

Language, Exogamy and Ethnicity in the Upper Rio Negro

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Kaapi - Grupos de pesquisa sobre linguística e antropologia

Questions

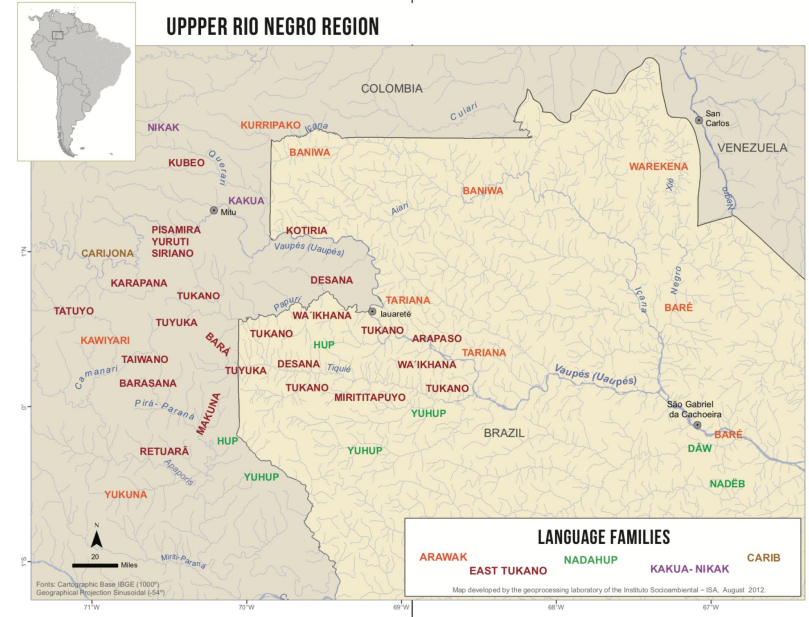
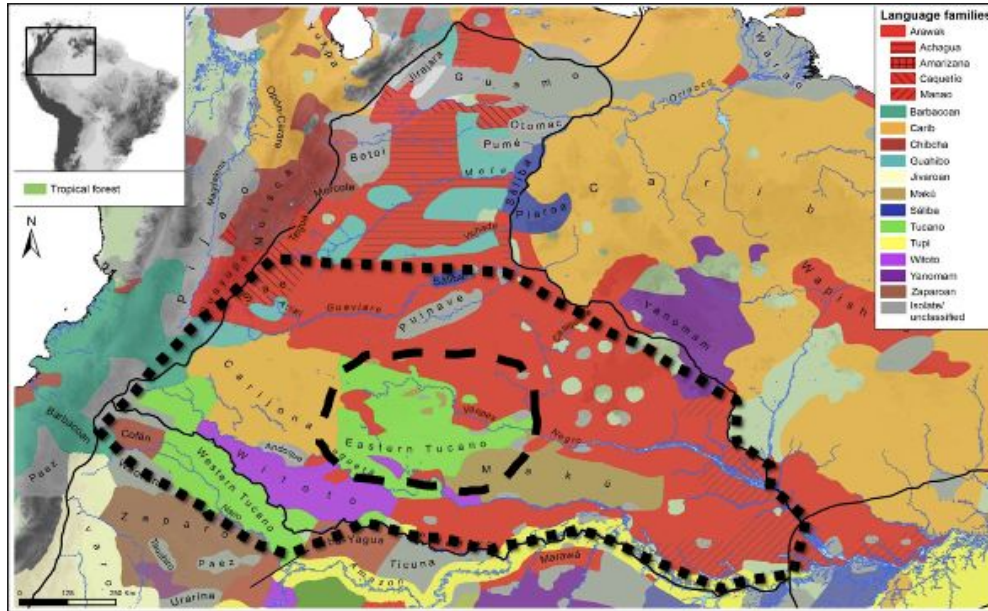
How linguistic practices and discourses reflect and co-fabricate social organization and ethnicity?

In what patterns language, exogamy and ethnicity correlate?

What is the place of linguistic exogamy in URN societies?

(And how these different patterns may affect different ways that languages are structured and change over time (e.g. convergence and divergence)?)

Northwest Amazon and Upper Rio Negro



Population, number of languages and ethnic-groups of the Upper Rio Negro

Linguistic Family	Population	Languages	"Ethnic Groups"
Arawakan	44.490	4 (2)	Baré, Warekena, Baniwa-Koripako, Tariana
Tukanoan	49.720	14	21
Kakua-Nukak	891	2	Kakua, Nukak
Nadahup	2.504	4	Yuhup, Hupda, Döw, Nadëb

Social Organization and the Place of languages

<i>Source</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Affines</i>	<i>Agnatic and/or Uterine siblings</i>	<i>Agnatic siblings</i>	<i>Agnatic siblings</i>
Hill 1983	Içana-Guania	Wakuenai*		Phratry	Clan Or Sib
Goldman 1963	Kubeo	Tribe*		Phratry	Sib
Sorensen 1967	Papuri	(Anaconda children)	Phratry	Tribe*	Sib
Jackson 1983	Papuri		Phratry	Language Group*	Sib
C. Hugh-Jones	Pira-Parana		Phratry	Exogamous Group*	Sib
Pozzobom 1997	Hup-Yuhup	Affinal clans		Agnatic clans	Clan

Social Organization and the Place of lects

Lects	Kinship	Social level
Topolect	Agnatic and/or Uterine siblings	Residential/Regional group
Patrilect	Agnatic siblings	Patrilineal descent: clan, phratry
Matrilect	Affines, Uterine Siblings	Affinal cluster (Regional nexus)
Alterlect	Potential Affines, Uterine Siblings, Co-affines	Affinal cluster, Cosmopolitanism
Lingua Franca	Supra-local personal relations	Cosmopolitanism, Post-Colonial settings

See also Chernela 2013, Epps 2018, 2021

Language and Ethnicity

Language Ideology Kroskrity (2000)

- representations about linguistic and discourse traits, which connect the use of verbal language with social structure and other kinds of symbolic representations
- Multiple and even contradicting forms of language ideologies within the same social group, following from the multifaceted configuration of social groups and their symbolic systems

The use of language, lectors and "myth" in the co-fabrication of ethnicity and social structure (Chernela 2003, Hugh-Jones 2016, Epps 2021)

Language Exogamy and Endogamy

- Prescriptive vs. Frequentist perspective
- Boundaries of languages and lectors as a reflection of linguistic exogamy and endogamy ideologies
- a continuum
 - Certain practices and discourse favor language exogamy
 - Others, endogamy

More linguistic exogamous contexts

- (1) languages may change towards becoming further apart or towards slowing down convergence rates relatively to their grammar, phonology and lexicon;
- (2) new language can be born within more general processes of ethnogenesis and restrictive language boundaries;
- (3) language is a common marker of co-residence and/or patrilineages, but distinct from that of one's affines.

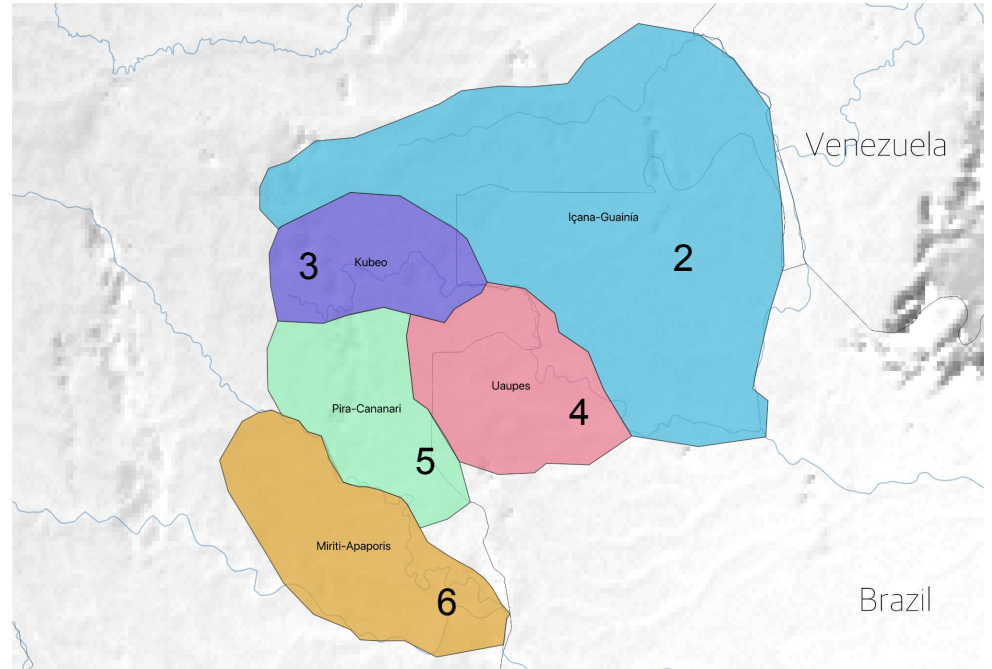
More linguistic endogamous contexts

- (4) lects converging more than diverging;
- (5) old languages being abandoned in favor of linguistic assimilation towards a socially more dominant one;
- (6) language tends to become a co-extensive marker of common ethnic identity among co-residents, patrilineages as well as preferential affines.

	Descent	Affinity
Distinction	Lects differ among patrilineages	Lects differ among affines
Identification	Lect is the same among agnatic social units	Lect is the same among affines

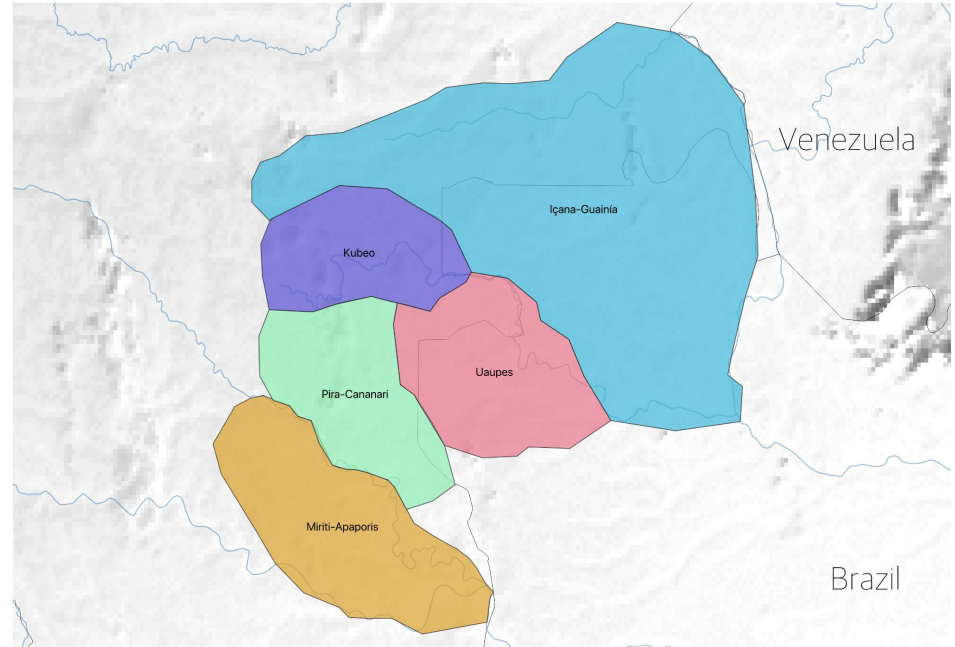
Sociolinguistic contexts

1. Forest Peoples (Hup-Yuhup) [not in map]
2. Içana-Guainia (Baniwa-Koripako)
3. Uaupes-Querari-Cuduyari (Kubeo [ET and Arawakan])
4. Uaupes-Tiquié-Papuri (ET and Arawakan)
5. Pira-Cananari (ET and Arawakan)
6. Miriti-Apaporis (ET and Arawakan)
7. Putumayo-Napo (WT: Maihuna and Siona-Sekoya) [not in map]



Ratio of languages per exogamic units

Zone	Phr	Lgs	Lg/Ex
Uaupes	8	12	1.5
Hup-Yuhup	2	2	1
Pirá-Cananari	5	3	0.6
Maihuna	3	1	0.3
Içana-Guainia	3	1	0.3
Miriti-Apaporis	9	2	0.2
Kubeo	5	1	0.2



Phratic boundaries established on the basis of clans and social groups identified as agnatic kins
Languages identified on emic perspectives of what count as a single language and sociolects of the same language

Different attitudes to language boundaries

Zone	Lgs	Lg/Ex
Hup-Yuhup	2	75%
Içana-Guainia	1	81%
Uaupes	12	88%
Miriti-Apaporis	2	91%
Pirá-Cananari	3	92%
Kubeo	1	100%
Maihuna	1	?

Language boundaries built towards

- magnifying differences (Jackson 1983)
- minimizing differences (Hill 1996)

Higher ratios and ideologies of linguistic exogamy occur where language boundaries have been established across very similar sociolects

Bara

“My brothers are those who speak my own language. I call Tukanos ‘brothers’ because we used to speak the same language. They started to speak differently, and now they speak another language entirely. But we are still close, and I still call them ‘brothers.” (Jackson 1983: 92)

Kubeo

“When they moved to this river, they found their in-laws among the Kubeo speaking peoples; that is how we ended up speaking the language of our mothers” (author’s fieldnotes)

Baniwa-Koripako

“Para nós, somos os Medzeniakonai [...] ‘Povos de língua original’. Quando nós nos referimos aos Medzeniakonai, nós nos referimos aos 16 clãs que compõem a nação de língua Baniwa e Koripako” (FOIRN 2020: 164)

Hup-Yuhup

sociale. Par exemple, les parlants du dialecte D (langue hupɖu) considèrent ceux du dialecte E (également hupɖu) aussi étrangers que les parlants du dialecte G (langue yuhup), bien qu’ils soient conscients du fait que les différences entre D et E sont moins importantes que celles entre E et G (*cf.* Reid, 1979 : 102). Pour les Maku, les limites du sentiment d’être chez les siens se confondent avec celles du dialecte.

Clusters of sociocultural organization principles and language ideology

- "Eastern Tukanoan" *patrilineal clusters*
- "Arawakan" *alliance clusters*
- "Forest-Groups" *residential clusters*

Multitude of possible alignments of language, exogamy and ethnicity

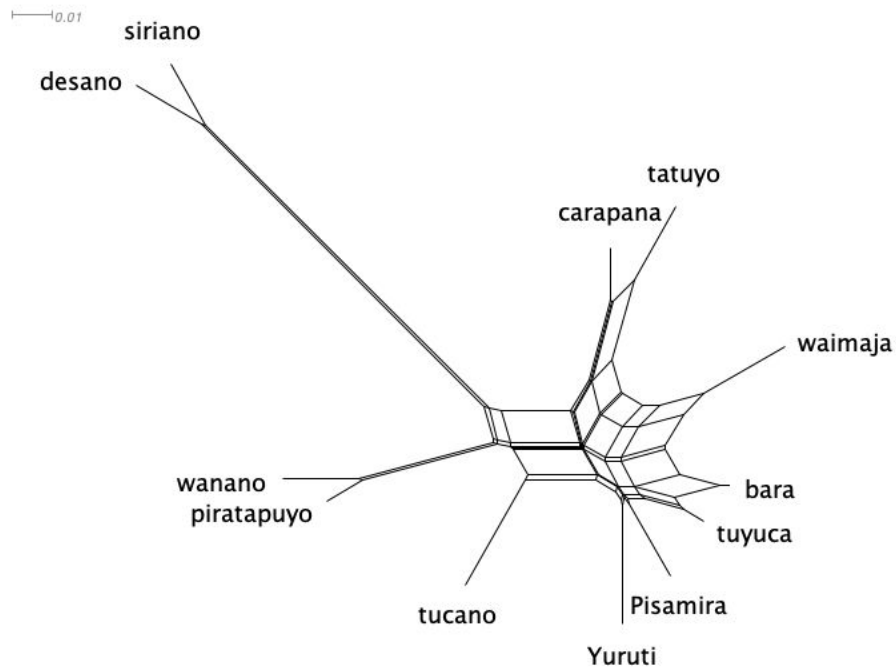
Departing from the idealized model of 1 language, 1 agnatic phratric group, 1 ethnic group

Tatuyo: 1 language (2 sociolects), 2 descent groups, 1 place of mergence, 1 exogamic group

Bara: 1 language (2 sociolects), 2 descent groups, 2 place of mergence, 1 exogamic group

Tanimuka: 1 language, 1 descent pair of brothers, 1 place of emergence, 2 exogamic groups

Makuna: 1 language, 2 descent groups, 2 places of emergence, 2 exogamic units



- Greater linguistic similarity across affines (Jackson 1983)
- Perceived language boundaries reveal contradictions in phratric organizations and affinal groups

Bara & Tuyuka share 97.7% basic vocabulary
Waimaja & Bara share 94%
Waimaja & Tuyuka share 92% of cognate sets

Linguistic exogamy in the Uaupes

- Linguistic exogamy is an ideological construct
- Language is not a sufficient nor a necessary boundary for defining exogamic or ethnic boundaries
- Different alignments of patrilineal, exogamy and ethnicity
- Yet, how to explain the **emergence** and the **force** of this social fact?

Linguistic exogamy in the Uaupes

An idealized projection of the *patrilect=patriline=maloca* proto-type

Identification

Patrilect as part of the ritual substance of groups and individuals

Distinction

Indexation of patriline in a multilingual maloca or territory

Linguistic exogamy in the Uaupes

A set of necessary pre-conditions?

Patrilineal kinship

Patri/virilocality

Agnatic phratric ideology

Inherent linguistic diversity

Affines are "foreign" and speak a different language

From frequentist to prescriptivist view on language exogamy

Final remarks

Multilingualism and linguistic exogamy have evolved due to the different ways language become aligned according to multiple forces

Alliance vs. Descent / Identification vs. Distinction

- There are distinct patterns of how language, exogamous social units and ethnicity align in the URN
- This sort of parametric variations can shed light to understand other contexts in South America
- When we look critically at language exogamy and the formation of wider exogamous units, we see that language is a defining feature neither of a single patrilineal identity nor of social exogamy.
- We should consider the role of language in connection to an assemblage of features according to recent versions of social unit formation in the region, we should examine it.
- This fluid and dynamic use of languages is at the same time grounded in social structure and inter-ethnic relations as well as is itself a model to the native perspectives and actions in reinforcing and changing social and cultural relations.

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