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'Becoming insane': outline of a practical philosophy of relations in an Amerindian lived world

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Abstract

This paper investigates what can be learned from an ethnographic account of what the concept of 'becoming insane' (Ayoreo: *urusori*) corresponds to in the lived world of Ayoreo, a Zamucoan speaking group from Paraguayan Chaco, taking cues from some aspects likened to 'practical philosophy' where the unit of understanding is the formation of affective relations between individuals as well as the composition of a field of forces where actions of entities await experiencing. Grounded in the idea that conviviality and other ensembles of encounters are all mutually and reciprocally related, a grounding which is carried out by using the conceptual framework developed by Deleuze and Guattari. this paper examines the concept of 'insanity' (Ayoreo: *urusori*) as a result of the possible separation of a soul matter known as *ayipié* from the physical body, which may be triggered by an excessive desire for the things and substances typically owned or sold by white people, as well as by dealing with white people in particular, and how these interactions are transformed into ways to perceive, behave, and live with kin and non-kin by being captured and distinguished

1. Prologue

Since I began studying social anthropology in 2009, I have always felt the need to organize, categorize, and analyse various parts of other people's life in order to sense it as an alternative form of meaning to the one I have always considered my own. Importantly, I have spent many months conducting fieldwork in Tiogai, an Ayoreo village in the upper Paraguay River, a Zamucoan-speaking group from the Paraguayan Chaco, to investigate the turbulent interactions between Ayoreo people and Salesian missionaries, ranchers, neighborhood bosses, and shopkeepers from both Porto Murtinho (Brazil) and Carmelo Peralta (Paraguay).

The Chaco frontier's 'über savages' (see Bessire 2014) were long supposed to be the nomadic Ayoreo-speaking people of Bolivia and Paraguay – where they were known as 'Moors' (*Moros*, in Spanish) and where they totalled just a few thousand individuals dispersed into several politically autonomous bands. The Ayoreo were described as incestuous cannibals without a language, with knees that bent backward, and feet made of a single, enormous claw. They were feared, shot at first sight, and hunted down for a good portion of the 1970s; men were killed, women were raped, and kids were taken as slaves

and kept as zoo exhibits. Ayoreo attracted American evangelical missionaries because they were 'unreached peoples.' The majority of Ayoreo-speaking bands were visited between 1947 and 1986 by evangelical and Christian missionaries, who were accompanied by captives taken from townspeople (although two tiny groups of holdouts still exist in the decreasing forests of the Bolivian/Paraguayan borders). Beginning in the periphery of towns and cities, Ayoreo built illegal villages (see Canova 2011). The 6,000 people who live in this cross-border hamlet are today some of the most marginalized indigenous people in this area, where native people are frequently detained in slavery-like conditions (see Bessire 2014).

During my investigation of the history and transformation of relationships between various forms of alterity in the upper Paraguay river area, I frequently heard people speculate in Tiogai, especially between 2012 and 2014, on both the experience of living in villages with the missionaries close to towns as being comparable to life in a 'concentration camp' and how the image of a sociocosmological system of relations in the upper Paraguay river was itself transformed throughout history, experienced in terms of the various kinds of relations established with different kinds of 'white people' (in Ayoreo, *cojñone*).

Like Bessire (2011a, 2014), I found that my Ayoreo interlocutors in the Upper Paraguay consistently asserted that conversion to Christianity signified a rupture as severe as the originary differentiations of humans and animals recorded in mythical narratives. Contact means leaving behind the moral ecosystem of the forest-world and entering a new world ruled by Dupade, the Christian God, for whom past moral selves are gravely profane. Ayoreo had to become 'New People' to survive in this new realm, a transition only achievable through the evacuation and reconstitution of soul matter (Ayoreo: *ayipié*) into a new shape suitable to Jesus through a process that ideally erased memory, reordered causality, and demanded the complete abandonment of the practices and forms previously considered to manifest the sacred.

What I discovered during my preliminary ethnographic research for my doctoral thesis on the Christian missionary project of purposefully distorting Ayoreo lived world to shift Ayoreo apparently insoluble savagery into matters of Christian moral civilization by imposing their own perspective and agency upon indigenous culture, histories, and practices resembled the process of political and economic deterritorialization/ reterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari 1972). In the meantime, as I worked on my thesis, I tried to focus on how Christian Ayoreo people engaged in a commutative flow that was understood in terms of distinction and analogy between conventional and novel terms and relations. I also articulated a logic of transformation that produced a new conventional way into Ayoreo lived word through the idiom of shamanism. I used the Deleuzoguattarian ideas of faciality, overcoding, and deterritorialization (Deleuze & Guattari 1980) to contrast this series of changes. I was interested in finding out how, from a Christian standpoint, the idea of 'civilization' is connected to the establishment of something approxi-

mating an "abstract machine of faciality" (Deleuze & Guattari 1980) that is guided by an external social construction. My goal was to demonstrate how this specific alien assembly of power imposed new subjectifications and meanings.

Over the years, Deleuze's work has given me analytical inspiration and a conceptual framework, along with my own experience as an ethnographer and student of the ethnological literature about lowland South American indigenous peoples. It is important to note that a Deleuzoguattarian conceptual /interpretative framework cannot fully and satisfactorily explain the emphasis on the potential combination of a sound analytical strategy and the empirical evidence of the Ayoreo lived world I had available, but over the years I found them to be the most consistent with the ethnographic material I have available.

After that, this study looks at what can be learned from an anthropological account of some novel discourses addressed by Ayoreo people using the term 'insanity' (Ayoreo: *urusori*), made possible by the strengthening of contact with white people in Porto Murtinho and Carmelo Peralta. In this essay, I examine the notion of 'insanity' as a result of the potential separation of a soul matter known as *ayipié* from the physical body, which may be triggered by an excessive desire for the things and substances typically owned or sold by white people, as well as by dealing with white people in particular. I do this by drawing inspiration from some elements similar to Gilles Deleuze's 'practical philosophy' described in his book on Spinoza, specifically Deleuze's model in which the unit of understanding is the formation of affective relations between individuals as well as the composition of a field of forces where actions of entities await.

This paper tries to look at how one can use this clue analytically to open to the idea that Ayoreo 'insanity' arises when one's capacity for being affected is exceeded in such a way that one can only retain a variable characteristic from the white people's lived world that strikes one's imagination. I examine some Ayoreo body fabrication principles (Seeger, Matta & Viveiros de Castro 1979) in order to describe this feature, and I then go on to explain how my ethnographic data contributes to or undermines the presumptions made in this section of the literature on indigenous people from/in Lowland South America. My analysis connects this discourse to what is known as 'ethnographic theory,' a modern movement predicated on the use of native behaviors as thought-altering tools to test social anthropology's Western-dominant categories and notions. Then I had a conversation between an Ayoreo understanding of *urusori* and a Euro-American concept of madness.

2. *Urusori*: becoming insane

"The Rise of Indigenous Hypermarginality" by Lucas Bessire (2014b), in which the author discusses the idea of native culture as a neoliberal life politics, is a good place to

start given the scope of this essay. Bessire asserts that *urusori* cases increased throughout the contact upheavals, but the symptoms changed. He does this by using some scenes of Ayoreo marginality in Santa Cruz, Bolivia, as a kind of platform and by describing the afflictive lives of those known as *puyedie* (the name roughly translates as 'prohibited ones'), who live in the streets and earn money from the most marginal kinds of sex work to support their life-defining vices. Those who have been given a diagnosis of *urusori* are going through symptoms that are remarkably similar to precontact lifestyles that have been disregarded as being dangerously profane. They revolt against the conventions of morality in the forest realm. If not restrained, they try to destroy their plates, rip off their clothes, and go back into the woods. At this extreme, *urusori* sensitivity combine into a disorganized pattern of becoming. They exhibit an Ayoreo moral humanity that is predicated on the value of rupture and the capacity for self-modification.

The idea of *urusori*, however, exposes the *ayipie's* demise, as Bessire has suggested. It is a condition that connects one to the wild, the animal, the unclean, and—most importantly—to the transgression of moral boundaries. It expresses the forbidding and profane in a historical consciousness kind. The ideal moral human is the complete antithesis of *urusori*. The harsh realities of postcontact life, however, render this rejection fragile and fractured. Each *urusori* manifestation—spirit possession, inversions of contact, drug delirium—is mutually exclusive and requires a new denial the moment it crosses the threshold of semantic availability.

Bessire argued that these nonlinear, self-consuming processes represent a unique Ayoreo style of moral reasoning concerning the Gran Chaco's 'nervous system' of internal colonialism and state fetishism, one that sees a lack of culture as yet another pressure-ridge in the space of death. The Christian moral self and the social exclusion of the supposed deculturated ex-primitive are both affected by memory or drug-induced madness, compromising their integrity. However, these negations do not result in complete loss, voiceless apathy, or mere existence. Instead, they merge to create a 'negative immanence' that cannot coexist with contradiction. This immanence embraces the limitations of Ayoreo life and boldly acknowledges self-negation as a necessary condition for subjective potential. This formation is adapted to confront terror and mortality (see Bessire 2014).

For Ayoreo people in Upper Paraguay, losing the ability to 'speak properly' (Spanish: *hablar correctamente*) is a typical *urusori* symptom. This argument was reaffirmed by my close informant Enrique, a middle-aged man who was the village chief at the time, in the middle of November 2012, eight weeks after my return to Tiogai after a three-month stay with the Ayoreo in Filadelfia, Chaco. Enrique and José Maria, two of my friends and good informants from the village school, and I took a long walk one early afternoon into a village downriver where I had never spent too much time before in order to see an elderly man who was well-known in Tiogai as a great shaman and as having a profound

practical understanding of the ancient Ayoreo people stories (also known as *estorias de los abuelos*, or 'grandparents' stories').

As soon as we got to the village and sat down in some plastic buckets on this man's patio to drink tereré and smoke cigarettes with his family, I started asking him questions in Spanish about his life before he first met the Christian missionaries and the significance of moving downriver when faced with the possibility of developing relationships with various white people. A man in his early twenties who was seated nearby approached us and asked for a cigarette, laughing about my personal interest in "old people stories" as he described in simple terms a few specific instances where he and his family had more frequent relationships with cattle ranchers and cojone bosses in Porto Murtinho.

He began by telling me to get out of the towns as soon as I could and that nobody was interested in talking about "their indigenous and primitive past" (*nuestro pasado indigena y selvaje*, in Spanish). He continued by claiming that the majority of the elderly residents of the forest prior to the arrival of the missionaries were now deceased and that most men and women his age were no longer interested in anything that was 'original.' He claimed that the two things that young Ayoreo people were most interested in were inexpensive drinks and dance clubs. In simple terms, we both had an interest in the figures of alterity that are typical of a non-conventional lived reality, thus the concept of what was worth talking about was symmetrical rather than reciprocal. The young man eventually left after a bit, and we continued our earlier conversation for the rest of the afternoon.

A few days later, I went to meet Enrique at his parents' patio when I was back in Tiogai. He began by thanking us for a tremendous trip and offering his apologies for what had happened to the young man that day in the village. However, he had argued that I shouldn't take what I had heard at the time seriously because it was a prevalent belief that the young man we met had 'become insane' (Ayoreo: *urusori*) a few years prior. I was initially surprised by the usage of the metaphor of insanity to describe the human condition in Ayoreo's real-world, and I immediately pondered what could possibly happen to someone to make them go insane. Despite the fact that many young men and women from different communities along the upper Paraguay River shared the condition, I was informed of the various reasons why one may become *urusori*. In this essay, I don't want to focus on any one particular cause; instead, I want to draw attention to how the idea of *urusori* relates to a process of 'becoming other' (Hewlett 2014), which becomes active when one engages in an extreme way with white people and their possessions.

The idea of 'becoming other'[1] has a large position in Amerindian socialities, as shown in the ethnography of indigenous Lowland South Americans, therefore it is vital to em-

[1] By emphasizing the fluidity and interconnection of identities, this idea undermines the Western idea of a fixed, essential self, 'becoming other' is seen in Amazonian cosmologies as a significant ontological

phasize that before I go any further. It describes a transformative process in which people make an effort to transcend their human identities and momentarily embody the viewpoints and experiences of other beings through rituals, shamanic practices, or intentional interactions with non-human entities. Within this context, for many Ayoreo people in the Upper Paraguay, including Enrique, an ideal social life depends on balancing an active desire for outside objects, substances, and knowledge with their harmful qualities in some situations, as well as on the ability to live together and maintain good relations with family and fellow residents. However, the idea of 'becoming insane' was described as the result of one excessively conjoining differences and unlike things, which denotes danger. The explanation given to me by Claudia, a powerful shaman who resided in Tiogai and also happened to be Enrique's mother, gives me some additional understanding of the shape that insanity takes and how it is burned at the stake for the notion of becoming other. On a Saturday morning, I asked her about the precise state of a person who has become *urusori* as well as the kinds of circumstances that could cause one's insanity, and she responded by outlining a few real-life examples.

For instance, a young woman who supported herself as a sex worker and spent many nights in Carmelo Peralta or Porto Murtinho hanging out with cattle ranchers and Brazilian fishing tourists would consume a lot of food and items associated with the outside world, such as beers, cigarettes, candy, the alcoholic beverage 'cachaça,' and beef skewers. She was alleged to have a tight smile, a vacant look on her face, and to be unable to speak spontaneously or clearly, even with poor enunciation, when she returned. She was accused of speaking gibberish for weeks before moving to a small cabin in the bushes and abandoning her children and close family members. In addition, he started to think that he was possessed by 'savage devils' (Spanish: *demonios selvajes*), and he wanted to move from Tiogai to Asunción to have them exorcised.

Claudia explained the process of going insane to me in simple terms by saying that, regardless of the circumstance, an excess of relations with the outside objectified in various things and substances results in an acute inability to comprehend and formulate Ayoreo language due to troublesome and potentially dangerous damage to the connec-

transition that enables people to forge close ties to the physical and spiritual realms, rather than only as a metaphorical exercise. By accepting diversity and embracing the other, Amerindian societies foster empathy, ecological awareness, and a thorough grasp of the complex interactions between people, animals, spirits, and the environment. It does, however, have some significant differences from Deleuze and Guattari's notion of 'becoming other.' The concept of 'becoming other' is a component of Deleuze and Guattari's larger theory of becoming, which highlights people's capacity to shed rigid identities and embark on a transformational process. According to their theory, becoming other entails deterritorialization, the erasure of boundaries, and the investigation of novel possibilities through the adoption of qualities, traits, or views from various entities or states of being. It is a creative and freeing process that questions rigid subjectivities and solid hierarchies. While both ideas emphasize change and the blurring of borders, the Amazonian conception of being other is more closely linked to particular cultural practices and ontological frameworks that are anchored in the lived experiences and worldviews of indigenous populations. The idea put out by Deleuze and Guattari, on the other hand, is a component of a larger philosophical endeavor that aims to confront established hierarchies of power and provide fresh avenues for subjectivity.

tion between the physical body (Ayoreo: *pibai*) and the soul matter *ayipié*. While the difficulties of the insane range from the occasional inability to find the right words to impairment in the use of formulaic expressions in daily communication to total loss of the ability to express and receive Ayoreo language, a person's *pibai-ayipié* connection must be significantly impaired over an extended period of time before they are deemed insane by kin and village neighbours.

Urusori were seen as being unable to properly engage in a socially shared set of rules as well as the bodily processes that go behind verbalized speech, even though *urusori* were best thought of as an effect triggered by a set of unbridled relationships with the outside, and each person who became insane presented with their own unique combination of language weaknesses caused by deficits in the connection between the physical body and a soul principle. Claudia's description of *urusori* highlights two points that merit further investigation: (1) How the body and soul are related, and how the soul interacts with the body to actualize it in different ways. (2) The processual nature of kinship and its close connection to the fact that shared life and commensality affect the body (Rival 2005).

Because of an Ayoreo premise that the soul substance, or *ayipié*, is invisible but totally embodied and continuous with the body, and the physical source of high morality, affectivity, and strong ethical and aesthetical value of sociable sociality. Although the relationship between these parts within an individual is not always stable and well-fixed, the assemblage *ayipié-pibai*, when combined with the physical body, provides an ontological framework for an individual to experience social. Rather, the soul matter can be temporarily displaced and run away from its corporeal seat, thus forming units apart through relations with intentions and things from the outside of the socius with which they interact.

Given that this directly connects to Bessire's (2014) concept of the *ayipié* as the physiological seat of will (found in various abdominal organs), reason, memory (located in the head), and social feeling, many Ayoreo ethnographers would be familiar with it. The *ayipié* is said to have all the elements that are supposed to make up moral humanity, hence its loss (whether it is murdered by another *ayipié*, overcome by frailty, or killed by strong emotions) corresponds to a form of separation from moral humanity. In light of this, it is clear that while the ideal Ayoreo person is composed of a concrete articulation among diverse, contemporaneous, and continuous elements—through which an assemblage of human moral actions, enunciations, statements, and reactions is territorialized—the corporeal seat of reason and morality departs with the permanent or temporary disarticulation and disconnection of the *ayipié* from one's body.

3. Styles of relating

It appears significant to notice that both facets make reference to conviviality (Overing & Passes 2000), which is the sharing of a specific attitude toward the individual and the community that is made possible by the presence of others. According to Overing and Passes, conviviality is defined by a genuine regard for the variety of life forms and a thorough understanding of interconnectivity. According to them, conviviality is an active engagement with others and the natural environment that is based on reciprocal connections and the acceptance of shared obligations. It goes beyond peaceful cohabitation. Overing and Passes contend that in Amerindian lived worlds conviviality encourages collaboration, cooperation, and a sustainable use of resources, fostering a more equitable and peaceful coexistence between humans and their environment.

They do this by highlighting how conviviality undermines the prevalent Western conception of development, which frequently places a higher priority on individualism and economic success than on fostering a sense of community. It entails supporting social justice and environmental stewardship while acknowledging and appreciating various knowledge systems, cultural customs, and modes of existence. This is due to the fact that traditional anthropological discourse on Lowland South American peoples also exhibits a marked interest in consanguinity, identity, and amicability. This discourse is combined with an ethnographic focus on an 'aesthetic of the community' and an 'egalitarian sociality' of Amazonian societies. An affective emphasis is emphasized, which is expressed by a political one that favors conviviality over violence and disharmony.

From these authors' perspectives and for their purposes, the characteristics of conviviality include high morale and affectivity, a focus on consanguine/affine kinship relations, dialogue, gifts and sharing of goods, a strong preference for the informal over the formal/institution, and a strong ethical and aesthetic value placed on sociable sociality. These characteristics are also a matter of interpretation of different Amerindian peoples and their understanding of human sociality. The concept of conviviality, which the authors portray as a less-than-ideal way of life, is revealed to be a trait of many Lowland South American socialities, manifested in a specific sociopolitical sense.

It is also important to note that the previous depiction of Amerindian socialities as bellicose men and women whose lives are filled with control and fear, or (and in a very different way) as peaceful and amiable peoples is not superseded by this perspective on Amazonian social life as a matter of peace and harmony, which is aimed and generated every day by (and in) every community co-resident. Examples include events that harm the community, include actual or potential violence, and involve antisocial emotional states. The aforementioned depiction does, however, allow for a creative multiplicity of perspectives on Amazonian socialities, where practices including the avoidance of negative behaviors may play a crucial role in the formation and maintenance of conviviality, as the authors also stressed.

A person's position within a bigger network of connections is therefore not predetermined. Instead, it is influenced by a person's behavior and the social interactions they participate in (see Overing & Passes 2000). This theory, in my perspective, seems to be based on the widely accepted idea that corporeality is essential to understanding Amazonian sociality. According to Rival (2005: 1), the Amazonian concept of 'substance sharing' shows how personhood and physiological relatedness are intertwined in indigenous thought systems. While bodies have the ability to transform into different types of bodies, Amerindians place a high premium on the growth of people rather than objects. In accordance with Rival's summary, the human body and the identities that are associated with it develop gradually, but humanization is not attained overnight. In this way, even though the meaning of being a human is defined in relation to that of being a nonhuman being, the potential instability of being a human could negate the ongoing work of providing for someone's health, maintenance, and protection, which turns a human body into a true human (see Rival 2005).

In the midst of this, Santos Granero (2007: 2) asked: "If, as it is maintained, Amazonian sociality is simply about kinship or affinity, conviviality or predation,[2] how are we to interpret the countless interactions between non-kin that are described in the vernacular of friendship?" Santos-Granero found at least three domains where friendly ties might be formed with others in the writings on Amazonian people. People with whom ego is related through consanguinity and affinity linkages of escalating degrees of proximity make up the first of a succession of realms. People who share ego's ethnicity but are distanced from him or her by social or geographical distance are included in the second sphere. Finally, there is the category of people who are typically viewed as enemies and do not belong to the ego's ethnic group.

Santos-Granero (2007:3) questioned why native Amazonians seek out relationships with people who are neither 'safe' consanguines nor 'required affines' and who are frequently regarded as being risky or potentially destructive. On a theoretical level, it was an effort to examine formalized personal friendships formed with enemy peoples that were different from the 'formal friendships' described in the literature on indigenous Amazonian peoples in addition to focusing on social relationships that do not fit into the categories of convivial kinship or predatory affinity. A subsequent investigation on these 'interstitial institutions' (Suttles 1970: 97; Wolf 1977: 168 apud.; Santos-Granero 2007:

[2] Predation represents a complex web of interactions where humans, animals, spirits, and other non-human entities engage in dynamic and reciprocal relationships. These relationships involve not only the physical consumption of resources but also the exchange of energies, knowledge, and symbolic meanings. In indigenous cosmologies, predation is often intertwined with notions of reciprocity, transformation, and the blurring of boundaries between different ontological categories. It is seen as a means through which humans establish connections with non-human beings, negotiate their identities, and partake in the ongoing processes of creation and destruction. By emphasizing the multifaceted nature of predation, Viveiros de Castro challenges the conventional Western dichotomies of nature/culture, human/animal, and subject/object. He invites us to reconsider our understanding of predation and recognize its broader implications within indigenous ontologies, shedding light on alternative ways of perceiving and engaging with the world.

2) is still required, as is a Lowland South American theory of non-kin relationships (see Viveiros de Castro 1993), which will open up new vistas for a deeper comprehension of the nature of sociality in lowland south American indigenous peoples.

Following that, in terms of Ayoreo sociality, I propose to explain how these interactions with family and non-kin are transformed into ways to perceive, behave, and live with kin and non-kin by being captured and distinguished, and can lead to one being *urusori*.

4. A practical philosophy of relations

By exploring the nature of the dichotomy between *urusori* and non-*urusori* persons as well as the concept of a 'practical philosophy of relations.' It gradually becomes clear that, unlike the concept of *urusori* in Ayoreo sociality, one's condition is defined by their capacity for being affected by non-kin relations as well as the affections that they are capable of. *Urusori* emerges when one's capacity for being affected by non-kin relationships is exceeded and one no longer has the ability to recognize, differentiate, and understand human/kin relations that enter into composition.

This Ayoreo concern with minimizing the effects of change, variation, and transformation brought about by participation in various ensembles of relations allows for a comparison: how do the ethnographic account of the Ayoreo concept of 'becoming insane' and the distinction between *urusori* and non-*urusori* people resemble Gilles Deleuze's conceptual repertoire, particularly the notions of 'affection' and 'practical philosophy'?

The social arrangements where each person is placed in particular kinship relations to the others, does very specific things, and operates in a specific way serve as an index to the traditional assemblage in which the soul matter *ayipié* and its physical seat *pibai* are set in a determinate relation to each other in Ayoreo sociality. This is comparable with Deleuze's claim that in Spinoza's thought, the concept of 'affection' is determined as the continuous variation of the power of acting: it is, per Deleuze and Guattari, a state of a body insofar as one body produces action on another and implies a mixture of two bodies. Furthermore, while each assemblage is thought of as a specific domain, they reflect each other, appearing in each other's physical and communicative expressions. Here, the body is distinguished by the collection of relationships that make up it as well as by its susceptibility to impact. The internal agreement (or disagreement) of the collection of relations that make up these two bodies can therefore be seen when two bodies are combined. Last but not least, the collection of connections that identify someone are expanded to include the components of their body in such a way that the expanded components of their body still link to the relations that define someone.

The Ayoreo notion of *urusori* recognizes the potential risks and disruptions that might result from an excessive blending and conjoining of differences, in contrast to Deleuze's philosophy, which analyzes the transformational character of affective interactions and the practical engagement with the world. This is consistent with Deleuze's interpretation of 'affection,' which is the transformational effects that interactions and connections have on people. The transformational effects of interactions and relationships are acknowledged by both Deleuze's concept of 'affection' and the Ayoreo concept of *urusori*. Both viewpoints place emphasis on the idea that interactions and connections can stimulate change and variety in people's experiences and subjectivities. Recognizing the transformational effects of encounters and connections emphasizes the dynamic and relational nature of existence, whether it be the affective energies and intensities outlined by Deleuze or the disruptions and changes connected to *urusori* in Ayoreo socialities.

Deleuze and Guattari's idea of 'affection' and the Ayoreo concept both emphasize the relevance of change and the potential disruptions it can cause to social dynamics and individual senses of self. The contrast made by Ayoreo between *urusori* and non-*urusori* people might also be likened to Deleuze and Guattari's idea of 'practical philosophy.' In Ayoreo socialities, people make an effort to balance their needs for material things, substances, and knowledge with an awareness of potential risks. This is a reflection of the Ayoreo's commitment to a pragmatic worldview, in which they carefully analyze the possible effects of their acts as they traverse the complexities of their social life. Similar to this, Deleuzoguattarian concept of 'practical philosophy' places an emphasis on people's active interaction with the outside world, where they continually respond to their surroundings and circumstances. It entails taking a deliberate and practical attitude to living, where decisions and deeds are determined by an awareness of the possible outcomes and repercussions. Both Deleuze and Guattari's 'affection' and 'practical philosophy' conceptions as well as the Ayoreo concept of *urusori* emphasize the dynamic aspect of existence, the possible risks associated with interactions, and the need for deliberate navigation in the face of change and transformation.

The ideas presented provide readers with a framework for comprehending the intricate relationships between identity and social dynamics as well as how meaning is negotiated in the face of numerous demands and interactions. This conceptualization is consistent with a Deleuzoguattarian approach, particularly their use of Spinoza's concepts of 'body' and 'affection.' Deleuze and Guattari emphasize the body as a complex collection of links, interactions, and feelings by drawing on Spinoza's ideas. The identity of an Ayoreo person is placed within the network of family ties that support their sense of self and ties to the pibai and ayipié in Ayoreo lived world. This idea of the body is consistent with Deleuze's philosophy that it is not a static thing but rather a relational, dynamic arrangement that is continually being influenced by outside factors.

Moreover, Deleuze and Guattari's incorporation of the concept of 'affection' provides a useful lens for analyzing the Ayoreo understanding of urusori people. In both perspec-

tives, 'affection' refers to the transformative impacts and intensities generated in encounters and relationships. For the Ayoreo, *urusori* individuals are characterized by their inability to experience the same affects as non-urusori individuals. This resonates with their emphasis on how affective forces can shape and differentiate individuals' experiences and subjectivities. Overall, the conceptualization of identity, affect, and social dynamics within the Ayoreo context fits with Deleuze and Guattari by embracing the dynamic nature of the body, the transformative potential of affective encounters, and the understanding of identity as relational and shaped by external forces. By including Spinoza's ideas, Deleuze enhances our understanding of the intricate relationships between identity, affect, and social dynamics, both in the Ayoreo context and in a broader philosophical framework.

By utilizing these ideas, it is feasible to make the case that the network of kinship relationships that support the growth of the relationship between the *pibai* (body) and the *ayipié* (soul matter) shape the identity of an Ayoreo individual. The inability of urusori people to feel the same effects as non-*urusori* people, however, distinguishes them from other people groups. Instead of an Ayoreo interpretation of the Western idea of madness, which appears as a helpless state of a person, becoming *urusori* corresponds to a process that does things differently in terms of creativity and world making, which is triggered by the remolding of the set of relations one engages into.

The transposition of a subject into a new set of relations both develops a new mode of desire with a fundamentally revolutionary signifying breakthrough, as if it were a meaning effect with consequences in the unleashing of potentialities of a new mode of subjective action. The contrast between *urusori* and non-*urusori* people that I presented seems to imply that one's condition is fully actualized at each relation with kin or with the outside, even though they are defined as a function of the connection between a soul matter and the physical body and the ensemble of relations that they engage in.

It is important to elaborate on this discrepancy because of what it reveals about the need of a 'practical philosophy of relations' in Ayoreo sociality.

On a conceptual level, it was an effort to investigate how it assesses the negative, preferential, and selective effects of interactions in Ayoreo's actual environment. By refocusing research on an epistemology based on the notion that conviviality, various ensembles of interactions, and an Ayoreo lived environment are all mutually and reciprocally related, the distinction between *urusori* and non-*urusori* as stated by people in Upper Paraguay revives these tropes and models. Being *urusori* in Tiogai seems to be more of a composition and multiplicity issue than a dispersion and acculturation one. According to a 'practical philosophy of relations,' sociality and the development, experimentation, and assessment of contacts from an Ayoreo perspective are key components of what it means to 'be human.' A 'practical philosophy of relations' typically takes the form of cosmopolitical speculation about changes in social structures.

To put it another way, in Ayoreo sociality, a 'practical philosophy of relations' is analogous in form and function to a process of testing new ways to engage in relationships with various forms of alterity and testing the outcomes of these tests when these methods are combined to form different groups. In the context of the distinction between *urusori* and non-*urusori* people, relations are portrayed as a theme of sociality and a type of pragmatics, which is the major point of a 'practical philosophy of relations' in the Ayoreo lived world. What counts is the set of relationships that results moral and physical situations and states, as well as how these relationships interact with and influence configurations of relationships.

One develops the ability to act in line with proper moral behavior – a code that is frequently taught by kinsfolk – when they are constantly faced with a group of relationships that strengthen their kinship relationships. Simultaneously, one's capacity for acting in accordance with the same code is weakened and one becomes *urusori* when one has a prolonged series of interactions with non-kin that result in a physiological alteration. Ayoreo sociality and discrimination between two different physical/moral conditions entails engaging in various ensembles of relations and making them thinkable as well as assessing the thinking and behavior sparked by each ensemble of relations so as to introduce Ayoreo people to various modes of existence, such as becoming *urusori*.

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