

UPPER RIO NEGRO

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC INTERACTION
IN NORTHWESTERN AMAZONIA

 *Edited by*
Patience Epps
Kristine Stenzel

Biblioteca Digital Curt Nimuendajú
<http://www.etnolinguistica.org/negro>

UPPER RIO NEGRO

CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC INTERACTION
IN NORTHWESTERN AMAZONIA

 *Edited by*
Patience Epps
Kristine Stenzel

Museu Nacional
Museu do Índio - Funai

Rio de Janeiro, 2013

Copyright © 2013

Edited by

Patience Epps
Kristine Stenzel

Design by

Kamy Rodrigues - LabLab Design
www.lablab.com.br

Cover Photography by

Gabriel Rosa

7.031.3(811) EPPS, Patience (coord); STENZEL, Kristine.
E63u (coord). Upper Rio Negro: cultural and
linguistic interaction in Northwestern
Amazonia / Patience Epps e Kristine
Stenzel. Rio de Janeiro: Museu do Índio –
FUNAI, Museu Nacional, 2013.

579p. il. color

978-85-85986-45-2

1. Negro, rio
2. Cultura indígena
3. Lingüística
4. Amazonia I. Título

Lidia Lucia Zelesco CRB-7 / 3401

**Digital edition available on the website of the Programa de Pós-
Graduação em Antropologia Social, Museu Nacional / UFRJ**
www.museunacional.ufrj.br/ppgas



UFRJ | Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro
Pós Graduação em Linguística



Biblioteca Digital Curt Nimuendajú
<http://www.etnolingustica.org/negro>

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Map - Upper Rio Negro Region	10
1. Introduction	13
<i>Patience Epps and Kristine Stenzel</i>	
I. CULTURE AND SOCIETY	
2. Pandora's box – Upper Rio Negro style	53
<i>Stephen Hugh-Jones</i>	
3. The Serpent, the Pleiades, and the One-legged Hunter: Astronomical themes in the Upper Rio Negro	91
<i>Patience Epps and Melissa Oliveira</i>	
4. Organização socioespacial e predomínios linguísticos no rio Tiquié	129
<i>Aloisio Cabalzar</i>	
5. Recolectando en el cielo: Elementos del manejo <i>Nikak</i> del mundo (Amazonia colombiana)	163
<i>Dany Mahecha and Carlos Franky</i>	
II. DISCOURSE AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY	
6. Toward an East Tukano ethnolinguistics: Metadiscursive practices, identity, and sustained linguistic diversity in the Vaupés basin of Brazil and Colombia	197
<i>Janet Chernela</i>	

**7. Women's song exchanges in the Northwest Amazon:
Contacts between groups, languages, and individuals 245**
Aimee J. Hosemann

**8. Semantic transparency and cultural calquing in the
Northwest Amazon 271**
Simeon Floyd

III. GRAMMAR AND LANGUAGE RELATIONSHIP

**9. Predicados complejos en el Noroeste Amazónico: El caso
del Yuhup, el Tatuyo y el Barasana 309**
Elsa Gomez-Imbert and Ana María Ospina Bozzi

**10. Contact and innovation in Vaupés possession-marking
strategies 353**
Kristine Stenzel

**11. Kubeo: Linguistic and cultural interactions in the Upper
Rio Negro 403**
Thiago Chacon

IV. HISTORICAL DYNAMICITY

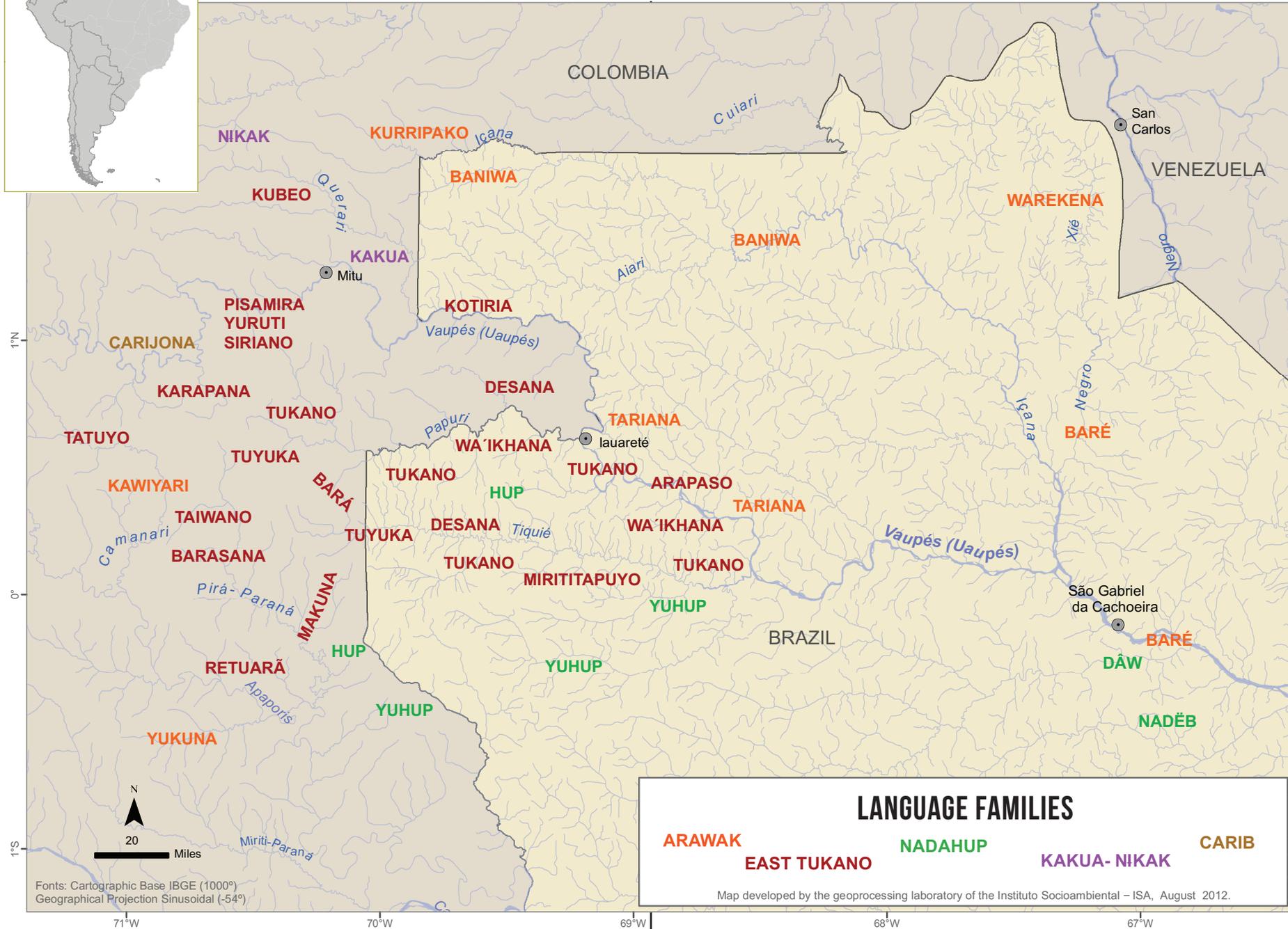
**12. Mythology, shamanism and epidemic diseases: A view from
the Upper Rio Negro region 441**
Dominique Buchillet

**13. Hierarquia e história: Notas sobre a descendência entre os
Tariano do rio Uaupés 475**
Geraldo Andrello

**14. Apuntes para una historia de los protestantes y su actuación
entre los pueblos Makú del Alto Río Negro-Vaupés 509**
Gabriel Cabrera Becerra

Author Information 569

UPPPER RIO NEGRO REGION



Fonts: Cartographic Base IBGE (1000°)
Geographical Projection Sinusoidal (-54°)

LANGUAGE FAMILIES

ARAWAK EAST TUKANO NADAHUP KAKUA-NIKAK CARIB

Map developed by the geoprocessing laboratory of the Instituto Socioambiental - ISA, August 2012.



**INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC INTERACTION
IN THE UPPER RIO NEGRO REGION¹**

Patience Epps

University of Texas at Austin

Kristine Stenzel

Federal University of Rio de Janeiro/UFRJ

.....

1. Work on this volume was supported by National Science Foundation grant HSD0902114 (Epps) and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Stenzel). We are also grateful for support from Marcus Maia and Bruna Franchetto, coordinators of the Post-graduate Programs in Linguistics and Social Anthropology, respectively; the Museu do Índio (FUNAI-RJ); and the Instituto Socioambiental. Our special thanks go to Renata Alves of the ISA Geoprocessing Laboratory for her design of the volume map and to Gabriel Rosa for permission to use his photograph for the cover. We also thank Aloisio Cabalzar and Janet Chernela for their helpful comments on this introduction. All remaining infelicities are of course our responsibility.

The Upper Rio Negro region of the northwest Amazon presents a complex puzzle of peoples, languages, and communities. On one hand these are strikingly diverse; on the other, they are characterized by close similarities, which span grammar, discourse, and cultural practice. This volume investigates these patterns of compatibility and contrast that define the Upper Rio Negro region as an integrated system – a set of interlocking parts whose functioning together is enabled by difference and facilitated by centuries of interaction.

The Upper Rio Negro watershed covers an area of approximately 250,000 square kilometers, encompassing the northwestern corner of the Amazon basin, 4°N to 2°50'S and 63° to 74°10'W (Bezerra et al. 1990; see also the volume Map 1). From its headwaters in Venezuela, the Rio Negro heads south into northwestern Brazil, where it turns toward the east above the town of São Gabriel da Cachoeira. Here the Negro is joined by the Içana River and then by the Vaupés, which flow eastward from their origins in the Colombian Altiplano; the area drained by these three river systems comprises the Upper Rio Negro region. The Rio Negro itself continues on toward Manaus, where it meets the Solimões to form the main body of the Amazon River. As the name 'Rio Negro' implies, a high tannin content lends a dark color to these waters, creating a stark contrast where they merge with the muddier waters of the Solimões. The sandy, acidic soils and low levels of nutrients in these blackwater river systems renders them far less productive than the whitewater systems found elsewhere in Amazonia; nevertheless, the region sustains an intricate system of peoples, languages, and cultural practices.

We are fortunate to have a substantial ethnographic and linguistic record for the Upper Rio Negro region, where earlier layers of documentation

by missionaries and explorers have been fleshed out over the past decades by trained anthropologists and linguists – many of whom are contributors to this volume – making the Upper Rio Negro by now one of the best-documented regions of lowland South America. A particularly salient aspect of this record, emphasized by visitors and inhabitants alike, are the regional distinctions in social, cultural, and linguistic practices, particularly involving language affiliation, marriage, subsistence, and relative social status. However, of similar salience are the commonalities shared among the Upper Rio Negro peoples, which have led to the region's frequent characterization as a cultural and linguistic area, with its own profile vis-à-vis other regions in Amazonia (see e.g. Galvão 1959, 1960; Goldman 1948; Jackson 1974, 1976; Neves 2001; 2011; Aikhenvald 1999, 2002, 2007; Epps 2007, 2008b; Stenzel and Gomez-Imbert 2009).

The chapters in this volume examine the dynamics and outcomes of cultural and linguistic interaction in the Upper Rio Negro region, bringing to bear perspectives of culture, discourse, language, and history. This discussion grew out of the symposium 'Cultural and Linguistic Interaction in the Upper Rio Negro Region, Amazonia', held at the 53rd International Congress of Americanists in Mexico City (July 19–24, 2009), at which many of the contributions to this volume were originally presented. Most of the chapters presented here are the work of scholars whose active research in the region is recent or current.

Our exploration focuses on the question of how difference is maintained and similarity established within the upper Rio Negro context. Why do particular practices (language, marriage, subsistence, etc.) emerge as distinct, and saliently so, while others converge? How are the processes of convergence and differentiation mediated by discourse? What role does

interactants' *awareness* of similarity and difference play, given that certain elements of linguistic and cultural practice may be more accessible to conscious manipulation than others (such as linguistic forms – words and sounds – as opposed to grammatical categories)? What are the implications of this awareness for the development and maintenance over time of linguistic and ethnic diversity? How have particular historical trajectories, both ancient and more recent, shaped contemporary practices? The themes explored in this volume inform our view of how the upper Rio Negro system links up with the wider South American region, and will also help us to understand how peoples more generally negotiate the dynamics of similarity and difference.

Just as interaction among human groups necessarily involves linguistic and cultural practices, norms, and creative events, so must our understanding of this interaction be informed by an interdisciplinary perspective that takes into account language, culture, and history. The chapters in this volume span this range of disciplinary approaches, bringing the insights of linguists, anthropologists, and historians collectively to bear on the question of interaction in the Rio Negro region. Similarly, the volume brings together an international group of scholars, writing in English, Portuguese, and Spanish, who are united by their common interest in the upper Rio Negro region. We hope that the multidisciplinary and multilingual presentation of this volume will represent an invitation to students, community members, and scholars from a variety of backgrounds and nationalities to participate in the conversation.

1. DIFFERENTIATION AND INTERACTION

Numerous observers have noted the 'systemic' nature of the Upper Rio Negro region, where linguistic and ethnic distinctions define the complementary parts of an interactive whole (e.g. Jackson 1974, 1976; Chernela 1982; Wright 1992; Arvello-Jiménez and Biord 1994; Ribeiro 1995; Hill 1996; Neves 1998, 2001; Vidal 2000). The system is held together via a complex web of descent, alliance, and exchange of goods and spouses.

The Upper Rio Negro region is a microcosm of linguistic diversity, set within the broader context of the linguistically diverse western Amazon. The area is home to some two dozen languages, which themselves correspond to four major linguistic groupings.² Arawak languages, widespread throughout the Amazon basin, are represented in the region by Tariana, Baniwa, Kurripako, Yukuna, and others. The East Tukano languages – of which there are over a dozen – are all located in the area of the Vaupés River basin, while their West Tukano sister languages are spoken in Colombia, Peru, and Ecuador. Three languages of the Nadahup family (Hup, Yuhup, and Dâw) are also found within the Vaupés, while their sister Nadëb is further downstream in the region of the middle Rio Negro. Finally, of the Kakua-Nïkak group, Kakua is spoken within the Vaupés basin, and Nïkak to the northwest along the Inirida and Guaviare

2. Names of the indigenous groups and languages of the region tend to exhibit considerable variation in the literature (as well as in local practice). In this volume, we attempt to strike a balance between overall coherence across chapters and the preferences of individual authors by making reference to multiple relevant names at first mention, then continuing with the name preferred by the author. The spelling of names is standardized throughout the volume.

Rivers. The Nadahup and Kakua-Níkak groups have until recently been lumped together as the ‘Makú’ family (e.g. Martins 2005), but recent work (Bolaños and Epps 2009) indicates that there is in fact no good evidence to support a relationship between them, and they are best considered two distinct language families. In addition to these four language groups, the European presence of the last few centuries has brought in Portuguese and Spanish, as well as Nheengatú (*língua geral amazônica*), a language of the Tupi-Guarani family (derived from Tupinambá). The latter language was spread by Portuguese colonists, explorers and Jesuit missionaries in the 17th and 18th centuries; it became the main lingua franca in the region throughout the 19th century and is still spoken in areas along the Rio Negro today (Freire 2004; Cruz 2011).

For many groups in the Upper Rio Negro region, a close association exists between language and ethnic identity, as is evident in many chapters in this volume. This link is associated with views on marriageability, as discussed below, most notably for the East Tukano peoples; however, a language-identity connection is emphasized throughout the region, as evidenced by the frequently encountered self-designation ‘People of Our Language’ (among the Arawak Wakuénai/Kurripako peoples, see Hill 1996:159; the East Tukano Kubeo [*pamíwa*], Goldman 1963; and also the Nadahup Hup people [*ʔinih ʔid-d’əh*], as documented by Epps; see also C. Hugh-Jones 1979; Jackson 1983; Chernela 1989, *inter alia*).

This congruence between language and ethnic identity has nonetheless diminished as many of the region’s languages have become endangered, due in large part to contact with the national society. Along the Rio Negro itself, many speakers of Arawak languages began shifting to Nheengatú in the mid 1700s, a process that intensified over the following

two centuries. Within the Vaupés subregion, including the lower parts of its main tributaries, the Tiquié and Papurí, speakers of Tariana, Wa’ikhana (Piratapuyo), Arapaso, and other languages have been shifting to Tukano, which had become the main lingua franca in this region by the early 20th century (see e.g. Stenzel 2005; Sorensen 1967). In urban areas in particular, such as São Gabriel da Cachoeira (Brazil) and Mitú (Colombia), shift has been predominantly in the direction of Portuguese and Spanish – although the establishment in 2002 of Tukano, Baniwa, and Nheengatú (alongside Portuguese) as official languages in the municipality of São Gabriel is, in part, an attempt to slow these trends. The extent to which linguistic and ethnic boundaries may have been fluid in the past, without the direct intervention of the non-Indian world, is unclear. While ethnohistorical accounts suggest that certain groups may have been assimilated into others via processes of ‘ethnogenesis’ (involving a congruent shift of both language and ethnic identity), there is as yet little solid evidence to support these claims (see e.g. Goldman’s 1963:26 suggestion that certain Kubeo groups may have once been Arawak, and others ‘Makú’; cf. Hill 1996; Hornborg and Hill 2011).

Another highly salient distinction in the Upper Rio Negro region relates to subsistence orientation, and overlaps partially with distinctions of language group and marriage practice. This division separates the ‘River People’ (the East Tukano and Arawak groups) from the ‘Forest People’ (the Nadahup and Kakua-Níkak peoples). We note that this latter category is locally referred to as ‘Makú’ (or variants thereof in the regional languages), and no doubt influenced the apparently erroneous linguistic grouping with the same name (see Bolaños and Epps 2009).³ The Forest

3. The origin of the name ‘Makú’ is uncertain, but its most likely source is

People, in general, occupy the interfluvial zones, locate their communities away from the major rivers, and prefer to travel on foot rather than by canoe. Their subsistence focus is hunting and gathering, but especially hunting; they have been characterized in the ethnographic literature as ‘professional hunters’ (Silverwood-Cope 1972; Reid 1979). While all Forest groups in the region currently practice some horticulture, their small-scale, lackadaisical approach to farming contrasts markedly with that of the River Indians. The River peoples, on the other hand, locate their communities along the major waterways, prefer to travel by canoe, and focus their subsistence activities on fishing and manioc cultivation (although they too do some hunting and gathering). We note that these categories are not monolithic; among the East Tukano groups, for example, the Desano people are known to live along smaller waterways and do relatively more hunting, and a similar distinction applies among internally ranked sibs within particular language groups (e.g. Chernela 1993; Cabalzar 2000). However, the basic categorial division between River and Forest Peoples is highly salient in the region.

The distinct subsistence orientations of the River and the Forest Peoples provide them with complementary places in the regional system. In general, these groups appear to have been in regular and frequent interaction over many generations, with the Forest Peoples providing hunted meat, labor, and forest products to the River Peoples in exchange for agricultural produce and trade goods (see, e.g. Silverwood-Cope 1972; Reid 1979; Pozzobon 1991; Jackson 1983; Athias 1995; Ribeiro 1995). While non-Indian visitors to the region have tended to take a more

.....

Arawak ‘do not speak’ (e.g. Baniwa-Curripaco *ma-aku* ‘NEGATIVE-speak’; see Koch-Grünberg 1906:877).

riverine perspective and describe this relationship as one of slavery or servanthood, ethnographers working with the Forest Peoples themselves have presented it as one of ‘symbiosis’ or ‘intelligent parasitism’ (Reid 1979:184; Ramos 1980; see also the references above), and Milton (1984) has described the relationship between these two groups in terms of complementary ecological niche exploitation. Of the contemporary Forest Peoples, the Nikak are the most removed from this interactive system, although linguistic and ethnohistorical evidence suggests that they may have maintained similar relations with Tukanoan and Arawak peoples in past centuries (Politis 2007:30; Mahecha 2007; Franky 2011:148).

The economic relevance of linguistic and ethnic distinctions is not limited to that of the Forest and River Peoples. The systemic nature of the Upper Rio Negro region also relies on a broad division of labor among different groups, such that each specializes – or traditionally specialized – in a particular commodity; as such, the Rio Negro resembles other regional systems such as the Upper Xingu (see Fausto et al. 2008:144). According to this practice of economic specialization, the Tuyuka make canoes, the Tukano carved benches, the Hup and Yuhup large manioc-carrying baskets, the Baniwa manioc graters, and so forth. Thus the circulation of material goods has facilitated the negotiation of interethnic liaisons, and vice versa (see e.g. Chernela 1992, 2008; S. Hugh-Jones 1992).

Also in partial overlap with linguistic boundaries in the region are distinctions associated with marriage practices; that is, how exogamous groups are defined. The best-known illustration of this overlap is that of the East Tukano peoples, whose practice of linguistic exogamy assumes the

basic exogamous group to be coterminous with the language group (see e.g. Sorensen 1967; S. Hugh-Jones 1979; C. Hugh-Jones 1979; Jackson 1983; Chernela 1989; Stenzel 2005). Language affiliation is understood in terms of descent, such that ethnic identity and language are both inherited through the male line. Nevertheless, most East Tukano people are able to speak or understand many more languages besides their own or ‘father’s language’, in particular those spoken by their mothers and other in-marrying women in the community. While linguistic exogamy is primarily an East Tukano practice, the match is not perfect; the Arawak Tariana also participate in the marriage network, consistent with their Vaupés River Indian identity (see Aikhenvald 1999, 2002, *inter alia*), as do the Yukuna (who intermarry with the East Tukano Retuarã) and the Baniwa who live on the Aiari (primary marriage partners for the Kotiria/Wanano). The East Tukano Kubeo and Makuna, on the other hand, generally do not engage in linguistic exogamy (see Goldman 1963; Århem 1981; Chacon, this volume).

East Tukano language groups are themselves associated with larger exogamous units, termed ‘phratries’, which link two or more language groups (Sorensen 1967:7; Gomez-Imbert 1993:256; Jackson 1983; Stenzel 2005:7). Phratrically associated peoples typically identify themselves as descended from a set of mythical brothers who once spoke the same language; however, a lack of close linguistic similarities indicates that in some cases the relationship actually derives from two groups’ practice of intermarrying with the same third group. Jackson (1983; see also Hill 1996) indicates that these phratric groups are – unlike the language groups – fluid and diffuse, as opposed to rigidly defined.

In contrast to East Tukano linguistic exogamy, marriage for other Upper Rio Negro peoples is normally endogamous from the perspective of language or ethnic group. For Arawak peoples outside the Vaupés – and also for the Makuna (see Århem 1981:116) and Kubeo (see Goldman 1963:26; Chacon, this volume) – the basic exogamous unit is the phratry, and multiple phratries exist within the broader language group. Hill (1996:146) notes the apparent contrast between the more Arawak-like model of localized, exogamous phratries within the language group, and the more Tukano-like model of localized, exogamous language groups distributed among dispersed, larger-level phratries.

Nadahup and Kakua marriage practices, like those of the Arawak, are endogamous with respect to the language group, and thus also contrast with the East Tukano model. Among the Kakua and Nadahup groups of the Vaupés, exogamous clans form two distinct intermarrying phratries; however, in practice this dual structure is not rigid, although exogamy between clans is more strictly followed (see Pozzobon 1991; Silverwood-Cope 1972; Reid 1979). In contrast, ethnographic studies of the Nìkak (Cabrera et al. 1994, 1999; Franky 2011) report no evidence of exogamous clans like those seen in the Vaupés, in keeping with the Nìkak’s relative isolation from the Upper Rio Negro system.

All of the Upper Rio Negro peoples practice patrilineal descent, and all tend to describe their living patterns as patrivirilocal. However, different groups in fact pull from two opposing models of social organization to differing degrees – that of localized, exogamous descent groups, and that of social units built around consanguinity and local endogamy (see Cabalzar 2000, this volume; Hugh-Jones 1993, 1995). The Forest

Peoples exhibit a general contrast to the East Tukano and Arawak groups in their flexible application of principles of alliance versus descent in determining where a couple will live (see discussion in Franky 2011:40). A similar flexibility is observed within some East Tukano groups as well; for example, among low-ranking Tuyuka sibs the local groups tend to include affines, as discussed by Cabalzar (1995, 2000).

The hierarchical organization of social units is an important aspect of the Upper Rio Negro system, and has direct relevance to patterns of interaction in the region (e.g. see Chernela 1993, 2001). One widely relevant point of imbalance is that between River and Forest Peoples, in which the River Indians maintain a socially dominant position, and thus tend to exert more direct control in contexts of interaction. The East Tukano and Arawak peoples describe their Forest Indian neighbors as childish, disorganized, and irresponsible; they characterize their languages as animal-like and impossible to learn, and the East Tukanos fault them for the ‘incestuous’ nature of their linguistically endogamous marriages (Reid 1979; Jackson 1983; Pozzobon 1991; Epps 2008a; see also Cabalzar, this volume). The Forest People respond by joking privately at their expense, stealing coveted items, or simply by pulling out of the interaction and returning to the forest.

Other hierarchical relations exist in the region on a more fine-grained level. The East Tukano and Arawak language groups are not generally understood to be formally ranked with respect to each other, although in practice imbalances do exist (and the past few generations have seen widespread shift to Tukano, due in large part to outside intervention). Internally, the East Tukano language groups and the Arawak phratries are divided into ranked sibs (clans), as noted above, which are of relevance

to social interaction, marriage practice, location of communities, and access to resources (see C. Hugh-Jones 1979; Vidal 1999; Chernela 1993, 2001; Cabalzar 2000). A similar ranking of clans is described by Nadahup and Kakua peoples for their own groups (see references above), but in practice these hierarchies appear to have little relevance in daily life. Silverwood-Cope (1972) and Reid (1979; see also Franky 2011) observe that the Forest People’s ephemeral ranking system may be little more than a nod to the East Tukano model; different approaches to hierarchy in social organization across the region may also derive from the variable prioritization of the models of alliance versus descent, as discussed by Cabalzar (2000; see also Århem 1989; Hugh-Jones 1993). There appears to be no evidence of hierarchical relations within Nìkak groups (Cabrera et al. 1994, 1999; Franky 2011).

The dynamics of interaction and social ranking have direct bearing on the patterns of multilingualism in the region. Due to their practice of linguistic exogamy and the exposure to multiple languages that it engenders, most East Tukano peoples are highly multilingual, as were the Tariana before their shift to Tukano. Kubeo and Arawak peoples on the fringes of the Vaupés are less likely to speak multiple languages, although the Kubeo language (and social structure) reveals evidence of extensive interaction with Arawak speakers in the past, some of which is ongoing. On the other hand, marriage between similarly ranked clans within particular language groups may foster clan-based dialectal differentiation, although this possibility is difficult to test without fine-grained linguistic data. Within the Vaupés, the Forest Peoples (Hup, Yuhup, and Kakua) are widely bilingual in East Tukano languages, but this bilingualism is not reciprocated, in keeping with the social imbalance that pertains between these two sets of peoples.

2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

A deeper understanding of the Upper Rio Negro system requires a view into the past. When did the groups living in the region today first come together, and how have they interacted in the intervening time? How have the dynamics of this interaction changed in response to historical events?

Relatively little is known about the early history of the Upper Rio Negro region, but it is likely that its multiethnic system has been in place for many centuries – at least 600 years, according to Neves (1998), but he notes that it is probably much older: human occupation of the lower Vaupés basin likely dates back at least 3200 years (Neves 1998:3). Since that time, its current inhabitants presumably entered in successive waves of migration. To date, Nimuendajú's (1950, see Neves 1998:181; Wright 1992) hypothesis of how this process occurred is probably still our best guess – though it remains little more than a guess. According to Nimuendajú, the Forest Peoples (or Makú) were likely the first in the region; their relatively autochthonous status is consistent with the local distribution of the Nadahup and Kakua-Níkak languages. The Arawak would have been the next wave, perhaps entering from the north (which in recent work has been identified as a likely epicenter of Arawak expansion; see Aikhenvald 1999; Vidal 2000; Heckenberger 2002; Zucchi 2002; Neves 2011:45; cf. Walker and Ribeiro 2011), and pushing the Forest Peoples into the interfluvial zones. The ceramic record suggests that Arawak peoples have lived within the Rio Negro basin for at least 1600 years (Neves 2001:275).

The Arawak were likely followed by the East Tukano peoples. The distribution of the Tukano language family, with its western and eastern branches, may indicate that the East Tukano peoples moved into the

Vaupés from the west (see Chacon, forthcoming a), but we note that the East Tukano origin stories speak of an eastern origin involving travel up the Rio Negro into the Vaupés. The ensuing period of interaction among East Tukano and Arawak groups led to significant cultural exchange. While this exchange probably occurred in both directions, comparative evidence suggests Arawak influence in the elaboration of bitter manioc production among East Tukano groups (see Chacon forthcoming b), and in the widespread adoption of the Yurupari tradition, with its sacred trumpets forbidden to women (see Chaumeil 1997). Hill (1996) proposes that the East Tukano practice of linguistic exogamy may have formed in response to the Arawak presence (see also Reichel-Dolmatoff 1989, who suggests that the practice may have developed via the abduction and marriage of Arawak women by East Tukano invaders). Linguistic evidence from the Nadahup languages (Epps forthcoming) suggests that Nadahup–East Tukano interaction began at the time of the common ancestor of Hup, Yuhup, and Dâw, when only Nadëb had branched off the family tree – so perhaps a millennium or more in the past. In contrast, the Arawak Tariana were a relatively late arrival in the Vaupés region, coming from the direction of the Aiari River around 600 years ago to occupy lands already inhabited by the Kotiria/Wanano and Tukano (Cabalzar and Ricardo 1998:57; Neves 1998, 2001:282; Aikhenvald 2002:24).

The different histories of the Rio Negro peoples are no doubt reflected in their different origin stories, although many of these also reveal influences from other groups. The East Tukano accounts focus on a river voyage in an ancestral anaconda canoe (see the volumes in the series *Coleção Narradores Indígenas do Rio Negro*, e.g. Azevedo and Azevedo 2003; see also Goldman 1963, 2004; S. Hugh-Jones 1979), whereas the Arawak peoples of the region claim that they originated from the Uaupuí rapids

on the Aiari River, within the Rio Negro region (see Wright 1992:256; Andrello, this volume). Regarding the Forest Peoples, Reid (1979:21) reports that the Hup people say they came on foot from the east (where other Nadahup languages are spoken), and the Kakua say they came from the northeast, from the Orinoco. However, the contemporary Hup origin stories recorded by Epps involve an anaconda canoe, similar to those told by the East Tukanos, and Silverwood-Cope (1972:214) likewise notes that the Kakua origin myth includes extensive river travel in anaconda (or boa) canoes. On the other hand, Reid (1979:21) reports that the East Tukanos say the Forest Peoples were in the region first; this is corroborated by the Hup stories told to Epps that define them as the ‘elder brothers’ of the Tukano peoples in mythic early times.

The distribution of groups in the Upper Rio Negro region has shifted in the past few centuries in response to the devastating consequences of European contact and conquest. Waves of epidemics were punctuated by slaving expeditions, which removed some 20,000 people from the region in the first decades of the 18th century alone (Neves 2001; Chernela and Leed 2003; Wright 2005:51; Stenzel 2005; Buchillet, this volume). The late 18th and 19th centuries saw downriver migrations fill the vacuum left by these events, such as the move of the Tukano and Desana from the Papuri River to the Tiquié.

Over the last century and a half and into the present, ever-increasing contact with the national society has been driving significant changes in the lives of the Upper Rio Negro peoples. The rubber boom and the presence of exploitive commercial traders during the late 19th and early 20th centuries had a brutal impact on the indigenous people of the region (Nimuendajú 1950; Cabalzar and Ricardo 1998). It was probably

the ravages of the rubber trade that prompted the Nìkak to move north into their present territory, breaking off relations with the Kakua and the East Tukano and Arawak peoples (Mahecha 2007; Franky 2011). Most certainly, abuses on the part of traders were an impetus for increased Salesian missionary presence in the region, though the price paid for missionary ‘protection’ was a different, and in the eyes of many, equally noxious brand of interference.

The activities of missionaries, and especially their decades-long practice of obligating Indian children to live in mission boarding schools far from home, played a major role in the acceleration of processes of language shift and language loss in the region, and led to the cessation of ritual and religious practices in many communities (see, among others, Chernela 2012; Cabalzar and Ricardo 1998; Aikhenvald 2002; Stenzel 2005). Recent decades have seen a decrease in the missionary presence as well as significant advances in political organization, alternative educational initiatives and movement towards the recuperation of traditional cultural and linguistic practices (see Oliveira 2005; F. Cabalzar 2010, 2012). At the same time, access to faster means of travel, greater participation in the national economy, and increasing migration to urban centers have resulted in a new set of changes in subsistence practice and lifestyle (see e.g. Lasmar 2005; Andrello 2006; Lopes Diniz 2011).

Despite the profound demographic, social, and cultural changes brought about by European contact and conquest, Neves (1998:363–364) argues that “the Upper Rio Negro regional system is structurally similar to what it was before the sixteenth century [...] because the dynamics of social change in the Upper Rio Negro were structurally conditioned by indigenous cultural categories both before and after the conquest.” It

remains to be seen what effects the changes of the contemporary period will have on the future of the system.

3. CONVERGENCE AND NEGOTIATING DIVERSITY

The centuries of interaction among upper Rio Negro peoples have had profound effects on their social, cultural, and linguistic practices. Widespread similarities attest to the intensive interaction that crosscuts the various social divisions discussed above. The chapters in this volume consider a number of these common features that define the Rio Negro system, as well as some of the differences that set particular groups apart.

3.1. SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Despite the social divisions that enable the dynamicity of the system, the Rio Negro peoples appear strikingly homogeneous in many respects. The region's status as a 'culture area' has been noted by numerous observers. Among the many features widely encountered in the region, Galvão (1960; see also Neves 1998:145; Silverwood-Cope 1972, 1990; Vidal 1999; *inter alia*) lists agricultural practices focusing on bitter manioc cultivation and processing; common characteristics of basket and pottery making; use of curare and blow-guns; large rectangular malocas (longhouses); patrilineal, exogamic clans; religious importance of ancestors and a set of mythological heroes, one identified with Yuruparí; the ritual use of masks and sacred trumpets, forbidden to women (also associated with Yurupari); and the use of paricá snuff, coca (ipadu), and ayahuasca (*Banisteriopsis caapi*). A subset of these regional practices are also encountered within the wider context of the northwest Amazon (particularly in the direction of northern Peru), and attest to the involvement of the Rio Negro system

in broader networks of trade and interaction; these include the use of the Yurupari trumpets, ritual bark masks, ayahuasca and other substances, longhouse habitation, and large signal drums (see Neves 2001:269).

The direction of cultural influence among the Upper Rio Negro groups is often difficult to pin down, but clues exist in the distribution of particular phenomena, as noted above. For example, words for 'ayahuasca', 'coca', and the name of the mythical culture hero (which translates in various regional languages as something like 'Bone-Son') are found throughout the region, but are attested most widely in the Arawak languages, suggesting an Arawak source. In many cases, the direction of cultural influence undoubtedly corresponds to that of linguistic influence, which may be more easily traced. In the Upper Rio Negro, East Tukano languages have profoundly influenced both Arawak Tariana and the Nadahup languages Hup and Yuhup, whereas Kubeo and Retuarã have incorporated more effects of Arawak.

In this volume, the chapter by HUGH-JONES investigates the question of cultural similarities among Upper Rio Negro peoples, with a focus on body ornamentation and its role in ritual practice. Hugh-Jones argues that, for East Tukano and Arawak peoples of the region, similar styles in male ceremonial dress and associated paraphernalia reflect important features of the regional social system. These include status differences and their relevance to restricted exchange, norms of self-presentation, political and aesthetic positioning, cosmological belief, and ritual performance.

Regional similarities are also a focus of the chapter by EPPS & OLIVEIRA, which investigates Upper Rio Negro ethnoastronomies.

The authors explore the relevance of ethnoastronomical beliefs to a range of ritual and everyday practices via the association of the stars with yearly calendrical cycles, ritual practices, and myth. Common themes can be identified among the constellations recognized, the myths of their origin, and the beliefs associated with them. These common features pertain throughout the Rio Negro region in particular, but traces of them may also be seen much farther afield, linking the Rio Negro to regions as far away as the Guianas and the Andes.

Contributions to this volume also consider how the system holds together – how patterns of similarity and difference are negotiated and maintained. CABALZAR investigates these questions through the lens of marriage practices in the Tiquié region. He explores their multilingual and multiethnic character, considering the relevance of hierarchy and social organization in space. Focusing on records of marriages registered at the Salesian Mission in Pari-Cachoeira between 1940 and 1990, he shows that marriage practices on the one hand clearly reflect traditional exogamic norms, even in situations in which actual language use practices are shifting. On the other hand, Cabalzar shows that, for East Tukano groups, exogamy is not the only factor driving marriage practices. These also function to create socially and geographically relevant networks of alliances within the regional system, thus demonstrating that language and socio-spatial relationships are highly interrelated.

While some chapters highlight points of similarity, others focus on how the forces of cultural and linguistic homogeneity are circumscribed, showing that certain groups are not as integrated into the system as others and stand out as more distinct from a cultural or linguistic perspective, their exceptional status thus accentuating regional similarities. MAHECHA

& FRANKY, for example, show that although Nikak culture includes a number of features traceable to longstanding contact with Arawak and East Tukano groups, it has also been shaped in distinctive ways by their relative geographic isolation on the outer periphery of the Upper Rio Negro system and their maintenance of a more nomadic lifestyle. Thus, Nikak cosmology and social relations are suggested to be more in sync with those of other Amazonian forager populations than with surrounding Vaupesian models based on reciprocal exchange.

Similarly, CHACON (see also 3.3 below) discusses some of the historical processes that have contributed to the contrastive status of the Kubeo, in light of linguistic and cultural features generally shared by other East Tukano groups. Not only do Kubeo marriage practices conform more closely to the Arawak than to the East Tukano exogamic model (as discussed in works such as Goldman 1963 and Hill 1996, and briefly outlined above), but the Kubeo also tend toward monolingualism. The author argues further that many features of the present-day Kubeo language – both lexical and structural – point to its development from a complex mixture of Tukano and Arawak matrixes.

3.2. DISCOURSE AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY

As observed above, a crucial relationship pertains between language and ethnic identity for the peoples of the Upper Rio Negro region. Interaction among groups tends to involve significant communication, and fosters pervasive multilingualism among the East Tukano and forest peoples of the region; at the same time, language ideologies emphasize language loyalty and promote linguistic difference as major tenets of the system. Such notions are clearly observable in statements such as the following, by a man

from an East Tukano group: “If we were all Tukano speakers, where would we get our women?” (Jackson 1983:170), and the Tariana expression *na-sawayã na-sape* ‘they borrow they speak’, used to describe people who no longer speak their father’s language (Aikhenvald 2002:27).

Several chapters in this volume explore questions related to language use practices and how these contribute to the maintenance of distinct cultural identities. The chapter by CHERNELA outlines the defining features of an East Tukano language ideology – based on extended work with the Wanano/Kotiria – as reflected in speakers’ metalinguistic observations and overt speech practices. Her examples demonstrate how speakers perceive and qualify differences between languages, and how such perceptions contribute to the formation of a theory of language that establishes norms of language use. A particularly interesting contrast is drawn between the more ‘rigid’ East Tukano and the more ‘accommodative’ Arawak attitudes toward language use, and the resulting long-term consequences within this particular context of intense language contact (in which most people command multiple languages, but identify principally with one). The East Tukano ideology leads to greater insistence on each speaker’s overt demonstration of loyalty to their linguistic identity, such that conversations often involve multiple languages. Within the more tolerant Arawak model, loyalty is a factor, but speakers are more likely to use another person’s language as a gesture of accommodation (Aikhenvald 2002:23). The author concludes that this seemingly subtle difference in attitude among Arawak speakers has likely contributed to processes of language shift, such as that experienced by the Tariana, while the more restrictive East Tukano model has been more conducive to long term language maintenance even in the context of widespread multilingualism.

While linguistic codes may differ, the linguistically mediated interaction among many of the Rio Negro groups is profound. Frequent interaction shapes discourse in the region (cf. Beier et al. 2002): we find widely shared themes and discursive strategies in narrative, especially within the Vaupés, but also among the Baniwa and other Arawak groups in the broader region. For example, stories with similar themes and protagonists turn up across language groups (such as the tale of the tortoise who pursued the tapir and killed him by biting him in a very sensitive spot, told by speakers of Hup, Tariana, and various East Tukano languages). Similarly, shamanic incantations in different language groups reveal closely comparable structure and content; compare Buchillet (1992) on Desana to the Hup incantations recorded by Epps and by Danilo Paiva Ramos (e.g. Epps 2008a:916; Ramos p.c. to Epps).

Similarities in discourse also include close resemblances in music and song, as can be seen in Piedade’s (1997) comparison of the Wakuénai/Kurripako Arawak and Tukano musical traditions. HOSEMANN focuses on this topic in her discussion of Upper Rio Negro women’s song exchanges, as observed among Kotiria/Wanano, Wakuénai, and Hup women. In these exchanges, the theme of ‘women as outsiders’ is pervasive, regardless of the extent to which the performing woman is in fact an outsider in her particular living situation. Thus, the genre on the one hand reflects a collective recognition of women’s placement in exogamous, patrilocal societies, and an acknowledgement that experiences of solitude, isolation, and even poverty are commonly shared. On the other hand, the author points out the flexibility inherent to the genre, which allows singers the freedom to improvise and create dialogue about particular circumstances involving themselves or their listeners.

Pervasive interaction through discourse also leads to congruence among ethnonyms and toponyms of the region, as explored in FLOYD's discussion of 'cultural calquing' in the Upper Rio Negro region. The author points out that maintenance of a shared culture involving diverse linguistic groups is reinforced by semantic transparency, which ensures that culturally significant meanings are kept similar even across linguistic boundaries (see also Hugh-Jones 2002). Thus, the practice contributes to unity and diversity at the same time, and in this particular case results in names that are phonologically distinct but semantically equivalent across languages.

3.3. GRAMMAR AND LANGUAGE RELATIONSHIP

Despite local restrictions on language mixing, various studies of the region's languages indicate that multilingualism has led to profound contact effects and the development of a number of areal linguistic features – even while linguistic diversity is largely maintained (see, for example, Aikhenvald 1996, 1999, 2002; Gomez-Imbert 1996, 1999; Epps 2005, 2007, 2008b; Stenzel and Gomez-Imbert 2009; Stenzel, this volume; Gomez-Imbert and Ospina, this volume). Strong cultural condemnation of language mixing results in highly constrained code-switching and relatively little lexical borrowing from other regional languages (in comparison to that observed in many other multilingual contexts); thus contact has a limited effect on those features of sound system and lexicon (in particular) of which speakers are most aware. However, diffusion continues unchecked below speakers' 'level of awareness' (see Silverstein 1981) or where tolerance of linguistic similarity otherwise exists, occurring through mechanisms such as calquing (loan translation, e.g. as discussed by Floyd, this volume), development of parallel semantic categories, and convergence of grammatical features.

In this volume, GOMEZ-IMBERT & OSPINA discuss complex predicates as one such areal grammatical feature, and explore their occurrence in languages of the Nadahup and the East Tukano families. These complex predicates are composed of verbal compounds or 'serialized verbs', and are commonly employed to express spatial notions accompanying an event (directionality, position or orientation), as well as to indicate aspectual distinctions related to perfectivity, change of state and habituality. In addition, the authors discuss how the ordering of the verbal roots affects interpretation of spatial semantics or of cause-and-effect relations.

Grammatical convergence spurred by contact, though pervasive, is rarely absolute. Even when clearly influenced by other languages, languages may nevertheless rely on their own resources to develop new structures and categories – often resulting in additional complexity, and always steeped in nuance (see Aikhenvald 2002; Epps 2005, 2007). The chapter by STENZEL discusses this point in relation to possessive marking strategies in languages of the Vaupés, pointing out both structural and semantic similarities that are likely the result of contact, as well as details of each system that demonstrate how contact and language-internal resources conspire to produce strategies with fine-grained distinctions.

Intense contact among languages raises challenges in determining relationships rooted in inheritance from a common ancestor. This is especially true for languages that are both in constant contact and truly 'genealogically' related, such as the members of the East Tukano family. In such cases, determining subgrouping on the family tree is complicated by the fact that words across two or more languages may be similar via inheritance or as the result of contact, and sorting out which criteria

are responsible can be complex. CHACON's study of Kubeo and its place within the East Tukano family illustrates the challenges in teasing out these different kinds of relationship. Kubeo's place on the East Tukano family tree indicates that its relative isolation – both geographic and social, given its lower level of integration in the linguistic exogamy system – has caused the language to diverge from the other East Tukano languages in lexicon and grammar. Chacon argues that the previous classification of Kubeo as forming a distinct 'Central' branch of the East Tukano family tree is in error (see also Franchetto and Gomez-Imbert 2003), and that its divergence reflects both Arawak influence and a lower degree of contact-related convergence between Kubeo and the other East Tukano languages.

3.4. HISTORICAL DYNAMICITY

Several papers in this volume investigate how the Upper Rio Negro system has responded to the profound changes brought about by contact with the non-Indian world, and how these experiences have been incorporated into the regional worldview. In these examples, we see illustrations of Neves' (1998) point that social change in the region has been structurally conditioned by indigenous cultural categories (see also e.g. Wright 1998, 2005; Hill 2008).

BUCHILLET's contribution to this volume investigates how the region's peoples perceive and qualify infectious diseases attributable to interethnic contact (smallpox, measles and malaria), and how they employ their own sociocultural resources in dealing with them. Interestingly, groups differ in their qualification of these diseases as indigenous or non-indigenous. Epidemics are in some cases associated with particular properties of

non-indigenous goods; for example, measles and smallpox for some East Tukano groups are mythically associated with glass beads traded between indigenous and non-indigenous people. In contrast, the Arawak Baniwa associate the same diseases with their own manioc graters. Whether viewed as indigenous or non-indigenous, the origins of these diseases are generally treated in myth and their manifestations are combated by shamanic spells that invoke the noxious item or otherwise deal with it magically.

The chapter by ANDRELLO explores the development of the unusually deep genealogy of a particular clan of Tariana, the Koivathe. The author argues that the Koivathe's unique genealogical knowledge is the result, on the one hand, of their occupation for many generations of a territory claimed by other groups, and on the other, of their longstanding association with non-Indian people and integration of their European names. The establishment of the clan's liaison with colonizers can be traced to the 18th century; this liaison is evidence of the clan's prominent position and serves still to assert their elevated position in the regional hierarchy. The study illustrates the mechanisms by which hierarchy may be negotiated and maintained, and how indigenous social relations have been partially mediated by relationships with the non-indigenous peoples who have penetrated the region.

As noted above, missionaries have played a major role in the region, and have modified and continue to have an effect on regional interactions. Their contribution to a shift toward a more monolingual ethos is discussed in a number of sources (e.g. Chernela 1993; Cabalzar and Ricardo 1998; Aikhenvald 2002). Furthermore, their role as new players within the existing regional system has at times changed the dynamics between particular groups. For example, over the last decades of the 20th century,

the Kakua of the community of Wacar  (Colombia) gave up their trade relations with East Tukano neighbors to deal almost exclusively with SIL-associated missionaries; as a result, most younger Kakua members of this community do not speak East Tukano languages, unlike their elders (Katherine Bola os, p.c.). The chapter by CABRERA explores the history of missionaries in the region, and in particular their relations with the Forest Peoples. While Catholic missionary activity in the region dates back several centuries, the author focuses on the more recent presence of North American protestant missionary organizations, notably the Summer Institute of Linguistics, the New Tribes Mission, and their locally affiliated organizations. Cabrera considers how the evangelical missionary presence has transformed the practices of individual groups, and investigates missionaries effects on regional dynamics, particularly involving the Forest Peoples' relations with others in the region.

CONCLUSION

The chapters in this volume illustrate the close association between differentiation and interaction within the Upper Rio Negro context. While locally salient distinctions divide the peoples of the region into categories defined by language, subsistence practice, marriage preference, and so forth, centuries of frequent interaction have shaped many aspects of their lives according to a common mold. Cultural practices, discursive norms, and linguistic structures have been maintained, shared, created, and recreated in the context of this regional system, in the awareness of how others act and react, and in the structuring of identity through the perception of similarity and difference. The contributions presented here explore the dynamics of these processes. Just as interaction within the Upper Rio Negro region spans culture, discourse, and language,

and brings together peoples of many ethnicities and languages, we hope that the multidisciplinary and multilingual approach of this volume will encourage many more voices to continue the discussion.

REFERENCES

- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1996. Areal diffusion in North-West Amazonia: the case of Tariana. *Anthropological Linguistics* 38: 73-116.
- _____. 1999. Areal diffusion and language contact in the I ana-Vaup s basin, North West Amazonia. *The Amazonian Languages*, eds. Robert M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, pp. 385-415. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2002. *Language Contact in Amazonia*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2007. Semantics and pragmatics of grammatical relations in the Vaup s linguistic area. *Grammars in Contact: A Cross-linguistic Typology*, eds. Alexandra Aikhenvald and Robert M. W. Dixon, pp. 237-266. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andrello, Geraldo. 2006. *Cidade do  ndio: transforma es e cotidiano em Iauaret *. S o Paulo: Editora UNESP/ISA/NUTI.
-  rhem, Kaj. 1981. *Makuna Social Organization*. Uppsala Studies in Cultural Anthropology 4. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International.
- _____. 1989. The Mak , the Makuna and the Guiana systems: transformations of social structure in northern lowland South America. *Ethnos* 54(1-2): 5-22.
- Arvelo-Jim nez, N. and H. Biord. 1994. The impact of conquest on contemporary indigenous peoples of the Guiana Shield: the system of Orinoco regional interdependence. *Amazonian Indians from Prehistory to the Present: Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. A. Roosevelt, pp. 55-78. Tucson, AZ and London: The University of Arizona Press.

Athias, Renato. 1995. Hupdê-Maku et Tukano: relations inégales entre deux sociétés du Uaupés, amazonien (Brésil). PhD dissertation, Université de Paris X.

Azevedo, Miguel and Antenor Nascimento Azevedo. 2003. Dahsea Hausirô Porã uk~ushe Wiophesase merã bueri turi. Mitologia Sagrada dos Tukano Hausirô Porã. São Paulo/São Gabriel da Cachoeira: Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro (FOIRN)/União das Nações Indígenas do rio Tiquié.

Beier, Christine; Lev Michael; and Joel Sherzer. 2002. Discourse forms and processes in indigenous lowland South America: an area-typological perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 121-145.

Bezerra, P. E. L., B. C. C. da Cunha, J. O. Del'Arco, V. A. Drago, and R. M. G. de Montalvão. 1990. Geologia. Projeto Zoneamento das Potencialidades dos Recursos Naturais da Amazônia Legal, pp. 91-164. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE/SUDAM (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística/Superintendência para o Desenvolvimento da Amazônia).

Bolaños, Katherine and Patience Epps. 2009. Linguistic classification of Kakua, a language of northwest Amazonia. *Annals of the IV Congress on Indigenous Languages of Latin America CILLA*, Austin, Texas.

Buchillet, Dominique. 1992. Nobody is there to hear: Desana therapeutic incantations. In *Portals of Power: Shamanism in South America*, E. Jean Matteson Langdon and Gerhard Baer (eds.). Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Cabalzar, Aloisio. 1995. Organização social tuyuca. MA thesis, Universidade de São Paulo.

_____. 2000. Descendência e aliança no espaço tuyuka. A noção de nexo regional no noroeste amazônico. *Revista de Antropologia* 43: 61-88.

_____ and Beto Ricardo. 1998. Povos Indígenas do alto e médio rio Negro: uma introdução à diversidade cultural e ambiental do noroeste da Amazônia brasileira. São Paulo/São Gabriel da Cachoeira: Instituto Socioambiental/FOIRN.

Cabalzar, Flora. 2010. Experiências de autonomia e gestão. Povos Indígenas no Brasil 2001-2005, eds. Beto Ricardo and Fany Ricardo, pp. 250-253. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.

_____. (ed.). 2012. Educação escolar indígena no Rio Negro: relatos de experiências e lições aprendidas. São Paulo/São Gabriel da Cachoeira: Instituto Socioambiental/ Federação das Organizações Indígenas do Rio Negro.

Cabrera, Gabriel; Carlos Franky; and Dany Mahecha. 1994. Aportes a la etnografía de los níkak y su lengua – Aspectos sobre fonología segmental. *Ethnologue*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia.

_____; Carlos Franky; and Dany Mahecha. 1999. Los níkak: Nómadas de la Amazonía colombiana. Santafé de Bogotá: Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Fundación Gaia – Amazonas.

Chacon, Thiago. Forthcoming a. A revised proposal of Proto-Tukanoan consonants and Tukanoan family classification. *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

_____. Forthcoming b. On proto-languages and archaeological cultures: pre-history and material culture in the Tukanoan family. *Brazilian Journal of Anthropological Linguistics*.

Chaumeil, Jean-Pierre. 1997. Les os, les flûtes, les morts. Mémoire et traitement funéraire en Amazonie. *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 83: 83-110.

Chernela, Janet. 1982. Estrutura social do Uaupés. *Anuario Antropologico* 81: 59-69.

_____. 1989. Marriage, language, and history among Eastern Tukanoan speaking peoples of the Northwest Amazon. *The Latin American Anthropology Review* 1(2): 36-42.

_____. 1992. Social meanings and material transaction: the Wanano-Tukano of Brazil and Colombia. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 11: 111-124.

- _____. 1993. *The Wanano Indians of the Brazilian Amazon: A Sense of Space*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- _____. 2001. Piercing distinctions: making and re-making the social contract in the northwest Amazon. *Beyond the Visible and the Material: The Amerindianization of Society in the Work of Peter Rivièrè*, eds. Neil Whitehead and Laura Rival, pp. 177-196. Oxford UK: Oxford University.
- _____. 2008. Translating ideologies. *Cultural Transmission and Material Culture*, eds. Miriam T. Stark, Brenda J. Bowser, and Lee Horne, pp. 130-149. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- _____. 2012. Indigenous rights and ethno-development: the life of an indigenous organization in the Rio Negro of Brazil. *Tipiti* 9: 91-120.
- _____ and Eric Leed. 2003. The deficits of history: terms of violence in an Arapaço myth complex from the Brazilian northwest Amazon. *Language and Social Identity*, ed. Richard K. Blot, pp. 39-56. New York: Bergin & Garvey.
- Cruz, Aline da. 2011. *Fonologia e Gramática do Nheengatú*. LOT vol. 280. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.
- Epps, Patience. 2005. Areal diffusion and the development of evidentiality: evidence from Hup. *Studies in Language* 29: 617-649.
- _____. 2007. The Vaupés melting pot: Tucanoan influence on Hup. *Grammars in Contact*, eds. Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and Robert M. W. Dixon, pp. 267-289. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- _____. 2008a. *A Grammar of Hup*. Mouton Grammar Library 43. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- _____. 2008b. Grammatical borrowing in Hup. *Grammatical Borrowing: A cross-linguistic survey*, ed. Yaron Matras and Jeanette Sakel, pp. 551-566. Berlin, Germany: Mouton de Gruyter.
- _____. Forthcoming. Language and subsistence patterns in the Amazonian Vaupés. *The Languages of Hunter-gatherers: Global and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Tom Güldemann, Richard Rhodes, and Patrick McConvell. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Fausto, Carlos; Bruna Franchetto; and Michael J. Heckenberger. 2008. Language, ritual and historical reconstruction: towards a linguistic, ethnographical and archaeological account of Upper Xingu Society. *Lessons from Documented Endangered Languages*, eds. David K. Harrison, David S. Rood and Aryenne Dwyer, pp. 129-158. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Franchetto, Bruna (ed.). 2011. *Alto Xingu: uma sociedade multilíngue*. Rio de Janeiro: Museu do Índio/FUNAI.
- _____ and Elsa Gomez-Imbert. 2003. Review: *The Amazonian Languages*, Robert M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald (eds.). *International Journal of American Linguistics* 69: 232-241.
- Franky, Carlos. 2011. *Acompañarnos contentos con la familia: unidad, diferencia y conflicto entre los Nükak*. (Amazonia colombiana). PhD dissertation, Wageningen University.
- Freire, José Ribamar Bessa. 2004. *Rio Babel: a história das línguas na Amazônia*. Rio de Janeiro: Atlântica/Ed. UERJ.
- Galvão, Eduardo. 1959. *Aculturação indígena no Rio Negro*. *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, NS, Antropologia*, 7. (Also published in *Encontro de Sociedades: Índios e Brancos no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979.)
- _____. 1960. *Áreas culturais indígenas do Brasil: 1900/1959*. *Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, NS, Antropologia*, 8. (Also published in *Encontro de Sociedades: Índios e Brancos no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1979.)
- Goldman, Irving. 1948. *Tribes of the Vaupés-Caqueta region*. *The Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 3, pp. 763-798. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution.
- _____. 1963. *The Cubeo: Indians of the Northwest Amazon*. *Illinois Studies in Anthropology*, no. 2. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- _____. 2004. *Cubeo Hehenewa Religious Thought: Metaphysics of an Amazonian People*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Gomez-Imbert, Elsa. 1993. Problemas en torno a la comparación de las lenguas Tukano orientales. Estado actual de la clasificación de las lenguas Indígenas de Colombia, ed. M. L. Rodriguez de Montes, pp. 235-267. Santafé de Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

_____. 1996. When animals become 'rounded' and 'feminine': conceptual categories and linguistic classification in a multilingual setting. *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity*, eds. J. J. Gumperz and S. C. Levinson, pp. 438-469. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1999. Variations tonales sur fond d'exogamie linguistique. *Cahiers de Grammaire* 24: 67-94.

Heckenberger, Michael. 2002. Rethinking the Arawakan diaspora: hierarchy, regionality, and the Amazonian formative. *Comparative Arawakan Histories*, ed. Jonathan D. Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero, pp. 99-122. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Hill, Jonathan D. 1996. Ethnogenesis in the Northwest Amazon: an emerging regional picture. *History, Power, and Identity: Ethnogenesis in the Americas, 1492-1992*, ed. Jonathan D. Hill, pp. 142-160. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.

_____. 2008. *Made-from-Bone: Trickster Myths, Music, and History from the Amazon*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Hornborg, Alf and Jonathan Hill. 2011. Introduction: ethnicity in ancient Amazonia. *Ethnicity in Ancient Amazonia*, ed. Alf Hornborg and Jonathan D. Hill, pp. 1-30. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Hugh-Jones, Christine. 1979. *From the Milk River: Spatial and Temporal Process in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hugh-Jones, Stephen. 1979. *The Palm and the Pleiades: Initiation and Cosmology in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1992. Yesterday's luxuries, tomorrow's necessities: business and barter in northwest Amazonia. *Barter, Exchange, and Value: An Anthropological*

Approach, eds. Caroline Humphrey and Stephen Hugh-Jones, pp. 42-74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1993. Clear descent or ambiguous houses? A re-examination of Tukanoan social organization. *L'Homme* 126-128: 95-120.

_____. 1995. Inside-out and back-to-front: the androgynous house in Northwest Amazonia. *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, ed. J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones, pp. 226-252. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

_____. 2002. Nomes secretos e riqueza visível: nominação no noroeste amazônico. *MANA* 8(2):45-68.

Jackson, Jean E. 1974. Language and identity of the Colombian Vaupés Indians. *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, ed. R. Bauman and J. Sherzer, pp. 50-64. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

_____. 1976. Vaupés marriage: a network system in an undifferentiated lowland area of South America. *Regional Analysis. Vol. 2: Social Systems*, ed. C. Smith, pp. 65-93. New York: Academic Press.

_____. 1983. *The Fish People: Linguistic Exogamy and East Tukano Identity in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodore. 1906. Die Makú. *Anthropos* 1: 877-906.

Lasmar, Cristiane. 2005. *De Volta ao Lago de Leite: Gênero e transformação no Alto Rio Negro*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP/ISA/NUTI.

Lopes Diniz, Laise. 2011. *Relações e trajetórias sociais de jovens baniwa na Escola Pamáali no médio rio Içana – noroeste amazônico*. MA thesis, Universidade Federal do Amazonas.

Mahecha, Dany. 2007. Los Níkak: experiencias y aprendizajes del contacto con otras gentes. *Language Endangerment and Endangered Languages: Linguistic and anthropological studies with special emphasis on the languages and cultures of the Andean-Amazonian border area*, ed. Leo Wetzels, pp. 91-106. Leiden: CNWS.

Martins, Valteir. 2005. Reconstrução fonológica do Protomaku Oriental. LOT vol. 104. Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit.

Milton, Katherine. 1984. Protein and carbohydrate resources of the Maku Indians of northwestern Amazonia. *American Anthropologist* 86: 7-27.

Neves, Eduardo Goes. 1998. Paths in dark waters: archaeology as indigenous history in the Upper Rio Negro basin, Northwest Amazon. PhD Dissertation, Indiana University.

_____. 2001. Indigenous historical trajectories in the Upper Rio Negro basin. *Unknown Amazon*, eds. Colin McEwan, Christiana Barreto and Eduardo Neves, pp. 266-286. London: The British Museum Press.

_____. 2011. Archaeological cultures and past identities in the pre-colonial central Amazon. *Ethnicity in Ancient Amazonia*, eds. Alf Hornborg and Jonathan D. Hill, pp. 31-56. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.

Nimuendajú, Curt. 1950. Reconhecimento dos rios Içana, Ayaré e Uaupés. Relatório apresentado ao Serviço de Proteção aos Índios do Amazonas e Acre, 1927. *Jornal de la Societé des Americanistes de Paris*, 39: 125-183.

Oliveira, Lucia Alberta Andrade. 2005. Os programas de educação escolar indígena no alto rio Negro – São Gabriel da Cachoeira/AM (1997-2003). MA thesis, Universidade Federal do Amazonas.

Piedade, Acácio Tadeu de C. 1997. A Música Ye'pa Masa: por uma antropologia da música no ARN. PhD dissertation, Universidade Federal de São Carlos.

Politis, Gustavo. 2007. Nukak: Ethnoarchaeology of an Amazonian People, trans. Benjamin Alberto. Walnut Creek (CA): Left Coast Press.

Pozzobon, Jorge. 1991. Parenté et demographie chez les Indiens Makú. PhD dissertation, Université de Paris VII.

Ramos, Alcida Rita. 1980. Padrões e clientes: relações intertribais no Alto Rio Negro. Hierarquia e simbiose: relações intertribais no Brasil, ed. Alcida Rita Ramos, pp. 135-182. São Paulo: Hucitec.

Reichel-Dolmatoff, Gerardo. 1989. Biological and social aspects of the Yuruparí complex of the Colombian Vaupés territory. *Journal of Latin American Lore* 15: 95-135.

Reid, Howard. 1979. Some aspects of movement, growth and change among the Hupdu Maku. PhD dissertation, Cambridge University.

Ribeiro, Berta G. 1995. Os índios das águas pretas: modo de produção e equipamento produtivo. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras/EdUSP.

Silverstein, Michael. 1981. The limits of awareness. *Working Papers in Sociolinguistics* no. 84. Austin: Southwest Educational Development Laboratory.

Silverwood-Cope, Peter. 1972. A contribution to the ethnography of the Colombian Macu. PhD dissertation, Cambridge University.

_____. 1990. Os Makú: Povo caçador do Noroeste da Amazônia. Brasília, Editora UnB.

Sorensen, Arthur P. Jr. 1967. Multilingualism in the northwest Amazon. *American Anthropologist* 69: 670-684.

Stenzel, Kristine. 2005. Multilingualism in the northwest Amazon, revisited. *Annals of the II Congress on Indigenous Languages of Latin America*, CILLA, Austin, Texas.

_____ and Gomez-Imbert, Elsa. 2009. Contato linguístico e mudança linguística no noroeste amazônico: o caso do Kotiria (Wanano). *Revista da ABRALIN* 8: 71-100.

Vidal, Silvia M. 1999. Amerindian groups of northwest Amazonia: their regional system of political-religious hierarchies. *Anthropos* 94: 515-528.

_____. 2000. Kuwé Duwákalmi: the Arawak sacred routes of migration, trade, and resistance. *Ethnohistory* 47: 635-667.

Walker, Robert S. and Lincoln A. Ribeiro. 2011. Bayesian phylogeography of the Arawak expansion in lowland South America. *Proceedings of the Royal Society B* 278(1718):2562-2567.

INTRODUCTION: CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC INTERACTION IN THE UPPER RIO NEGRO REGION

Wright, Robin M. 1992. História indígena do noroeste da amazônia: hipóteses, questões e perspectivas. História dos Índios do Brasil, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, pp. 253-278. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras.

_____. 1998. Cosmos, Self, and History in Baniwa Religion: For Those Unborn. Austin: University of Texas Press.

_____. 2005. História indígena e do indigenismo no Alto Rio Negro. Campinas/São Paulo: Mercado de Letras/Instituto Socioambiental.

Zucchi, Alberta. 2002 A new model for northern Arawak expansion. Comparative Arawakan Histories: Rethinking Language Family and Culture Area in Amazonia, eds. Jonathan D. Hill and Fernando Santos-Granero, pp. 199-222. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.



I. CULTURE AND SOCIETY