

SALSA XIII, Panel 2:
Indigenous Multilingualism in Lowland South America
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Multilingual regions in Southwestern Amazonia

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This talk

Guaporé valley, zooming in on the state of Rondônia, Brazil

Sketch of language diversity of Rondônia


Two multilingual regions in southern Rondônia 100 years ago:

Rio Branco valley

Rio Corumbiara-Pimenta Bueno headwaters

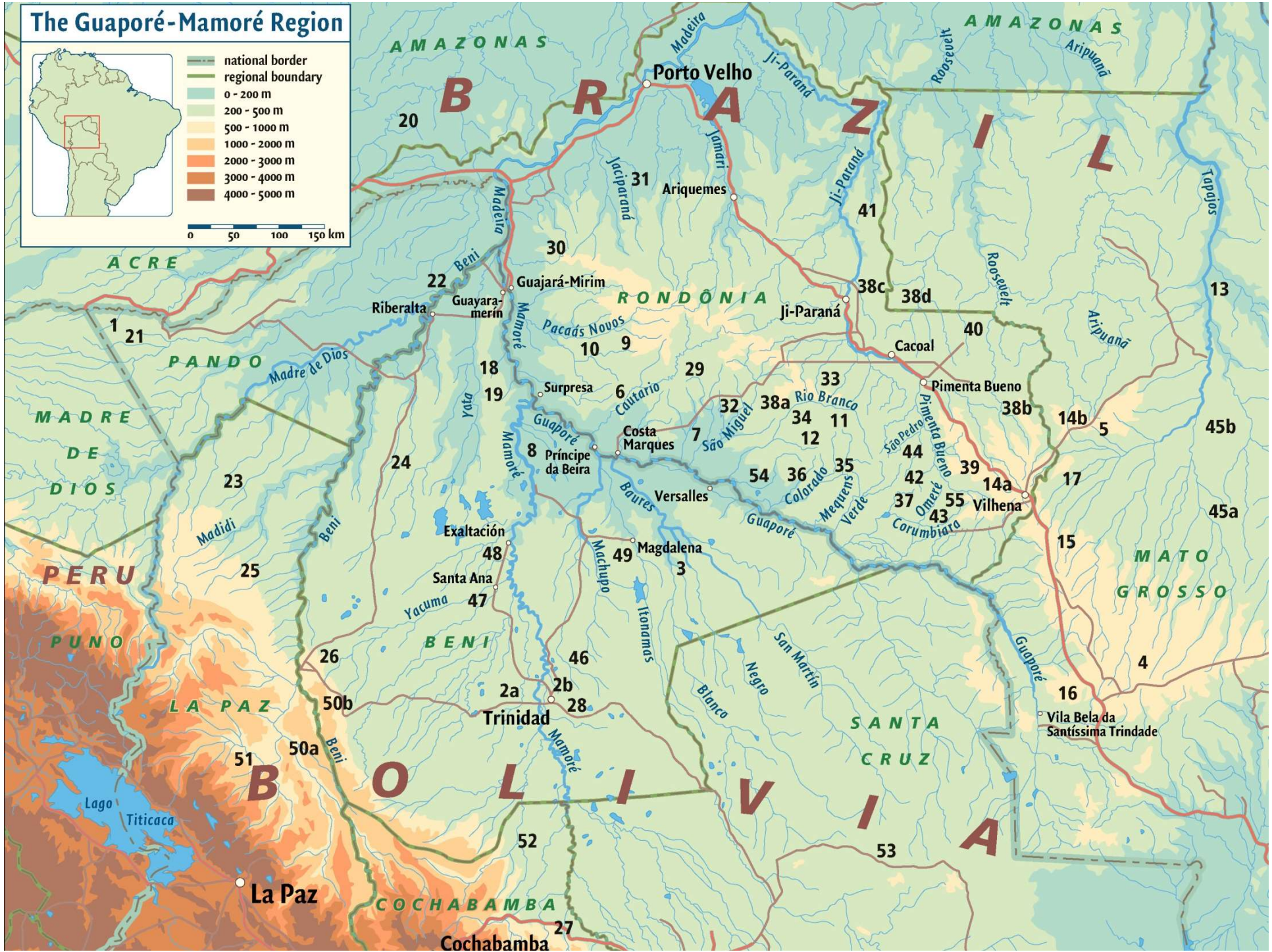
Present-day multilingual settings in southern Rondônia

The Guaporé-Mamoré Region



national border
 regional boundary
 0 - 200 m
 200 - 500 m
 500 - 1000 m
 1000 - 2000 m
 2000 - 3000 m
 3000 - 4000 m
 4000 - 5000 m

0 50 100 150 km



Guaporé Valley:

- Bolivian Beni Dept. & Brazilian State of Rondônia
- size of Germany
- several original cultural areas
- extreme genealogical linguistic diversity
- traces of language contact
- regions with traditional multilingualism
- (lingue franche?)

Data on Rondônia:

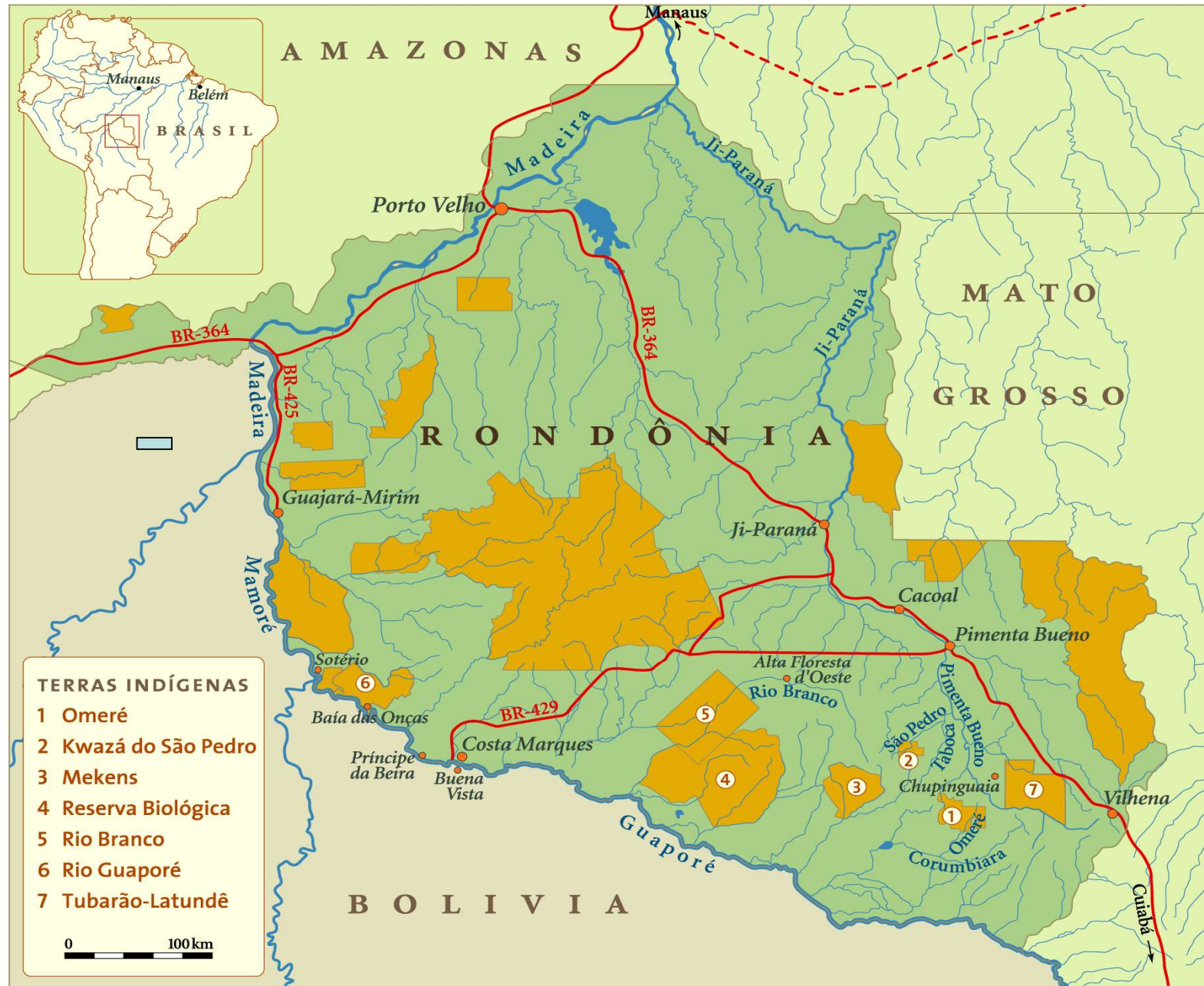
- historical (Snethlage, Caspar, Nordenskiöld, Rondon)
- current (fieldwork, INDL survey)

Endangered ethno-linguistic diversity of Rondônia

25+languages (35% more than 50 speakers - 35% fewer than 10 speakers)

group	pop.	sp.	group	pop.	sp.
<i>Kujubim</i>	38	0	<i>Wayuru</i>	247	4
<i>Miguelenho</i>	267	0	<i>Akuntsu</i>	3	3
<i>Oro Win</i>	129	4	<i>Mekens</i>	134	16
<i>Wari'</i>	3104	3000	<i>Makuráp</i>	579	55
<i>Arikapú</i>	37	1	<i>Tuparí</i>	650	400
<i>Djeoromitxí</i>	187	42	<i>Gav/C.L./Zoró/Ar</i>	3540	3400
<i>Latundê</i>	28	19	<i>Salamãi</i>	10	2
<i>Sabanê</i>	20?	0 (+3)	<i>Suruí</i>	1277	1238
<i>Kaxararí</i>	445	?	<i>Aikanã</i>	400	250
<i>Kawahiva</i>	263	158	<i>Kanoé</i>	325	3
<i>Guarasu</i>	10 (+600)	2 (+2)	<i>Kwaza</i>	47	27
<i>Karitiana</i>	396	344	(Massako)	200?	200?
<i>Puruborá</i>	242	1	(Tanarú)	1	1?
<i>Karo</i>	338	338	<i>Akuntsu-Kanoé</i>	-	5?

Indigenous reserves in Rondônia



The cause of language extinction can be seen from space.



- > traditional indigenous context
 - small dispersed settlements
 - clan divisions within language groups
 - cultural similarities (“*Marico*” complex)
 - alliances & warfare
 - trade (taquara, axes)
 - festive sports contests
 - interethnic marriages
 - multilingual individuals & interpreters
 - perhaps Makurap as indigenous lingua franca
- > sparse documentation, Southern Rondônia
- > traces of past (and present) linguistic contacts
- > evidence for traditional multilingual regions

Two multilingual regions 100 years ago

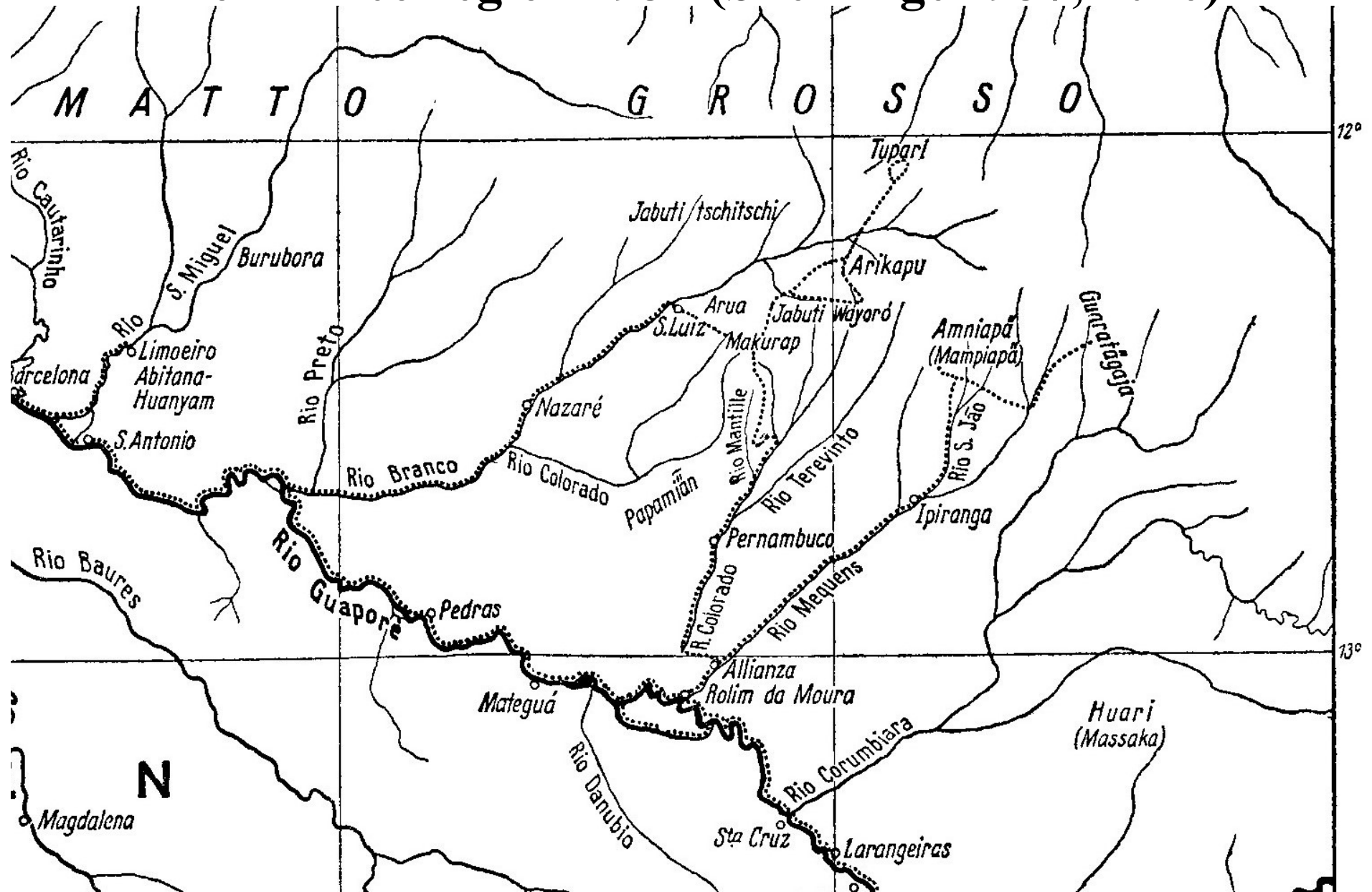


Rio Branco traditional multilingual setting

Aruá	[Mondé, Tupian]
Makurap	[Tupari, Tupian]
Tupari	[Tupari, Tupian]
Wayuru	[Tupari, Tupian]
Arikapu	[Jabuti, Macro-Jê]
Djeoromitxi	[Jabuti, Macro-Jê]
Mekens	[Tupari, Tupian]

others? (Puruborá [Tupian]? isolados do Massaco?)

Rio Branco region 1934 (Snethlage 1937, 2016)



Karte des bereiften Gebietes (Unterer Guaporé), bearbeitet auf Grund der Carte internationale du monde, Edição provisoria (Dietrich Reimer U. G., Berlin), von Dr. Emil Heinrich Snethlage.

..... Reifewege des Verfassers

The Arikapu

[Macro-Jê]

one of the earliest groups to
become decimated

information from:

Fawcett 1914

Snethlage 1933-35

Caspar 1948, 1954-55

Maldi 1991

Mindlin 1997, 1999

photo: Fawcett's "Mashubi" in
1914



SAVAGES WHO HAD NEVER SEEN A WHITE CIVILIZED MAN.

Loanwords

duck	ARI <i>patfui</i> , MAK <i>paju</i>
liquid	ARI <i>i</i> , DJE <i>i</i> , MAK <i>i</i> , other Tupi...
lizard	ARI <i>tsau</i> , DJE <i>hau</i> , MAK <i>tsaku</i> , TUP <i>hako</i>
macaw	ARI, MAK, WAY, MEK <i>pera</i> , DJE <i>pire</i>
margay	ARI <i>wariri</i> , DJE <i>warurej</i> , MAK <i>warirej</i>
paca	ARI <i>itij</i> , MAK <i>ətəj</i>
paricá tube	ARI <i>kawari</i> , MAK <i>kawarɛ</i>
porcupine	ARI <i>mũnĩ</i> , DJE <i>nõni</i> , MAK <i>mũnĩ</i>
sloth	ARI <i>awana</i> , DJE <i>waudə</i> , MAK <i>(w)awnda</i>
surubim fish	ARI, MAK <i>anũrɛ</i>
stingray	ARI, MAK <i>tsaw</i> , DJE <i>tsãw</i>
tucumã	ARI <i>urukunãj</i> , MAK, <i>urukunɛ</i>
turtle	ARI <i>miaku</i> , DJE <i>bzɛku</i> , MAK <i>biaku</i>
Westerner	ARI, DJE, MAK, WAY, ARU, MEK <i>ɛrɛ</i>

Loan translations

blanket	ARI & DJE ‘fire-skin’, MAK ‘fire’
chicha ladle	ARI <i>timbiri</i> ‘stirrer; electric eel’, MAK <i>tumberu</i> ‘stirrer’, <i>doku</i> ‘electric eel’ (Makurap song: ‘There goes the electric eel, giving shock.’ [electric eel = metaphor for the chicha ladle, which passes around, touching people])

Makurap [Tupian, Tupari] as a *língua franca*

Snethlage [1933-35]:

“*Makurap* is the contact language.” (2016:705)

“The Tupoid tribe **Makurap** culturally dominates all its neighbours in the Rio Branco or S. Simão region.” (1935:7)

Caspar [1948 & 1954-55; about Tupari men, whereas Tupari women tended to be monolingual]:

“Since olden times have the Tupari men tried to learn the languages of the neighbouring tribes. Previously, this concerned especially *Kuairu* [?], *Aumé* [?] and *Aruá*. Of my informants *Waitó*, for example, spoke fluent *Makuráp*, *Wayurú*, *Arikapú* and could understand also some *Aruá* and *Jabutí*, corresponding with the level of interaction that he maintained with the neighbouring tribes. The neighbouring chief *Kuarumé* had more contact with the *Jabutí* and spoke their language. **In general, however, *Makuráp* occupied first position**, because the language of this once powerful tribe prevailed among the Barracão-Indians of "São Luís", and played in the entire *Rio Branco* and *Colorado* region the role of a "*língua franca*" or contact language, which even some latex collectors from outside learnt, especially those who lived together with Indian women.” (1975:223)



Rio Corumbiara-Pimenta Bueno multilingual setting

Mekens	[Tupari, Tupian]
Akuntsu	[Tupari, Tupian]
Kanoé	[isolate]
Aikanã	[isolate]
Kwaza	[isolate]
Salamãï	[Mondé, Tupian]
Kepkiriwat (†)	[Tupari, Tupian]

others? (Nambikwara?)

MAPA ETNO-HISTÓRICO DOS AIKANÃ



Este mapa foi compilado entre 2006 e 2009 pela comunidade Aikanã, em cooperação com Hendrikus van der Voort, Museu Paraense Emílio Goeldi e Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen. A digitalização foi realizada por Willem Doelman, Amsterdam, 2010.



- Línguas: Aikanã [Português] <Kwazá>
- 1 Capitão Antônio, Capitão Pedro (± 1930, 1957)
 - 2 Capitão Antônio, Capitão Pedro (± 1940)
 - 3 Capitão Tapu (± 1925); ossada
 - 4 Capitão Ondükawana
 - 5 Aldeia grande, mandada por (3)
 - 6 Aldeia Masaká: Tuparão, Antônio, Cap. Pedro
 - 7 Capitão Getúlio (Masaká) (1966 – 1973)
 - 8 Aldeia Tubarão (desde 1973)
 - 9 Aldeia grande
 - 10 Cemitério & aldeia mista (± 1930 – 1945)
 - 11 Última aldeia dos Kwazá
 - 12 Onde Nordenskiöld encontrou os 'Huari' (= Aikanã, 1914)
 - 13 Aldeia Aikanã & Kwazá, por (7) (1962 – 1973)
 - 14 Campo com taquara
 - 15 Urure (± 1945)
 - 16 Capitão Pedro (± 1954)
- † Cemitério
 - △ Aldeia grande
 - ⌘ Caverna e arte rupestre
 - △ Maloca

CAMPO GRANDE
<Erikut'ite>

Este mapa foi concebido como um documento etno-histórico, e representa uma parte da memória coletiva do povo Aikanã dos tempos antigos. Este mapa é para lembrar, educar e conscientizar, e não tem pretensões políticas, fundiárias ou de qualquer outra natureza.

Linguistic similarities due to diffusion

(involving Aikanã, Kanoé, Kwaza, Mekens, Nambikwara)

Lexical elements

- independent words (very few basic)
- grammatical morphemes (classifiers, valency marking)

Grammatical constructions

- classifiers
- recursive person marking
- valence marking
- switch reference properties

The Aikanã (Masaka, Kassupa)

highly underdocumented, but at
least mentioned

fragments from:

Rondon 1913
Nordenskiöld 1914
Dequech 1941-43
Becker-Donner 1955
Hanke 1956

photo: Nordenskiöld's "Huari" in
1914

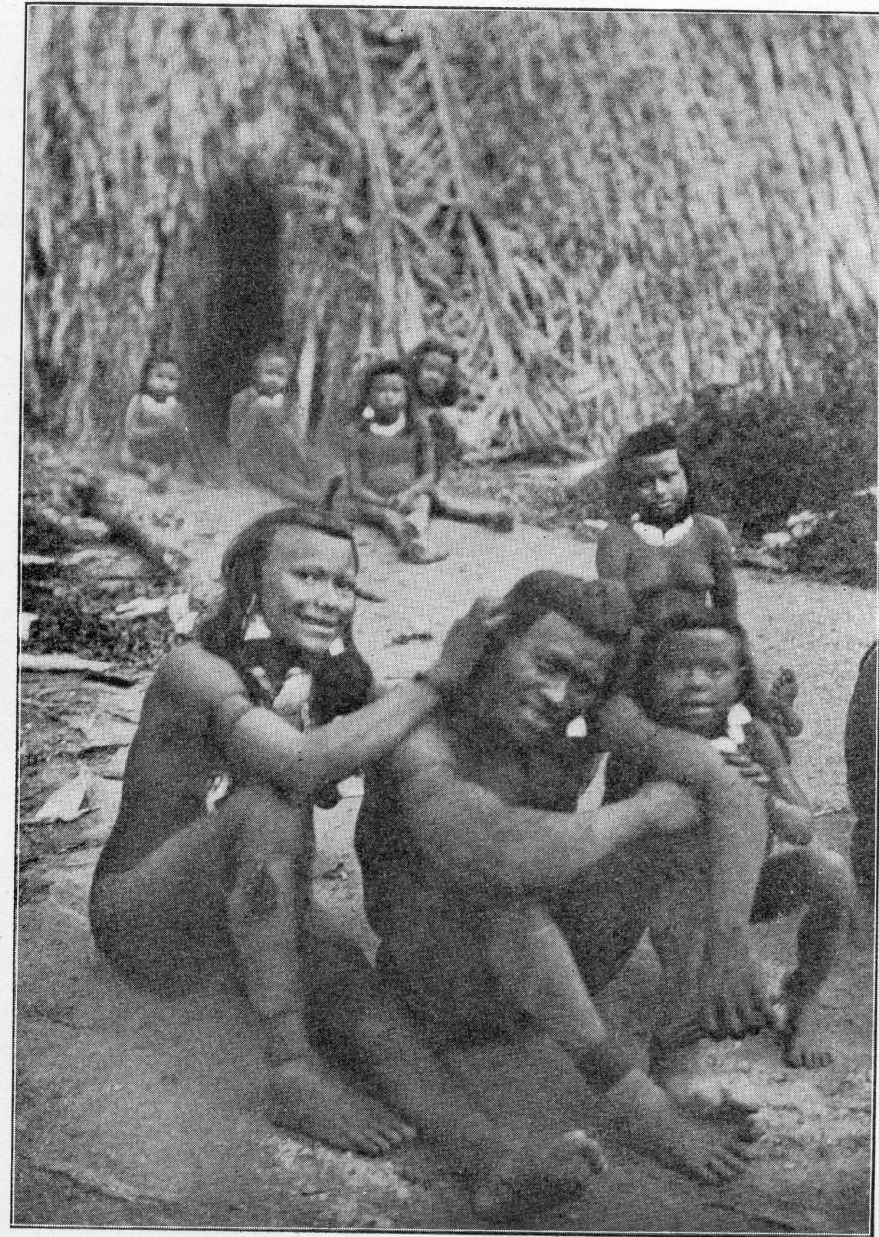


Bild 149. Huarikvinna plockar löss i huvudet på sin man.
De vita fläckarna på den något otydliga fotografien äro halsband
och örhängen av musselskal.

Flutes of the Mekens, Tuparí and Aikanã



Abb. 97. Viergriffige Längsflöte der Guaratãgaja. $\frac{1}{10}$ nat. Gr.

Mekens 1934



Abb. 94. Viergriffige Längsflöte der Tuparí. $\frac{1}{10}$ nat. Gr.

Tupari 1934



Bild 172.
Huari.

Aikanã 1914



Aikanã 2014

Western interference

- 20th century: disease, diaspora, genocide
- rubber, ipecac (1900-1950)
- **displacement by SPI (1930s-1950s)**
- BR 364 & immigration (1960-present)
- gold & diamond rush (1980s, 2000s)
- FUNAI indigenous reserves (1970s-2000s)
- rampant logging, alcoholism, evangelisation

Displacement expeditions by the S.P.I. 1930s-50s



The Guaporé reserve (Ricardo Franco, Baía das Onças, Baía da Coca, Baía Rica) now holds 10 ethnicities

Some modern multilingual settings

- *T.I. Rio Branco*: the contracted remainder of a traditional multiethnic region
- *T.I. Tubarão-Latundê*: unexpected encounters in a sandbox (*Wãizakai'ene* and *Akūsũ'ene*)
- *P.In. Ricardo Franco*: previous labour camp for 'superfluous' ethnic groups (some groups withdrew creating remoter multilingual settlements)
- *T.I. Omeré*: genocide survivors **Kanoé** and **Akuntsú** condemned to one another
- *Rondônian boomtowns*: loss and unexpected preservation (**Aikanã** and **Salamã**i in Porto Velho, **Kwaza** in Chupinguaia)
- Portuguese is now the lingua franca

Remainders and memories

- the songs of others (not necessarily understood)

Aruá sing Makurap

Aikanã sing/hum Kanoé, Mekens, Kwaza, Salamã

Kwaza sing “Kanoé”

- minority languages may survive among majority

Kwaza was ‘rediscovered’ in 1984

Kwaza also speak Aikanã, not the other way round

- linguistic traits

- shared aspects of mythology

Kwaza *Arikwãyũ*, Mekens *Arikwayõ*, Tupari *Arkoanyó*

- the traditional attitudes towards multilingualism were hardly documented, but may be inferrable

Sr. Anísio Aruá holds fast to the Aruá and Makurap languages, songs and material traditions.

(T.I. Rio Branco, 2017)



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