Comparing rural multilingualism in Lowland South America and Western Africa

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Abstract

This article explores and compares multilingualism in small-scale societies of Western Africa and Lowland South America. All are characterized by complex and extensive multilingual practices and regional exchange systems established before the onset of globalization and its varying impacts. Through overviews of the general historical and organizational features of regions, vignette case studies, and a discussion of transformative processes affecting them, we show that small-scale multilingual societies present challenges to existing theorization of language as well

as approaches to language description and documentation. We aim to bring these societies and issues to the fore, promoting discussion within a broader audience.

1. Introduction

Lowland South America[1] and Western Africa[2] are among the world's oldest multilingual settings. In both contexts, multilingualism predates European expansion and has been shaped by

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[1] "Lowland" South America in strict geographic terms encompasses the entire non-Andean region of northern South America, including both the Amazon and Orinoco basins and covering parts of Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, Suriname and the Guianas. The denomination derives from the six-volume *Handbook of South American Indians* edited by Julian Steward (1946-50), in which he developed the (later much criticized) notion of a dominant and relatively homogeneous Tropical Forest cultural "type". Nowadays, "Lowland South America" denotes a macro-region with some common ethnographic and theoretical aspects despite its great social, cultural and linguistic diversity.

[2] Following Brooks (1993) and Green (2012), the term "Western Africa" designates a geographic area comprising Senegambia (delineated by the Senegal and Gambia rivers), Upper Guinea, stretching from the Gambia river southwards to present-day Sierra Leone and Liberia, including Guinea-Bissau, and the Cabo Verde archipelago off the shores of present-day Senegal. Additionally, the term here also includes the adjacent areas corresponding to parts of present-day

social interaction at local and regional levels. Yet the ties that bind the two settings together go back to the birth of globalization, when Portuguese travellers, after creating the blueprint for transatlantic travel, commerce, settlement, and slave trade on the shores of the Upper Guinea Coast, then turned an avaricious gaze toward South America. Both similarities in early colonial experiences and differences in postcolonial regional developments warrant in-depth comparative study, and this article offers an initial contribution toward this goal.

Dramatic cultural and linguistic transformations occurring in the trans-Atlantic space from the fifteenth century onwards reshaped precolonial multilingualism, which now survives in rural settings within modern nation states with postcolonial language policies. Indeed, rural multilingualism grounded in intense social connections on a small scale (Evans 2010), forming "societies of intimates" (Trudgill 2011) and resulting in areas of high linguistic diversity, is a global norm, being still widespread in Africa, Asia, Melanesia, and South America (see Lüpke 2016b for an overview). Yet, small-scale multilingualism is strikingly underrepresented in sociolinguistics, descriptive and typological linguistics, education, and multilingualism research.[3] The lack of awareness of this still prevalent, but threatened, type of multilingualism reflects both theoretical biases in linguistics and problematic views of non-western rural societies. These are often cast as loose conglomerations of isolated monolingual groups "in contact" with other homogeneously

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Mali and Guinea. In terms of social organization and linguistic and cultural traits, this zone can be differentiated into partly overlapping but contrasting Atlantic and Mande spaces.

[3] For Africa, the only systematic investigations of rural multilingualism focus on two settings: Southern Senegal, the area also discussed here, and Northwestern Cameroon. For overviews of rural and endogenous multilingualism in Africa see Di Carlo (2018); Good & et al (2019).

conceived neighbouring groups, rather than being recognized as forming internally heterogeneous societies shaped by different language ideologies and patterns of multilingual interaction.

A new epistemological focus on "translanguaging" (García and Wei 2014) – fluid and dynamic linguistic practice – in socio- and applied linguistics has been instrumental in questioning the notion of languages as discrete entities, depicting them rather as ideological constructs that people deploy (in the form of language labels) for diverse social and interactional purposes. In contrast, linguistic description and documentation remains largely confined to a paradigm focused on "languages" and on the reification of fluid and variable language use into essentialist and imaginary standard registers of these "languages" (Cysouw and Good 2013), leaving linguistic ecologies and language use within them on the side-lines.

A regrettable consequence of this disciplinary segregation and rural/urban dichotomy is that multilingualism is almost exclusively researched in urban and (inter)national settings where it is seen as a recently introduced phenomenon expanding under globalization, whereas rural language configurations are described and imagined as monolingual and threatened by multilingualism. In fact, the case is just the opposite. Longstanding rural, small-scale, endogenous multilingualism is globally threatened by linguistic policies and attitudes in the nation states in which small-scale multilingual societies find themselves nested after colonization. Linguistic diversity has been brutally eradicated wherever settlement colonies were formed, a sombre testament to the homogenizing forces of European expansion that promote ethnic nationalism and negate the existence of internally diverse settings. The areas we discuss remain multilingual and with some precolonial exchange systems still intact because they are situated at the margins of globalization. They provide precious insight into the sociocultural and linguistic organization of small-scale societies and how these are transformed by interactions at a larger scale. They also present

challenges to conceptualizations of language and existing frameworks of linguistic description and documentation.

We aim to bring these societies and related theoretical issues to the attention of a broader audience while simultaneously shedding light on the transformative processes they have undergone. We offer characterizations of the diverse and long-standing multilingual constellations in Western Africa and Lowland South America that not only draw attention to their internal diversity and the need for interdisciplinary approaches to describing them, but also constitute an initial comparative perspective. These overviews help broaden the empirical basis informing the new "multilingual turn" in sociolinguistics, and contribute to the recognition of such societies as language ecologies (Haugen 1972; Mufwene 2001; Vaughan & Singer 2018), loci for phenomena and processes that language documentation should also seek to capture (Di Carlo forthcoming, 2016; Lüpke 2016b). Both major subsections also contain vignette-like case studies with more fine-grained insight into the architecture of these constellations.

We begin in Western Africa (section 2.1), discussing the Atlantic (2.1.1) and Mande spaces (2.1.2) and the dynamics linking them (2.1.3), while two vignettes (2.1.4 and 2.1.5) focus on the repertoires and practices of speakers in the Jóola areas of the Lower Casamance. Our discussion of Lowland South America (section 2.2) begins with two well-known regional multilingual systems, the Upper Rio Negro in the Northwest Amazon (2.2.1) and the Upper Xingu in Southern Amazonia (2.2.2). We then consider multilingual constellations in the Northeast Amazon, spanning parts of Brazil, Venezuela, Guyana, Surinam, and French Guiana (2.2.3) and in the Brazil-Bolivia borderlands of the Southwest Amazon (2.2.4). Section 2.2.5 discusses the rise of lingua francas in the wake of colonial transformations, focusing on Tukano, Nheengatú, and Kheuól, Brazil's only Creole language. Concluding the Amazon section, two vignettes discuss notions of authenticity, speakerhood and knowledge transmission among Tuyuka baya singers (2.2.6) and the mismatch

between ideologies of language separation and attested language mixing in the Vaupés (2.2.7). Though expansive, no exhaustiveness is attempted (or indeed possible) in section 2; our intention is instead to bring some of the significant characteristics of situations and speakers to the fore and provide context for our discussion of how scholars have conceptualized multilingualism in these settings (section 3) before making recommendations on future research in section 4.

2. Geographic constellations of multilingual settings

Map 1 shows the location of the Atlantic and Mande spaces, indicating the ideological home bases of major languages and those discussed here.
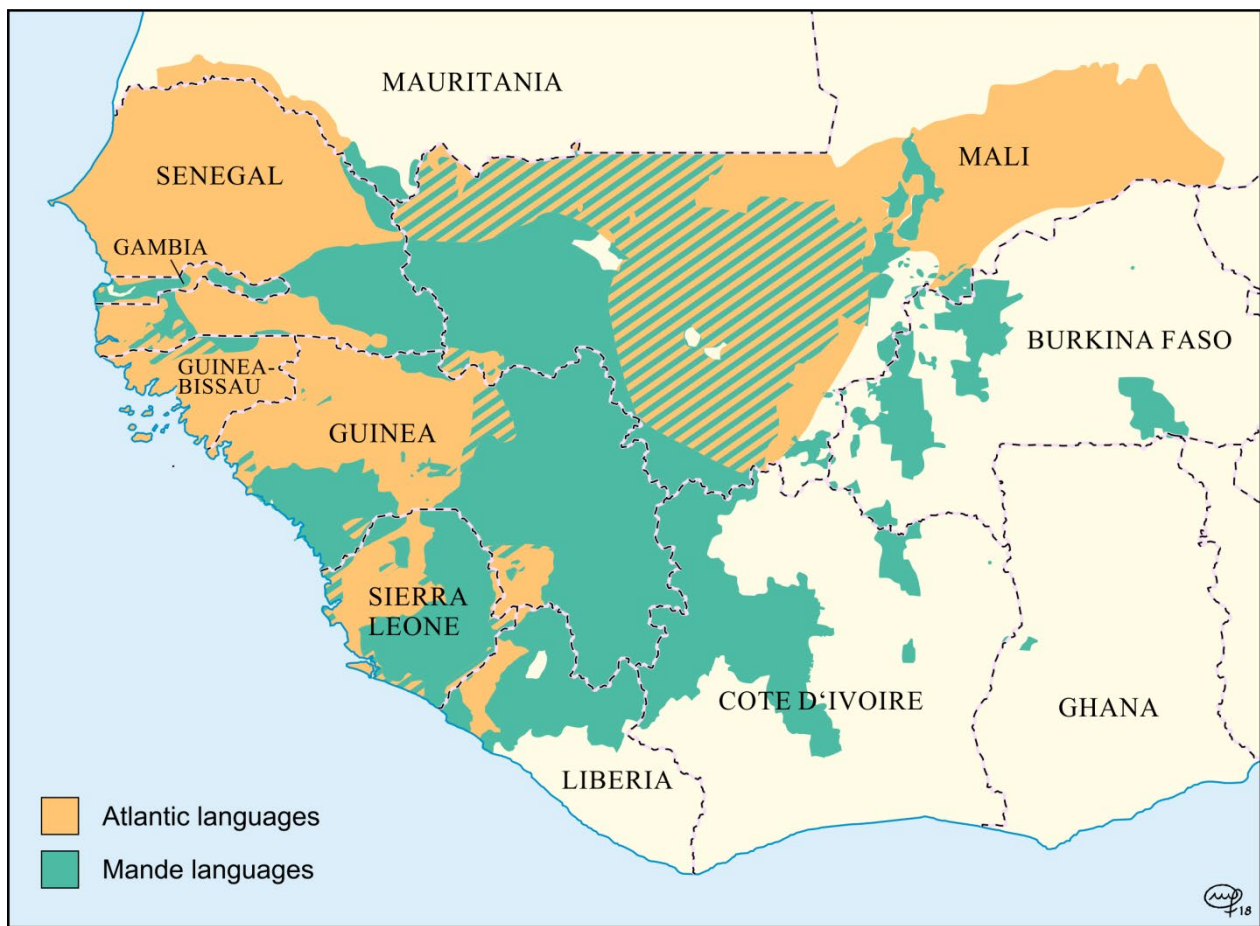
Map 1: The Atlantic and Mande spaces of Western Africa

Map 2 shows the location of the four main Amazonian settings discussed in section 2.2.

Map 2: The Northeast, Northwest, Southwest and Upper Xingu areas

2.1. The Atlantic and Mande spaces of Western Africa

Western Africa is characterized by intense trade and other networks spanning and transcending the entire zone, and thus cannot be partitioned into discrete spaces; nevertheless, it is useful to conceptualize the region as belonging to two (idealized) spheres.[4] Different climatic and topographic conditions (Brooks 1993) resulted in the formation of centralized states in the northern and eastern savannah regions, here referred to as the Mande space. Decentralized polities prevailed in the Atlantic space and find reflection in high linguistic diversity until today. The region is located at the meeting point of three different Indo-European colonial languages: French, English, and Portuguese. While Iberian, Dutch, English and French traders were active on the Atlantic shores from the fifteenth century onwards, colonies were created in the wake of the 1884-85 Berlin conference, which sealed the partition of the African continent into colonial territories. Large swathes of the Atlantic and Mande spaces became part of French colonial West Africa; Britain retained a small foothold in the Gambia, and Guinea-Bissau remained under Portuguese rule. Independence from the colonial powers came in the 1960s and 1970s, but none of the newly independent countries had been the kind of settlement colony Brazil was. The colonial languages remained the official languages of the postcolonial nation states, though they play a minor role in everyday communication in both spaces and are mostly integrated into so-called unmarked code-switching (Myers-Scotton 1993; Gafaranga & Torras 2016). Languages of wider communication have developed, some initially spreading through colonial administrative networks (Wolof and

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[4] The goal is not to provide a comprehensive historical overview of vast Western Africa, but to bring to the fore those elements of history and society central to understanding patterns of multilingualism.

Bambara), others becoming indexes of anticolonial liberation struggles (Kriol). With very few local exceptions, the school systems adopt official languages. However, these are not part of most childrens' linguistic repertoires when they begin school and are not formally taught at school, despite being the medium of education. Thus, classrooms end up serving as vectors for languages of wider communication until children have picked up a limited proficiency in the official languages. Given their limited role in local small-scale linguistic ecologies, colonial languages are side-lined in the following two sections so that longstanding and continuing societal communication patterns can be brought to the fore.

2.1.1. The Atlantic space

The area denoted as the Atlantic space runs along the sunken coastline of Upper Guinea and to the south of the Tsetse fly border that prevented its penetration by Mande horse warriors. Crisscrossed by tidal rivers and creeks, it has never been suited to the formation of larger states or even polities; it remains host to many small-scale societies. Localized settlement patterns go hand in hand with great linguistic diversity, an example being the Lower Casamance, one of its most linguistically diverse spaces. The Atlantic space covers 7,352 km^2, roughly three times the size of Luxembourg, and hosts 30+ languages and lects belonging to two different branches of the contested Atlantic family (Pozdniakov & Segerer forthcoming [2020]), in addition to Mandinka (a language of the Mande family, whose place within the Niger-Congo phylum is disputed, as is that of Atlantic [Dimmendaal 2008]), and a Portuguese-based Creole. As is typical for African frontier societies (Kopytoff 1987), precolonial Atlantic groups were not constituted on an ethnic premise

but were comprised mainly of patrilineal and virilocal lineages.[5] In the absence of a central political organization, political units were wards, villages, and in some cases larger polities of up to a dozen villages (Brooks 1993; Bühnen 1994; Baum 1999; Schloss 1988). Larger polities were and are often called kingdoms, with kings having the social roles described for sacred chiefs (Kopytoff 1987). Named languages are connected to locations as territorial languages (Blommaert 2010), often associated with the remembered (male) founder, and serving to socially index this affiliation. Thus, within the logic of "patrimonial language ideology" (Lüpke 2018) "landlords" (Brooks 1993; Jansen 2016) — people identifying as the descendants of the founder, live alongside "strangers" — clients still associated with different remembered points of origin of which they were the landlords. In-married women and fostered children (and formerly, slaves and captives) from outside the patrimonial language area are likewise excluded or subsumed under the identity of the male head of the family. Yet memory is changeable and places are continually contested. For instance, settled strangers may redefine a space as not belonging to their landlords but as having been previously empty, and declare themselves the new autochthones (Lüpke forthcoming [2020b]) describes this ongoing process in a Baïnounk village).

The actual composition of settlements is often heterogeneous and dynamic (see 2.1.5). Great linguistic diversity is found especially in village-based language ecologies, where small languages are present at every level, beginning in the household and ward. In contrast,

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[5] Matrilineality is also attested in parts of the area, for instance among the Sua on the Bijagos islands (Henry 1994), and as part of bilineal pattern among the Biafada, Pepel, and Mandinka (Giesing 2006; Giesing and Vydrine 2007; Jansen 2016), as well as the Serer (Dupire 1988; Dupire et al. 1974).

multilingualism patterns are slightly reduced within larger polities, where larger languages associated with the polity emerged, which often serve(d) also as lingua francas.

The political construct of firstcomer-newcomer or landlord-stranger dialectics, sophisticated practices for the hosting of clients and visitors, and the circulation of both women and children are widespread throughout West Africa (see Brooks 1993; Jansen 2015, 2016), but are particularly significant in the Atlantic space. Although this area was deeply transformed by the transatlantic slave trade (Rodney 1969, 1970; Baum 1999; Hawthorne 2003, 2010; Green 2012), central traits of social organization predate the arrival of Iberian traders in the late fifteenth century. Constraints imposed by topographic and climatic factors, alongside the existence of a Mandinka trade network from the thirteenth century onwards (itself building on earlier precursors) created a template for managing exchanges on both local and regional planes, a model later extended to relationships with other outsiders. Travellers' accounts beginning in the late fifteenth century stress the region's enormous linguistic diversity, allowing us to conclude that it predates colonization. Reportedly, people were able to understand each other's languages, from which most historians conclude close genetic relatedness (e.g., Green 2012 on Baïnounk [Gujaher] and Kassanga). Some codes in the area are indeed closely related and form a continuum of lects. Others, such as the Jóola languages, Baïnounk and Kassanga share only 33% of their basic lexicon (Wilson 1989, 2007) and are structurally very different. The only explanation for widespread "understanding" is thus not mutual intelligibility but multilingualism, exactly what we find today (Lüpke forthcoming [2020a]) and can plausibly extrapolate to the past. Hair's (1967) comparison of Portuguese travellers' accounts with present-day locations and ethno- and glossonyms of groups shows an astonishing continuity of settlement patterns that aligns with this observation. Some groups have shrunk; a few new ethnic formations, most notably the Jóola, have been created since the nineteenth century and have recognizably superseded older recorded groups now ethnically reimagined in the wake of

French colonization and modern nation-state formation (Lüpke 2016a; Thomson 2011). Nevertheless, the makeup of local populations still exhibits great overall stability. Linguistic diversity has thus remained similar at the macro-level, with the most important shifts occurring through changes of affiliation, migration, and reimagination of ethnolinguistic identity at the micro-level (see also Wright 1985).

The growing exploitation and violence of the transatlantic slave trade had contrasting effects on cultural and linguistic organization in Western Africa. Green (2012) describes the area as the birthplace of creolization, because it was there (and within the Atlantic space in Upper Guinea) that the first few hundred Portuguese engaged in trade and exchange settled. These so-called *lançados* brought the Creole (often called Kriol(u)) forged in the trading posts and slave depots of Cabo Verde with them to the African mainland, where it became the social signifier of a broker elite (Mark 2002). Many patterns of cultural and religious life are widely, though patchily, shared throughout the region, and all cross-cut social categories such as ethnolinguistic groups (Teixeira da Mota 1954; Boulègue 1968, 1987; Mark 1985, 1992, 1994; Bühnen 1994; Baum 1999). Yet, for the most part, rather than replacing local languages in rural areas, Creole has been added to existing complex multilingual repertoires, being the patrimonial language of Creole settlements, becoming an additional language of identity for many Baïnounk and Kassanga, and employed as a lingua franca in urban centres in Guinea-Bissau (Intumbo et al. 2013).

Cultural convergence thus stands in stark contrast to linguistic divergence. The maintenance of linguistic diversity and multilingualism is motivated by the need to index plural identities that foster creation of flexible alliances. Increased in the context of the slave trade, such multiple identities allow situational indexing of closeness (if an alliance is desired) or distance (if "Others" were pawned, captured or sold as slaves). Today we still observe that, depending on the requirements of the moment, situated identities can be performed through different semiotic tools,

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language being among the most important. The need to draw on multiple indexes has kept regional multilingualism alive, be it through repertoires spanning typologically and genealogically distinct languages or through the upholding of minimal, emblematic contrasts between closely related lects. Regional festivals strengthen this system of unity in difference by enhancing federal[6] small-scale multilingualism and maintaining familiarity with particular multilingual constellations (Cobbinah 2019).

2.1.2. The Mande space

The fringes of the Atlantic space overlap with the Mande space, conceptualized here with its center to the east and north of the Atlantic space. The climatic characteristics and flat, accessible spaces of this Sahelian savannah were more conducive to the establishment of larger polities and hence became the heartland of a succession of more centralized, though still fragmented states. Among these, the Kaabu kingdom, existing through the mid-nineteenth century (Giesing & Vydrine 2007; Giesing & Creissels 2017), is noteworthy for extending Mali influence westwards to Upper Guinea. The zone's most prominent state formation is the Mali empire, founded by the mythical Sundiata Keita (c.1217-c.1255), a heterogeneous polity comprising changing allies and territories (Jansen 1996, 2015). Through its political expansions, Mandinka and closely related languages of the Manding cluster of Western Mande became established as lingua francas as early as the second half of the thirteenth century. Profiles of Mande states found, for instance, in Ibn Battuta's accounts of fourteenth century Mali, are dominated by images of powerful empires gathering extreme wealth and subjugating a vast zone. In reality, few states, including Kaabu,

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[6] In the sense of a federation of polities/language ecologies that have alliances and regularly shared ceremonies and exchanges.

exerted much influence over the entirety of their territories, governing more through loose clientelism than via direct control, and gradually fizzling out at their unbounded fringes (Wright 1985). Some violent military expeditions, most importantly the Mane invasions[7] of the 1540s-1560s (Green 2012), did occur and had disastrous effects on smaller groups in Upper Guinea. However, most imperial narratives fail to portray the historical reality of gradual, multidirectional (and reversible!) assimilation as opposed to massive migration and conquest, underplaying the subtle influences of diasporic Muslim Mande traders who proselytized instead of forcing conversion to Islam, and the continuous oscillation between resistance and adaptation, described by Giesing (1994) for the Balanta case. Mande traders were among the first Muslims in West Africa, basing their trade networks on religious affinities, as did the Portuguese network that superseded them (exploiting the bonds between Sephardic Jews and New Christians, see Mark & Horta 2013). Mandinka traders' and religious scholars' influence spread existing Fula and Wolof Arabic-based writing traditions (so-called Ajami) to other groups in the Atlantic space, where they were used for local and regional historiography, genealogical notes, religious purposes, Islamic magic, and personal literacies. Though such writing systems were employed mainly in larger languages, they were also occasionally used for smaller languages (see McLaughlin forthcoming [2020] for an overview). Thus, Ajami writing reached the periphery of the Mande sphere and is still attested, e.g., among the Balanta (Giesing and Costa-Dias 2007; Giesing & Vydrine 2007; Giesing & Creissels 2017), mainly for exographic writing (Lüpke 2011) in Mandinka, but occasionally featuring words associated with Balanta.

Contrasting with the localized multilingualism patterns of the Atlantic space, at the core of the Mande space, we find plural identities in stratified societies whose diversity is ordered through

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[7] The Mane warriors were a group identifying as Mande but attracting diverse followers240 to their army that waged wars on the Upper Guinea Coast in the 15th century (Green 2012: 236-240).

status groups or "castes" of nobles, endogamous artisans (among them bards, blacksmiths, wood- and leather workers), and slaves (Camara 1976; Tamari 1991, 1997; Giesing 2000). Allegedly, Sundiata Keita initiated status groups to create social cohesion in his heterogeneous empire composed of Mande-speaking peoples and speakers of the Atlantic language cluster Fula, spread laterally across Africa by nomadic pastoralists and specialized artisans. Status groups had equivalences in most societies within the various Mande states, and were related to an important system of joking relationships. Links of irreverence and social inversion allowed joking partners to violate rules of conduct holding elsewhere, for instance by insulting each other or reversing hierarchical relationships, such links helping to create intimacy and allegiance among status groups otherwise kept apart. Joking relationships connect lineages with particular social roles across entire territories, independent of other facets of identity. Ethnically imagined joking relationships also exist in Atlantic societies, for example the *cimbuhai* practised in the Bainounk Gujaher area, but not to the extent found in the socially stratified Mande societies. Although the first anthropologists to work with joking relationships presented them as "fixed" systems (Mauss 1928; Radcliffe-Brown 1940), they are situationally created (Canut & Smith 2006) and thus functionally resemble the dynamic and fluidly performed multilingualism of the Atlantic space. Members of Mande (and by extension, similar Western African) societies report repertoires that are considerably smaller than those of their Atlantic counterparts, yet multilingualism is equally widespread. Social networks in diverse neighbourhoods and wards mean that children are exposed to, and acquire, at least snippets of other languages (Cissé forthcoming [2020]), although the art and pride of multilingualism is not cultivated as much as in some Atlantic societies (e.g. among Baïnounk groups, see Cobbinah 2019; Lüpke forthcoming [2020b]; Quint forthcoming [2020]).

2.1.3. Dialectic dynamics linking the Atlantic and Mande spaces

The Atlantic and Mande spheres, while not discrete entities, stand in a dialectic relationship with each other and become meaningful spaces when contrasted. This holds for the dichotomy between decentralized frontier groups vs. centralized states at the political level, this being the sole feature carving two different types of geopolitical spaces from what would otherwise be internally disparate units. In terms of linguistic relatedness, Atlantic languages were, from the start, a geographically motivated classification attempt to make the languages co-extensive with the geographical spheres introduced here (Koelle 1854). They were moreover defined negatively, as being the typological "opposite" of Mande languages, rather than by features of internal genealogical relatedness: while Mande languages are isolating, Atlantic languages are agglutinative; Mande languages do not have the complex noun class systems and initial consonant mutation characteristic of many Atlantic languages; the majority of Mande languages are tonal, a feature of only some Atlantic languages. Internally, both groups are rather dissimilar and pose problems to genealogical classification (although more so for Atlantic, see Childs forthcoming [2020]; Lüpke 2020; Pozdniakov & Segerer forthcoming [2020]). This is undoubtedly due to prolonged multilingualism and ensuing deep and multidimensional language contact in both groups, though mitigated through homogenization in larger Mande political formations. In historical memory and cultural representation, a dichotomy between ancestor-worshipping Atlantic autochthones and Islamic Muslim conquerors creates contrasting stereotypes. Across the Atlantic world (for instance, in Baïnounk Gubëeher [Alexander Cobbinah, p.c.], Jóola Kujireray [Rachel Watson, p.c.] and Balanta from the area of Mansoa), the word Mandinka is synonymous with Islam, most likely related to nineteenth century incursions of Mandinka Muslims (thought to be) from Pakao (Cornelia Giesing p.c.). In fact, these lines are blurred and constantly shifting. It is therefore

crucial to look at the collective memories and language ideologies underlying insiders' and outsiders' stereotypes. While they offer important access to socio-politically (and for researchers, epistemologically) motivated perspectives, they must be connected to real encounters, speech contexts, and situated language use to reveal the dynamics driving and changing multilingualism in Western Africa. Only such perspectives can do justice to the complex and fluid core social relationships that make them "systems" in Luhmann's sense (see section 3.1) and that motivate the continuing existence of multilingualism in these settings. Two case studies from the Casamance area of the Atlantic space illustrate striking facets characterizing lects or languages (as imaginary reified codes): first, the maintenance of minimal contrasts associated with different languages because of the social meaning they confer (section 2.1.4), and second, the fluid nature of repertoires, spanning not only closely related lects only distinguished by few emblematic features, but also including languages that are only remotely, or not genealogically related at all (section 2.1.5).

2.1.4. Vignette: multilingualism as the maintenance of minimal differences — Jóola languages

Jóola is a cluster of around fifteen languages (depending on how divisions are drawn) spoken in Gambia, southern Senegal and northern Guinea-Bissau, and belonging to the Bak branch of the Atlantic family (Pozdniakov & Segerer forthcoming [2020]). All named Jóola languages are associated with an ideological home base — a village or group of villages (Lüpke 2018), either in patrimonial or ancestral fashion — and some are also used in a vehicular function, with differing degrees of reach. This multilingual situation presents an intriguing dialectic. On one hand, genetic relatedness between the languages results in varying levels of lexical and grammatical similarity

that contact effects might be expected to further consolidate. On the other, ideologies surrounding ethnolinguistic identity, alongside the need to form flexible alliances, require the maintenance of many small languages (Lüpke 2016a).

For Jóola languages, differences are partly maintained through the preservation of salient contrasts, which in many cases may become iconic or emblematic of a given aspect of sociolinguistic identity (Irvine & Gal 2000; Silverstein 2003; see Watson (2018, 2019) for a detailed discussion). This is illustrated neatly in traditional Jóola greeting formulas, which involve the question-response pair "[Is there] peace?" "Peace only." While the word for 'peace', *kasumay*, is cognate in all Jóola languages,[8] the second item, 'only' varies, as in (1)-(3) below.[9]

(1)   *kasumay bare*

(2)   *kasumay keb*

(3)   *kasumay lamba*

The form in (1) is associated with Jóola languages with home bases located mainly south of the river Casamance (Lower Casamance), (2) with languages located north of the river, and (3) with those located even further to the northwest. These are meaningful subareas in terms of ethnolinguistic, cultural, and religious identities within the Jóola space. The three terms also represent the fact that convergence and divergence in Jóola languages operate on different scales.

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[8] The word is subject to phonetic variation throughout the region, which is not treated here. The orthographical item is intended as a generic representation, not reflecting phonetic reality.

[9] This is not an exhaustive list of such greeting formulae in Jóola languages – yet further variation is observed at a more fine-grained level. These three were chosen because they are associated with more-or-less geographically contiguous language home bases and thus illustrate the different levels of scale on which sociolinguistic indexation may operate.

The term *kasumay* 'peace' is an iconic signal of pan-Casamançais Jóola identity, while the differential terms for 'only' allow the indexing of regional differences within this space. This observation is further corroborated by the greeting formula in Baïnounk Guñaamolo settlements (north of the river, but directly adjacent to the southern zone) *bo-sum-o bare* (CL*ba*-peace-DEF only), containing a cognate of the root *sum* and the *bare* term for 'only' that is typical for this area.

Zooming in further, we also find levels of distinction maintained within these subareas. For example, (4) and (5) are the prototypical responses associated with two Jóola languages of Lower Casamance, Banjal and Kujireray, whose home bases are adjacent to each other.

(4)   *kasumay bare*

(5)   *gëssumay bare*

Although both use the form *bare* 'only', distinction is maintained in the voice contrast of the word-initial velars (k/g) in the first part of the greeting. This contrast (holding for all velar stops) allows speakers to index distinct identities, despite similarities in many other aspects of their languages and sociocultural environment.

Such small but salient contrasts are an essential part of the Jóola language group ecology, and indeed, to a significant degree, speakers have conscious awareness of them and can use them in complex combinations to index multifaceted social meaning. These linguistic features operate at different levels of the geographical and social scale, and are interpreted, by definition, in opposition with other features, meaning that their deployment in multilingual discourse is to a large degree contingent on the particular constellation of speakers, repertoires, relationships, and locations in which that discourse takes place.

2.1.5. Vignette: multilingualism shaped by trajectories — linguistic repertoires in

Casamance

The Lower Casamance region of Southern Senegal is characterized by extremely high levels of linguistic diversity and complex patterns of multilingualism at the individual and societal levels. Despite ideologies linking places with languages (see 2.1.1 above), villages are not linguistically homogeneous. Indeed, the maintenance of many small languages, combined with high levels of mobility and wide and dense social networks, leads to rich, diverse, and vital linguistic ecologies. Multilingualism is the norm, and linguistic adaptability is a point of pride (Cobbinah 2010: 178; Juillard 2010: 56), with individuals routinely counting upwards of six languages in their repertoires. This section profiles a plurilingual man from the region to illustrate how such a repertoire may be built.
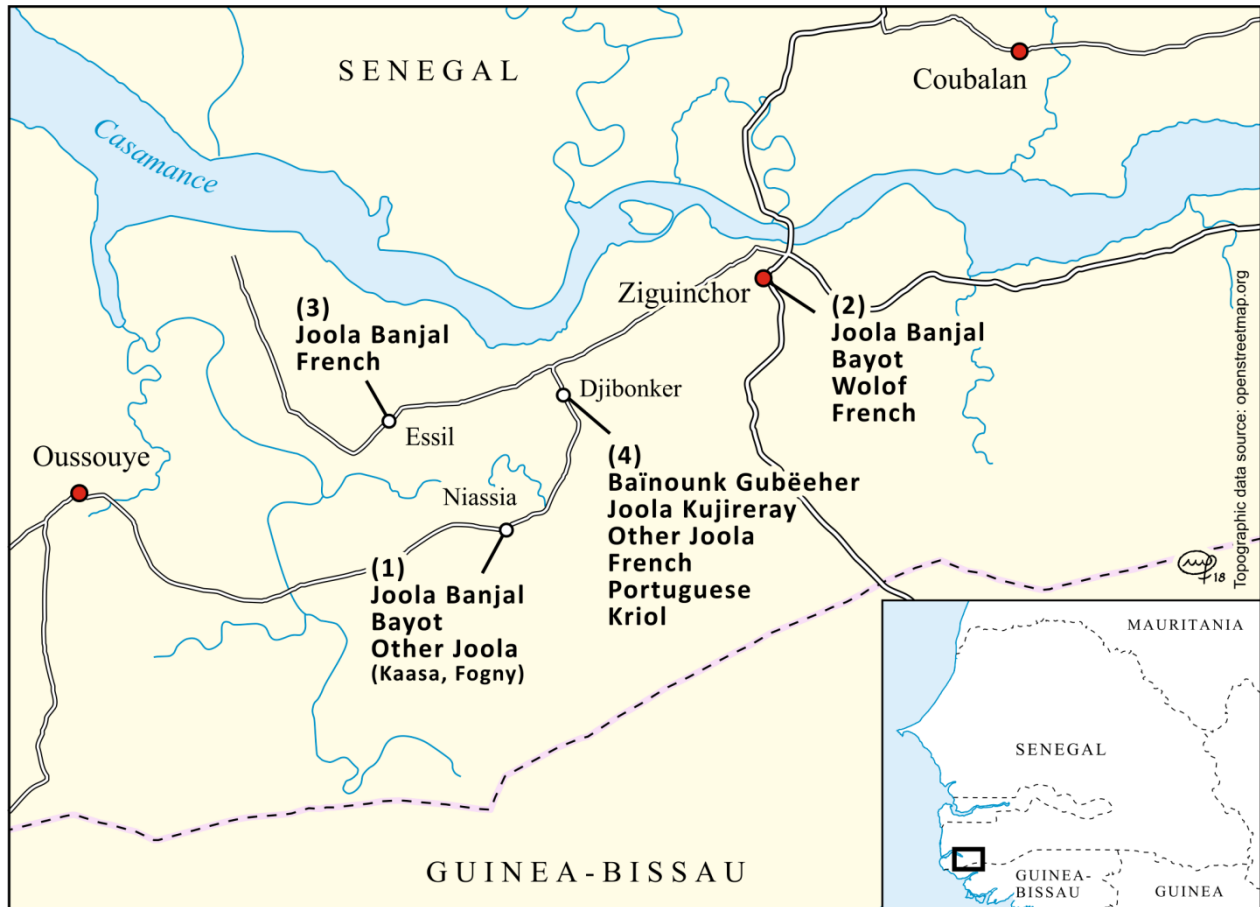
Map 3: GS's places of residence, with languages used

GS, a man in his thirties, moved between several villages and groups of villages associated with particular languages: Djibonker (Jibëeher in Gubëeher), with the patrimonial language Baïnounk Gubëeher (Gubëeher literally means 'language of Jibëeher'); Essyl, associated with Jóola Banjal/Eegimaa at the level of the polity and with Gusilay (lit. 'the language of Essyl') at the local level; and Niassia, associated with the Kagere variety of the Bayot cluster. He additionally spent time in the regional capital Ziguinchor and the town of São Domingos across the border in Guinea-Bissau.

Born to a father from Djibonker and a mother from Essyl, GS spent his early years in the village of Niassia (1 on the map) brought up primarily by his mother, who spoke Jóola Banjal (the language of her home village, Essyl) to him and his siblings. Niassia, located on a main road and

close to the Guinea-Bissau border, is rather cosmopolitan and linguistically heterogeneous; in socializing with other children and residents, GS became familiar with several varieties of Jóola as well as Bayot. At the age of seven, he moved to the regional capital Ziguinchor (2 on the map), where Wolof was the lingua franca used by children from diverse backgrounds, although GS continued to speak Jóola Banjal with his siblings. His host family happened to be Bayot speakers from Niassia, and he developed his skills in this language, whereas he also began formal instruction in French in school.

GS moved again at nine, this time to his mother's home village of Essyl (3 on the map), where Jóola Banjal is seen as the ancestral language. Linguistic heterogeneity is less pronounced in the more remonte Essyl, and GS reports speaking largely Jóola Banjal there, though he continued to learn French at school. At thirteen, GS moved to the village of Djibonker (4 on the map) to live full-time at his father's house. Here, he expanded his proficiency in Djibonker's patrimonial language, Baïnounk Gubëeher, the main language (alongside French) he used to converse with his father and other senior members of the family and community. However, theirs was a particularly large and heterogeneous household that welcomed incomers from diverse backgrounds, necessitating increased use of Wolof as a lingua franca. In addition, GS learnt Jóola Kujireray, the language spoken in the neighbouring village (and very close to Jóola Banjal, see 2.1.4 above) and continued to be exposed to other Jóola languages used as small-scale lingua francas. At school, GS learned Portuguese, and while hosting palm wine tappers from Guinea-Bissau, he added Kriol (Creole) to his repertoire.

GS's repertoire comprises closely related and only minimally differentiated lects (Jóola Kujireray and Jóola Banjal, but also Bayot Kageere, a not-so-close relative, all from the Bak branch of Atlantic). It includes Baïnounk Gubëeher, located in the Northern branch of Atlantic, and thus of considerable genealogical distance, and Wolof, also from the Northern branch, but with only ca.

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13% of cognacy with Baïnounk languages (not internally differentiated in these correspondence sets by Sapir [1971]). Finally, it also contains two Romance languages, French and Portuguese (the only ones acquired in formal settings), and Kriol (Creole). While this linguistic biography is highly personal in its detail, in general type it is quite typical for the region. This case study illustrates the normality of acquiring different languages throughout one's life, and how the resulting repertoire is contingent on one's personal trajectory.

2.2. Lowland South America

2.2.1. The Northwest Amazon

The Upper Rio Negro region in the Brazil-Colombia borderlands of northwest Amazon is home to some two dozen ethnolinguistic groups belonging to the Arawak, East Tukano, Naduhup, and Kakua-Nikak language families. It emerged into the spotlight in the mid-1900s through Goldman's ethnographic studies of the Kubeo, where he noted that "[local] Indian cosmopolitanism is traditionally *multilingual*" (1979 [1963]: 19, emphasis added), a feature Sorensen then placed front-and-center in his now classic description of the subregional Vaupés sociolinguistic system as one in which systematic "[community] multilingualism and polylingualism in the individual" were the (completely typical, expected, and unsurprising) cultural norm (1967: 671).

Many people have pondered the development and long-term maintenance of this system. Studies by Jackson (1974, 1976, 1983), Brüzzi (1977); Christine Hugh-Jones (1979); Stephen Hugh-Jones (1979); Århem (1981); Chernela (1989, 1993); and Cabalzar (2000, 2013) offer a regional profile with a circumscribed set of foundational pillars. These include (i) a vital link between language and social identity, established via patrilineal ethnic affiliation (with language as an associated feature); (ii) exogamous marriage norms, preferred Dravidian-style cross-cousin

unions, and mandated virilocal residence; (iii) geographically constrained networks of trade, matrimonies, and other alliance-building mechanisms; all accompanied by (iv) an overarching essentialist language ideology that preserves diversity by ostensibly controlling linguistic practice (Gomez-Imbert 1996, 1999; Aikhenvald 2002, 2003; Chernela 2013). In its presumed canonical and historically-stable form, the system produces highly diversified but balanced networks of contact that have ethnolinguistic diversity as both necessary input and predictable output, a dialectic process that reinforces, rather than threatens, the use and maintenance of multiple languages (Chacon & Cayón 2013: 15-16).

However, these "foundational pillars" reflect a somewhat idealized perspective slanted toward the East Tukano groups within the Vaupés subregion and not generalizable to all populations. The Kubeo, Makuna, Letuama/Retruarã, and Tanimuka, for example, practice social, but not necessarily *linguistic* exogamy, suggesting that marriage norms and ethnicity are not strictly linked to language even among East Tukano peoples (Århem 1981; Cayón 2013; Chacon 2013; Chacon & Cayón 2013; Eraso 2015). Moreover, research on Arawak, Naduhup (formerly identified as "Makú" and Nadahup) and Kákua-Nɨkak groups (Silverwood-Cope 1990; Pozzobon 1991; Aikhenvald 1999; Cabrera Becerra et al. 1999; Epps 2008, 2009a; Bolaños 2016), alongside studies of Nheengatú and its spread beginning in the eighteenth century (Bessa Freire 2004; Cruz 2011, and section 2.2.5) demonstrate the integration of non-Tukanoan groups into broader networks through other (primarily non-matrimonial) types of exchange and a shared material and ritual culture base (Galvão 1960; Hill 1996; Neves 2001; Epps & Stenzel 2013; Epps forthcoming). The language use patterns of the non-Tukanoan peoples often contrast with the inter-Tukanoan model. For instance, monolingualism or unidirectional (rather than reciprocal) bilingualism are the norm in sociolinguistic relations involving riverine and hunter-gatherer groups and there is evidence of long term unilateral (Tukanoan > Naduhup) dissemination of grammatical features (Epps 2007,

2018; Epps & Bolaños 2017), whereas more recent scenarios involving indigenous and national languages are marked by diglossia, dominance, and shift (Aikhenvald 2002; Stenzel 2005; Stenzel & Williams submitted).

New research is heeding Århem's call to consider the "explicit distinction[s] between *ideals* and actual *behavior*" in this multilingual context (1981:20, emphasis added). This prompts us, for example, to suspend assumption of a strict, literal language-identity link as we consider not only historical evidence of entire clans assimilating into other ethnolinguistic groups (Goldman 1979 [1963]) but also more recent reallocation of language/group associations from the *de facto* to the "symbolic" sphere among groups currently in the throes of language shift (Stenzel 2005).

Language-identity definitions are clearly fluid and nuanced (Shulist 2016) and are reflected in varied and complex patterns of language use in multilingual scenarios (e.g. Stenzel & Khoo 2016; Silva 2020; Stenzel & Williams submitted, and section 2.2.7). State-of-the-art documentation of everyday language use allows for more fine-grained and empirically-based analyses, and by deploying new resources and loosening our grip on long-held expectations, we begin to encounter a variety of answers to the question of what it means to be "multilingual" within the Upper Rio Negro system.

2.2.2 The Southern Amazon

The Upper Xingu in southern Amazonia houses a second multiethnic and multilingual system formed by ten peoples from three linguistic families: Arawak (Mehinaku, Wauja, Yawalapíti), Carib (Kuikuro, Kalapalo, Matipu, Nahukua, and Angaguhütü) and Tupi (Kamayurá, Aweti) and one isolate (Trumai). Archaeological evidence points to Arawak groups as the likely first inhabitants of the region, with Carib and Tupi groups arriving later (Heckenberger 2005; Franchetto 2011; Fausto et al. 2008). Nevertheless, most creation myths and ritual practices reflect

an ideal Arawak-Carib composition of the system, with Tupi-speaking groups still considered recently pacified and newly formed "Xinguans". Xingu peoples share a common mythology, kinship system, rituals, socio-spatial patterning and — importantly — ethical, moral, and aesthetic values. Villages contain a circle of houses built around a large central ritual plaza with a small house used exclusively to store ritual paraphernalia and where men gather for meetings and collective preparation for feasts.

Xinguans employ "Iroquois" kinship terminologies (cf. Trautmann and Barnes 1998) that distinguish between parallel and cross kin, use a separate set of kinship terms for affines, and classify the children of opposite sex cross-cousins as ideal spouses. Reflecting these distinctions, marriage between relatively "distant" cross-cousins is preferred but not mandatory (Guerreiro 2011). There is no explicit ideal of local group endogamy, though people typically marry within their own village and, if marrying outside, prefer spouses who speak genetically related languages. Thus, language family "subsystems" linked by kinship ties are formed and express themselves in patterns of exchange, visitations, political alliances, and ritual organization. Every village exhibits some small-scale multilingualism, as different dialectal varieties of a language are likely to be spoken in houses where spouses come from different villages within a closely related linguistic group. "Brother-sister exchange marriages" (Basso 1973, 1984) are also common; these frequently occur in inter-ethnic marriages and may aid creation of new alliances with non-kin. Such marriages tend to be repeated over generations, and when they involve speakers of different languages, further potentialize "amplification" of multilingualism within a village.

Local groups have a "monolingual ideology" despite ever-present and varying degrees of multilingualism. In some villages, only dialects of a single language are spoken. In others, several languages are used in almost every house but remain within the household confines, overt multilingualism being eschewed in public contexts. In a Kalapalo village, for example, a

Kamayurá-speaking woman will speak Kamayurá at home but will speak only Kalapalo (learned from her husband) when conversing with neighbors.

The Yawalapiti (Southern Arawak) villages are a surprising exception to this general profile, representing multilingual microcosms of the regional linguistic diversity within the same local group. After their dispersion and near extinction in the late 1940s, the Yawalapiti, together with their affines and with aid from the Villas Boas brothers (leaders of the Roncador-Xingu Expedition), rebuilt a village for them, forming a "mixed" (see Mehinaku 2010) and multilingual group that played an important role in mediating between the Upper Xingu and representatives of the national society (Viveiros de Castro 1977: 10). Despite growth of the original village, Amakapuku (and more recent establishment of three additional villages), the number of Yawalapiti speakers declined steadily, from 28 in the 1950s to five — all over 60 — at the end of 2016 (Moore 2006; Carvalho 2016). Today, Yawalapiti is the least spoken language by the 262 inhabitants of the Yawalapiti villages, composed primarily of in-marrying non-Yawalapiti speakers who use other Xinguan languages, such as Kuikuro, Kamayurá, Kalapalo, and Mehinaku.

Thus, it is not strict language use, but the criterion of village residence, a broader unit of everyday sociability, that establishes all residents of Yawalapiti villages as "Yawalapiti" (Viveiros de Castro 1977). Still, identity distinctions are somewhat fluid. Taking an individual's parents' group memberships into consideration derives subdistinctions on a cline, e.g. one may be "true" or a "little" Yawalapiti, "true" or a "little" Kuikuro. In the Yawalapiti village, a Kuikuro may be considered Kuikuro in certain contexts and Yawalapiti in others, whereas in other Upper Xingu villages, "to speak" and "to have" a language impose the respective obligations of speaking *only* in one's own language and knowing another language without being able to speak it (in public).

Contrastingly, inter-village encounters are characterized by required public, and highly valued, expressions of multilingualism. All inter-ethnic encounters are mediated by hereditary

chiefs who greet each other with elaborate ceremonial discourses, resulting in ritualized multilingual dialogues (Franchetto 1993, 2000; Basso 2009; Guerreiro 2015). Rituals are moreover structured according to extensive musical repertoires that frequently mix different languages in a set of songs or even *within* a single song (Menezes Bastos 1978, 2013; Mehinaku 2010). Thus, though ideologies of linguistic endogamy and/or "purism" generally prevail among Xinguan groups, different languages coexist in specific domains, with multilingualism particularly prominent in ritual communication.

The Upper Xingu multilingual system reproduces itself and survives through a delicate and dynamic balance between two opposing forces. On one hand, differences are carefully maintained, with language/dialect serving as one of the main diacritics marking distinctions between autonomous local groups, be they partners or antagonists within the intertribal network of exchanges and relations. This helps explain resistance to lexical borrowing, which is less frequent than expected in a context of intense and centuries-long contact between linguistically distinct communities. Indeed, borrowings are rare even in the sphere of terms related to shared core rituals, cosmology, and social organization; the most crucial concepts are translated into each individual language. The lack of an indigenous lingua franca is another defining characteristic of this system, though today, Portuguese increasingly serves this function (Franchetto 2011).

On the other hand, indigenous researcher Mutua Mehinaku notes that viewing Xingu peoples as linguistically homogeneous within each village and culturally homogenous within the confines of the Upper Xingu system limits our understanding of regional complexity. Beyond the astonishing ritual multilingualism of the Xingu, interethnic marriages produce (for the most part) passive bi- or polylingual individuals and promote the circulation of linguistic and cultural elements that enrich the knowledge and forms of expression of each local group (cf. Mehinaku & Franchetto 2015). The "mixed" and the "true, puristic" perspectives are always at stake.

2.2.3 The Northeast Amazon

The wide geographical area encompassing eastern and southeastern Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, French Guiana, and the Brazilian states of Roraima, Amapá, and northeastern Pará, is politically fragmented but has been defined as a region united by complex networks of multiethnic and multilingual interactions dating from ancient times (Gallois 2005; Cruz et al. 2014; Melatti 2017). Though Carib languages predominate, the linguistic mosaic includes Arawak and Tupi-Guarani languages, the small Yanomami family, and isolates Warao, Arutani (Uruak, Awake), Sapé, and Mako. The region's colonial history threw an additional five European languages — English, Portuguese, Spanish, French, and Dutch — into the mix and contributed to the development of creoles, such as Sranantongo, Saramaccan, Guyanese English Creole, and Kheuól. Following Yakpo and Muysken's (2017: 3) description of the region as "a chain of interacting and intersecting communities, which have very diverse and complex relations among themselves," we look at two focal zones: the regional multilingualism of the Upper Trombetas and Mapuera, and the Uaçá — birthplace of Kheuól.

The Trombetas River is a northern tributary of the Amazon. Its upper courses and own tributary, the Mapuera, flow through northwestern Pará, a region inhabited by speakers of Mawayana (Arawak) and at least seven Carib languages and dialects (Waiwai, Tunayana-Katwena, Xerew, Hixkaryana, Katxuyana, Txikyana, Kahyana). Approximately 3,500 people now occupying fifty-two villages in three Indigenous Lands, to a large extent share a common mythology, rituals, kinship system with Dravidian terminologies, and aesthetic and ethical values. Their network of exchange and kinship relations extends to other villages in the states of Amazonas, Roraima, and Amapá, and in the neighboring countries of Guyana and Suriname (cf. Fock 1963; Hawkins 1988;

Howard 2001; Caixeta de Queiroz 2008; Porro 2008; Girardi 2011; Alcântara e Silva 2015; Valentino 2019a, 2019b for relevant ethnographic, linguistic, and historical data).

Regional festive gatherings, including sports tournaments, political assemblies, and religious conferences, take place yearlong and are enthusiastically promoted, their linguistic diversity highlighted through public presentation of songs, translation of formal speeches, and even multilingual welcome banners, such as that seen in Figure 1. In daily life, multilingualism is evident in short-wave radio communications and in the use of mobile phones to record and share songs, many of which becoming regional "hits", circulating via pendrives, memory cards and Bluetooth in places lacking telephone or internet services.

Figure 1: Welcome banner for the III General Assembly of Carib Peoples in the Northern Corridor, written in Katxuyana, Hixkaryana, Portuguese, Tiriyó and Waiwai. July 2016, Trombetas River. Photo by Igor Rodrigues

People known as "Waiwai" live in fifteen villages on the Mapuera River. Locally, however, ethnic definitions are not stable, and people employ a variety of referential collective names in a

fluid dynamic of identification: Xerew, Pixkaryana, Mawayana, Katwena, Tunayana, Cikiyana, Mînpoyana, Parukwoto, Caruma, Wapixana, Karapawyana, and Xowyana, among others. These names mark positions in a broad field of political relations and reflect criteria including kinship, birthplace and residence, migratory routes, marriage, alliances, and the language and dialects spoken or understood by the person and family elders. Nevertheless, the Mapuera villages form a homogeneous speech community dominated by the Waiwai language — partly due to Protestant missionary activities over the past century, involving population agglomeration, literacy work, and Bible translation.

On the Upper Trombetas and its tributaries, the Cachorro and Turuni, there are currently fourteen villages with a combined population of approximately 500, who do not identify themselves by a single comprehensive ethnonym nor form a homogeneous speech community. Each village is founded on close kinship ties that result in more stable ethnic designations than are found in most Mapuera communities. Bi- or multilingualism are the norm, with villages composed of speakers of Katxuyana, Kahyana, Hixkaryana, Tunayana-Katwena and Waiwai. However, Protestant and Catholic missionary activities have tipped the linguistic balance of power in favour of Tiriyó as the dominant local indigenous language, and widespread fluency in Portuguese has given the Katxuyana and Kahyana, on the Cachorro and Trombetas Rivers, political prominence in relations with the State, regional non-indigenous organizations, and within the national Indigenous movement, compared to their Tunayana neighbors living on the Upper Trombetas and Turuni.

2.2.4 The Southwest Amazon

Formed by the headwaters of the Madeira River and covering parts of the lowlands of northern Bolivia and southwestern Brazil, the Southwest Amazon is a region of extraordinary

linguistic diversity. In an area roughly the size of Germany, 50 typologically and genetically diverse indigenous languages — some 10 isolates and representatives of the Nambikwara, Chapacura, Takana (Pano), Jabutí (Macro-Ge), Arawak, and five of the seven Tupi subfamilies — are spoken (cf. Rodrigues 1964; Adelaar 2008; Crevels & van der Voort 2008; Ribeiro & van der Voort 2010; Eriksen & Galucio 2014). Features of material culture indicate long term contact and development of several southwest Amazonian cultural areas: the Moxos or Moxo-Chiquito cultural complex on the Bolivian side of the Guaporé/Iténez River (Lévi-Strauss 1948; Denevan 1966; Crevels 2002), and the Guaporé, the Marico, and the Tapajós-Madeira cultural complexes on the Brazilian side (Lévi-Strauss 1948; Galvão 1960; Maldi 1991). The Guaporé River may have represented a geographical barrier between the markedly different Moxos and Guaporé cultural areas, but there is archaeological and historical evidence that it did not completely impede exchange.

Southwestern Amazonian languages exhibit some shared lexical and grammatical traits that also likely spread through contact, but do not indicate a clearly delineated linguistic area. Rather, as observed for cultural areas, there are several partially overlapping linguistic subareas (cf. Crevels & van der Voort 2008; Muysken et al. 2015 for further discussion). Most of the regional languages are now highly endangered, and with only a handful of speakers, ten are on the verge of extinction.

Yet just a century ago, indigenous peoples of the southern part of the Brazilian state of Rondônia still lived in separate villages forming multiethnic, multilingual constellations. Within specific river basins, widespread interethnic marriages and frequent contact fed localized multilingualism among individuals from neighboring villages. Change rushed in with the early twentieth century rubber boom, when land concessions were established in the Corumbiara, Pimenta Bueno, and Branco river regions, and Indians were contracted to work the rubber groves. In the name of improving their lives, the Brazilian government's Indian Protection Service (SPI)

began to systematically remove what they deemed to be "superfluous" indigenous groups from concession lands in the 1930s. Over the following three decades, hundreds of Indians were sent to the Ricardo Franco "indigenous post" in the remote western Bolivia border region (Vasconcelos 1939), where they had no means of subsistence and where diseases easily spread. After World War II, the rubber trade collapsed and in the 1960s, rubber concession lands were redistributed and sold by the government agency for land reform (INCRA). Local indigenous groups were left to fend for themselves until the 1980s, when, in an attempt to alleviate the situation, the new National Indian Foundation (*Fundação Nacional do Índio,* FUNAI, successor of the SPI) undertook creation of several Indigenous Lands (or *Terras Indígenas* — T.I.),[10] gathering together remnants of the earlier regional populations.

The Ricardo Franco post is now part of the Rio Guaporé Indigenous Land, which presents the most dramatic multiethnic situation in Rondônia. It is home to members of eleven indigenous peoples: the Arikapu and Djeoromitxi (Macro-Ge, Jabuti), Makurap, Tupari, Wayoró (Tupi, Tupari), Salamãy, Aruá (Tupian, Mondé), Kanoé and Aikanã (isolates), Cojubim and Wari' (Chapacura). Most of these peoples' languages are in the process of extinction, and individual multilingualism (involving indigenous languages) is mainly found among the elderly, whereas the younger generations are rapidly shifting to Portuguese.

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[10] Most of Brazil's indigenous population lives in *Terras Indígenas*, which are federal, non-privately-owned territories officially reserved for use and habitation by indigenous peoples, a right guaranteed by the 1988 Brazilian Constitution. Nevertheless, the identification and demarcation of T.I.s can take decades and is often impeded by the personal interests of politicians in cahoots with powerful ranching and mineral lobbies.

Other Indigenous Lands replicate the pattern of "minorities within minorities". For example, in the T.I. Tubarão-Latundê (established in 1983), Aikanã (isolate) is spoken as a community language by some 250 people (in a dominant ethnic population of around 400). There are also some two dozen Latundê (Northern Nambikwara) of whom 17 still speak the language. This previously unknown group was contacted by the Aikanã in the mid-1970s (Reesink 2012). A few Latundê, alongside one Salamãy woman, currently live among the Aikanã, though most continue to live apart in the Latundê settlement. The other minority group are the Kwaza (isolate), with a population of 50, half of whom are speakers (van der Voort 2004, 2016). Currently, of the three populations, only the older Kwaza tend to be multilingual, speaking both Kwaza and Aikanã in addition to Portuguese, while the younger generation speak either Aikanã or Kwaza.

As with groups throughout the region, the history of the Kwaza includes division, dispersion, and near decimation by epidemic diseases. Fragmentation of the group is evidenced by the family ties between the T.I. Tubarão-Latundê and the small T.I. Rio São Pedro (established in 2000 in the original Kwaza homeland). The Kwaza language had probably disappeared there in the 1960s, and the remaining Portuguese-speaking Kwaza family was working alongside Brazilians in rubber extraction. Powerful ranchers bought out the Brazilians in the mid-1990s, but the Kwaza refused to leave. Their young men all married Aikanã women from one family from the T.I. Tubarão-Latundê, making Aikanã the only indigenous language spoken in T.I. Rio São Pedro — by all the children and their mothers, but *not* by their Portuguese-speaking but ethnically Kwaza fathers. The situation changed in 2008, when some Kwaza-speaking families from the T.I. Tubarão-Latundê moved to the São Pedro Lands. This worsened the ethnic identity crisis and embarrassment of the local Portuguese-speaking Kwaza: their former language is now spoken on their Indigenous Land by persons who immigrated from elsewhere. Kwaza constitutes a case of language survival beyond survival of a clear speech community, likely as a "focussed" (in the sense

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of Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985) marker of group identity emerging in the wake of upheaval from the outside world.

Finally, turning to the T.I. Rio Branco, we likewise find a majority population, the Tupari (Tupi, Tupari), with some 300 speakers, and minorities of Aruá (Tupi, Mondé), Makurap, Wayoro, Kampé/Mekens (Tupi, Tupari), Djeoromitxí and Arikapu (Macro-Ge, Jabuti), and Kanoé (isolate), most of which have now more than a handful of speakers. Though Makurap may once have functioned as lingua franca (Snethlage 2016), it is now known as a second language only by elderly Tupari and Aruá, and Portuguese is the lingua franca. Thus, the SW Amazonian pattern of loss — of community, territorial belonging, language, and identity — marches on.

2.2.5 Colonial transformations: the spread of lingua francas and creoles

The expansion of lingua francas has deeply affected language use within egalitarian "small-scale" multilingual systems as well as among populations caught up in rapidly changing urban environments. Two of these languages, Nheengatú and Kheuól, can be traced to the early colonial period, but have had radically different fates: while Nheengatú, together with Tukano, a language rising to lingua franca status at the beginning of the twentieth century, are holding steady in the northwest Amazon, Kheuól is receding.

In the Brazilian city of São Gabriel da Cachoeira (whose population nearing 20,000 make it the largest urban center in northwestern Amazonia), the language pie is carved into some two dozen slices (Stenzel & Cabalzar 2012), the three largest corresponding to Portuguese, Tukano, and Nheengatú. The latter two are indigenous languages that have spread widely as lingua francas

in the Upper Rio Negro region.[11]

Nheengatú's lineage dates to early colonial times. It is the modern variety of the *Língua Geral Amazônica* (itself developed from Tupinambá, a Tupi-Guarani language spoken along much of the Brazilian coastline at the onset of European contact), which became the most widespread lingua franca in the Amazon basin during the colonial period (Bessa Freire 2004; Cruz 2011). Nheengatú arrived in the Upper Rio Negro region in the mid-eighteenth century with expanding colonial raids to capture indigenous people from the Vaupés, Içana, and upper Rio Negro rivers as slave labor in piassava[12] and rubber production (Oliveira et al. 1994; Meira 2018). Nheengatú became the common language among captured slaves, and those who eventually returned to their homes upriver carried it back. Nheengatú took hold and expanded over the next two centuries as the primary language in subregions occupied by Arawak populations: the Baniwa on the lower Içana, Warekena on the Xié, and Baré along the Upper Rio Negro and in São Gabriel itself.

Entrenched in the urban environment, use of Nheengatú as a diglossic high variety continued along indigenous/non-indigenous lines, eventually spreading to indigenous peoples living on the periphery. An interesting case is that of the Dâw, a small, formerly semi-nomadic Naduhup group who settled on the opposite shore of the Rio Negro after being nearly driven to extinction through alcoholism and labor in a highly exploitative debt-peonage system (Lasmar 2000). Dâw was and is still the first language of people in the village. However, living near

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[11] Within the greater region, there are an estimated 10,000 speakers of Tukano — 4,000 in Brazil and 6,000 in Colombia (Cabalzar & Ricardo 2006), and some 8,000 speakers of Nheengatú — 6,000 in Brazil and 2,000 in Venezuela (Moseley 2010).

[12] The Amazonian palm tree *Leopoldinia piassaba*, whose fiber is widely used for roofing, rope, brooms, and baskets.

indigenous speakers of Nheengatú and non-indigenous speakers of Portuguese drew the Dâw into a system of diglossic and unidirectional bilingualism that has shifted over several generations. Those now around 60 and older are more likely to have gained competence in Nheengatú, while its use is negligible among the younger generations, for whom Portuguese is now the clearly dominant second language (Storto et al., 2017).

To the west in the Vaupés basin, in the first decade of the twentieth century, explorer Koch-Grünberg (2005 [1909]) noted expanded Tukano use among ethnic groups, such as the Tariana (Arawak), who had up to then maintained use of their own "paternal" languages. Such shift cannot be attributed to intermarrige with Tukano-speaking peoples, given that exogamous unions were the traditional norm within a system that preserved all the participating languages (see 2.2.1). Rather, shift was spurred by a century and a half of disruption in regional social organization: devastating depopulation from epidemics, slave raids, and forced labor (Wright 2005) all contributed to eventual tipping of the scales in favor of Tukano (Stenzel 2005). Its promotion in missionary boarding schools further reinforced its rise as a lingua franca in the twentieth century (Aikhenvald 2002).

As lingua francas, Nheengatú and Tukano currently enjoy a new sociopolitical status as, alongside Baniwa (with some 5,000 speakers in Brazil on the Içana and Aiarí rivers),[13] they became "co-official" languages in the municipality of São Gabriel da Cachoeira in December, 2002 (Municipal Law number 145, cf. Oliveira 2015). This legislation — then first of its kind in Brazil — made it incumbent on the municipal government to offer basic public services both in oral and written form in the three co-official languages, and to create institutional campaigns strengthening

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[13] The total ethnic Baniwa population in Brazil, Colombia and Venezuela numbers over 17,000. (https://pib.socioambiental.org/en)

their recognition and use in local schools and the media. The nearly twenty years since co-officialization was signed into law have indeed seen increased public funding for language-instruction training programs, and a resurgence of pride in indigenous identity is partially attributed to greater visibility of Tukano, Baniwa, and Nheengatú in the urban education scenario. However, full implementation of the law's mandate is still forthcoming, and efforts so far have not been altogether uncontroversial.

One of the sticking points is that though officially municipal in scope, the legislation's main arena of action has been the city of São Gabriel itself. For example, although the law recognizes use of the full range of indigenous languages in formal education in rural villages within the municipality, it makes no specific provisions to support efforts to strengthen any of the non-official languages. Many view this as both a slight and a threat to maintenance of the languages of minority groups, an excuse to leave their requests for highly salient needs such as didactic materials development and teacher preparation unattended. Shulist (2013, 2016) moreover argues that traditional indigenous language-identity relations are undergoing broad redefinition in the urban context, where the diminished status of non-official languages, among other factors, leads to ideological shift heavily favoring use of Portuguese, even above use of the co-official indigenous languages.

Kheuól (or Patuá) is a French-based creole language spoken by the Galibi-Marworno, Karipuna, and Palikur from the Uaçá Indigenous Land, located in the Oiapoque municipality on the border between French Guiana and the Brazilian state of Amapá. It has been the regional lingua franca there since the sixteenth century, and is markedly different from Guianese Creole, principally in terms of phonetic and phonological features influenced by twentieth century contact with Portuguese.

Kheuól is now the identity language of the Galibi-Marworno and the Karipuna peoples (Alleyne & Ferreira 2007). The Galibi-Marworno are the descendants of Carib, Arawak and various non-indigenous peoples who still spoke French, Carib, and Arawak languages when, in the early twentieth century, they were gathered by the Brazilian government into a single village and became known as *mun Uaçá* "Uaçá people" (Nimuendajú 1926). Thus began co-construction of a new ethnic and linguistic identity (Gallois & Grupioni 2003), though the "Ancient Galibi" language persists in shamanic contexts (Macial & Charles 2012). Formation of the Karipuna, while equally hybrid, includes a more distinct non-indigenous component, since Saramaccans, Asians, Arabs, and Brazilians have intermixed with the natives of the region since the nineteenth century (Tassinari 2003). Their mestizo origins were a long-used justification for denying the Karipuna the status of "indigenous people"; rather, they were dubbed "Brazilians of the Curipi", the river whose banks they inhabited (Tassinari 2003).

In contrast, the Palikur are Parikwaki (Arawak) speakers, who have been historically resistant to colonists, despite contact since the sixteenth century (Capiberibe 2009). Palikur adults speak Kheuól as a second or third language, alongside Portuguese, to facilitate exchange with other Uaçá peoples (Silva 2016). Their history of resistance and preservation of their indigenous language stands in contrast to the way Galibi-Marworno and Karipuna identities were constructed, the latter having been more open to alliances with non-indigenous outsiders (Vidal 1999).

Nowadays, increasing use of Portuguese is interrupting transmission of Kheuól among the Karipuna and Galibi-Marworno, with many younger Palikur completely abandoning it (Silva 2016). Though the degree of Kheuól linguistic vitality is unknown, intergenerational disruption appears to be greater overall among the Karipuna, closer to the center of Oiapoque. Recent revitalization actions promoted by indigenous teachers of Uaçá, in partnership with researchers from the Federal University of Amapá (Campetela et al. 2017), aim to place Kheuól of Uaçá on the

"linguistic map" as the sole — and now highly endangered — creole language spoken in Brazil (Alleyne & Ferreira 2007).

2.2.6. Vignette: negotiating knowledge and multilingualism in the trajectories of Tuyuka *baya* singers

All ethnic groups in the Upper Rio Negro recognize the cultural role of the *baya*, a ritual specialist who masters a set of ceremonial chants, dances, and genealogical narratives, structured in hierarchical and complementary fields of knowledge (C. Hugh-Jones 1979: 135). We turn now to the life trajectories of a group of five Tuyuka (East Tukano) *baya* as an example of the tensions between *ideal* and *de facto* patterns of multilingualism and ethnic identity construction in a highly dynamic sociocultural environment. How a *baya's* "ritual language" is learned and transmitted, its semantic content, and its social functionality take our perspective of "everyday" language interactions to a larger, more encompassing level of socialization: here myth, territorial knowledge, *baya* ritual language, and everyday language use are interlinked by the same principle of patrilineal ideology and a complex network of multiethnic, multilingual, and affinal relations.

The Tuyuka people have a complex history of migration within the Upper Rio Negro region. Oral histories recount their forced removal from the upper Vaupés by the Kubeo and Koripako and initial relocation to the upper Papurí river, where they became allies of the Tatuyo. Some six generations ago (in the mid-nineteenth century), they again migrated to the headwaters of the Tiquié river. The new matrimonial and ritual partnerships they created with the Tukano, Bará, and Makuna led to a redefinition of the local linguistic ecology within a new — albeit discontinuous — region of Tuyuka agnatic and linguistic predominance (Cabalzar 2008: 164).

All five *baya* singers: Mandu Lima, Pedro Lima, Casimiro Lima, Guilherme Tenorio, and

Higino Tenorio[14] are members of the *Ophaya*, the highest-ranked sibs in Tuyuka hierarchical structure. Within the *Ophaya*, the *de facto* elder brothers, their sons, and grandsons form the higher ranked sub-lines and enjoy greater prerogatives as *baya*. Such is the case of brothers Guilherme and Higino in relation to the three classificatory "younger" but *de facto* elder singers; indeed, Mandu, Pedro and Casimiro's fathers were actual blood brothers, but classificatory "younger" brothers, to the Tenorios' father. When they were children, a severe shamanic conflict led Mandu, Pedro and Casimiro's families to move downriver from their traditional territory on the Colombian Tiquié to the outskirts of the larger (and predominantly Tukano) village of Pari-Cachoeira (in Brazil), where they lived for more than twenty years. Then, in the late 1950s, another revenge conflict took the lives of both Casimiro's and Mandu's fathers, prompting Casimiro, Pedro, and his father to return to their former territory in Colombia (Cabalzar 2008). Casimiro then married and began to take an interest in chants and blessings, while Mandu remained in Pari-Cachoeira, worked in gold mining in the 1980s and then moved to São Gabriel da Cachoeira (where Casimiro also lived out his final years, passing away in 2005).

All members of the *Ophaya* sib are *baya* specialists responsible for safeguarding and

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[14] Sadly, in June 2020, this much respected and beloved indigenous leader passed away from COVID-19. Several of the coauthors of the Amazonian sections knew him well, both as a *baya* master and as a key partner in the movement to adopt Tuyuka as a language of instruction in primary education throughout the Tuyuka region, and deeply mourn his passing. The pandemic still rages among Amazonian peoples as we register these words. We wish to pay homage to its hundreds of victims among indigenous populations and express our collective grief over the enormous loss of knowledge, as well as cultural and linguistic human diversity, their lives represent.

transmitting ritual knowledge among themselves. However, the trajectories of these five *baya* included periods of living apart or growing up among people from other groups, where the legitimacy of their knowledge as *Ophaya* singers and dancers was under constant scrutiny. For example, though all five were considered prestigious singers, always employing Tuyuka or a regional ancestral language in rituals, Casimiro's knowledge was sometimes belittled because as an orphan, he had learned from his father-in-law and uncles (ethnic Tukanos) rather than from his own (Tuyuka) father or brothers. Likewise, when criticized for having travelled and learned from different sources, Mandu stated that "none of us singers have stopped traveling through different regions, none of us have stood still in our ancestor's places." He recalled that even though he had grown up in (Tukano dominant) Pari-Cachoeira, he had nevertheless always been among important bearers of traditional Tuyuka knowledge "who told me all the songs and blessings, and I grew up listening to them". Similarly, when labelled less wise than his elder brothers, Pedro replied: "As smoked food eaters nowadays, shouldn't all we *Ophaya* singers —not only me — be considered a bit less powerful than before?" By "smoked food eaters", Pedro is alluding to the present-day relaxation of food restrictions and ritual fasting essential to mastering ritual practices, diminished rigor in this respect implying equally diminished mastery (Lasmar 2005; Rezende 2007; Cabalzar 2010).

The ritual language and narrative repertoires of these Tukuya *Ophaya baya* result from complex histories in an equally complex sociolinguistic setting. Their individual trajectories led them to acquire knowledge from various sources, including elders from their own and other Tuyuka sibs, as well as from neighboring Makuna elders or Tukano father-in-laws. Far from constituting a simple reflection of descent relations within their own sibs, their repertoires were gleaned from open forms of ritual language that essentially mirror the intricate ethnic relations and complex trajectories of individuals throughout the Upper Rio Negro. In this sense, theirs are not atypical

cases of knowledge acquisition, but examples of how a projected ("pure") ideal of circulation of agnatic knowledge plays out in real life for people whose trajectories reflect a more dynamic reality. We can moreover draw a parallel from their experiences to the dynamics of everyday language use, as the next section will show. As people migrate (in groups or as individuals, e.g. all married women, who relocate to their husbands' villages), languages also circulate within new territories (cf. Cabalzar 2012 for local views on diverse multilingual ecologies), each language contributing to reorganizing the multilingual dynamics in public, private, or ritual uses and renegotiating coexistence alongside other local languages in the new environment.

2.2.7. Vignette: "non-criminal" code-mixing in the Vaupés

Much of the literature on Upper Rio Negro language contact and multilingualism indicates that code-mixing (i.e., the use of two or more languages within a sentence) is highly constrained by ideologies that promote loyalty to one's patrilect and hierarchization of languages within individual multilingual repertoires (Chernela 2013). Aikhenvald (2002: 95) refers to code-switching and language mixing among the Tariana (Arawak) as a "crime", and Chernela reports that among Kotiria speakers, such practices are "regarded as 'speaking in pieces' and [are] ridiculed" (2013: 213). Although there are acceptable contexts for switching between languages, including direct quotation and in the narrative discourse of spirits and animals (Gomez-Imbert 1991; Aikhenvald 2003: 190; Epps 2009b: 998), within the Upper Rio Negro region, a "strong cultural condemnation of language mixing" is seen to generally curtail its occurrence (Epps & Stenzel 2013; Epps 2016).

Nevertheless, recent work in San José de Viña, a mixed Desano-Siriano (East Tukano) community shows that code-mixing overtly occurs in many everyday multilingual interactions (Silva 2020). Although speakers generally equate speaking a language "well" with a conscious

choice to avoid language mixing, the ideals of linguistic conduct (what speakers *say* they do) are often at odds with what occurs in naturalistic interactions. Examples from a variety of settings, such as a game-playing session in which (1) was produced, are common. The speaker was a Desano man addressing two other participants (one Desano and one Siriano), and the utterance contains elements of both languages, in addition to Spanish (Silva 2020: 145).

(1)　[*i-pɨ-re*　　　　*yuhu*　*ãrã-bɨ*]Desano　[*gahi*]Siriano-[kolor]Spanish

　　this-CONTR-REF[15]　one　be-PFV　　　other-color

　　[*ãrã-bɨ=ta*]Siriano

　　be-PFV=EMPH

　　'Over here is one; (and there) is another color.'

Code-mixing also occurred in a conversation between a Tukano mother and her Desano daughter while demonstrating how to make manioc flour. Prior to the exchange in (2), the daughter had been conversing with her Desano brother (recording the conversation) in Desano and with her mother in Tukano. However, she then used Desano to ask her mother the question in (2a), and received the reply in (2b), with elements in Desano and Tukano. Interestingly, since the Desano portion of (2b) is the mother's exemplification of what the daughter *should* say, this switch likely demonstrates one of the "permitted" contexts of code-mixing — quotation of another person's speech — as mentioned above (Silva 2020: 142).

(2a)　*nõ'pa ã'rĩ-kuri yɨ'-pɨ*? Desano

　　how say-INTERR 1SG-SR

　　'How should I say?'

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[15] Abbreviations: 3-third person; ANAPH-anaphoric; ASSER-assertion; CONTR-contrary; EMPH-emphasis; INTERR-interrogative; PFV-perfective; REF-referential; SG-singular; SR-switch reference.

(2b)   [*ãrĩyẽ*   *i-go*   *i-a*]Desano   [*nia-to-ta*]Tukano

        manioc.bread do-3SG   do-ASSER   say-ANAPH-EMPH

        '(You) say: "(I'm) making manioc bread."'

Silva notes that such linguistic behaviour is not only frequent, but that when asked about it, participants (or witnesses) of these interactions neither disapproved or condemned the code-mixing that took place, qualifying it as "a normal thing" within the community (2020: 151).

Equally tolerant attitudes and additional examples of everyday interactions replete with code-switching of various types are found among speakers of Kotiria and Wa'ikhana (cf. Stenzel & Williams submitted). As new empirical data attesting flexibility in multilingual practices and attitudes comes to light, research turns to questions related not only to *how* mixing occurs, but of *why* people mix languages, and why and when they do *not* mix. We recognize that language has social functions as a marker of solidarity or in-group identity (cf. Gardner-Chloros 2009) and that accommodative shifts may be spurred by contextual motivations including convenience, politeness, or to facilitate communication (Jackson 1974; Sorensen 1967; Gomez-Imbert 1996; Aikhenvald 2001, 2002; Epps 2018). It now behooves researchers to further explore the complexities of multilingual practices, including what switches *accomplish* for speakers at more nuanced micro-interactional levels.

3. Conceptualizing multilingualism

Section 2 presented regional and local constellations, focussing on individuals, groups, and the societies in which they participate (projecting viewpoints that emerge from the available research); it also highlighted some of the transformative processes induced by settlement colonialism in Brazil. The following section inverts perspectives by discussing how pluri- and

multilingualism can be and have been epistemologically and theoretically framed, what the consequences of these different vantage points are, and how selective data and approaches constrain analyses and characterizations.

3.1. Areas, systems and networks

"Areas" and "systems" are concepts explored in the comparative linguistic anthropological literature to analyze how social and linguistic patterns match up in multilingual (and multiethnic) settings. A "linguistic area", as generally defined, presupposes diffusion, or "horizontal transfer" of linguistic traits among three or more languages in a geographically cohesive area (Campbell 2017). Thus, the languages involved are usually not genetically related, or are only distantly related (Aikhenvald 2012), with some linguists arguing that an "areal trait" should never be found in genetically related languages outside the area (Emeneau 1956). This is what distinguishes linguistic areas from *dialect* areas, in which diffusion occurs among varieties of the same language or between very close sister languages.

In this sense, linguistic *areas* presume language boundaries that are overcome by bi- or plurilingualism at the individual level and multilingualism at the social level. In some areas, there may be languages that are socially dominant or more frequent in discourse, and these are more commonly the source (rather than the target) for transfer of linguistic traits. In other areas, relationships are described as multilateral and egalitarian. Investigating how individuals learn, use, and identify with different languages is crucial to understanding both specific processes of borrowing and broader patterns of interactions between languages, families, and subareas — a point that has received little attention in the literature on linguistic areas. Additionally, genealogical classifications are often contested in small-scale multilingual settings (see 2.1.1), and the

distinction between genealogical and areally diffused traits has been subject to growing criticism (Kalyan et al 2019).

Not only is it difficult to disentangle inheritance and contact, but there is also no consensus on how *much* borrowing is necessary to constitute a linguistic area. All linguistic areas have been defined based on structural borrowings, i.e. grammatical morphemes or more abstract grammatical and semantic patterns (Aikhenvald 2002; Campbell 2017). Yet, it is debated whether all languages within a linguistic area must display shared traits due to contact or whether one could identify traits with more restricted distributions across subsets of languages. Linguists have differentiated "weak" from "strong" linguistic areas based on heuristics including relative antiquity, the number of languages and families involved, the range and complexity of borrowings and their distribution across languages, and the degree of individual bi- or plurilingualism. Linguistic diffusion across different areas or within a larger, and often more discontinuous, region also contributes to blurring the boundaries (Payne 1990; Aikhenvald 2012; Campbell 2017).

Diffusion of structural traits within a linguistic area or other multilingual configuration requires both considerable time and intense social relations, which is why *linguistic* and *cultural* areas often overlap (Galvão 1960). Campbell (2017) and Muysken & O'Connor (2014), however, argue that cultural areas form more quickly and possibly by means other than linguistic contact. Thus, they may not result in diffusion of linguistic traits, while the inverse (language contact without cultural exchange) does not hold.

This distinction may shed some light on an important contrast between the Upper Rio Negro and Upper Xingu contexts of Lowland South America, in that the Upper Xingu can be considered

a cultural, but not a linguistic area,[16] while the Upper Rio Negro is both. These two regions moreover contrast with the Southwest Amazon, whose complex mosaic of language families, linguistic subareas, and multilingual subregions also contains (at least) two important cultural areas, on the Brazilian and Bolivian sides of the Guaporé/Iténez River. For the West African settings (section 2.1), clustering of many genetically related languages in the Mande space, co-existence of genetically related lects and unrelated languages, and problematic classification of these languages all testify to the ontological difficulties of stipulating particular requirements of genetic non-relatedness for identifying linguistic areas within spaces of cultural diffusion.

For these reasons, focussing on types of "areas" can only take us so far: investigating multilingualism in both local and broad social perspectives requires expanding our conceptual scope. One alternative looks at diffusion of linguistic traits more generally, holding that the "individual historical events of diffusion" should matter more than post-hoc attempts to organize conglomerations of borrowings geographically (Campbell 2017). This shift in focus from linguistic areas to "areal linguistics" looks for spatial or social patterns inferable from the distribution of linguistic traits across different languages within a particular setting (cf. Dahl 2001; Muysken 2008; Campbell 2017).

Another potentially insightful perspective on multilingual settings comes from Luhmann's (1997, 2006) general theory of "systems", in which a system is defined by the difference it continually produces — through self-organized operational structures and components — in relation to a particular "environment". This notion may be useful for understanding at least some

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[16] Seki (1999) proposed a status of "incipient linguistic area", but there is still no consensus as to an identifiable set of shared features supporting this hypothesis (see Franchetto & Gomez-Imbert 2003).

multiethnic and multilingual contexts that conceive of and reproduce themselves as distinct from their surroundings while, at the same time, continuously creating and preserving internal ethnic and linguistic diversity.

The peoples of the Upper Xingu, for example, consider themselves "true people", set apart from their close neighbors ('wild Indians' or 'enemies', *ngikogo*, in the Upper Xingu Carib Language spoken by the Kalapalo, Kuikuro, Matipu, Nahukua, and Angaguhütü) by a fundamental difference: "true people" do not make war among themselves and do not hunt land animals (Basso 1973; Gregor 1977, 1990; Viveiros de Castro 1977; Franchetto 1986). This difference permeates all aspects of Xingu life: production of the body, everyday ethics, and ritual life all carefully recreate this contrast. In Luhmann's sense, these "other" peoples constitute the "environment" from which the Upper Xingu system differentiates itself, creating both its component political units (e.g. local groups and peoples) and their sustaining relations. The Ikpeng and the Kĩsêdjê, for example, are part of a broader geographic network that maintains diverse kinds of relationships with Upper Xingu peoples; however, the "Xingu proper" still consider these neighboring groups to be "others" from whom they stand apart. Even when engaged in ritual relationships with such "others", it is by means of Upper Xinguan rituals, rarely the other way around.

Similarly, the Upper Rio Negro system is grounded in the association of groups to territories and mythical places of emergence, creating different senses of "in-ness" in various scales (S. Hugh-Jones 1979; Goldman 1979 [1963]; Andrello 2016). This symbolism frames most shared operations of the system, such as marriage norms, residence patterns, knowledge and productive specialization, ritual activities, etc. (as noted in 2.2.1). Viewed in this light, though Upper Rio Negro peoples maintain relationships with the Yanomami (to the east) through a broader multiethnic and multilingual network, the latter group could hardly be described as a component member of the Upper Rio Negro *system*.

While Lowland South America figures prominently in theorization of linguistic areas or systems, research on this topic is scant for Western Africa. This zone has been described as part of the sub-Saharan fragmentation belt (Dalby 1970), the Macro Sudan belt (Güldemann 2008) or, in phonological terms, the Sudanic diffusion zone (Clements & Rialland 2008) stretching roughly from the Upper Guinea Coast to the Ethiopian escarpment. Yet, this postulated linguistic area is internally very heterogeneous, and the scant set of features[17] used to define it are distributed so unevenly that only its diversity sets it apart from surrounding, linguistically less fragmented areas. The studies that address multilingualism (rather than language contact as the basic interaction between lexico-grammatical codes) in Western Africa, have been largely conducted within frameworks focusing on language pairs (see Lüpke & Watson in press [2020]) for an overview). For Western Africa, landlord-stranger dialectics (Brooks 1993) create associations of places, and indirectly of some of their inhabitants, with languages. More interdisciplinary research inspired by structures of small-scale societies in Amazonia may shed light on whether the Atlantic incarnation of this system, with differences of a larger scale, is systematically different from settlement and cohabitation patterns in the Mande sphere, where linguistic differences are of a smaller scale, and where social distinctions expressed in endogamous status groups and joking relationships are more widespread and cross-cut linguistic and ethnic borders.

In addition to "systems" theory, our understanding of multilingual settings may be informed by other models: wave theory may help explain how linguistic traits diffuse, the idea of "networks"

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[17] Güldemann (2008) uses logophoricity, labial-velars, labial flap consonants, ATR vowel harmony, S-AUX-O-V-X word order, and V-O-NEG ordering to defining characteristics of the area, but he himself concedes that Atlantic languages display ambiguous behaviour in relation to the distribution of these features.

may capture how components of different systems are connected, and the geographical distribution of peoples may clearly influence how a system distinguishes itself from its environment and how different systems interact. The complex settings presented in this article demonstrate the importance of taking an entire constellation of concepts into consideration when describing multiethnic and multilingual contexts, since they can bring to the fore different issues and scales of analysis. Such an endeavour also requires combining contact research with studies of dynamic, synchronic multilingual societies.

3.2. Speech communities, communities of practice, social networks, and language contexts

The situations considered here question the notion of a homogenous "speech community" co-extensive with a "language community" (Silverstein 2015). Therefore, in this section we draw on the centrality of particular "communities of practice" to comprehend multilingualism and variation in highly variegated social networks and "speech situations".

Following Gumperz (1962) and Hymes (1972), we understand "speech community" as a group of speakers sharing rules for structural and social aspects of speech. Although widely abandoned by sociolinguists, this theoretical concept persists in descriptive and documentary linguistics and has enjoyed a renaissance within endangered language research. Most study of small languages adopts this perspective, such that multilingualism and language contact are only investigated considering their influence on the target language, or on contact-induced influences between languages of neighbouring communities. Lüpke (2016a) and Goodchild (2016) discuss the impact of this viewpoint on researchers, in terms of expectations for finding monolingual speech, and research participants in terms of eliminating or selectively editing forms, genres and registers not conforming to the sought-after monolingual standard (unless language contact is the explicit interest). While this outlook does not necessarily lead to an "ancestral code" ideology that

views all change as threatening, impure, and recent (Woodbury 2011), maintaining language or code as the focus of research is not ideal for uncovering the dynamics of language use and their motivations in heterogeneous places. Attuned to this limitation, Himmelmann (1998: 165) advocates for extending language documentation to "the linguistic practices found in a given speech community", thus opening it to include multilingual interaction (see also Gullberg 2012). In Silverstein's (2015) words, we must differentiate between language and speech community and study language use in the latter, often located at the intersection of the denotational codes that create imaginary language communities. Given the sheer scale of such endeavours in intensely multilingual settings, documentation of this nature is seldom realized,[18] and resulting data remains challenging to analyze even in large collaborative projects sampling multilingual practices. To give an example of the potential scale of such an undertaking: the Crossroads project[19] investigating rural multilingualism in three neighbouring villages in Southern Senegal has collected ca. 100 hours of speech in which 20 named languages have been identified so far.

Acknowledging the heterogeneity of linguistic practice in any setting, even if within the confines of one named language, much sociolinguistic and multilingualism research implicitly or explicitly focuses on a category that has superseded the notion of "speech community" in sociolinguistics, namely that of "community of practice" (Lave & Wenger 1991; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Wenger 2000; Eckert 2000). Such communities — groups of people constituted by a shared social practice that often involves learning, for instance participating in a choir, becoming a Tuyuka *baya* master (2.2.6), attending the same school, or jointly taking part

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[18] But see Seifart et al. (2009) and Stenzel & Williams (submitted) for multilingual documentation projects.

[19] See www.soascrossroads.org for details.

in an initiation ceremony — are taken as the object of research.[20] For rural Western Africa, such research has, for example, explored the multilingual socialization of children in child-caregiver interactions (Cissé forthcoming [2020]), language ideologies, repertoires, and practices in families and villages (Goodchild 2019, Weidl 2019, Goodchild & Weidl 2018). What has emerged from these investigations is that even in contexts perceived as being homogeneous (e.g. households or villages identifying themselves as monolingual at the level of language ideology), multilingualism is omnipresent through the presence of caregivers, visitors, and family members speaking other languages. Likewise, even settings apparently associated with clear and diglossic language policies (such as schools, where only the languages of colonial provenance are officially authorized), are spaces in which other languages, particularly lingua francas, flourish (Juffermans and Abdelhay 2016). These findings mirror those of rural social networks studies (Beyer 2010; Beyer & Schreiber 2013) conducted in Burkina Faso, which show that speech patterns transcend bounded codes and are shaped by the multilingual networks in which speakers participate. Research into participants' repertoires and the factors through which they are changed and adapted is of prime importance for

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[20] Most research on communities of practice focuses on urban settings, even in Senegal, e.g. schools and neighbourhoods (Dreyfus and Juillard 2004), towns and cities (Juillard 1995, 2010; Ndecky 2011; Swigart 1994), urban families (Nunez 2015) and markets (Calvet 1993); and for neighbouring Gambia a variety of urban settings (Haust 1995).

a real appraisal of linguistic interaction, as also emerges from the Senegalese and Amazonian case studies on trajectories in sections 2.1.5 and 2.2.7.

Language contexts, i.e. situations that impose (or not) constraints on parts of participants' repertoires are another prime area of enquiry. Many speech situations in the Atlantic space can be seen as multilingual by default, in that the speech event participants draw on all or most of their linguistic resources in "translanguaging" (García & Wei 2014) or "non-criminal" code-mixing fashion (see 2.2.7). Other situations require a multiple language mode, i.e. the use of one language with one (set of) interlocutors and use of a different one with others, based on non- or only partly overlapping repertoires. Monolingual situations (akin to domain specialization) can occur, for instance, in ritual contexts requiring use of the patrimonial language. However, in many settings, strictly monolingual situations are rare, and those requiring adaptive multilingualism constitute the unmarked case. Diglossic contexts requiring monolingual and standard forms of colonial languages are often more limited than the prestige of these languages suggests. Despite official status at the level of the nation state, their use depends on intricate local factors, including the presence of other languages of wider communication. Initial research reveals these different discourse-pragmatic contexts to yield qualitatively and quantitatively different patterns of code interaction or transcendence of bounded codes (see Cobbinah et al. 2016 for a detailed discussion and examples). Amazonian multilingual settings appear less attuned to code separation than the well-documented language ideologies suggest, as soon as actual language use is taken into consideration (see Stenzel & Khoo 2016; Stenzel & Williams submitted and section 2.2.7). Both West African and Amazonian settings exhibit forms of federal multilingualism, in addition to widespread local multilingualism. Digging deeper into the fabrics of multilingual interaction, combining studies of communities of practice as *loci* of conventionalized communication, fine-grained research on the

networks and trajectories of individuals, and contexts associated with different code interaction styles emerges as a focal point for future research.

4. Conclusion and outlook

In this article, we have examined multilingual societies deeply affected by Western expansion from the fifteenth century onwards, yet in systematically different ways, depending on whether they were subjected to settlement vs. exploitation colonies and on their location at the centre vs. at the periphery of settlement colonies. As a settlement colony, Brazilian multilingual settings were affected to a much larger extent than West African settings, despite colonial upheavals inflicted there as well. In both settings, however, colonial expansion did not increase multilingualism; rather, existing small-scale multilingual societies have fallen victim to (post)colonial violence literally and metaphorically, through massacres, deportation, and enslavement, as well as through imposed (post)colonial language policies. In both world regions, we see the linguistic effects of early globalization in the emergence of Creoles (Kriol on the Atlantic coast of West Africa, Kheuól in Lowland South America), and the spread of languages of wider communication (e.g. Nheengatú, Tukano, Bambara and Wolof) through colonial activities, including boarding schools. However the roles of languages associated with colonial expansion were not uniform and changed according to sociopolitical circumstances. Originally the language of intermediaries in the slave trade, Upper Guinea Coast Kriol became the language of anticolonial struggles in Guinea Bissau and an important identity language for many inhabitants of the wider area. Likewise, in its early stages, Nheengatú was seen as a "white people's language". However, by the end of the twentieth century, during which Salesian missionaries repressed use of Tukano, Nheengatú and other languages in the Upper Rio Negro, Nheengatú was reassessed as an

"indigenous language" and came to be associated with the movement for land demarcation led by the Federation of Indigenous Associations of the Rio Negro (FOIRN). This change in indexical value testifies to the impossibility of attaching absolute values of "indigenous" vs. "colonial" to languages and of the need to analyze their situated values through time.

The integration of the languages of the (post)colonial states, French, English, and Portuguese in Western Africa and Portuguese in Brazil, came later and is a phenomenon of unequal distribution also producing locally very different effects. Similar observations hold for the status of small languages. In situations where far-reaching transformations of local language ecologies resulted in new, more essentialist imaginations of language and literal language-identity links, as in the Northwest Amazon (2.2.1, 2.2.5), contexts of diglossia have arisen not only between indigenous and colonial languages, but also within smaller and larger indigenous languages. In fact, selective strengthening of some indigenous languages can have the paradoxical effect of further minoritizing others, creating minorities within minorities. Globalization can thus no longer be expected to have uniform consequences for linguistic diversity, and this finding warrants new research paradigms on language vitality (Mufwene 2017; Di Carlo & Good 2017; Lüpke 2017) informed by detailed knowledge of language ecologies and their dynamics through history.

Capturing these historical changes and their ramification is even more important because Lowland South America and Western African settings were not timeless and unchanging prior to the arrival of the first Europeans. Reconfigurations, mobilities, exchanges and trajectories are threads running through most accounts presented here, as are discrepancies between "fixed and exclusive" language ideologies and more "fluid and adaptive" language use. There is a widespread dialectic of upholding distinctiveness at the rhetorical level and transcending it in praxis, compounded with the common presence of plural modes of being. This warrants both drastic rethinking of precolonial rural societies and recasting basic linguistic research as capturing

language ecologies that go far beyond the usual object of description, a lexico-grammatical code. The case studies united here show that we can only understand how language (as the abstraction made by speakers and linguists) is shaped by looking at the social interactional contexts in which it is used; and if these are dynamic multilingual configurations, we should pay much more attention to them. Such research, as argued here, needs to be holistic and transdisciplinary. It moreover needs to be conducted urgently, before the constellations that have shaped language evolution and change — not only in our two geographic areas but throughout the world — have been altered beyond recognition by the forces of late globalization. Because they radically diminish the realm of the local and draw small-scale societies into larger, homogenized spheres of interaction, they do not create "superdiversity" there, but rather eradicate it wherever they take hold.

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