfish and Dragonfly restore the sky and bring Black Ant and Grasshopper back to the sky world. In Story no. 656 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) all kinds of biting and stinging creatures, including Ants, live inside the vagina of Sun's wife. They present magic power (*yopo**) to all who have sexual intercourse with her.

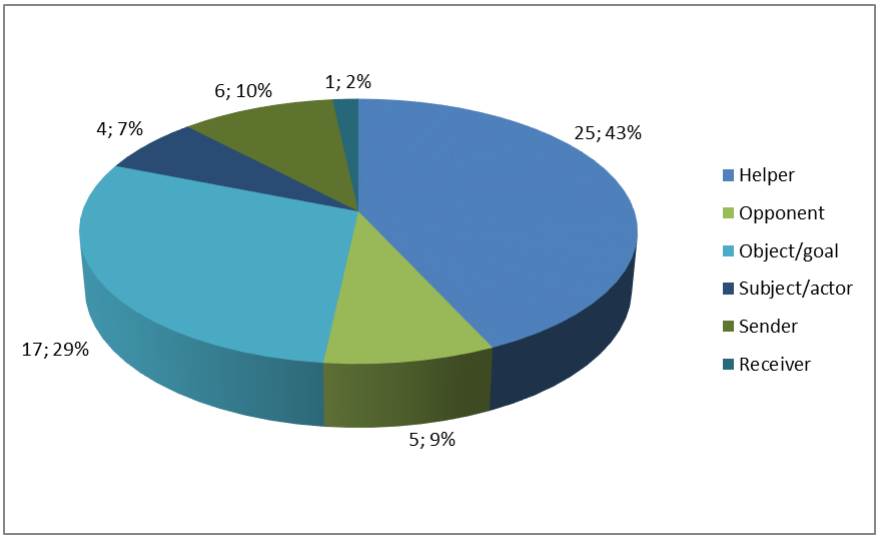
Actor: role and predefined dichotomies

This element of the fabula is closely related to Greimas's actants. Of the two roles that dominate Ant personages, helper (n*25) is the most common followed by object (n=17). The other roles are significantly less recurrent. The sender role is documented in six cases, opponent in five and subject/ actor only in four. The least occurring (also in general) is the receiver role (n=1), see Table F3.

Compared to the general pattern, the Ant personage shows a significant variation in ascribed roles.[84] Ant is more often ascribed the helper role (43 against 20 percent in general), but less so with regard to all other roles: subject/actor (7 against 17 percent), object/goal (29 against 34 percent) and sender (10 against 17 percent). The opponent and receiver roles are in line with the general distribution of roles.

[84] $\chi^2(5) = 20.48$; $\rho = 0.001$ (significant).

Table F3 Ants divided according to Greimas's actants (%).



In three tales Ants are explicitly associated with spirits who carry a basket filled with Ants. A spirit sends Ants up into a tree (see Story nos. 103, 343, 454; 2x Warao, Shipaya (Tupian, now extinct)). In three other narratives they are linked to shamans (see Story nos. 154, 619-20; Tembé (Tupian), 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Ants demonstrate shamanic power when a man from the house of leaf-cutter Ants transforms into a Snake (see Story no. 433; Yukpa, Cariban).

Story no. 675 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) describes how flying Ants should be caught and roasted, thus explicitly considering these insects a source of food. Ants are portrayed as a tasty bait to successfully lure out (Vulture) father-in-law (see Story nos. 619-20; Sikuani).

Interactions with other "animal" personages

To establish with whom Ants are associated it is interesting to note with which other "animal" personage(s) it interacts. In 96 percent, (43 out of 45) other "animals" play a role, too, often even forming a combination of various "animals", amounting to nine different ones (see Story no. 98; Cariban). The "animals" that co-occur multiple times with Ants are: Jaguar (n=9), Hummingbird (n=7), Monkey (n=6), Woodpecker (n=6), Snake (n=6), Vulture (n=5), Hawk (n=5), Paca (n=5), Lice (n=5), Birds (n=5) and Caiman/Alligator (n=5).

Of all these other "animal" personages, Ants only directly interact with a small number. In certain narratives, "animals" oppose the Ant personage (or are subjected to its bite as a punishment). The "animal" personages can also act as senders: either requesting Ant's help or whereby Ant acts as a sender, for instance, when advising the Amerindian protagonist to visit Toad in search of help.

Jaguar

In three versions of the same narrative (see Story nos. 154, 301-2; all Tembé,Tupian), the Amerindian protagonist enters Jaguar's village through an Ant hill while being transformed into an Ant. By doing so he discovers the Honey festival.

Story no. 185 (Yuracare, Isolate) explicitly states that poisonous Ants live on Jaguar's skin. In Story no. 147 (Bakairí, Cariban), these two creatures are interrelated. Here Jaguar sends Ants up a tree in order to fetch Anteater whereby Jaguar is the sender and Ant acts as its helper. The two oppose each other in another story in the sense that Jaguar is a threat to the protagonist and Ant assists the protagonist (see Story no. 34; Trio, Cariban).

Monkey

In Story no. 43 (Trio, Cariban) Spider monkeys perform a ritual in order to call upon their ancestors. Rolling around in Ants forms part of this ceremony. The Amerindian protagonist witnesses this event. In Story no. 253 (Munduruku, Tupian), the two oppose each other (albeit indirectly) when a Capuchin Monkey kills a hunter to then attempt to fool the hunter's wife by trying to feed his flesh to her. She escapes with the help of Ants who had directed her to Toad.

Woodpecker and Hummingbird

In Story nos. 312-4 (Matacoan), which are versions of one and the same narrative, Woodpecker and Ant co-occur. In Story no. 315 (Guaicuruan), Woodpecker asks Ants for their help, hereby revealing the identity of an imposter. In this sense, Woodpecker acts as sender and Ants as helpers.

In Story no. 463 (Warao), Woodpecker and Ant do not interact but are ascribed the same role (as helper). Both assist the protagonist byin performing a task: Woodpecker cuts a stone tree and Ant scloses the identity of the father-in-law. Having transformed into Ant, the protagonist manages to take a good look at his father-in-law.

Numerous narratives feature both Ants and Hummingbirds. The Ant causes diseases and the Hummingbird removes the Ant from the Amerindian's ear (see Story nos. 565, 567; Gê). In the latter example, because the beak of Hummingbird is too soft now Heron removes the Ant. They are simply ascribed the same role (helper) elsewhere. Both help the protagonists to perform a (different) task (see Story no. 78; Arawakan). In Story no. 83 (Cariban), Wood Ants (termites?) attempt to let their nest fall down on a sleeping Amerindian, who manages to escape. When these Wood Ants follow the Amerindian a Hummingbird keeps chirping: "Give me his head". The annoyed Ants shouted at him: "What's the use of asking for the head when we haven't got even the body?".

Snake

In Story no. 544 (Krahô, Gê), Snake and Ants are ascribed the same role, whereby both are regarded dangerous nocturnal creatures that should not be touched. Both live underneath the dry, brown leaves on the ground. In Story nos. 619 and 690 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), the father-in-law while ascribing (impossible) tasks to the protagonist takes on the form of a Snake. Ants help to lure out the Snake father-in-law. In Story no. 433 (Yukpa, Cariban), a man from the leaf-cutter Ant house is spotted in the shape of a Snake called Bachaco.

Vulture and Hawk/Falcon

In Story nos. 77, 463 and 696 (2x Arawakan, Warao) Vulture acts as an opponent (or challenger) to the protagonist. Ants "oppose" Vulture as they assist the protagonist. Here, a Vulture father-in-law asks his (to be) son-in-law to perform all kinds of impossible tasks. With the help of Ants, among others, the protagonist manages to do so. In Story nos. 619 and 620 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), the father-in-law appears in the form of a Snake. Assisted by Ants he lures out his father-in-law after which Hawks kill him. In Story no. 622, too, both Hawk and Ants are called upon to help in a sky world setting.

In Story no. 566 (Ramkokamekra-Canela, Gê), Vulture (sender) calls upon Hummingbird to remove the Ant from a sick man's ear.

The protagonist transforms into a Hawk after being bitten by Ants, among other creatures (see Story no. 656; Sikuani (Guajiboan). These biting and stinging animals live inside the vagina of Sun's wife. They provide magic power to everyone who has sexual intercourse with her. The protagonist is intoxicated by the *yopo** to such a degree he transforms into a Hawk

Others, Nightjar, Sloth, Toad

Other "animals" with whom the Ant personage directly interacts, or is associated with, feature, for instance, in Story nos. 217 and 693 (Ticuna). Here, Ants and Nightjar present goods: Ant provides a woman with sweet manioc while Nightjar gifts fire.

In Story no. 34 (Trio, Cariban), Sloth advises the Amerindian protagonist to use Ants to grow a field on a rock. However, in Story no. 288 (Ticuna), Sloth opposes Ant, when holding up the tree the Ants are trying to fell. In Story no. 202 (Kariri, unclassified) Toad defends the tree. However, in other narratives, it is the other way around. Here Ant (as a sender) refers to other "animals". For instance, an Ant advisor informs a woman to visit Frog and ask for help.

In the sub-paragraphs F1 and F2, the supposed relationship between these "animals" and the Ant personage is further elaborated.

Setting: the chronotope of space and time

As to Ant narratives, the forest context dominates the village vs. forest dichotomy, which is in line with the general pattern (see 4.2.3). There are eleven (65 percent) registrations of Ants

acting within a forest context against six (35 percent) which unfolds within a village context. Of these forest contexts, the setting comprises a temporary hunting site (see Story no. 83; Cariban). The setting in Story no. 566 (Gê) is an abandoned village.

In the village context, the Ants acts as a helper (n=2), opponent (n=3), subject (n=1) and receiver (n=1). In Story no. 567, Ants act as helpers and adversaries. Within the forest context, the roles ascribed to Ants are: helper (n=12), opponent (n=1), object (n=6) and sender (n=3). The Ant acts as a sender as well as a helper within the forest context (see Story nos. 217, 253). In Story no. 565, the Ants act as adversaries within village contexts and as object within forest contexts.

The analysis of the subsections of the various roles clarifies that the most common subdivision of helper is: "Animal" assists Amerindian/animal with a task/quest. This observation is in accordance with the motif referred to as "Task". As senders, Ants introduce new objects to Amerindians. Moreover, advice/information provided by Ants can lead to an unfolding activity such as a quest.

Temporal setting

As to the seven records concerning the temporal setting, four narratives take place at night, two during the day and one at sunset. The temporal setting in Story no. 666 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) is both nocturnal and daytime. In general, the distribution of these two settings is resp. 42 against 51 percent. The assessment that the number of Ant narratives set at night is relatively larger remains inconclusive due to the low number of records.

Cosmic layer

Another aspect pertaining to settings comprises the cosmic layer(s) on which the "animal" personage acts. In sum, eighteen narratives (40 percent) feature a cosmic layer setting. The most prevalent cosmic layer pertains to sky (n=10) succeeded by the land (n=4) and underworld (n=3). A single record concerns the cosmic water layer. This is in discordance with the general distribution of cosmic layers, which indicates that land is by far the most dominant, followed by sky and water. In general, the underworld is only registered in 6 percent of all records (see 4.2.3). Thus, especially the sky context is ostensibly linked to the Ant personage.

Combining the specific role and cosmic layer, the cosmic layer sky is related to the helper role as is the underworld to the object/goal, all in accordance with the general associations of the cosmic layers, as established in Chapter 4.

Sky world dominance

Ants are surprisingly frequently related to the sky world as is shown by means of the setting in which they act. Of all the Ant narratives, in total eleven are directly linked to the sky world (see Story nos. 77, 463, 565-7, 576, 619-20, 622, 690, 696 (2x Arawakan, 4x Gê, 5x Guajiboan). In certain cases, the Ant personage itself acts within this context, whereas in other instances

the larger part of the narrative is set in the sky world. Two tales feature Sun (as a personage). Therefore, the narrative is also linked to the sky world (see Story nos. 314, 656; Matacoan, Guajiboan).

Ants participate in felling a tree (see Story nos. 202, 288, 654; Kariri, Ticuna, Guajiboan). The tree forms a gate between the sky and land world. Often people enter either of these worlds by means of a tree. Therefore, these narratives (indirectly) associate Ants with the sky world. The total number of Ant narratives in relation to the sky world has now risen to sixteen (36 percent).

Sub-conclusion: fabula of Ant narratives

Based on the 45 Ant narratives a frame is set comprising a helper, positioned in (dominantly) sky, land and underworld contexts, thereby assisting the protagonist (often a shaman) with certain (suitor's) tests. Ants can perform extraordinary tasks: fell trees, enable grass to grow on a rock, and/or bite in order to reveal someone's identity. Ants are also portrayed as devastating spirits, often related to the ability of transformation. This translates here to the dominance of Greimas's actants comprising helper and object. Ants are considered wise, hardworking and immortal as they shed their skins.

Ants, a common feature in South American narratives, are frequently encountered within the core area as well as further afield. Determining this observation to be a fact is based on the numerous language families (12 in total including Kariri, which is unclassified) in which the Ant as a personage/motif occurs. Throughout the geographical area in which Ants are mentioned in the narratives, the homogenous image includes similar motifs and chronotopes (settings of space and time).

The spatial and temporal setting in which the Ant acts is dominated by a forest setting, positioned in the cosmic sky layer. The underworld is a recurrent setting, too. Few records concerning the temporal setting have been noted, whereby the nocturnal hours apparently slightly prevail.

With whom are Ants associated? They repeatedly assist the Amerindian protagonist (often a shaman) and recurrently interact with other "animal" actors. Noteworthy, is the fact that, in 96 percent of the Ant narratives, these insects co-occur with other "animals" (up to nine different "animals/birds" within a single narrative). In nine stories, Ants and Jaguar take the stage together, in seven cases they do so with Hummingbird, in six instances with Monkeys, Woodpecker, Snake and in five with Vulture, Hawk, Paca, Lice and Birds.

F. Story-layer: characterization and duration

The Story-layer is studied by means of characterization and duration. This layer provides us with insights into the concrete way a narrative is presented to the audience.

Characterization

In line with overall preferred mode of characterization, the indirect characterization prevails (see 4.3.1). As to the Ant personage, fourteen narratives have a registered characterization mode. Due to this low number of records, a statistic comparison to the general pattern cannot be conducted. However, the Ants are characterized indirectly in eight cases (57 against 76 percent in general), directly in two instances (14 against 18 percent), and analogue in four (29 against 6 percent), hereby indicating that Ant is characterized by means of an analogy more often than in general.

The direct description as well as the analogy utilised here clarify how the Amerindians perceive Ants. In Story no. 25 (Kaliña, Cariban), the Kaliña people are described as once being as numerous, powerful and wise as Ants. In Story no. 666 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), Ants are directly described as being "hard workers", active at all hours.

The remaining analogies encountered are related to Anthills which form the entrance to the underworld (see Story no. 302; Tembé, Tupian). In Story no. 301 (Tembé), the Anthill is the gateway to Jaguar's village located in the underworld. A reference to a Cuiva (Guajiboan) narrative features a man from the underworld, who surfaces through the holes made in the ground by Ants.[85] As to tales in which the Anthill is the result of a transformation, see Story no. 328 (Tacanan). Here, termites and Anthills spring from a dead woman's brain. In Story no. 688 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), an ogre turns into Ants' nest after being fed hot peppers.

Unfortunately, the number of records concerning characterization does in this case not suffice to interrelate the mode of characterization with the role Ants fulfil within the narratives.

Duration

In the field of narratology, the duration is studied by relating real time (approached by the accumulation of pages) to narrated time, which is time as given in the narrative itself. As to Ant narratives, 43 records on duration feature in 39 cases which include 42 unique records on duration.[86] In sum, 94 percent of the narratives fall within the short range and take up to 5 pages. Notably, narratives featuring Ants, (only 81 percent; n=34) fall within this short range, whereas 14 percent (n=6) fall in the middle/large range (between 6 and 11 pages). Two narratives (5 percent) number 11 or more pages.

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[85] See Wilbert & Simoneau 1991: 187, note 3.

[86] As four records have been recorded from multiple sources, this can result in various records on Duration, as real time (i.e., number of pages) may vary. As to Ant narratives, three possess multiple sources which differ in real time and are, therefore, included in this analysis (n=42).

Studying the narrated time indicates that as much as 52 percent (n=22) of the records cover a long narrated time continuing for either months or years (compared to 42 percent in general). Only 29 percent (n=12) cover a short narrated time (i.e., shorter than a day), or several days (compared to 44 percent in general). In addition, eight records measure a narrated time of weeks (19 percent). The narrated time shows a variation compared to the general pattern, which is, however, not significant.[87] However, the relative long narrated time as well as real time, encountered in the Ant narratives, are the outcome of their more "epic" nature, which involves the adventures of a protagonist/shaman, who travels to other worlds.

Sub-conclusions as to the story-layer

The Ant personage is not described by means of physical but rather by behavioural attributes (through an analogy or directly). Ants are regarded powerful, wise and numerous. Based on motifs we have established that certain Ant species either bite or are poisonous. In Story nos. 301 and 302 (Tupian), Anthills are described as gateways to other worlds (e.g., the underworld, land of Jaguar).

The Ant narratives are relatively lengthy, indicating a somewhat "epic" description of the protagonist's adventures and travels. This observation also is in line with the fact that in 96 percent of these narratives also other "animal" personages are encountered, up to nine different ones in one single case. The Ant is not an important protagonist on its own. Nevertheless, it participates in a broad setting of other motifs and themes.

In the following paragraphs the 45 Ant narratives are further categorised based on their motifs whereby the Ant: (a) carries out a test, and (b) acts as an assistant and advisor.

F1. Ant performs a test

Ants either perform or contribute to a specific task in eighteen narratives in which these insects occur. The following narrative provides an example hereof:

> A Jaguar is wounded by a Deer. A Trio brings this feline to its house. The Jaguar offers its daughter to the Trio who wants to go home. It gives him a number of jobs before allowing him to return, such as growing a field on rocks. Sloth shows the Trio how this is done: using Ants. Next, the Trio has to kill the Deer which had injured Jaguar, after which he kills many Deer but not the right one. Having finally found the right Deer, it takes off his "hat" and is killed. Next, the Trio wants to leave without his wife, but she follows her husband. He then murders her. Her father/Jaguar wish to revenge his daughter and in the end, succeeds. This explains why Trio and Jaguars hate each other. [Story no. 34 (Trio, Cariban); abridged]

[87] $\chi^2(2) = 4.30$; $\rho = 0.12$ (not significant). The Chi-squared test cannot be utilised to establish a significant variation in real time, due to the low number of records concerning narratives longer than 5 pages.

All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 34, 77-8, 103, 147, 185, 202, 288, 463, 312-5, 619-20, 654, 690 and 696; Bakairí (Cariban), Trio (Cariban), 3x Arawakan, Yuracare, Kariri (unclassified), 2x Warao, Toba (Guaicuruan), 3x Matacoan, 4x Sikuani (Guajiboan), Ticuna.

F1. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These narratives consist of basically the same events in which:

(a) the protagonist is challenged,
(b) (various) "animal(s)" are asked to help,
(c) "Animal(s)" come to assist in a task,
(d) a challenge is overcome,
(e) order is restored.

The most six most common motifs encountered within the ten narratives are: (1) various tasks and helpful "animals/insects"; n[88]18, (2) shamanism ("magic"); n=13, (3) the origin of objects and/or traits; n=13, (4) quest/journey; n=12, (5) punishments and transformations; n=12, and (6) deceptions; n=11.

Helpful "animals/insects" when performing tasks

This sub-cluster deals with Ants performing a specific task. Motifs regarding tasks are thus present in all narratives. These tasks are often carried out in order to assist the protagonist. Therefore, motifs pertaining to helpful "animals/insects" are common, too. A father-in-law often challenges his (future) son-in-law, who then turns to various "animals" for help. Here Ants assist the protagonist by teaching him to: (a) grow a field on rocks (see Story no. 34; Trio, Cariban), (b) fell or regrow trees (see Story nos. 77, 202, 654; Arawakan, Kariri, Sikuani (Guajiboan)), (c) make holes in a calabash (see Story no. 77; Arawakan), and/or (d) spy on or bite an opponent, for instance, in order to lure him out of a hiding place (see Story nos. 202, 463, 654: Kariri, Warao, Sikuani (Guajiboan)).

Shamanism

The abovementioned motifs (2) and (3) occur in thirteen narratives. The motifs surrounding shamanism include "magic" activities as well as magic objects/results. For instance, when a protagonist tries to cut a magic fruit-bearing tree, it heals itself during the night. Leaf-cutter Ants are then asked to remove the woodchips of this tree preventing it from regrowing. Or, a result comprising a pond that magically falls dry (see Story nos. 77, 313, 654; Arawakan, Matacoan, Guajiboan (Sikuani)). Certain tasks/activities performed by means of magic (e.g., flying, cultivating a field, causing rain/storms) are mentioned in Story nos. 77-8, 147, 185, 315, 463, 619 and 690 (2x Arawakan, Bakairí (Cariban), Yuracare, Matacoan, Warao, 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Resuscitation is a motif observed in Story nos. 185, 312-5 and 619 (Yuracare,

[88] See p. 5, note 5.

Toba (Guaicuruan), 3x Matacoan, Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Motifs related to magic objects (e.g., spittle, arrow, tree) feature in Story nos. 185, 288, 312, 654 and 696 (Yuracare, Ticuna, Toba (Guaicuruan), Sikuani (Guajiboan), Arawakan).

Origin of objects

The abovementioned motifs (3) and (5) are overall the most common (see section 4.2.1). The acquisition of honey is a motif encountered in three versions of one and the same Matacoan narrative: Story nos. 313-5. Other motifs of origin concern: death (see Story no. 654; Sikuani, Guajiboan), the rainbow (see Story no. 315; Matacoan), fire (see Story no. 690; Sikuani, Guajiboan), tobacco (see Story no. 202; Kariri, unclassified), mankind/Indians (see Story nos. 78, 185; Arawakan, Yuracare), trouble/misery befalling mankind (see Story no. 78; Arawakan), menstruation (see Story no. 619; Sikuani, Guajiboan), "animals" (see Story nos. 202, 314, 620; Kariri, Matacoan, Sikuani (Guajiboan)) and the origin of sun(light), stars or constellations (see Story nos. 103, 288; Warao, Ticuna).

Quest or journey

Motif (4) concerns a quest/journey in the course of which either the protagonist is often challenged or the narrative unfolds around a journey. In various cases, the upperworld is visited (see Story nos. 77, 202, 463; Arawakan, Kariri (unclassified), Warao). Other stories refer to a quest: (a) for vengeance (see Story nos. 312, 314-5; Toba (Guaicuruan), 2x Matacoan), (b) for a missing person or a spouse (see Story nos. 312-5; Toba (Guaicuruan), 3x Matacoan), and (c) for a tool, e.g., an axe to cut the magic fruit-bearing tree (see Story no. 654; Sikuani, Guajiboan).

Transformations and punishments

Motifs regarding transformations and punishments are overall very common. Those pertaining to transformations involve: (a) the transmutation of an "animal" into another "animal", into people, or into objects, and (b) people changing into either "animals/insects" or objects. Being bitten by Ants is a recurrent punishment in Story nos. 312-4 (Toba (Guaicuruan), 2x Matacoan) as is the case with death and being eaten (see Story nos. 34, 185, 312, 314, 654; Trio (Cariban), Yuracare, Toba, Matacoan, Sikuani (Guajiboan)).

Deception

Deception is another recurrent theme in this sub-category. A (guilty) person is either captured or unmasked by means of deception, disguise or substitution (see Story nos. 77, 103, 147, 185, 312-3, 619-20, 654, 690, 696; 2x Arawakan, Warao, Cariban (Bakairí), Yuracare, Guaicuruan (Toba), Matacoan, 4x Guajiboan (Sikuani)).

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these narratives.

(a) Sender: whereby various "animals" are ascribed the role of sender. In this example Jaguar dispatches the protagonist, ordering him to perform tasks. Elsewhere this is attributed to for example Vulture, Woodpecker or the demiurge,
(b) Object/goal: e.g., Deer, Jaguar, an Amerindian protagonist, Vultures,
(c) Helper: e.g., Sloth, Ants, (Rain)birds, the Sun,
(d) Subject/actor: Ants, Amerindians, Woodpecker, the "helpers",
(e) Opponent: Jaguar, Vulture, Fox, Toad,
(f) Receiver: an Amerindian protagonist.

Interrelatedness between Ants and other "animal" personages

In all eighteen narratives numerous other "animal"-actors take stage to reoccur in multiple cases. Woodpecker co-occurs in Story nos. 78, 312-5 and 463 (Arawakan, Toba (Guaicuruan), 3x Matacoan, Warao) as do Birds in Story nos. 34, 78, 185 and 463 (Trio (Cariban), Arawakan, Yuracare, Warao) and Paca (see Story nos. 185, 619, 654, 690; Yuracare, 3x Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Various "animals" feature on three occasions along with Ants, i.e., Caiman/Alligator (see Story nos. 78, 314-5; Arawakan, 2x Matacoan), Lice (see Story nos. 312-3, 315; Toba (Guaicuruan), 2x Matacoan), Jaguars (see Story nos. 34, 147, 185; Trio, Bakairí (Cariban), Yuracare) and Vultures (see Story nos. 77, 463, 696; 2x Arawakan, Warao).

Jaguar, Vulture, Woodpecker and Ant

Story no. 185 (Yuracare) states that poisonous Ants, named Torokote, live on the skin of Jaguars. In Story no. 34 (Trio, Cariban), Jaguar sends Ants up a tree to fetch Anteater, who then blows these insects away. Here Ants act as Jaguar's assistants. Jaguar is also encountered as a challenger of the protagonist, who Ants then render assistance while opposing Jaguar. Vulture challenges the protagonist whom Ants assist in Story nos. 77 and 463 (Arawakan, Warao).

Woodpecker directly asks the Ants for help to identify his false wife in Story nos. 312-5 (Guaicuruan, 3x Matacoan). In the majority of the narratives, the protagonists which Ants assist is either an Amerindian (shaman), a culture hero or the demiurge (see Story nos. 34, 77, 202, 463, 654; various).

Other: Sloth and Toad

In addition to these recurrent "animals" with a direct relation with the Ant, only two others occur in two narratives within this sub-cluster, namely Sloth and Toad. In Story no. 34 (Trio, Cariban), Sloth shows the protagonist how to use Ants to grow a field on a rock. In Story no. 288 (Ticuna), Ant acts as an adversary, when Sloth holds up the tree the Ants wish to fell. In Story no. 202 (Kariri), Toads defend the tree Ants had to cut down on the demiurge's request. Thus Toads oppose the Ants here.

Setting

The Ant as a performer of tests primarily acts within a forest setting. Of the twelve records of the spatial village-forest dichotomy, Ant acts only twice within a village context. Not a single record concerns the temporal setting as neither night nor day is made explicit in the narratives.

Five records of the cosmic layer sky are observed. Here the protagonists visit the sky world and Ants help them within this setting (see Story nos. 202, 463, 654, 619, 696; Kariri, Warao, 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan), Arawakan). This cosmic layer is not always clear or made explicit. Moreover, the role of Ants is often very minor. For instance, in Story nos. 312-5, they act in Woodpecker's village. Here a sky context can be assumed, as Sun starts the entire narrative and Woodpecker, as a "bird", belongs to the cosmic layer sky. This also not only holds true for the case in which Vultures put the protagonist to the test but also for the narratives in which Ants have to fell (world)trees which are regarded gateways to the sky world.

A land context is more likely, for instance, in narratives in which Ants act in Jaguars' village (see Story nos. 34, 185; Trio (Cariban), Yuracare). The database did not suffice to make any statements on the cosmic layer(s) in which Ants act. Nevertheless, by studying the narratives closely a more detailed picture can be drawn, on the base of which the Ants appear to be more associated with the sky world, especially in this sub-cluster.

F1. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

Only five narratives include records of the mode of characterization. They all describe Ants indirectly. Overall this is the preferred mode (see F. Story-layer).

Duration

Duration is investigated according to the relatedness between narrated time within the narrative itself and real time (approached by the number of pages). For fifteen of the eighteen narratives, an indication as to duration is possible. Two narratives have two source records (resulting in seventeen records regarding duration). However, in both cases the real time varies. Two different authors document Story no. 77 (Arawakan) (see Appendix B listing all sources of the narratives). One version is short (2 pages) and the other (6 pages) falls in the middle range. Story no. 619 (Sikuani, Guajiboan) also has two records, based on two highly similar Sikuani (Guajiboan) tales featuring a culture hero named Purna. One version is very elaborate (real time 13 pages), the other is short (up to 5 pages). They differ in real time and are, therefore, both included in the analysis.

Of the seventeen records, 59 percent (n=10) fall within the short range (up to 5 pages). One narrative falls within the long range (13 pages) and 35 percent (n=6) in the middle range. This observation indicates a very long real time for narratives in this sub-cluster, as overall 83

percent of the Ant narratives have a short real time. Their narrated times are lengthy, as 76 percent (n=13) has a narrated time of either months or year, against 58 percent of the overall Ant narratives (see F. Story-layer). The duration, therefore, illustrates that the narratives in this sub-cluster are more "epic": they include multiple events, which are not summoned but described in (some) detail.

F1. Concluding remarks on "Ant performs a test"

In this sub-category, Ants are portrayed as helpers in need, after being called upon to assist especially when performing specific tasks. Ants are often sent off to lure out/reveal a subject (by biting), for instance, located up a tree in which it is hiding. Or, they are explicitly sent to, e.g., a father-in-law to make him run outside and disclose his identity. Ants are also called upon to carry out remarkable tasks such as felling a magically regrowing tree or to grow a field on rocks.

A shaman can send Ants off on their tasks. Other senders are: (malevolent) spirits, the demiurge, Woodpecker or Jaguar. Shamanism and motifs involving "magic" are remarkably recurrent within this sub-category.

As has already been established in the general remarks on Ant narratives, Ants mainly co-occur with other "animals" within the narratological context. This observation is reflected by the many other "animals" encountered in all the narratives belonging to this sub-category. Only a small number of these other "animal"-actors directly interact with or are directly related to Ants: Woodpecker, Jaguar and Vulture. They are considered senders as they ask the Ants for help. Sloth also gives advice to the Amerindian protagonist, informing him how Ants can be utilised to grow a field on a rock. Sloth and Toad can also oppose Ants. One narrative mentions that Jaguar has poisonous Ants on his skin.

Having investigated the narrative functions of the tales included in this sub-cluster, it can be concluded that the most common narrative functions are: validating the world (n=27), by means of explaining why things are as they are and the origin of objects/"animal" traits. Encoding social behaviour (n=19) by means of exhibiting (in)correct behaviour and describing ceremonies/traditions is also frequently encountered. Informing and identity occur significantly less often: n=5 and n=4, resp.

F2. Ant as a helper and advisor

Ten narratives directly or indirectly portray the Ant as a helper. However, their structure and the role of Ants herein varies as the following example shows.

> Two men hunting Parrots meet an elderly woman who becomes angry with them for giving her only one Parrot. She takes these men home to enslave them. Her daughter, a stalwart maiden, finds the two and hides them in her bosom. She convinces her mother not to eat them, but to let them hunt for her instead. Two months later these men glue grass under their feet and follow

> the trail of the Sauba Ants. When the elderly woman spreads her smell, the disagreeable scent of Ants surpasses that of the Amerindians. Moreover, the continual movement of these Ants erases their footprints. The two men find a safe dwelling. The woman who is still angry throws trees or branches every time she meets an Amerindian. Or, even worse, if the same virgin would not come to beg for mercy. [Story no. 125 (Kaliña, Cariban); abridged]

All narratives with similar themes are numbered: 43, 125, 154, 217, 253, 301-2, 622, 656, 693; Trio (Cariban), Kaliña (Cariban), 3x Tembé (Tupian), 2x Ticuna, Sikuani (Guajiboan), Munduruku (Tupian).

F2. Fabula: actions/events, actors, setting

Actions and events

These narratives basically consist of the same events: (a) protagonists in need, (b) Ants (indirectly) help, and (c) the protagonist's need is fulfilled. The five most common motifs within these ten narratives are: (1) helpful "animal/insect"; n[89]10, including: (a) "animal/insect" as a teacher; n=4, and (b) "animal/insect" as a helper, advisor, protector; n=6, (2) origin of objects and/or characteristics; n=10, (3) shamanism or "magic"; n=8, (4) teaching arts and crafts; n=6, and (5) inattention to warnings; n=5.

Helpful "animal/insect" (including teaching arts and crafts)

The motif "Helpful animals/insects" is again the first and foremost here. Zooming in on how these insects render assistance: they teach arts and/or crafts (see Story nos. 43, 154, 217, 253; Trio (Cariban), Tembé (Tupian), Ticuna, Munduruku (Tupian)), advise humankind (see Story no. 253; Munduruku, Tupian), offer protection (see Story nos. 253, 656; Munduruku, Sikuani (Guajiboan)) and provide food (see Story nos. 217 and 693; Ticuna). Motifs concerning teaching arts and crafts are common in this sub-category, as are the motifs pertaining to "animals/insects" which teach men. Three narratives describe a culture hero who instructs others (see Story nos. 154, 301-2; Tembé, Tupian).

Origin of objects

Motifs regarding the origin of objects occur in all ten narratives and the origin of customs or rituals in four narratives. In Story no. 43 (Trio, Cariban), the origin of the ceremony dealing with how to call one's ancestors is reported, including a description of rolling around in Ants. The origin of honey and the Honey festival the main theme/motif in Story nos. 154, 301 and 302 (Tembé, Tupian). Story no. 253 (Munduruku, Tupian) describes the origin of fish poison, explaining more accurately why the fish poison Amerindians apply is not as strong as it could have been. Story nos. 125 and 217 (Kaliña, Cariban) are more related to the origin of "animal/insect" traits. Story nos. 217 and 693 (2x Ticuna) deal with the origin of sweet manioc and fire.

[89] See p. 5, note 5.

Shamanism

The motifs concerning shamanism involve "magic" activities or results stemming from: (a) blowing, bathing or special rituals (see Story nos. 43, 253, 622, 656; Trio (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian), 2x Sikuani (Guajiboan)), and (b) magic invulnerability (see Story nos. 302, 622; Tembé (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). Certain tasks/activities are carried out by means of magic, e.g., creating a storm, a trail that disappears or a path that lengthens (see Story nos. 125, 154, 301-2, 622; various sources, Cariban, Tupian, Guajiboan).

Inattention to warnings

Not paying attention to warnings occurs in five of the ten narratives (see Story nos. 154, 253, 301-2, 656; 3x Tembé, Munduruku, (Tupian), Sikuani (Guajiboan)). The protagonist is explicitly told not to do anything. Ignoring this prohibition usually forms a catalyst function within the narrative. Breaching this warning results in subsequent actions and/or consequences.

Actors

The following roles can be distinguished in these narratives.

(a) Sender: various "animals" are ascribed the role of sender (e.g., Ant, Hawk, Monkey, Nightjar, Frog, Jaguar) and, for instance, inform/advise the protagonist, which leads to subsequent actions,
(b) Object/goal: Ants, Jaguar, Macaws can on occasion be either hunted as game or pursued in search of revenge,
(c) Helper: Ants, Nightjar and others,
(d) Subject/actor: Ants, Amerindians, Frog, Monkey, Jaguar and others,
(e) Opponent: Monkey, Payara fish (Hydrolycus), Jaguar,
(f) Receiver: the Amerindian protagonist.

In Story nos. 154 and 301-2 (Tembé, Tupian), a shaman transforms into an Ant in order to enter the underworld. No references to Ants being food (or is tabooed) or to Ants as spirits are encountered.

Interrelatedness between Ants and other "animal" personages

In nine of the ten narratives, other "animals" take the stage, too. A number hereof even occur repeatedly: Jaguar (see Story nos. 154, 301-2; Tembé, Tupian). Four others all co-occur twice with Ants: Hawk (see Story nos. 622, 656; Sikuani, Guajiboan), Macaw (see Story nos. 301-2; Tembé, Tupian), Monkey (see Story nos. 43, 253; Trio (Cariban), Munduruku (Tupian)) and Nightjar (see Story nos. 217, 693; Ticuna).

Jaguar, Macaw and Ants

Story nos. 154, 301-2 (Tembé, Tupian), presumably all versions of the same tale, directly link Jaguars and Ants: the gate towards Jaguar's village resembles an Ant's hill. The protagonist then transforms into an Ant in order to follow Jaguar. By doing so it learns of the Honey festival/ceremony. In Story nos. 301-2, the protagonists when hunting Macaw meet Jaguar

(see section F. Fabula-layer under the sub-heading *Interactions with other "animal" personages*).

Monkey and Ants

In Story no. 43 (Trio, Cariban), the protagonist witnesses the ritual of rolling around in Ants performed by Spider monkeys. After the Trio had murdered many Spider monkeys, their ancestors were called upon through this ritual. In Story no. 253 (Munduruku, Tupian), Capuchin monkeys are hunted, but without success. In response, a Capuchin monkey kills the hunter and tries to feed him to his wife who, having noticed the deception, escapes. Helpful Ants direct her to Frog-shaman for assistance.

Nightjar and Hawk

Story nos. 217 and 693 (Ticuna) in which Nightjar co-occurs with Ants are presumably versions of one and the same Ticuna narrative in which Nightjar serves as the guardian and is sole Owner of Fire. In this case, Ant provides an elderly woman with sweet manioc and Nightjar provides her with fire.

Of the two narratives featuring both Hawk and Ants, only one explicitly relates the two. Here, in, Story no. 656 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), one of the protagonists ignores Sun's warning and inserts his entire penis into his mother-in-law's vagina. Now intoxicated, he transforms into a Hawk and flies off, vomiting *yopo** (while producing the first *yopo*; Anadenanthera peregrine; Piptadenia peregrine*). The mother-in-law has a vagina housing small "animals" that bite and sting, e.g., Scorpions, Wasps and *Yanave* Ants. They present magic powers to anyone who engages in sexual intercourse with her. In Story no. 622, both Hawk and Ants are ascribed the same role (helper), but in different, though highly similar events. Hawk catches the Fish that devours one of the (brother) culture heroes, enabling him to return to life again. In the meantime, Ant gathers the blood of Lightning (killed by the two brothers) in order to bring it back to life.

Setting

The Ants as helper and advisor only act within a forest (land layer) setting. This context is only documented in Story nos. 127, 217, 253, 301 (Kaliña (Cariban), Ticuna, Munduruku, Tembé (Tupian)). Five registrations of the setting in relation to cosmic layers occur of which Story nos. 154 and 301-2 are (partly) set in the underworld and Story nos. 622 and 656 in the sky world. All narratives unfolding in the underworld are versions of a single narrative dealing with Jaguar's world and the origin (discovery) of the Honey festival. Within the sky world, Ants gather the pieces of Lightning (see Story no. 622; Sikuani, Guajiboan) or interact with Sun's wife (see Story no. 656; Sikuani, Guajiboan).

F2. Story-layer: characterization and duration

Characterization

Only four records concern the mode of characterization in this sub-category. In three narratives Ants are characterized by means of an analogy: the entrance to Jaguar's village is compared, by means of its size, with an ant's hill. In Story no. 125 (Kaliña, Cariban), Ants are characterized directly whereby the "*Sauba*" (leaf-cutter) Ants are described by their disagreeable scent and continual moving about.

Duration

Nine out of the ten narratives in this sub-category facilitate an indication for their duration as both the real time (the number of pages) and the narrated time are documented. As much as 78 percent of narratives fall within the short range, taking up to 5 pages (in line with Ants in general: 83 percent).

The most common narrated time span comprises weeks and numbers five notations. Short (i.e., shorter than one day) and long (i.e., months) as narrated time spans are registered twice. Compared to the overall narrated time span encountered in Ant narratives (see F. Story-layer), the stories in this sub-category have a significantly shorter narrated time span whereby the time span covering years is absent. Moreover, only 22 percent have a narrated time span of months (compared to 40 percent for Ant tales overall). The dominance of short narrated time span is in line with all the Ant narratives. The time span which covers weeks in this sub-category is by far the most common (56 against 19 percent for Ant narratives overall).

F2. Concluding remarks on "Ant as helper and advisor"

In this sub-category the Ants are portrayed as: (a) teachers of arts and/or crafts, (b) advisors for the Amerindian protagonist(s), and (c) protectors or providers of food. Only in Story no. 125 (Kaliña, Cariban), are the (*Sauba*) ants directly characterized by means of their disagreeable scent and continual moving about. In other tales, Ant hills serve as an analogy in order to describe the entrance to Jaguar's village.

Multiple motifs re-occur within this sub-category. For instance, teaching arts and crafts is common, although not always directly linked to the Ant personage within the narrative itself. The origin of "objects", e.g., specific ceremonies, the (strength of) fish poison and "Animal" traits occur very frequently as do motifs concerning shamanism and "magic", falling in line with the previous sub-category as discussed in F1.

A forest context dominates the chronotope in which the Ants act. The cosmic layers referred to as underworld and sky world are recurrent. However, all narratives set in the underworld are versions of a single narrative. Two cases place the Ant actor within the sky world of which Story no. 622 (linked to *yopo**) gathers Lightning's blood and Story no. 656 (Sikuani (Guajiboan) features a creature residing in the vagina of Sun's wife.

The duration of the narratives included in this sub-category has a significantly shorter narrated time compared to the former sub-category entitled "Ant as a performer of tasks". In the sub-cluster "Ant as helper or advisor", only 22 percent has a narrated time spanning months. Records concerning years are, however, absent when compared to 76 percent either months or years in the sub-category "Ant as performer of tasks" (see F1. Story-layer), indicating that: (a) the tales in this sub-category are more "epic" reports on the adventures of a protagonists over a certain time period, and (b) the narratives included in this cluster comprise more episodes, or separate events.

In nine out of ten narratives, other "animal" personages act within the narrative, too. Only a number of these other actors directly interact with or are directly linked to the Ant personage, but none significantly more than others. These roles are played by:

(a) Jaguar, intertwined with Ants in the origin of the Honey festival/ceremony in three Tembé (Story nos. 154, 301-2; Tupian) narratives,
(b) Spider monkeys who perform a ritual to call upon ancestors, which includes rolling around in Ants. The Amerindian protagonist witnesses this event,
(c) Frog who is called upon for help when Ant advisor informs a fugitive woman on the run,
(d) Nightjar who provides fire and Ant gives sweet-tasting manioc to an elderly woman,
(e) Hawk into which the protagonist transforms, having been bitten by Ants and other creatures. He transmutes into a Hawk after being intoxicated by *yopo**.

Studying the cases referred to in this sub-category, the most common narrative functions are: (a) validating the world (n=14), hereby explaining why things are as they are as well as the origin of objects/"animal" traits, (b) informing (n=14), i.e., how to carry out certain activities and where to find specific objects, and (c) encoding social behaviour (n=9) by means of exhibiting (in)correct behaviour and describing ceremonies/traditions.

F3. Other Ant narratives

In total 28 (62 percent) of the 45 narratives are clustered (see F1 and F2), leaving seventeen Ant narratives undiscussed. They pertain to various linguistic affiliations and geographical origins.[90] The aforementioned seventeen narratives can be divided into those presenting: (a) implicit or explicit statements on Ant traits, and (b) Ants as the outcome of a transformation of a "malicious being".

F3a. Ant traits

Eleven out of these seventeen cases contain motifs concerning Ant traits, either physical or behavioural (see Story nos. 25, 83, 230, 433, 544, 565-7, 647, 666, 675; various sources). Also Story no. 125 (Kaliña, Cariban) describes specifics regarding Ants: their smell masks the trails

[90] Ant narratives not dealt with in the (sub-)categories are numbered: 25, 83, 98, 230, 328, 343, 433, 454, 544, 565-7, 576, 647, 666, 675, 688 (4x Sikuani (Guajiboan), 3x Kaliña/Carib (Cariban), 2x Warao, 2x Kraho (Gê), Cuiva (Guajiboan), Yukpa (Cariban), Ticuna, Tacanan, Shipaya (Tupian), Apinayé (Gê), Gê).

of escapees. However, this narrative is part of Cluster F2 "The Ant as helper or advisor". The Ant traits described here are:

(a) hard working and leaf-cutter, see Story nos. 433[91] and 666 (Yukpa (Cariban), Sikuani (Guajiboan)),
(b) powerful, numerous, wise and strong, see Story nos. 25 and 647[92] (Kaliña (Cariban), Sikuani),
(c) causing diseases/fever; a manioc ant, see Story nos. 565-7 (Gê (Apinayé, Ramkokamekra-Canela, Krahô)),
(d) being dangerous at night; wood ants,[93] see Story nos. 83 and 544 (Cariban, Krahô),
(e) having a disagreeable scent and continually moving about; "*Sauba*"/leaf-cutter ant, see Story no. 125 (Kaliña),
(f) being a source of food; flying ants, see Story no. 675 (Sikuani),
(g) shedding skin/eternal life, see Story no. 230 (Ticuna).

Motifs regarding the Ant as a causer of diseases is only found in Gê-narratives, in both Krahô and Apinayé versions. The Ant referred to here is the manioc ant (*Acromyrmex octospinosus*), which causes fever and disease. It has to be removed from the ear of the ill. Interestingly, among the Cayapó (aka Gê) (Posey 2002: 65), the manioc ant has a positive connotation, being a friend/relative of manioc and women.

"White ants" can be described as dangerous. In Story no. 83 (Cariban), a man has to spend the night in the forest and lie under an overlapping Wood ants' nest. These insects keep asking him: "Are you asleep yet?" Not able to wait any longer they let themselves and their nest fall on top of him. In Story no. 544 (Krahô, Gê), a man ignores a warning not to wander at night. This results in large white Ants and other nocturnal creatures biting him. However, as Termites are referred to as "wood ants" as well as "large white ants", this negative association is probably not linked to Ants at all.

Story no. 125 (Kaliña, Cariban) explicitly refers to the malodorous *Sauba* ants. In Brazil, this leaf-cutter is consumed and known for its citrus smell/taste. Ants often utilise pheromones to communicate with each other and to mark trails (See 7.2.2).

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[91] Here the association between leaf-cutter ants and "hard workers" is not explicit. A woman has a paramour from "the house of leaf-cutter ants", perhaps referring to the positive association of these ants.

[92] Also implicit: a shaman sees creatures "like ants" coming round a red mound. That very night Kalifina arrives to kill all.

[93] Wood ants or large white ants are presumed to be termites. In early English texts termites are referred to as white or wood ants (source: Online Etymology Dictionary, www.etymonline.com, entry "Termite". Retrieved on 30 January 2015.

F3b. Evil transforms into ants

Ants descend and/or transform from malicious beings such as ogres, or spirits (see Story nos. 98, 343, 454, 688 (Sikuani (Guajiboan), 2x Warao, Cariban, Shipaya (Tupian-extinct)). In Story no. 688 (Sikuani, Guajiboan), a malevolent being/ogre is fed peppers as a means of punishment. It then transmutes into an Ant's nest. In Story no. 328 (Tacanan), a woman is killed after disobeying Deer. When parts of her body transform, her skin changes into marsh plants and the lice living in her hair turns into wild rice plants. Termites and Ant hills spring from her brain.

In Story no. 454 (Warao), a malicious basket, in fact, a skull threatens an Amerindian and ends up pursuing him. After this skull has fallen into a river and died, Ants crawl from its nostrils and transform into Piranhas. In Story no. 98 (Warao), of which a Cariban version also exists, an Amerindian first meets a spirit which he tricks and later meets a skull to poke into its eyes. The skull pursues the man, who again drowns after which leaf-cutter Ants (named Kushi) appear. In Story no. 343 (Shipaya, Tupian-extinct) an Amerindian has an encounter with a spirit, which carries him off in a basket full of ants.

With these two subdivisions, all the remaining Ant narratives are addressed except one, namely Story no. 576 (Cuiva, Guajiboan). In it, Black Ant resides in the sky world and provides a clay medallion to men. This tale stands alone in its combination of motifs, setting and role, but nevertheless combines common motifs within Ant narratives, i.e., the sky world and (biting) vaginas. For more information on these motifs see F. Fabula, under the sub-heading *Sexual organs*.

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