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LINGUISTIC HYBRIDITY:
A CASE STUDY IN THE
KOTIRIA COMMUNITY

Abstract:

This article discusses language practice, ideology, and identity construction among the Kotiria (East Tukano), an indigenous people of the multilingual Vaupés region in northwestern Amazonia. Based on detailed analysis of speech from a young Kotiria girl, it presents a case study of dissonance between reported language ideology — founded on the notion of 'linguistic loyalty' and presumably resulting in norms of monolingual speech — and actual language practice in this region. Drawing from current sociocultural linguistic theory on code-switching and multilingualism, it concludes that the alternations observed in this sample of spontaneous and unguarded speech cannot be explained by appealing to notions of difference, but are motivated by discourse-pragmatic considerations linked to previously unidentified connections between 'indexical ideology' and linguistic practice. Rather than looking for a divergence explanation for language alternation, it postulates a hybrid solution that indicates the existence of an as-yet unacknowledged 'multilingual' speech genre. It provides both a context-specific and data-driven look at language use in the multilingual Vaupés, and offers a theoretical contribution to our more general understanding of ideology and local speech practices in multilingual contexts.

Introduction

This article addresses issues related to language practice, ideology, and identity construction among indigenous peoples of the Upper Rio Negro region in northwestern Amazonia. Characterized by intense language contact and endemic multilingualism, it is a region for which questions related to essentialist language ideology and patterns of language use are particularly relevant. Yet the very complexity of the regional system makes investigation of these questions intensely challenging, and our study represents a pioneering journey into somewhat uncharted territory. The issues we address have broad implications, yet also focus on specific aspects of language and identity in this region, our goal being to contribute to ongoing discussions with insights from a perspective that takes micro-level grammatical analysis of linguistic data into account.

Indeed, it was while we were analyzing data from a young Kotiria[1] speaker that we began to reflect on the interface between how language supposedly *should* be used and how language *is* used in this region, and what this interface could add to our understanding of identity and local speech practices. The data immediately caught our attention because it contains systematic alternations involving multiple linguistic codes, pointing to *dissonance* between reported language ideology and actual language practice. Looking for an explanation for why such dissonance might occur led us to reconsider the ideology of 'linguistic loyalty' and the monolingual speech practices that are the presumed norm in this region.

Drawing from current sociocultural linguistic theory on code-switching and multilingualism, we came to the conclusion that the alternations observed in the data cannot be explained by appealing to notions of difference with other indigenous groups. Rather, they are motivated by discourse-pragmatic considerations that are, in turn, significant in revealing previously unidentified connections between ideology and linguistic practice. In essence, rather than looking for a *divergence* explanation for language alternation — in which speakers negotiate *separate* identities — we postulate a *hybrid* solution that

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[1]We use the traditional, self-determined name *Kotiria* 'water people' at the request of the speakers with whom fieldwork and documentation efforts have been undertaken. The names Wanano/Guanano/Uanano have also been used in the literature on the region in reference to the same ethnolinguistic group.

illuminates language ideologies not yet discussed in the literature on the region and indicates the existence of an as-yet unacknowledged 'multilingual' speech genre. In taking such an approach, we follow Hall & Nilep (2015) in utilizing a broad understanding of the term *code-switching* and its related discursive practices, including *borrowing, mixing,* and *hybridity*, among others.

The final issue we discuss is how the language phenomenon observed and analyzed can potentially inform our approach towards language documentation in multilingual contexts. We propose that examination of actual language use is essential to the unpacking of ideological associations. With recourse to a recording of spontaneous speech, an unguarded moment in which multilingual resources were employed, we provide a data-driven look at language use and make a theoretical contribution to understanding languages in contact and multilingual situations. Most importantly, we provide an additional piece of the language ideology in the multilingual Vaupés puzzle.

We have organized the article as follows. Section 2 provides background information for our discussion, beginning with an introduction to the Upper Rio Negro region and the Kotiria people. §2.1 then outlines the 'building blocks' of multilingualism in the Vaupés, and §2.2 presents an overview of the ideological 'cement' that holds the system together, drawing attention to the primary question at hand: *dissonance* between ideological expectations and language-use reality. A detailed examination of the Kotiria data follows in §3, with discussion and conclusions in §4.
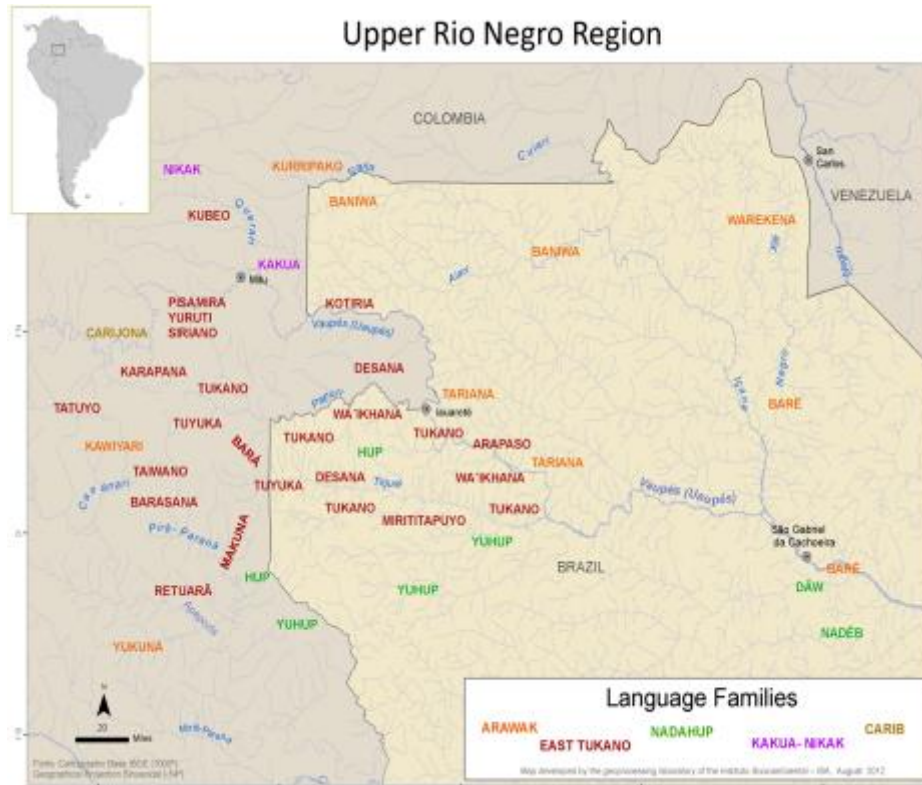
2 The Upper Rio Negro

The Negro river of northwestern Amazonia is a monumental waterway draining 250,000 square kilometers of the Brazil-Colombia-Venezuela border territory. Nestled into the heart of this area is the Vaupés river basin, home to more than two dozen indigenous populations with ethno-linguistic affiliations to five autochthonous language families. The more centrally located East Tukano (ET), Arawak (AR), and Nadahup (NA)[2] groups have

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[2]The East Tukano (ET) groups are the Kotiria (Wanano/Uanano/Guanano), and sister groups Bará (Waimajã), Barasana, Desano, Karapana, Kubeo, Makuna, Pisamira, Siriano, Taiwano (Eduuria), Tanimuka (Retuarã), Tatuyo, Tukano, Tuyuka, Wa'ikhana (Piratapuyo), and Yuruti. The total population of the ET groups is approximately twenty-six thousand (estimates from the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA)-PIB online, and the Colombian 2005 and Brazilian 2010 national censuses). There is little reliable information on the actual numbers of speakers of each language, and some groups, such as ET Mirititapuyo and Arapaso, have fully shifted to use of Tukano and their ancestral languages are now extinct.

The AR groups are the Baniwa, Kurripako, Yukuna, Kawiyari, Tariana, Baré and Warekena. The majority of Tariana are currently speakers of Tukano, except in two small villages upriver from Iauaretê and one on

interacted with each other culturally and linguistically for centuries through a variety of trade, alliance, and marriage relations. The result is one of Amazonia's best-known multilingual regional systems, characterized by Sorensen (1967: 671) as "a large, culturally homogeneous area where multilingualism — and polylingualism in the individual — is the cultural norm."

Map 1 Ethno-linguistic groups in the Upper Rio Negro (Epps & Stenzel 2013)

There are approximately 2,000 ethnic Kotiria, two-thirds of whom reside in Colombia. Most Kotiria still live in traditional communities located along the east-west stretch of the Vaupés forming the Brazil-Colombia border and continuing upriver towards the city of Mitú, a territory they have occupied for at least seven centuries (Wright 2005; Neves 1998; Stenzel 2013: 10). However, migration away from traditional communities has increased over the past several decades. Approximately 20% of Brazilian Kotiria now live in the

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the Iauarí, a tributary of the Vaupés. Language shift to Nheengatú has affected the Baré (whose language is now extinct in Brazil), some of the Baniwa on the lower Içana, and most of the Warekena population (ISA-PIB online; Aikhenvald 2003, 2014; Cruz 2011).

The NA groups are also known as 'Makú,' but we utilize the denomination following Epps (2008). The four NA languages are Hup, Yuhup, Dâw, and Nadëb, while Kakua and Nikak are considered a separate family (Epps and Bolaños, forthcoming)

indigenous town of Iauaretê, located at the confluence of the Papurí and Vaupés, 60 miles downriver from the first Kotiria villages. Another 15% reside in the city of São Gabriel da Cachoeira, over 300 miles downriver, outside the borders of the Upper Rio Negro Indigenous Lands (Andrello, Buchillet, & Azevedo 2002; FOIRN-ISA 2005). It is likely that similar migratory processes affect the Colombian Kotiria, with movement from villages toward the town of Mitú.

We can see on *Map 1*[3] that the Kotiria territory is somewhat removed from the more central region in which most of the ET groups are concentrated. Being on this geographic fringe means that two of the Kotirias' closest neighboring groups are the (AR) Baniwa and Tariana, who, within the system of exogamic marriage (outlined in §2.1), figure among the Kotirias' primary 'in-law' groups, along with the (ET) Desano, Tukano, and Kubeo. Indeed, a number of innovative features in Kotiria grammar have likely developed through longstanding contact with speakers of AR languages (Stenzel & Gomez-Imbert 2009).

2.1 The building blocks of a multilingual society

Early ethnographic work by Goldman (1948, 1963), and Sorensen's seminal article *Multilingualism in the northwest Amazon* (1967) were the first to introduce us to the Vaupés social system and the linguistic pluralism it engenders. Another half-century of anthropological and linguistic research has broadened our understanding of the principles of the system, which has multilingualism at intersecting regional, community, familial, and individual levels as a primary feature.[4]

The most basic tenet of Vaupés social organization establishes each person's social identity through patrilineal descent, with the father's language/ethnic group affiliation as its most salient marker (Jackson: 1983). Inheritance of one's father's ethnolinguistic identity not only automatically establishes one's own place in the system but also ascribes either 'agnate' or 'affine' status to all other individuals. Agnates are fellow members of one's own ethnolinguistic group, classificatory 'relatives' who are descendants of a common

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[3]The map shows current locations of ethnic groups and their genetic language family classifications. However, due to processes of ongoing or complete language shift, the group locations shown should not be interpreted as indicators of which langauges are currently spoken by each populations (see note 2 above, references there, as well as Stenzel 2005; Chernela 2012; Epps & Stenzel 2013b)

[4]We cite only a fraction of the literature on the region. Additional sources are Jackson (1974, 1976); Hugh-Jones, C. (1979); Hugh-Jones, S. (1979); Chernela (1983, 1993); Aikhenvald (2013); and Stenzel (2005). Epps & Stenzel (2013b) provides an extensive list of references, and Lüpke's article in this volume offers a concise overview of the system.

mythical ancestor and speakers of his language. In contrast, affines are non-relatives, who speak the languages of their own mythical ancestors. Marriage between agnates is prohibited, so potential marriage partners must come from affinal — appropriately referred to as 'in-law' — groups. This marriage system, which requires spouses to have distinct language-group affiliations, is referred to as 'linguistic' exogamy.[5]

Linguistic exogamy, which in the Vaupés involves ET and AR groups,[6] is further reinforced by the practice of virilocal residence. When a woman marries, she is expected to live in her husband's village and raise their children as members of his ethnic group. Villages are thus composed of a set of male relatives (speakers of a common language) whose wives come from other ethnolinguistic groups, but who play an active and important role in socializing children toward acquisition of their fathers' language and ethnic identity (Chernela 2003, 2004).

While such a system might sound like a recipe for linguistic chaos, in fact it is not. Though the basic norm of linguistic exogamy implies that an individual can marry anyone who does not have agnate status, the pool of potential spouses is actually constrained by factors such as geographic accessibility. Indeed, each village belongs to a network of neighboring 'in-law' villages with which it has consolidated alliances through generations of reciprocal bride exchanges, and these networks have important sociolinguistic consequences. Rather than resulting in a random hodgepodge of languages being spoken in any given village, exogamic marriage networks lead to local linguistic *repertoires*, repeated and reinforced over time.[7] Village children are socialized to identify ethnically and linguistically with their fathers, but they are also exposed to and acquire (to a greater or lesser extent) their mothers' languages and the languages spoken by other in-marrying wives, who most likely represent a repeated and limited set of in-law groups. Individuals are thus raised in bilingual

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[5]However, while Vaupés Indians still adhere to exogamous marriage norms, processes of language shift over the past several centuries have led to a certain disassociation of ethnic identity and *de facto* use of a particular language (Stenzel 2005). Nonetheless, each group still claims a unique ethnic identity through shared ancestry and a (once-utilized) distinct mode of speaking.

[6]Due to space restrictions, we paint a somewhat simplified portrait of the system here. For groups such as the ET Makuna and Kubeo, the AR Baniwa, and the NA groups in general, exogamy applies to internal phratric, or "clan" divisions, so exogamic marriages do *not* necessarily mean union with a speaker of a different language (Ärhem 1981; Goldman 1963; Chernela 1989). Among the AR groups, the Tariana have been more fully integrated into exogamic marriage practices involving neighboring ET populations, however the Baniwa of the Aiari River also participate in the system, maintaining longstanding marriage relations with the ET Kotiria (see Azevedo 2005; Stenzel and Gomez Imbert 2009).

[7]The influence of geography in marriage-partner choice remains in force and most modern-day unions stray little from traditional patterns (see Cabalzar 2000, 2013, and Azevedo 2005, which offers a summary of the literature addressing this issue).

households within multilingual communities, and acquire linguistic resources reflecting a shared village repertoire.

At this point, we might wonder how such a complex system can be maintained, why a scenario of this type does *not* lead to overall convergence to a single common language. We might also expect it to represent a perfect breeding ground for multilingual speech practices.

Gomez-Imbert (1991) was one of the first works to recognize that symbiotic forces of convergence and divergence are the basis of equilibrium in the system. On the one hand, widespread similarities in material culture, social conventions, and mythology are indeed evidence of contact-induced convergence (Hill 1996; Neves 2011; Vidal 1999; Ribeiro 1995; Epps & Stenzel 2013b). There are also a number of linguistic features shared by non-genetically related languages (Gomez-Imbert 1996, 1999; Epps 2005, 2007, 2008b), prompting characterization of the region as a 'linguistic area' (Aikhenvald 1996, 1999, 2002).[8] On the other hand, pressure towards convergence is counterbalanced by ideology, argued to be "a principal factor in determining language survival or loss" (Chernela 2013: 231). Ideology promotes heightened awareness of differences between even very closely related languages, reinforcing the need to preserve linguistic codes as unique and overt symbols of group identity. It also imposes restrictions on linguistic behavior, inhibiting multilingual speech practices that — at least at the macro-level — are perceived as threatening to the system.

2.2 Vaupés language ideology: the symbolic domination of macro-monolingual ideologies and its interface with micro-discursive acts

Work by Chernela (2003, 2004, 2013) underscores the fundamental role 'essentialist' language ideology plays in traditional Vaupés society to maintain a language-identity link that equates *speaking* with *being*. She characterizes "East Tukano ideology"[9] as comprised of "(i) a value of linguistic purity and aversion to linguistic merging; (ii) a reification of speech varieties into closed, non-overlapping, systems; and (iii) a concept of language as a

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[8]Aikhenvald's pioneering study of language contact in the region (2002) argues that the unique equal status of all languages involved provokes convergence characterized by multilateral diffusion of grammatical structures and categories rather than by more surface-level processes such as lexical borrowing.

[9]Chernela has worked primarily with the Kotiria and other ET groups, but the ideological components she identifies are comparable to those discussed by Aikhenvald for the (AR) Tariana (2002). We view them as generally representative of regional language ideology.

manifestation of being, inextricably tied to self and processes of identification" (Chernela 2013: 201).

The major tenet of this overarching ideology is 'loyalty' to one's *patrilect* (father's language), which individuals are socialized to adopt as their public, identificational language, the only one they claim to actually *speak*. In contrast, other languages in their repertoires (often five or six), including their *matrilect* (mother's language) and *alterlects* (other languages spoken in the village), are referred to as languages they *imitate*, though knowledge of these is often quite extensive (Gomez-Imbert 1991; Chernela 2013). Speakers constantly strive to maintain the appropriate status of each code, which necessarily leads to promoted use of the patrilect and avoidance of other varieties lest their use be taken as a sign of identity loss and domination of another group over their own. In this way, linguistic codes are preserved separately on the metalinguistic level, and repertoires becoming symbolically and hierarchically ranked.

Linguistic *loyalty* contributes to ensuring language *purity* (Chernela 2003, 2013), both notions fueling norms of regional language 'etiquette' (Aikhenvald 2002). This includes deliberate avoidance of less-than-fluent speech and repression of overt language 'mixing' (e.g. lexical borrowing or code-switching), except in very special circumstances.[10] The language-identity link thus calls on deeply ingrained ideological concepts related to linguistic allegiance to reinforce expectations of acceptable linguistic behavior.

According to Chernela and Shulist (2014), the strong association of patrilect to self-identification in fact creates a form of multilingualism distinctive to the upriver settlements of the Kotiria people.[11] Because language is iconized (Irvine & Gal 2000) as the only consequential link to identity, although the multilingual repertoires of speakers may be acknowledged, there is always pressure toward exclusive, overt use of the patrilect. This leads to scenarios of 'simultaneous multilingualism', in which each speaker involved in a conversation uses his or her 'own' language, presuming that the multilingual resources of

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[10]Situations in which speakers can 'legitimately' put their multilingual repertoires to use include direct citation of another person's speech, imitation for ludic purposes, and facilitation of communication when an interlocutor doesn't understand the speaker's language (Gomez-Imbert 1991; Aikhenvald 2002 cites similar contexts).

[11]We assume this form occurs not only in Kotiria villages, but in traditional communities throughout the region. The patrilect-identity link is a well-recognized characteristic of the region, for ET, AR, and NA groups (see references in Epps & Stenzel 2013b; Silva and Silva 2012, introduction)

all parties involved will ensure mutual understanding (Chernela 2013; Chernela & Shulist 2014).[12]

Thus, we understand how, paradoxically, within this highly multilingual context, *monolingual* speech practices come to be the prioritized and supposed norm. Speakers in traditional villages manifest allegiance to one language, essentializing and highlighting language boundaries that help construct an iconized *monolingual* identity within a *multilingual* body. Such is the habitus of the speaker, and it is evident that the borders between languages in village settings are socially constructed and imbued in speaker psyche. Consequently, any form of *mixing* across boundary lines will need to be either unconsciously 'erased' or overtly ridiculed — as when Kotiria speakers refer to code-switching as "speaking in pieces" (Chernela 2013: 213). Essentialist language ideologies are in this way symbolically dominant (cf. Bourdieu 1991) in the villages, with speaker complicity contributing to further background multilingual speech practices.

This scenario fits neatly into the language-is-identity trope, the presumption that monolingual speech is the norm being reinforced by Vaupés Indians' *claim* that they do not mix languages from their multilingual repertoires or code-switch when talking to each other. Most outside researchers also assume such claims to be accurate reflections and predictors of linguistic behavior. The problem is that we have evidence that speakers *do* engage in linguistic variation, and therein lies the rub. While existing analyses provide us invaluable insight on the effects of ideological processes of monolingualism at work, we contend that it is also important these processes *not* be seen as absolute in dictating speech practice, as they are unable to provide adequate explanations for cases of spontaneous language alternation of the type we will see in §3.

We should recognize that the symbolic domination of macro-monolingual ideologies can affect both speakers and researchers. In regard to the former, we hypothesize, first, that in contexts requiring negotiated use of multiple linguistic codes, speakers' perceptions of their own language use may be subject to filters that censor their awareness of departures from internalized norms of 'correct' speech practice (Gal & Irvine 1995; Chernela &

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[12]The authors point to a contrast between this and forms of multilingualism found in contemporary urban communities to which many village peoples have migrated. They argue that the diminished status of minority languages in the linguistic marketplace of cities such as São Gabriel da Cachoeira leads to ideological shift, driven by political and economic pressures, towards use of Portuguese. Other recent research (Fleming 2010; Shulist 2013, 2015) has focused on how macro-level indigenous language-identity relations are being redefined in contemporary village and urban contexts, suggesting a typology of regional 'multilingualisms'.

Shulist 2014). Second, we believe that speakers may consciously *police* their practices when outside observers are around, in keeping with the essentialist notion that languages should be preserved and presented as bounded and stable entities.[13]

As for researchers, *we* need to take care not to assume that the only type of multilingualism manifest in more traditional (upriver) contexts is of the 'bounded' type dictated by overarching ideologies about group membership. Lüpke (2016) reminds us that there are consequences to over-determining symbolic ideologies as applicable and translatable to all cases of language use. Accepting essentialist ideologies as absolute can lead to a representation of identity construction that is too simplistic, which eclipses our ability to recognize other potential social and interactional motivations that support different, contextualized identities. Multilingual speakers have rich resources they can use for alternate identity constructions that reflect what Lüpke calls 'local indexical ideologies' (2016: 21). These are context-sensitive — locally managed, produced and negotiated — and explain how linguistic variation occurs in interaction, as different discursive settings foreground particular parts (including language) of a complex identity to yield specific benefits for the speaker at different moments in time. Additionally, we should recognize that language variation can in itself be symbolically meaningful for speakers (Gal 1988), and refrain from immediately viewing it as some form of error or deficiency. Our point is that we should not discount the possibility that *hybrid* use of language is perhaps as much a part of a multilingual speaker's identity as is that same person's 'essentialist' policing of language use in front of outsiders.

We are indeed at a critical moment for our investigation of multilingualism in the Vaupés. Paraphrasing Chernela (2013: 202), we need to take symbolic ideological phenomena into account as factors that generate, drive, and account for practice, but also recognize that *actual discursive practices* may reveal greater variation and exception. In order to broaden our understanding of multilingual speech practices, we propose a shift in focus to observation of 'unguarded' speech moments coupled with detailed grammatical analysis. This approach may both reveal kinds of communicative practice not yet acknowledged and uncover the dynamicity of the intersubjectivities that emerge through these practices (Bucholtz & Hall 2005).

We will return to discussion of how speakers manage the tension between essentialist and indexical ideologies in §4, and turn now to the questions: *Why* would speakers who profess

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[13]Perhaps even more so in the context of 'language documentation' projects.

strong loyalty to one language code-switch to another? and *How* do code-switches manifest morphosyntactically in actual language use? We will show how the study of micro-discursive speaker moves that are *dissonant* from symbolically dominant ideologies can go a long way toward providing answers to both these questions.

A two-minute treasure: Eliana's account of the Kotiria School graduation

We discuss these issues in light of data from a short audiovisual recording of a young Kotiria girl, Eliana Brito Álvares, describing the Kotiria school graduation ceremony that took place in the village of Carurú Cachoeira in December, 2008. Eliana was herself among the graduates, as were the members of the Kotiria language documentation team who filmed her.[14] Eliana speaks to us from the village longhouse just a couple of days after the ceremony, and her demeanor suggests a spontaneous and informal recounting of events among friends. Nevertheless, though only Eliana and her colleagues were physically present during the recording, we will see that the video camera itself embodies an amorphous 'outside' participant, a presence taken into account and linguistically encoded in Eliana's speech — just one of the fascinating features of this two-minute treasure.

Eliana's narrative consists of some two dozen utterances, given in §3.2 below with full interlinear analysis and line-by-line commentary. Before examining this data, however, we want to provide some additional background about Eliana, the Kotiria School, and the ceremony itself, as well as a bit of information about Kotiria grammatical structure that will explain why certain aspects of this brief narrative were so immediately intriguing to us.

3.1 Linguistic repertoires and language alternations: Kotiria, Tukano, and Portuguese

Eliana lives in the Kotiria village of Poraque Ponta, one of seven children of a Kotiria father and Tariana mother (whose first language is Tukano). In keeping with the tenets of Vaupés social organization outlined in §2, Eliana has Kotiria ethnic identity (inherited from her father), and her primary linguistic allegiance is to her father's language, the 'public'

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[14]The Kotiria language documentation project was conducted in partnership with the Kotiria School and a documentation team composed of four students and teacher coordinator, who worked autonomously in many instances to make recordings for the project archive. Eliana's account is one such recording, and we will see that the lack of outsider presence was both significant and fortuitous. For more on the Kotiria documentation project, see (Stenzel 2014).

language of both her own village and of Carurú Cachoeira, site of the Kotiria Indigenous School. She is also fluent in her mother's language, Tukano, the most widely used language among the in-marrying wives in Poraque Ponta, and is a fairly proficient speaker of Portuguese, which is heavily used in the school context and in all dealings with non-indigenous outsiders. Eliana's personal linguistic repertoire is thus *minimally* comprised of three languages, all of which are shared by her fellow students, and all of which she employs in her narrative.[15]

Indeed, it is in the school context that most village children are first exposed to Portuguese, which until fairly recently was the primary language of instruction.[16] Since the foundation of the Kotiria Indigenous School (in 2002), and its expansion to include high school instruction (in 2006), there have been efforts to increase use of Kotiria in the school context, both orally and in written form; still, the presence of Portuguese is extremely strong. This is not only because the processes of consolidating an orthography and producing teaching materials in Kotiria are still ongoing, it is also because proficiency in the national language is viewed as a necessary and desirable skill (Oliveira 2005; Abbonizio 2013). As children progress through school, they inevitably have greater exposure to Portuguese and are expected to use it in much of their academic work. Outside of the school context, however, they do not use Portuguese to communicate with each other: the national language is clearly associated to non-indigenous contexts and reserved as a communication tool for use with outsiders.

The graduation ceremony Eliana describes is a two-day affair with an interesting mix of indigenous and non-indigenous elements. Preparations begin in the early hours of the first day to ensure the village and longhouse are clean, decorated, and ready to receive visitors coming from surrounding villages. Guests arrive in the morning, and many apply traditional skin paint before attending a special mass in the village chapel.[17] After mass, everyone proceeds to the longhouse for a celebratory feast, honoring the graduates but

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[15]Eliana may also have some level of understanding of Siriano (ET) and Baniwa (AR), indigenous languages present in the community repertoires of her own village and of Carurú via in-marrying wives, as well as Spanish.

[16]Until the early 2000s, teachers were assigned to villages without taking their ethnicity and language proficiency into consideration. Nowadays, the policy is to place teachers in villages of their own ethnicity whenever possible. High school teachers, however, must have certification in specific academic areas and it is not always possible to supply a school with a full set of teachers from the local ethnic group.

[17]There has been Catholic presence in the Vaupés since the mid nineteenth century, and throughout most of the twentieth century, Salesian missionaries ran boarding schools and were responsible for all education from fifth grade onward (Chernela 1993: 34-43).

conducted according to protocol for any type of communal meal. Food is placed on long tables in the center; males and females are seated on opposite sides of the longhouse on benches lining the walls, and a special area is reserved for honored guests — on this occasion, the graduates and teachers. After the meal, there are speeches by community and school leaders, and then students present their graduation monographs, always on themes related to Kotiria history, culture, or area of traditional knowledge.[18]

Given the presence of Portuguese and the value attributed to it in the academic setting, most of the students opt to write their monographs in the national language. However, oral presentation of monographs is always in Kotiria. Following the etiquette in any Kotiria assembly, and reflecting the norms for transmission of knowledge through oral discourse, no time limit is ever imposed on a speaker. Students can take as long as they need for their presentations, and once a student has finished, there are often questions or comments by teachers or other people in the audience. For this reason, the presentation part of the ceremony may go on for several hours (even if there are only a handful of graduates), respecting the right of every person to have their say. Once this 'academic' ritual is complete, the ceremony continues to its close with animated conversation, flute-playing, and traditional dances. These are accompanied by many rounds of fermented manioc beer, the celebration usually lasting through the morning of the second day. The graduation ceremony is thus an amalgam of traditional indigenous and adapted non-indigenous elements, integrated yet hierarchically ordered. We will see that the 'hybrid' speech used to describe the ceremony in many ways mirrors this organization.

Kotiria is a nominative-accusative and generally dependent-marking language with highly synthetic and agglutinative morphology. Transitive clauses usually display OV order, with subject constituents positioned according to information-structure considerations: sentence-topic subjects (representing *new* or otherwise focused information) occur in clause-initial position, while known, discourse-topic subjects occur post-verbally as pronouns (or are null constituents recoverable from context). Occasionally, pronominal subjects occur twice in a clause, both initially and finally, a 'bracketing' phenomenon we very briefly discuss where it occurs in the data in §3.2. Kotiria has a very small number of case markers, with a single 'objective' case marker *-re* occurring on all referential nominal elements, including syntactic indirect and direct objects, as well as most temporal and some locative expressions. Discourse linking expressions, such as *ãyoa* 'then / doing that /

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[18]One of the products resulting from the Kotiria documentation project is a completely bilingual collection of twenty-two Kotiria student monographs.

because of that,' or full tail-head adverbial clauses are commonly used in all types of speech, including informal personal accounts such as Eliana's (for more information on Kotiria discourse, see Stenzel 2013, 2015, 2016).

One detail of Kotiria grammar that is particularly relevant for our discussion is the inclusive/exclusive distinction in first-person plural pronouns. The inclusive form *mari* is used for 1PL reference that *includes* the addressee (you+I, and perhaps others), while the exclusive form *sã* indicates 1PL reference *excluding* the addressee (others+I, but *not* you). This same distinction is found in Tukano, the cognate exclusive form being *ũhsa*, with two-syllable structure.[19] We will see that Eliana systematically uses *both* the Kotiria and Tukano first-person plural exclusive forms in her account, one of the most unusual and puzzling things we encountered in this data.

As expected, Eliana displays linguistic loyalty and uses Kotiria as the 'base' language of her narrative, but we immediately note the presence of a significant number of lexical terms in Portuguese. These terms are all nouns or verbs that can be grouped into three broad semantic categories:

- terms related to the context of the graduation itself, such as *formatura* 'graduation,' *monografia* 'monograph,' and *defender* 'to defend';

- non-indigenous time reference terms, including names for days of the week and specific hours of the day; and,

- terms for other social practices and categories of non-indigenous origin, but that are now widespread in the region, such as *missa* 'mass,' *capitão* 'captain' (a non-indigenous category of community leader), and *energia*, meaning 'electricity,' usually created by use of a generator.

Eliana integrates these non-Kotiria lexical items seamlessly into her discourse, where they are subject to Kotiria grammatical structure and receive appropriate morphological marking, such as case suffixes, e.g. the locative *-pʉ* on *missa* in (5) and on *hora* in (14), finite verbal inflection on *defender* in (11), and nominalizing morphology on the same verb in (13). The terms involved in this code-switching reflect the kinds of non-indigenous

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[19]The form of the first plural exclusive in Tukano has been adapted here to follow current Kotiria orthographic conventions, which include use of <ʉ> rather than <i> and overt indication of the predictable preaspiration of the second root consonant, if it is voiceless. The most comprehensive reference work for Tukano is Ramirez (1997, 3 Vols.), in which the pronoun is given as *ĩsâ* [ĩʰsá]. Use of either pronominal form triggers first person agreement in the finite verbal word.

'conceptual environments' in which, according to Aikhenvald (2002: 200-205), borrowing takes on pragmatic overtones, becoming basically a lexical gap-filling device. As such, this kind of code-switching might be considered to be a more ideologically neutral and acceptable multilingual practice, less 'threatening' than other kinds of language mixing. We nevertheless view Eliana's use of distinct linguistic codes as more than a discourse-pragmatic recourse, and will argue that hybrid language use reflects complex and locally negotiated indexical identities.

Interesting as it is, however, Eliana's code-switching involving Portuguese was not nearly as surprising to us as was her use of semantically equivalent forms from the *pronominal* systems of Kotiria and Tukano. This code-switching phenomenon not only set us to head-scratching, but also led us to consider an entirely new set of questions. From a sociolinguistic standpoint, doesn't such behavior directly *counter* what is purported to be the most basic rule of regional linguistic etiquette — that speakers do *not* engage in such 'mixing' of linguistic codes? Doesn't it contradict what is generally affirmed regarding the controlling force of language ideology over actual linguistic behavior? And from a linguistic standpoint, what would lead a person to code-switch *pronouns*? Might we be looking at random use of cognate terms, possibly constituting evidence of an incipient process of language shift to Tukano? Possibly . . . but we decided to pursue the hypothesis that Eliana's pronominal code-switching was structured and purposeful, indicating there was perhaps something else, more subtle and more significant, going on.

We eventually found that the key to understanding Eliana's use of parallel pronominal forms lay in recalling the function of pronouns in *any* type of discourse. Pronouns are referential terms, their felicitous use dependent on the recoverability of their antecedents — participant-referents whose identity must be clear and shared among speaker and interlocutors. We reasoned that if Eliana was structuring her discourse using two different 1PL exclusive *forms*, she must have two distinct 1PL exclusive *groups* in mind, groups whose identity was clear to everyone involved (except us, at first). Our task, then, was to discover who these referents might be — and once we did, we realized we were looking at type of multilingual speech practice we had never come across before.

We will see that Eliana uses the Kotiria pronoun *sã* when she is referring specifically to 'the graduating students', and she uses the Tukano form *ũhsa* when reference has broader scope, encompassing *all* the people who participated in the graduation ceremony activities, *including* the graduating students. Code-switching between parallel forms thus allows

Eliana to distinguish between two 'exclusive' groups, one embedded within the other. It also permits her to very deftly manipulate changes in perspective, much like camera takes in a movie alternating between wide-angle and close-up shots.

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It is also worth pointing out that Eliana *never* uses the 1PL *inclusive* pronominal forms (in either language), which might strike us at first as curious, since all the people present at the recording also participated in the graduation ceremony. We understand this to be how Eliana grammatically codes re-cognition of the video

camera — potentially representing an interlocator-viewer who was *not* involved in any way in the events she describes. In sum, what at first seemed to be rather random pronominal code-switching turned out to be an extremely sophisticated demonstration of multilingual resources skillfully employed in discourse. This leads us to the data itself.

3.2   *Bu'ewihia khiti*   'The graduation'

(1) *ũhsa formatura hichũ, formatura yoai, domingo hichũ.*[20]

~ʉhsá	*formatura*	*~híchʉ*
TK:1PL.EXC(POSS)	PT:graduation	TEMP

formatura	*yoá-i*	*domingo*	*~híchʉ*
PT:graduation	do-VIS.PERF.1	PT:Sunday	TEMP

'There was our graduation (day/ceremony), (we) did/had the graduation (last) Sunday.'

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[20]The conventions for 4-line interlinearizations are as follows: the first line gives the utterance using the currently-employed Kotiria practical orthography. Suprasegmental nasalization and glottalization are represented in the second line, respectively by a tilde ~ preceding the morpheme and an apostrophe within the root. High tone is indicated by the acute accent marker ´ and Low tone is unmarked. The symbol <ʉ> is used throughout to represent a high unrounded vowel [ɨ] or [ɯ]. A list of abbreviations used in the third (gloss) line is given in *Appendix A.*

Eliana begins her narrative using the Tukano form *ü̃hsa*[21] in the possessive noun phrase 'our graduation',[22] effectively introducing and contextualizing the ceremony as a collective event. In the next two utterances, however, Eliana switches to use of the Kotiria form *sã*, making it clear that it fell to the graduating students themselves to get up early and take care of preparations, working themselves hard until daylight came.

(2) *ã yoana sã sabado ñamire uma hora hichü̃ wã'kai.*

~a=yóá-~dá	*~sá*	*sábado-~yabi-re*	*uma*	*hora*
so/then=do-PL	1PL.EXC	PT:Saturday-night-OBJ	PT:one	PT:hour

~híchü	*~wa'ká-i*
TEMP	wake.up-VIS.PERF.1

'So/then on Saturday night we got up at 1 in the morning.'

(3) *te bo'rekaropü sã thunününo wa'a, thunününo wa'ati sãre.*

té	*bo'ré-ka'a-ro-pü*	*~sa=~thudǘdü-ro=wa'a*
until	be.lightened-do.moving-SG-LOC	1PL.EXC.POSS=put.pressure-SG=go

~thudǘdü-ro=wa'a-ti	*~sá-re*
put.pressure-SG=go-REFL	1PL.EXC-OBJ

'Until it got light, we pushed ourselves really hard.'

In line (4), the contrast in reference is confirmed. Eliana reverts to the Tukano form she used initially to characterize the event in 'collective' perspective, but here she formulates a complaint: that hardly anyone else in the village helped out with the preparations. The switch in pronouns subtly underscores an underlying expectation that such a collective event *should* have evoked a more collective effort to get things ready!

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[21]To aid recognition, we have boxed all pronominal forms in the data and underlined all terms from Portuguese.

[22]In possessive NPs, possessor and possessed nouns are juxtaposed, with no additional relational (e.g. genitive) morphology. In Kotiria, pronominal possessors occur as reduced forms with clitic status, as we see in (3), while in Tukano, the full pronouns are used.

(4) *ã yoa ɨhsã me'nemahkãina . . . ɨ̃hsare yoadoerakure wa'ahãre mɨa phayɨ hire hiase'e.*

ã=yóá-a	*~ɨhsá*	*~be'ré-~báká-~ídá*
so/then=do/make-3PL	TK:1PL.EXC(POSS)	COM-village-NOM.PL

~ɨhsá-re	*yoadó-éra-kure=wa'a-~ha'-re*
TK:1PL.EXC-OBJ	help-NEG-little=go-UNEXP-VIS.PERF.2/3

~bɨ́-a	*phayɨ́*	*hí-re*	*hí-a-se'e*
man-PL	many	COP-VIS.PERF.2/3	COP-PL-CONTR

'Because our fellow villagers … didn't help out (hardly at all), even though there were a lot of boys.'

The 'collective' perspective, marked by use of the Tukano form *ɨ̃hsa*, continues in lines (5), (6), and (7), in which Eliana describes the next sequence of activities: everyone going to mass and afterwards heading to the longhouse for the meal. Note that in the first, partial clause in line (5), the pronoun, as a re-established topical subject, occurs in clause *initial* position (the default focus position in Kotiria) but is then repeated in clause *final* (non-focus) position. In the second, full clause, the pronoun occurs only clause-finally, as an ongoing discourse topic.

(5) *yaba, ãyoa ɨ̃hsa domingo hichɨ̃re ɨ̃hsa, dez hora hichɨ̃ missapɨ wa'ai ɨ̃hsa,*

yabá	*ã=yóá*	*~ɨhsá*	*domíngó*	*~híchɨ-re*	*~ɨhsa*
what	so/then=do	TK:1PL.EXC	PT:Sunday	TEMP-OBJ	TK:1PL.EXC

déz	*hórá*	*~híchɨ*	*míssá-pɨ*	*wa'á-i*	*~ɨhsa*
PT:ten	PT:hour	TEMP	PT:mass-LOC	go-VIS.PERF.1	TK:1PL.EXC

'(*yaba*=filler) Then on Sunday we … we went to mass at 10 in the morning.'

(6) *missa yoa wihia,*

míssá	*yoá*	*wihí-a*
PT:mass	do	move.outside-VIS.IMPERF.1

'(We) had mass (and) came out (of the chapel).'

(7) *ã chɨana kha'machɨ chɨ yoai ɨ̃hsa.*

~a=chɨ́a-~da	*~kha'ba-chɨ*	*chɨ́*	*yoá-i*	*~ɨhsa*
so/then=food-get	bring.together-SW.REF	eat	do-VIS.PERF.1	TK:1PL.EXC

'Then (everyone) gathering food, we ate (together).'

The next pronominal code-switch occurs in (8), where Eliana uses the Kotiria form *sã* in the possessive construction to distinguish the graduating students' relatives *'sã hiphitiro formando phakɨsɨmɨa'* from all the *other* people who attended the ceremony, whom she identifies in (9).

(8) *ã yoana sã hiphitiro formando phakɨsɨmɨa,*

~a=yóá-~da	*~sa=híphiti-ro*	*formándo*	*phakɨ́-~sɨbɨa*
so/then=do-PL	1PL.EXC.POSS=everyone-SG	PT:graduate	TK:relative-PL

'Then, (all of) our (graduating students') relatives …'

(9) *japú mahkãina, arara mahkãina, ilha mahkãina, puraque mahkãina, matapi colombia mahkãriro capitão, matapi brasil mahkariro hire.*

Japú	*~baká-~ídá*	*arara*	*~baká-~ídá*	*ilha*
Japú (Island)	village-NOM.PL	Arara (Falls)	village-NOM.PL	(Inambú) Island

~baká-~ídá	*puraque*	*~baká-~ídá*	*matapi colombia*	*~baká-rí-ró*
village-NOM:PL	Puraque Point	village-NOM.PL	Matapi(COL)	village-NOM-SG

Capitão	*matapi brasil*	*~baká-rí-ró*	*hí-re*
PT:community.leader	Matapi(BRAZ)	village-NOM-SG	COP-VIS.PERF.2/3

'(and) people from Japú Island, Arara Falls, Inambú Island, Puraque Point, the village leader from Matapi Colombia, (and) one person from Matapi Brazil were there.'

Line (10) definitively shows that Eliana's pronoun alternation is anything but arbitrary, since both the Kotiria and Tukano forms occur to (quite masterfully) mark a referential contrast within the same sentence. The sentential subject is the Tukano form *ɨ̃hsa*: Eliana

carries over the broad perspective that includes all the people at the feast, but the *object* of the sentence is *sã* (marked by the objective case suffix *-re*), making it clear that the feast was in homage to *'us, the graduating students'*!

(10) *ũhsa ã yoana ... sãre ... ba'aro ũhsa yaba yoa tu'sʉ, yaba yoai . . .*

~ʉhsa	*~a=yóá-~da*	*~sá-re*	*ba'á-ró*	*~ʉhsá*	*yabá=yoa*
TK:1PL.EXC	so/then=do-PL	1PL.EXC-OBJ	do.after-SG	TK:1PL.EXC	what=do

thu'sʉ́	*yabá*	*yoá-i*
finish	what	do-VIS.PERF.1

'Then we (everyone), after (the feast) for us (the graduating students), we (filler), finished (filler), that up . . .'

In (11), Eliana maintains the spotlight on the students as her account moves to the next activity: defense of the students' monographs. Here, as we might logically expect, she uses the Kotiria form *sã* as both grammatical subject and as possessor in the adnominal NP '*we (students) defended *our* monographs.*' However, a curious thing then occurs in (12). Eliana quickly reformulates reference using the Tukano form *ũhsa*, in a second construction with 'bracketing' pronouns. It would appear that she reconsiders her more focused presentation of the monograph defending implied by use of *sã*, repairing and recasting the event in broader perspective with the rapid switch to *ũhsa*.

(10) *chʉ tu'sʉ, sã, sã monografia defendei.*

chʉ́	*thu'sʉ́*	*~sá*	*~sa=monografía*	*defendé-i*
eat	finish	1PL.EXC	1PL.EXC.POSS=PT:monograph	PT:defend-VIS.PERF.1

'(and) After eating, we (students) presented (defended) our monographs.'

(11) *ũhsa yoai ũhsa.*

~ʉhsa	*yoa-i*	*~ʉhsa*
TK:1PL.EXC	do-VIS.PERF.1	TK:1PL.EXC

'We (all) did that.'

She confirms her reference reformulation in (13), offering a broader and more expansive view of the monograph-defense process. She accomplishes this not only by using *ũhsa* as the subject in both clauses, but also by using a *demonstrative* rather than a *possessive*

modifier to talk about the monographs themselves. In (11), they are '*our* (each student's) monographs,' but in (13), they become '*the* monographs,' part of a more collectively accomplished 'monograph defending' activity that involves both student presenters and audience commentators (14).

(12) *yoaripha … yoaripha ũhsa yoai, ti monografiare defendena ũhsa,*

yoá-rí-phá	*yoá-rí-phá*	*~ɨhsá*	*yoá-i*
be.long-NOM-time	be.long-NOM-time	TK:1PL.EXC	do-VIS.PERF.1

ti=monografía-re	*defendé-~da*	*~ɨhsa*
ANPH=PT:monograph-OBJ	PT:defend-(1/2)PL	TK:1PL.EXC

'A long time, we did it a long time, we defending the monographs.'

(13) *te yabari hora? phaño patena três o duas horapɨta hiro hipharero.*

té	*yabá-rí*	*hóra*	*pha-~yo*	*pate-~da*
until	INT:WH-INT	PT:hour	time-show	perhaps-PL

três	*o*	*duas*	*hí-pha-ri-ro*	*hóra-pɨ=ta*	*hi-ro*
PT:three	PT:or	PT:two	COP-time-NOM-SG	PT:hour-LOC=EMPH	COP-SG

'Until what time? The presentations maybe were to two or three in the afternoon…'

Eliana maintains the 'collective' perspective signaled by use of *ũhsa* in (15), as the narrative moves to the next activity, the post-defense dancing and flute-playing.

(14) *ã yoa tu'sɨnapɨ ũhsa … yaba … cariçure ũhsa phutirore dɨhkai ũhsa.*

~a=yóá	*thu'sɨ-~da-pɨ*	*~ɨhsa*	*yabá*
so/then=do	finish-PL-LOC	TK:1PL.EXC(POSS)	what

caríçu-re	*~ɨhsa=phutí-ro-re*	*dɨká-i*	*~ɨhsa*
PT:panflute-OBJ	TK:1PL.EXC(POSS)=blow-SG-OBJ	begin-VIS.PERF.1	TK:1PL.EXC

'Then as soon as (the defending) finished, our (filler) panflutes, our (pan-flute) playing (and dancing) began.'

Then in (16), Eliana switches one last time to use of *sã*, when she recounts that the electricity went out. How can we interpret the switch here? After all, if the lights went out, wouldn't everyone at the celebration be equally sitting in the dark? Indeed, they would. But Eliana's use of *sã* (again marked as the grammatical object) seems to remind us that this was, after all, a festival specifically for (and to a great extent organized by) the graduating students. So, symbolically if not literally, the 'lights going out' is portrayed as affecting the students more adversely than it did the rest of the participants.

(15) *sãre energiakɨta to wa'erakure wa'are sãre*

~sá-re	*energía-kɨ=ta*	*to=wa'á-éra-kure*	*wa'á-ré*
1PL.EXC-OBJ	PT:electricity-ADVERS=REF	DEF=go-NEG-COMP	go-VIS.PERF.2/3

~sá-re
1PL.EXC-OBJ

'For us, unfortunately the (electric) energy went out on us.'

Eliana switches back to use of *ɨ̃hsa* in (17) and maintains this reference until the end of her account. The final lines tell of the unsuccessful attempt to fix the electricity, the felicitous arrival of a relative whose motor was borrowed to get the generator going again, and an overall final positive assessment of the event. Eliana maintains the more collective presentation of events, even in line (22), where a switch to *sã* might have emphasized the graduating students' perspective as the 'most affected' participants overall, as she did in (16). That she does not do so is likely a further display of her sensitivity to group dynamics and preference for ensuring a sufficiently broad and collective portrait of events.

(16) *ã yoa ɨ̃hsa ... energiare kha'notha.*

~a=yóá	*~ɨhsa*	*energía-re*	*~kha'dó=ta*
so/then=do	TK:1PL.EXC	PT:electricity-OBJ	repair=REF

'Then we tried to fix the electricity . . .'

(17) *to … to wa'erachɨtha ɨ̃hsa na'itiano duhii.*

to	*to=wa'á-éra-chɨ=ta*	*~ɨhsá*	*~da'í-tí-á-ró*	*duhí-í*
DEF	DEF=go-NEG-SW.REF=REF	TK:1PL.EXC	be.dark-ATTRIB-go-SG	sit-VIS.PERF.1

'But it didn't work, (so/and) we went on sitting in the darkness.'

(18) *ba'aro yɨ'ɨ tio yariapɨ empresta yoai ɨ̃hsa, te ...*

ba'á-ró	*yɨ'ɨ=tío*	*yá-ríá-pɨ́*	*emprestá*
do/be.after-SG	1SG(POSS)=PT:uncle	POSS-CLS:round-LOC	PT:borrow

yoá-í	*~ɨhsá*	*té*
do/make-VIS.PERF.1	TK:1PL.EXC	until

'Later we borrowed (the motor from) my uncle's canoe, until (then we were in the dark)'

(19) *te ... nove hora hichɨ̃pɨta sɨ híkoare tina hĩ'na.*

té	*nóvé*	*hórá*	*~híchɨ-pɨ=ta*	*~sɨ*	*híkoa-re*
until	PT:nine	PT:hour	TEMP-LOC=REF	arrive(there)	enjoy-VIS.PERF.2/3

tí-~da	*~hí'da*
ANPH-PL	EMPH

'Until around nine (when) they fortunately arrived there (at the port).'

(20) *ã yoa ɨ̃hsa topuru na'itiano duhii.*

~a=yóá	*~ɨhsa*	*tópuru*	*~da'í-tí-á-~dó*	*duhí-i*
so= do	TK:1PL.EXC	that's.it/all	be.dark-ATTRIB-go-SG	sit-VIS.PERF.1

'So/that's why up to then we sat in the darkness (all evening).'

(21) *ɨ̃hsare todita to wa'era kure wa'ahare.*

~ɨhsá-re	*tó-dita*	*to=wa'á-éra-kure*	*wa'á-há-re*
TK:1PL.EXC-OBJ	DEF-SOL	3SG=go-NEG-COMP	go-TERM-VIS.PERF.2/3

'For us, (it was) only that (part/thing that) went wrong to the end.'

(22) *noahare noanose phiro.*

~doá-ha-re	*~doá-ro-se*	*phí-ró*
be.good-TERM-VIS.PERF.2/3	be.good-SG-CONTR	be.big-SG

'But (it turned out) well, really well.'

(23) *topuruta hira.*

    tópuru=ta   *hí-ra*
    that's.it/all=REF   COP-VIS.IMPERF.2/3

  'That's all.'

We see in Eliana's account a reconstruction of the event, sentence-by-sentence, employing resources drawn from a shared multilingual repertoire, but at the same time never calling into question that Kotiria is the 'base' language of the discourse. Indeed, had Eliana been policing herself to use only absolutely 'pure' Kotiria, she still could have made the same kinds of referential distinctions. Of course, having only one 1PL.EXC form to call upon, she would have to make use of lexical means and explicit NPs (as she did in (8) when she identified the graduating students' relatives). The point is that she didn't *need* to do that — she had multilingual resources at her disposal and she put them to work with clear pragmatic functions, the end result being a form of 'hybrid' speech at the same time subtle and extremely sophisticated.

Nevertheless, we must consider what to make of such hybrid speech from an ideological standpoint. Discourse of this type seems to directly violate regional ideological norms of appropriate language use and contradict currently held suppositions about the need to suppress speech practices containing 'mixing,' which threaten to undermine maintenance of the social system. This being our first encounter with such speech in the Vaupés context, we considered the possibility that this was just an anomalous case, a lone speaker 'doing her thing,' but we suspect it is not. Rather, if we haven't seen such speech before, it's likely we were focusing our attention elsewhere and were unable to recognize a type of practice that goes on all the time. It may also be that speakers, attuned to ideological proscriptions, police their speech in certain contexts (such as when outsiders are present) and that in Eliana's recording, we just happened to capture a speaker in an unguarded moment. In any case, now that we do have concrete evidence that such 'hybrid' speech practice exists, we must consider its implications for our understanding of multilingualism and identity.

4. Discussion

4.1 From hybrid speech to hybrid identity

This paper began by looking for an answer to one main question: why was Eliana code-switching out of Kotiria, when most of the ethnographic research we have from this speech community explicitly underscores Kotiria speakers' aversion to all 'impure' forms of language use? Through a close and careful analysis of the data, we discovered rich complexities within Kotiria discursive practices that had never been explored. Eliana's systematic use of Portuguese and Tukano forms within her monologue display a pattern of multilingualism that not only reflects discourse-pragmatic motivations, but also suggests indexical links to linguistic resources. When used strategically in specific contexts, these contribute to processes of previously unstudied identity construction. The dissonance between self-reported linguistic loyalty (where speaking Kotiria points to a 'true' Kotiria identity) and actual language practice (where in unguarded moments, patterned language mixing occurs and goes unremarked) is a consequence of the complex and layered social arenas speakers such as Eliana have to navigate.

In fact, Eliana's world includes several interwoven and multifaceted spaces. First, in Eliana's home village, Tukano is used by Eliana's mother and is the most common language among in-marrying wives. Its use among women is thus unmarked in village communication (Chernela 2013). The Kotiria Indigenous School, founded less than a decade before Eliana's account, is another complex space that, as a student during the entire period of the school's existence, constitutes an inextricable part of Eliana's life. It is the mainstay institution authenticating the Kotiria language as a resource with value (Heller 2010), a position further reinforced by the school's participation in the development of a writing system and integration of activities associated with the Kotiria Language Documentation Project (Stenzel 2014). At the same time, the school is also the primary space in which Portuguese is used — in classes, among older students, teachers, and other adults whose lives entail more frequent contact and interaction with non-indigenous society. For Eliana, present-day life in these remote indigenous villages is highly dynamic, and elements of new and old are intertwined, hierarchically organized in a contemporary formulation of indigeneity. This hybrid construction of community life is reflected and recreated in her similarly complex and layered discursive practices.

Through the analysis of Eliana's speech, we have moved code-switching — viewed up to now as an anomalous, outlier practice relegated to the periphery — to the center of our

inquiry. Previous research had characterized essentialist ideologies as dominating and constraining language use. They had focused on the symbolic power of these ideologies to lead speakers to ideologically erase and homogenize any form of 'impure' speech in their efforts to construct an unadulterated, ideal Kotiria identity. Yet in our data, we saw Eliana 'speaking in pieces' (Chernela 2013) unproblematically and unpoliced, and argue that such phenomena need to have a place in descriptive efforts. This requires both a new conception of multilingualism in this community, and a reassessment of the language-as-identity link as unquestionably translatable and applicable to all forms of actual practice.

To understand how linguistic signs acquire meaning in contexts of use, we attend here to what Silverstein (1985) terms the 'total linguistic fact', the tripartite link between *form, use,* and *ideology*. Silverstein succinctly formulates language as "an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms, contextualized to situations of interested human use and mediated by the fact of cultural ideology" (1985: 220). The language *forms* we have encountered in the data begin as tokens at the grammatical and phonological levels (a not-uncommon focus in language documentation), but studying their contextualized *use* draws attention to their referential and relational meanings *in situ* (Wortham & Reyes 2011). Eliana's discourse-pragmatic code-switching takes on social meaning, but not without attending to larger *ideological* processes at play in her social world. These ideologies guide and constrain her speech, and are therefore also what Silverstein suggests researchers take as the starting point of analysis that investigates the relationship between form and use. It is this "mediat[ion] by the fact of cultural ideology [in] contextualized situations of use" (Silverstein 1985: 220) that we are interested in: Eliana's code-switching reveals her ideological ties to more than just Kotiria forms, but to Tukano and Portuguese elements as well.

The emergence of hybridity in linguistic anthropology has been spotlighted within a recent wave of scholarship that interacts with the concept of superdiversity (cf. Blommaert & Rampton 2011), and looks critically at what are described as *hybrid* language varieties arising out of forces of globalization. Changing patterns of language spread and the rise of transnational vernaculars, for example, are among the linguistic effects attributable to increased economic and social change in late capitalism (Hall & Nilep 2015). Understanding language as unbounded and flexible is central to this literature and our analysis demonstrates and emphasizes that such hybrid uses of language can also exist intrinsically in indigenous communities. Thus, we can employ ideas generated within this

sociolinguistic scholarship to further our understanding of the linguistic practices of the Kotiria.

We must acknowledge that for multilingual speakers such as Eliana, Kotiria, Tukano, and Portuguese act as 'ideological artifacts' (Blommaert & Rampton 2011): imagined, bounded symbols appropriated by groups of speakers in the discursive construction of sameness/difference (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). Eliana's code-switching does not then point to a negotiation of several *divergent* Kotiria/Tukano/Portuguese pre-defined 'identities' as she alternates between languages, but to a *hybrid* intersubjectivity that also takes into account the interactionally and culturally specific stances and positions Eliana occupies as she engages in both everyday life and communicative discourse. As such, in interaction Eliana foregrounds and backgrounds certain parts of a complex identity that is constructed through such stance-taking (cf. Rauniomaa 2003) over time.

By treating identity as emergent in discourse, we also find it essential to reconfigure the use of the term 'linguistic repertoire', which up to this point in our discussion, we have employed to define the *totality* of the three main languages that appear in some form in the data[23] (Gumperz 1982, as cited in Blommaert & Backus 2012). Kotiria, Tukano, and Portuguese minimally make up Eliana's linguistic repertoire (§3.1), and are shared with speakers from the same multilingual speech community. This might imply, however, that there are specific linguistic repertoires tied to relatively stable speech communities, and that all members need to have *complete* and *full* knowledge of all the resources available in order to navigate the social space. As we have discussed, though, the 'making of meaning' through discourse is complicated by less-than-straightforward ties to languages and identity, and linguistic variation such as this highlights the fragmented and truncated nature of the repertoire Eliana possesses. Instead of approaching the question with *a priori* conceptions of language, we take as our datum a conception of linguistic forms as part of a bundle of 'semiotic resources' (Blommaert 2010) that speakers employ to make up a linguistic repertoire. These resources also work as indexes that can be reused and re-mixed (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010) to perform varied social roles and inhabit positions relevant to the contexts at hand. This allows researchers to not only attend to the macro-ideological structures that guide and afford language use — for example, the strong identity link to the

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[23]The concept of *communicative competence* (Hymes 1972) covers a speaker's linguistic competence and grammatical knowledge of a language, but most importantly, knowledge of *what to say to whom in what circumstances, and how to say it*. The totality of a linguistic repertoire refers to *all* the resources (variant forms, dialects, styles, registers, etc.) available to members within a speech community (Gumperz 1982), and requires the communicative competence of the speaker in order to navigate successfully.

patrilect among the Kotiria — but also look in significant detail at any dissonant discursive practices along the way. Mismatches are not dismissed as outlier data, but dealt with as important mechanisms of socialization and identity construction for speakers like Eliana.

Thus, what might appear at first glance as random, unchecked use of multiple languages actually demonstrates how the speaker is highly attuned to intersecting demands of both an overriding language ideology and the need for more fine-tuned, local identity negotiations. Our analysis provides another piece of the puzzle that contributes to the total linguistic fact, and underscores the importance of taking language as fundamentally dialectic, where the study of linguistic form must incorporate the study of contextualized uses and the set of beliefs speakers hold about how forms should be used.

4.2 What's next? Some thoughts on language documentation and dialogues

Our analysis points to both the need for increased dialogue between language documentation efforts and contemporary sociocultural linguistic theory, and the importance of analyzing discursive practices in context. We are certainly not alone in recognizing that there is still a lack of systematic documentation and analysis of daily interactions in multilingual settings. Lüpke (2016), reflecting on multilingual contexts in Senegal, states explicitly that "an understanding of the nature and impact of multilingualism is only possible by investigating the scale and intensity of multilingual activity in the *daily and hourly practice by individuals*, which requires *study at the micro-level*, before generalizations can be drawn." Speaking specifically of the Vaupés context, Chernela moreover enjoins us to be mindful of "[t]he contrast between the *preferences* and *norms* of [essentialist ideological] linguistic loyalty and the [far more complex] *realities of practice*" (2013: 225, emphasis added).

These 'realities of practice' show us that things are much more complex than we realize when we consider multiple layers of identity coupled with speakers' linguistic resources. We argue that we are now at the point where definitions need to be better qualified; we can no longer make assumptive leaps from macro to micro levels, but must look carefully at what people are doing with their linguistic resources. Following Bucholtz & Hall (2008), we propose that ethnographic work coupled with detailed language documentation can uncover the sociocultural complexities of speech practices and attend to the ideologies that shape and constrain language use.

In engaging with sociocultural linguistic theory, we will be better able to develop sophisticated understandings of our ethnographic and linguistic observations. We have seen the benefits of abandoning notions of fixed, bounded languages and communities as the linchpins of analysis: linguistic repertoires become detached from associations with particular speech communities, and speech communities are no longer assumed to be homogenous, but can be understood as ephemeral, unstable groups that form in the moment of interaction. How a 'group' is defined now shifts to the individual and to appeals to membership and authenticity through language. We call for careful analysis that does not fetishize the iconic and essentialist nature of 'identity languages' (Lüpke 2016), but takes into consideration their symbolic power in creating monolingual 'ideological apparitions' (Hall & Nilep 2015) within multilingual settings. The interplay between essentialist language ideologies and displays of hybridity mirrors the tension speakers navigate in each interaction as they participate in processes of identity construction. Attending to the dissonance between reported ideology and practice, as we have done, will lead to the complementation of earlier insights, better definitions, and refined analyses, as well as to a new set of questions relating to interactive practices.

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Appendix A

<u>Abbreviations</u>

ADVERS	anaphoric
ANPH	comitative
ATTRIB	attributive
TK	Tukano term
PT	Portuguese term
CLS	noun classifier
COM	comitative
CONT	contrastive
COP	copula
DEF	definitie
EMPH	emphative
EXC	exclusive
IMPERF	imperfective
INT:WH	interrogative word
LOC	locative
NOM	nominalizer
OBJ	objective case
PERF	past tense
POSS	Possessive
REF	referential
REFL	reflexive
SW.REF	Switch-reference
TEMP	temporal
TERM	terminal
UNEXP	unexpected
VIS	Visual (evidential category)