

The Vaupés from a Tukanoan prism

towards a model of language and sociocultural
co-evolution in Northwest Amazonia

Thiago Costa Chacon
University of Brasilia
Collegium de Lyon
MPI-SHH



Max-Planck-Institut
für Menschheitsgeschichte
Max Planck Institute
for the Science of Human History



Universidade de Brasília

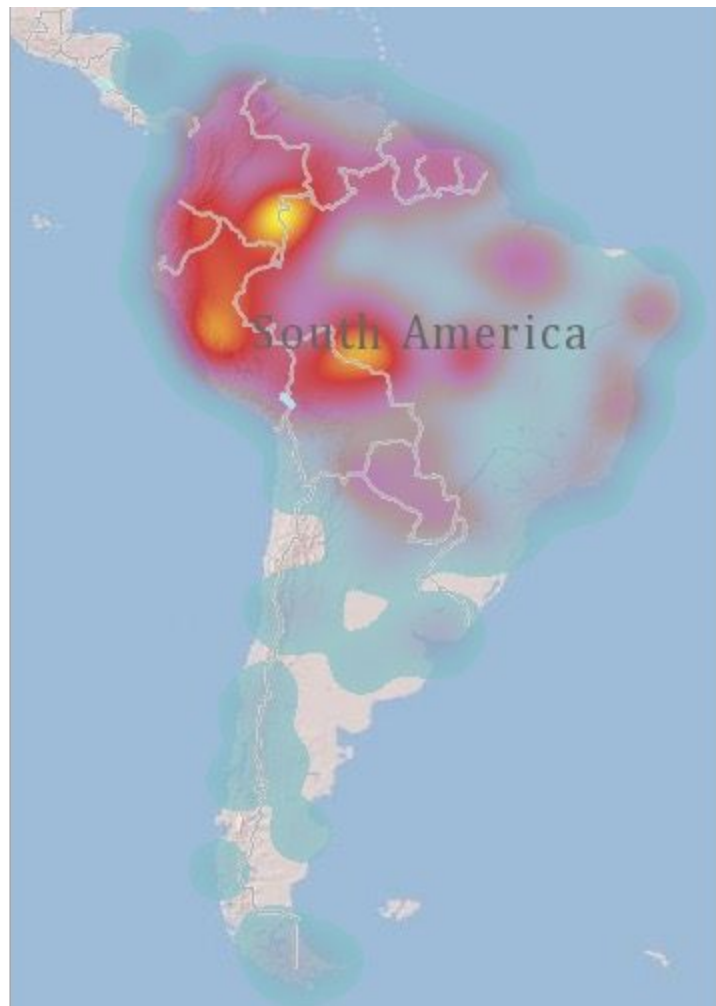


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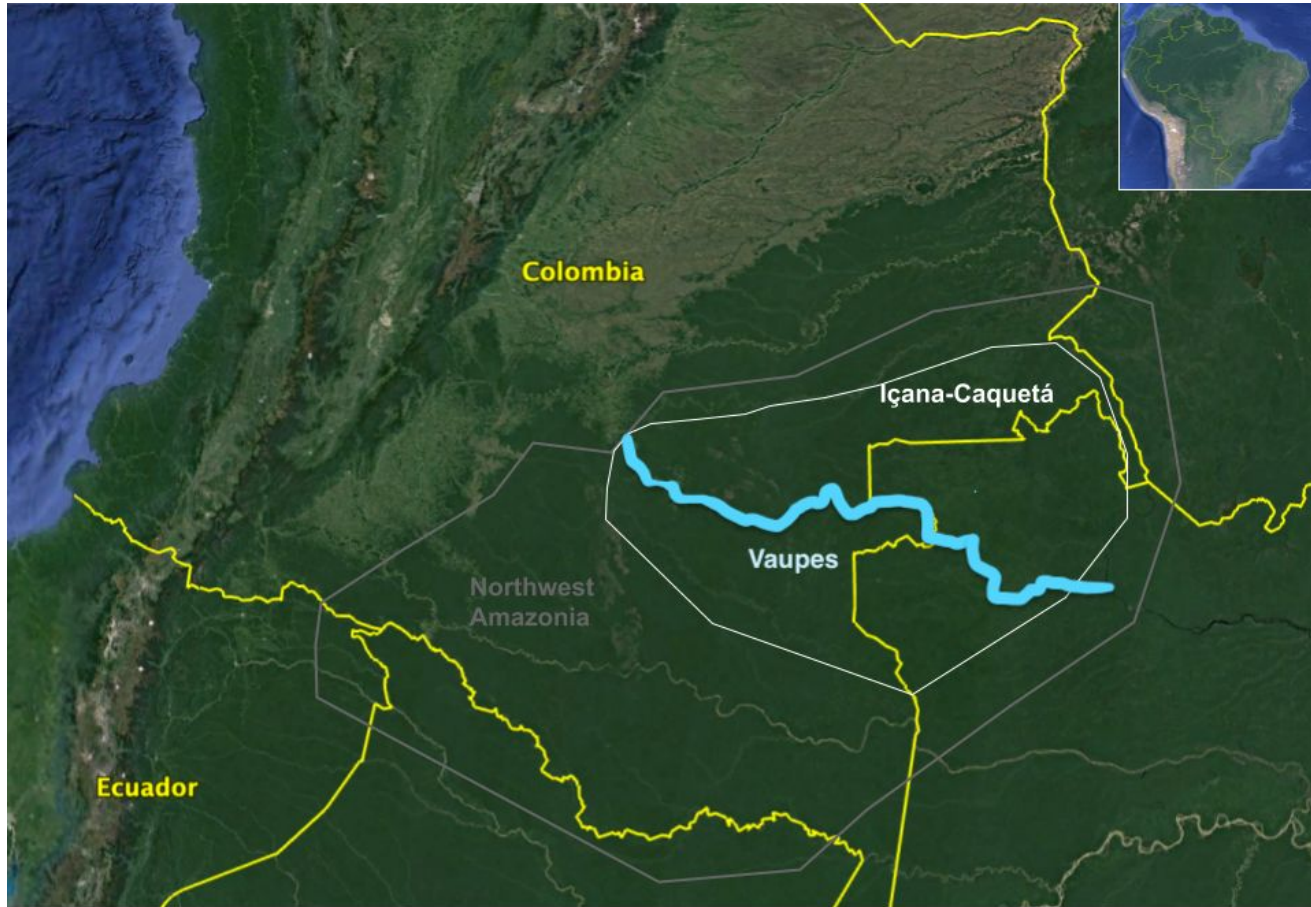


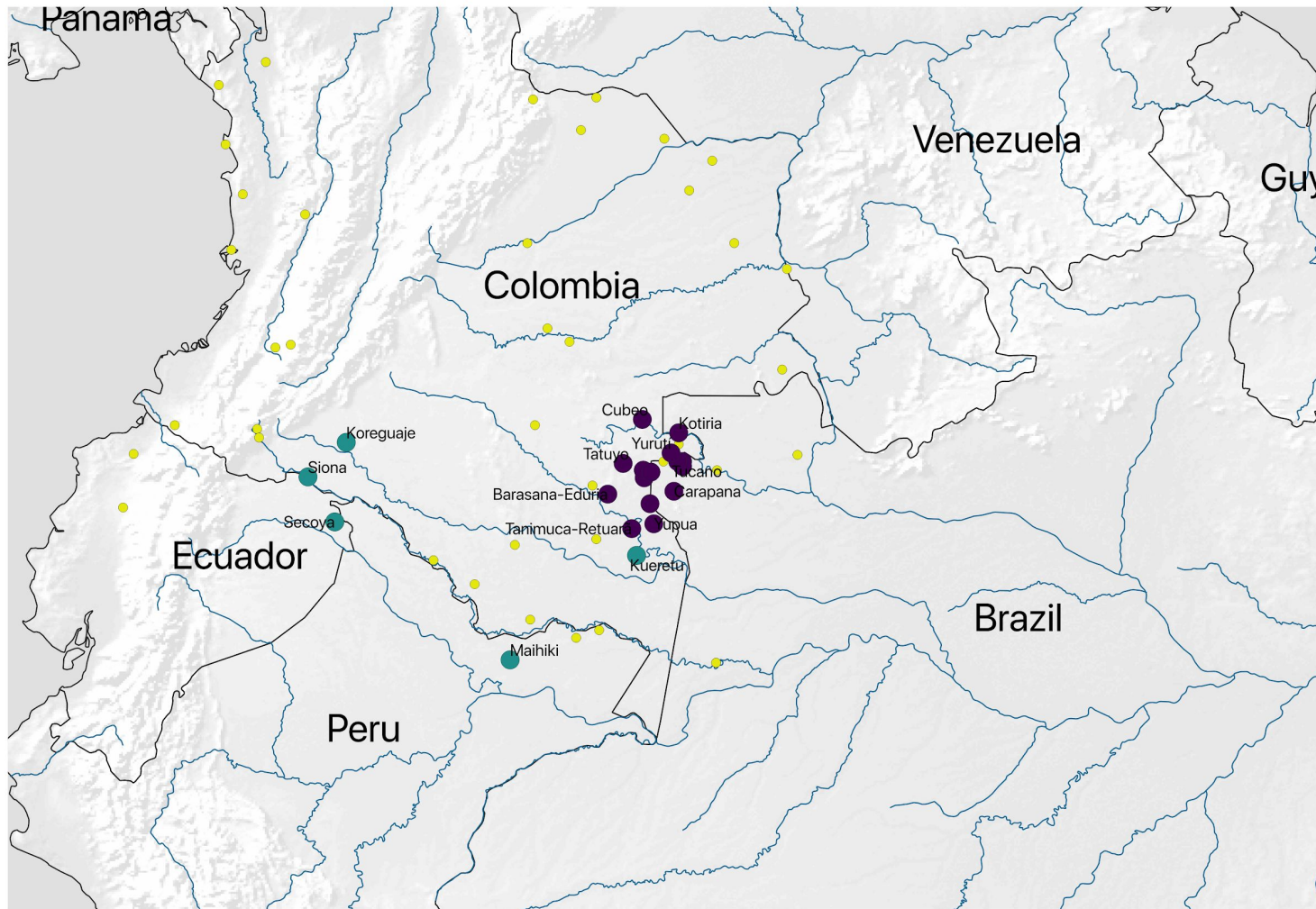
Topics

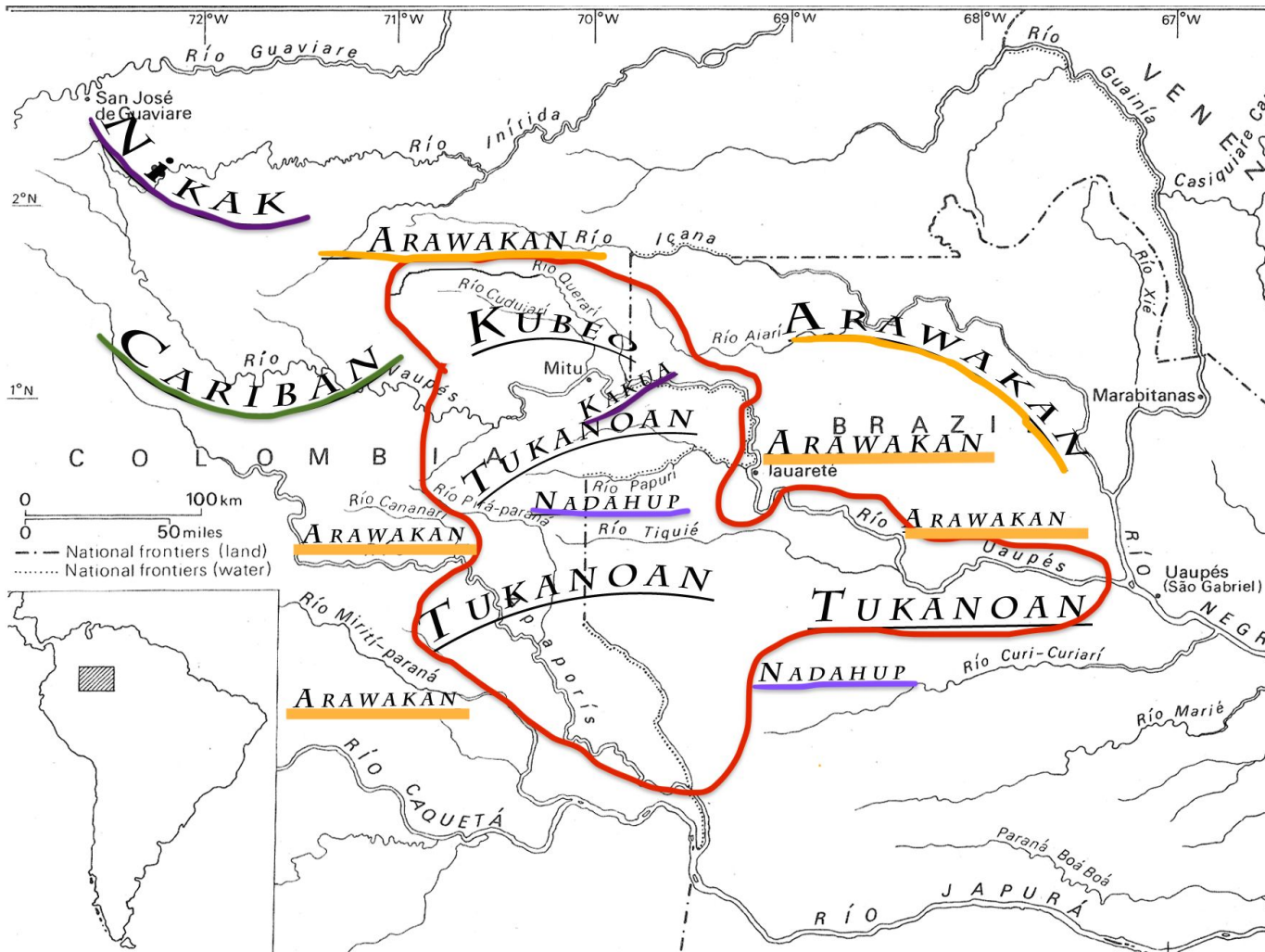
1. How Tukanoan languages diversified in space and time
2. Linguistic exogamy in the Vaupes and its impact in language evolution
3. The birth of linguistic exogamy



The Vaupes area







ARAWAKAN
- 5 languages

TUKANOAN
- 23 ls

NADAHUP
- 4 lgs

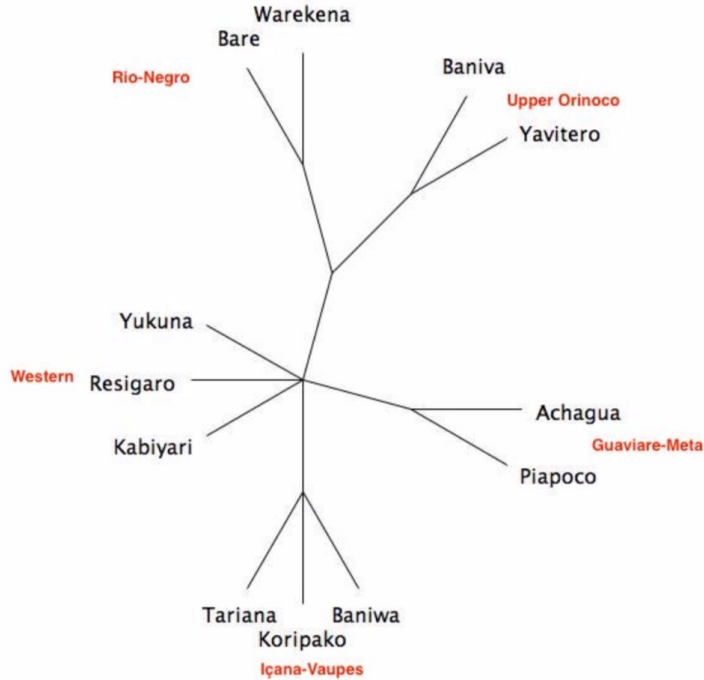
KAKUA-NIKAK
- 2lgs

CARIBAN
- 1 or 2 lgs

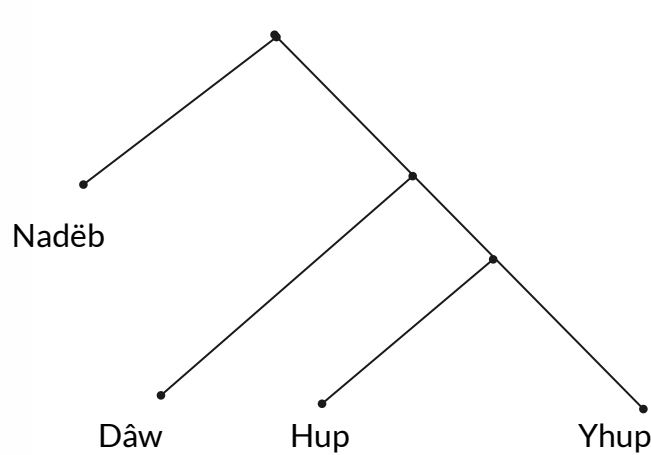
River
People

Forest
People

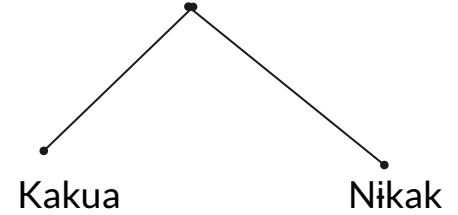
Arawakan



Nadahupan

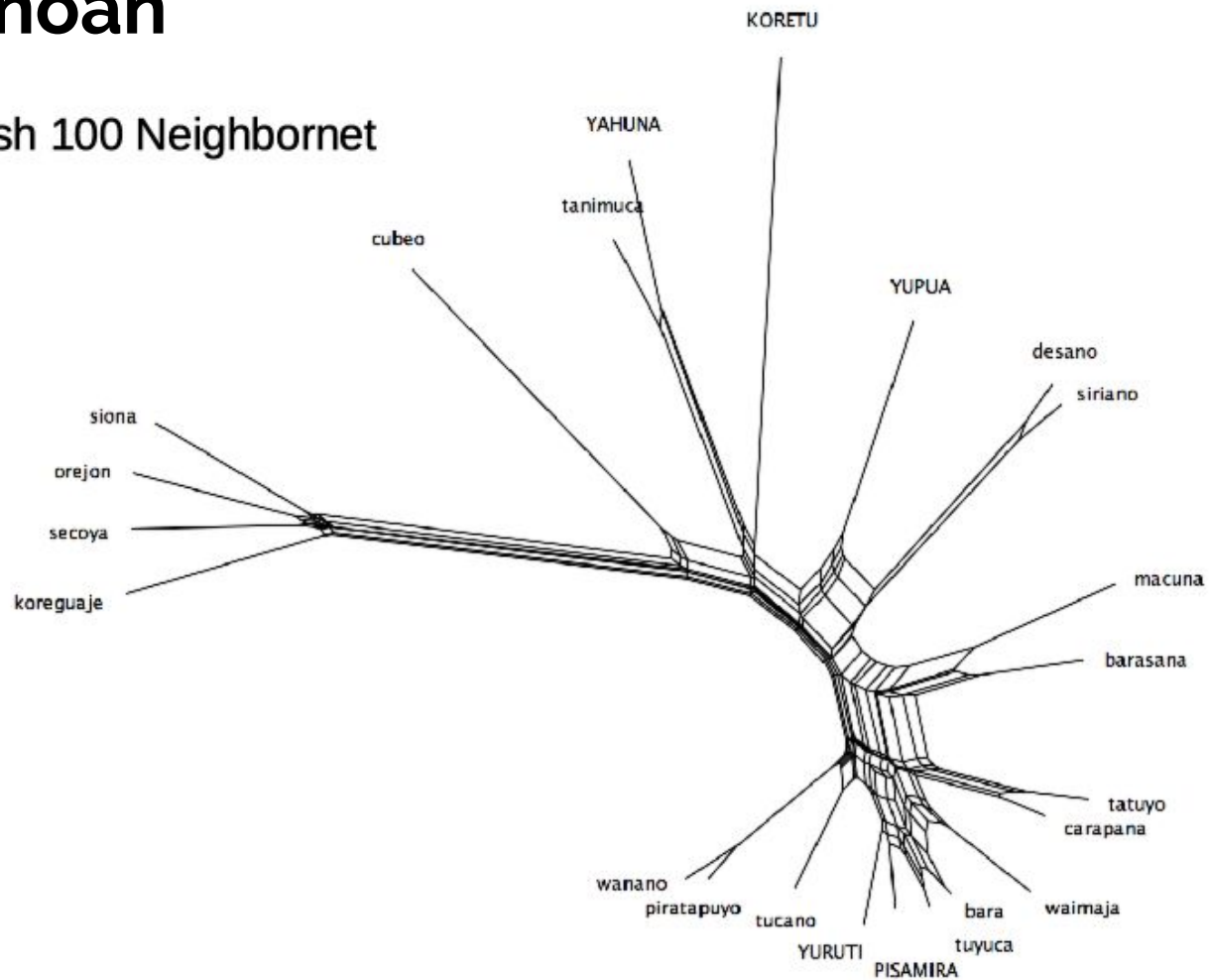


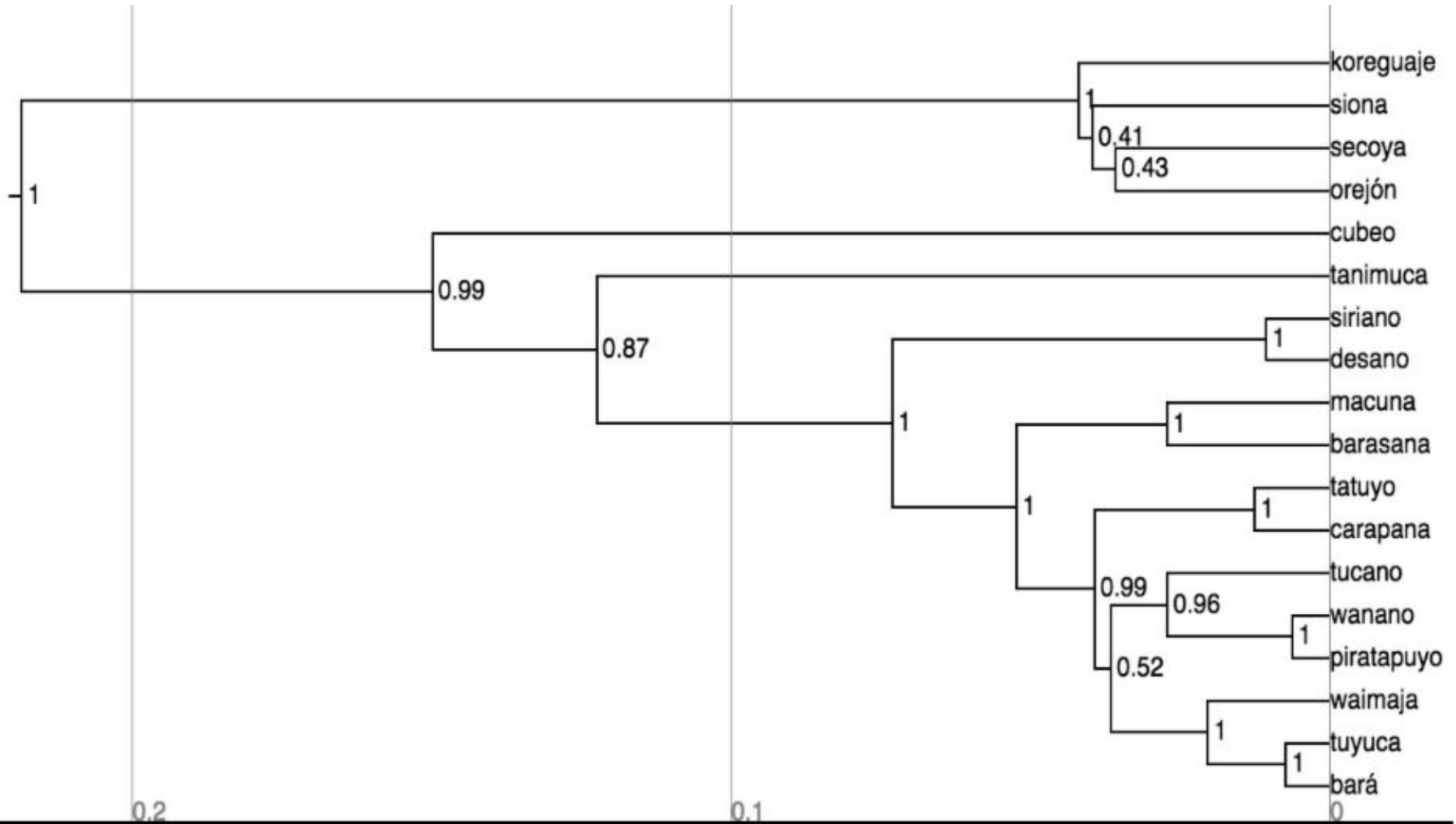
Kakua-Nikak



Tukanoan

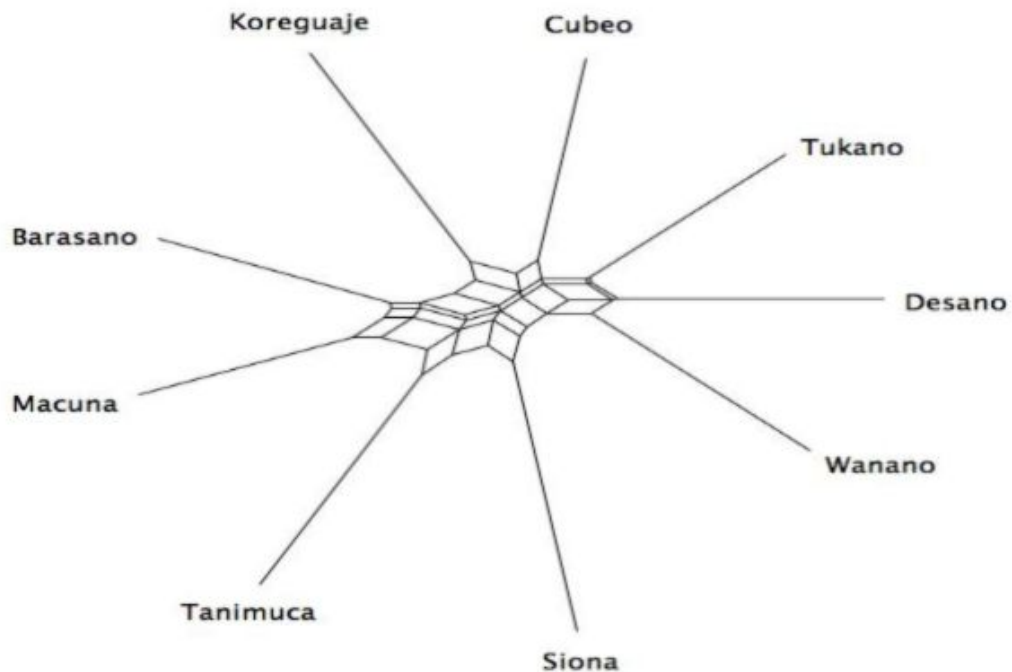
Swadesh 100 Neighborset





H & G typological 226 features

(Epps 2017)



Tukanoan Homeland and Migrations

Native perspectives

- WT: local
- Koreguahe and ET: East to West / Downriver to Upriver

Historical evidence

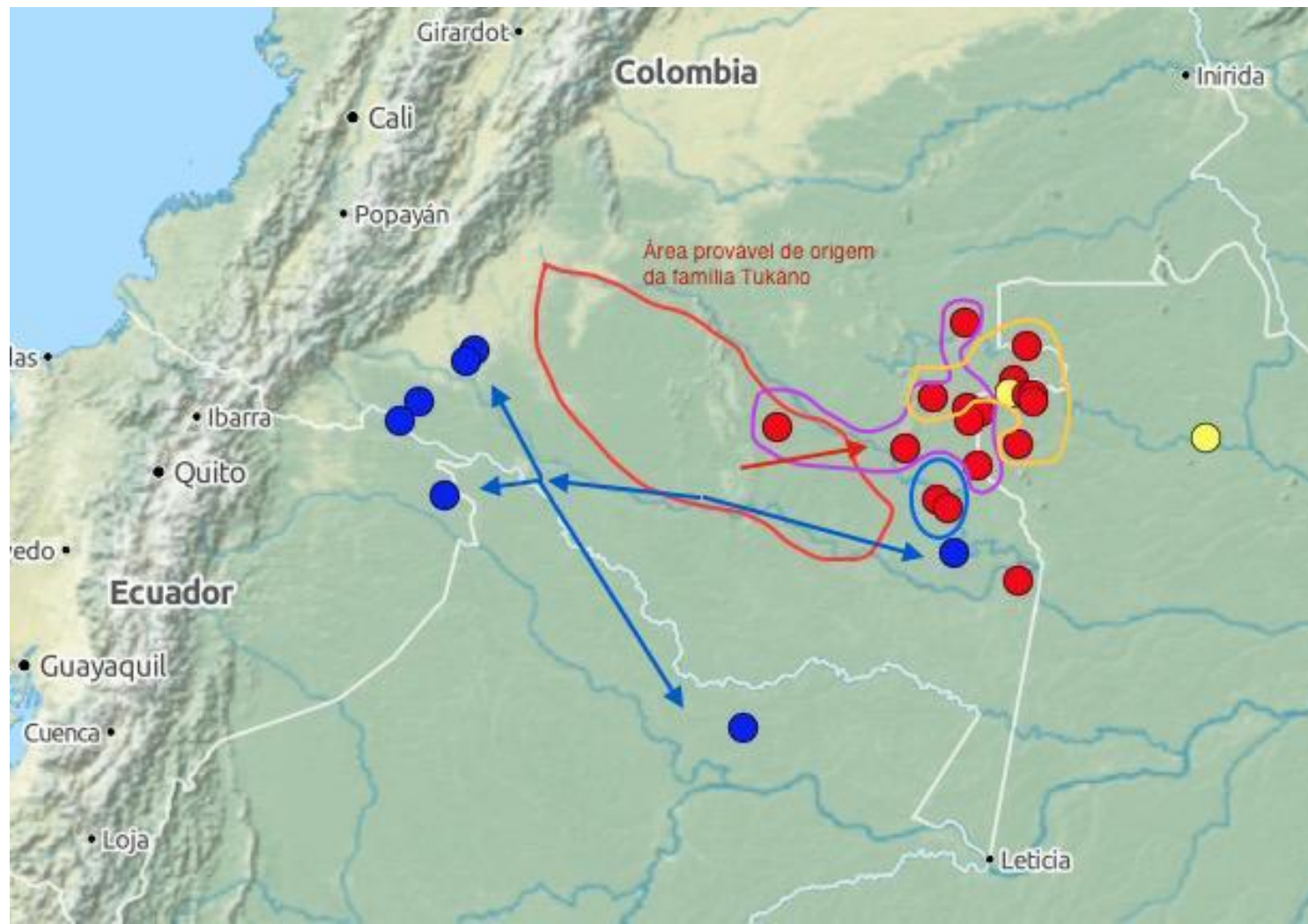
- Colonial maps
- Village locations and subsistence strategies


Genetic Diversity and fewer moves


Evidence from ethnology and lexical reconstruction


- Hinterland/Interfluvial location


Possible links to archaeological sites?





 Localización principal de Guaje-Murciélago


 Localización principal de Coreguaje y Ocoyaje.


 Localización principal de Tama y Payaguaje.


 Camino común de Tama y Payaguaje al Orinoco.


 Camino de Tama y Payaguaje: Del Caguán a los franceses de Rioja a través de la zona de Murciélago.

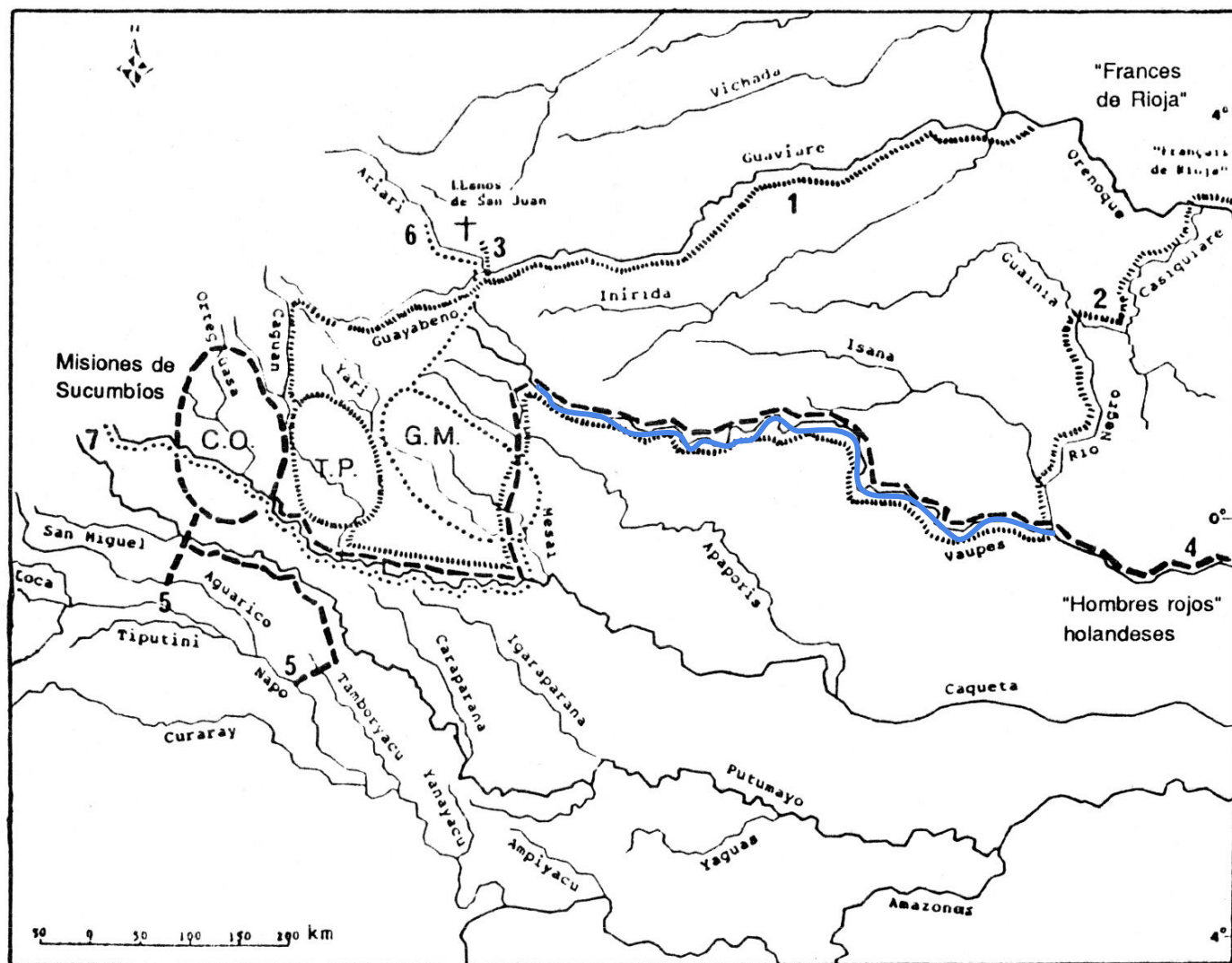
 Negocios de Tama y Payaguaje con llanos de S. Juan.

 Camino común de Coreguaje y Ocoyaje hacia Holandeses.

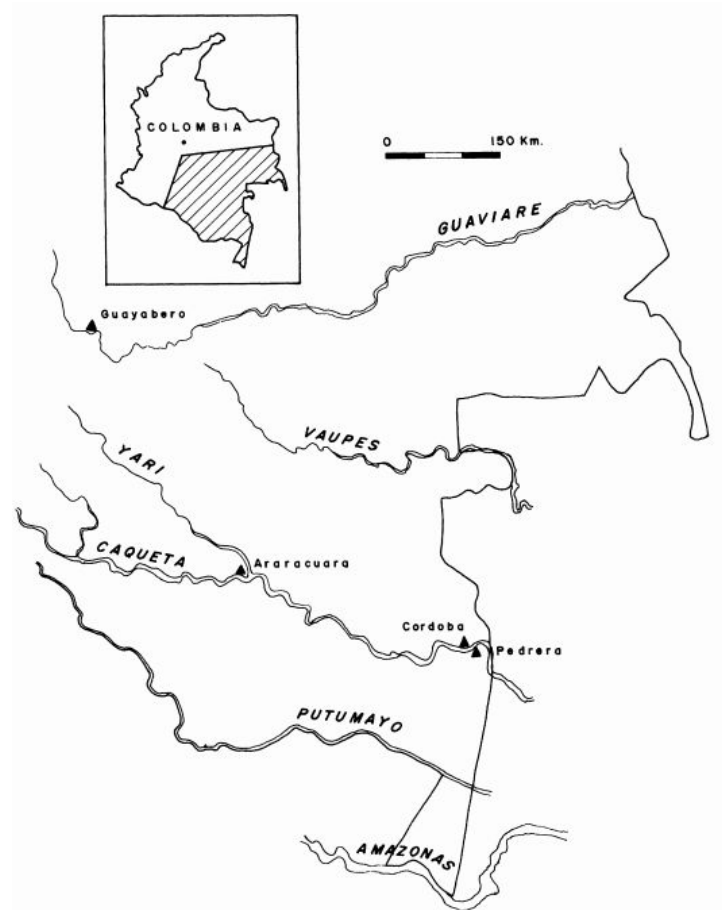
 Negocios de Coreguaje y Ocoyaje con "gente del Napo".

 Negocios de Murciélagos y Payaguaje con "llanos de S. Juan".

 Negocios de Murciélagos con Misiones de Sucumbíos.



Possible links to archaeological sites in the Caquetá



Chronology

Dating of Tukanooan family

Relative internal diversity

- Similarity to Romance and Germanic
- 2500 – 3000 years

ASJP

- 2699 years

Glottochronology

- 2400 years (based on Swadesh 100, $r = 14/1000$ years)

Possible external dating or calibration dates for certain branches of the family

- Colonial language documentation (XVIIIth to XIXth century)
- Zucchi's (2002) model of Arawakan settlement in NWA
 - Arrival of a first wave 4-3500BP
 - Second wave 3-2500BP
- Karihona and the split of Tukanoan (c. 600BP)
- Omagua and possible borrowings to WT
 - Arrival of the Omagua "Napo ceramics" = 1100-1500 (Lathrap 1972)
- Possible links to archaeological sites?

Tukanoan and Arawakan contacts

PT

*ɨye

*yai

*mimi

*diʔi

*kʰi (kĩ)

*nai

*jep'a
short'

P-N-Arawakan

*iʔitsi 'grease'

*yawɨ 'jaguar'

*piʔmi 'hummingbird'

*(r-)iʔira 'blood'

*kini 'manioc'

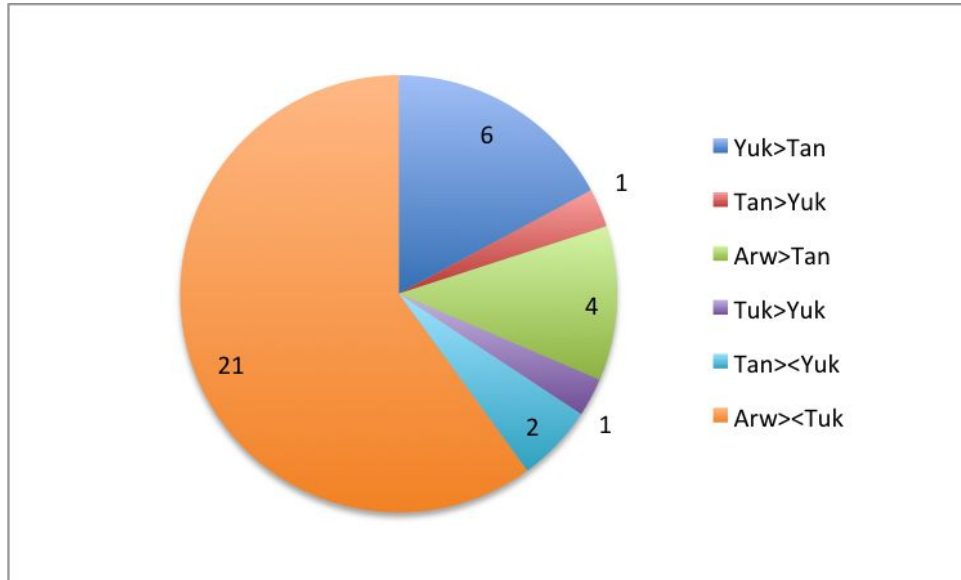
*ndai-api 'dusk, night, dark'

*dʒipahi 'land, ground, below,

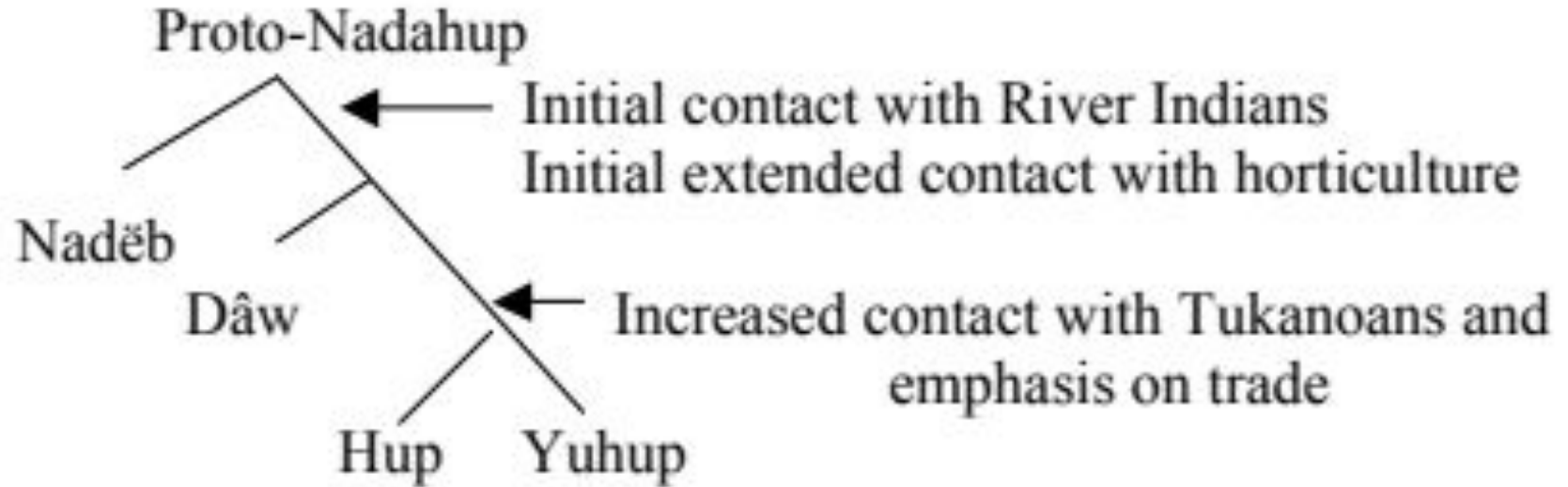
P-ET	P-WT	P-N-Arawakan	Gloss
*dase	*ɲase	*jaatse (dase RN)	‘toucan’
*boso	*põʔso, *wãso	*p(h)uu-tsu	‘agouti sp.’
-	*kueso	*keetsu	‘capybara’
*ewi	-	*ewa	‘yellow’
-	*awi	*wawa	‘heart’
*bapi	-	*papi	‘fishnet’
*dziʔi	-	*ʔiʔi	‘flesh’

Lexical borrowings

- list of 366 basic and cultural lexical items (Huber and Reed 1992) in 69 languages of Colombia
- Tanimuka and Yukuna share as many as 35 word forms



Nadahupan, Arawakan and Tukanoan contacts



Epps 2015

Chronology of the Vaupés area

The chronology of the Vaupés area suggest the following processes:

1. Initial occupation by Nadahup and Kakua-Nukak groups
2. Arrival of the first Arawakans (c. 2500 BP Neves 1998)
3. Arrival of the first Tukanoans (c. 1000 BP ???)
4. Later movement of Arawakans into the Vaupés (Tariana, c. 600 BP)
5. Colonial displacements (starting in 1669)
6. Nheengatu (after 1763)
7. Portuguese and Spanish (beginning of the XXth century)

Tukanoan	Arawakan	Nadahupan	Temporality
Proto-Tukano	Proto-N. Arawakan	Proto-Nadahup	2500BP
Proto-WT	Caquetá Arawakan	-	1000BP
Proto-ET	Rio Negro Arawakan	Initial contacts with horticulturalists	1000BP
<u>Kubeo</u>	<u>Querari Arawakan</u>	Intensification of contacts with ET	<u>500BP</u>
<u>Tukano</u>	<u>Tariana</u>		<u>500BP</u>
<u>Tanimuka, Retuarã</u>	<u>Yukuna</u>		<u>300BP</u>
<u>Kotiria (Wanano)</u>	<u>Vaupes Arawakan</u>		<u>300BP</u>

Vaupes formative

Vaupes ethnographic present

Cultural Changes in ET languages

Eastern Tukanoan languages in the Vaupes have some particular configurations of ethnic markers, which suggests

- Inheritance of Proto-Tukanoan ethnic markers
- Differentiation from WT languages
- Assimilation and transformations of Arawakan features

As ET languages intensified contacts with Arawakan languages, they reflected a number of cultural changes in their lexicon, such as

- development of a new riverine lifeways
- specialization in bitter manioc

NW Arawakan	ET	WT
Clan/Phratry Exogamy	yes/yes	yes/no
Patrilinearity	yes	yes
Longhouse	same	no
Hierarchy among clans	same	No (only among kins)
No Endowarfare	same	yes?
Interethnic alliances	same	more autonomous
Fishing more than hunting	same	Hunting more than fishing
Bitter manioc specialization	same	no
Aquatic and diasporic origin myth	same	no
Flute initiation rites	same	no
Landscape centered cosmology	same	no

Items reconstructable to PT

- Jungle subsistence resources (palm and tree species, game animals)
- Plant domestication ('to plant', chili, tobacco, tubers, poisoning and ceremonial plants)
- Utensils (ceramics, hammocks, baskets)
- Small river animals

Items not reconstructable to PT

- No specialized vocabulary for Manioc processing items
- Big river fish and animals
- Fish traps, Canoes, Paddle, Rapids

Etymological analysis

- Every word reconstructable to PWT is also reconstructable to PET, but the reverse is not true.
- This suggests PWT is more conservative regarding PT material culture
- Complex etymologies for some aquatic animals in ET suggest an adaptation to riverine environment coming from a more interfluvial or high area

*kʔoi	‘turtoise’	>	<i>ria guu</i>	‘turtle’	Makuna
*weki	‘tapir’	>	<i>dia weki</i>	‘capybara’	Tukano
*aña	‘snake’	>	<i>dia aña</i>	‘sting ray’	Tukano

‘meat/flesh’

P-ET

di’i

(Arawakan Homology)

P-WT

wa’i

‘game’

wa’i bikirã

(“big meat”)

wa’i

‘fish’

wa’i

yadi wa’i / s’iaya wa’i

(“small meat” / “river meat”)

Language, Exogamy and Ethnicity in the Vaupés



As ET moved into the Vaupes, different linguistic ecologies were created

Common to all of them was the complex interplay of language, exogamy and ethnicity

Ethnicity and Social organization

- Mythic and memorial ancestors
- Territory, sacred places, mythical journey
- Naming of individuals and social units
- Social and Ethnic Hierarchy
 - younger vs. older brothers
- Families, Clans, Ethnic Groups, Phratries
- Economic and ritual cooperation and specialization



Ethnicity and Social organization



- Patrilineal, exogamous and virilocal organization
- Affines:
 - Dravidian kinship, FZD or MBD
 - Preferred affines, potential affines, rapt of women
- **Pakoma:** Parallel maternal cousins

Patrilect, Matrilect and Altelect



Patrilect	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Father's language● Patrilineal descent	1st	dominant
Matrilect	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Mother's language● Alliance/Affines	1st	secondary
Alterlect	<ul style="list-style-type: none">● Cosmopolitanism● Alliance/Affines● Long distance exchanges	3rd, 4th ...	tertiary, lingua franca

Linguistic Exogamy in the Vaupes

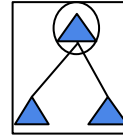


One does not marry inside of one's own **tribe-and-language group** because one would then be marrying **a brother or a sister** (Sorensen 1967: 672)

Patrilineal descent and identification with one's **father's language** group form the foundation of social organization in the Vaupés, establishing **boundaries** between groups and imbuing in each individual an **unalterable** identity (Stenzel 2005)

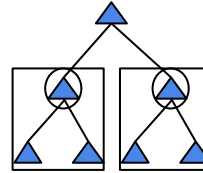
Language, Exogamy and Ethnicity Alignments

1 language, 1 exogamous group, 1 ethnic group



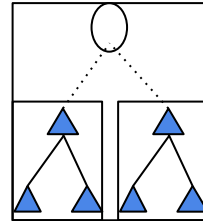
Tatuyo, Yuruti

+1 language, 1 exogamous group, +1 ethnic group



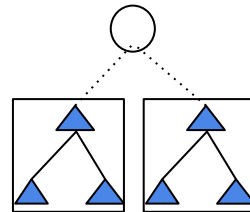
Tukano-Bara,
Tuyuka-Karapana-Eduria,
Kotiria-Piratapuya, Ide
Masa-Retuarã

1 language, +1 exogamous group, 1 ethnic group



*Baniwa, Nadahup, Western
Tukanoan, Piratapuyo
(moiety), Tanimuka (moiety)
Kubeo (Yuremawa-moiety)
Makuna (Ide Masa-Emoa)

1 language +1 exogamous group +1 ethnic group



Kubeo, Makuna,
Barasano-Eduria,
Tanimuka-Letuama,
Yukuna-Matapi

Language ecologies and exogamy

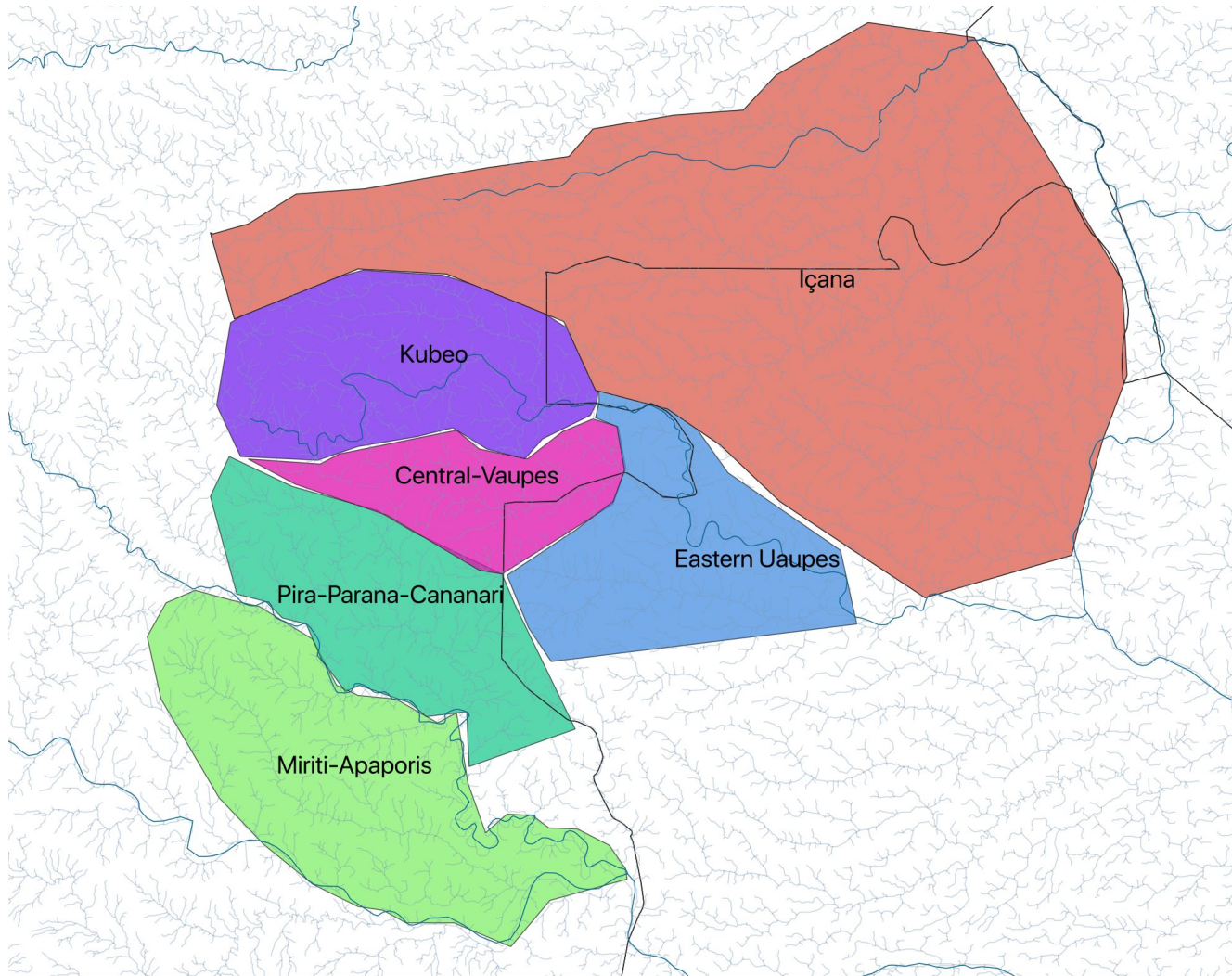


Different zones, different ecologies, different alignments of language, exogamy and ethnicity

Regional-Nexus Endogamy

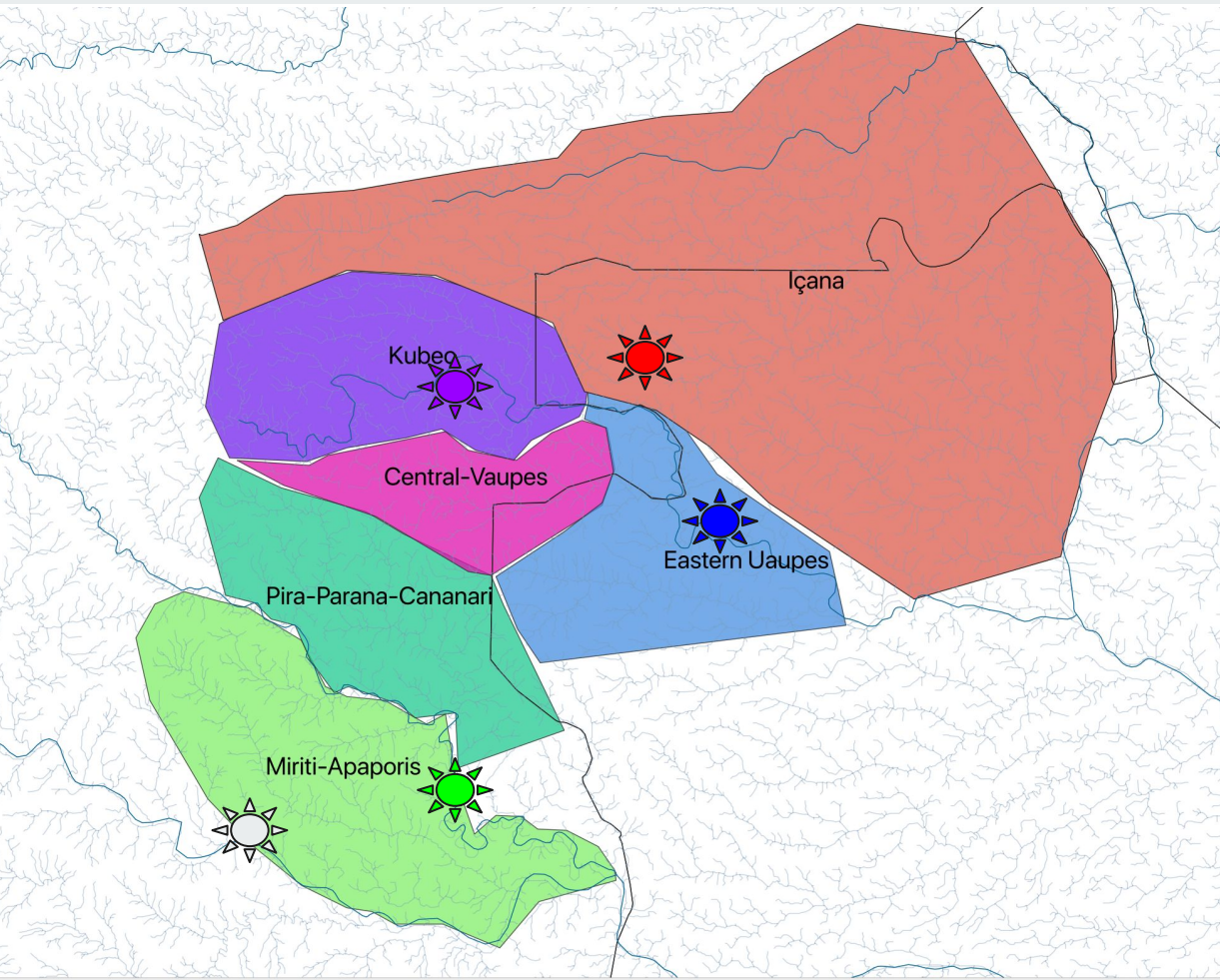
While the village or lineages are strictly exogamous, local clusters of adjacent villages and lineages tend to be highly endogamous (Århem 1981, Cabalzar 2000)

Alliance clusters, macro-polities?








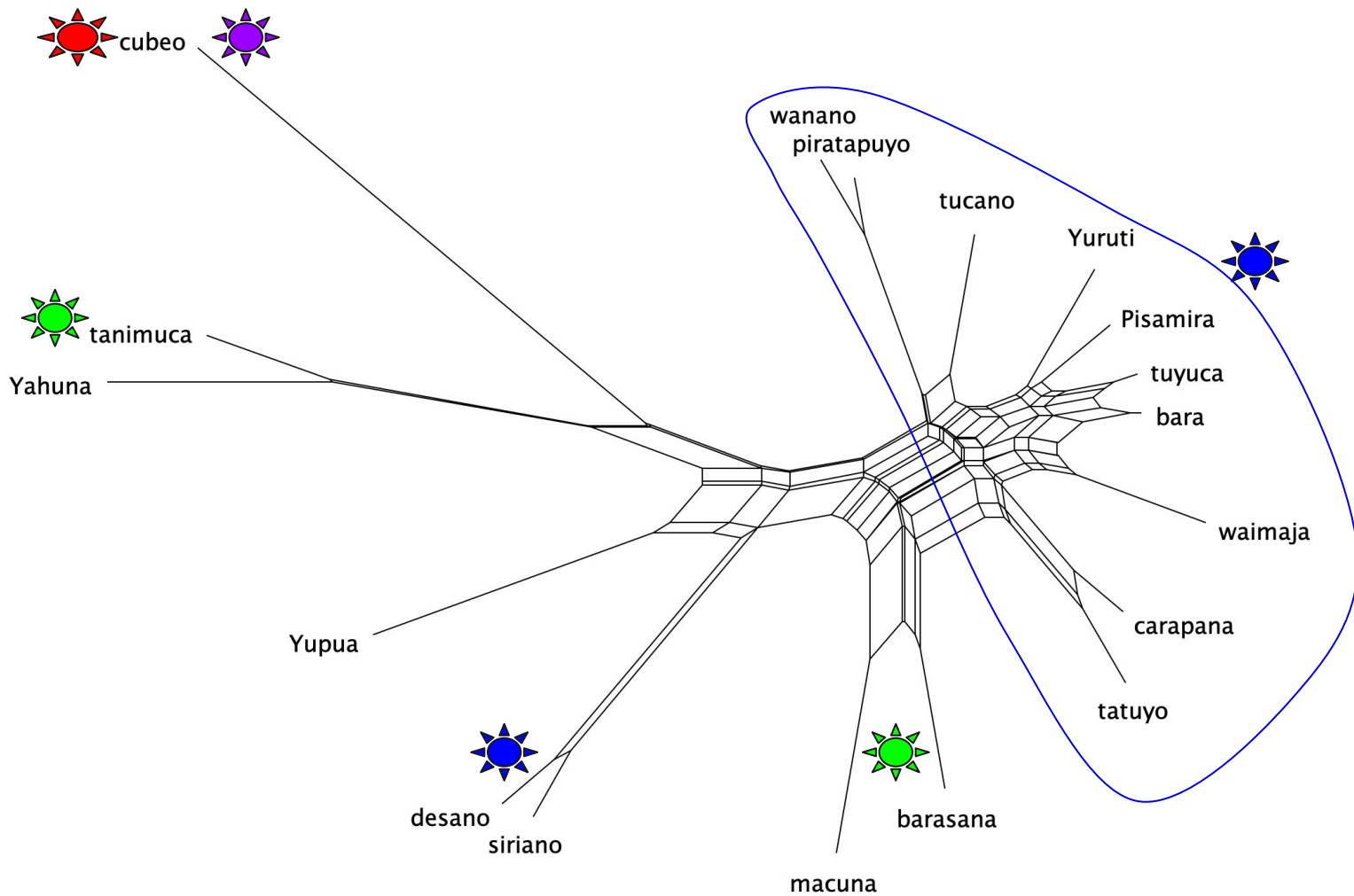
Zone	Exog.	Lgs	Ratio ex/lgs	Average lexical similarity ¹
Içana	3	2	0.66	85%*
Kubeo	4	1	0.25	100%
Central Vaupes	6	8	1.33	88%
Eastern Vaupes	4	6	1.5	87%
Pirá-Paraná- Cananari	4	3	0.75	91%
Miriti- Apaporis	4	2	0.5	100%

1. only Tukanoan languages



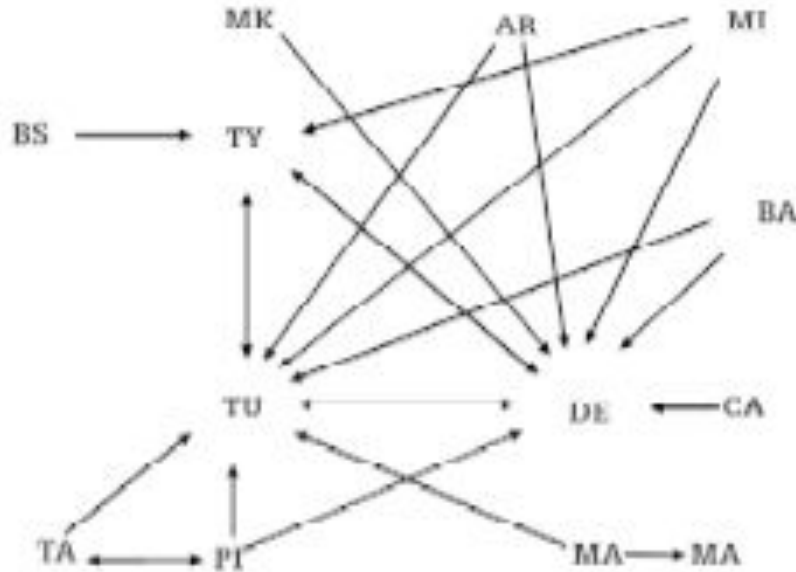
Mythical birthplaces

-  Hiipana - Baniwa, Tariana, Kubeo
-  Ĩparãĩ: Kubeo
-  Ipanore: most ET
-  Manuitara: Makuna, Retuarã
-  “Araracuara”: not Tukanoan



Language ecologies and exogamy

Regional asymmetries and egalitarianism



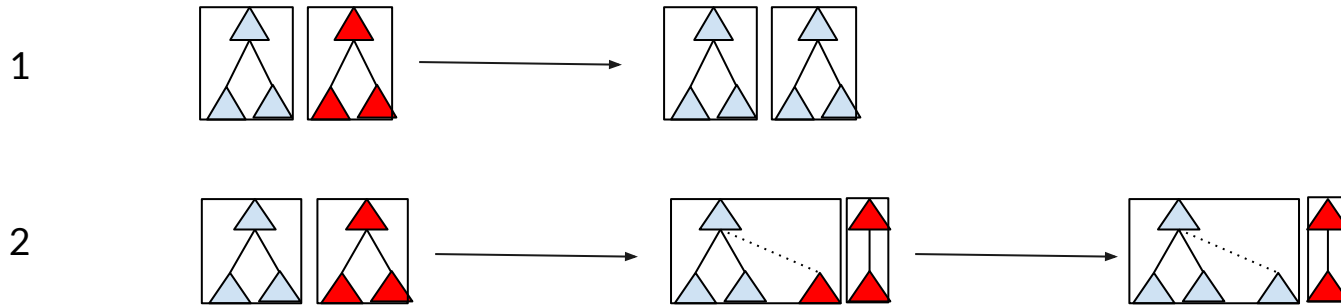
Eastern Vaupes Intermarriage Networks

Tukano > Desano > Tuyuka
dominating the nodes

Azevedo (2003)

Language shift, exogamy and ethnicity

1. Language shift with no changes in ethnicity or social exogamy
2. But, changes in ethnicity and social exogamy accompanied by language shift



Cases of language shift and intermarriage

Group	Shifting to	Status
Arapaso, Miriti-Tapuya	Tukano	Completed (memorial, before 1900)
Desano, Pira-Tapuya, Tariana	Tukano	Ongoing
Eduria	Barasano	Completed (memorial ?)
Yiba-Masa (Barasano)	Makuna	Completed (mythical ?)
Bara (Japu river)	Tatuyo	Ongoing
Pisamira	Kubeo	Ongoing
Yuremawa (Arawak)	Kubeo	Completed (memorial, few generations)
Kubeo (Uapes)	Kotiria	Ongoing
Letuama	Tanimuka	Completed (memorial ?)
Matapi	Yukuna	Completed (memorial)
Baniwa, Bare, Werekena	Nheengatu	Ongoing

Linguistic exogamy in the Vaupes



- 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** of this ideological principle?
- And how to evaluate its **impact** in the evolution of Tukanoan languages?

Impact of linguistic exogamy in the evolution of Tukanoan languages



Multilingualism, Social Organization and Language Dynamics



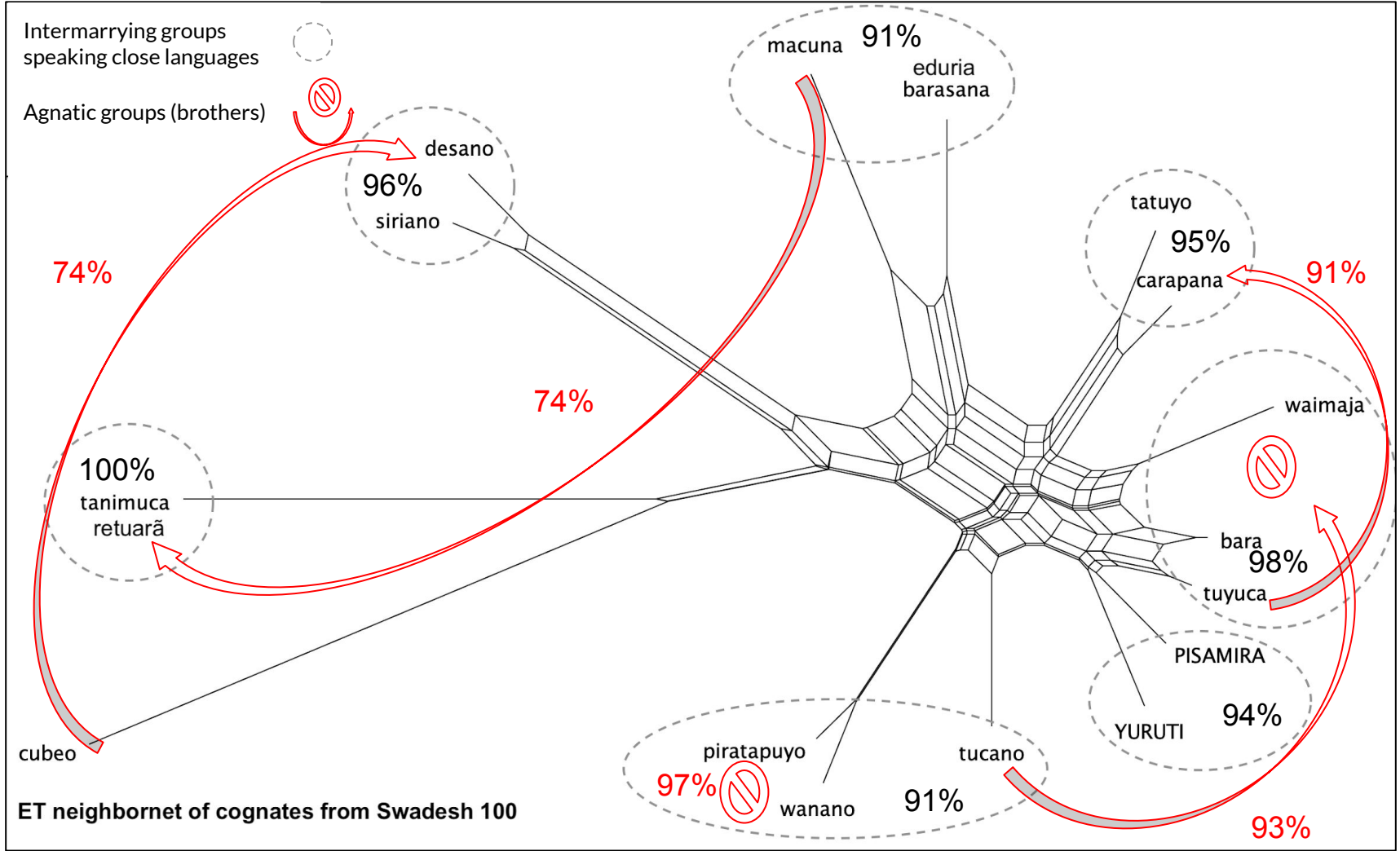
Social relations/processes	Language dynamics
Patrilineal descent	Differentiation among distinct patrillects
Alliance	Homogenization of differentiation between patrillects of in law groups
Alliance cluster	Language dominance with demographically, socially and politically prominent groups
Cosmopolitanism	Use of lingua franca or locally dominant languages
Social Fusion	Shift towards another group's patrillect
Social Fission	Language differentiation between ethnically distinct groups

If only patrilineal descent was at play we would expect agnatic groups to speak more closely related languages than their affines

Bara informants state that there is a close genetic relationship between sibling-related languages and a distant genetic relationship between affinally related languages (Jackson 1983:172-3)

If only alliance was at play we would expect affine groups to speak more closely related languages than agnatic groups

“When they moved to this river, they find their in-laws among the Kubeo speaking peoples; that is how we ended up speaking the language of our mothers”



	BARA	CARAPANA	TUCANO	TUYUCA	
BARA		90%	92%	97%	Lexical similarity
		in-laws	Brothers 0%	In-laws 71%	Marriage
TUYUCA	97%	91%	92%		Lexical similarity
	40%	brothers	49%		Marriage

Differentiation & Homogeneization

Lexical similarity

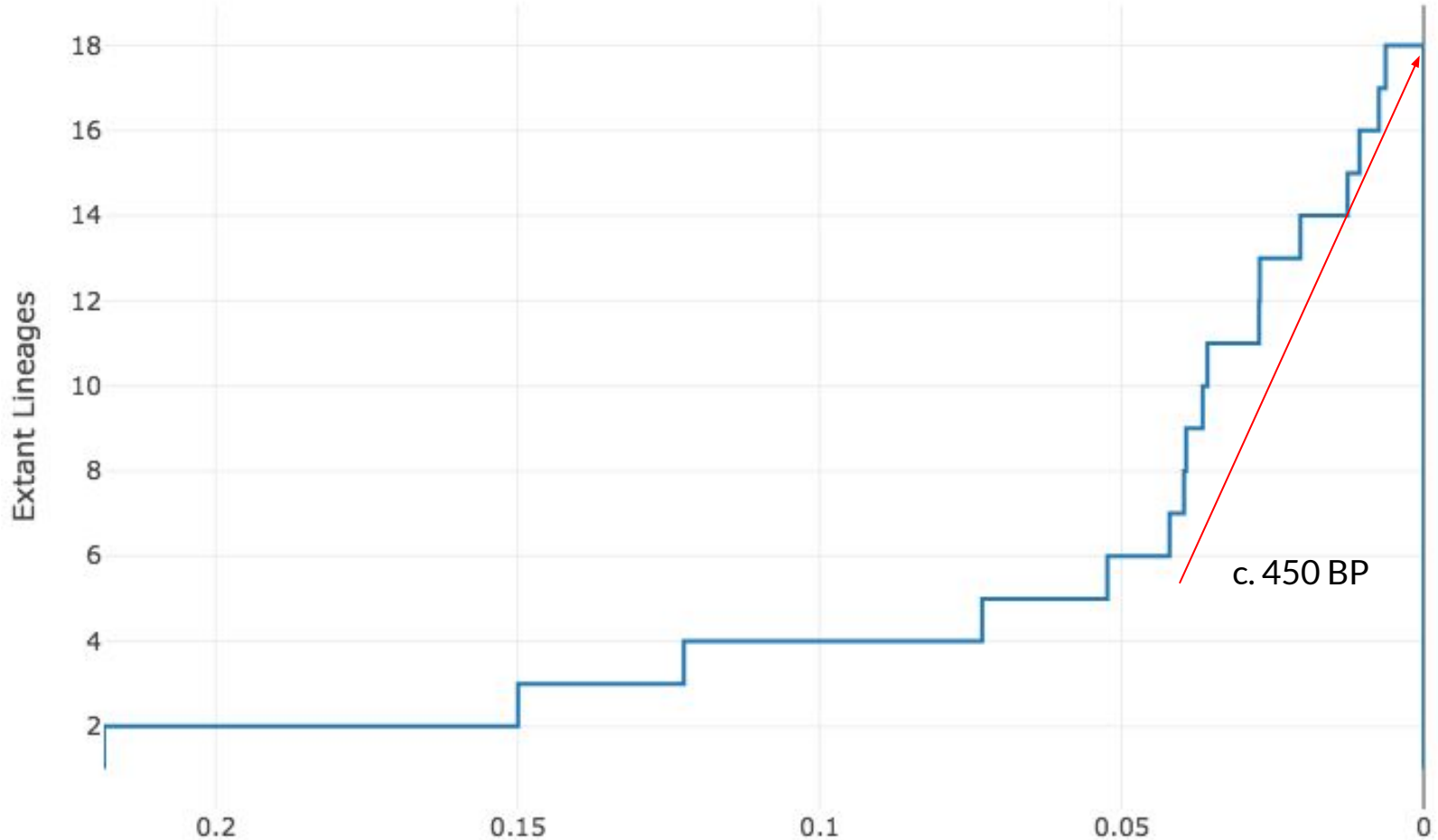
Alliance: Bara assimilates to Tuyuka

Sound Change

Patrilineage: Bara share changes with Tukano and has changed independently

	*k'	*s
TUYUCA	k	s
BARA	∅	h
TUCANO	∅	s

Graph of the emergence of different Tukanooan branches

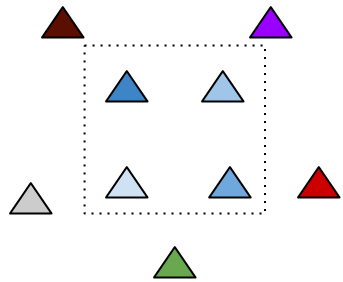




How language, exogamy and ethnicity became aligned?

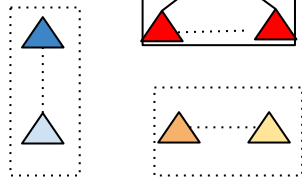
Or the birth of the linguistic exogamy ideology

Time →



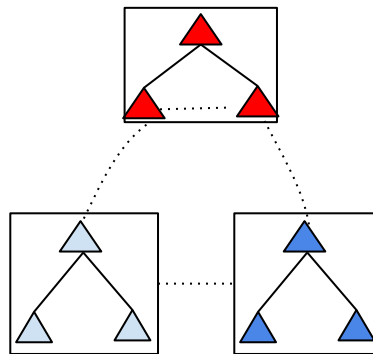
Initial Stage

Exogamic clans
Dialect chain
Patrilineage
Uxorilocality



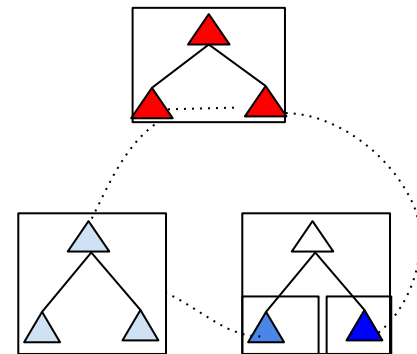
Vaupes I

Arrival of Tukanoans
Rapt of women
Contact with Arawakan
And Forest peoples



Vaupes II

Alliances with Arawakan
groups
Arawakization of Tukanoan:
Hierarchy, Virilocality



Vaupes III

Complex Phratries

Language as a markers of **identity**
between intermarrying and ethnically
related groups

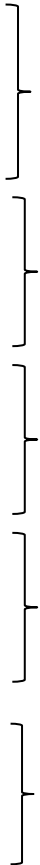
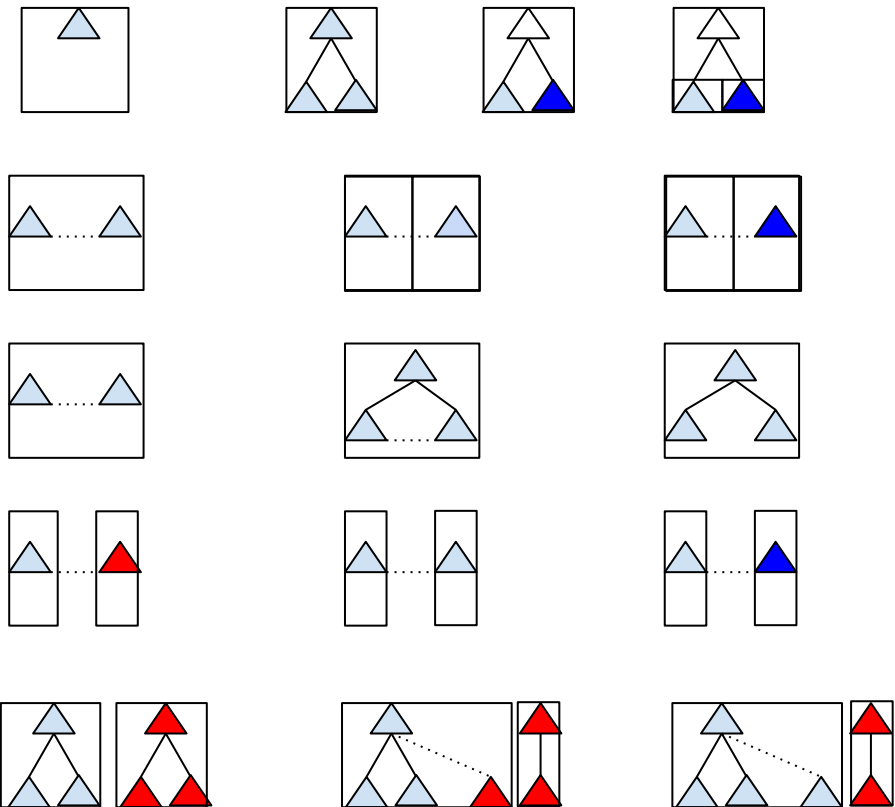
Languages as a markers of **alterity**
between intermarrying and ethnically
distinct groups

BIRTH OF LINGUISTIC EXOGAMY

Time



Triangle - Social units
Triangle colour - Language
Vertical lines - Patrilineage
Horizontal lines - Alliance
Square - Ethnicity



Patrilineal differentiation
Ethnogenesis
Phratry emergence

Patrilineal differentiation
Ethnogenesis
Exogamy fission

Patrilineal homogenization
Ethnic reinforcement
Exogamy fusion

Linguistic homogenization + diversification
Alliance reinforcement + Lineage differentiation
Exogamic stability

Linguistic homogenization
Ethnogenesis
Exogamy reconfiguration

Conclusions



Tukanoan multilingualism and linguistic exogamy have evolved due to the different ways language, ethnicity and social organization become aligned according to multiple forces

- Alliance vs. Descent
- Fusion vs. Fission
- Homogenization vs. Differentiation

There are different scenarios for how language, ethnicity and social organization get aligned in the Vaupes, which can shed light on Amazonia and other contexts elsewhere

Conclusions



Linguistic exogamy in its strong form is actually an **ideological construct** which **erases** certain nuances of how language, ethnicity and social organization have been aligned over time

Nevertheless it has also been active in **magnifying differences** and increasing diversity of languages

As a result, linguistic exogamy is both the **result** and a **trigger** of linguistic diversity, multilingual practices and inter-ethnic relations in the Vaupes regional system



**Thank
you!**



JACKSON p. 100

The first, a fusion model, suggests that a cul-de-sac situation arose owing to pressure from missions, rubber gatherers, and other agents of the national economies of either Brazil or Colombia. The resulting squeeze of territory necessitated more interaction of distinct cultural groups, a necessity increased by declines in population caused by disease. Various mechanisms arose that facilitated interaction of the previously separated or hostile groups. One of these mechanisms was intermarriage; the heretofore truly distinct tribal-like groups assimilated to the point of sharing a common culture, and a rule of exogamy came to be applied to what originally were endogamous units. Language came to be the main marker distinguishing these exogamous units, whereas originally it was but one of many cultural differences separating them. The peoples of the Papur drainage area seem to have progressed the most in this direction, and those of other areas, especially the Pird-parana, probably represent an earlier stage, with more territorially confined language groups and more cultural distinctions separating them. In the more acculturated Papur, some of the complexity of the traditional system of classification of social units has been lost.

The second type of explanation, a fission model, postulates an original situation characterized by endogamous (again, probably much more tribal-like than at present) units with exogamous moieties within each one. Of the various markers distinguishing one moiety from the other, speech differences came to be the most crucial, until ultimately what was once a single protolanguage spoken by the entire endogamous unit divided into two languages along the lines of the moiety division.*²⁵The rule of marriage came to be expressed as “We marry people who speak a different language.”

Structural features, families and the riverine vs. forest people divide

	Forest People		Outliers	Riverine People	
	Nadahup	Kakua	WT	ET	Arawakan
Morphology	Isolating	Isolating	Aglutinating	Aglutinating	Aglutinating
Shape classifiers	no	no	yes	yes	yes
Alienable vs. Inalienable	no	no	no	yes	yes
Gender	no	yes	yes	yes	yes