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Discourse Forms and Social Categorization in Cha'palaa

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Discourse Forms and Social Categorization in Cha'palaa

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Discourse Forms and Social Categorization in Cha'palaa

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This dissertation is an ethnographic study of race and other forms of social categorization as approached through the discourse of the indigenous Chachi people of northwestern lowland Ecuador and their Afro-descendant neighbors. It combines the ethnographic methods of social anthropology with the methods of descriptive linguistics, letting social questions about racial formation guide linguistic inquiry. It provides new information about the largely unstudied indigenous South American language Cha'palaa, and connects that information about linguistic form to problems of the study of race and ethnicity in Latin America. Individual descriptive chapters address how the Cha'palaa number system is based on collectivity rather than plurality according to an animacy hierarchy that codes only human and human-like social collectivities, how a nominal set of ethnonyms linked to Chachi oral history become the recipients of collective marking as human collectivities, how those collectivities are co-referentially linked to speech participants through the deployment of the pronominal system, and how the multi-modal resource of gesture adds to these rich resources supplied by the spoken language for the expression of social realities like race. The final chapters address Chachi and Afro-descendant discourses in dialogue with each other and examine naturally occurring speech data to show how the linguistic forms described in previous chapters are used in

social interaction. The central argument advances a position that takes the socially constructed status of race seriously and considers that for such constructions to exist as more abstract macro-categories they must be constituted by instances of social interaction, where elements of the social order are observable at the micro-level. In this way localized articulations of social categories become vehicles for the broader circulation of discourses structured by a history of racialized social inequality, revealing the extreme depth of racialization in human social conditioning. This dissertation represents a contribution to the field of linguistic anthropology as well as to descriptive linguistics of South American languages and to critical approaches to race and ethnicity in Latin America.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 A conversation with Yambu

In August 2008 when I was just beginning a year of research in indigenous Chachi communities of northwestern Ecuador, I sat down with a man known by the nickname *Yambu*, or "Squirrel," to record a conversation about the different groups of people who live in the area and their respective histories. I had proposed to research social categorization through Cha'palaa discourse, focusing specifically on the relationship between the Chachis and their Afro-descendant neighbors. My starting premise was that it is possible to link specific linguistic forms and discourse structures like those that Yambu used in our conversation to broader analytic questions about what social categories are and how they work. After that first interview I went on to record many more interviews and to collect other kinds of linguistic data with which to explore this premise. Altough my analysis of these materials addresses some issues of interest to linguists like number and person marking, pronoun systems, grammaticalization and other topics, my main use for the linguistic data was to provide window into the social order and the concerns of anthropologists. The daily practices of indigenous and Afro-descendant people in Ecuador have been shaped by social history, and forms of social categorization in interaction have played a key role in perpetuating conditions of inequality by supplying their ordering principles. The conections to be made between discourse data and more abstract phemomena like social inequality are not always straightforward, and in this dissertation it will take time to build an argument that starts by examining a single morpheme and ends by connecting social categorization in discourse and interaction to racial difference, social inequality and interracial conflict. Please bear with me and I will get there eventually.

One of the first steps I needed to take early in my research was to develop a format for ethnographic interviews that would yield information to help me to better understand social categorization in the local day-to-day life I was participating in and the less-structured discourse data in the natural speech recordings I was collecting. My concern was that any interview that I could design would in part pre-determine the responses because I would not be totally aware of the underlying precepts of my own questions, and so I would constrain the terms of the responses even before they were voiced. The conversation with Yambu was one of several that I hoped would provide me with some locally-circulating terms and ways of speaking about social categories that I could subsequently use to structure my interview questions in a way that resonated with how Chachi people understand social categorization.

Since this conversation provided a jumping-off point for me during my research, I will also allow it to be the jumping-off point for this dissertation, because in a short stretch of speech Yambu deployed many of the linguistic forms, discursive structures and thematic elements that later turned out to be vital for understanding how speakers of the Chachi language Cha'palaa approach the terrain of social actors that they navigate throughout their lives. Attempting – perhaps with only partial success – to craft as broad an opening question as possible, I asked Yambu to talk about the old times, things perhaps his parents had told him about the Chachis long ago. He began with an account of the Chachi migration from the Andean highlands to the coastal lowlands where they live today, a story I have heard in different versions again and again.

Y: Timbunu lala chulla Ibarabiee chumu deewañaa,
In the old times we lived in Ibarra.

Ibarabiee chulla chachilla.
The Chachis lived in Ibarra.

Naa kuluradu kufan putumayu shuara
And the Colorados, the Cofans, the Putumayos, the Shuar,

jiibaru eepera awaa chulla kumuinchi junu mapebulunuren, Tutsa'nu
the Jíbaro, the Épera, the Awá, all existed in the same town, in Tutsa'.

Within the first few seconds of discourse Yambu had already used a number of **ethnonyms**[1] or more-or-less nominal forms used for referring to specific human groups by social categories. These included terms for a number of neighboring indigenous groups as well as some groups from the far side of the Andes in the Ecuadorian Amazon, areas that I did not realize figured into local discourse or awareness. In addition to these **exonyms**, or terms applied to other groups, Yambu also used the local **autonym**, or a term applied to a speaker's own social group: in this case the word c*hachi*. Like autonyms in many South American languages, this word shifts between being used by indigenous people to refer their own spocial group and to "people" or "humans" in general. Affixed to this term Yambu uses a **collective suffix** *-la*; collective marking also turned out to be one of the major grammatical resources for referring to human groups in discourse. The same suffix can also be seen as a part of the **first person collective pronoun** *lala*, "we" – crucially here the pronoun is co-referential with the ethnonym, meaning that by "we" Yambu is not saying that he personally lived in Ibarra, the city in the Andean highlands to which the Chachi's oral history traces their origins. Instead, he means "we Chachis", extending the pronominal referent far back into history along his lines of descent.

What do these linguistic forms and the discourse structures they are positioned in have to do with a history of colonialism and current conditions of racial formation and social inequality? It might even seem that these tiny linguistic details are inconsequential in the face of such pervasive social conditions, but on the other hand it would be

impossible for racial difference and inequality be produced, reproduced and given social meaning without the mediation of grammatical structures like these, deployed across different moments of social interaction in ways that tie them together. All of these particular pairings of linguistic form and meaning will be discussed at length in the pages that follow – for now I will continue with more excerpts from Yambu's account as a way to begin to enter the realm of Chachi oral history.

Y: Tutsa'nu, tsaijturen,
In Tutsa', it was like that.

tsadei challa tsaa regaideiña nukabain dejideiñu
So happening like that, now they have spread out all over.

Chachi oral history often refers to the stage of migration from the Andean highland when they lived in *Tutsa'* or *Pueblo Viejo* ("Old Town"), a town said to be halfway down the mountains, not yet in the coastal plains. It is said that at this time all Chachi people lived together in a single town – in some accounts, with other indigenous peoples as well. From that point on multiple waves of migration resulted in the current demographic situation, with Chachi communities now settled on the rivers of several different watersheds in the present-day Ecuadorian province of Esmeraldas. The precise timeframe for these events is unclear, because while some stories mention the Inca and Spanish invasions in the 15th and 16th centuries as the original reason the Chachis left the highlands, today some of the older community members remember having met people who still recalled the days of Tutsa'. It is likely the migration was a gradual process over decades if not centuries. This is Yambu's version of how the Chachis came to live in all of their different current locations, some quite dispersed from one another:

[1] I will use the term "ethnonym" rather than the more neutral "demonym" or another similar term simply because "ethnonym" is more commonly-understood. This choice is not meant to imply that such terms refer to ethnic rather than racial social categories, a distinction that will be discussed at length below.

Y: Unos setenta añu jumeetenñaa, demapiñu dechutyu jungu
Seems to be about 70 years since they split up and no longer live there (in Tutsa').

tsai'mitya engu deja' chutaa
For that reason they came here to live,

enkubain, sapayushabain san miguel santa mariya
here as well as in Zapallo, San Miguel, Santa Maria,

onsole muisne kanandee viche
Onzole, Muisne, Canandé, Viche.

Kumuinchi paate chachilla dechuña, maali maali.
Chachis live everywhere, each (population) separate (from the others).

While only a few generations ago ("about seventy years") Chachis seem to have continued to use the trade routes into the mountains by way of Tutsa', Chachi settlements were already well established in the Rio Cayapas watershed by the beginning of the 20th century when American anthropologist Samuel Barrett, then a student of Alfred Kroeber at the University of California-Berkeley, compiled his ethnographic account, *The Cayapas Indians of Ecuador* ([1909] 1925). The term *Cayapa* is an exonym historically used by non-Chachis to refer to the Chachi people – the Chachi have only recently succeeded in bringing their own autonym into common usage,[2] an issue that I will address in Chapter 3.

The most likely course of events was that the Chachis, little by little, changed the orientation of their trade relations from the Andean highlands, accessible by uphill mountain paths through dense cloud forests, to the coastal lowlands, which were

relatively easier to reach by canoe along the rivers. The low population density of the Chocoan tropical rainforest during that period of the early 20th century rovided for plentiful hunting and fishing resources, long before the current struggles of resource scarcity began to set in over the last decades of the century. This gradual move into the lowlands also meant the end of the Chachis' period of intense inter-group contact with the Quechua-speaking indigenous people of the highlands. While today the Chachis are not in steady contact with Quechua speakers, evidence of language contact, including a considerable number of Quechuan loanwords in Cha'palaa, provide linguistic evidence that corraborates Chachi oral history in which the highlanders are known by the ethnonym *eyu*. Yambu describes these historical trade relations in another excerpt from the same conversation, using the term *eyu* with the collective suffix *–la*, mentioned above:

Y: Bueno tsai' dewela'chu, tsai'mitya tutsa'sha chuchee ura' chuturen
Well, so (now the Chachis) live separately, because in Tutsa', living well -

tiee kenaanka montañasha chu'mitya tibain ai'nu jutyu
there was nothing to do because they lived in the mountain (wilderness).

Naa ketaa ne tyayu ka' finanka, tsa'mityaa
There was no way to get salt to eat, for that reason

tsai deiñaa junka makepukela, pure dechu
it turned out that they abandoned that place, because they lived in poverty.

taa(?) ai'lla wallapa ka ku'chibain
They used to buy chickens, pigs too,

[2] Changes in official discourse and in popular usage are related to multicultural citizenship reforms around Latin America and in Ecuador particularly to the indigenous uprisings of the early 1990s, in which in many

tupiyamabain ke' **eyula** ibarasha dejanmala juntsaba
and they made clay pots, and when **the highland people** came from Ibarra,

junstaba wete' ka kusas kakakela
with them they exchanged and received things.

juntsawaa dechuña tutsa'sha,
That's how they lived in Tutsa'.

In addition to the linguistic resources for social categorization that I described above, the Chachi also draw on cultural resources like their oral history as a way to organize and make sense of different human groups of their social landscape, past and present. In the next excerpt Yambu makes the the oral source of his information explicitly clear when he states about Tutsa' that "we have not seen it" and that "we only know the stories." In my account of social categorization among the Chachi orally-transmitted knowledge is as important for social categorization as the linguistic forms used to express it – these two areas are never easily separable. In this excerpt one can observe different usages of the first person collective pronoun (*lala*, with the alternate reduced form *laa*), moving between a "we" that encompasses all Chachis throughout history ("we long ago") and a "we" that ends with his own generation ("we were only children"). Here again is an ambiguous usage of the autonym with the collective suffix – should "Tutsa' chachilla" be translated as "the people of Tutsa'" or "the Chachis of Tutsa"'?

Y: Tsa'mitya enku dechuña juntsa chachilla **tutsa'chachillan**
For that reason they live here, those Chachis, **the Tutsa' Chachis**,

tsadena'mitya **lala timbunuya**
And because it is like that **we long ago**

---

cases former autonyms became general ethnonyms based on indigenous demands for auto-denomination.

laabain wajkayi'mitya junku kerajdetu
we were only children there and have not seen it,

tsaaren **lala challaya kuindan mikayaaña**,
and so **now we only know the stories**.

rukula, timbunu **lala' cultura** junku fiesta ketu
The men, long ago (practiced) **our culture** there by doing celebrations.

Fandagu ketu, chachi leyajturen fandagu ke' naa matsudi'bain
Doing "fandango," not many Chachis know how to do fandango,

fandagu ken chumu ruku deju.
They were men who lived doing fandango.

The possessive form of the first person pronoun, *lala'*, occurs above with the borrowed Spanish word *cultura*, and here Yambu shares in widely-circulating discourses of "culture," including, of course, familiar anthropological discourses. One of the central goals of this dissertation is to demonstrate how the highly specific resources offered by Chachi discourse create sites of broader social engagement far beyond the bounds of the territories settled by the descendants of the present-day Chachis as they migrated from Tutsa'. This reference to the concept of culture using a Spanish term in the Cha'palaa phrase "our culture" hints at some of these intersections. Here "our culture" is equated with the apex of the Chachi ritual calendar, the traditional festivals known as *fandango*, another word incorporated into Cha'palaa through contact with other social groups, perhaps from colonial Spanish, or perhaps from Afro-descendant peoples, as it is an archaic Spanish term of possible African origin. The most important part of the Chachi *fandango* is the playing of marimba music and drums, and while these are held up as prime examples of Chachi traditional culture, they too may have been borrowed from Afro-descendants.

1.2 Social categories in oral history

In addition to mentioning other human groups, Yambu's account of Chachi history also mentioned classes of beings that might be thought of as supernatural, although the term must be used loosely here, since among Chachis they are very much considered to be part of the natural world. In earlier times there were more *chachi fimu*, Yambu said, meaning "Chachi eaters" or "people eaters". These include jaguars, cannibals and different monsters and ghosts from the Chachis' extensive bestiary.

Y: Animaa dechuña **chachi fimu** kelabain
There were creatures that were **people eaters**, like jaguars,

piwalalabain fayu ujmubain
and the "piwalala", and the "fayu ujmu".

SF: Fayu ujmu.

Y: Juntsa aabare animaa jelekenuu
That is a really tall creature, frightening,

aa fayu ujmu piwalalabain matyu shupa finchakemu fimiren
the fayu ujmu and the piwilala, it bites like a bat when it feeds,

jeke asa mishmu juntsaa wanpiru detiñaa juntsa animaa
it quickly sucks out blood, like what they call a "vampire," that creature,

juntsa animaa jee juntsaa cha'fimu.
that creature, yes, that one eats people.

Reviewing this recording from the early stages of my year of fieldwork I am able to make observations about my own abilities in engaging in Cha'palaa conversation and to reflect the meaning-making encounters that stand for evidence in ethnographic research. Learning to speak unwritten and undocumented minority languages is hard. At that time about the best I could do was to recognize words and phrases that I understood due to previous experience with pilot research in Chachi communities and to echo them back in acknowledgement: "Yes, I am listening." While I am still far away from a native-speaker's command of the language, data from later recordings shows me interviewing and conversing in full sentences. Somehow the call for reflexivity in ethnographic research has seldom been extended to questions of linguistic competence, as if working though contact languages in indigenous communities without a command of the local language was a totally unproblematic and transparent research methodology. I take discursive interaction to be the primary site of ethnographic meaning-making, and at different points in this dissertation I hope to make these issues more transparent by exposing my own limitations and tracing my personal progress in becoming a participant in Cha'palaa discourse.

Another way that I foreground myself as ethnographer and social actor is to consider my own social categorization by Chachi people throughout the research process. This task is also entangled in local oral history, as will become increasingly clear in the pages that follow. Yambu's recounting of the different *chachi fimu* ("people eaters") addresses this issue, as the next consumers of human flesh he mentioned were the *uyala*, the Chachis' traditional enemies from their oral history who the Chachis defeated in a war that enabled them to settle in the forests of Esmeraldas perhaps sometime in the 16th century. While the *uyala* are sometimes known in Spanish as *indios bravos* or "wild Indians", in this recording my primary transcription assistant translated *uyala* with the term *gringo*, reflecting the present-day practice of referring to white-skinned foreigners

also as *uyala*, applying the same term as heard in the oral history. For now I will leave the ambiguity in the translation and leave a more extensive discussion of this overlap or historical and present-day social categorization for Chapter 4. Crucially, the *uyala* are also *chachi fimu* (people eaters) and were known to cannibalistically prey on the Chachi. Here Yambu continues with his account of the area around Tutsa':

Y: Uyalabain dechu junka **uyalabain cha' fimu,** chachilianu findetsu
Gringos live there too, **gringos are also people eaters**, they used to eat Chachis

tseijturen juntsa chachibain parejuren tutendetsu
but then the Chachis also would kill them the same.

Yaibain tute' yaibain fatindetsu
They would kill them (kill the *uyala*) and they (the Chachis) would also get eaten.

tsaituren bueno umaa matyu dee...
So, well, now, they --

pareju ne winkekendetsu'mitya juntsa depiña tsejtu.
because they fought each other equally, now they (the *uyala)* have disappeared.

Umaa enku dejatu **peechullalaa** engu kerajdetunuren,
Now when (the Chachis) came down here **the Blacks** could not be seen here,

Junku tutsa'sha chutu.
When they had lived there in Tutsa'.

The last social group mentioned by Yambu in this series of excerpts are the *peechulla*, the Chachi ethnonym used to refer to Afro-descendant peoples who descend from communities formed by escaped enslaved Africans and, later, newly-freed Afro-

descendants in the haven of the inaccessible forests of Esmeraldas. Today Afro-descendants are the Chachis' closest neighbors and have become their primary trade partners, taking over the role of the *eyula* (highland indigenous people) of the Andean highlands in the days of Tutsa'. The close inter-group contact between Chachis and Afro-descendants is the most salient inter-group relationships in this particular ethnographic context, and as such it will become the central focus of this dissertation on Chachi social categorization. In Chachi oral history, Afro-descendant people are said to have come later to the area. Only a few people explicitly mention Africa as their place of origin, but Yambu does make this connection, using a number of different words to refer to Afro-descendant people including the common term *peechulla*, to be discussed in detail later, as well as the Spanish loanword *neeguee* (from *negro*) and the toponym *Africa*, all in combination with the collective suffix *–la* that was mentioned above.

> **Pechullala afrikanu**, chachi dechutyu naa **negueela**bain dechutyu.
> The **Blacks were in Africa**, and neither Chachis nor ***negros*** lived (around here).
>
> **Afrikala** jatu tulitabi main chu' limunebi
> When **the Africans** came only one lived in Tolita, up to Limones,
>
> pen ya chunaña, limune detishujuntsa limunchi chunañaa
> there were only three houses in Limones - there was a lemon tree.
>
> Limune detiña, lemuchi chunañu.
> They called it Limones because there was a lemon tree.

Limones is today a town of about five thousand mostly Afro-descendant people and is the seat of the local administrative division of Cantón ("county") Eloy Alfaro, a large territory which includes the majority of the Chachi population centers far upriver. Chachi people often travel long distances to Limones to take care of different kinds of official business speaking in Spanish among Afro-descendants – Yambu's account is

populated by people and places that held significance for understanding the relationships among different social groups, and I was beginning to get a better feel of the terrain as the interview went on.

Unlike ethnographic spaces where the dominant and opressed social groups are more clearly defined, in my field site where Afro-descendant people and indigenous people are living out their own distinct histories of racialization and post-colonial inequalities side by side while the powerholders are off-stage, things are not so clear-cut. It is not easy to anlayze interracial contact, affinity or conflict between Afro-descendants and indigenous peoples becuase the roles of the historically dominant and the historically dominated are not as clear as when either of those groups is contrasted with white European descendants. The racism of white people and the upper classes towards people of color often lines up neatly with structures of dominance, but racial language and behavior between different peoples of color seems to call for a more complex analysis in order to understand how it can be linked to social inequalities. Ultimatley my conclusions will be that conflict between Afro-descendants and indigenous people in Esmeraldas is an important element of the historical conditions of social inequality, and that the fact that their lives are structured by conditions of mutual tension is itself a symptom of their distinct but often comparable positions of social disadvantage. In this way inter-group conflict helps maintain the social inequality of both groups rather than to leading one of them to a position of dominance over the others. To get from my first explorations of social categorization in specific moments of Cha'palaa discourse to this level of analytical abstaction requires returning to the beginning of my research and following some of the steps I took to arrive at my approach.

1.3 Using racial language

Returning to the problem that I posed above of structuring my ethnographic interviews around local expressive forms, this short conversation with Yambu provided me with a rich set of terms and topics that I could use in the future as a way to open up conversation. However, I still had an important doubt that I needed to confront. In my research I had planned to treat the relationships of the Chachis with their Afro-descendant neighbors and other social actors as cases of *interracial* contact and interaction, since my preferred approach, for reasons I will elaborate on below, is one of racial analysis. But as a participant in Chachi discourse, could I even ask questions in racial terms? Were such terms even meaningful in this ethnographic context, or was I simply imposing my own concerns on the Chachi based on my background of race as experienced in United States? I had heard Chachi people using the word *raza* when speaking Spanish, but at that early stage of language-learning, I was unsure if there was any similar term in Cha'palaa. I was deliberately avoiding using the word for fear that people would simply respond to me in my own terms as a way to tailor language towards the recipient – so that while while looking for a Chachi perspective I would inadvertently only end up finding my own.

Towards the end of the hour-long conversation Yambu gave me my first hint that the language of my research questions was appropriate for the Chachi context. I asked him to tell me more about the relationship of the Chachis to the highland indigenous people, and I was surprised to hear Yambu respond using explicitly racial terms.

Y: Eyula chulla junku
The highland indigenous people live there

SF: Aha.

Y: Juntsa ibara, otavalo paatesha, eyula,
in Ibarra, around Otavalo, the highlanders,

eyula matyu pañee lala' aa apa julaaka eyulabain
talking about the highlanders, they are our grandparents,

aa apa juuñuu eyula
like our grandparents, the highlanders

SF: Aha.

Y: **Lala' rasan ju'mity**a, aa apa
Becuase they are from our race, grandparents.

SF: Aha, ah, um, ñulla rasa.
Aha, ha, um, your race.

Y: **Lala' rasa**, laabain junku eyulaba chumude'mitya,
Our race, because we also lived there with the highlanders,

lala' aa apa juuñuuba.
they are like our grandparents.

SF: Aha.

Y: **Tsa'mitya lala' rasan deju eyulabain.**
For that reason the highlanders are also our race.

My surpise at hearing the Spanish word *raza* in Cha'palaa discourse is evident on the recording. I was a little unsure of what I had heard and asked Yambu for confirmation, managing to switch the pronouns appropriately: "Your race?" "Our race," he repeated. While Chachi people have a distinct ethnonym for Quechua-speaking

highlanders, apparently they did not consider them to be a separate race from the Chachis – or at least Yambu did not consider them so, in the context of that moment of interaction. In fact, according to what we know of the history of the northern Andes the Chachi are indeed related to the pre-Quechua highland societies, or at least their language is closely related to the languages that were spoken the adjacent highland areas of Imbabura and the modern national capital of Quito before the period of Inca expansion when Quechua began to replace them. Only the Chachis and a few other indigenous groups from the Western Andean slopes have preserved any of these languages, known as the Barbacoan languages, into the present day. Early colonial accounts (such as those cited in Jijón y Caamaño 1914), archeological evidence (DeBoer 1995), toponymic evidence such as a proliferation of Barbacoan place names in the highlands, and accounts from Chachi oral history all converge on this version of events – but in what sense is this a *racial* history?

Yambu continued to explain that even in the time of his grandparents trade relations with highland people had continued. I was curious to know if he considered other present-day indigenous groups to be racially different or similar, so I asked him about the Tsachila, who speak a language closely related to Cha'palaa. Were they also the same race as the Chachi?

Y: Tsadena tsa'mitya eyulabain keradeju aa apamillala
And so the highlanders were also known, by (our) departed grandparents.

SF: Aha, entonces chachilla eyula main rasa?
Aha, so the Chachis and the highlanders are one race?

Y: Mm hmm.

SF: Tsaachila igual main rasa o [o wera, o wera rasa?
Are the Tsachi also one race [or a different, a different race?
[
Y: [Si, main rasa, main raza - jee kumuinchin ma rasa
[Yes, one race, one race, yes, they're all one race.

SF: Aha.

Y: Main rasa juu.
One race.

SF: Main rasa.
One race.

Y: Jee eyulabain, chachillabain y eperabanin kumuinchi.
Yes, the highlanders also, the Chachis also, the Epera also, all of them.

Chachi naa indigenelabain lala' rasanju lala' rasa ,
People who are indigenous are our race, our race,

mapebuluu chunamudeju
we lived in a single town.

SF: Mm.

Y: Tseijturen yalaa regaideiñu maali maali jideiñu, main nuka jiñubain
Then they went spreading out, each alone they went, each went wherever.

SF: Maali maali.
Each alone.

Y: Jee, maali maali chudilla
Yes, they live each alone.

If Yambu considered other indigenous peoples to be a single race with a single origin that had little by little split apart to form the distinct indigenous societies living in northwestern Ecuador, what did he think about the racial membership of other groups present in Ecuador today? Now that I had heard Yambu use racial terminology, I decided it was fair to ask him more questions using the same terms. Since I intended to focus my research on the relationship between the Chachis and the Afro-descendants, I asked if there was a racial difference between these two groups.

SF: Aha y juntsa peechulla wera raza?
Aha, and are the Blacks a different race?

Y: Jee, wera rasa.
Yes, a different race.

SF: Wera rasa.
A different race.

Y: Peechullaa afrikashaa jamu deju
Blacks came from Africa.

SF: Afrikasha
From Africa.

Y: Afrikasha jamu deju
They came from Africa.

SF: Aja.

SF: Peechulla timbunuaa enku chumu peechulla jutyu,
The blacks, in the old times the blacks did not live here.

Afirkashaa dejañu juntsa
They came from Africa, those ones.

SF: Mm.

Y: Tsaitaa yala de chushaaka junku kuwanka.
And so they came to live there downriver.

Even though Yambu used the word *raza* and stated that Afro-descendants and indigenous people are different races, after my conversation with him I was still hesitant to ask interview questions to other Chachi people using explicitly racial terms. In Yambu's case I worried that I might have led him to a response he thought I expected by asking whether indigenous people formed "one" race while asking if Afro-descendants were a "different" race.[3] In subsequent interviews I was always careful not to use the word "race" until I heard the interviewee use it first, but I found that virtually all of the Chachi interviewees as well as most of the Afro-descendent interviewees used the word *raza* and other terms associated with race (such as "blood" and a number of strategies for describing phenotype). The same was true for discourse that I observed in daily interaction outside of the semi-formal interview frame, some of which will appear in the natural speech data presentedin Chapter 7. Early in my research I realized that the

[3] In fact, there a specific recipient design aspect *is* evident in this interaction, showing how Yambu was tailoring his responses specifically for me. Now, from the perspective of my increased understanding of Cha'palaa, I can see by looking back at the transcript that there is an aspect of "foreigner speech" in Yambu's turns. Cha'palaa phonologically reduces certain modifiers in noun phrases – so I should have said "*ma rasa*" and "*wee rasa*" instead of "*main rasa*" and *"wera rasa*". Speakers recognize the full forms, but they sound awkward or ungrammatical (a helpful analogy might be imagining a non-native English speaker trying to use the tag question "doesn't it?" but using the non-reduced form "does not it?"). Even so, Yambu answered me by repeating my mistake, probably because he felt I would understand him more easily.

relevant question was not "Do the Chachi participate in racial discourse?" but rather, "How do the Chachi participate in racial discourse?" Explicit racial discourse is only one kind of racialization, but it is one of the most salient and is the principal way that I track social categorization more broadly in this dissertation. While my account neglects some aspects of more implicit social organization, it was necessary to come to terms with overt invocations of racial language as an initial way of approaching the local conditions and participating in discourse at my field site. Keeping in mind that discourse never directly reflects social conditions, many of the strategies used in nationally and internationally circulating discourse to camouflage racial language are rarely used in Cha'palaa or rural Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish. As examples in the following chapters show, locally circulating disourse is extremely blunt and overt about social categories, racial difference and stereotypes, and somehow seems more transparent and laid bare than the racial avoidance tactics of urban Spanish or English discourse. My focus on discourse will only give a partial account of social categorization that could be complemented by other kinds of ethnography and social analysis, but because of the window into social categories that discourse provides here both by own analytical approach and the Chachi preocupation with race and racial discourse converge on this topic.

1.4 Linguistic resources for racial discourse

Now that we were discussing the topic of who belonged in the same racial category and who belonged in distinct categories, I continued by asking Yambu if he considered people like me to also be a different race. Here I used the Spanish term *gringo*, a common word for white foreigners in Ecuador:

SF: Wera rasa gringulaa?
Are gringos a different race?

Y: Gringulabain wera, wera.
The gringos are also different,

SF: Aa?

Y: Wera.
Different.

SF: Wera rasa.
Different race.

Y: **Peechullala**bain wera rasa
The Blacks are also a different race.

SF: Aja.

Y: **Pababaa**.
(They're) **black** (color).

Yes, Yambu confirmed, gringos are a different race, just as the Afro-descendants are. To follow up this point, he made reference to skin color (*pababa* specifically refers to the color black – *peechuilla* is an ethnonym for the social category of Afro-descendant), the classic phenotypic marker of race, hinting at some of the local perspectives on the body that would be fleshed out (so to speak) as my research continued. Using what might have been too provocative a question, as I reflect later, I followed up by asking Yambu how many different races he thought there were. From his short hesitation I infer that he had to consider the question for a moment before answering, and throughout my research I did not find or expect to find clearly enumerated, exhaustive and rigid categories. Nevertheless he offered an intriguing response:

SF: Nan rasa juu?
How many races are there?

[short pause]

Y: Pema.
Three.

SF: Pema.
Three.

Y: Mm hmm, pema. **laa**bain **fibala**bain **peechulla**bain judee,
Mm hmm, three, there is **us** too, the **white**s too, the **Blacks** too.

fibalabain kayu fiba **lala**nu pulla
the **whites** are also whiter than **us**.
[gesture out with arms looking down at arms and body]

SF: Mm hmm.

Y: Ura' fiba.
Very white.

SF: Ha ha. [laughter]

Y: He he he he. [laughter]

The idea of humanity being divided in three races resonates strongly with the history of race in the Americas broadly speaking, in which the three major racial groups since colonial times have been American/indigenous, African/black and European/white (a "racial triangle"; Collins 2006, 34). A key component of my argument in this dissertation is that this racialized social history has been equally important in remote, out-of-the-way places as in the colonial and national urban centers. For any notion of general or broad racial caetgories to be socially significant those categories must have a tangible manifestations through specific momennts of social interactions – the categories shape the interaction, but in the end their substance is made of patterns of consistency and interrelationships accross specific interactions. Yambu in this conversation used the resources available to him both in the linguistic forms of the Cha'palaa language and in his knowledge of local oral history in order to articulate one version of how these three hemispheric racial macro-categories work in his particular social space. These were not the only resources he used – he also used his own body as a communicative resource for **multimodal communication**, employing gesture along with speech. Simultaneously to the spoken utterance "*Fibalabain lala kayu fiba lalanu pulla,*" "The whites are also whiter than us," Yambu tilted his head downward to direct his gaze towards his torso and forearms, moved his arms upward and rotated them, displaying his own skin color as exemplary of "our" skin color. Again he used the first person collective pronoun *lala* in the sense of "we Chachi" in contrast to other social groups, in this case *fiba-la*, or "whites," with a collective suffix. This is an example of what might be called a **meta-phenotypic gesture**, which is only a technical way of saying "a gesture that uses the body to refer to the form of the body." In this way Yambu's own body becomes a resource for racial discourse. A set of other similar examples will make comprise the primary data in Chapter 5 of this dissertation.

In the final excerpt of my conversation with Yambu, I asked him where the urban Ecuadorians commonly referred to as "mestizos" fit into the picture he was sketching. "Mestizos" in popular Latin American racial discourse are usually framed as being descended from both European and American ancestors, and although this is an oversimplification of the constitution of this social category, it raises the question of where they fit in to Yambu's three-race typology. While often considered a unified social category for official purposes such as census counting, the "mestizo" class in Ecuador actually features extreme internal differentiation, with some so-called "mestizos" sharing much of their social status with indigenous people and others sharing much with white Europeans, and with a broad spectrum of intermediate positions between these extremes.[4] In this instance Yambu identified urban people from the large cities of Quito and Guayaquil as white but in other instances Chachis noted how some mestizos, such as the people known as Manabas (from the province of Manabí), are physically similar to indigenous people. However, many of the urban people that the Chachis come into contact with in their communities are from the social strata of NGO workers and state officials, and many of them are nearly as phenotypically Eurpoean and I am. Yambu also focused on my own race by using a second person collective pronoun to point out that white urban Ecuadorians are also of "your race", meaning the racial group that I and people like me belong to. As pointed out above, in Yambu's discourse the first person collective was aligning with reference to indigenous Chachi people, and now the second person collective was aligning with reference to white people. One of the most frequent ways of talking about race that I observed and documented in my research employed such patterns of **pronoun system alignment** in which the typical speech event roles like "speaker" and "addressee" come into alignment with social categories that are significant far beyond any specific speech event. The pattern shown in Yambu's discourse emerges repeatedly the data presented in this dissertation.

[4] This is why I use the term "mestizo" in quotes, because it does not generally hold up as a social category. In Chachi discourse so-called "mestizos" might be classified as white or more indigenous-like and further complicating matters, in Chapter 6 I will show how locally "mestizo" can refer to mixture between Blacks

SF: Aah entonces pema rasa ju.
Aah, so there are three races.

Y: Mm hm, pema rasa.
Mm hm, three races.

SF: Aha.

Y: Pañaa pen pen kolor matyu.
Talking about color, three, three colors then.

SF: Y juntsa kiteñu wayakileñu ee yala ti rasa?
And those people from Quito and Guayaquil, what race are they?

Y: Yaibain **ñuilla' rasan** deju **fibala**bain
They are also of **your race**, (they are) also **white**.

negueelabain, pababaabain.
Also *negros*, also black.

laabain jude'mitya pen pen rasa, pen koloren judeelaatensh, juntsan juudesh
and **us** as well, three, three races, I think there are just three colors, they must be.

Tsen naajun ñuchee, nan kulur jun?
So for you how many colors are there?

SF: Aja?

---

and Chachis. I plan to address the problematic and fragmentary nature of the "mestizo" category in future work, following Stutzman (1981), Whitten (2003) and Hale (2006).

Y: Nubatsa dejun ñuchee
Which are they for you?

SF: No se, ha ha.
I don't know, ha ha. [laughter]

Y: He he he he. [laughter]

Finally, Yambu turned my own question back on me. How many colors or races were there for me? As evidenced in my request for a repetition, at first I did not even understand the question. But once I realized what he was asking me, I had to admit, lapsing into Spanish, that I had no way of answering that question myself at that moment. While as a social scientist I was reluctant to reduce diverse manifestations of race to a finite number of categories, as a student of Latin America I was tempted to agree with Yambu, that a tri-partite racial division is one of the most socially and historically significant dimensions of race in many Latin American spaces.

Summary

In this introductory section I used my conversation with Yambu as an entry point into a discussion of social categorization among the indigenous Chachi, noting that to be able to connect the manifestations of social categories of his discourse at that moment to the roles that those categories play in mainatining social difference and inequality a multi-step analysis will be required. The first step was simply to get a foothold into the Cha'palaa discourse forms. In this transcribed interview I identified some of the major resources that Chachi people use, including a set of ethnonyms, a collective suffix that tends to combine with ethnonyms and other words referring to humans and other animate beings in order to collectivize them as groups, and personal pronouns that also collectivize people within the frame of participation in speech events. I also began to

describe some of the ways that these linguistic resources are integrated, through their use in discourse, into accounts of Chachi oral history and local ways of speaking about social groups and the distinctions among them. In addition, I mentioned multimodal resources in which the body itself becomes a resource for expression of physical variation that becomes significant in social categorization, especially concerning racial categories. While the data presented above was from just one conversation with a single speaker of Cha'palaa, in this dissertation further data from more recorded interviews and specific instances of natural speech will be combined with general ethnographic data based on long-term participation in daily life in various Chachi communities to demonstrate how the conversation with Yambu reflects larger discursive patterns that circulate among Chachi people and, in some cases, beyond into the neighboring Afro-descendant society. While this initial incursion into the world of Chachi social categorization focused on linguistic and discursive data, as will much of this dissertation, it is intended to be a portal into a discussion about the social circulation of categories more broadly in ways that have some notable implications for the status of categories like race in social theory. In order for race to play a role as an organizing principle of historical inequalities it needs to be grounded in real moments of social interaction and articulated with the communicative resources at hand, as I will argue as part of my analysis of those moments through my field data. But before presenting any more primary discourse data collected during my field research, it is necessary to elaborate on this proposition and to further lay out the approach that I am taking here.

1.5 Race and ethnicity in northwest Ecuador

The history of the Americas over the last five centuries can in many ways be understood as a story about the encounter of people from three continents: the peoples of the Americas who occupied the region prior before 1492, the peoples of Europe who colonized the Americas and subjugated its people from 1492 onward, and the peoples of Africa who were brought by the Europeans as enslaved labor to build and maintain their colonies (Whitten 2007). These are the same three races mentioned by Yambu in the conversation presented above. In this dissertation I will attempt to show how this broad hemispheric history relates to particular instances of communicative expression and social interaction in specific locations along the forested rivers of the Andean foothills and the coastal plain of Northwestern Ecuador. To do ethnographic research in the different present-day social spaces of Latin America – research that consists of cumulative moments like my conversation with Yambu – is to confront this history again and again, as his tri-partite division of humanity reminds us.

Despite Yambu's willingness to consider blackness, whiteness and indigeneity in the same conversation, the social science literature on race and ethnicity in Latin America has generally not approached indigenous peoples and Afro-descendants as part of the same discussion. Instead, both of these broad categories have primarily been discussed in binary opposition to whiteness. To some extent this division has split along the borders of the modern Latin American states. In places with large Afro-descendant populations like the Caribbean countries and Brazil (except for in the Amazonianist tradition) research on social categories has largely dealt with African heritage from as far back as the first studies of African "survivals" in the Americas (like Herskovits 1941). In recent times, however, indigenous revival movements have been popping up in places where social difference was thought to be oriented primarily around the binary opposition of blackness to whiteness, such as in southern and northeastern Brazil (Oliveira 1999, Warren 2001), where these newly-visible indigenous people came as a surprise onto the local scene. In contrast, in places with large indigenous populations like Mexico, Guatemala and the

Andean countries, the ethnographic literature has focused almost exclusively on indigenous peoples, a tradition dating back to the enormous multi-volume *Handbook of South American Indians* (Steward 1946-1950) and beyond. In these spaces, on the other hand, significant populations of Afro-descendants have been considered incongruous, and the binary opposition of indigeneity and whiteness has dominated, wrapped up in national mythologies of "mestizaje" and *indigenismo*. In Ecuador, where indigenous studies have dominated the ethnographic literature and where indigenous history is prominant in the national imagination, Afro-descendant people are sometimes treated as being out of place outside of their traditional population centers. In large urban areas like the capital city of Quito they may be asked where they are from, even if they were born in the city (De la Torre 2001).

In his review of *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (1997), Wade describes how the race/ethnicity split has resulted in two parallel discourses about Afro-descendants and indigenous peoples, forming two separate bodies of literature that have seldom informed each other. In addition, Wade points out how this parallel development in the social sciences plays out discursively in that the language used regarding indigenous people has almost exclusively been one of ethnicity and ethnic difference while Afro-descendant peoples have been studied in racial terms. I would add that this split circulates far beyond social science discourse – that the social sciences have actually helped to perpetuate it in other official and popular discourses. The implication of the race/ethnicity schism is that indigenous peoples make up one pole on the "mestizaje" continuum but that there is no sharp racial or phenotypic distinction between them and other populations – the difference between indigenous people and whites or mestizos is primarily an ethnic or cultural one. Indigenous people have traditional homelands, languages, customs and so on. Afro-descendants, on the other hand, are considered to have lost most of the markers of their ethnic distinctiveness through the turmoil of slavery, displacement from their homeland and assimilation of European languages. They are racially marked as distinct from other national populations in terms of their phenotype, but they are considered to be a part of their respective national cultures, even if only marginally so.

This division has left deep marks in the social terrain throughout Latin America and can be traced through political negotiations in which indigenous movements (in places like Guatemala, for example) have largely struggled for cultural rights while at times Afro-descendants have sought race-based rights like affirmative action programs (in places like Brazil, for example). In recent years indigenous-style pressure for cultural rights has become the approach most welcomed in many political spheres because it is the most easily incorporated into and blunted by institutional structures under the banner of multiculturalism (Hale 2002, 2005, Hooker 2005). Multiculturalism in Latin America has been part of a complex institutional and discursive development in which minority groups have been granted rights and recogntion on paper, both facilitating denials that racial discrimination exists and absorbing and softening any opposition movements. Multiculturalism has been particularly linked to culture- or ethnicity-based positions and has resisted the incorporation of perspectives of racial analysis, which might cut through the langauge of mutliculturalism and show how it works to take the focus off historical inequality and center it on cultural tokens and displays.

Even with these contradictions, however, after observing what seemed like a degree of success at official levels by indigenous movements, in some places Afro-descendants have begun pushing for cultural rights in ways that resemble indigenous demands (for example, in Ecuador's neighbor Colombia; see Restrepo 2004, Hooker 2005). In certain political spaces, then, it seems like the language of ethnicity is gaining ground, and in many places throughout the Americas it has come to completely dominate much of public discourse. Legal documents guarantee cultural or ethnic rights, not the rights of racial minorities – like Ecuador's new 2008 constitution, that only uses racial terms in a negative sense by prohibiting racism, but racism directed against groups defined by their cultural or ethnic difference, not by race.

So why use racial terminology at all? Isn't this move to ethnic language a good sign that we are moving beyond race, as some suggest (Gilroy 2000)? Doesn't continuing

to use racial categories for social analysis continue to perpetuate racial thinking in the social sciences, as others argue (Daynes and Lee 2008)? And won't moving to an discussion of ethnicity that includes all of the different relevant social categories in Latin America help to finally break down the race/ethnicity dichotomy and bring both Afro-descendants and indigenous peoples into the same field of analysis, as well as whites, "mestizos" and everyone else?

There are several problems with such an account that provide reasons for continuing to pursue social analysis in racial terms. First, the dominance of ethnic discourse in many places has largely been confined to specific elite discursive strata. On the ground in indigenous and Afro-descendant communities of Ecuador different terminologies circulate, so that after many years of research it has become obvious that when local people deploy the terminology of ethnicity and related discourses of multiculturalism they are almost always the people with the most life experience in official spheres – perhaps having studied outside of their home community, or having worked in an indigenous organization or an NGO, and having increased their command of Spanish. It has also become obvious that my own presence *attracts* the discourse of ethnicity, since I find such terminology directed exclusively at me rather than in general circulation. In interaction studies this is an example of what is called **recipient design**, referring to a way of analyzing a speaker's own assessment of their addressee through their communicative choices. In these specific cases local people have learned through experience to tailor their discourse for white Ecuadorians and foreigners like me as a way to maximize their chances of receiving benefits such as NGO-funded projects. On many occasions I have observed specific members of indigenous and Afro-descendant communities deploy discourses of ethnicity and multiculturalism in the presence of white visitors, only to shift back to the locally circulating set of terms and their own languages as soon as the visitors had left. This tendency underlines my methodological choice to work as much as possible in the indigenous language – while I realize that I cannot completely mitigate these recipient design effects, I can greatly minimize them by increasing my participation in the more usual daily discourse forms. So while at the more

superficial level of granularity it might seem that ethnic discourse has taken over, on the ground race continues to be a pervasive form of social categorization in indigenous and Afro-descendant communities all over Latin America. The racial terminology (*raza*) that Yambu used in the conversation presented above was echoed by similar expressive forms again and again throughout my field research by Chachi people and Afro-Ecuadorians, as will be shown in the following chapters, while mention of ethnicity as such (*étnicidad/étnia*) was extremely rare in Cha'palaa and relatively uncommon in Spanish as well. This suggests that a racial analysis better reflects the discourse that circulates in Chachi communities, and the ways of approaching social categorization that correspond to it.

The second major reason not to eclipse racial language with the language of ethnicity is that, despite the skewing of racial language towards Afro-descendants and ethnic language towards indigenous people in academic discourse described above, race and ethnicity, in fact, have never been totally separate in discourse, but rather have existed in a complex interplay of substitution through which the cultural characteristics that have been associated with ethnicity have been linked to the forms of the body that are associated with race. There is nothing essential to either of these terminologies and their meanings have been flexible throughout the history of their usage.

As I illustrated in my conversation with Yambu, in my research I attempted to neutral terms as much as possible until I had some evidence of what the locally-circulating discourse was like, and then to use those same terms in future questions. In my own experience, I found local people in a particular remote area of Ecuador to be participating in discourses of race that resonate with history on a broader scale, and I am convinced that there is something important to be said about this that speaks to a number of problems in the social science tradition in Latin America and beyond, and so my approach centers on racial analysis to the neglect of other kinds of social categorization such as gender, sexuality, and religion that intersect with race, but still takes seriously an intersectional approach as described in Crenshaw (1991) and Collins (1990). This

approach to social categories emphasizes the multiple overlaid identities that any social actor can occupy simultaneously, where one axis of identity may be more salient or relevant depending on the social context. This is not an exhaustive acocunt of social categorization in Cha'palaa by any means, and insightful complementary studies in the future could investigate gender or class in a similar way to how I approach racial analysis through language and social interaction. I will go into more depth about what I mean by racial analysis and how it relates to language and discourse later. But first, as a way to return to the social terrain of northwestern Ecuador and to illustrate how racial and ethnic terms can be substituted for each other, in the next section I will review some of the social science literature that deals with the region around my field site.

1.6 Racial and ethnic language in academic accounts

While Yambu estimated that it has been about seventy years since the Chachis stopped following the trade routes through Tutsa' up to the Andean high valleys where they met Quechua-speaking *eyula*, the Chachis are mentioned, by the exonym "Cayapa," as living in their present territory as far back as the Sixteenth Century (Velasco [1789] 1981, other sources in DeBoer 1995), confirming Chachi oral history accounts of leaving the highlands due to subsequent Inca and Spanish invasions. The presence of Afro-descendants in the precise area of Chachi occupation appears to have come later with migration from the area closer to the coast and from the northern territories that are now part of Colombia (Whitten 1965). Both the Chachi and the Afro-descendants were well-established on the Cayapas River and its tributaries by the end of the Nineteenth Century, as they are mentioned in several first-hand accounts from this period (Wolf 1879, Basurco 1902), some of which include early photographs of Chachi people. During this period writers often used explicitly-racial language to describe the region, such as Chilean civil engineer Basurco's comments on the Afro-descendants:

> ... Let's describe our rowers in broad terms. The blacks of Borbón are excessively courteous and friendly: they give the motto "equality before the law" its highest practical application; the only thing they admit is that they are black, although even this they hide with the title of mulato, which is not accurate in any way, as the race to which they want to belong is written algebraicly with the equation:
>
> Mulato=black+white
>
> But since they lack absolutely the second term of the second member, it must be confessed that they do not know themselves. (11-12)

In this passage Basurco casts himself as a kind of racial police, defending the color line and mocking those who try to cross it to whiten themselves. In describing the Chachis, Basurco also uses racializing language; during this period the terms of ethnicity were not yet in heavy circulation.

> The Cayapas are bronze in color, of very well marked physiognomic features, with well-delineated forms and extremely strong. (12)

By exploring the academic literature on the South America's north Pacific we can trace how the explicit racial language of the 19th century slowly gave ground to ethnic terms over the 20th century.

In order to take stock of how racial and ethnic terminologies have been re-positioned in the social sciences over the past century it is worthwhile to take a sample of the literature on the Pacific coast of northwest Ecuador, as scant as it is. We can begin with Barrett's *The Cayapas Indians of Ecuador*, the first work on the Chachi to undertake an explicitly ethnographic project in the classic Boasian framework of Cultural Anthropology. Barrett was a second-generation Boasian, having been Kroeber's first graduate student at UC-Berkeley shortly after founding the Anthropology department there – and Kroeber was in turn Boas' first student (Barrett himself may have studied directly under Boas at some point, it is unclear if he did so, but the two were surely

acquainted). In some senses we can trace the beginnings of the race/ethnicity split to Boas and his contemporaries' efforts to counter race-based cultural determinism, exemplified in classic works on the "Race, language and culture" framework (Boas 1940, Sapir [1921] 1949). At that time, however, biology, language and ethnicity had not yet been delegated out to the respective sub-disciplines of Physical Anthropology, Linguistics and Cultural Anthropology, but rather field researchers were expected to provide comprehensive documentation in all of these areas. Barrett was part of an expedition linked to Harvard University and the Bureau of American Ethnology that sent researchers to different countries of the Pacific coast of South America, and he spent about a year in 1909 in Chachi territory.

From today's perspective, Barrett's ethnography, published in 1925, reads like a hodgepodge of information on cultural practices, material culture, language and physical anthropology without any coherent narrative or analytical agenda beyond documentation. It is particularly rich in terms of material culture and remains a valuable resource in that it documents hundreds of traditional art forms like textile and reed weaving designs, body painting and canoe painting patterns, wood carvings for tools, religious statues, children's toys and so on. The linguistic information included in Barrett's reveals that he did not make much progress with the complexities of Cha'palaa, which is understandable since I can personally attest that it is a difficult language to learn for speakers of European languages, but as a result some of the cultural information suffers as it was compiled through the use of Spanish as an inter-language. At this early stage in the development of US Anthropology ethnic terminology had not fully emerged and instead a terminology oriented around culture, in the sense of discrete "cultures" comparable to "ethnicities" dominated the ethnography of the time (a use of "culture" that has since been particularly criticized by anthropologists; Abu Lughod 1991). This trend is reflected in Barrett's ethnography, which does not use the terminology of ethnicity *or* race. But a certain kind of racial thinking is evident in Barrett's chapter on physical anthropology – as a good Boasian, he certainly would never imply that any of the Chachi's cultural traits were determined by their race, but they are still described as a discrete physical type as

compared to a neighboring indigenous group (the "Cholos" an old exonym for the Epera people):

> In summary, we can say that the Cayapa is well-proportioned, of short stature, of a light brown color, brachycephalous, with black or dark hair, straight or wavy, eyes very dark brown, wide upper lips, high cheekbones and a round face, without strong prominences in the chin or in the ciliary arches. We did not measure the cholos, but they are very distinct from the Cayapas, a bit smaller and more robust, and with a general appearance closer to that of the mongoloid. (337)

Barrett never returned to Ecuador after his year with the Chachi, and he went on to have a long career centered around the indigenous peoples of California, where he never focused strongly on physical anthropology. In his ethnographic work with the Chachi one gets the feeling that he made physical measurements and observations of phenotype out of a sense of obligation based on a certain conception of comprehensive four-field anthropology that was instilled in him as a student at that time. During the following decades four-field ethnography would fade in the rise of increased specialization and cultural anthropologists would no longer be expected to engage in the analysis of the physical human body, a task now assigned to physical anthropologists, who would go on to develop other concerns than race-based phenotype. Some anthropologists, while recognizing the importance of the anti-racist position of anthropologists of Boas' era, have argued that the division of anthropology into sub-disciplines dealing either exclusively with either biology or with culture has prevented an engagement with the cultural dimensions of race (Visveswaran 1999). My purpose in this dissertation is to attempt to take some steps toward addressing this problem, left over from anthropology's disciplinary history in which "race, language and culture" were sealed off from each other.

Other disciplines in the social sciences have experienced their own parallel histories to consider while reviewing the early literature on indigenous and Afro-descendant people. Several U.S. academics in geography and related fields published studies of the northwest Pacific coast of South America during the first half of the 20th century that give a glimpse of the kinds of academic discussions of race that circulated before explicit statements of racial determinism became unacceptable in public discourse – followed by the rise of cultural and, later, ethnic terminology as a stand-in for the unspoken. A 1939 issue of *Science* reported on the research of American ecologist Robert Cushman Murphy under the title "Negroes and Indians in Colombia," a study addressing the relationship between indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples over the Ecuador-Colombia border from the Chachi area. This is a sample of the article:

> A racial struggle in America fought, not with guns, but in biological terms of the survival of the fittest, is being won in northern South America by African Negros.
>
> Loser in the struggle, the Chocó Indians of the Pacific coast of Colombia, are apparently doomed to extinction, according to the report of Dr. Robert Cushman Murphy. (11)

Known primarily for his contributions to ornithology such as *The Oceanic Birds of South America*, Murphy framed this relationship in the overtly racial and evolutionary terms of "racial succession", treating indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples much like bird species competing for ecological niches. Such texts remind us that for a long time the impact of Boas' critique of racial determinism was limited mainly to his associates in U.S. anthropology, and there was a long delay before it took hold in other fields (more and more as War World II brought some of the more dangerous implications of these ideas to the foreground). Looking at the original article published in *The Geographical Review*, we can see the how this line of racial determinism, armed with evolutionary science, blended biological and cultural assertions, since it is unclear if the kind of succession implied is supposed to be based on physical or cultural characteristics.

> (T)he negro enjoyed the prestige that pertained to his association with the white conquerors. He had the white man's language; he inevitably shared the attitude of the Spaniard toward the Indian; and he has remained to this day the confidant of the white rather than of the Indian. In other words, the negro is a Colombian, the Chocó Indian a savage. (Murphy 1939, p468)

In this passage we can also observe the beginning of the race/ethnicity split discussed above: Afro-descendants are seen as sharing in the national culture despite their racial difference and indigenous people are seen as culturally and linguistically distinct, despite being considered racially related to members of the national culture through nationalist "mestizaje" discourses in many countries. But, as pointed out above, this split was never absolute but rather is a complex discursive system of circumnavigating statements and slippage back and forth between different terminologies. Some sociological writing continued to employ racial terms into the second half of the 20th century with respect to Afro-descendant peoples, but in other cases all racial terminology was eclipsed first by culture and then ethnicity. Several decades after Murphy's articles on "racial succession" used biological and evolutionary terms to contrast indigenous and Afro-descendant people the cultural language of ethnicity had gained much ground. For example, in a 1965 article by British geographer D. A. Preston about relationships among Afro-descendant, indigenous and "mestizo" people in northern Ecuador the terminology of "ethnic groups" had completely replaced the racial terms of a generation earlier. However, despite this terminological shift, the article reveals a strong undercurrent of biological determinism, as demonstrated in the following passage about the distribution of human groups according to ecological zone:

> The preliminary assumptions were that the different *ethnic groups* would be stratified altitudinally, with the Negroes occupying the lowest areas, the mestizos those areas at a middle altitude and the Indians the highest areas. It was also supposed that the Negroes would have been peculiarly adapted

> to their environment since, throughout South America, Negroes are only found at low altitudes. (Preston 1965, 222; emphasis added)

The way that "ethnic groups" are used as a stand-in for race in this article becomes obvious at certain moments, such as when the author employs terms like "pure stock":

> The mestizos are different from the other two ethnic groups. They are not of *pure stock* and had no cultural tradition. (Preston 1965, 234; emphasis added)

In this sense, racial and cultural "purity" were never fully untangled in the social sciences, even when ethnic terminology erases any discussion of race. Ethnicity can be used just as easily as race to hierarchically rank human groups along supposedly-linear scales of civilization. For example, an early Ecuadorian ethnography of the Chachis' closest linguistic relatives the Tsachila, known historically by the exonym "Colorados" ("red-colored") due to their practice of painting men's hair with red achiote dye, cast both the Tsachila and the Chachi as "primitve" (*primitivo*[5]) in ethnic terms:

> The Colorado indians make up a human group that is considered, *from an ethnic point of view*, as the most primitive that has survived, along with the Cayapas, in the present-day territory of Ecuador. (Costales Samaniego 1965, 56; emphasis added)

By the last part of the 20th century ethnic terminology came to completely dominate the ethnographic literature on indigenous peoples of Ecuador and of much of Latin America. Later ethnographic work on the Chachi produced in Ecuador would

[5] To be fair, *primitivo* can also refer in some cases to simply being "first" – and the present-day Barbocoan peoples including the Tsachila and Chachi are in fact descended from the people who inhabited the northern Andes "first" in comparison with the Quechua-speaking Inca. However, there seem to be some

largely follow this same format (Carrasco 1983, Medina 1992) and in recent years hardly any ethnographic information on the Chachi has been published at all, by Ecuadorians or otherwise (with some exceptions such as Praet 2009 and materials published by Chachi author Añapa Cimarron 2003).

The first ethnographic studies of Afro-descendants in Ecuador appeared long after those of indigenous peoples, who have been the classic object of anthropology in the Americas. The opening up of this space of analysis is due largely to the pioneering work of Norman Whitten beginning in the 1960s. To some extent looking over Whitten's early work confirms the idea that a terminological split has developed with indigenous peoples discussed in terms of ethnicity and Afro-descendants discussed in terms of race. However, as I mentioned above, a terminological shift to ethnicity does not mean that literature on indigenous people has left racial thinking behind. By not falling into that kind of pattern, I would argue that Whitten's work holds up much better than some of his contemporaries because rather avoiding the topic of race, it offers complex analysis of the interactions and mutually-constraining social forces of economic class, cultural practices, nationalism, phenotype and racism. In this passage he offers a powerful counterargument to the ethnicity-based understanding of identity reflected in sometimes-heard statements that in Latin America it is possible to shift one's social category by making cultural changes.

> [It] does not matter that some members of the black category will rise in status with or without the "lightening" genes; what matters is that the social category defined by national cultural criterion of blackness is cognitively relegated to the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy. When racial features are associated with class and cultural features, and built into a national cultural category, then the viability of a particular

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deeper assumptions about "primitiveness" in this text that mix some view of cultural development with historical chronology.

> Afro-Hispanic mode of cultural adaptation is blocked or limited by racist social constraints (1974, 199).

Whitten anticipated the "social construction" approach to race that would later come to prominence in anthropology; he focused on the interplay of socio-cultural factors and biological aspects such as phenotype. While sciences dealing with human biology intermittently continued to use racial terminology for both indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples throughout the Twentieth Century, not fully replacing it with ethnicity as was the case in the ethnographic literature on Latin American indigenous people, these terms were limited to referring to biological population groups studied in frameworks such as genetics and epidemiology and have seldom addressed the significance of cultural factors. Several studies of the Chachi and Afro-descendants of Esmeraldas have been published under this approach, such as a 1989 article from the *European Journal of Epidemiology* on the relative prevalence of onchocerciasis ("river blindness") in the different racial groups of the region. In this example the biological terms of race are overt (and the Chachi are inexplicably referred to as a "Caucasian indigenous tribe"):

> *Both races*, a Caucasian indigenous tribe (Chachi) and the Blacks (Afro-hispanics), carried the same rate of positivity, although the Chachi had a higher intensity of disease. (Guderian et al 1989, 294; emphasis added)

A set of racial terms long ago rejected by most anthropologist appears to have remained current in some areas of human biology, including not just the word "race" but other terms for talking about people according to continental descent groups like "Amerind," "Causasoid," "Negroid," "Mongoloid" and so on. The Chachi have been subject to a surprisingly large number of genetic studies (including Solder et al. 1996, Garber et al 1995, Rickards et al 1999 – some of them mistakenly describing the Chachi as speakers of a Chibchan langauge, see Constenla Umaña 1991 and Curnow 1998 for clarification of this unfounded grouping). These studies compare Chachi DNA to that of

other people of the region, such as one that found the Chachi to be relatively pure "Amerinds", with little "African admixture" (Scascchi et al. 1994). In this research race is treated as a biological category linked to continental descent groups without any particular social implications. In contrast to the biological sciences, recent social science work with the Chachis has primarily employed the terminology of ethnicity, as discussed for ethnography above. For example, we can compare the 1930s approach exemplified in Murhpy's work on "racial succession" cited above with more recent work in cultural geography done in the same region of northwestern South America. One article attempts to correlate different kinds of ecological interactions with the different social groups of the region, here discussed in terms of ethnicity:

> There are three ethnic groups in the region: Chachis, Negros[6] and Colonos. Chachis, indigenous South Americans, and Negros, descendants of African slaves, have lived in the region for at least two centuries. Colonos are primarily mestizo immigrants who began arriving in large numbers approximately 30 years ago from other rural areas in Ecuador and from neighboring Colombia. (Sierra et al. 1998, 139-140).

A follow-up to the same research entitled *Traditional resource-use systems and tropical deforestation in a multiethnic region in North-west Ecuador* attempts to compare these three ethnic groups by reducing each to a variable in a mathematical equation "where $P(c, h, n)\ i$ is either Colono (c), Chachi (h) or Negro (n)" (Sierra 1999, 138), the groups apparently being defined by their different cultural traditions. However, the cultural basis for distinguishing these human groups at times slips into a racial concepts like "blood mixture":

> Colonos, on the other hand, are not an ethnic group proper but rather a heterogeneous ensemble of a *varied blood-mix* of Indian, European and often Black ancestors. (Sierra 1999, 139; emphasis added)

It seems nearly impossible to deploy the terms of ethnicity without, at some point, the biological understandings of race seeping back in.

I began this section by pointing out two reasons for focusing on race over ethnicity in this dissertation: first, because doing so corresponds with the most prevalent discourse that I heard and participated in during my research in Chachi communities, and second, because in the history of the social sciences, even when researchers have made an effort to exorcise racial terminology by deploying the terms of ethnicity, these terms often become simply a stand-in for race. I purposefully juxtaposed Yambu's reflections on the different social groups of northwestern Ecuador with excerpts from the social science literature on the region to bring these different discourses into dialogue. It is important for the approach taken here not to privilege academic discourse over local conversation or to dichotomize these kinds of discourse, but rather to consider them both as different aspects of larger circulations of meaning related to social categorization.

My short review of the literature on social groups of Northwestern Pacific South America demonstrates how different kinds of academic discourse deployed the terms of race and ethnicity in different ways, along different fault lines. One line splits ethnic and racial terms between indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples, within the social science literature. Another line splits ethnicity and race between the social sciences and the biological sciences, reflecting the history of U.S. anthropology in which countering scientific racism led to a near-total silence around issues of race. The result has been reluctance by the biological sciences to discuss cultural factors, a corresponding reluctance by the social sciences to approach human biology, and an unstable discursive terrain in which racial and ethnic terminologies stand in for each other at different moments with few explicit statements on what either set of terms means, how they related to each other, and what the precepts behind them are.

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[6] Later work would substitute the term "Negro" with "Afro-Ecuadorian" (Sierra and Tirado et al 2003).

In this dissertation I make an effort not to substitute the terms of ethnicity for what by most definitions has to do with race. In local discourse such as my conversation with Yambu I found explicitly racial terms circulating in Chachi communities and I can find no good reason to substitute them with ethnic terms in my analysis. A good example of the problematic nature of such substitution can be found in a recent ethnographic article on the Chachi that, in one passage, addresses traditional Chachi laws that prohibit intermarriage with other members of other social categories.

> The Chachi have tried to protect their *ethnic identity* with strict rules against mixed marriages and a series of institutions aimed at preserving *ethnic endogamy*. (Rival 2004, 4, emphasis added)

I will address this strict preference for endogamy at length in in Chapter 6, but to quickly summarize my findings, I will point out here that among the Chachi endogamy has strong and explicit racial components in terms of cultural understandings of descent and phenotype. For example, while I found that inter-marriage with members of other indigenous groups was discouraged in some cases, it was interracial marriage – understood as marriage with Afro-descendants and peoples of European descent (although only one such case is known) – that is the main focus of this prohibition. Many interviewees explicitly stated that other indigenous people were preferable marriage partners as compared to whites and black since they were at least "from the same race." It is unclear how the ethnographer cited above decided to use ethnic terms – perhaps they were used by Spanish-speaking Chachis accustomed to creating recipient-designed terms for foreigners – but below I will make a convincing case that what the Chachi are worried about is, to a large extent, *racial endogamy* and preserving their *racial identity*. One of the key ingredients of racialization among the Chachis and elsewhere is the linkage between attitutdes towards cultural transmission and group belonging and ideas of biological descent; only when culture and descent are coupled does *endogamy* become *racial endogamy*. One place where these social formations are mediated is in discourse of

descent, the body, and cultural difference like that seen in the examples included in this dissertation.

With respect to the division between studies concerning Afro-descendants and indigenous people in the Latin Americanist literature, my research framework recognizes that much of the general patterns of race around the Americas concern descent lines and body types in which three major continental groupings are significant: Americans, Africans and Europeans. The tendency to polarize either indigenous Americans or black Africans with respect to white Europeans has been an obstacle for discussing blackness, whiteness and indigeneity in a more unified framework. In a few places around Latin America Afro-descendants and indigenous people live as neighbors, but ethnographers have yet to really use them as a resource for unifying different fractured approaches.[7] It is my hope that Esmeraldas, Ecuador, will provide a fruitful ethnographic context for thinking about a specific local articulation of the historical trajectories of the three continental groups in the Americas. Specifically, once we break free of the black/white or indigenous/white binaries we can beging to ask complicated questions: If Afro-descendants and indigenous people have both been dominated by European colonial power and its modern inheritors through distinct kinds of racialization, what does that history imply for their current situations of contact and conflict? Social hierarchies that privelage people of European ancestry are relatively easy to explain vertically through the principles of white supremacy, but what do they mean for horizontal relationships among different people of color in the same social spaces?

[7] Although some ethnographhy based in the Caribbean coast of Central America (Hale 1996, Gordon 1998, etc) and at least one ethnography addresses these issues for the Colombian Pacific (Losonczy 2006).

1.7 Linguistic analogies and linguistic analysis

Before going any further into the analysis of primary data it is necessary to further clarify my approach. The reader may have noticed that I have been rather sparing with my quotation marks, especially avoiding putting the word "race" in quotes, as has become common in much anthropological writing. This is due to my feeling that, despite long-standing calls for anthropologists to become more conscious of their ethnography as a written form (Clifford and Marcus 1986), we still do not seem to have developed much reflexive awareness about our habitual textual practices and their discursive forms, including the use of quotation marks. What exactly is the meaning we hope to convey by putting words in quotes in academic discourse? In the case of "race," it seems that we are still preoccupied with sustaining the Boasian break with scientific racism, so if we are forced to use the term at all, we wish to signal to readers that we are well aware that race is a social construction, that we personally do not consider it to be biologically real. But if we are to put all social constructions in quotes, why stop with race? "Ethnicity" is no less a social construction, as are all of the other intersectional identity categories we apply ("gender," "class," etc.). "Society" and "culture" are social constructions, as are academic disciplines such as "anthropology." The idea of a "social construction" is a social construction as well. The approach taken here considers that there is nothing in the social world that is not, at least in part, a social construction, so flagging some social descriptors with quotes and not others is conceptually inconsistent.

The use of quotation marks is a reported speech construction in written form, and as such is a kind of **evidential** marker that a writer (or speaker, with the common two-fingered gesture) can use to attribute information to another person, sometimes with the effect of mitigating responsibility (see Hill and Irvine 1993, Aikhenvald 2004, Michael 2008). Many indigenous languages of the Americas including Cha'palaa use reported speech constructions to mark information attributable to others' discourse – in the data in this dissertation much of the oral history cited includes such marking (usually translated as "they say"). When we use "race" in quotation in anthropological writing we mitigate

our own responsibility for the term by signaling that we recognize that it has no biological basis. Yet biologically real or not, I found race to be as much a *social reality* as anything else in my research with Chachi people, and as such I see no reason to give it any exceptional textual treatment here. To avoid ambiguity, in most cases when I use quotation marks it is to mark something that was stated by a specific spoken or written source under discussion, not in a vague sense to mark a circulating discourse that I do not take responsibility for. This permits me to some degree to avoid dichotomizing the terms used by local people at my field site, like Yambu, and my own academic terminology by treating all of these terms, in the end, as social constructions.

So if my ethnographic and discursive encounter with indigenous and Afro-descendant people in northwest Ecuador has led me to confront the social reality of race in a specific way, what do I mean when I employ racial terms in this context? Rather than attempt a concise definition of race, I will describe it as a social process, embedded in a history where it has functioned as a principle of difference and inequality, and articulated in specific instances through social interaction. In this last part of my description I am affiliating with social constructivist approaches. However, as some anthropologists are beginning to point out, the consensus that race is a social construction has not been enough to have the kinds of broader conceptual impacts that many social scientists have hoped for (see Hartigan 2005). Here I want to suggest that part of the problem is that declarations of race as a social construction have been treated more like research results than research hypotheses. In the absence of a biological basis for the race concept, it must be a social construction. But this is not an answer, it is a research problem. What kind of social construction is race? How do social constructions work to shape the social order? What is the place of ethnography in understanding these processes? When we say race is a social construction, what does that imply about the power of race in social life to produce and maintain conditions of difference and inequality? How are the current dimensions of race related to their history of social construction? What can this approach teach us about the way race has been a mechanism of hierarchical and unequal social structures? And how can a social constructivist approach help to see race as an instrument

of power even in ambiguous ethnographic contexts like my field site where the major social actors are indigenous and Afro-descendant people from the bottom of the hierarchy? In short, what can we ask *after* we agree that race is a social construction?

In a general sense social constructivism is a kind of post-structuralism that comes into the social sciences from several different angles. Its basic insight is that in social terrain we cannot expect to find firm structures but rather, to the extent that such structures can be said to exist at some abstract level, they are the aggregate of unstable processes produced, reproduced and changed through social life. Language has played a special role in social constructivist interventions because, when we abandon any fixed idea of social or cultural life, we float off into a world where social meaning is made through dynamic processes, and language is the classic apparatus of meaning-making. The development has often been framed as **a linguistic turn** in the social sciences and philosophy. Oddly, however, for all the different linguistic analogies that have been circulated by social theorists, very few of them have paid any attention to the tools and techniques developed over many decades by the discipline of linguistics for approaching language. Anthropologists in particular have sometimes tried to insert simplistic versions of linguistics into their approach without considering the full complexity of language and communication (a point made in Briggs 2002). A good example is Geertz's (1973) analogy of culture as a "text" that can be interpreted by an ethnographer, an idea that draws from the theory of Paul Ricoeur (1981). In such interpretive approaches, any serious consideration of linguistic form has usually been either rejected as a return to structuralism or, more frequently, ignored altogether. The usefulness of linguistic analogies is unclear, however, when they do not draw meaningfully on traditions of the study of language. What I hope to do in this dissertation is approach the social world through linguistic analysis, not linguistic analogy.

A distinct problem arises out of a different line of social constructivism expressed in Garfinkel's ethnomethodology and related approaches – although both Ricoeur's textual hermeneutics and Garfinkel's ethnomethodology can be partially traced back to

the origins of phenomenology in the work of Husserl and others, the most important aspect of which for the present discussion is its suspicion of broad abstract concepts unless they are instantiated through here-and-now experiences like moments of social interaction. This line of philosophy, further developed by Shutz in a direction more suited to adaptation by social scientists, has been taken up in a number of social constructivist works,[8] but it was a dissident branch of sociology that took its cues from phenomenology that began to move in a direction of more interest for seriously considering the role of linguistic form and usage in social construction. Garfinkel (1967, 2002) developed his approach in reaction to traditional sociology that takes for granted the facticity of the social elements under study, calling it "ethnomethodology" because of its focus on actual social actors' analyses of the interactions they take part in. Rather than sometimes-dubious abstractions regarding social order, ethnomethodology looks for the social order in specific instances. From this perspective, such instances are the cumulative building blocks of larger-scale social constructions, and as such become primary sites of interest for social analysis.

Ethnomethodology has influenced several different fields, but perhaps where its strongest influence can be seen is in the tradition of analysis of conversational data, beginning with work by Sacks and Schegloff (Sacks 1972; Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974, Sacks and Schegloff 1979). Work in conversation analysis has opened up a new field of study of great significance for social theory, but it is notable that as a field it has never had much interest in far-reaching social theories. Instead, conversation analysts often reject the imposition of broad social categories onto conversational data until there is some empirical justification for such categories at an interactional level (Schegloff 1987, 2007). This has led to disputes between conversation analysts and practitioners of other kinds of discourse analysis (Mey 2001). It seems fair to be skeptical about our received social categories, and many of them have certainly been applied in brute and uncritical ways, but there are different ways to confront this extreme

[8] Such as *The Social Construction of Reality* (Berger and Luckmann 1966) and *The Construction of Social Reality* (Searle 1997).

constructivist way of thinking. Particularly for the practice of ethnography, basic questions arise about how ethnographic knowledge is generated. Levinson points out that the provocative ideas coming from Schegloff (1987) and other conversation analysts can have strong and weak interpretations from "interactional reductionism" to "interactional constructivism" (2005, 451). A looser perspective of interactional constructivism can help to avoid a strong interactional reductionism that rejects ethnographic data when it addresses levels of social life more abstract than instances of conversation, an approach that would place extreme limits on the scope of social analysis. Ethnography, at its heart, largely deals with conversational data as well, as it is based on many different kinds of social interaction that the ethnographer participates in, records and synthesizes in a written account. The interactive dimension of ethnographic research has not been often considered, but ethnographic data is generated by long-term experience of a researcher participating in the daily life of a speech community, an information-rich interactive setting. Ethnography is a different analytical filter for what is basically the same kind of primary data examined in interaction studies, providing a complementary perspective to conversation analysis rather than an antithesis. To follow through on the theoretical implications of interactional constructivism means considering how the findings of close-level analysis are also reflected in information generated from less constrained spaces and from different scales of social analysis.

My methodology in this dissertation connects the close analysis of discourse with the ethnographic methods of cultural anthropology, based on the ethnography of communication approach (Hymes 1962 and 1964, Bauman and Sherzer 1975). Sherzer (1987) and Urban (1991) built on this tradition to formulate a "discourse centered" approach that went a step further by suggesting that a key location of the social is at the interface of language and culture, another kind of social constructivist position that combines analysis of instances of language use with long-term ethnographic research. The specific approach to culture in in this methodology draws of classic questions of the relationship of language to culture from the Boas-Sapir-Whorf perspective, which has been much debated from many different points of view (Hoijer 1954, Hill and Manheim

1992, Gumperz and Levinson 1996, Lucy 1997). My methodology draws on this approach specifically in that it considers language and culture to be convenient analytical divisions for the study of social activity and conditions, but acknowledges they are basically different angles of viewing the same object, and when they are not analytically separated they are coterminous, integrated, and mutually-constituting. Whorf's original formulation never simply concerned static grammatical features but rather concerned the dynamic interaction of different grammatical features as used in social interaction in a "certain frame of consistency."[9] In my research I sought to identify frames of consistency that fomed in recurring patterns of discourse structure and to find resonances between the relative perspectives offered by ethnographic and linguistic analyses. Tracking such resonances is a way of synthesis between those perspectives, putting language back together after analytically separating them.

1.8 Points of articulation

Keeping in mind the social constructivist approach outlined above and the special place of discourse within it, I want to return to the question of the status of social categories like race within such a perspective. Following a different trajectory from the ethnography of communication, developments within the Birmingham circle of cultural studies in the 1970s took their own linguistic turn in the search for more dynamic and less deterministic theories of historical materialism. These developments were influenced by the cultural approach of Antonio Gramsci that many members of the Birmingham circle draw on, and especially his intrervention of earlier incarnations of Marxism with his use

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[9]Full quote: Concepts of "time" and "matter" are not given in substantially the same form by experience to all men but depend upon the nature of the language or languages through the use of which they have been developed. They do not depend so much on ANY ONE SYSTEM (e.g., tense, or nouns) within the grammar as upon the ways of analyzing and reporting experience which have become fixed in the language and integrated as "fashions of speaking" and which cut across the typical grammatical classifications, so that such a "fashion" may include lexical, morphological, syntactic, and otherwise systematically diverse means coordinated in a certain frame of consistency. (Whorf 1941: 92)

of the concept of hegemony, which frames social structure as never fully unified or finished, bringing Marxist theory closer to other post-structuralist approaches that focus explicitly on language (1972). Ives (2004) argues that Gramsci's hegemony concept itself is modeled on how linguistic systems are constituted, reproduced and changed. This aspect of Gramsci's approach leads Birmingham circle theorist Stuart Hall to pose the question of race as specifically as a discourse-centered question:

> It's only when these differences have been organized within language, within discourse, within systems of meaning, that the differences can be said to acquire meaning and become a factor in human culture and regulate conduct, hat is the nature of what I'm calling the discursive concept of race. Not that nothing exists of differences, but that what matters are the systems we use to make sense, to make human societies intelligible. The system we bring to those differences, how we organize those differences into systems of meaning, with which, as it were, we could find the world intelligible. (Hall 1996 p10)

In the context of a materialist approach, Hall's assertions might seem too strong: certainly real material conditions are an important factor for Hall, but the relationship of humans to them is mediated by culture, circulating in discourse. If Hall's point seems suspicious for some interested in critical race analysis, then it is only because it has been mistakenly taken for an ahistorical perspective. Much to the contrary, historical factors are central to any Gramscian approach, since culture is never stable over history, meaning that any hegemony must be constantly reproduced in order to survive. All such production of meaning, however, is also constrained by regional and global histories, especially the social meaning of race at this post-colonial moment.

What Omi and Winant call "racial formation" (Omi and Winant 1994, Winant 2000) is a way of thinking about how race as a system of social difference and hierarcy is formed through local socio-cultural activities that operate with a certain kind of consistency among them that constitutes larger-scale systematicities across disparate

times and places. This approach helps to reduce some of the problems of top-down analysis by considering how "the racial order is organized and enforced by the continuity and reciprocity between micro-level and macro-level of social relations" (Omi and Winant 1986, 67). The implications of this approach for both ethnography and analysis of linguistic interaction is that somehow we should be able to *see* pieces of the structure of social inequality in emprically-observable moments and to link these moments back to the more abstract social configurations that they cumulatively produce. Those moments will show evidence of being structured by racial formation, defined as "the process by which social, economic and political forces determine the content and importance of racial categories, and by which they are in turn shaped by racial meanings" (Ibid. 61). In the current moment of racial formation that grew out of global historical processes of colonialism and European expansion, "racial meaning" orients around the unifying concept of white supremacy, so from this perspective ethnographers should be able to find manifestations of white supremacy whether in the context of context of the US civil rights movement, South African apartheid, state violence against indigenous people in Guatemala, or even in post-colonial states without a major Euro-descendant population, where the history persists in the form of what Williams (1991) refers to as the "ghost of hegemonic dominance" in her ethnography of racial and cultural politics in post-colonial Guyana, a concept that I will take up again in Chapter 7 of this dissertation. Taking a racial formation approach to ethnography means finding a balance between respecting local specificities and being able to see commonalities that resonate globally as a result of interlocking historical trajectories.

Historical events generate present conditions, which is why Hall's concept of discursive systems of racial meaning are not unconstrained – their limits are prefigured by their history[10]. The analytical status of social history can sometimes be unclear from a phenomenological standpoint that seeks empirical manifestations of the social order.

[10] Adapting a classic Marxist perspective to the study of meaning and discourse: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past." Marx 1852; Open acces publicaiton: http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1852/18th-brumaire/ch01.htm

Several readers of Fanon have considered part of his *Black Skins, White Masks* to be a historicizing intervention of phenomenology, and particularly to be in dialogue with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology of the body (Weate 2000, Salamon 2006). In his chapter, "The Lived Experience of the Black Man" Fanon describes the role of the "historico-racial schema" in socially mediating our experience of bodies ([1952] 2008, 111). When Hall frames racial categorization as something that "writes itself indelibly on the script of the body" (1996, 14), the "script" must be seen as developing through and reflecting social history, which, as Fanon points out, shapes our perception of the body and how we read it. In this way Fanon provides tools for the difficult task of locating race and race-based inequality in specific moments of interaction. But are those racial histories that we read on the body primarily rooted in local experience or in broader racial formations?

A particular problem that arises is how to reconcile broad historical developments with the high degree of specificity of ethnographic studies of discourse at particular sites. This problem has manifested itself in disputes around locally specific understandings of race versus more global scales of racial formation; for example, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) charge Hanchard (1998) with "imperialist reason" for drawing parallels between African-American and Afro-Brazilian political culture. While respect for local specificities is laudable, such protests seem to fall flat since there is clearly good reason for some level of comparison across cases throughout the Western hemisphere and beyond, and clear linkages to be made in the history of Afro-descendants as well as indigenous peoples in the United States, Brazil and the Andean countries. Such comparison does not necessarily constitute an imperialist imposition of outside perspectives on a particular ethnographic context, but rather can demonstrate an eye for social patterns at a very broad scale. Some approaches to race in Brazil have assumed that because a great many racial terms beyond "Black" and "White" circulate in discourse that a black/white distinction is innapropriate in Brazil, but this is a simplistic view of discourse as a transparent reflection of the social world rather than a site of negotiation that can hide or negate social conditions as a complex way of constituting them. A history

of the colonial encounter between Europe, Africa and the Americas has shaped the development of the historico-racial schema that permeates postcoloniality with similar kinds of racial logic everywhere. Ethnographers should be able to keep track of this history even when its local articulations are diverse and contradictory.

It is with these considerations that I approach the specific ethnographic space of my research among indigenous and Afro-descendant people living as neighbors in a remote corner of Ecuador, lawless and forgotten by governments, troubled by proximity to the unstable Colombian border. In order to situate this specific location within a broader racial formation without erasing its specificity, I will borrow another idea from Hall: the concept of **articulation**, as adapted from Althussuer (Hall 1985). From a Gramscian perspective, social conditions are continuously being reproduced, maintained, and modified through specific instances of cultural activity, and these instances can be considered articulations of larger, more abstract patterns. In linguistics articulation is usually thought of as the specific phonetic realization of a sound that corresponds to a more abstract phonological system or as a specific token of a construction type. The double meaning of the term as I use it here is on purpose: it is as true for linguistics as for cultural anthropology that to be able to make any generalizations regarding social groups, it is through seeing patterns among different articulations reflecting their general conditions. To describe the way that specific articulations pattern together across moments of social interaction, I will borrow a word that has been used in several related senses, here using a sense from the discourse-centered approach to language and culture, described above. Urban (1996) uses the concept of **circulation** to address the sociality of discourse, and this concept can help to make linkages between specific moments of articulation. The concepts of articulation and circulation are the key ideas that I will use in this dissertation to connect the specific discursive instances and broader social and historical contexts of racial formation.

To take seriously a constructivist proposition for social categories in general and for race in particular requires coming to terms with specific discursive articulations and

the way that they configure meaning. To simply use linguistic analogies for describing social life is too limited an approach. Following Riceour and Geertz, Hall also uses the analogy of a "text": "The body is a text. And we are all readers of it" (Hall 1996, 15). This analogy is meant to describe the cohesion of form and meaning found in circulating discourses, but it stops short of taking a linguistically-informed look at discourse in the investigation of social issues. A real linguistic turn in the social sciences could take advantage of the existing tools for analyzing language and discourse, including descriptive linguistics, conversational analysis, and poetics. This dissertation starts with Hall's concept of race as a discursive construct and considers this question for the analysis of specific examples of discourse relating to racial categories in Cha'palaa and Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish. Examples will be considered in terms of grammatical dimensions, discourse pragmatics, and their links to ethnographic data. From the perspective of linguistic anthropology's joint analysis of language and culture, it is the interface of linguistic and ethnographic data in instances of discursive usage that is the key site of analysis. Discourse is complex, and no simplistic linguistic determinisms will provide good analysis. Discourse is designed for multi-level social interaction, and often the relationship between discourse and social conditions is not transparent; for example Vargas (2004) points out how overt negation of the significance of race is a key ingredient of race relations in Brazil. So while social actors may argue that racism and even race do not exist, their vehement denial itself is a manifestation of race, a situation that calls for caution when considering correspondences between discourse and other social dimensions. In my research site, by comparison, people were remarkably candid, but the mutually-constituting relationship between discourse and social organization is never entirely straightforward, and it is best approached ethnographically rather than with precise correspondences in mind. So while it is true that I focus on the most salient and explicit instances of racial discourse here to the neglect of other less obvious sites of racial formation, it seems fair to say that in this context the disjunct between the structures of social behavior and of discourse is not particularly sharp. Especially when working with a undescribed indigenous language simply approaching the basic terms of social categorizing discourse is a challenging enough of a task, and offers an entry-point

into ways for thinking of the relationship of racial discourse to other kinds of manifestations of race.

The shifting terminology of race and ethnicity in social science literature that I discussed above is meant to be considered as another area of social discourse data, similar in many ways to the account of Yambu, cited before it. A social constructivist approach looks for how both academic discourses in English and Spanish and locally circulating discourses in Cha'palaa can equally be articulations of related patterns of racial formation. Considering both kinds of discourse together shows how both derive from the same general social history, but one is part of widely-circulating elite written discourse that little by little bleached racial language into more neutral-sounding codes while the other is a popular oral discourse that circulates much more locally. So while these different discourses reflect the same conditions of racial formation, they represent two distinct positions within the same structures of inequality. Both discourses together take complementary places in the spectrum of local manifestations of social conditions. The mechanisms by which elite discourse in European languages works to reproduce inequality are a fruitful topic for study, but popular discourse in Cha'palaa poses an even greater analytical challenge; the language is just beginning to be seriously studied, and it is in some ways sharply different from the profile of most well-known European languages. The major task of this dissertation is to get deeply into the expressive resources of the Cha'palaa language and to ask, given Chachi peoples' historical position within racial formation in the Americas, how is it that Chachi people reflect on and produce these social conditions in their own grammatical and discursive forms?

Presentation

This dissertation offers an ethnographic and discourse-centered account of social categorization and race in the indigenous Chachi society, particularly focusing on the relationship of the Chachi and their Afro-descendant neighbors. It does so under the

social constructivist perspective outlined above, which approaches social life as continually reproduced and changed through social interaction, and sees ethnography as a way of keeping track of the **social circulation** of culture. Such circulation as a process is necessarily made up of different instances of interaction that I consider **articulations** of broader patterns, and as such link specific moments to the history of social conditions more broadly, and specifically to the conditions of racial formation in Latin America that are a result of a history of centuries of racial inequality. The dissertation makes several different contributions to linguistics and anthropology: It is one of the few ethnographic studies on Latin America that has looked in detail at the relationship between indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples. It takes a novel approach by combining historical and critical race theory approaches with those of descriptive linguistics and approaches to the relationship of language to culture. And in addition it provides ethnographic information about the Chachi people and their Afro-descendant neighbors, and gives detailed linguistic description of some of the features of Cha'palaa, a language that is largely undescribed in published literature.

Social interaction can take place by way of many different media, but spoken language holds a privileged place as the place of social interaction where meaning becomes explicit in its most codified form, and so the primary supporting data for my account of race in Ecuador consist of selections of transcribed discourse from different kinds of interactions. The data was collected during over a year of fieldwork in 2008 and 2009, and is supplemented by further data from pilot research in 2005, 2006 and 2007; it was recorded with a digital video camera and linked to various texts and notes compiled while living in Chachi communities and working with a Chachi linguistic consultant in Quito. To approach this data the text of the dissertation alternates between an ethnographic register and a register of descriptive linguistics, both of which provide formats for making particular kinds of generalizations across instances of articulation to provide a picture of the social circulation of racial categorization among Cha'palaa speakers. When I use the register of descriptive linguistics I will refer to Cha'palaa grammar as a coherent system in which some constructions are grammatical, others are

not, and speakers have relatively uniform shared conceptions of these parameters. This abstraction is a convention of descriptive linguistics and is useful for taking stock of grammatical patterns, but it glosses over some of the social aspects of language. I hope that switching periodically into a more ethnographic register will function as a counter-balance by putting the sociality of language into the foreground. This strategy is meant as a way to follow through on the linguistic analogies sometimes proposed in social theory with a real ingredient of detailed linguistic analysis. I will approach the linguistic forms and cultural knowledge reflected in Cha'palaa discourse according to how they constitute a specific set of resources for sharing in and articulating larger circulating social processes.

Although this dissertation juxtaposes linguistics and ethnography throughout all its chapters, it will take a general path from describing linguistic features that are resources for social catgeorization to looking at those forms as they are deployed in discourse and social interaction. I connect those different domains within a single narrative by following increasing levels of analytical scale: at the most fine-grained level the most relevant details concern features of linguistic form, at a higher level those linguistic forms combine in discourse, and at a still higher level those discourses circulate in the social world. Taken as a whole narrative, including these different levels of scale together provides ways for reflecting on their interplay. Following this introduction, Chapter Two will describe collective marking in Cha'palaa, which is a common grammatical resource that Cha'palaa speakers use for refering to human groups constituted by social ties. Chapter Three will consider the properties of Cha'palaa ethnonyms, which are especially dedicated to reference of social categories, and which are often used in combination with collective marking. Chapter Four will describe the Cha'palaa pronoun system, which allows speakers to anchor social categories to participants in speech events. Chapter Five will then take a broader view of discourse to show how multimodal resources are used together with linguistic resources for social categorization. Chapter Six will go into a more ethnographic register and will consider Chachi and Afro-Ecuadorian perspectives on each other through interview data from both

groups. Finally, Chapter Seven will analyze examples of natural speech to show some of the manifestations of social categorization in everyday conversation and discourse. The same linguistic forms and discourse structures described in the earlier chapters will be shown in usage in examples of social interaction in later chapters, allowing the linguistic data to speak to the ethnographic account and vice versa.

Chapter 2: Grammatical and social collectivity

2.1 Social relations into the afterlife

What kind of a category is race for Chachi people? On the one hand, Chachi discourse frequently reflects broad patterns of racial formation in the Americas; it is largely oriented around classic racial ideas of descent, the body, and a three-part division of continental origin: Black, White and indigenous. But even though it participates in these larger trends, Chachi social categorization is strongly informed by complex conceptions of the nature of the human spirit and the afterlife. According to some Chachi discourses, the soul of a Chachi person is of a different quality than that of a Black or a White person. For this reason, only Chachi spirits can go on to heaven in the afterlife. For Black and White spirits, a different fate awaits. In one conversation Wilfrido and Guillermo explained:

W: Tsaa juee titaa kuinda kemudee rukula
This is what the old men tell about,

chachillaren junga kai'sha lu' chu'
that only Chachis go up to heaven

tsenmala peechullala peyadeishu juntsalaya niwijcha ne tiyaimudeeti
and when Black people die those ones go as clouds, they say.

Niwijcha
Cloud.

G: Paba niwijcha.
Black cloud.

W: Jee paba niwijcha,
Yes, black cloud.

Tsenmala fibala uyalala peyadeishu juntsaa
And then the Whites, the gringos when they die

fiba niwijcha fibaba'mitya.
they are White clouds, because they are white.

Sometimes Chachi people will unexpectedly lose consciousness for hours at a time; I am not aware of any physiological explanations for this, but I heard about such cases many times and observced several. Family members accompany the unconsiocus person until they return to consciousness, when they often tell about how they saw visions of heaven and the afterlife. In heaven they encounter the spirits of the dead and they sometimes come back with messages from long-deceased family members. Crucially, heaven is populated only by the spirits of Chachi people. The spirits of whites and blacks do not go on to heaven after death, but rather become clouds (*niwijcha*). The darker or lighter shade of the cloud corresponds to the race and skin color of the dead person. Wilfrido uses the standard color terms "black" (*paba*) and "white" (*fiba*) similarly to the way they are used as nominal referents for racial groups in English or Spanish as well as in their capacity as descriptive modifiers: *paba niwijcha* "black cloud" and *fiba niwijcha* "white cloud." Through these different shades of clouds, the physical differences of human bodies continue after the spirit has left the body.

The Chachi conception of race as I encountered it in interviews, conversation and sharing in daily life is a conception of social difference at a spiritual level. Wilfrido went

on to describe some of the physical consequences of the different qualities of the spirits of Chachis and Afro-descendants:

W: Juntsaayaa timudee tiña
That is what they say (the old men about the blacks),

tsenmi naa espiritubain tiba katawatyumeetenshee
and I don't think thay their spirits are even encountered,

chachillachee espiritu kataamuee, kume katawa'kerake,
like Chachi spirits are encountered; seeing encounters with bad spirits,

kume ika'kerake tibain tinaaju.
seeing encounters with bad spirits, and anything can happen.

Kusasbain detse'tudaikeemu lalaa,
All kinds of (bad) things can happen with us,

lala chachilla depeshujuntsaa kume kakaamin ee.
we Chachis can die when we catch a bad spirit.

Aniimaanubain maty jui eekaanujtuutyuka, animaabain bullakemu,
And we have to protect against creatures, creatures that bother us,

espiritu pure' puu lala' kueepunu
the spirit in our bodies is a very large amount,

mainjuuwe tennan pureeña.
even just being one (person), it's a lot.

The great quantity of spirit held by “even just one” Chachi as compared to other races makes Chachis more vulnerable to afflictions of the spirit and more attractive to dangerous classes of beings that live in the forest surrounding their communities.

This excerpt is a good example of one of the most commonly-repeating discourse structures found over and over again in Chachi racializing discourses, the referential alignment of collective ethnonyms and personal pronouns (“we” = “collective:Chachi” in the first person, above; mirrored by “they” = “collective:Afro-descendants” in the third person, below). In this sense, cultural resources for making sense of social groups like the Chachis’ metaphysical perspectives on the human spirit are difficult to separate from linguistic resources like **ethnonyms**, **collective morphology** and the **pronominal system**. Individual cases of alignment of these cultural and linguistic resources in discourse can be considered moments of articulation of race as a social phenomenon, both in terms of the cultural perspectives and the linguistic systems they relate to. The extent to which similar patterns are reproduced and distributed socially constitutes the circulation of discourse forms beyond specific instances of articulation.

2.2 Collectivity and the animacy hierarchy

In order to put these pieces together, however, I will first need to address the different linguistic resources at play by separating them out as topics for description. In this chapter I will give a descriptive account of how Cha’palaa deals with references to social groups as collectives through morphological collective marking of nouns. The following excerpt, continuing Wilfrido’s comments on spirits and the afterlife, illustrates this morphological combination:

W: Tsa'mitya wee wee dejushee
That is why there are differences

tsaaren **peechullalachee**, yaichee peshujuntsaa juntsaren juu ne,
for the Blacks, they die just like that,

kume ityu deju yalaa, dilutyu deju
they don't get bad spirits, they don't get sick.

Chachillaa kumechi i' kerake bu'chullachi i' kerake, ne...
Chachis get bad spirits and see other mountain animals,

ne tsaikeemutuutyuka **chachillaa**,
that's how Chachis are,

tsaaren **peechullalaa** juntsaachi dilutyudee
but the Blacks do not get sick

yalaa, matyu, peshujuntsa niwijcha ne tiyadei'mitya.
them, when they die they become clouds.

In the lines above, the collective suffix *-la*, with alternate form *-lla*, occurs with the ethnonyms *chachi* and *peechulla*, What I am calling grammatical "**collectivity**" in Cha'plaa is slightly but systematically different from **plurality** (in English I translate Chachi collectives using plural forms). The term "collective" has been used inconsistently in the literature on grammatical number (see Corbett 2000, p171), so my application of it here is partly adapted to Cha'palaa grammar for descriptive purposes, and should be considered largely a Cha'palaa-specific category. In general, however, the semantic aspects of collectivity have to do with (1) forming single units consisting of multiple individual members in the noun phrase and then (2) implying collective ("one for all") action versus distributive ("each one for itself") action in the verb phrase (Landman 1995, McKay 2006).

In Cha'palaa, collectivity has its own specific dimensions, in that its usage is governed by an **animacy hierarchy** (see Silverstein 1976), meaning a grammatical pattern that distinguishes inanimate objects from animate, living beings. Morphological collective marking in Cha'palaa is restricted to animate nominal referents, largely to human beings and other sentient beings such as spirits or demons. Animals can only be marked collectively in restricted circumstances, and inanimate referents cannot usually take the collective suffix at all.

Inanimates < Animals < Humans/Spirits

When referring to inanimates there are several strategies for indicating that the referent is more than one entity without marking for collectivity. For example, it is possible to use a quantifier like "many" or a numeral:

(2.1a) Jele-sha chi=bain **pure'** de-chu-min.
Forest-LOC1 tree=also **many** PL-be/sit-HAB
In the forest there are also usually **many trees**.

(2.1b) Jele-sha **pem** chi=bain de-chu-min.
forest-LOC1 **three** tree=also PL-be/sit-HAB
In the forest there are also usually **three** trees.

Inanimates, however, cannot generally be marked for collectivity:

(2.1c) *Jele-sha chi-**la**=bain de-chu-min.
forest-LOC1 tree-**COL**=also PL-be/sit-HAB
*In the forest there are usually trees.

Animal referents are usually not marked for collectivity, and generally would use one of the quantifier strategies shown above instead, but speakers may opt for collective marking when emphasizing referents' status as collective groups.

(2.2a) Jele-sha nuka-a jele-ñu=bain, **animaa-la**=bain **de-pu**-min,
forest-LOC where-FOC forest-EV.INF=also **SP:animal-COL**=also **PL-be.in/on**-HAB
In the forest, wherever it seems to be forest, there **are** usually also **animals**.

Above, the nominal subject *animaa* ("animal," from the Spanish) is marked for collectivity and, in addition, the verb *pu* ("to be in/on") is marked with the plural prefix *de-*. As will be further explained below, this is not simple number agreement; collectivity in Cha'palaa is an independent value with respect to plurality. In addition, both values are optional for indicating quantities of more than one, which are often not marked at all but are rather inferred from discourse context. Generally animals take no collective marking at all, as in the first line of the example below.

(2.2b) Kaa=**animaa**-bain ke-nu ju-ba,
DIM=animal-also do-INF be-COND
(Someone) must also make [draw] small animal(s);

chaandutu, neetyushu ju-u-de-e-shu=juntsa-bain ke-nu ju-ba
toucan **small.boar** be-CL:be-PL-be-IRR=DM.DST-also do-INF be-COND
toucan(s) (and) small boar(s) that'd be around, those must be made [drawn].

As can be seen in the dependent clause in the second line of the above example, groups of more than one animal can occur as the subject of a verb phrase with overt plural marking on the predicate,[11] and no collective marking appears in the noun phrase *chaandutu, neetyushu* (toucan(s) boar(s)). While both verbal plurality and nominal

collectivity imply a group of more than one entity, the fluid, non-obligatory and not rigidly-agreeing patterns seen in Cha'palaa reveal an array of subtly distinct expressive possibilities.

(2.3a) No COL or PL:

Jele-sha animaa=bain pu-we

forest-LOC1 animal=also be.in/on-DSJ

In the forest there is an animal. *or* In the forest there are animals.

(2.3b) COL on noun phrase:

Jele-sha animaa-la=bain pu-we

forest-LOC1 animal-COL=also be.in/on-DSJ

In the forest there is an associated group of animals.

(2.3c) PL on the verb phrase:

Jele-sha animaa=bain de-pu-we

forest-LOC1 animal=also PL-be.in/on-DSJ

In the forest there are animals individually distributed.

(2.3d) COL on the noun phrase and PL on the verb phrase:

Jele-sha animaa-la=bain de-pu-we

forest-LOC1 animal-COL=also PL-be.in/on-DSJ

In the forest an associated group of animals are individually distributed.

In Cha'palaa, plurality and collectivity are two independent semantic values whose morphological marking is not obligatory, but which depends on subtle differences of emphasis when characterizing referents and actions. Put simply, **verbal plurality** conceives of groups as members that each individually partake of an action or state, while

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[11] The predicate casts the subjects as iteratively distributed as well, through reduplication of the secondary verb of the complex predicate, which is a productive process in Cha'palaa. The details of complex

nominal collectivity conceives of groups as having a measure of shared volition and accountability, so that one member might act on behalf of the collectivity. Plurality is **distributional** in space and time and is based on coincidence and likeness of group members, while collectivity is based on **association** of group members. This last point suggests that examining the usage of collective marking in discourse should be a revealing way to look at Cha'palaa conceptions of social relations. In fact, the associational requirement of collectivity in Cha'palaa is quite plausibly analyzed as the primary principal behind the animacy hierarchy in that generally only animate beings are capable of sharing volition and social ties.

Collective marking becomes more frequent with referents ranking above animals on the animacy hierarchy. The most common of such referents are human beings, which can be referred to as collective groups by a number of strategies. For example, a frequent way of collectivizing humans is in terms of gender, combining words like *ruku* (man) and *shimbu* (woman) with the collective suffix to refer to social groups constituted by only men or only women:

(2.4a) Matyu yuma-a **ruku-la**-' histuria Ibara-na-a ura chu-mu-de-e de-ti-ña
so now-FOC **man-COL**-POSS history Ibarra-LOC-FOC live-AG.NMLZ PL-say-DR
So now **the men**'s story is that they lived in Ibarra, they say.

(2.4b) **Shimbu-la** llaki ke-tu naa dius-kama-ba de-pensa-ke-ke-mu.
woman-COL sad do-SR how god-until-COM COMPL-worry-do-do-AG.NMLZ
The women were being sad, as they even thought of god (in their sadness).

The collectivized terms above do not just refer to groups constituted by maleness and femaleness – there are separate terms *llupu* and *supu* for that contrast. Rather, they refer to groups constituted by social characteristics, in this case referring to people considered to be fully adult Chachis, in contrast to the terms for adolescent males and

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predicate semantics are too complicated to address at any length here.

females *musu* and *panna*, respectively. The transition between adolescence and adulthood in Chachi society is marked by marriage, and graduating to a different referential form is part of the discursive constitution of these social categories.

Other terms for humans that receive collective morphology include kinship terms, such as *naatala* (sibling), seen in the example below. In addition, any term that can refer to humans or other animates anaphorically or through discourse structure may also receive collective morphology, such as the distal demonstrative *juntsa* (that), which is co-referential with the kinship term *naatala* in this example.

(2.5) **Juntsa-la**-a ura ju-nu chu-mu-de-e=shee,
DM.DST-COL-FOC good there-LOC2 live-AG.NMLZ-PL-become=AFF
Those ones lived well for sure,

ya-' ben-nan tisee Primitivo milla-ba ya-' **naatala-la** jun-ka.
3-POSS front-be.in.POS so Primitivo DEC.REF-COM 2-POSS **sibling-COL** DM.DST-LOC3
in front of him (his place), deceased Primitivo with his **siblings** there.

A close analysis of different collectivized terms can reveal complex combinations of collective values – for example, the word *naatalala* seen above can in fact be shown, at least from a historical perspective, to contain three separate instances of collective marking. The first collective suffix is no longer transparent because of Cha'palaa's tendency for phonological reduction, but the nominal root of *naa-talala* can be analyzed as *na-la*, a collectivized form of *na* meaning "small" or "child"; the intervocalic consonant of *nala* is deleted, forming a single syllable with a long vowel *naa*. The second collective suffix is part of the clitic =*tala* used for marking reciprocity; while its historical development is unclear, it is very likely that the second syllable of the clitic comes from the collective suffix, due to the semantic connections between collectivity and reciprocity. The translation for the term *naatala* (sibling) would be something like "among collective small ones". However, despite the inherent relationality in the term

naatala it does not have any inherent plurality and can occur with quantifiers as either a single or a multiple referent:

(2.6a) ma naatala
one sibling

(2.6b) taapai naatala
four sibling(s)

Because the predicate in the previous example above is marked for plurality with the prefix *de-* the actors partaking in the action would be considered plural without collective marking; collectivity, then, gives extra information about how the actors partook of the action, in this case "living" or "inhabiting", which is thought of as a collective or associational act; this is the third collective suffix in the word:

(2.7) naatalala
na-la=tala-la
small-COL=RECIP(COL)-COL
"siblings" or
"a collective made up of those who were collectively small amongst each other"

In such cases, when collective marking occurs as part of a more highly conventionalized combination of form and meaning, a question arises regarding the productivity of the individual parts of a word like *naatala*. The conventionalized definition above is "siblings" but another definition could make each of the components explicit, as in the second definition above. I will suggest that the solution lies somewhere between these two definitional approaches. I will not spend more time on this topic here, but questions of the frequency of certain morphological combinations to refer to collective human groups will come up again in the discussion of collectivized ethnonyms in the following chapter.

As the terms for referring to men and women above demonstrate, terms for kinship relations are also saturated with social meaning – as seen in the analysis of the word *naatala* which does not just imply biological siblinghood but relates to the social process of growing up together. I will address in further detail below more kinds of social information that is encoded in different referential strategies applied to human groups. For the present discussion of collectivity, however, it should be kept in mind that because collectivity is largely limited to human referents by the animacy hierarchy, the words that form the morphological anchor for the collective suffix tend to be rich with such kinds of social meaning.

In addition to humans, the other highly animate beings commonly referred to in Cha'palaa discourse are different kinds of forest entities sometimes known as *ujmu* ("spirit"), *dyabulu* ("devil," from the Spanish *diablo*), *bu'chulla* ("mountain dweller"), etc. Like humans, these beings are capable of some level of social relationship and coopertative activity, and can be referenced as collectives. For example, in the interview excerpt below, Yambu describes the Chachi practice of giving offerings to the spirits of the dead, marking these spirits with collective morphology. The Chachi were in sporadic contact with Spanish colonial society, in the time of their migration out of the highlands, and they have adapted their own versions of the major Christian holidays including Christmas, Holy Week and All Souls Day, during some of which offerings to the dead are mandated by traditional Chachi law. These celebrations take place at an area known as *pebulu* (from the Spanish for "town"), a ceremonial center where Chachis from the surrounding area congregate according to the ritual calendar (see DeBoer 1995). Before the grade schools were built and towns sprung up around them, the Chachis lived in isolated homesteads, and so congregation at the ceremonial center was a major space to faciliate greater cohesion among dispersed people. The centers include a large ceremonial house, a chapel, and the cemetery. Some events call for *fandangu*, a Spanish word of possible African origin adapted to refer to Chachi celebrations featuring marimba music – an instrument also probably of African origin.

Figure 1. Ceremonial house; a Chachi village is visible in the distance.

A key part of some of the different *fandangu* celebrations includes an offering of food to the dead, when the living leave plates of food and drink on the graves in the cemetery adjoining the ceremonial house. When Yambu described this practice he used the collective suffix in combination with the noun *ujmu*, or "spirit" and the nominalized verb *pemu*, "the dead", showing how collectivity can be extended from living humans to spirits (the dative case marking that the offerings are "for the spirits"):

(2.8)

Y: Pe-ya-de-i-shu juntsa paate=bain, timbunu-ya **ujmu-la-**chi
die-REFL-PL-become-IRR DM.DIST part=also time-FOC **spirit-COL**-DAT
For the ones that are dead too, in the old times, for **the spirits**,

ufeeda ke-'=bain ba'ki-tyu-de-e-ña **ruku-la**,
offering do-SR=also divide-NEG-PL-become-DR(?) **man-COL**
making offerings also, very carefully (?) **the men**,

ufeeda ke-tu pure' ke-ke-la **pe-mu-la-**chi.
offering do-SR many do-do-COL **die-AG.NMLZ-COL**-DAT
making offerings, they make many of them for **the dead**.

SF: Hmm, ujmu-la.
hmm spirit-COL
Hmm, the spirits.

Y: Jeen, **ujmu-la**-chi.
yes **spirit-COL**-DAT
Yes, for **the spirits**.

SF: Ujmu-la-chi.
spirit-COL-DAT
For the spirits.

Y: **Ujmu-la**-chi jee **ujmu-la**-chi ufenda ke-tu,
spirit-COL-DAT yes **spirit-COL**-DAT offering do-SR
For **the spirits**, yes, making offerings for **the spirits**,

juntsa-a lala-' ley juntsa-ya lala-' ley
DM.DST-FOC 1COL-POSS law DM.DIST-FOC 1COL law
that is our law, that is our law.

In this same excerpt Yambu also aplied the collective suffix to human beings (*ruku-la*, "men"), its most canonical usage. The collective suffix is also part of the first person collective pronoun *lala* seen in the last line above – pronouns will be addressed in depth in a later chapter. For now I will only point out how collectivity in this example is being applied to different groups and how these different collective groups having specific relationships between them: in the afterlife living Chachis like the collectivized "men" become collectivized "spirits" or "dead," and the proper relationship between these two collectivities is governed by "our (collective) law," the special properties of the pronoun linking these collectivities to Yambu himself as the speaker and then extending to all Chachis as a group ("our law" being "Chachi law"). As I will describe later, it is the pronominal alignment with the different collectivized animate nominal referents that ties the semantics of the linguistic forms used for social categorization to the social actors participating in specific speech events, for example, locating them as sharing in socio-cultural institutions like traditional Chachi law.

The semantic connection between collectivizing living humans and collectivizing their spirits after death is not difficult to see – when Chachis describe visions of the afterlife they describe the deceased as living in intact families and communities in similar kinds of collective configurations as seen among the living. But the Chachi universe is populated by a great many spirits and monsters, some quite inhuman. Cha'palaa grammar also treats such creatures as animate and collectivizable, as seen in the following example:

(2.9) Matyu ma akawan-ki-tyu-n=mala ya-la
so again finish-do-NEG-NMLZ=when 3-COL
So then if they don't finish they

mish daa-ka-na-a tsa-n-ke-n-de-tsu-ba, aa matyu **diabulu-la**.
Head cut-grab-INF-FOC SEM-NMLZ-do-PROG-COND ah so **devil-COL**
will cut off (his) head, that is what they are doing, ah, **the devils**.

From the Spanish *diablo* ("devil"), the Cha'palaa term *dyabulu* refers to a class of forest demons that are dangerous to humans, although they share in many of the same social behaviors of humans such as speech and the capacity for intentional, collective action.

The application of the collective suffix can also be seen as a derivational process as well, as it often combines with other elements to form complex nouns out of multiple morphemes. The name of another kind of forest demon is derived in this way, creatures known as *pe'putyula* or "(ones) without asses." Often the forest creatures Chachi people talk about feature altered physiology, like the brain-eating *fayu ujmu*, with a beak instead of a mouth, or the *chu'pa ujmu*, with an extremely large, single breast. These strange beings, the ones without asses, are also said to have existed in the early times of Tutsa', the lost Chachi homeland mentioned by Yambu, above. A full analysis of their name can parse five separate morphemes:

(2.10)	pe	-	juru	-	pu	-tyu	-la
	excrement		hole		be.in/on	-NEG	-COL

Some of the properties of phonological reduction in Cha'palaa were touched on above. In this example another principle of reduction is at work. The word *pejuru* (ass) is a compound of "excrement" and "hole." Words in Cha'palaa can sometimes drop one or more syllables starting at the right edge, but in some cases the deleted material leaves a glottal stop as a kind of phonological residue left by the reductive process. In this way, the compound *pejuru* reduces to *pe'*. This form is then further combined with a negated verb root, and the entire combination is derived as a collective nominal. A conventional

combination for referring to this particular kind of animate creature, it is again difficult to negotiate conventionality and productivity here. This example from an account of the times the Chachi lived in Tutsa' shows some instances of reference to *pe'putyula* in discourse:

(2.11)

S: Uma-a **pe-juu-pu-tyu-la-'**[12] ju-n-ka ji-maas (?)
now-FOC **excrement-hole-be.in/on-NEG-COL** DM.DST-NMLZ-LOC3 go-PFTV(?)
Now (they) went to the place of **the (ones) without asses**.

SA: Yaa.
Okay.

S: **Pe'-pu-tyu-la-'** ju-n-ka.
ass-be.in/on-NEG-COL-POSS DM.DST-NMLZ-LOC3
The place of **the (ones) without asses**.

SA: Mm, yaa.
Mm, okay.

S: **Pe'-pu-tyu-la-'** ju-n-ka ji-la-a.
ass-be.in/on-NEG-COL-POSS DM.DST-NMLZ-LOC3 go-COL-FOC
They went to the place of **the (ones) without asses**.

[12] This example shows different degrees of phonological reduction in different tokens from the same speaker. The first mention has undergone consonant deletion (*juru* > *juu*) but subsequent mentions show greater reduction, as *juru* is totally replaced by a glottal stop. The use of a more transparent term in the first mention has to do with information structure and a kind of long-range anaphora among discourse referents, allowing later mentions to be more opaque once common knowledge has been established.

Pe'-pu-tyu-la-' ju-n-ka ji-mi menen ju-n-bi=bain
ass-be.in/on-NEG-COL-POSS DM.DST-LOC3 go-PFTV again DM.DST-LOC4=also
To the place of **the (ones) without asses** they had gone, to there also again.

In addition to forming part of the derived nominals in this example, the collective suffix *-la* is also used for collectivizing a verb: *ji-la* (go-COL). The collective marker is able to act as finite verb morphology, coding collectivity on the verb – a collective action – versus on the noun – a collective actor. Verbal collectivity is the topic of the following section, but before moving on I want to describe one final property of collective marking in Cha'palaa that adds another dimension the properties of collectivity in the language.

In some languages there is a property that has been called the "associative plural," meaning that the pluralized referent cannot be applied to all members of a group but rather the group is defined by some kind of association with the nominal referent (see Corbett 2000, Moravcsik 2003). For example, a group might be refered to with a proper name (like "John") in combination with plural morphology ("Johns") not to refer to multiple clones of that person, but rather refering to a group that is associated with the person. In Cha'palaa this property is best referred to as the "associative collective" as it uses collective marking, not plural marking. In this discussion I have been showing ways in which collectivity in Cha'palaa is based on associativity, so it makes sense that collective marking rather than plural marking would be used for this particular kind of associativity in the language. In addition, plurality is only marked with verbal morphology, while collectivity can be marked on nouns as well as verbs (the next section will further expand on this distinction). In the examples below, the proper noun *Umberto* occurs with a collective suffix to refer to a man named Umberto and his companions:

(2.12a) Kuwan=mitya ma-ja-n i-n-de-tsu **Unbertu-la**.
down.river=towards again-come-NMLZ become-NMLZ-PL-PROG **Umberto-COL**
They are coming downriver, **Umberto and company**.

(2.12b) Ai mi'ki-mu-la ma-ja-n i-n-de-tsu
fish seek-AG.NMLZ-COL again-come-NMLZ become-NMLZ-PL-PROG
The ones that have gone fishing are coming back,

Unbertu-la tyunchilaa-chi.
Umberto-COL pole-with
Umberto and company with poles.

The associative principal can be applied to other forms of reference beyond proper names, as in the following example where the group being referenced is the family of a man refered to by a complex construction involving a diminutive, a nickname ("dog leg") and a deceased referent marker that is obligatorily applied to any referent who is no longer living. When this construction is collectivized in the second line, below, it refers to "deceased little Dog Leg and company".

(2.13) Bueno, juntsa familia-ya entsa nejtun,
Well MD.DST SP:family-LOC DM.PRX well
Well, that family, here, well,

kaa=kucha enbu=milla-la-a, juntsa ura,
DIM=dog leg=DEC.REF-COL-FOC DM.DST good
deceased little "Dog Leg" and company, that, well,

tisee, Perdumitu' ya' kaa=apa=milla-la-a
so Perdomito-POSS 3-POSS DIM=father=DEC.R-COL-FOC
so, Pedromito's little deceased parents

ura chu-mu-de-e.
good sit-AG.NMLZ-PL-become
lived well.

In addition to human referents, in Cha'palaa associative reference can be made with the names of places as well. In this example from an interview regarding a land dispute between a Chachi community and a Black community – an issue that will be taken up in Chapter 7 – the speaker applies collective marking to the name of the town where the Blacks live. Since collective marking is limited to animate beings, the interpretation is "the people associated with the town of Juan Montalvo".

(2.14) Ajke-sha kayu ne de-ku-daa-wi'-ba,
in.front-LOC1 more just PL-give-cut-enter-with
Later on if they cut further into (Chachi territory)

firu' ajke-sha chu-kee-nu-u-ñu=bain mi'kee-tyu-we peechulla-la-ba,
ugly in.fron-LOC1 sit-see-INF-be-EV.INF=also seek-NEG-DSJ Black-COL-with
it is uncertain if we are going to live with problems with the blacks

besindaa ju-de-e-wa-shu-juntsa, **Juan Montalbu-la-**ba-ya.
SP:neighborhood be-PL-become-PFTV-IRR-DM.DST **Juan Montalvo-COL**-with-FOC
the ones we are neighbors with, **the people of Juan Montalvo**.

These examples of associative reference help to further illustrate why it is important to distinguish between associativity and plurality in Cha'palaa in the noun phrase. The following section will continue with a discussion of the distinction between these two values in the verb phrase.

Summary

In Cha'palaa there are different ways of referring to groups with multiple entities. For inanimate objects the main way to do so is to quantify a noun with a number or a word like "many." For animate beings there is an additional way for referring to multiple entities by characterizing them as collectives with a collective suffix, which is restricted to animate referents, especially humans and human-like beings. Collective terms differ from plurals in that plurals are primarily distributional while collectives are associational. Like plurals, collectives imply groups of multiple entities, but beyond this, they signal some kind of association among the members of the group. This is the principle behind the animacy hierarchy reflected in collective marking, because only living animate human-like beings have associative properties. Examples demonstrated how collective marking applies to a different animate referents in different instances of discourse, including its use for associative reference based on proper names and place names (what has been called "associative plural" in other languages). The associative properties of Cha'palaa collective marking make it more significant for a study of social categorization than plurality, which constitutes groups distributionally. In languages like English, both collectivity and plurality are conflated in a single plural marker, but Cha'palaa separates these two values allowing for an analysis of explicit collective marking where in English collectivity must be implied or marked periphrastically.

2.3 Collectivity in predicates

Before continuing with my account of how collective marking is applied to social categories, a more comprehensive description of the Cha'palaa collective suffix *-la* must also point out that collectivity does not just apply to the noun phrase, but that collective morphology also forms finite predicates in the verb phrase. As a highly derivational language with overlap among most of the major word classes, morphological options are often very fluid and, rather than requiring any system of rigid number agreement, marking of number on the verb phrase – either plurality or collectivity – is not obligatory

when number is marked on the actor or when it can be inferred from context. In the following example collectivity is marked with the pronoun, but there is no number marking on the verb:

(2.15) Lala=ren **mee-mi-ya** ya-nu tsaa ka-' jui-ke-'
1COL=EMPH **hear-PTCP**-FOC 3-ACC SEM get-SR pull-do-SR
We heard how (someone) grabbed and pulled

ne-mishu-nu aa-ne-mishu-nu
foot-finger-ACC AUG-foot-finger-ACC
his toe, his big toe.

When there is not an overt reference to a collective noun, collectivity can instead be marked on the verb with the same suffix used for nouns (*-la*). This characterizes the predicate as collective, meaning that one or a few members of the group can partake in the action in place of the whole group – a different but related kind of collectivity as that seen in nominal collectivity, described in the previous section. The following excerpt is a continuation of the story of the "(ones) without asses" and shows two collective predicates as well as a plural predicate.

(2.16) Mati de=tapau ki' **juu-ki-la** piyaa- aa=piyama
so COMPL-SP:steamed.plaintain do-SR **hole-do-COL** pot- AUG=pot
So they made "tapado" (steamed plantain) and **opened** the po- the big pot,

tsaa yai-che-e ne niwijcha ne **kush-ja-de-i-we**
SEM 3COL-DAT-FOC just cloud just **drink-come-PL-become-DSJ**
but there were just clouds that **they came to drink.**

niwijcha ne kujcha-de-e-mitya tsaa de-fi-' **tyai-ki-la-**n tsaa
cloud just drink-PL-be-because SEM COMPL-eat-SR **finish-do-COL**-NMLZ SEM
since they were just eating clouds, after they ate, **finishing up** like that.

The Cha'palaa predicate system is very complex and I cannot give a detailed account here.[13] To briefly characterize the system: Cha'palaa only has a limited number of true verbs that can take finite verb morphology, so that most predicates consist of one of these verbs, carrying the finite morphology at the right, and one or more additional elements to the left that contribute to the semantics of the complex predicate but that are not technically verbs.[14] For example, in the first predicate above, the elements *juru* (hole), reduced to *juu*, and *ki* (do) combine for the meaning "to open." In this case, the opening of the cookpot was probably done by only one or a few of the assless creatures, but the storyteller casts the activity of cooking the *tapau* (steamed plantains with meat) and opening the pot as a collective action. When they opened the pot, however, they only drank up the steam – probably because, in their assless condition, eating solid food might cause them problems. The complex predicate in the second line, above, is marked for plurality (*de-*), implying that each creature came individually to drink up the clouds, rather than a collective act of drinking in which a few members acted for the group. The third complex predicate in the example, in the third line, is also marked for collectivity, implying that here each creature did not individually finish up the steam, but that they collectively did so as a group.

Collective marking on verbs is restricted by a similar kind of animacy hierarchy as that which applies to nouns, so collective predicates will tend to have animate subjects. However, this constraint is flexible and open to semantic stretching, in cases when apparently inanimate objects can be framed as partaking in collective action – as in this example which describes individual coconut palms in a grove as growing up collectively together:

[13] See Dickinson 2002 for a dissertation-length account of Cha'palaa's sister language, Tsafiki.

(2.17) Laa-che-e-ba naa in, challa ma **awa-la,**
1COL-DAT-FOC-COM how become-NMLZ now again **grow-COL**
For us, now that (the trees) **have grown up** again,

uu-kera-de-na-shu.
nice-look-PL-come.intoPOS-IRR
they'll look nice.

Cases in which inanimates are characterized as collectives are exceedingly rare, however, and are limited primarily to trees in groves or plants in crops that, at a certain time scale, can be seen as acting somewhat collectively. By contrast, plural marking on predicates with inanimate subjects is common and unconstrained by the animacy hierarchy. This split between collectivity and plurality in relation to animacy is strongly confirmed by elicitation data consisting of the recorded responses of ten different Chachis of different ages and genders to a set of about sixty distinct photographs of things like bottles, balls and cassava roots in different configurations designed for eliciting positional verbs.[15] Stative, positional predicates are among the most common predicate types tending to have inanimate subjects and, as predicted by the animacy hierarchy, of the sixty responses by each of ten participants less than one percent had any collective marking – and these cases largely involved descriptions of trees, which can sometimes be cast as pseudo-animates, as mentioned above. In contrast, nearly half of the responses contained plural marking on the predicate, showing that unlike collectivity, plurality is freely marked in relation to inanimates. The following are some examples of elicitation responses in which participants described the position of different assortments of multiple objects with plural-marked predicates; the first features a general positional verb:

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[14] Similar to what are called "co-verbs" in other languages, including many Australian languages see Schultze-Berndt, 2000.
[15] Thanks to the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics Language and Cognition Group for use of their Positional Verbs elicitation photograph set.

(2.18a) Ju-n-tala=bain chi ejke tape=bain **pure-de-na** nara-na

DM.DST-NMLZ-among=also tree dry leaf=also **many-PL-be.in.POS** pretty-be.in.POS

Around there also **there are many** trees and also dry leaves, it is pretty.

Cha'palaa is very specific about the positions of objects; here the cassava roots are described as "lying" because they are resting on their oblong sides:

(2.18b) Tu jandala taapai kujchu **de-tsu**

earth on.top.of four cassava **PL-lie**

On the ground four cassava roots **are lying**.

Objects that have inherent standing or sitting postures can change their positional verb depending on their oritentation, as here where two different plural predicates describe the different positions of the bottles in the image:

(2.18c) Mesa jandala pen lemeta **de-chu**

table on.top.of three bottle PL-sit

On the table three bottles **are sitting**,

tsen-mala, taapai lemeta tsu-ji' **tsu-de-na**

SEM-then four bottle lie-go-SR lie-PL-be.in.POS

then four bottles, on their sides, **are lying**.

Plural marking can exist alongside different kinds of quantifiers, like here where the "balls" are quantified with the numeral "two" combined with the shape-classifier for spherical objects:

(2.18d) Pishkali-nu sapuka **pai-puka de-pu-ñu-we**,

carry.basket-LOC2 ball **two CL:sphere PL-be.in/on-EV.INF-DSJ**

In the basket there appear to **be two (spherical)** balls,

pishkali juru-sha
carry.basket hole-LOC1
inside the basket.

While plural marking extends to both animate and inanimate subjects, like collective marking it is not obligatory for predicates whose subjects number more than one entity if that information is recoverable pragmatically. For this reason plural marking in Cha'palaa is fundamentally different from rigid number agreement systems seen in languages like English or Spanish. The following set of examples, also responses from the positional verb elicitation set, show how speakers opt not to use overt plural marking on predicates just as much as they opt to use it. Sometimes the multiplicity of objects is signaled with quantifiers like *pure'*, with no number marked on the predicate:

(2.19a) Mulu **pure' tsu-na-we** chipa-nu
bean **many lie-be.in.POS**-DSJ bark.floor-LOC2
Many beans **are lying** on the bark floor.

(2.19b) Sapuka mesa-nu **pure' tsu-na-we.**
ball table-LOC2 **many lie-be.in.POS-DSJ**
Many balls **are lying** on the table.

At other times numerals can be used to quantify objects, often with shape-based numeral classifiers, again with no number marked on the predicate:

(2.19c) Kujchu tu-sha **pen-papa tsu-we**
cassava earth-LOC1 **three-CL:oblong lie-DSJ**
Three (oblong) cassava roots **are lying** on the ground.

(2.19d) Pishkai juru-sha sapuka **pai-puka** **pu-we**.

carry.basket hole-LOC1 ball **two-CL:sphere be.in/on-DSJ**

Inside the basket **there are two (spherical)** balls.

Unlike a rigid number agreement system, in which plural arguments must agree with plural marking on verbs (and sometimes elsewhere, such as on adjectives or articles), the Cha'palaa numbers sytem is more fluid in that speakers can opt to mark plurality, collectivity, both or neither. With the option of marking collectivity on both verbs and nouns as well as plurality on verbs, Cha'palaa is able to make a number of fine semantic distinctions about groups of multiple entities and their actions. The following elicited examples show some of the possibilities, using a complex two-part predicate with the verb *chu* and its verb classifier *na,* classifying the predicate as a stative positional. If no collective or plural marking is present – and in the absense of any other implicatures of number – predicates are seen as having a single default actor:

(2.20a) Ya-sha **chu-na-we**.

house-LOC3 **sit-be.in.POS**

He/she **sits/lives** in the house.

If a nominal actor argument is collective, the predicate can be unmarked for number and still involve mutliple actors:

(2.20b) Ruku-la ya-sha **chu-na-we**.

Man-COL house-LOC3 **live-be.in.POS-DSJ**

The men **are sitiing** in the house.

When there is no nominal argument number can be marked on the predicate[16] with the plural prefix *de-*.

(2.20c) Ya-sha **chu-de-na-we.**

house-LOC3 **sit-PL-be.in.POS-DSJ**

(They) **are sitting** in the house (each on their own).

The involvement of mutliple actors can also be conveyed in a predicate through collective marking – which unlike nominal collective marking, constitutes a finite predicate. In contrast with the plural-marked example above, which implies that people were sitting distributed throughout the house, the collective-marked example below implies that the the people in the house were sitting together in a group.

(2.20d) Ya-sha **chu-na-la.**

house-LOC3 **sit-be.in.POS-COL**

(They) **are sitting** in the house (together in a group).

While rare, it is possible to mark both plurality and collectivity on a predicate, if a speaker is highlighting both distribution and association among actors.

(2.20e) Ya-sha **chu-de-na-la**.

house-LOC3 **sit-PL-be.in.POS-COL**

(They) **are sitting** in the house (together in groups).

This excerpt from a story shows an instance of collective and plural marking on a single verb root in natural discourse:

(2.21) Ñu salva i-i-nu palaa ju **de-ti-la.**

2 save become-become-INF word be **PL-say-COL**

"You can save it," those words **they said** (individually but together)

[16] There is no person marking on predicates in Cha'palaa, only number marking.

While it is possible to mark both collective and plural on a single predicate, it is more common for speakers to alternate between these two strategies for characterizing the actors. The following example shows a typical range of different kinds of collective and plural marking in discourse. Accross the discourse these values help to organize and track multi-entity referents and to characterize them semantically:

(2.22) Ya-’ mati **ben-supu-la**-a tsaa **remediu ki-mu-la**
3-POSS so **front-female-COL**-FOC SEM remedy do-AG.NMLZ-COL
His **lovers** were **ones who made remedies**,

mati ne ya-’ **ruku-la-**nu man**-throw.out-ki-la** tsen ya-nu=tene
so just 3-POSS **man-COL**-ACC **again-throw.out-do-COL** SEM 3-ACC=LIM
so they just again **got rid of (collectively)** their **husbands** and were just for him

naa ju-la-ba ya-nu=tene ma-**mitya** **di-n-de-tsu**
how be-COL-COM 3-ACC=LIM again**-lean.on come.into.POS-NMLZ-PL-PROG**
however they were, they **began to approach (each individually)** only him.

This story tells of a man with superhuman power who is the referent of the third person pronoun in the first line, above. This pronoun forms a possessive noun phrase (his lovers) with the collective term *bensupula* (lovers), and then equates it with a second collective noun phrase *remediu kimula* (remedy-makers) in a zero-copula construction. This collective referent (his lovers = remedy-makers) is co-referential with the third person pronoun in the second line, which in turn is part of its own possessive noun phrase with the collective term *rukula* (men), that when possessed has a conventionalized meaning as “husbands”. This possessive noun phrase (their husbands) is then the object of the collective predicate *mankepukila* (get rid of - collectively), which corresponds to the subject *ya’ bensupula* (his lovers). This same subject then holds for the two predicates in the third line, the first the collective expression *naa julaaba* (however they were) and then the pluralized predicate *mitya dindetsu* (be approaching – each individually) – the

object of this last predicate being once again the man with superhuman power, who is referenced by the last two pronouns in lines two and three. It is a little difficult to keep track of these relationships; this diagram will help sort them out (S = subject, O = object, Pr = predicate, NP/VP = verb/noun phrase, 3 = third person, X = anaphoric referent):

S = NP [his (3 = man X) lovers (collective) = remedy-makers (collective)]
O1= NP [their (3 = S) husbands (collective)]
Pr= VP [get rid of (collectively) = S to O1]
O2= NP [him (3 = man X)]
Pr= VP [however they are (collectively)], [approach (each individually) = S to O2]

Cha'palaa is a language that relies heavily on discourse structure for disambiguation of arguments, since there are no person markers and no obligatory overt subjects. In the absence of overt marking, referent tracking through discourse in Cha'palaa relies on anaphoric relationships and discourse structures linking pronouns to other nominal referents and to predicates arguments, with the assistence of a switch-refence system. Characterizing referents as singular or multiple entities in different ways, as described above, is another aspect of tracking these individual entities or groups through syntax and discourse, and as such it is a central part of Cha'palaa grammar.

With my descriptive account of collective and plural marking in Cha'palaa I am painting a picture of discourse structure that represents how different nominal and verbal constituents relate to each other to characterize and organize multi-entity referents, because at a basic level this is the core of how social categorization is achieved in discourse. The final example in this section provides the first step towards understanding how collective nominal terms refering to social categories are used together with collective and plural predicates; this topic will be taken up at length in the next chapter.

In the following excerpt from an account of the early history of the Chachis during the time of the Spanish invasion, Guillermo, the speaker, uses the collectivized

terms *chachilla* (Chachis) and *españolla* (Spanish), along with several different collective and plural predicates to describe some of the earliest-known events in Chachi oral history. The Chachis first lived "up to Quito", using what I call an "endpoint locative" construction to refer to the area between the speaker and Quito, passing through the highland city of Ibarra and the historical Chachi town of Tutsa'. As Guillermo puts it, since the Chachis did not want to be enslaved by the Spanish they retreated, first from Quito to Ibarra, and then over the western range of the Andes and down into the tropical cloudforests at Tutsa':

(2.23) Uma ajke' **ja-la-ya**
now in.front **come-COL-FOC**
Now how (the Chachis) **came at first**,

Tutsa'-sha chu-ta-a de-ja-n-tyu-ka?
Tutsa'-LOC1 sit-SR-FOC PL-come-NMLZ-NEG-DUB
they came having lived in Tutsa', right?

Ura ajke' komiensu ma ke-ke-n=mala-ya, vivieron Ibara-nu
good front SP:start again do-do-NMLZ=when-FOC SP:they.lived Ibarra-LOC2
Good, if we are starting from the beginning, they lived in Ibarra.

Primero **chachi-lla** ajke' chu-la-ya,
first **Chachi-COL** in.front sit-COL-FOC
First **the Chachis** before lived,

Quitu-bi-ee chu-mu-de-e tisama, Quitu-bi tsen=mala
Quito-LOC4-FOC sit-AG.NMLZ-PL-become well(?) Quito-LOC4 SEM=when
they were inhabitants up to Quito, up to Quito, and then

allí se llegaron los españoles,
SP:then SP:3REF SP:arrived SP:the SP:Spanish
then the Spanish arrived,

tsen=mala **español-la** de-ja-n=mala-a
SEM=when **Spanish-COL** PL-come-NMLZ=when-FOC
and then when **the Spanish** arrived

umaa **chachi-lla-**a tsaa esclavo de-mu-tya'-tyu'=mitya..
now-FOC **Chachi-COL**-FOC SEM SP:slave COMP-want-feel-NEG=becasue
since **the Chachis** did not want to be slaves (they fled).

The predicates from the fourth and fifth lines of the excerpt above are a good example of different ways that the possibilities of Cha'palaa's predicate system can refer to activities of collective, animate actors. Here the *chachilla* (Chachi-COL) is the subject of, first, a collective predicate *chula* (sit-COL) and then a plural predicate, involving the same verb root *chu* (sit/live) but in a nominalized form (sit-AG.NMLZ-PL-become).

(2.24a) Primero **chachi-lla** ajke' **chu-la**-ya . . .
first **Chachi-COL** in.front **sit-COL**-FOC
First **the Chachis** before **lived** (collectively) . . .

(2.24b) Quitu-bi-ee **chu-mu-de-e.**
Quito-LOC4-FOC **sit-AG.NMLZ-PL-become**
they were inhabitants up to Quito (in distributed settlements).

The first construction above characterizes the Chachis as living collectively in this early phase of their history, while the second construction has a more distributional reading, probably referring to the traditionally dispersed Chachi settlement pattern. Cha'palaa's range of options for creating cohesion among constituents about the number

of referents and actors involved in discourse has more play (following Sherzer 2002) than a number agreement system. When the Chachis transmit knowledge about the history of social groups, as in the example above, this is the range of expressive grammatical resources available to Cha'palaa speakers to be deployed in discourse. Chachi accounts of how their ancestors refused to be enslaved by the Spanish and instead fled the Andes into the forest to live autonomously are considered by Chachi people to convey important knowledge about their collective history; in my field research, people living in many different parts of Chachi territory cited similar accounts when we discussed the history of the social groups in the area. The next chapter will look specifically at how the resources provided by Chachi discourse forms are applied to making reference to social categories.

Summary

Beyond simply endeavoring to provide a more well-rounded description of the uses of collective marking in Cha'palaa, the purpose of the discussion above is to illustrate how, unlike in languages with rigid, obligatory number agreement systems (in which nouns agree for number on verbs, adjectives, articles, etc.), in Cha'palaa much of the expressive resources for describing the composition and actions of groups of more than one entity are much more optional and fluid. Verbs can express collectivity, plurality, both or neither, depending on what information is available pragmatically and what emphasis the speaker chooses to make. When collectivity or plurality *are* expressed, then, it is not simply triggered by grammatical number agreement, but rather is a choice that speakers make about how to convey meaning regarding the referents being discussed. Collectivity is limited to animate referents, reflecting the animacy hierarchy discussed above, and implies some kind of associational state in which members of a group act together, while plurality can be marked for both animates and inanimates and implies a distributional state or activity in which members of a group participate individually. The importance of discussing the fluidity of number marking in Cha'palaa for the larger discussion of social categorization in this dissertation is that, when Chachis refer to their own and other social groups in discourse, the grammatical dimensions summarized in the previous sections structure the discursive possibilities that are available for the task. The next chapter will show how those strategies are used in combination with Cha'palaa ethnonyms, as a special set of words used for referring to social groups.

Chapter 3: Ethnonyms and group reference

3.1 Ethnonyms in history: Chachilla and uyala

The previous chapter dealt with collectivity in Cha'palaa. When collective marking is used in discourse, it is most frequently found with words that reference humans and other animate beings. As an important subset of referential words for human groups, ethnonyms are among the most common words in the language to occur with collective morphology. Reference to human groups presents a complicated problem for analysis, because words for human groups cannot correspond to discrete physical human classes, but rather are part of more flexible semiotic systems (Agha 2007, pp268-271). But in another sense, ethnonyms themselves delimit social groups when used in reference, and if individuals can be included referentially in more than one term this is simply the linguistic dimension of intersectionality, as it has been in discussed in critical social theory by Black feminist scholars (Crenshaw 1991, Collins 1990). From the discourse-centered approach I am taking here, social categorization is articulated in specific moments of reference. From a grammatical point of view, ethnonyms are the heads of noun phrases used for reference to social groups. As they have been described by Allport from the perspective of social psychology, they are "nouns that cut slices" (1954, p178) into the social world, abstracting past heterogeneities in order to more conveniently cluster individuals. But rather than addressing whether or not social categorization arises from basic human practices of classification at a level that is seperate from those categories' incorporation into social inequalities, as Allport does (perhaps with some cause), I am concerned with these categories as a social reality situated in specific human histories.

This chapter will describe the set of ethnonyms in Cha'palaa in terms of linguistic form and usage, and use that analysis to situate ethnonyms within Chachi history. For

speakers of Cha'palaa to take part in broader formations of race shared among postcolonial spaces and indigenous and Afro-descendant societies around Latin America, they must participate in the circulation of discourses beyond their immediate environment, but they necessarily draw on their own local resources as a means of articulation on the ground. The locally-available terms are, in turn, embedded in the local history in ways that mediate lived experience through cultural and linguistic lenses. Evidence both in the linguistic forms and the oral histories of the Chachi provide windows into the history of social categorization, and how it shapes current articulations.

As an entry into this discussion, I will first engage with an account of Chachi oral history about their historical encounters with another group of people, known as *uyala*, or *indios bravos* (warlike Indians). Traditional stories are the best documented genre of Cha'palaa discourse, with several published compilations (Añapa Cimarron 2003, Vittadello 1988, Mitlewski 1989, etc.) all of which mention the *uyala*. The battles between the *uyala* and the Chachi are part of the historical tradition shared widely by Chachis throughout the province of Esmeraldas, and as such are central to the Chachi imaginary of their history as a social group. The *uyala* are a kind of inverse version of the Chachi, as evidenced by their inhuman cannibalistic ways. The contrast between these two social groups as discourse referents is set by Guillermo in the first lines of the story presented below, and it then maintains throughout the discourse.

Figure 2. Wilfrido (left) and Guillermo (right) tell the story of the shamanic spear.

In this recording two young men, Guillermo and Wilfrido, took turns telling parts of this story of the Chachis' wars with the *uyala* while several neighbors listened in. We agreed to record the story because Guillermo and Wilfrido had told me part of it during an earlier conversation and I asked them if we could make a video of the full story.

G: Ya, timbunu yan **uyaala chachi** fifikemu **chachilla uyalala**ba.
Okay, long ago the wild **foreigners** would eat **Chachis**, **Chachis** with **foreigners**.

Chachilla jayu bulu ne chunamuwa deju enku tusha,
Few **Chachis** lived close by one another, around here on the land,

baka' baka' ne chunamu deju fafain ne chunamudeju **chachilla uyala**chi.
each lived separately, and living (thus) **the Chachis** got eaten by **the foreigners**.

Tsainduren ma malu pai pannala pekenu dejila
So it was like that, and one day two young women went to relieve themselves,

pekenu jila jeebaasha,
they went to relieve themselves into the forest,

timbunu na'baasa pe ne kekemudeju'mitya
since back then they used to go relieve themselves wherever,

tsai' dejiñaa umaa uyalala juntsa pai pannalanu
going like that, now the foreigners, those two girls

ka' mijiilaaka pai pannalanu,
they grabbed them and took them, the two girls,

ka' mijideitu umaya finu deke'mitya, juntsa pai pannalanu
they captured them because they intended to eat them, the two girls,

mainnaa ajkee taawasha dekekaaña,
one of them they put to work first,

ma pannanu narake deteepu' chujña kadenachi miijutyu **uyalala**.
and the other they left bound with chain so she wouldn’t escape **the foreigners**.

Tsen ma pannanaa taawasha kekaanu ti' ka'jimi,
So one girl they put to work, they took her and went

pishuaa de iikaaña yala' yasha.
to grind corn, at their house.

In the first line of this excerpt describing how two young Chachi women were abducted by the Uyala, Guillermo, the storyteller, uses the ethnonyms *Chachi*, an autonym for Cha'palaa speakers, and *uyala*, an exonym that I translate as "foreigners." What the "Uyala" may have called themselves is unknown, but they may have been the people known in historical documents as "Malaba;" in the 16th century Spanish colonial records mention the Chachi seeking assistance against Malaba attacks at the mission post at Lita (DeBoer 1995). In the transcriptions I translate the term *uyala* more broadly as "foreigner" rather than following the usual Spanish translation *indios bravos (*"warlike Indians") due to changes in its recent usage that I will describe in detail below. In terms of the analysis in the previous chapter where I pointed out that collective and plural marking is optional in Cha'palaa, here the two ethnonyms are unmarked for number initially. This results in ambiguity with respect to whether individuals or groups are being referred to. However, the speaker provided disambigutation immediately, with the same ethnonyms in collectivized form. This example shows the line from above in greater detail:

(3.1) Timbu-nu yan **uyala** **chachi** fi-fi-ke-mu,
Time-LOC1 fierce foreigner person eat-eat-do-AG.NMLZ
Long ago the fierce **foreigners** would eat **Chachis,**

chachi-lla **uyala-la-**ba.
person-COL foreigner-COL-COM
the Chachis with **the foreigners**.

As the narrative continues, these two collectivized ethnonyms become two of the main referents that are tracked accross clauses in the story. Collectivized ethnonyms have a broad semantic range, from specific groups of enumerated individuals to broad sectors of the population in general, and these multiple meanings vary even through short stretches of discourse, like in these excerpts from a traditional story. They interract with other referents and sometimes share overlapping kinds of co-reference, as with the phrase

lala' aa apala ("our grandparents"), below, which overlaps with one meaning of *chachilla* that appears in the story, one that refers to the Chachis of several generations past. This phrase also contrasts with the term *uyala*, as seen below, in a similar way as the autonym *chachilla*. In the following excerpt the narrators continue the story, the foreigners have already eaten one of the Chachi girls, but the Chachi shamans are now making efforts to assist the second girl. They use their powers to give her the idea to escape while helping her to make the foreigners fall asleep:

G: Tsaiñu bene **lala' aa apala** yaibain miruku de'mitya
So then, since **our grandparents** are also shamans,

majanki kentsula juntsanuya,
they were making efforts for her to return,

nejtaa asu ma ratu pensajutyuba, jei pensa chujanmalan
so when one moment she was not thinking of it, and then that thought came

juntsa pensa imudeenka lalanu wera' dekiñaa tsainujtu deetyuka.
when we come to have that thought, when another person makes us, that's what happens.

Asu juntsa panna tsanketu dekatsu' piyaimaa timudeesh
Now that girl, doing that, had made them all fall asleep, they say,

juntsa **uyalala** tsanke' fiesta ke' chaya deintyuka
the **foreigners** had a party and had been at it until dawn,

tsenmalaa juntsa dekaswaatu dus mayanbu' maanu kentsumi.
so once they had been put to sleep she was made ready to escape.

While escaping, the Chachi girl noticed a spear of the *uyalala* hanging there. The Chachi shamans gave her the idea to take the spear with her – it was a magic spear that was able to speak and reveal secret information. Below it is described as *aa=uyala-la-chi tsuta* (AUG=foreigner-COL-POSS spear), incorporating the collectivized ethnonym into the descriptive phrase. The girl was able to escape with the spear:

Main tsuta timbu**, aa uyalalachi tsuta** main juwaa detiña.
A spear, in that time, there was **a big spear of the foreigners**, they say.

Kai'sha yanamaa peredin ma yanamuaa detiña juntsa
They kept it hanging above, making noise, hanging up they say, that one.

Tsenñu juntsa shinbu, tsanke mirukulabain,
So that woman, with the shamans also doing like that,

keepumula tsanke jankindekenmala **chachi**bain tsai jitu indyuka.
giving her that idea, it seems that the **Chachi** (woman) also did as (they wanted).

Juntsa tsuta daachiti daachitiren juntsa tsaa.
She pulled and pulled at that spear, that one.

In the excerpt above the word *chachi* is used to refer to the individual Chachi girl, giving one example of the semantic range of this autonym, a topic that will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. Like many indigenous peoples whose **autonyms overlap with the general word for human beings**, the sense of specific uses is highly dependent on the immediately surrounding discourse structure as well as on the broader social knowledge of interacting speakers. In the excerpt below, continuing the story from above, a switch-reference clause in the third line signals the re-introduction of the collectivized group *chachilla* (Chachi-COL), which in this case refers to the Chachis who were back in the town when the girl arrived carrying the spear. Here its meaning stretches

between the idea of a general social group *chachilla* and the specific group of Chachis who are part of the story.

Once the *uyala* awakened they followed the girl, who escaped by riding a jaguar sent by the Chachi shamans and then finally arrived back near the other Chachis:

Tsainduren juntsa shinbu junka mati,
So then that woman there,

miñu demankeekamin maali miimaa deti juntsa lansa taju.
she recognized that path and she went alone, they say, holding the spear.

Umaa juntsa lansa ta'ñaa.
Now she was carrying the spear, [switch reference]

Chachilla pake'meemu deeti
and **the Chachis** asked it questions, they say.

tsai' pake'meeta mijamu deeti,
Asking it (the spear) questions in that way they learned, they say,

aamiruku tila **chachilla**bain.
to become great shamans, **the Chachis** also.

Uyaa lansachee aamiruku tila **chachilla**.
With **the spear of the foreigners** they became great shamans, **the Chachis**.

In the last line of the excerpt above a phonoligically reduced form of the word *uyala* is used as a modifier for the word "spear": the "foreigner spear." In Cha'palaa, many ethnonyms have special phonologically reduced forms that are used to modify

other nouns, which is a property that makes the most common ethnonyms cohere as a linguistic class. This property of ethnonyms will be discussed at length below, as it is a key resource for compounding racial ethnonyms with referents for other social categories in Cha'palaa. First, however, I will conclude my discussion of the Chachi conflicts with the *uyala*.

By threatening to burn the spear if it did not reveal its secrets the Chachis forced it to teach them strong magic for use in war. Using this magic they set off to take care of the *uyala* for good. In this conlcuding excerpt notice how the Chachis are not referenced with the ethnonym *chachilla* but rather are established earlier in the discourse and tracked through continued-reference marking combined with plural and collective predicates and several pronouns (non-overt pronouns in parenthesis in the translation, below):

Guerra kenu dejiña nana dewiikeñaa,
(They) went to make war, (they) made a balsa raft,

nananuren tsaa yala timbunu aamiruku de'mityaa tsaa .....
with balsa itself in the old times, as they were great shamans,

maty lancha tirekejdekintyuka naa i jinu ti'bain
(they) could turn them into boat so that they could go

tsamantsakila tsai' pebulusha jimin uyalala'junka jimin ke'
with a great force to the town of the foreigners,

ke' ji ke'ji tsamantsa deki millankaadetsu
attacking and attacking, forcefully doing away with them,

ma kaapebulunu faajimiren mainun larakare'
arriving at one town and leaving only one (person alive).

Mantake' nukaa dechun tinmala ta'malaren yaila mantute' kepu' ji
When (they) had them (captured) they killed them and threw them aside,

mantute' kepu' jiitsu, tsai' ultimusha,
and having killed them and thrown them aside, at the end,

kaashimbu kaarukuban maty na kenu pudejtuu.
there were only old women and old men left, who could not have children

Rukulaban chun nanmala, “Ñuilla tsana'ba pedei” titaa.
When (just) the old men were living, saying “We leave you to die”.

yailanun laakaakemudee uyalalanu millanke tu'nuunuren,
Leaving just them (alive) they did away with the foreigners, killing them.

Tsanke' delaakare' demaataa
Having left them like that, (they) came back,

umaa timbunu yaila uyalalanu detute'maayu ti'mitya
now, long ago, saying that they had come back killing the foreigners.

The story of the Chachi conflict with the *uyala* ends with the Chachis using the stolen spear to exterminate their enemies and it is an important part of how the Chachis remember how they came to populate the rivers of Esmeraldas and live without fear of attack.

On the occasion when Wilfrido and Guillermo first mentioned the story of the wars with the *uyala* to me, we had been talking about the magic objects that the Chachis used to possess. Some stories tell of canoes that could travel long distances

instantaneously and similar kinds of items. The magic spear, they explained, could be sent to kill anyone just by telling it the name of the target. The Chachis could simply tell the spear who they wanted it to kill and then wait at home while the spear went to complete the task alone.

Wilfrido and Guillermo told me that some people believe that the magic items still exist today, but that they are hidden far in the forest where the Chachis can no longer find them. They said that this was for the best because if the location of the magic spear were known today, surely the *gringos* would come looking for it to use it for purposes of war. The ethnonym *gringo* is a Spanish word used in Ecuador and other places in Latin America to refer to white foreigners like myself. As I will discuss in more detail below, in Cha'palaa the word usually used to refer to white foreigners is *uyala*, the same word used to refer to the Chachis' traditional enemies mentioned in their oral history. If the present-day *uyala* were able to find the magic spear it would be almost as if the historical *uyala* had returned from the dead to finally regain their old weapon, perhaps to take revenge on the Chachis at last.

The purpose of discussing these episodes from Chachi oral history of inter-group relations before exploring the use of ethnonyms today has been to point out how Cha'palaa speakers draw on the terms of their historical experience, as understood through their oral history, to make sense of contemporary social relations. When Chachis use the word *uyala* to refer to present day white people, it carries with it a degree of connatative connection to the *uyala* of their oral history. This is one of the major ways that history shapes how Chachi people participate in racial formation more broadly, encountering it through their cultural resources. When friction develops between social groups like the Chachi and the Afro-descendants of Esmeraldas, the oral history can also provide terms in which to understand it.

When Guillermo and Wilfrido first told me about the magic spear the Chachis had stolen from the *uyala*, they had commented that the spear had been hidden away in order

to prevent more wars. They told me that some people say if the Chachis found the spear again they might use it to kill all of the Blacks and *gringos* in order to just live among Chachis. This statement impacted me for its articulation of violence, although it is possible that such things are said less as a real call to violence and more as a pessimistic commentary on the sometimes-poor relations between Chachis and Blacks; I will describe some of these disputes in more detail in Chapter 7. This last excerpt immediately follws the conclusion of the *uyala* story in which Guillermo again speculates about the possibility of war if the spear were ever found again.

G: Tsaaren enumee akawa iiña lala',
So here is the end of our (story)

tsa'mitya juntsa lansa mankata'ba dekeeshujuntsaa
so for that reason if that spear was ever found again

chachilla mawinkenun deju, chachilla mawinkenun deju,
the Chachis would have to fight, the Chachis would have to fight,

juntsa lansachi, porke timbu- timbunu lala' aa apala tsanke'
with that spear, because long- long ago our grandparents did the same,

deeñu'mityaa, diusaparen mas peletu jutyusa tya'ba tyamutaa
and because of that, god himself did not want any more trouble

juntsa lansa mankataatytuutyuka juntsa lansa tsaami challa.
so he hid it so that the spear would never be found; that spear is the same today.

Mankata'ba kishujuntsaa, chaibain tsaren peletu purena'mitya
If it was to be found, then there would really be a lot of trouble,

guerra mafaanu ju chachilla. Aquí se terminó.
the Chachis would go to war again. Here it ends.

The idea of a return to war for the Chachis, armed with the weapons of "our grandparents," the great shamans, is a way of bringing the history of Chachi territorial disputes to bear on the current social tensions around control over land and natural resources. Retellings of the old stories help to bring out these connections, and the stories as instances of discourse show certain patterns of linguistic form. As with the terms *chachilla* and *uyala* used in the story discussed above, the referential terms like ethnonyms that delineate social categories are an important part of how social categories are instantiated in discourse and interaction. To begin to explore these processes, the next section will give a descriptive account of the most common ethnonymic terms used in Cha'palaa.

3.2 The autonym and indigeneity

As mentioned above, the autonym that the Chachis use to refer to themselves is *chachi*, and as in many languages, the word is ambiguous between one specific social group and human beings in general. In the story discussed in the previous section, the more specific meaning of *chachi* predominated, in contrast to another human group, the *uyala*. In contrast, in the following interaction the term is used in relation to a non-human being (a devil) and the relevant contrast is human vs. inhuman, not Chachi vs. non-Chachi. "Who did the devil order to clean the grove?"

The speaker SA a visitor to the speaker S's community where he accompanied me in order to help elicit traditional stories during my pilot research. In this example SA asks S for clarification and S responds by identifying the referent in the story with the single word "chachi":

(3.2)

S: Panda-pala-na-a ajke' daa-wii-kaa-we de-ti, diabulu-
Plantain-grove-COL-ACC-FOC before cut-enter-order-DSJ PL-say devil
He ordered him to clean brush from the plantain grove, they say, the devil-

SA: Mu-nu daa-wii-kaa-tu.
who-ACC cut-enter-order-SR
Who did he order to clean (the grove)?

S: **Chachi-nu**
Chachi-ACC
The Chachi/person.

SA: **Chachi-nu.**
Chachi-ACC
The Chachi/person.

S: **Chachi-nu** tsai daa-wii-kaa-mi . . .
Chachi-ACC SEM cut-enter-order-PFTV
The Chachi/person, he had made him clean it like that.

This conversational sequence shows S offering a referent for regognition by SA, who then confirms that he has succesfuly identified the referent by repeating the phrase, at which point S continues his account. Because ethnonyms like *chachi* have many different kinds of usages and meanings in discourse, their semantics are not easily described in a concise account.

Often in Cha'palaa ethnonyms do not occur as the head of referential noun phrases, but rather as part of morphologically complex modifier phrases. Phonological reduction is very common in the lanaguage, but some of the most common ethnonyms

feature special patterns of reduction that are probably linked to these words' frequent usage in modifier position. Phonogical reduction in Cha'palaa usually leaves some kind of residual evidence that reduction has taken place. In the case of the word *chachi*, the reduced form drops the second syllable and replaces it with a glottal stop: *cha'*. An illustration of this reduction can be observed in the last line of the example below, part of an interview response to a question about how Blacks came to live in the area. The speaker suggested that they came to the area seeking land (*tu*), and then uses the term *cha' tu* to refer to the area as "Chachi land." In this case, *chachi* does not refer to people in general but specifically to Chachis in contrast to Blacks, and to the indigenous peoples' dominion over land, a recurring theme in conflicts between the two groups.

(3.3) Neguee-la pai ruku-n ja-' chu-di-mu,
SP:negro-PL two man-NMLZ come-SR live-come.into.POS-AG.NMLZ
Two *negro* men came to live,

pai familia tsejtu=ren yaila ja-' chu-mi-n
two SP:family SEM=EMPH 3COL come-SR live-PTCP-NMLZ
two families like that, they came to live,

tu taj-de-tu'=mitya ja-' de-chu **cha' tu**-sha ja' de-chu-tu
land have-PL-NEG=RES come-SR PL-live **Chachi land**-LOC1 come-SR PL-live-DR
because they didn't have land, they came to live on **Chachi land**

tsa-de-ti-we yaila-ya . . . ya ki-nu de-ju.
SEM-PL-say-DSJ 3COL-FOC house do-INF PL-be
that is what they say, they would build houses.

The modifier form of *chachi* also combines with other terms for human beings such as gender terms. In this example *chachi* modifies *shimbu-la* (woman-COL) and refers both to the people's status as Chachis and as women:

(3.4) Mati lala-’ supu-la mati **cha’ shimbu-la**
so 1COL-POSS female-COL so **Chachi woman-COL**
So our women, so the **Chachi women** . . .

In my interviews when I asked questions about interracial marriage I often heard complex two-part referential terms where interviewees described scenarios of Chachis with non-Chachi spouses. The following example is one such case in which an interviewee speculated that some Chachi women may marry into Black families if they show signs of affluence, like owning an outboard motor that allows them to travel quickly and not with oars and poles. .

(3.5) Ja-ku Camarun-sha-a
DM.UP-LOC3 TPN:Camarones-LOC1-FOC
There in Camarones

ya anchapa mutur ta-ya
3 father-in-law motor have-FOC
their father-in-law has an outboard motor,

juntsa-i-we ti-' kee-pu-na-a de-na-sha-a-ka
DM.DST-become-DSJ say-SR see-be.in/on-INF-FOC PL-be.in.POS-IRR-FOC-DUB
he is like that, and they watch him.

Jun-ka **cha' supu** miya-la-a.
DM.DST-LOC3 **Chachi female** have-COL-FOC
There they have **Chachi women** (as wives).

The noun phrase *cha’ supu* (Chachi female) above is not marked for number even though it refers to more that one entity, according to the principles described in the

previous chapter. The predicate *miya* (to have – a relative) is marked for collectivity and this allows a collective reading to extend to *cha' supu* as well.

In a later chapter I will discuss Chachi discourse about interracial marriage at length. Here I will continue looking at the word *chachi* in modifier position of noun phrases. As an autonym it can flag many different terms for human beings as belonging to the Chachi class of human beings. It can be used in combination with other ethnonymic modifiers to set up contrasting social groups, such as in the example below where "Chachi children" are contrasted with "*negro* children" (from the Spanish *negro* – the different terms used to refer to Afro-descendants will be discussed below). The following is a partial respone from an interview in which I had asked how well the Chachis get along with their Afro-Ecuadorian neighbors:

(3.6) Juntsaa=tene aaju-de-e-we tse'=mitya
DM.DST=LIM angry-PL-become-DSJ SEM=RES
Just like that, they get angry because of that,

cha' kai-lla negee kai-lla-ba
Chachi child-COL SP:negro child-COL-COM
the Chachi children with **the *negro* children**,

ura' lleva de-ju-tyu-we in-chi-ya.
good SP:get.along PL-be-NEG-DSJ 1-DAT-FOC
they do not get along, in my opinion.

Statements reflecting attitudes of racial aversion like that expressed in this example are formulated based on speakers' resources to be able to constitute the different social groups in question through discourse and interaction; to accomplish this they rely on linguistic forms like ethnonyms. When ethnonyms are used in the morphosyntactic position of a modifier of a noun phrase, they add a semantic element that, referentially,

must resonate with the social categories that speakers of Cha'palaa encounter in their lives in order to be meaningful. In this way, ethnonym usage in discourse both relies on and helps to constitute social categories. In the example above the social categories are overt but their contrasts remain relevant in many kinds of everyday discourse where they may be less explicit, as later examples will show.

The following example shows an interesting contrast between the autonym *chachi* in its full and reduced forms. In the second line the modifier noun phrase *cha' supu* refers to "Chachi women", and then in the third line *supu* occurs alone, followed by a clarifying phrase ("a woman, a Chachi") that categorizes *supu* more periphrastically.

(3.7) Uwain yai=bain cambia de-i-we
right 3COL=also SP:change PL-become-DSJ
Right, they also change (marriage pattern)

cha' **supu** ka-' kera-ke Zapayu-nu=bain main cha'-
Chachi female get-SR see-do TPN:Zapallo-LOC1=also one Chachi
marrying with **Chachi women**, in Zapallo a Cha-

manawa **ruku** main supu ka-' chu-we, **chachi-nu**.
Manaba man one female get-SR live-DSJ **Chachi-ACC**
a Manaba man lives married to a woman, **a Chachi**.

The interview from which this example was taken was conducted in a small town upriver of the larger town of Zapallo where the "Chachi woman married to a Manaba man" mentioned in this example lives. People from smaller towns where interracial marriage is rare often reflect on how it is more common in the larger population centers. In my discussion of interracial marriage in Chapter 6 I reflect further on the discourse about Chachi marriages with people from other social groups and I will include excerpts from interviews in Zapallo with the same Chachi woman mentioned here. In this example

she is contrasted with her husband, a *manawa ruku* (Manaba man), meaning he moved to the area from Manabí, Esmeraldas' neighboring province to the south.

The possibilities of discourse to set up such contrasts between social categories are in turn shaped by the grammatical possibilites of the language the discourse is expressed in. In Cha'palaa ethnonyms can be incorporated into verb phrases in addition to noun phrases. In this example from another account of the *uyala*, the word *chachi* in modifier form occurs as part of a complex predicate construction. In one sense, the verb form *cha' fifiki* could be translated as "to cannibalize" but in another sense it could specifically refer to how the *uyala* specifically cannibalized the Chachi people.

(3.8) Uyala-la suutadu-la mati
foreigner-COL SP:soldier-COL so
The foreigners, the soldiers, well,

cha' fi-fi-ki-mu-la suutaduu-la ja-n-de-tsa-a.
Chachi eat-eat-CL:do-AG.NMLZ-COL soldier-COL come-NMLZ-PL-PROG-FOC
people-eaters, the soldiers were coming.

Like with the examples of nominal modification shown above, this kind of predicate embedding of the word *chachi* into the predicate co-exists with other more perphrastic constructions, such as the object noun phrase *chachi-lla-nu* (Chachi-COL-ACC) in the example below. This phrase also shows collective morphology, described in the previous chapter, affixed to an ethnonym, a combination that is central to social categorizing discourse in Cha'palaa. The next example continues the account of the conflicts between the *uyala* and the Chachis:

(3.9) Mas chu-ke-ya-nu pude-jtu-we,
SP:more live-do-REFL-INF be.able-NEG-DSJ
They couldn't manage to live (there) anymore,

tsen-mi jeen **uyala**=bain ja-' fi-fi-de-ki-ñu **chachi-lla-**nu
SEM-PTCP wild **foreigner=**also come-SR eat-eat-PL-do-DR **Chachi-COL-**ACC
as the wild **foreigners** came and ate **the Chachis**,

tse'=mitya de-akawa ii-de-tsu-yu ti-ta-a pele-sha de-ma-ja.
SEM=RES COMPL-end become-PL-PROG-CNJ say-SR-FOC below-LOC1 PL-again-come
it was because of this they were dying out (being eaten), they came down (river).

In the previous chapter, I characterized collectivity in Cha'palaa as having associational properties in that, when used in reference, the multi-entity group that it refers to does not simply co-exist but rather has some sort of association as a collective group. I pointed out how these properties of collectivity are related to usage patterns reflecting the animacy hierarchy, because collective marking is generally used only for animate referents and primarily for human groups. Unlike groups of inanimate objects, human groups show the kinds of associational properties that speakers of Cha'palaa tend to classify as collectives. I also pointed out that collective marking of animates is optional, so in the example above *chachi-lla* takes collective marking while *uyala* does not, even though both ethnonyms refer to multiple people.

3.3 Ethnonyms, oral history and whiteness

As I begin to discuss some of the Cha'palaa exonyms that are used to refer to other groups alonside the autonym *chachi* that they apply to themselves, I want to consider the semantics of the combination of collective marking with ethnonymic words. Here it is necessary to approach a number of problems related to questions asked in prototype theory and related approaches to categories and category gradation (Rosch 1973, Lakoff 1987). In prototype-based categories, category membership is not considered to be shared equally among members, so that there is no sharp line between what (or who) is a member and what (or who) is not. Applying this perspective narrowly

to social categorization rather than to categorization more broadly leads to a particular set of problems, since while with any system of categorization it is possible to explore a type's composition, identify its more cannonical and more peripheral members, with systems of social categorization the categories turn back reflexively onto the same social world where they circulate. I do not want to undertake a fine-grained semantic analysis along those lines, however. Instead I wish to focus on the point where the semantics of ethnonyms at a grammatical level overflow into meaning that draws on social memory. When an ethnonym is articulated in combination with a collective suffix in reference to a human group in any instance of social interaction, it presupposes that such a group exists in shared social perception, that it can be indentified by an interlocutor, that its members are understood to share certain identifying characteristics, and that they all could be described individually with the same ethnonym. The meaning of any singular or group reference using an ethnonym is enriched by the speakers' social knowledge and experience of social categories, including discourse like the oral traditions surrounding the ethnonym *uyala*. It can sometimes be unclear where to locate the point where grammatical semantic dimensions give way to cultural context and pragmatics as the relevant level of analysis.

In contrast with the example above in which *uyala* appeared unmarked for number, in the following example *uyala* is overtly marked for collectivity, implying that the *uyala* are an animate group with some kind of associational relationship capable of collective action:

(3.10) Mi-ji-' ja-' mi-ji-i-n-tu=ren
again-go-SR come-SR again-come-become-NMLZ-SR=EMPH
When they (the Chachi) returned, going and returning again,

uyala-la-chi fa-fa-i-tu-de-i-n
foreigner-COL-DAT be.eaten-be.eaten-become-SR-PL-become-NMLZ
they ended up getting eaten by **the foreigners**.

The kind of associational relationship that the members of the group have, however, is filled in from social knowledge. For the word *uyala* this knowledge includes knowledge of oral history, providing details about the historical cannibalistic practices of the *uyala* as a group and their inter-group conflicts with the Chachis.

In addition to its use to refer to the historical enemies of the Chachis, the word *uyala* is also used in Cha'palaa to refer to white foreigners like me. During my field research, when Cha'palaa speakers refered to me in third person (or even sometimes in second person) they often used the term *uya ruku* (foreigner man), using the phonologically reduced modifier form of *uyala*. When speakers use this word from their oral history to refer to co-present people by their social category membership, what connection does this usage have to do with the historical usage? A version of this question was one of my standard interview questions. In the example below a speaker describes how the term has multiple applications – in the translations I have been using "foreigner" as a convenient translation, but it does not really cover this full range of meaning:

(3.11) **Uyala**=bain juntsa-la-a **uyala** uwain **uyala**=bain
foreigner=also DM.DST-COL-FOC **foreigner** right **foreigner**=also
The **foreigner**s, those ones, the **foreigners**, right, they are also **foreigners**,

wee wee **uyala** de-e-we
different different **foreigner** PL-be-DSJ
there are different (kinds of) **foreigners** (from history and modern-day),

mati yai=bain tsaa=ren **uyala.**
so 3COL=also SEM=EMPH **foreigner**
so they are also (called) **foreigners**.

While there are two distinct groups that can be refered to by the word *uyala*, the fact that they share this label is not arbitrary. Some people say that, like modern-day white people, the historical *uyala* also had light-colored skin. In addition, there are pervasive discourses about white foreigners' cannibalistic practices that connect the modern-day *uyala* with their historical counterparts. On many occasions during my field research Chachi people asked me if they would be eaten if they traveled to the United States, the land of the *uyala*. Several people told me about a Chachi man who had married an *uyala* woman and gone to live with her in the United States; he had been at the table eating meat with his in-laws when he went into the kitchen and saw butchered human limbs. This tale is circulated among different Chachi communities and is often cited as second-hand confirmation of *uyala* cannibalism. Other white researchers in the area have reported experiences similar to my own, when curious Chachis asked them if it was really true that *uyala* eat people (Praet 2009). Stories of white cannibals have been recorded throughout the Andes and in other parts of South America (Weismantel 1997, 2001), and are part of broadly circulating discourses of race that the Chachis participate in through the specific articulations that I am focusing on here. An insightful way to analyze the analogy of the historical cannibals to modern-day white people as an interpretation of race relations that sees social conditions through a cultural lense of cannibals, monsters and devils (Taussig 1980). Similarly, in the framework I am using here *uyala* is a social category that constitutes an articulation of the wider racial category of white European descendants by drawing on the specific resources of Chachi language and culture.

In one interview, the interviewee made a chain of connections from the historical *uyala* to the modern-day *uyala* connected by phenotypic whiteness and then directly to the basic three-part racial and phenotypic categorization scheme reflecting the three major continental divisions. The speaker explained how the historical *uyala* were known as *jeen uyala*, meaning "wild" or "of the forest," and that their name has been borrowed for foreigners because of their shared whiteness:

(3.12) Ke-mu de-e-ñu'=mityaa **jeen uyala** ti-la-a-ka
do-AG.NMLZ PL-become-DR=RES **wild foreigner** say-COL-FOC-DUB
It is because they do that that they call them **"wild (forest)" foreigners**,

jele-sha palaa-yaa jeen uyala tsen=mala challa **uyala** ti-la-ya
forest-LOC1 word-FOC wild foreigner SEM=when now **foreigner** say-COL-FOC
the word for "from the forest", now the ones they call **foreigners (gringos)**,

ya-la timbu-nu=ren **fiba-la-na-a uya-la** ti-mu de-e-ba
3COL time-LOC2=EMPH **white-COL-ACC-FOC foreigner** say-AG.NMLZ PL-become-COM
since long ago they have called **the whites "foreigners (uyala),"**

uyala **fiba**-de-e-ñu'=mitya,
foreigner white-PL-become-DR=RES
since the **foreigners** were **white**.

Asu **peechulla-la**-nu=bain **yapijtutu**-u=mala-a **peechulla** de-ti-shu,
as **Black-COL**-ACC=also dark-be=when-FOC **Black** PL-say-IRR
Like **the Blacks** are **dark**, that is why they are called "**peechulla**"

tsen=mala **lala-**nu=bain **normal** ju-u=mala **chachi** de-ti-sha-a-ka.
SEM=when 1COL-ACC=also **SP:normal** be-CL:be=when **Chachi** PL-say-IRR-FOC-DUB
and they call **us "Chachi"** because we **are normal-colored**.

My interviewee explained that, just as the foreigners are white, the Blacks are dark and "we" Chachis are "normal" color. The aligment of the "we" pronoun with the ethnonym Chachi is a topic that I will address in the next chapter. Here I am interested in the three-part ethnonymic division, its relationship to the naturalization of racial categories, and the speaker's explicit ethnocentric nomativity from the position of a Chachi person. The people known as *uyala* can be variable refered to with the

overlapping category of *fiba-la* (white-COL), seen in the example above. The phenotypic whiteness of the *uyala* is a bridge for integrating the category *uyala* in Chachi oral history with the present-day racial category of whiteness. As noted in the introduction, the Spanish word *rasa* (race) has been incorporated into Chachi discourse, and in this example it is equated directly with whiteness as a racial category. The example is taken from an interview section in which I asked whether other white people visit the area frequently.

(3.13) Wee **rasa-la** ja-tu matyu ñu'ne-
different **race-COL** come-SR so 2 just
Different **races** coming, as you [ask]-

fiba-la ja'=bain pasee-ne-' yai-ba nuka ji-n-tya'-ba.
white-COL come-SR=come SP:go.around-SR 3COL-COM when go-NMLZ-feel-COM.
the whites can come up and take a trip wherever they want.

In the introduction I described how I developed the ethnographic interviews I used in the field by attempting to listen first to the terms that commonly circulate in discourse and then using those terms in my questions. In this example, immediately following the previous example in the transcript, I used MM's word *fibala* from her previous turn to frame a question back to her using the same terms she did. I include this example to demonstrate how, in comparison to the early interactions with community members, by the time of this interview about six months into fieldwork, I was able to comprehend faster, to form longer sentences and to interact more smoothly in general.

(3.14)
SF: **Fiba-la**, e-nu chu-nu, e-nu ne-mu?
white-COL DM.DST-LOC live-INF DM.PRX-INF go.around-AG.NMLZ
The whites, they live here, or come around here?

MM: Ji' pasaa-ne-' (ne) mi-ji-i-mu de-ju
go-DR SP:go.around-go.around-SR again-go-CL:become-AG.NMLZ PL-be
The go, they come around for a trip and then they go back.

In her response the interviewee is referring to white people who travel in motorboats along the Cayapas River for tourism, as visiting doctors, NGO workers or anthropologists. These are the new *uyala* that are returning for the first time since the Chachi exerminated them hundreds of years ago.

3.4 Blackness and history encoded on ethnonyms

Compared to the long tradition of stories about the *uyala*, most of my interviewees claimed ignorance about the origins of Blacks in the region beyond a few generations back. In the following excerpt, an interviewee who had more formal education than most of the Chachis I worked with and who was aware of Afro-descendants' African origins. This speaker placed the arrival of Blacks at the same historical depth as the Chachi clashes with the *uyala*.

(3.15) **Uyala-la** guera de-ki-ñu
foreigner-COL war PL-do-DR
The foreigners made war,

de-ne-piya-' ja-mu-la-a **afrikanu-la**,
COMP-go.around-disappear-SR come-AG.NMLZ-COL african-COL
and **the Africans** came escaping,

de-ti-we **peechulla-la-**nu, jun-ka guerra de-ki-n-tu
PL-say-DSJ **Black-COL**-ACC DM.DST-LOC3 war PL-do-NMLZ-SR
they say, (the foreigners attacked) **the Blacks,** attacking there,

de-venga-' i-n-tu, ne-piya-' ja-ta-a
COMP-revenge-SR become-NMLZ-SR go.around-disappear-SR come-SR-FOC
taking revenge, and escaping back,

tsa-i-mu-de-e **peechui** de-sera-a de-ti-ee
SEM-become-AG.NMLZ-PL-become **Black** COMPL-increase-FOC PL-say-DSJ
and doing that, **the blacks** have increased, they say.

In the example above the speaker uses the term *peechulla* to refer to Black people, along with its phonologically reduced form *peechui*; this ethnonym reduces similarly to the form in which *chachi* reduced to *cha'*, inserting a front vowel in place of the omitted lateral-initial syllable. I will further compare these phonological reductions below. In the following excerpt, I will continue with more of the same speaker's account of the early history of the Blacks in Ecuador, as one of the few examples in my data that mentions the history of the Spanish colonial slave trade.

(3.16) **Peechulla-la**-ya ma historia ke-ki-n=mala
Black-COL-FOC one SP:story do-CL:do-NMLZ=when
The Blacks, when we tell the story,

yala-ya **españoles-la** de-taa-ña-a de-ja'=mitya,
3COL-FOC **SP:Spanish-COL** PL-have-come-DR-FOC PL-come=RES
they were brought by **the Spanish** when they came,

mi-jta-a-ña naa i-ta-a e-nu
know-NEG-FOC-DR how become-SR-FOC DM.PRX-LOC2
I don't know how they came here,

Zapayu-nu=bain de-tyui-na ja-ñu=bain.
TPN:Zapallo-LOC2=also COMPL-fill-be.in.POS come-DR=also
how they came here to populate Zapallo.

Ne tu mi'kes-ne-n-ta-a-ba
just land look.for-go.around-NMLZ-DR-FOC-COM
Just looking for land.

Common accounts of Black colonization of the region usually tell of how a few families, often identifiable by name, came seeking land, settled one region and gradually increased in number. Chachi oral history has the Chachi people settling the area from upriver, coming down the Andes, and the Blacks from downriver, coming up from the coast and Colombia. This history of encounter is encoded in the etymology of the ethnonym *peechulla*, which can be analyzed as *pele-chu-la* (down-live-COL) or "those that live collectively downriver." This term with its historical meaning is, in turn, co-referential for a number of other words for the same social group, some of them drawing on phenotype and skin color. Here one interviewee listed several different terms for Blacks:

(3.17) Pababa, pababa-la, peechulla-la, yapijtutu-la.
black black-COL Black-COL dark-COL
Black, the blacks, the Blacks, the dark ones.

These collectivized terms are co-referential among each other and are all ways of referring to Afro-descendants as a collective group. Here I translate *peechulla* as "Black" in uppercase, *pababa* as a lowercase color term "black", and the Spanish borrowing *neguee* as "*negro*," to use a cognate term. When speakers make any kind of specific or general characterizing reference to Afro-descendants, they select from these different ethnonyms to communicate to their addresee which group of people they are talking about and the addresees can presumably identify the same social category.

While it is unclear how long the word Spanish *rasa* (race) has circulated in Chachi discourse, and it may only have relatively recent currency, the social category referred to with the ethnonym *peechulla* and related terms is to a large extent a racial category. In this example another Spanish word *casta* is used in a similar sense as *rasa* – the term "*casta*" (caste) is a way of talking about race that was popular during the Spanish colony, and while it is no longer used the same way in Ecuadorian Spanish, Cha'palaa preserves the racial meaning of the word. Before the word *rasa* was adopted, *casta* could have had a similar meaning. Here it is used together with the ethnonym *peechulla* for talking about phenotype, specifically body size:

(3.18) **Peechulla-la** ju-de-e-shu-juntsa-la
Black-COL be-PL-CL:be-IRR-DM.DST-COL
There are **Blacks**

mu-n aa=**kasta** peechulla-la-n
who-NMLZ AUG=**SP:cast** Black-COL-NMLZ
who are of a large **"caste,"**

Aa=**kasta** ju-' tsaa=ren **peechulla-la** ju-de-e-shu-juntsa
AUG=**SP:cast** be-SR SEM=DSJ **Black-COL** be-PL-CL:be-IRR-DM.DST
they are a large **"caste,"** (some of) **the Blacks** that are like that.

Application of ethnonyms for racial stereotyping in Cha'palaa discourse is sometimes about physical phenotype but is just as much about behavior. One common stereotype is violent behavior, often related to drunkenness, as mentioned in this exceprt from an interview with an older Chachi woman from a town on the Rio Cayapas where Chachis and Blacks live in adjacent settlements:

(3.19)

MM: Ura-de-e-we, ura-de-e
good-PL-become-DSJ good-PL-become FOC
They are good (the Blacks), they are good,

yai-ba firu' aja'-wi'-muj-che-e
3COL-COM bad angry-enter-want-INSTR-
but they can get angry,

ajaa wi-ta-a chachi-lla-nu winke-nu pude-de-e
angry enter-SR-FOC Chachi-COL-ACC fight-INF SP:be.able-PL-become
and when they get angry they can fight with Chachis;

fiesta ki-tu ajaa wi-mu-de-e
SP:party do-SR angry enter-AG.NMLZ-PL-become
when they have parties they get angry.

SF: Ajaa wi-n=mala ti-ee ke-nu.
angry enter-NMLZ=when what-FOC do-INF
When they get angry what do they do?

MM: Peechulla-a?
Black-FOC
The Blacks?

SF: Aja, peechulla.
yes Black
Yes, the Blacks.

MM: Peechulla chachi-lla-nu de-winkenmala
Black Chachi-COL-INF PL-fight-NMLZ=when
When the Blacks fight with the Chachis,

peechulla matyu wiña-n-chi-ya
Black so get.drunk-NMLZ-INSTR-FOC
when the Blacks are drunk,

peechulla chachi-lla-nu tu'-mu
Black Chachi-ACC kill-AG.NMLZ
the Blacks kill Chachis.

Tu'-nu de-ju tse'=mityaa ura-jtu wiña-n-chi
kill-INF PL-be SEM=RES good-NEG get.drunk-NMLZ-INSTR
They kill them, that is why it is not good to get drunk,

Peechulla-la fiesta pu-de-na-shu-junts-ee
Black-COL SP:party be.in/on-PL-CL:be.in.POS-IRR-DM.DST-FOC
the Blacks that are at a party,

chachi-lla firu' de-ke-n=mala
Chachi-COL bad PL-do-NMLZ=when
when Chachis behave badly,

pistojla-chi ke-ke-'=bain tsan-ki-nu-u ju-de-e
SP:pistol-INSTR do-CL:do-SR=also SEM-do-INF-FOC be-PL-CL:do
they could even do it with a gun, doing like that,

ajaa wi-mu de-e-ba tse'=mitya chachi-lla=bain.
angry enter-AG.NMLZ PL-become-COM SEM=RES Chachi-COL=also
they can also get angry for that reason, the Chachis too.

Sometimes ethnonyms are used in Cha'palaa discourse as part of extremely negative statements about other social groups, particularly their closest neighbors, the Blacks. Part of the problem I will address in Chapter 7 is how to approach interracial conflict between indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples like that discussed in this example from an interview from a town where Chachis and Blacks live in integrated neighborhoods:

(3.20) In punto de vista-ya chachi-i=tenee ura' chu-kee-nu ju-we,
1POSS SP:point.of.view-FOC Chachi-COL=LIM good sit-see-INF be-DSJ
In my point of view we will live well if there are only Chachis,

peechulla-la-ba-ya ura' chu-ke-ya-tyu
Black-COL-COM-FOC good sit-do-REFL-NEG
with the Blacks, living well is impossible,

peletu pure' ju-nuu ju-we
problem many be-INF be-DSJ
there will have to be many problems,

historia wan-ti-n-bala-ya, peletu pure' tsu-na tsaa=ren.
SP:story long-say-NMLZ=when-FOC problem many lie-be.in.POS SEM=EMPH
telling the whole long story, there have really been a lot of problems.

Discourse like that shown in the example above complicate romantic approaches that assume any natural solidarity between indigenous and Afro-descendant people. Negative discourse is in heavy circulation and reflects one important articulation of these

two different social groups in this particular ethngraphic context. Even so, in another part of the interview cited above the same speaker observed that Chachis and Blacks share a similar class position:

(3.21) Bueno, chachi-lla-ba peechulla-la-ba kompara ke' kee=bala
SP:well chachi-COL-COM Black-COL-COM sp:compare do-SR see=when
Well, if we compare the Chachis with the Blacks,

Peechulla-la=bain, yai=bain yala' matyu, naa -
Black-COL=also 3COL=when 3COL-POSS so how
the Blacks also, they also, they, how -

pobresa-nu pa-ñu=bain peechulla-la-bain tsa=ren de-ju,
SP:poverty-ACC speak-DR=also Black-COL=also SEM=EMPH PL-be
speaking of poverty the Blacks are just like that,

chachi-lla-ba paree ju-de-ju.
Chachi-COL-COM SP:same be-PL-CL:be
they are the same as the Chachis.

Indigenous people and Afro-descendants on the rivers of Esmeraldas province are living within the course of their histories of settlement in the region, coming into it from different directions, finding plentiful natural resources, and then slowly becoming entrenched in territorial disputes as populations increased and resources were depleted. Tdoay interracial conflict largely springs from these disputes, which are fueld by faceless extractive industries that keep Chachis and Blacks alike in relationships of perpetual debt. Another interviewee reflected on the land disputes:

(3.22)

MR: Juntsa peechulla-la tu peletu ke-ke-de-ke-sha-a-ka
DM.DST Black-COL earth problem do-do-PL-do-IRR-FOC-DUB
Those Blacks are causing a land dispute,

aan-ku ja-ku bej-ee-sha Saabi-sha.
DM.MED-LOC3 DM-LOC3 in.front-(?)-LOC1 TPM:Saabi-LOC1
over here on the other (side) in Saabi.

SF: Saabi-sha?
TPN:Saabi-LOC1
In Saabi?

MR: Saabi-sha ura' de-chu-tyu mati
TPM:Saabi-LOC1 good PL-live-NEG so
They don't live well in Saabi,

tsa'=mitya-a mati naa ke-n-cha-a ne chu-de-na
SEM=RES-FOC so how do-NMLZ- INSTR-FOC just live-PL-be.in.POS
because of that, they live without (knowing) what to do,

tsa='mityaa mati de-tu'-nu pa-' kera-ke, tsan-ti-n-de-tsu-n
SEM=RES so PL-kill-INF speak-SR see-do SEM-say-NMLZ-PL-PROG-NMLZ
because (Blacks) are talking about killing (Chachis), that is what they are saying,

yala-n de-tu-ten-de-tyu-ya de-chu-sha-a-ka.
3COL-NMLZ COMPL-kill-feel-NEG-FOC PL-live-IRR-FOC-DUB
and while they don't kill them they are still living there.

The pressure for land and resources is one of the main issues underlying conflict between Chachis and Blacks. It is part of what is behind suggestions that if the Chachis still had possession of their magic weapons they could exterminate the Blacks and live only among Chachis. It is also a part of stereotypes of violent behavior attributed to Black people. In most discourse, the different social groups involved are referenced and tracked by the ethnonyms I have been describing here, which as terms of reference do not have any negative connotations on their own. I wondered if there might be other terms that are considered not just a reference to a social group but rather consitute racial slurs and insults, and in my interviews I sometimes included the question, "When the Chachis and Blacks are angry at each other, what kinds of things can they say?" One particular word came up several times in response to this question:

(3.23) Peechulla-na-a juyunku ti-mu de-e-sha-a-ka
Black-ACC-FOC howler.monkey say-AG.NMLZ PL-become-IRR-FOC-DUB
They used to call Blacks *juyungo* ("howler monkey"),

Yapij ruku de-e-ñu'=mitya,
dark man PL-be-DR=RES
because they are dark men,

chachi de-ju-tya-a ti-ta-a tsa-n-ti-la-a-ka
Chachi PL-be-NEG-FOC say-DR-FOC SEM-NMLZ-say-COL-FOC-DUB
to say that they aren't human/Chachis, they would say that.

This use of the name for howler monkeys as a negative referential term for Blacks resonates with other dehumanizing discourses about Afro-descendants in many different social spaces around the world. When the Chachis articulate a version of this discourse they share in this larger process of circulation with the specific resources of their langauge. I wondered if there was a similar term in circulation that other groups used to refer to the Chachis. Interviewees often mentioned the word *cayapa* or *cayapo*, the

exonym by which Spanish speakers have historically identified the Chachis. The word has never had any currency in Cha'palaa, and Chachis consider the word to be offensive:

(3.24)

S: Peechulla-la naa de-ti chachi-lla-nu?
Black-COL what PL-say Chachi-COL-ACC
What do the Blacks call the Chachis?

MR: Peechulla-la naa ti-mu-de-e-n-ka,
Black-COL how say-AG.NMLZ-PL-become-NMLZ-DUB
What the Blacks might say,

mati **kayapu** ti-la-a-ka
so **Cayapo** say-COL-FOC-DUB
well, they might say **"Cayapo."**

S: Kayapa ti-n=mala ura-a u ura-jtu?
Cayapa say-NMLZ=when good-FOC SP:or good-NEG
When they say "Cayapa" is that good or bad?

MR: Ura-jtu
good-NEG
It's bad.

ura-jta-a-ba ju-tya-a-n-ka
good-NEG-FOC-COM be-NEG-be-FOC-NMLZ-DUB
It's bad, it shouldn't be done,

yai-ba tsa-n-ti pa-mu-de'=mitya ura-jta-a-n-ka.
3COL-COM SEM-NMLZ-say speak-AG.NMLZ-PL=RES good-NEG-FOC-NMLZ-DUB
with them saying that, when they speak (that way) it isn't good.

Cayapa was the common exonym used by all non-Chachis to refer to Chachis, and has only recently been replaced by *chachi* in most Spanish language spoken and written discourse. However *cayapa* continues to circulate in Spanish discourse as an insult, and I heard Blacks using it from time to time in reference to Chachis. In contrast, while living in Chachi communities I never actually heard the word *juyungo* used to refer to Black people outside of the context of interviews about race relations. Instead, the word is usually used in reference to actual howler monkeys, but since the monkey population is seriously depleted in the area, it is not even used often in reference to them anymore. Once I heard children using it to comment on the DVD of the Hollywood movie *King Kong* that they were watching (in an augmentative form: *aa=juyunku*, AUG=howler.monkey). Some younger people claimed to never have heard the word in relation to Blacks, but most older people were familiar with this usage. It appears to have been current several generations ago, and is referenced in the title of Afro-Ecuadorian author Adalberto Ortiz's 1943 novel *Juyungo* about a Black protagonist who grew up among the Chachis (called "*cayapas*" in the novel) and who was given the nickname *juyungo* in reference to the word the Chachis used for him. Eventually the protagonist is rejected by the Chachi characters in the novel, partially due to their fear that if he died in the community there would be nowhere to bury him. "*Donde entierra cayapa no entierra juyungo*" says the Chachi authority, "Where Cayapa buried, *juyungo* (monkey) not buried" (1957, 66). As I discussed in relation to Chachi accounts of segregation in the afterlife, Chachi cosmology considers racial categories to continue into the afterlife, and according to the tradtional laws that prohibit different kinds of interracial contact, even in burial the races should be separated. This tradition is continued today in the cemeteries by the Chachi ceremonial centers, where offerings to the ancestors are made and where only Chachis can be buried.

In his influential work in the psychological literature on prejudice, Allport discusses the relationship between ethnonyms and epithets from a cognitive standpoint, describing epithets as a class of ethnonyms ("nouns that cut slices") that have a strong emotional charge (or, alternatively, that use more neutral ethnonyms in an emotionally-charged tone) (1954). Later developments following Allport's approach have looked specifically at emotional responses to epithets (using the technical term "ethnophaulisms"; see Mullen and Leader 2005, Rice et al. 2010). From a more ethnographic perspective, I am interested in how such words evoke social history and inter-group relationships, which is what specific articulations of words like *juyungo* draw to create meaning when they occur in emotionally-charged interaction. In the example below, one inteviewee points out that *juyungo* is a word that is used for speaking rudely, when Chachis are angry at Blacks.

(3.25) Juntsa juyungu palaa pa-mi-ya
DM.DST howler.monkey word speak-PTCP-FOC
That word "juyungo" is spoken,

lala firu' pa-ta-a juyungu ti-mu-de-e-ba,
1COL bad speak-SR-FOC howler.monkey say-AG.NMLZ-PL-become-COM
when we are speaking rudely to them, we say it,

firu' pa-tu yala-nu.
dad speak-SR 3POSS-ACC
insulting them.

Lala-nu yala de-ajaa-wi-kaa-pu-ña-a
1COL-ACC 3COL COMP-angry-get(?)-put.in/on-DR-FOR
When they make us get angry

lala juyungu ti-mu-de-e-ba,
1COL howler.monkey say-AG.NMLZ-PL-become-COM
we say "juyungo" to them,

juyungu kera-de-e-ñu'=mitya tsan-ti-la tsaa=ren
howler.monkey see-PL-be-DR=RES SEM-say-COL SEM=EMPH
because they look like monkeys, that is what (they) say.

palaa clave jayu, juntsa-de-e-ba
word CL:key a.little DM.DST-PL-be-COM
That is somewhat of a key word; that happens,

jayu, jayu ura' kishtyanu' chachi-j-de-tu-ba
a.little a.little good SP:Christian Chachi-NEG-PL-NEG-COM(?)
and it is not even a little bit Christian (behavior) for Chachis,

lala awii-ta-a juyunku ti-mu-de-e-ba.
1COL get. angry-SR-FOC howler.monkey say-AG.NMLZ-PL-become-COM
we get angry and say "juyungo."

The interviewee above points out how using such racial epithets in conversation is not "Christian" behavior. As in Ecuadorian society more general, explicitly racist insults have come to be less and less acceptable in public discourse as overt racial discourses become to some degree more covert in Cha'palaa, and the racial application of the word *juyungo* is falling out of use. While in earlier times the Chachis participated in explicitly dehumanizing discourses, the currently-circulating discourses can be less blunt in the way they racialize social groups. Systems of ethnonyms and related words for racial categorization are frequently unstable over time. The present-day configurations of these systems need not be constant throughout history for the social groups it refers to to be distinguished, and in fact it is through historical trajectories of racial formation that they

change. The current terms may not directly reflect previous patterns of usage, but this is part of the dynamic of how broad social categories like race are articulated locally through heterogenous and unstable means.

3.5 Other exonyms and inter-indigenous differentiation

Currently Chachi people are coming into contact with other indigenous groups of Ecuador in new ways, through participation in nation-wide indigenous political movements as well as simply through increased mobility for traveling around the country. Currently some of these groups do not have dedicated ethnonyms in Cha'palaa, so the language has adopted and incorportated a number of Spanish words to compensate.

In this example from an interview with Lucrecia, she lists a number of collectivized ethnonyms in response to my question "In addition to Chachis and Blacks, what other people live in Ecuador?" Lucrecia is a Chachi woman from a small, remote town but has lived in other parts of Ecuador and who is married to an indigenous Awá man. She is aware of a number of different social groups:

(3.26) Serranu-la=bain blanku-la=bain, awaa-la=bain..
highlander-COL=also SP:white-COL=also Awá-COL=also
Also highlanders, also Whites, also Awá (indigenous people),

eepera-la=bain, cholo-la=bain gringu-la=bain, a ver . . .
Epera-COL-also Cholo-COL=bain gringo-COL=also SP:let's.see
also Épera (indigenous people), Cholos (indigenous people) and gringos, let's see-

While there is not a singular or dominant account of the Chachis' relationship to other indigenous groups as compared to their relationships to Afro-descendants and white people that circulated in Cha'palaa discourse, many speakers point out that unlike these

other social categories, members of different indigenous groups are phenotypically similar to Chachi people. Some go as far as Yambu did in his account cited in the introduction, grouping all indigenous people together as s single racial category in opposition to Blacks and Whites. In the following example one interviewee explains how the indigenous people known as "*paisanos*", another name for the Awá, physically resemble the Chachis.

(3.27) Paisanu-la=bain, paisanu main juntsa=bain,
paisano-COL=also paisano one DM.DST=also
The "Paisanos" are also one (group), they also

Juntsa=bain **chachi kera**-de-e-sha-a-ka,
DM.DST=also **chachi see**-PL-become-IRR-FOC-DUB
they also seem to **look like Chachis**.

Juntsa=bain Buubun pee-sha-a de-chu-ña
DM.DST-also TPN:Borbón down-LOC1-FOC PL-sit-EV.INF
they also appear to live downriver from Borbón.

Other interviewees contrasted the physical similarity of the Chachis to other indigenous groups with cultural differences, such as language. Here an interviewee mentions the Épera, a population mostly centered in Colombia with some recent migration to Ecuador, who are also occasionally referred to as *cholos*. The Épera are speakers of a Chocoan language that is unrelated to Cha'palaa:

(3.27) Ya' idioma y el asento wera' ta-a,
3-POSS SP:language SP:and.the.accent different have-FOC
Their language and accent is different,

tsen=mala epera=bain **chachi keraa** ju-'=bain
SEM-when Épera=also **Chachi see**-FOC be-SR=also
but even so the Éperas also **look like Chachis**,

yaila-' palaa asentu=bain wera' ju
3COL-POSS language SP:accent=also different be
but their language and accent are different.

Throughout my research Chachi interviewees consistently described Blacks, Whites and indigenous people as different races (*wee rasa-la*, different race-COL), reflecting the three major racial categories that have historically been relevant in Latin America. As these categories have existed historically in different places, they have tended to elide internal differentiation while sustaining these three categories in different forms. For example, within the slave economy and throughout the later history of structural racism and discrimination, both official and unofficial, Afro-descendants with different cultural, linguistic, and geographical origins within Africa and in the Diaspora have been constituted as a single racial group, regardless of their cultural heterogeneity. The same has largely been true for descendants of people from different European countries, who may be culturally distinct but are all racially White.[17] For the Chachis cited above who observe physical similarities among indigenous people despite their linguistic and cultural differences, a similar kind of racial logic is at work.

Indigenous people of Ecuador, including the Chachis, do sometimes remark on phenotypic differences among indigenous groups. For example, the Chachis often point out that their southern neighbors the Tsachila speak a language that is so closely related to Cha'palaa that they can sometimes mutually understand a few words of it, but they also note that the Tsachila tend to have lighter skin and hair than the Chachis. However,

[17] In US society some Euro-descendants have historically had ambiguous status such as the Irish (Ignatiev 1995), Jews (Brodkin 1998) and Italians (Guglielmo and Salerno 2003), however I would argue that the major continental racial categories have been relevant, if perhaps not absolute, since the early part of the history of European colonial expansions.

the interviewee in the example below uses explicitly racial language to describe first, the social terrain of different racial groups, and then within the indigenous race, a number of different peoples speaking different languages but having a single blood (*ma asa* – one blood) and a similar skin color (*ma color* – one color).

(3.28) Pure-de-e-we wee wee rasa de-ju-we
many-PL-become-DSJ different different race PL-be-DSJ
There are many different races,

ma rasa-a de-ju-tyu, wee wee rasa de-ju,
one race-FOC PL-be-NEG different different race PL-be
there is not just one race, there are many different races.

Koloraadu-la=bain de-ju, awaa chachi-lla-ba.
Colorado-COL=also PL-be Awá Chachi-COL-COM
There are also Colorados, and Awá people.

pa-ñu-ba **lala asa-ya ma asa-a de-ju-yu,**
speak-DR-COM **1COL blood-FOC one blood-foc PL-be-CNJ**
(but) speaking about (them), **we are all a single blood**

tsaa=ren idioma=ren wee palaa ta-de-ju
SEM=EMPH SP:languae=EMPH different language have-PL-be
but there are different languages.

Ma asaa ta-de-ju, piel=bain ma color=ren ta-de-ju,
one blood have-PL-be SP:skin=also one SP:color=EMPH have-PL-be
They have one blood, and their skin also is one single color,

epera-la=bain culaadu-la-la=bain
Épera-COL=also Colorado-COL-COL-also (?)
the Épera also, the Colorados also,

kulaadu-la' palaa-nu-ya jaya-a aseeta i-mu-we
Colorado-COL-POSS language-ACC-FOC a.little-FOC understand become-AG.NMLZ-DSJ
but the Colorados' language can be understood a little,

jaya-a aseeta i-mu man-palaa-la-ya,
a.little-FOC understand become-AG.NMLZ again-language-COL-FOC
a few words can be understood,

naa ti de-pa-ñu-ba jayu ju-nu
how say PL-speak-DR-COM a.little be-INF
when they speak, it is a little,

lala-' palaa=ren jayu pa-mu-de-e-we.
1COL-POSS language=EMPH a.little speak-AG.NMLZ-PL-become-DSJ
our same language they speak, a little bit.

Tsaa-tu=ren, restu en-ku,
SEM-SR=EMPH SP:rest DM.PRX-LOC3
However the rest (of the indigenous people) around here,

epera-la-' palaa ju-u-shu-juntsa naa aseeta i-tyu-we,
Épera-COL-POSS language be-CL:be-IRR-DM.DST how understand become-NEG-DSJ
the language of the Épera cannot be understood,

tsen=mala awaa-la-' palaa-nu-bain aseeta i-tyu.
SEM=when Awá-COL-POSS because-ACC=also understand become-NEG
and the language of the Awás cannot be understood either.

Chachis who are not familiar with the circulation of ethnic terms in Spanish language discourse do not tend to describe the differences among indigenous groups as "ethnic" differences. In this example the interviewee Antonia, who is a politcal activist and is familiar with such terms, uses the Spanish word *etnia* (ethnicity) in a discussion of different indigenous people in Ecuador, also extending ethnicity to groups referred to by the collectivized ethnonyms *fibala* (whites) and *chinula* (Chinese – with a small population in Ecuador).

(3.29) Jayu wee wee lala **etnia** de-chu,
a.little different different 1COL **ethnicity** PL-live,
We are several different **ethnic groups** that live (here),

de-chu-ka-ya=shee entsa ecuadur-nu
PL-live-get-REFL=AFF DM.PRX Ecuador-LOC2
they live here in Ecuador.

Fiba-la=bain de-chu-ña, chinu-la=bain de-chu-ña.
white-COL=also PL-live-EV.INF Chines-COL=also PL-live-EV.INF
There are also whites living (here), and also Chinese people living (here).

But as discussed in the introduction, ethnic terminology is primarily used by bilingual Chachis like Antonia who move in Spanish-speaking circles. My impression of Chachi understandings of social difference among different indigenous people referred to by the ethnonyms in these examples is that they are not entirely cultural or ethnic but also have elements of racial categorization. As will be described in detail in a later in Chapter 6 the Chachi have traditionally had strong prohibitions against marriage with non-

Chachis, and while most Chachis say that unions among members of different indigenous groups are preferable to marriage between Chachis and Blacks or Whites, they are also conscious of phenotypic differences among indigenous people and take them into account. In this example an interviewee describes the groups referenced by the ethnonyms *eyu* (highlander), *awaa* (Awá), and *epera* (Épera) as each having their own body type, which results in physical changes in offspring from inter-group unions regardless if they are among indigenous people.

(3.30) Cambia i' chu-de-na-we
SP:change become-SR live-PL-be.in.POS-DSJ
They are changing,

tsa'=mitya nuka naa ju chachi-lla eyu-la awaa juu-la
SEM=RES where how be Chachi-COL highlander-COL Awá be-CL:be-COL
because each one of the people, the highlanders, the Awá,

eepera de-ti-ñu chachi-lla=bain yai=bain
Épera PL-say-EV.INF Chachi-COL=also 3COL=also
the ones called Épera, and Chachis also, they also

yala' cueepu ne ju'de-e tsa'=mitya
3COL-POSS SP:body just be-PL-CL:be SEM=RES
each have their own body (type) and because of that,

juntsa-la=bain mati wee wee chachi ju-ke-ya
DM.DST-COL so different different Chachi be-do-FOC
they are becoming different kinds of people,

tsa'=mitya chachi-lla juntsa-de-e-shu
SEM=RES Chachi-COL DM.DST-PL-be-IRR
for that reason it is like that with the Chachis,

wee chachi=bain chachi-lla-ba de-cambia i-'
different Chachi=also Chachi-COL-COM PL-SP:change become-SR
the Chachis are also changing into a different kind of person

chu-de-di-we tsa'=mitya.
live-PL-come.into.POS-DSJ SEM=RES
living like that, for that reason.

As a counterpoint to the previous example, in the example below the interviewee Luciano reflected on the experience of an Awá man who married a local woman – Lucrecia, mentioned earlier – and came to live in the small Chachi community where I did much of my field research. Luciano has a very positive opinion of the Lucrecia's husband as expressed in the example below. This example is also a good illustration of many of the points I have made in this chapter regarding discourse and linguistic form: the ethnonym *chachi* occurs in the broad sense of "people", in the more narrow sense of "Chachi people" and in in the form of a modifier as *cha'* as well as in combination with collective marking; the ethnonym *awaa* also occurs in collectivized form in the first line:

(3.31) **Awaa-la chachi**-de-e-we, main Tsejpi-nu
Awá-COL Chachi-PL-be-DSJ one TPN:Tsejpi-LOC2
There are **Awá people**, (there's) one (here) in Tsejpi,

cha' supu ka'chumu main **chachi**
Chachi female get-SR live-AG-NMLZ one **Chachi**
he married a Chachi woman and lives (here), one **man**.

Tsaa yuj ura ruku main chu-we Tsejpi-nu
SEM very good man one live-DSJ TPN:Tsejpi-LOC2
A very good (Awá) man lives here in Tsejpi.

Ya-ba tsa-na-mu'=mitya
3-COM SEM-be.in.POS-AG.NMLZ=RES
Living with him,

yumaa tsai **chachi-lla**-ba chu-mi ja'=mitya
now SEM **Chachi-COL**-COM live-PTCP come=RES
as he has come to live with **the Chachis**,

chachi-lla-nu ne na'baasa firu'-pensa=bain ke-tya-a tsejtu=ren
Chachi-COL-LOC2 only disorderly bad think=also do-NEG-FOC SEM-EMPH
he does not have any bad thoughts about **the Chachis**,

ya=bain yuj ura ruku-we.
3=also very good man-DSJ
he also is a very good man.

While the Awá and the Tsachila speak languages from the Barbacoan language family like Cha'palaa and live in similar tropical forest terrain in the foothills of the Andes, there is not evidence that the Chachi have had any historical relationships with them except for sporadic contact since the 20th century. This social history is reflected in the ethnonyms used to refer to neighboring indigenous groups, which are all borrowed from Spanish or are autonyms from the respective languages. The ethonym *eyu* that Chachis use to refer to Quechua-speaking highlanders, on the other hand, is a native Chachi word that appears to have been in use since early contact between Chachis and highland people perhaps as far back as the Inca and Spanish invasions. As discussed in

the introduction, Chachi oral history tells of migration from the Andean highlands, and early Quechua borrowings into Cha'palaa date from this period.[18] While in recent decades the Chachi have increased their contact with other indigenous people like the Tsachila, developing new labor relationships as migrant workers on Tsachi farms near the city of Santo Domingo, their language does not have a ready-made ethonym for refering to the Tsachila. In contrast, while the Chachis today have virtually no contact with highland Quechua-speakers, they have inherited a specialized ethnonym for referring to them through their history of inter-group contact. Chachis often notice the traditional clothing of the highlanders as one of their identifying characteristics:

(3.32) **Juntsa chachi-lla** ju-de-e-shu-juntsa-a mati
DM.DST **Chachi-COL** be-PL-CL:be-IRR-DM.DST-FOC so
The ones that are **those people** (highlanders)

yai-chi aabaa jaa- aabaa jali puj-taa=bain . . . [cut]
3COL-POSS long clothe- long clothes wrap.up-SR=also
their long cloth- long, wrapped-up clothing,

. . . wara tashpipii **eyu-la**-a ne-mu-de-ju
pants long.dragging **highlander-COL**-FOC go.around-AG.NMLZ-PL-be
and the highlanders go around with long dragging pants,

kata-a katawa katawa de-i-we
find-FOC find find PL-because-DSJ
encountering them (like that).

Tsa'=mitya yai=bain yaila-' bestimiento juu-shu-juntsa
SEM=RES 3COL=also 3COL-POSS SP:clothing be-IRR-DM.DST
For that reason they also have their own clothing;

[18]See Floyd 2009 for a discussion of Quechuan influence on the Cha'palaa numeral system

wee wee ke-mu de-ju tsa'=mitya
different different be-AG.NMLZ PL-be SEM=RES
they make there own different (kinds of clothes) for that reason.

Even though Chachis do not often ecounter highland indigenous people, they have access to knowledge about different charcacteristics and stereotypes associated with them through the discourse that circulates in Chachi communities. For example, here a Chachi interviewee that I asked about the *eyu* people explains that the old men talk about the stereotype that highland people are unable to swim, since they live in the mountains where the rivers are too rapid and the climate too cold for swimming:

(3.33) Tsaa=ren ma paate **eyu-la** de-ti-ña-a
SEM=EMPH one part **highlander-COL** PL-say-DR-FOC
So they say in some places about **the highlanders**,

ruku-la de-kuinda ke-tu tsa-de-ti-we
man-COL PL-converse do-SR SEM-PL-say-DSJ
the old men say when they are conversing,

eyu-la-a pipe-tyu-de-e de-ti-we.
highlander-COL-FOC bathe-NEG-PL-become PL-say-DSJ
they say that the highlanders cannot swim.

Chachi households are always near a waterway and children become competent swimmers shortly after they learn to walk. By the time they are ten or so they can already handle canoes alone and can dive underwater for long periods of time to catch fish and freshwater shrimp. For this reason the idea that highland people cannot swim seems strange and funny to Chachi people, who sometimes smile or laugh when remarking on it.

Earlier in my discussion of the ethnonyms for indigenous Chachi people, Whites and Blacks, I pointed out how these words have alternate phonologically-reduced forms that occur in modifier position. The older native words contrast with the ethnonyms that have been more recently introduced into Cha'palaa from Spanish because those words do not have reduced forms. The reduced form of the ethnonym *eyu* is *e'*, sometimes occuring without the glottal stop as *e*. In the first line of this example the reduced form of *eyu* modifies the collective word *ruku-la* (man-COL) and in lines three and five modifies the word *chachi*, here in its broader sense of "person" rather than "Chachi":

(3.34) **E-ruku-la**-a yaila-' jali-nu-n aseeta ii-mu
highlander-man-COL-FOC 3-POSS clothes-ACC-NMLZ understand become-AG.NMLZ
One can identify **the highland men** by their clothing,

yaila-' pala-a, aseeta yaila-' palaa-nu-n
3-POSS language understand 3-POSS language-ACC-NMLZ
and their language, one can identify their language,

e-chachi Quitu-sha chu-mu ja-shu-juntsa-a
highlander-Chachi TPN:Quito-LOC1 sit-AG.NMLZ come-DR-DM.DST-FOC
the highland people who live in Quito

jayu, nijka jayu de-mejtan-ten-na pa-' ju-u-de-ju
a.little tongue a.little PL-get.sticky-feel-be.in.POS speak-SR be-be-PL-be
speak a little bit like their tongue was sticky,

tse'=mitya-a **e-chachi** ti-la-a-ka, tisee
SEM=RES-FOC **highland-Chachi** say-COL-FOC-DUB um
they call them **highland people**, um

Quitu-sha chu-n jaku siera-sha chu-mu-de-e-ti-ta-a.
TPN:Quito-COL live-NMLZ ?-LOC3 SP:highland-LOC1 live-AG.NMLZ-PL-be-say-SR-FOC
um, because they live in Quito there in the highlands, they say,

lala tsan-ti-mu-de-e **e-ruku.**
1COL SEM-say-AG.NMLZ-PL-be **highlander-man**
that is what we say about **the highland men**.

This example again refers to their clothing and thier language as the highlanders' distinguishing characteristics. Once when some highland workers visited the Chachi community where I was living I surprised the locals by having a conversation with the highlanders in Quechua, which according to the interviewee cited above sounds to Chachi ears like talking with a "sticky tongue." When I heard friends re-telling the story later, they used the term *e' palaa*, combining the reduced modifier form of *eyu* with the word *palaa* for "language", to refer to Quechua as "highlander language."

Processes of phonological reduction in Cha'palaa are widespread and reduced words have at least one syllable less than the longer forms, and apply not when words are isolated but when they are part of multi-morpheme words and phrases. Sometimes these reductions create homophones and otherwise make linguistic constructions opaque, leading to a greater reliance on discourse structure and pragmatic context for disambiguation. It is likely that these processes developed through patterns of discourse frequency that led to this tension between economy (less syllables) and transparency. While phonological reduction is pervasive in different parts of the language, reduction of nominal forms in modifier position is limited to a few types of words like ethnonyms that are used frequently as modifiers. If the native ethnonyms came to have reduced forms based on a history of discourses of social categorization of human referents, this helps to understand why the borrowed terms only have their full forms, as they have only recently been part of such discourses.

Another point to be considered about human referents and discourse frequency is that given the animacy hierarchy that constrains collective marking described in the previous chapter, as referents for categories of people ethnonyms are among the most commonly collectivized words in Cha'palaa. The examples of ethonyms in discourse in this chapter have illustrated that while overt collective marking is not obligatory, it is still very frequent, as social category terms are classic collectives. In fact, two of the ethnonyms discussed in this chapter have been collectivized so frequently in discourse that the collective suffix has fused to their roots. When the terms *uyala* and *peechulla* occur with collective marking they seem to be doubly-marked, but looking at patterns of co-occurance with quantifiers reveals how the fused marking no longer entails multiple referents, so the roots can occur with the numeral "one", while words marked by the currently productive collective suffix cannot. A comparison of *uyala* and *peechulla* with the ethnonym *eyu* can illustrate this pattern; (a) reduced modifier forms cannot head noun phrases alone, (b) the simple roots can be single referents or (c) multiple referents, (d) but the collectivized root cannot be a single referent, (e) only a multiple referent.

(3.35)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
	*ma uya	ma uyala	pai uyala	*ma uyala-la	pai uyala-la
	*ma peechui	ma peechulla	pai peechulla	*ma peechulla-la	pai peechulla-la
	*ma e'	ma eyu	pai eyu	*ma eyu-la	pai eyu-la
	one X	one X	two X	one X-COL	two X-COL
	(reduced)	(single)	(multiple)	(single)	(multiple)

For the terms *uyala* and *peechulla* the collective marker has become part of the root (in its two different allomorphs *-la* and *-lla*, the difference being primarily phonological), so that the apparent double collective marking of these words is in fact only normal collective marking, since speakers no longer apply a morpheme boundary between the original root and the suffix. This process can also be confirmed by looking at the reduced forms of the ethnonyms, because the short forms delete the final syllable of

the root, which is a single morpheme, not a complex form. The term *eyu* has not fused to the collective suffix, so dropping a syllable yields *e'*, while the term *uyala* included a fused collective suffix, and so its reduced form is *uya* not **u'*. This table will help to keep track of the reduced, full, and collectivized form of the main set of ethnonyms in Cha'palaa:

Unmarked /singular form	Collectivized form	Reduced form	Co-referential words	Language
chachi	chachilla	cha'	cayapa (old term, somtimes insulting)	cha'palaa ("Chachi language")
uyala	uyalala	uya	fiba (white), gringo (foreign white), Indio bravo (wild Indian)	uya palaa (English, "foreigner language)
peechulla	peechullala	peechui	pababa (black), negee (SP:*negro*), juyungo (howler monkey, insulting)	peechui palaa (Spanish, "Black lanuage")
eyu	eyula	e'	serrano (SP:highlander), Otavaleño (from Otavalo)	e' palaa (Quechua)

In this chapter I have shifted back and forth between registers of descriptive linguistics and ethnography in an attempt to present Cha'palaa ethnonyms as both linguistic forms integrated into a grammatical system and as resources for social categorization in discourse, so that the instances of discourse presented in the examples above could be jointly understood as articulations of both linguistic systems and social conditions. The developments of phonological reduction and morphemic fusion in the roots shown in the table above came to pass through histories of language usage in specific moments of discourse like those presented in this chapter. Frequent modification with ethnonyms led to more economic modifying forms by deleting a syllable while frequent collectivization pushed in the opposite direction for two of the ethnonyms by adding a syllable. The motivation for such frequency effects is tied into practices of refering to social categories in discourse and interaction, so this data provides ways for

thinking about the interfaces between grammatical systems and the social world, through specific articulations like those analyzed here, and through the larger patterns of circulation that they reflect.

Summary

My treatment of Cha'palaa ethnonyms in this chapter describes them as part of a linguistic system that has developed out of a specific social history and at the same time as a discursive resource that shapes social categories in speech and interaction, delineating category memberships, boundaries and contrasts. In linguistic terms, ethnonyms are basically nominal words with animate human referents that in one way or another cohere as a group, but analyzing their semantics beyond this basic level can be complicated because of problems relating to how individuals and groups are refered to as typical members of social categories. At a certain point a semantic analysis of ethnonyms gives way to meaning that draws directly on the social history that speakers both reflect and reproduce when they deploy ethnonyms in discourse. In the examples in this chapter Cha'palaa speakers mentioned different stereotypes and other distinguishing characteristics that identify people as members of social groups such as temperment, language, clothing, body size, and so on. But beyond these typifying characteristics, social categories have the additional dimension of being constituted by associations among members, a point which I made in relation to collective marking in the previous chapter. Ethnonyms are so frequently collectivized in discourse that the social practice of collective reference has led to changes in some of the linguistic forms to create the terms *uyala* (Whites/foreigners) and *peechulla* (Blacks) with fused collective suffixes. Ethnonyms are also used as modifiers of other referents in discourse, either for categorizing other human referents as belonging to specific categories (*cha' supu*, Chachi woman) or for associating other referents with specific social groups (*cha' tu*, Chachi land). Through frequent use as modifiers, older ethnonyms in Cha'palaa have developed alternate reduced forms that allow for more economical modification, providing another example of how the use of ethonyms in social interaction shapes their linguistic form.

The next chapter will analyze how ethnonyms are anchored directly into such instances of interaction through the pronoun system, which applies social categories to participants in speech events.

Chapter 4: Collective Pronouns, social categories and discourse structure

4.1 Ethnonyms and pronouns in us/them alignment

In this chapter I will discuss some aspects of social categorization at the level of discourse structure in Cha'palaa speech. To do so, it is necessary to connect the topics of collectivity and ethnonyms discussed in previous chapters with a third topic: **the pronominal system**. I will describe Cha'palaa pronouns and show how they establish **co-reference** with discourse entities through **anaphor** and other means, functioning both to **characterize** and to **track reference** to collective groups of people through discourse. Anaphoric relationships (in a broad sense, conflating cataphor, exophor, etc.) are co-referential relationships that exist between a word and the discourse preceeding or following it, or between a word and something in the world; they can be relationships among different sentences in the immediate discourse or relationships to things in the world like spatial configurations and people engaged in social interaction. Anaphor forms part of the mechanisms by which languages build discourse structures that track successive references to a specific person by linking proper names to pronouns to person in the room, and maintaining those linkages through long stretches of discourse so that they are available to participants. Cumulative anaphoric and co-referential linkages across discourse create discourse structures that allow speakers and hearers to understand and organize who did what to whom. In constructing such linkages discourse structure can be a way of characterizing or classifying referents through different referential strategies.

Returning for a moment to the account of Chachi oral history given by Yambu in the introduction, we can now examine his discourse with more analytical tools for understanding it. In the first line the first person collective pronoun is used together with a collective predicate. The pronoun from the first line has a relationship to the noun

phrase *chachilla* (Chachis) in the third line because, from the perspective of the speaker, these are overlapping collectivities that he belongs to. This relation can be called one of **co-reference**, meaning that both elements reference the same collective group, or that they overlap referentially in some way. In this and in several other examples below I will use arrows (↕ ↔) to show co-referential relationships between elements in [brackets]:

(4.1) 1COL> Timbu-nu [**lala**] **chu-lla**
↕ time-LOC2 **1COL** **sit-COL**
↕ In the old times [**we**] **lived**,
↕
↕ Ibara-bi-e-e chu-mu de-e-wa-ña-a,
↕ TPN:Ibarra-LOC4-FOC sit-AG.NMLZ PL-become-PTCP-EV.INF-FOC
↕ in Ibarra (we) appear to have lived.
↕
CO-REF> Ibara-bi-ee **chu-lla** [**chachi-lla**].
TPN:Ibarra-LOC4-FOC live-COL Chachi-COL.
The [Chachis] lived in Ibarra.

It is because of examples like this one that I must stress that co-reference is sometimes a loose relationship. Here the first person collective pronoun includes the speaker along with the *chachilla* (Chachis) that lived *timbunu* (long ago), none of which would be still living today. The form in which the pronoun *lala* can be co-referential with the collective noun *chachilla* is through an association of past and present people established through their shared history, ancestry and ties of cultural transmission. In this sense, Yambu can talk about "we" in the "old times." Personal pronouns have an "obligatory 'referential' relationship" (Shankara Bhat 2004, 272) with other noun phrases with which they can co-refer. But when those noun phrases refer to social categories, that relationship is not always straightforward, since social categories are themselves reproduced and delineated to some degree in discourse. By including both the historical and present-day Chachis in the same pronominal reference in the example above, Yambu

articulates the social category of Chachi as one that exists across generations through establishing this co-referential relationship.

This chapter will consider examples of discourse in which pronouns are used in co-reference with the social categories referenced by ethnonyms. Many of these examples are from interviews in which Chachi people were asked to reflect on their relationship with other social groups, a kind of interaction in which social categorization should be salient by virtue of the topics under discussion. This conversational context is not entirely informal, and some of the pronoun alignment patterns observed in the discourse would not have been established had I personally not been a participant, as I will clarify below. But in any context person reference is a good place to examine members' own analysis of their own and others' membership in social groups (as a "membership categorization device"; Sacks 1992, Schegloff 2007). The interviews were designed specifically to elicit explicit social categorization in discourse and for the most part successfully did so. My own category status was also subject to definition in the discourse when my participant role as a second-person addressee became co-referent with my social category of *uyala* (foreigner) and *fiba* (white). My Chachi interlocutors, on the other hand, often aligned the first person speaker role with the category Chachi, sometimes entirely juxtaposed as "we Chachis":

1COL↔ ↔ ↔ CO-REF

(4.2) [**Lala**] [**chachi-lla**] kule kalare' atia-mu-we negee-la-nu.

1COL **Chachi-COL** canoe get.out sell-AGNMLZ-DSJ SP:negro-COL-ACC

We Chachis make canoes to sell to the *negros*.

The relationship of co-reference between collective pronouns and collective noun phrases can go in either direction, either from right to left (anaphor in a narrow sense, versus cataphor), as seen above ("we Chachis") where the pronoun is the antecedent, or left to right, when the pronoun references back to a nominal antecedent, as seen here:

(4.3) I=bain mi-jtu naa ju-ta-a,
1=also know-NEG how be-SR-FOC
I also do not know how

CO-REF ↔ ↔ 1COL
[Chachi-lla] [lala] peechulla-la-ba ch-u'=bain,
Chachi-COL 1COL Black-COL-COM sit-SR=also
we Chachis lived with the Blacks,

ura' mi-jtu, en-ku
good know-NEG DM.PRX-LOC3
I don't know well,

uma ajke' pebulu ke-nu ura-nu=ren.
now before town do-INF good-ACC=AFF
back before they built the town.

In the two examples above the co-referential relation is not long-distance across clauses but simply stretches between adjacent words in the same sentence. Because the third person noun phrase *chachilla* and the first person pronoun *lala* are co-referential in the same sentence, and since there is no other person agreement information on the predicate, the distinction between first and third person is almost meaningless here. A consequential aspect of Cha'palaa grammar for understanding the pronominal system is that Cha'palaa predicates do not have person marking. Their only agreement marking is for number, and this is optional. In the example above, the predicate is a stative construction based on the verb "to sell" that alone would be ambiguous for person. In Cha'palaa, person is not marked morphologically but rather can be marked with explicit subjects, either noun phrases or pronouns. However explicit subjects are also not obligatory, since predicates can be completely unmarked for person when they can derive information on referents from discourse structure. In the example below the predicate has

no explicit person marking but a first person collective subject can be inferred from the **conjunct marking** on the verb. What has been called "mirativity" (see Delancey 1997, 2001) or "conjunct/disjunct marking" in several languages including those of the Barbacoan language family (Dickinson 2000, Curnow 2002) is a kind of alignment system that marks epistemic authority of the speaker in declaratives and of the addressee in interrogatives. In simpler terms, it marks whether a statement makes sense from a specific perspective. Because in most cases the conjunct epistemic stance is related to the perspective of the speaker and because in declarative sentences speakers usually cannot claim any epistemic authority over any other person, conjunct marking tends to associate with the first person. A predicate with no explicit subject and with both plural and conjunct marking like that shown below will usually be interpreted as first person (and my consultants would translate into the Spanish first person plural):

(4.4) Peechulla-la-ba ura' chu-mu de-e-**yu**,
Black-COL-COM good sit-AGNMLZ PL-become-**CNJ**
(INFERENCE: We) live well with the Blacks,

ura' chu-tyu de-e-ñu=bain.
good live-NEG PL-become-EV.INF=also
but also don't seem to live well (sometimes).

It is impossible to give a full account of conjunct/disjunct distinctions in Cha'palaa here; it is simply one of a number of grammatical properties of the language that can be used in ways that give inferences about person when there is no explicit marking otherwise. However, because these other subsystems of grammar are not real person marking systems, they can be disentangled from specific persons in the right contexts. In the following example the conjunct marker occurs in a sentence not with the first person pronoun but with a third person collective subject (*chachilla*):

(4.5) CO-REF> [**Chachi-lla**] politica de-ta-na-**yu**.
↕ **Chachi-COL** SP:politics PL-have-be.in.POS-**CNJ**
↕ **The Chachis** have (organized) politics.
↕
1COL> [**Lala**]-ya tsaa=ren peechulla-la-ya de-ta-na-tyu.
1COL-FOC SEM=EMPH Black-COL-FOC PL-have-be.in.POS-NEG
We (do), but the Blacks do not have (the same).

When the speaker's perspective aligns with a third person referent like a collective ethnonym, an easy link is made between that category and the speaker's social category membership. In the example above the sentence with a third person subject is immediately followed by another sentence with a co-referential first person collective pronoun, showing this co-referential relationship. Because both of the predicates above have third person subjects, this example nicely illustrates the conjunct/disjunct distinction; in the second line, the predicate does not take conjunct marking, and so the social category membership of the speaker and the third person ethnonym *peechulla* do not align in the same way.

Even when ethnonyms are not explicitly co-referential with pronouns, Cha'palaa often relies on discourse structure to imply such alignments. In the example below, the first sentence includes a first person subject and a conjunct marker but no social category term. When the first person is juxtaposed with a third person collective referent that *is* co-referent with an ethnonym (*peechulla*) the person distinction can also be read as a social category distinction:

(4.6) 1COL> **Laa**=bain lu-' pasee-ne-'
1COL=also go.up-SR SP:go.around-go.around
We also go up to take a trip

kera-ke tsaa ne ju-de-e-**yu**.
see-do SEM go.around be-PL-CL:be-**CNJ**
and look around, that's how (we) are.

3COL> **[Yai]**=bain wi-ja-ta-a en-ku pasee-ne-'
↕ **3COL**=also enter-come-SR-FOC DM.PRX-LOC3 SP:go.around-go.around-SR
↕ **They** also come in around here, taking trips,
↕
CO-REF> ma-lu-mu de-e-ba **[peechulla-la]**=bain.
again-go.up-AG.NMLZ PL-become-COM Black-COL=also
and then they go back down, **the Blacks** also.

Similar frames of person alignment with social categories can be extended for long stretches of Cha'palaa discourse. In this example the speaker never uses the autononym *chachilla* (Chachis) in co-reference to the repeated usages of the first person collective pronoun (also in alignment with conjunct and plural marking on predicates). The third person, on the other hand, does occur in co-reference with two exonyms used for Afro-descendant people (*peechulla, negeela*). In this sense, the personal pronouns can take on aspects of social categorization even without being explicitly associated with social categories in discourse. In this transcript, two different collective referents are managed across clauses, and the two parallel lines of arrows (↕) track these two

(4.7) COL1> [**Lala**] ajke' chu-mi-ya
↕ **1COL** before live-PFTV-FOC
↕ When **we** first lived (here),
↕
COL1> [**lala**]-ya [**lala**]-' pebu-lu-nu
↕ **1COL**-FOC **1COL**-POSS town-LOC2
↕ we, in our town,
↕

↕	CO-REF>	[**peechulla-la**-]ba chu-' awa-tyu de-e-**yu**
↕	↕	**Black-COL**-COM live-SR grow-NEG PL-be-**CNJ**
↕	↕	did not grow up living with **the Blacks**.
↕	↕	
↕	CO-REF>	Ma timbu kaspele juntsa [**peechulla-la**]
↕	↕	one time earlier DM.DST **Black-COL**
↕	↕	Once long ago those **Blacks**
↕	↕	
↕	↕	leyan kataa-tyu de-e
↕	↕	much(?) encounter-NEG PL-CL:become
↕	↕	were not encountered often.
↕	↕	
↕	3COL>	Tsaa=ren [**yai**]-ba jayu
↕	↕	SEM=EMPH **3COL**-COM a.little
↕	↕	But now **they** are also a little,
↕	↕	
↕	CO-REF>	jayu sera-n-tu [**negee-la**]=bain mati
↕	↕	a.little increase-NMLZ-SR **SP:negro-COL**=also so
↕	↕	they are increasing a little, **the *negros*** also,
↕	↕	
↕	↕	pure' sera-i-n-de-tsu-we.
↕	↕	many increase-become-NMLZ-PL-PROG-DSJ
↕	↕	they are increasing (in population) a lot.
↕	↕	
COL1>	↕	Timbu-nu [**lala**] e-nu chu-na-nu,
↕	↕	time-LOC2 **1COL** DM.PRX-LOC2 live-be.in.POS-INF
↕	↕	Long ago when **we** lived here
↕	↕	

COL1> ↕		chu-na-nu ura-talan [**lala**]' ju-bi-lla-a
↕	↕	live-be.in.POS-INF good-RECIP-NMLZ **1COL**-POSS ?-COL-FOC
↕	↕	living well in **our** area,
↕	↕	
COL1>	CO-REF>	[**peechulla-la**] [**lala**] ma timbu, malii-ba
	↕	**Black-COL** **1COL** one time alone-COM
	↕	the Blacks, once we (were) alone,
	↕	
	CO-REF>	[**negee-la**]-ba chu-tyu de-e-**yu**.
		SP:negro-COL-COM live-NEG PL-be-**CNJ**
		(we) did not live with **the *negros***.

The relations of co-reference shown in the example above illustrate how collective social groups of Chachis and Blacks are tracked and contrasted in discourse. From the point of view of discourse structure, this is the pattern that tends to arise in discourse in which social categories are salient, as in racializing discourse. When speakers reflect negatively on race relations between Chachis and other social groups, these are the terms that both their grammar and social experience leads them to use. For example, during my fieldwork there was an ongoing land dispute between the Chachi community where I was living and the neighboring Afro-descendant community to the west, and in Cha'palaa discourse about the dispute the first person pronoun collective pronoun predictably becomes co-referent with *chachilla*. This alignment is then contrasted with the ethnonym *peechulla*, which is in turn co-referent with the third person collective pronoun. This configuration can be called an **"us/them" alignment**. The following examples demonstrate three different manifestations of this alignment pattern. The first shows the first person collective pronoun in contrast with the ethnonym *peechulla*:

(4.8) **Peechulla-la**-a kaspelee ura' chu-tu=ren
Black-COL-FOC earlier good sit-SR=EMPH
The Blacks, in the old days (we) lived well,

challa-a tu peletu ke-ke'=mityaa **lala**-nu.
now-FOC land problem do-CL:do=RES **1COL**-ACC
but now that (they) are causing a land dispute for **us**.

The next example shows a contrast between the collectivized exonym *peechulla* and the collectivized autonym *chachilla*, which is co-referential with a first person collective pronoun:

(4.9) **Chachi-lla peechulla-la**-ba peletu,
Chachi-COL Black-COL-COM problem
Problems **the Chachis** have with **the Blacks**,

peletu pure' ta-de-ju,
problem many have-PL-CL:be
there are many problems.

Tsa'=mitya **lala** ura' chu-ke-e-nu ke-ke-e-tyu
SEM=RES **1COL** good live-do-CL:do do-do-CL:do-NEG
For that reason **we** cannot live well here,

peechulla-la-ba **chachi-lla**
Black-COL-COM **Chachi-COL**
with **the Blacks, the Chachis**,

Tsa'=mitya ajke-sha naa i-' ji-nuu ju-'=bain
SEM=RES before-LOC1 how become-SR go-INF be-INF=also
For that reason later how it will turn out,

naa ura' chu-ju-tyu-u=bain
how good sit-be-NEG-be=also
in what ways we will not live well,

pasa i-nu ke-n-de-tsu challa **lala**.
SP:happen become-INF do-NMZL-PL-PROG now **1COL**
that is what is happening now with **us.**

The third example of us/them alignment features repeated uses of the first person collective pronoun in co-reference to the autonym *chachi* in the phrase *chachiitene*, "only Chachis." In this case, the speaker expresses a strong opinion that it would be better for the Chachis to live without any other social groups in the area, recalling the earlier discussion of the fantasy of regaining the magic weapons from Chachi oral history to cleanse the area of everyone but the Chachis. In this example the Chachis are contrasted to a third person collective referent that is not explicitly co-referent to any ethnonym or other social category term. However, Cha'palaa speakers draw on their general social knowledge to interpret the third person collective pronoun as a reference to Blacks:

(4.10) **Lala**, kaspele pa'-ba-n-ti-ee-shu
1COL earlier speak-COM-NMLZ-say-(?)-IRR
We, as (I) said before,

lala chachi-i=tene ju-u-ya ura.
1COL Chachi-COL=LIM be-CL:be-FOC good
it would be good if **we were only among Chachis**.

3COL> **Yaila** wee pensa-de-e-ba,
3COL different SP:think-PL-become-COM
They think differently (and)

i-ya **cha'** pensa wee pensa'=mitya
1-FOC chachi SP:think different SP:think=RES
(for) me, Chachi thinking is another kind of thinking;

3COL> **yai**-ba wee wee mescla de-i-n=mala
3COL-com different different SP:mix PL-become-NMZL=when
with **them**, when different kinds (of thinking) are mixed,

wee wee pensa tse'-ki-tyu tyui-di-tyu,
different different think SEM-do-NEG combine-come.into.POS-NEG
different kinds of thinking cannot be combined,

3COL> **ya**=bain wee pensa.
3=also different think
they also think differently.

The speaker in the example above engages in a classic essentializing pattern common to racializing discourse of irreconcilable cultural differences between social groups. To set up this contrast the speaker uses the concept of *pensa* or "thought," a word borrowed from Spanish but with semantic change, so that in Cha'palaa its meaning has expanded to cover the concepts of "concern" and "worry." Aligning the autonym *chachilla* with the first person collective pronoun, the speaker explains how "our thinking" or "our concerns" are different from "their thinking" or "their concerns," using the third person collective pronoun to refer to the Blacks.

4.2 Racial language and the interview context

In my research I worried about the representation of negative statements of interviewees about other social groups – the kinds of statements that often show the kinds of discourse alignments described above. While interviewing, I attempted to avoid provoking racist comments while at the same time trying to ask people to talk honestly about inter-group relations. At times I attempted to open the conversation to more positive comments. This section shows two examples of such cases; I include them both because they help to make my research methods more transparent and because they are good examples of us/them alignment that is maintained among multiple successive clauses (pronouns and ethnonyms are flagged).

The first example was a response to my question about whether some Chachis and Blacks had good relationships. It articulates a commonly-heard discourse that local Blacks are good people and that it is only when they leave the local area and live in the cities for a while that they take on bad behaviors:

(4.11) Mantsa wee-la=bain tsa-de-e-we tsaa-ren
some different-COL=also SEM-PL-be-DSJ SEM-EMPH
Some are (good) like that, like that,

mantsa wee-la-ya ura de-e-we **peechulla-la**
some different-COL-FOC good PL-be-DSJ **Black-COL**
some of them are are good, **the Blacks**,

negee-la ju-de-e-shu-juntsa mantsa ura de-e-we
SP: negro-COL be-PL-CL:be-IRR-DM.DST some good PL-be-DSJ
of **the *negros***, some of them are good.

Tsaa=ren mantsa-la-a wee-muj-tu
SEM=EMPH some-COL-FOC other-want(?)-SR
But then some others are different,

lu'- ji-' ma-ja-' chu chu di-mu-la-a
go.up-SR go-SR again-come-SR sit sit come.into.POS-AG.NMLZ-COL-FOC
they go out (to the city) and come back, returning to live,

firu' pensa=bain ke-ke-de-ke-we
bad thought=also do-do-PL:CLdo-DSJ
thinking bad thoughts.

Tsaa=ren **yai**-ba pebulu-nu chu-mun ju-u-la-ya
SEM=EMPH **3COL**-COM town-LOC2 sit-AG.NMLZ be-CL:be-COL-FOC
However, they that live in the town

chachi-lla-ba ura' pensa de-chu-we
Chachi-COL-COM good though PL-live-DSJ
have good thoughts (intentions) towards the Chachis.

Tsaa=ren wee-la ma-a-mu-la-a,
SEM=EMPH different-COL again-come-AG.NMLZ-COL-FOC
However, others that come (from the city),

mantsa wee-muj-tu lu-'
some different-want-SR go.up-SR
some of them are different,

ne' ma-ja ma-ja-i-mu ma-wi-ja-'
just again-come again-come-become-AG.NMLZ again-enter-come-SR
coming back and entering again

chu-di-mu-la juntsa-la-a
live-come.into.POS-AG.NMLZ-COL DM.DST-COL-FOC
to live (around here), those ones

chachi-lla-nu peletu kata-nu ke-ke-de-ki-we.
Chachi-COL-ACC trouble encounter-INF do-do-PL-CL:do-DSJ
cause trouble for **the Chachis**.

Tsaa=ren **chachi-lla** **lala-**ya **negee-la**-nu
SEM=EMPH **Chachi-COL 1COL**-FOC **SP:negro-COL**-ACC
However **we Chachis**, to **the *negros***,

juntsa aa=peletu kata-n-de-tyu-yu tsaa=ren
DM.DST AUG=trouble encounter-NMLZ-PL-NEG-CNJ SEM=EMPH
(we) have not been causing (them) any big trouble like that,

tu paatee-sha-a na'baasa peletu pure' ta-de-na-yu,
land SP:part-LOC1-FOC disorder trouble many have-PL-be.in.POS-CNJ
but about the land, (we) have big messy problems

lala **negee-la-**ba.
1COL **SP:negro-COL**-COM.
us with **the negros**.

The example above shows us/them alignment throughout, especially in the final part in which the speaker contrasts Chachis and Blacks. The second example

demonstrates another case in which I attempted to inquire about positive relationships between the two groups. In the first section the speaker gives a lengthy account of problems that have arisen due to competition for local natural resources. An us/them alignment with the ethnonyms *chachilla* and *peechulla* is pervasive throughout the whole example.

(4.12a)

C: Peletu de-ta-na **chachi-lla** **peechulla-la**-ba diferentes
trouble PL-have-be.in.POS **Chachi-COL** **black-COL**-COM SP:diferent
The Chachis have problems with **the Blacks**, different (types).

yaila-a **laa**-nu problema mi'ke mi'ke de-ke-e.
3COL-FOC **1COL-**ACC SP:problem look.for look.for PL-do-DSJ
They look for problems with **us**,

peechulla-la lala-nu **chachi-lla**-nu,
black-COL **1COL**-ACC **Chachi-COL**-ACC
the Blacks to (cause problems for) us, **the Chachis**,

tu paate, oro ka-laa-n paate,
land part SP:gold get-come.out-NMLZ part
about land, about mining gold,

peechulla-la chachi-lla-chi kusas de-taa-n-ke-ñu
Black-COL **Chachi-COL**-POSS SP:things PL-steal-NMLZ-do-DR
Blacks stealing **the Chachis**' things,

eh **lala**-' pi-juu-sha de-wi-ja-ñu
eh **1COL**-POSS water-pool-LOC1 PL-enter-come.in-DR
coming into **our** rivers,

pulla de-kalaa-ñu, **lala**-' jun-ka
more PL-take.out-DR **1COL**-POSS DM.DST-LOC3
taking out more wood, in **our** area.

Juntsa-a paate'=mityaa **chachi-lla**
DM.DST-FOC part=RES **Chachi-COL**
For that reason, **the Chachis**,

peechulla-la chachi-lla-nu
Black-COL Chachi-COL-ACC
the Blacks, for **the Chachis**,

problema mi'ki mishti mishti de-ke-e **laa**-nu
SP:problem look.for together together PL-do-DSJ 1COL-ACC
look for many problems, with **us.**

Eh tsaan=tene ke' ji-n-tsu-ñu
eh SEM=LIM do-SR go-NMLZ-PROG-DR
So since they go doing that,

lala chachi-lla-ya **yaila**-nu
1COL Chachi-COL-FOC **3COL**-ACC
we Chachis, with **them**

problema mi'ke-tyu de-e-wa-ña
SP:problem look.for-NEG PL-become-DR
we don’t look for any problems,

yaila-a **lala**-nu problema katawa-nu
3COL-FOC **1COL**-ACC SP:problem encounter-INF
but **they** find problems with **us**.

Tsaa=ren **lala**-ya estamos **yaila**-ba
SEM=EMPH **1COL**-FOC SP:we.are **3COL**-COM
Like that, **we** are trying, with **them**,

kuinda ke-' eh arregla-ke-nu ke-n-chi=tene ke-ke-mu-de-ju
SP:talk do-DR eh SP:fix-do-INF do-NMLZ-INGR=SEM do-CL:do-NMLZ-PL-be
to talk in order to come to an arrangement.

On the upper part of the Upi River where my primary research site was located, there are three Chachi towns with no Black settlements except for a single household on the opposite bank of the last Chachi town heading downriver. From that point onwards, Chachi and Black settlements are interspersed until the mouth of the river where the Upi joins the Cayapas River at the town of Zapallo Grande. In my experiences traveling up and down the river, I found that Chachi people and their Black neighbors greeted each other by name and often stopped to converse and to occasionally engage in different kinds of economic exchanges. This is why much of my conversations with Chachis in which people gave very negative characterizations of interracial interactions seemed out of place compared to these interactions. These moments of friendly behavior based on shared experiences of rural forest life are only one aspect of a complex relationship that is often also tense and adversarial. In the interview I decided to ask whether Chachis had equally negative relationships with Blacks who lived nearby. The following interview was conducted early in my research, and I had to resort to Spanish to ask my question:

(4.12b)
S: Ya, pero de los que viven como aquí, del río
OK, but those that live, like, here, on the river,

que son vecinos, algunos, porque si hay amistad, no?
that are neighbors, some of them, because there is friendship, right?

A veces viven bien y a veces peletu, no cierto?
Sometimes (you) live well and sometimes there are problems, right?

C: Si bueno en-ku lala ma-pi-i chu-muu=tala-ya,
SP:yes SP:well DM.DST-LOC3 1COL one-river-FOC live-AG.NMLZ=RECIP-FOC
Yes, well, those that live on the same river,

en-ku ju-u-sha-ya
DM.DST-LOC3 be-CL:be-LOC1-FOC
being around here,

problema de-ta-na-tyu **peechulla-la chachi-lla**-ba
SP:problem PL-have-be.in.POS-NEG **Black-COL** **Chachi-COL**-COM
(they) don't have any problems, **the Blacks** with **the Chachis**,

de repente de una o otra manera
SP:all of a sudden etc.
(a problem might appear) all of a sudden or one way or the other

kaa=problema faa-ki-mu,
DIM=SP:problem come.out-do-AG.NMLZ
they might cause small problems,

no asi aa=problema ju-tyu.
SP:no SP:like.that AUG=problem be-NEG
not like that, there are no big problems,

y ura' lleva i-kee-mu mantsa **peechulla-la-**ba
SP:and good SP:get.along become-do-CL:do-AG.NMLZ some **Black-COL**-COM
and (we) get along well with some **Blacks**,

yai=bain **laa-**nu ura' de-aseeta-n-ke-shu-juntsa-ya
3COL=also **1COL**-ACC good COMPL-SP:understand-NMLZ-do-IRR-DM.DST-FOC
and **they** also understand us well,

lala-' naatala.
1COL-POSS sibling
(like) **our** brothers.

The establishment and maintenance of us/them alignment with social categories over stretches of discourse is one of the primary ways in which social categorization becomes salient in interaction. This kind of social categorization is an important part of negative racial discourse, but it is also part of other conflicting discourses that are part of the contradictions of social life. Similar discourse structures may appear whether a Cha'palaa speaker is calling Blacks their "brothers" or the same speaker is stereotyping them as violent. What all discourses in which ethnonyms align with pronouns have in common is that they are a structural articulation of social categories in interaction, and as such they provide a good place for the study of social categorization. Because the indexical properties of the pronoun system allow this alignment to be further mapped onto the participants in the speech event, the discourse is referentially anchored onto physical bodies in the speech context. This chapter will conclude with a discussion of such participation structures, but first I will briefly discuss how person deixis (how people are linked to pronouns) combines with spatial deixis (how places are linked to demonstraticves) and then ask some questions about pronoun system semantics, before directly addressing participation structures.

4.3 From person to place

Combinations of the pronouns with other indexical systems in the language such as the deictic system can then further embed discourse into space and the social occupation of territory. In this example a possessive form of the first person collective pronoun occurs as part of the noun phrase "our parts", which is in turn co-referential with the proximal deictic "here":

(4.13) Juntsa timbu=tala **peechulla-la** kuwan-ka-a chu-mu de-ju
DM.DST time=among **Black-COL** downriver-LOC3-FOC sit-AG.NMLZ PL-be
Around those times **the Blacks** lived downriver,

CO-REF ↔ ↔ ↔ ↔ ↔1COL-LOCATION
no vivían **[e-n-ku]** **[lala-' paate]**-sha chu-tyu
SP:no SP:live DM.PRX-NMLZ-LOC3 1COL-POSS SP:part-1COL live-NEG
they did not live, they did not live **here in our parts**,

laa=tene juntsa timbu=tala-ya.
1COL=LIM DM.DST time=among-FOC.
it was **just us** in those times.

Through these kinds of complex discourse structures Cha'palaa speakers map social categories onto people and onto the physical spaces they inhabit. When disputes over land rights arise in the rural areas of Esmeraldas, these discourse alignments are part of how those kinds of disputes articulate their social form along racial lines. They are ways of making systematic connections between physical places and bodies and socially-circulating abstractions like social category membership and the stereotypes and generalizations associated with those categories.

The example below illustrates some of those connections in discourse in reference to the people known by the ethnonym *manawa*. While us/them alignment in Cha'palaa discourse often corresponds to the distinction between Chachis and Blacks as the two largest demographic groups in the area, the same discursive resources are available for contrasting other social categories. The *manawala* (Manabas) are colonists from the province of Manabí to the South, Spanish-speakers with some degree of indigenous ancestry who have been pressuring Chachi territory in recent years by settling near Chachis communities on the upper part of the watershed.:

(4.14a)

MM: Manawa-la=bain juntsa-a firu de-e-we.
Manaba-COL=also DM.DST-FOC bad PL-be-DSJ
The Manabas are also violent.

Manawa-la=bain juntsa winke-ta-a tu'-mu de-e-ba
Manaba-COL=also DM.DST fight-SR-FOC kill-AG.NMLZ PL-be-COM
The Manabas also fight with and kill

chachi-lla wiña-tu baile-ke-tu.
Chachi-COL get.drunk-SR SP:dance-do-SR
Chachis, getting drunk, having a dance (party).

tse'=mityaa bene ura'-
SEM-RES after good
for that reason in the future well-

ura' chu-n-de-ju-tyu-ba **lala-'** **jun-ka**=bain
good sit-NMLZ-PL-be-NEG-COM **1COL-POSS DM.DST**-LOC3=also
(we) won't be able to live well also in **our place**

laa-chi, kabesera-sha.
1COL-POSS SP:headwaters-LOC1
for our (place) in the headwaters.

In the first part of the example above, the speaker stereotypes Manabas as violent and sometimes causing conflict with the Chachis. The ethnonym *chachilla* is then co-referent with the first person collective pronoun that is then used in its possessive form to combine with spatial language to talk about "our place" or "our territory", meaning "Chachi territory". I asked for further clarification about where the Manabas live:

(4.13b)

SF: Manawa-la e-nu chu-nu en-dala, nuka chu-nu?
Manaba-COL DM.PRX-LOC2 sit-INF DM.PRX-around where sit-INF
Do the Manabas live here, around here, where do they live?

MM: Pude-j-de-tu yai-ba nun=bala-a
SP:be.able-NEG-PL-NEG 3COL-COM where=when-FOC
They can't (live here) but sometimes

tu mi'ki-ta-a wi-ja-n-de-e-ba
land look.for-SR-FOC enter-come-NMLZ-PL-become-COM
they (could) come in looking for land,

wee muj-ta-a manawa-la de-cha-a,
other want(?)-SR-FOC Manaba-COL PL-live-FOC
wherever else the Manabas want to live,

Muisne, matyu naa nuka chu-na'-ba
TPN:Muisne so how where sit-be.in.POS-COM
in Muisne, or whever they live,

Canandee jun-ka chu-tya-a-n-ten-ka manawa-la de-chu-ba,
TPN:Candandé DM.DST-LOC3 sit-NEG-FOC-NMLZ-feel-DUB Manaba-COL PL-sit-COM
there in Canandé, I think they live, the Manabas live (there).

En-ku lala-' pi-sha=ren
DM.PRX-LOC3 1COL-POSS water-LOC1=EMPH
Right **here on our river**

manawa-la wi-ja-n-de-tyu-u-we.
Manaba-COL enter-come-NMLZ-PL-NEG-become-DSJ
the Manabas have not come in (here).

The phrase "right here on our river" in the penultimate line above is a common way that Cha'palaa speakers refer to the waterways close to where they live. The possessive pronoun *lala'* (our) establishes that the speaker is part of the social group that has dominion over the rivers, whether that social group is loosely defined as the immediate Chachi community or broadly defined as Chachis in general, in contrast to the Manabas or other social groups. The co-referential linkages that arise out of discourse structure gain their significance in part through social knowledge of whom the relevant social groups are and of how those categories are articulated by participants in specific speech events and inhabitants of specific local spaces. The way in which the pronoun system anchors widely circulating social categories like ethnonyms and racial groupings onto specific bodies in a participation framework is a key aspect of the interface of grammar and social categories in interaction. This same property of pronouns also poses some difficult questions about how to best describe the semantics pronominal systems. The following section will consider Cha'palaa's pronominal system in light of the kinds of discourse alignments discussed above.

4.4 The Cha'palaa pronominal system

In the previous section I analyzed how Cha'palaa pronouns align with ethnonyms in discourse, map them onto participation structures, and by extension manage areas like the social organization of space before presenting a basic account of the Cha'palaa pronominal system from a descriptivist perspective. I did so in order to create a tension between one way of looking at pronouns as a discrete system describable in terms of a paradigmatic structure and the kinds of meanings that arise when pronouns are used in discourse like that described in the previous sections. Some languages strongly resist paradigmatic analysis by showing high levels of overlap between the general noun class and pronouns as a sub-class (such as Thai and related languages; Campbell 1969, Siewierska 2004). In such languages, the mapping of less specialized noun forms onto participants in the discourse event is perhaps even more embedded in social knowledge, and indeed the pronouns in such languages are reported to encode a great many social status distinctions. Other languages feature dedicated pronominal forms for the first and second persons but for the third person use other strategies; Cha'palaa's closest relative,[19] Tsafiki, has this profile to some degree, as its third person forms overlap with demonstratives (Dickinson 2009). So on one level Cha'palaa has a relatively neat paradigm, with specialized first, second, and third person forms, corresponding collective forms, and no additional distinctions such as inclusivity or duality, etc.

Comparing Cha'palaa to Tsafiki illustrates how pronoun systems are unstable and can diverge quickly even among two sister languages that separated relatively recently. Tsafiki has gender distinctions in its first person pronouns, and uses the feminine form for collective references (Ibid.); Cha'palaa innovated a separate singular form *i* and extended the masculine pronoun *la* to a collective form *lala*. Each of the Barbacoan languages seems to have gone in a different direction in the development of the pronouns

[19] The divergences between the two languages are perhaps comparable to those between Spanish and French or Italian, as compared to the other languages in the Barbacoan family (Awá Pit and Guiambiano) which in comparison to Cha'palaa might be analagous to te divergence between Spanish and English or German. The Tsachila live in the tropical lowland area to the south of Chachi territory.

systems, as there are few cross-linguistic cognates except in the second person (Adelaar with Muysken 2004, 147-149). Part of the motivation for this kind of rapid linguistic change is the way pronouns interface with the social world in discourse by keeping track of participants in speech events. Each of the Barbacoan languages underwent a distinct social history of usage, and what presumably began as one unified system in the protolanguage has diversified into very distinct systems in the modern languages. In Cha'palaa those usage patterns involved frequently applying the collective suffix to the singular pronoun, resulting in semi-fused forms today.

The table below shows the basic six-term pronoun set of Cha'palaa. It has sometimes been claimed that plural pronouns do not usually resemble other plural forms morphologically (see Cysouw 2004, 72), and while some South American languages are exceptions to that generalization (such as Ecuadorian Quechua), for many languages it is true that the plural form is not produced from a pluralized singular pronoun. In terms of what I refer to as collectivity in Cha'palaa, however, the collective pronoun forms are built morphologically from the singular form and the collective suffix. The exception is the first person, where the collective form appears to have been constructed from an old masculine first person pronoun similar to that seen in Tsafiki, but like the other persons, it also includes the collective suffix *–la*:

person	singular	collective	reduced collective
first	i	lala	laa
second	ñu	ñulla	ñui
third	ya	yaila	yai

In my glosses I have treated the collective pronouns as single morphemes, however they are actually semi-productive and morphologically complex. Like the ethnonyms described in the previous chapter, Cha'palaa pronouns use the collective suffix to refer to human groups, and like some of the ethnonyms (*uyala*, *peechulla*), the suffix has become partially fused to the root over time. It is unclear to what extent the suffix should be treated as productive in the collective pronouns; the phonology at the

morpheme boundaries is not entirely regular, and in the first person there is no equivalent non-collective form (**la*). In addition, all of the bi-morphemic collective pronouns alternate with phonologically-reduced mono-morphemic forms used in some possessive and dative constructions. The singular forms are mono-morphemic as well, but they are light syllables in contrast to the reduced collective forms, which are heavy syllables that carry some phonological residue of the deleted second syllable. All of the pronouns can be used in possessive constructions in combination with the possessive marker –', a glottal stop; the exception is the first person singular, which has a specific irregular form *in*; some of these possessive forms are shown in the data in the previous section and in earlier chapters.

While the form of the Cha'palaa pronominal system is fairly easy to lay out in a paradigm chart, an account of pronominal meaning is more challenging. Benveniste (1971) characterizes pronouns, particularly first and second person, as referentially empty until they are filled in specific instances of discourse (1996, 285). Similar problems have been posed in the classic studies by Jakobson (1957) and Silverstein (1976) that point out that "shifters", including pronouns, have context-dependent meaning. The context that shapes pronominal meaning is also in part discourse context, as Urban (1989) shows with his discussion of how the first person has a wide range of uses and can refer to people other than the speaker in certain kinds of discourse. A related point has to do with the complexities of what Goffman calls "participation frameworks" (1981) which can be shown to be far more complex than the basic contrast between the speaker, the addressee and others, a point taken up by Levinson (1988) who identifies even more types of participant roles than proposed by Goffman. Following Hanks' account of pronoun use in Yucatec Maya (1990, 135-191), here I apply Goffman's concept of participation frames within an ethnographic study of language usage. Instead of the fine-grained distinctions that Goffman makes mainly concerning individual participants, here I am concerned with the consequences of extending the analysis of participation frameworks to group reference using non-singular pronouns. This approach quickly compounds the problems encountered with singular pronouns, because now the roles of speaker and addressee are

combined with references to collective groups. In examples like those in this chapter in which collective pronouns align in co-reference with terms for collective social groups like ethonyms, the participation framework expands to cover the level of macro-social relations among those groups. In this sense, the referential emptiness of the pronouns is filled in by social knowledge about those groups' history, who is included and excluded in them, their current relationships, etc.

The Cha'palaa pronoun paradigm as presented above is formally a six-term system in which each first, second and third person have equivalent collective forms. In my discussion of collectivity in Chapter 2, I argued that for Cha'palaa grammar animate group referents are best described as collective rather than plural referents. Specifically in the case of pronouns, some studies have noted the difficulty of extending the notion of plurality to pronominal forms. For example, the standard semantic interpretation of the first person is that it refers to the participant role of speaker, but unless everyone being referenced by the pronoun is speaking together, a plural form does not refer to multiple speakers, but rather refers to the speakers and others who have some kind of associative connection to the speaker (Cysouw 2004)[20]. While the associative properties of non-singular pronouns may not be compatible with a traditional view of plurality, they in fact closely resemble the properties of the Cha'palaa collective words that I analyzed in terms of associativity in Chapter 2. This point helps to understand why in many languages plural morphology does not occur on pronouns, and also why in Cha'palaa collective

[20] Full quote: "Person marking that refers to a non-singular set of persons or objects, as defines in the previous section, is normally called 'plural'. However, there is a problem with this term. The meaning of plurality within the domain of pronominal marking is rather different from the standard notion of plural. Normally, a singular morpheme, like the English word *chair*, refers to a single object that falls into the class of chairs. A plural, like *chairs*, refers to a group of objects, each of which belongs to a class of chairs. Transferred to the pronominal domain, this analysis states that the first person singular refers to a single person that belongs to a class of speakers. No problem so far. However, the consequent next step would be that a first person plural refers to a group of persons what all individually belong to the class of speakers. In other words, the first person plural is literally a group of speakers. The English pronoun *we* would, in this analysis, mean something like 'group of persons speaking in unison'. This is clearly not what *we* prototypically means; *we* normally refers to a group of people, only one of whom is currently speaking (Jesperson 1924: 192; Benveniste 1966: 233; Lysons 1968: 277; Moravcsik 1978: 354, n.12). The most common meaning of 'we' strongly resembles the meaning of a nominal case marker that is known as the ASSOCIATIVE." (Cysouw 2004, p69)

morphology *can* occur on pronouns. The groups of people referred to by non-singular pronominal forms are constituted not through multiplication of the speaker role in contrast to hearers and third parties but through association with the speaker. This association might also include a hearer or a third party under the first person collective form (except in languages with inclusive/exclusive distinctions; see Filimonova 2005), according to their membership in the relevant social group. In Cha'palaa, similar kinds of associative principles operate across different domains of the grammar, as I showed in earlier chapters discussing collective marking and ethnonyms. As with verbal and nominal collectives, pronominal collective terms also pattern according to an animacy hierarchy that constrains pronoun referent to animate beings only; inanimates use demonstrative forms instead. Tracking collective referents in Cha'palaa discourse relies on speakers' abilities to make linkages between pronouns and these other collectivized forms to decide when they are co-referent. How do speakers do this?

The kind of associations that can be articulated through collective pronouns in Cha'palaa might be associations among the people immediately present at a speech event, but just as often collective pronouns refer to larger, more populous groups of people, as in the cases shown above when collective pronouns become co-referential with collective ethnonyms to assign referents to social categories. Hanks points out that different "we" groupings in Maya discourse can move between scales such as co-residence group, kin group, or Maya as a social group (1990, 171-172). Brewer and Gardner (1996), working in the framework of social psychology, describe the different meanings of "we" spanning levels from the "individual self" to the "relational self" to the "collective self", and point out how these different levels are connected when individuals are grouped into collectives. I am not sure if my data shows sharp distinctions between these levels, but a continuum model of different embedded and overlapping kind of collectivities is a good way to think about how "we" shifts meanings in discourse.

An interaction-based perspective helps to avoid a model of individual self-identification and instead directs attention to the intersubjective relationship between the

speaker and the addressee. As in studies of person reference in interaction have shown, speakers use different strategies to achieve shared recognition of individual person referents based on assumptions of common ground (Schegloff 1979, Enfield and Stivers 2007), and something similar must be true for group reference. For addressees to be able to resolve reference to groups of people by deciding which social groups a speaker is referencing in a particular uses of "we" and "they," they must draw on earlier articulations of those social groups in previous lived experience. Based on this knowledge they can decide if the speaker means "we in this room" or "we who live in this town" or "we indigenous people," and, crucially, how these levels of scale interact to connect the people in the room to larger social categories. The categories that develop through social history can then be anchored onto the different participants in the speech event through instances of pronoun usage and discourse structures that link those pronouns to ethnonyms. Studying such characterizations of self and others in interaction is a good way to approach participants' own categories as they circulate in discourse. It is also a way to approach the problem I am posing here for understanding the semantics of pronoun systems in light of the significance of such categories for pronominal meaning.

Whether a collective pronoun refers to specific groups of individuals or to large sectors of the population, resolving reference in interaction requires drawing on information from beyond the immediate discourse context. One approach could take a minimalist view of pronoun semantics, claiming that the word is indeed semantically empty aside from an indexical arrow to [Speaker + Associates] or [Addressee + Associates] or [Other + Associates], with no linguistic information about the nature of the association among members of a collective. I have shown associativity to be a pervasive value in Cha'palaa grammar and that at its heart it is based on a semantic principle of social relations among animate beings. The habitual usage of collective pronouns in us/them alignment in racial discourse and other kinds of social categorization may not have left these words entirely empty in the experience of speakers. One psychology study suggests that exposure to us/them alignment can be correlated with different kinds of negative bias in which the pronouns lose their "evaluative neutrality" (Perdue, et al.

1990). For speakers, certain kinds of habitual pronoun usage may associate with discourses of social categorization even in the absence of specific social category terms (think of the problems in American English with the phrase "you people"). Interaction is saturated with different articulations of social categories, and one way or another an account of pronoun usage has to come to terms with the way that social knowledge is embedded into specific interactions. To simply restrict oneself to a narrow view of pronoun semantics and put everything else into the realm of pragmatics ignores some problems with the boundary between semantics and social knowledge more generally. The next section will explore some of these problems by looking specifically at the interaction of social categories within participation frameworks.

4.5 Social knowledge and participation structure

This section will use a long stretch of discourse from a single interview to show how one speaker managed alignments between the pronouns system and different social categories over many clauses. Here I will be able to add the second person to the discussion that up until now has focused on the first/third distinction of us/them alignment. This is because by the later stages of my series of interviews I was more able to conduct interviews in Cha'palaa, allowing my interviewees to refer to me in the second person in our conversations. Since I asked interviewees to talk about different social categories, they often categorized me as well.

(4.14) **Fiba-la**-nu=bain mi-jtu,
white-COL-ACC=also know-NEG
(I) don't know about **the whites** -

ñu mi-i-nu ju=shima
2 know-CL:become-INF be=AFF
you should surely know.

The relationship between the ethnonym *fibala* (whites) in the first line of the example above and the second person pronoun in the second line can be established only by taking into account my own social category membership status. We can observe the speaker's own analysis of my racial status as a white person at a discursive level through the participation structure of my interactions with Cha'palaa speakers. Unlike the first person collective suffix which is commonly used in co-reference with the ethnonym *chachilla* by Chachis, the use of a second person form in co-reference with the social category terms used for white people is certainly uncommon, as white people rarely participate in Cha'palaa discourse. However, as a participant in the participation framework, I was fair game for social categorization.

Many of my best insights into Chachi ideas of whiteness came from moments in which my own racial status was flagged in discourse. In the following example I asked the interviewee if she knew why people used the same word *uyala* to refer to people from Chachi oral history as well as to present-day foreigners – the transcript below highlights ethnonyms and pronouns, beginning with the second person collective pronoun in the first line:

(4.15) **Uyala** ti-la-ya, klaro, **ñuilla**-nu.
foreigner say-COL-FOC SP:clearly **2COL**-ACC
Sure, they call **you uyala**,

uwain, wee paii-sha chu-mu de-e-ñu'=mitya-a
right different SP:country-LOC1 sit-AG.NMLZ PL-CL:become-EV.INF=RES-FOC
right, because (you) live in other countries,

uyala de-ti-we tsen=min,
foreigner PL-say-DSJ SEM-HAB
they call (you) **uyala** like that,

klaro **lala** tsan-ti-mu de-e-yu.
SP:clearly **1COL** SEM-say-AG.MNLZ PL-CL:become-CNJ
sure, **we** say that.

Asu por ejemplo, nejtun kada rasa **lala** mumu ta-de-e-yu.
as SP:for.example so SP:each race **1COL** name have-PL-CL:become-CNJ
As for example, all the races **we** have names,

Lala-nu tsan-ti-n-de-tyu-ka **chachi**,
1COL-ACC SEM-say-NMLZ-PL-NEG=DUB **Chachi**
We are called like that, "**Chachi**",

peechulla-la-a manen **kayapa** de-ti-we, tsa'=mitya
Black-COL-FOC again **cayapa** PL-say-DSJ SEM=RES
although **Blacks** say "**Cayap**a".

Tsa'=mitya-a **ñuilla-la**-nu=bain **lala** mumu puu ta-kee-tuu-tyu-ka
SEM=RES-FOC **2COL-COL**=also **1COL** name be.in/on have-see-SR-DUB
For that reason to **you** also **we** have given a name it seems,

uyala ti-kee-mi tsaa=ren ne
foreigner say-see-PTCP SEM=EMPH just
they say "***uyala***" like that,

chachi fi-mu-ñu tsan-ti-n-de-tyu mati
Chachi eat-AG.NMLZ SEM-say-NMLZ-PL-NEG so
not to say that they eat people,

ya-' mumu, mumu-aa **uyala** ti-la,
3-POSS name name –FOC **foreigner** say-COL
it is **their** name, they are called by the name "***uyala***"

asu **fiba-la**-na-a naa de-ti-wa **lala**,
as **white-COL**-ACC-FOC how PL-say-PTCP **1COL**
the whites are called, by **us**,

a **los blanco fiba-la** de-ti-ee-shee porke
SP:to.**the.whites white-COL** PL-say-DSJ-AFF SP:BECAUSE
the whites they are called **whites** because

blanco, yaa tsa'=mitya cada cual **yaila** mumu.
SP:white,ok SEM=RES SP:each.one **3-COL** name
they're white, so for that reason each one (has) **their** name.

In this speaker's account about the circulation of social category terms she mentions the three major racial groupings in the Americas by way of different ethnonymic terms for Blacks, Whites and Chachi indigenous people. These ethnonyms have co-referential relationships with pronouns that organize the participation structure by including participants in different social groups. In this example the speaker aligned the first person pronoun with indigeneity, the second person pronoun with whiteness, and the third person pronoun with blackness. The alignment is particularly explicit here because the purpose of our conversation was to discuss social categories themselves. It is in these more explicit cases, however, where we can clearly see how the grammar is

interacting with social knowledge about races and racial categories that we can observe some of the covert principles underlying other kinds of racial discourse.

One way to think about these kinds of discourse alignments is as an example of both how pronouns draw on knowledge of social categories to resolve reference and at the same time articulate those social categories by mapping them onto particular configurations of participants in speech events. It is a kind of boundary-work at a very immediate and corporeal level, as it shows how participants are always reading bodies to determine their category status in Stuart Hall's sense through a process of articulation (1996); this "reading" of race as a social category in Chachi discourse reveals what Vargas (2004) refers to as a "hyperconsciousness of race" that speakers draw on to help to organize their discourse. Linguistic comptetence and the ability to form interpertable statements depends on consciousness of the racial category status of discourse participants and other referents. While my focus has been on explicit uses of racializing language, this chapter has begun to explore some of the relationships between explicit language and more implicit manifestations of race in interaction. When the pronoun system is deployed in discourse, even in the absense of overt racial discourse, discourse participants are constantly reading social information on other participants' bodies that help them to sort out referents, and in this sense racial hyperconsciousness is observable in online, semi-conscious production of language and dicourse structures. From the interactivist perspective, the articulation of those social categories in discourse does not exist in either the categorized or the categorizer but in the moment of recognition between them, so the categories are made and re-made across moments, but with strong historical continuity between moments.

Like any social formation, racial formation is unstable and must be constantly reproduced. Part of the means by which racial formations are reproduced is through discourse, and the data presented in this and previous chapters provides a good basis for the argument that a broad hemispheric racial formation rooted in the history of the colonial encounter is relevant for the analysis specific instances of discourse and

interaction among Cha'palaa speakers. These broad patterns must be articulated by using locally-available resources, and so they take on their own particular character based on specific local histories. Many of the contradictions confronted in the study of racial formation have to do with how the broad categories of blackness, whiteness and indigeneity overlap with other systems of categorization in specific local spaces. In the following section of discourse from the same interview cited above, the speaker discusses sub-categories of whiteness, again anchoring me into the categories of her discussion by referring to me with the second person collective pronouns.

(4.16) Tse'=mitya juntsa-ju, tse'=mitya naa-ju **fiba-la**-nu=bain
SEM=RES DM.DST-be SEM=RES how-be **white-COL**=also
That's how it is, that's how it is with any of **the whites**,

naa quiteñu de-ja-ñu=bain **fiba-la**
how SP:from.Quito PL-come-DR=also **white-COL**
whether they are **whites** who come from Quito,

porque mantsa **manawa-la**=ren **fiba** keraa de-ju,
SP:because some **Manaba-COL**=EMPH **white** see PL-be
because some **Manabas** look **white**,

2COL> **ñulla** keraa de-ju mij-de-tu
2COL see PL-be know-PL-NEG
they look like **you all**, I don't know,

tse'=mitya **lala** **chachi-lla** general pa-ti-mu ne ju-de-ju
SEM=RES **1COL** **Chachi-COL** SP:generally speak-CL:say-AG.NMLZ just be-PL-CL:be
for that reason **we Chachis** generally speak (in those terms)

fibaa ruku juu de-ja-n=mala-ya **fiba-la**,
white man be PL-come=when-FOC **white-COL**
of **white** men when they come, **whites**,

fiba-a ruku-la-a ne-n-de-tsa-a,
white-FOC man-COL-foc go.around walk-PL-PROG-FOC
"**White** men are coming around,"

ne juntsa-n-ti-mu ne ju-de-ju
just DM.DST-NMLZ-say-AG.NMLZ just be-PL-be
that is what we say,

naa **uyala**, matyu **fiba** o **uyala** tsaa=ren.
how **foreigner** so **white** SP:or **foreigner** SEM=EMPH
whether they are **foreigners**, (Ecuadorian) **whites** or **foreigners**, like that,

fiba-la ti-la-ya diferencia pu-ña,
white-COL say-COL-FOC difference be.in/on-EV.INF
but there are differences among whites,

fiba-la-ya ingles-chi pa-tyu-la-na-a
white-COL-FOC SP:English-INSTR talk-NEG-COL-ACC-FOC
the whites that don't speak English

fiba-la ti-mu de-e-wa-ña
white-COL say-AG.NMLZ PL-become-PTCP-EV.INF
we call (them) "**whites**",

2COL> tsaa=ren **ñuilla** ingles-chi pa-mu-la-na-a **uyala** tsaa=ren.
SEM=EMPH **2COL** SP:English-INSTR speak-AG.NMLZ **foreigner** SEM=EMPH
but **you all** who speak English (we say) **"foreigners" (*uyala*)** like that.

Tsaa=ren **laa**=bain mi-jtu,
SEM=EMPH **COL1**=also know-NEG
So like that **we** also do not know,

ruku-la tsan-ti-mu de-e-ñu'=mityaa
man-COL SEM-say-AG.NMLZ PL-become-DR=RES
the (old) men say things like that

laa=bain mi-jtu=ren ne **uyala** ti-mu ne ju-de-ju.
COL1=also know-NEG=EMPH just **foreigner** say-AG.NMLZ just be-PL-CL:be
but **we** also call them **"foreigners" (*uyala*)** without knowing why.

In the discourse transcribed above the speaker shows how the category of white person used for whites and mestizos from Ecuador also includes or overlaps with that of foreign whites in Chachi terminology. To point this out the speaker uses the resources of the Cha'palaa pronoun system to sort out these categories respective to the participants in the conversation. In this chapter I have shown how resolving the reference of collective pronouns is necessarily mediated by social knowledge about the relevant level of associativity of the group referents in any specific instance of their usage – the relevant levels mainly being racial groups in this data, but this is only one of a number ways of using collective pronouns. In addition to the social mediation of linguistic meaning, however, I am also concerned with how the discourse structures described above mediate social categories by anchoring ethnonyms to discourse participants through the pronoun system. This does not mean that Hall's "floating signifiers" are free-floating (1996); the ways that category membership status is mediated are constrained by historically situated social formations, including the racial formations that arose through the colonial

encounter in the Americas. Ways of reading bodies and discursively aligning them with social categories in interaction have been shaped by this history, which alone can make sense of why the second person collective pronoun in the example above includes me, as a white person and why the first person collective pronoun includes the speaker, as an indigenous person. The next chapter takes up further questions relating to the role of physicality in discourses of social categorization by addressing issues of multi-modality.

Summary

The Cha'palaa pronoun system consists of first, second and third person and collective forms of those persons. Collectivity in the pronoun system is similar to the kinds of collectivity addressed in earlier chapters; it uses the same collective suffix *-la*, it is constrained by the animacy hierarchy in that pronouns can only apply to animate referents, and it requires some level of associativity to constitute a collective reference. In addition, collective referents in the nominal and pronominal domains often come into alignment in discourse about social categories, so that collective pronouns become co-referential with social category terms like ethnonyms. This is a common pattern found in racializing discourse in Cha'palaa. Across clauses, the first person collective form will align with Chachi self-identification while the third person collective aligns with a non-Chachi group like the *peechulla* (Blacks) in an us/them pattern. In light of such properties pronouns in discourse, it is difficult to characterize the semantics of collective pronouns because the associative principles by which the participants include participants in the participation framework in different social groups are drawn from speakers' social knowledge relative to the interaction. In addition, the alignment between social category terms and the participation framework is a way to anchor broadly-circulating social categories onto specific participants in an interaction in specific discursive articulations of category membership. This creates a model in which interactions are both constrained by shared social histories and yet are local instantiations of those same histories. While most of the examples show explicit references to social categories, the maintenance of

discourse structures in alignment with social groups *without* explicit references to those groups is one way that social categorization becomes implicit in language. In addition, spoken language is only one part of the discursive articulation of social categories. The resources provided by the physical bodies inhabited by people in interaction provide rich communicative resources in general, but can become particularly significant in cases where racial dimensions of the body are salient in discourse. The next chapter expands the discussion of social categorization into multi-modality by considering the joint roles of speech and gesture in racializing discourses.

Chapter 5: Social categorization across modalities

5.1 Gestural resources for social categorization

The previous three chapters described in detail some of the most significant features of social categorizing and racializing discourse in spoken language, including ways of referring to social groups as collectivities and for locating speech participants and other social actors as members of those collectivities. Discourse and social interaction consists of more than spoken language, however. This chapter will add a multi-modal dimension to the discussion of social categorization by examining **co-speech gestures** that associate with the discourse forms described in the previous chapters. In addition, this chapter includes not only Chachi speakers but begins to bring Spanish language discourse of Blacks into dialogue with Cha'palaa discourse, a framework that will be sustained throughout the rest of this dissertation and that will be fore-grounded in Chapter 6. While the grammatical systems and discourse structures described previously are in some ways radically different from those of the coastal variety of Spanish spoken by Afro-Ecuadorian communities of Esmeraldas Province, there are also many similarities to be found in discourse and expression in both languages, in part because the borders between languages in contact are permeable, and so to some degree the two languages inhabit a single space of social circulation. Some of the Spanish gestures described below are comparable to some of the Cha'palaa gestures in their form, in how they combine with spoken language and ultimately in the kinds of meanings being circulated in and across discourses of these two social groups. The underlying question to this observation is to what extent do both groups participate in the same social constructions of meaning and reflect the same or similar kinds of articulations of the larger social processes of which they play a part?

Participants in both Cha'palaa and Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish discourse engage in many different forms of gesture as they speak, but here I will focus on just one type,

gestures that refer reflexively to the body, as gestures that have special relevance for how people think about the bodily dimensions of race. This excludes a number of other potentially interesting gesture forms for the purpose of keeping the argument concise. Gesture studies have approached gestural typology with a number of different criteria, one of which is the degree of **conventionalization** of a gesture, meaning whether it is similarly and consistently performed in a relatively stable form across speakers and instances, and whether or not it can be ill-formed; the most conventionalized gestures are known as **emblematic** gestures (Kendon 2004, McNeill 2000, 2005). The following Spanish example is a good illustration of an emblematic co-speech gesture used in racializing discourse. The speaker is Milton, my host while staying in the mixed Chachi and Black town of Zapallo Grande. When he describes the stereotype that Blacks are stronger or braver than Chachis, he clinches his fists and brings both of them up to mid-chest level where he makes a "strong" gesture, moving his hands slightly up and down. This excerpt is part of a longer stretch of discourse in which Milton references a widely-circulating theme in local discourse that the Chachis have adopted certain cultural practices from the Blacks that allow them to better navigate Spanish-speaking society.

(5.1) Entonces siempre los negros hemos sido más parados,
So we Blacks have always been more (strongly) standing,

hemos sido mas fuertes,
we have been stronger,

y por medio de nosotros, los chachis no fracasan.
and because of (what they learn from) us the Chachis do not fail.

Entonces esa es la parte que siempre se dice
So that is the part that they always say

que los negros somos mas fuertes
that we Blacks are stronger,

porque siempre nosotros somos mas parados
because we are always more (strongly) standing,

asi no nos importa morir, pero somos mas fuertes, mas valientes. [TWO FISTS]
so we don't care if we die, we are stronger and braver. [TWO FISTS]

This two-fisted "strong" gesture occurs elsewhere in Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish discourse in combination with the word *fuerte* ("strong") or words with other similar meanings. It is one of many emblematic gestures that speakers can draw on as communicative resources, including for racializing discourse. Emblematic gestures can have some degree of **iconicity**, meaning that they bear some form of resemblance to their referent – in this case the posture of a strong, braced body to refer to strength. But the key ingredient to emblematic gestures is not iconicity but conventionality; the gestures to be considered in this chapter, by contrast, are relatively less conventional.

Another type of gesture sometimes used in social categorization consists of different **deictic** gestures. These gestures are not primarily iconic or conventionalized; their key feature is their **indexicality**, meaning that they share a relationship of contiguity to their referents. One of the most common kinds of deictic gestures is **pointing**, in which a finger or other body part is extended to show the direction of a referent's location (Haviland 2000, Enfield 2007). Pointing is one of the ways that speakers organize space in discourse, a function that can in turn be related to social categorization through the

way it orients to the different spaces inhabited by social groups. For example, in one town on the Cayapas River below Zapallo Grande, Black and Chachi communities are entirely divided on an upriver-downriver axis, and speakers in discourse will sometimes gesture upriver when talking about Blacks and downriver when talking about Chachis. In a similar way, in the following example Milton's neighbor Susana mentions the Epera who live far downriver near a coastal estuary at the mouth of the Cayapas River and when I asked for clarification exactly where they live she simultaneously stated "They live downriver" and pointed west.

(5.2)

SU: Hay raza cholo, pero ellos se llaman Epera.
There is the Cholo race, but they are called Epera.

Ellos se dicen Epera. Los Epera tambien se casan con negros,
They call themselves Epera. The Epera also get married to Blacks.

ellos tambien se unen con negro.
they also form unions with Blacks.

SF: Pero ellos son de aquí? O . . .
But they are from here? Or . . .

SU: No, abajo. Ellos son de abajo. [POINT:WEST]
No, downriver. They are from downriver. [POINT:WEST]

Like deictic gestures, the type of gestures I will discuss in this chapter have indexical aspects, but instead of being directed outwards into the spatial frame around the speaker, the indexicality is directed back onto the body of the speaker herself. Even though emblematic and deictic gestures like those shown above are significant for social categorization in different ways, it is the orientation to the body that makes these **reflexive gestures** an especially rich topic for a discussion of racializing discourse. For that reason I have chosen them as illustrative of what a multi-modal perspective can add to the study of discourse in general and racializing discourse in particular, where the body is always at issue.

5.2 Gesture and the historico-racial schema

The perspective taken here considers instances of speech and their accompanying gestures together as part of the creation of meaning in a **composite utterance** (Enfield 2009). The contributions of speech and gesture to the composite utterance are not redundant, but instead reflect distinct aspects of the single, compound meaning, a relation of **co-expressivity** (McNeill 2005). Different kinds of gestures can contribute different kinds of meaning – in the examples above, the emblematic gesture of "strong" above enriched the semantics of the adjectival descriptive phrase it co-occurred with, while the deictic gesture of "west" added spatial information to the directional phrase it co-occurred with. During the course of my research with speakers of Cha'palaa and with speakers of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish, I began to notice that at moments in conversation when aspects of the body became salient topics speakers would gesture towards different parts of their own bodies while speaking. Such gestures were such frequent accompaniments to discourse about the body that I began to be able to predict their occurrence with some success during transcription. Whenever I came across such discourse in the written transcript or the audio recording I found that if I checked the video recording of the same instance often there would be a co-speech gesture with some

kind of bodily reflexive characteristics. As a type, these gestures show internal differentiation, ranging from the kinds of **meta-phenotypic** gestures shown in the context of Yambu's historical narrative in the introductory chapter to gestures about less immutable aspects of the body such as clothing styles. What they all have in common is that they show how at some level of awareness speakers are attending to the bodies they inhabit while participating in social action and using that awareness as an expressive resource, and one that is frequent in racializing discourse.

Let's consider an initial example. This recording from an interview with Seferino, a young Chachi man from a small community on the Upi river, shows how the Cha'palaa phrase translated as "we are cinnamon-colored" co-occurs with a sweeping movement of the speaker's left hand over the surface of his right arm, referring to his own skin color. As part of the interview I had asked him to compare Chachi people to the other social groups in the area, and Seferino brought up phenotype as one area of difference. What brought Seferino to make this movement as he described the physical appearance of Chachis in contrast to that of their Black neighbors? Put more generally, what kind of cognitive process brings speakers' reflexive knowledge of inhabiting a body in a social world populated by bodies to bear on their gestural practices during language production? And more broadly, what does the social circulation of these gestural practices imply not only about how they are produced but about interlocutors draw meaning from them to complement the meaning in the spoken language?

(5.3) Tsen naa kolornu pañubain peechullala kolor neegro,
So speaking of color, the Blacks are black color,

tsenmala lalaa matyu somos kanela no? [SWEEP HAND OVER SKIN]
and then we are cinnamon colored right? [SWEEP HAND OVER SKIN]

There is consensus among many gesture researchers that spoken language and gesture are part of the same processing mechanisms and designed as part of the same socially meaningful expressions (Kendon 2004, McNeill 2005, Enfield 2009). What would this imply for gestures like the one above in which the body of the speaker becomes a frame for illustrating more abstract social meanings? It is important to keep in mind that the speech that co-occurred with the gesture shown above has many of the features of discourse described in previous chapters, including an us/them pronominal alignment in which collective pronouns are co-referent with collective ethnonyms. In my description of these kinds of discourse forms I discussed how it is not any one system of language in itself that reflects and helps to constitute cultural knowledge, but rather how disparate linguistic systems operate together in a frame of consistency. From a multi-modal perspective, if gesture is produced by the same thought processes as spoken language, then gesture should also be considered part of this frame – this is revealed for the gestures in question by their high degree of predictability in the context of the appropriate linguistic frame.

A further problem remains, however, when this question is pushed into the realm of social meaning, because in the approach taken here the entire communicative complex of speech and gesture are part of the same moment of articulation in a broad sense of the word; articulation of grammatical patterns, of bodily practices and of social meaning all

in concert. While the body exists in the material world, the significance of different body parts and ways of regarding the body is determined in social interaction, and as such is situated in social history. When a speaker directs an addressee's attention to her or his own skin, eyes or hair, she or he draws on a history in which culture of the body has provided an ordering principle for structures of social inequality. With this connection, it is possible to see how broad patterns of social history can subtly shape even the slightest movements in interaction. From this perspective, I argue that it is possible to observe aspects of the racialized social order articulated at the level of micro-interaction. Here I will recall Hall's ideas about how people "read" race based on the socially and historically significant features of the body (1996) and Vargas' idea of "hyperconsciousness" of race (2004), referring to the idea that at some level of awareness people are always attending to physical appearance and using it to apply racial categories to others, whether or not they do so in the more overt ways I am presenting in this dissertation.[21] Fanon's idea of the "historico-bodily schema" ([1952] 2008, 111) best explains how these systems of racial meaning observed in momentary interactions are based on the full social experience of colonialism and racial inequality, which is so pervasive that it mediates any and all human interactions to some degree. The examples of co-speech gesture in this chapter show how reference to shared social history in its localized manifestations becomes a communicative resource for explicit gestural and spoken references to the body, but the more general idea I am advancing is that this level of social meaning is always potentially present in interaction, even when it is not directly invoked.

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[21] Herzfeld (2009) adds a methodologically reflexive dimension to these questions by describing the interplay between the physical presence of the body in interaction, socio-historical ways for "reading" the body, and discursive references to the body for the case of a white (or otherwise incongruous) anthropologist in settings where this causes him or her to stand out: "The interplay of framing such as clothing, phenotype, and gesture is indeed of considerable importance, though not necessarily in ways that we anticipate . . . In this sense, the politics of phenotype limits an actor's capacity to manage the politics of specifically cultural aspects of appearance, gesture and language included. Partial success is nevertheless feasible – but of necessity it usually remains partial, because phenotype is always lurking in the background, ready to jump forward and disrupt the pleasant experience of acceptance. On the other hand, an anthropologist should arguably always be ready to embrace the sharing of cultural traits that such

One of the goals of this dissertation is to describe indigenous Chachi people participating in the same social processes as their Afro-Ecuadorian neighbors (and with other social groups at different levels of scale, up to the national level and beyond). The example below shows how a Black speaker employs a co-speech gesture with many points of similarity to Seferino's gesture shown above. When the speaker, a Black school teacher named Fausto, refers to "the complexion that we have" he brings his open right hand to his left forearm and brushes the skin. He was responding to a question about interracial marriage:

(5.4) A veces lo que pretende es cambiar el apellido,
Sometimes what they want is to change the last name,

osea cambiar el- no seguir siendo siempre tradicionalista
I mean, change the- to not keep being always traditionalist

en- en- con la tez que tenemos [BRUSH SKIN]
in- in- with the complexion that we have [BRUSH SKIN]

siempre hay que ir cambiando un poco, para decir, bueno
we always have to go changing a little bit, so to say, well,

ya no queremos ser solamente negros
that we don't want to be just Blacks anymore

conditional acceptance implies, rather than expecting to indulge in the no less prejudice-laden fantasy of

sino que ir cambiando un poco la raza.
but rather to go changing the race a little.[22]

In the example above, Fausto mentions the two major historical dimensions of race: phenotype, through skin color, and descent, through "last names." His use of the first person plural verb forms signal the speaker's inclusion in a larger social category, and his meta-phenotypic gesture helps to make linkages between such broad social categories, the physical aspects of the body that are associated with them, and the actual body the speaker inhabits as he speaks. Participants in social interaction constantly make these kinds of linkages between meaning as it is locally negotiated in conversation and meaning at the more abstract level of socio-historical processes. The local experience with the body and localized understandings of genealogy and descent become the moments of articulation of these larger processes, which in turn constrain and shape those moments of interaction even as they are constituted by them.

While the racial organization of social life has a powerful historical force that resists transformation, like any social construction it is unstable and incomplete. As in the example above, the interviewee in the example below uses meta-phenotypic gestures to describe the results of racial mixture. I will address discourses about interracial marriage in detail in Chapter 6; now I am most concerned with the multimodal dimensions of such discourse. Here the speaker is talking about how men with different colors of black skin produce different phenotypic outcomes in unions with indigenous women, some pairings resulting in children who are more *quemaditos* or "burnt" than others, and at two moments in the discourse he brushes his left forearm with his right hand in order to make reference to skin color (the images are unclear due to backlight – the speaker is in the hammock on the left).

'going native' altogether." (140)

(5.5) Nosotros nos encantaría cambiar la raza también;
We would love to change the race too;

salen cruzaditos pues.
they come out crossed.

Ellos salen cruzados, ellos ya no salen de mi color (?) [BRUSH SKIN]
They come out crossed, they don't come out with my color [BRUSH SKIN]

yo como yo soy un poquito mas clarito que mi compadre,
me since I am a little bit lighter than my compadre,

pongamos asi, si yo me entablo con una negra- con una chachi
let's put it this way, if I am with a Black- with a Chachi woman

los hijos salen salen ahi, (?), pelo enruchadito y no salen muy quemado;
the kids that come out there (?) curly hair and not very burnt;

pero si es asi como mi compa, mas moreno,
so that's how it is, like my compadre, darker,

[22] This evocation of discourses of racial improvement through interracial relations echoes widely circulating discourses around Latin America; I will address this topic more directly in Chapter 6.

entonces ahi salen mas quemaditos los muchachos [TAP SKIN OF ARM]
so then they come out more burnt the kids [TAP SKIN OF ARM]

el pelo ahi si le sale bien enchuradito, mas virado el cabello
the hair comes out very curly, more twisty the hair.

It is interesting to compare the two instances of meta-phenotypic gesture in the example above in terms of the linkages between specific bodies and larger socio-historical processes that I am claiming they can help to establish. The first co-occurs with the phrase *mi color* ("my color"), using the physical aspects of his co-present body to achieve a more precise reference about the kinds of phenotypic variation he is discussing. The second co-occurs with the phrase *más quemaditos* ("more burnt-DIM") in reference to the skin color of a general class of mixed-race children. This is a case of the kinds of scalar linkages that I am referring to, where socially-circulating categories are connected to participants in a speech event through discourse.

5.3 Reflexive gestures and social categorizing discourse

Gestures referencing skin color are just one kind of a large range of possible reflexive gestures that associate with social categorization in discourse. All of these gestures can be generally characterized in a similar way: they combine a **deictic** aspect, indexing a physical point on the body, with an **iconic** aspect, tracing the form of the referent. The self-directed deictic aspect is the basic part of what makes these gestures reflexive. The iconic aspect, in common with iconic gestures more generally, involves different kinds of modeling and tracing of the form or shape of the referent (Enfield 2009). The example below shows a gesture that is primarily indexical in which Patricia points to her own eyes while explaining how white foreigners have light colored eyes. This gesture has a limited iconic dimension, although it is worth noting that the pointing is done with two fingers mirroring the symmetry of the eyes:

(5.6) Gringo le dicen fibaa rukula uyaa ruku,
They call gringos white men, *uya* man

eso, kapuka naraañu'mityaa uyaa ruku timi; [POINT EYES] ishdandaa palaa.
that, because of their pretty eyes they are called *uya* man; [POINT EYES]
'transparent' is the word.

In contrast, an example from later in the same interview shows how Patricia uses an iconic gesture that relates the twirling of her index finger to the form of the hair of the children of Blacks with Chachis. The gesture also includes an indexical aspect in that the hand approaches the speaker's own hair.

(5.7) Tsa'mityaa cha' supulanu dekanmala

For that reason when (blacks) marry Chachi women

yaila' kailla faami achuwa naraa te'wallullu, [FINGER TWIST]

their children come out with hair in pretty curls, [FINGER TWIST]

baate'wallulluu faanu juaa.

with long curls they come out.

I found that similar gestures were common when describing curly hair, both in Cha'palaa discourse and in Spanish in interviews with Blacks. In this example Marco makes an almost identical gesture to that of Patricia in the example above.

(5.8) OM: El pelo ahi si le sale bien enchuradito.

The hair comes out really curly.

MA: Mas virado el cabello. [FINGER TWIST]

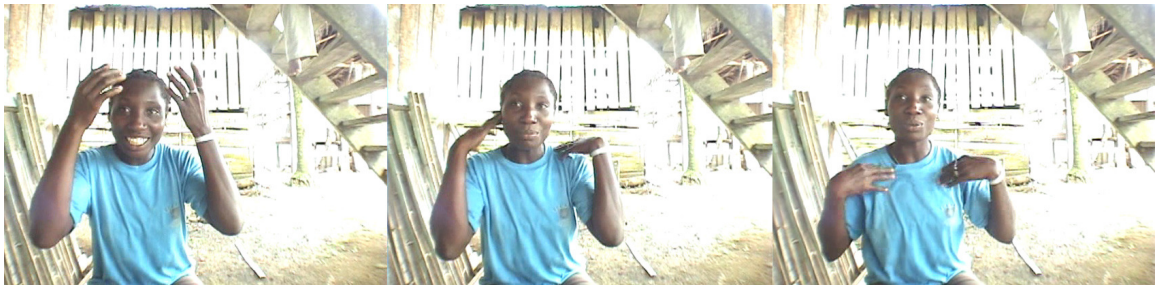
Curlier hair. [FINGER TWIST]

Gestures can also focus on other aspects of hair, such as the way that it hangs around the head. In this example the interviewee Ermita describes the kind of hair that children of mixed marriages between Blacks and Chachis can have:

(5.9)

E: Salen muy bonitos, mira por lo menos la casa de ahi de esa casa,

They come out really pretty, look, at least the house there, that house,



de ahi, hay una niñas que tu has visto bien churoncitas,

[TWO HANDS – "LONG HAIR"]

and then, there are some girls that you have seen very curly,

[TWO HANDS – "LONG HAIR"]

ellas son entre chachi y negro.

they are between a Chachi and a Black.

The manner form of these gestures are a resource for phenotypic distinction. The gesture above has some degree of volume around the head, in combination with the spoken description of some local mixed race girls as *churoncitas*[23] in reference to their full curls. In contrast, the gesture shown below from the same interview illustrates how

[23] Simply to highlight the complex sociolinguistic situation of Ecuador, it is interesting to know that the root word of this word, *churo*, is an Ecuadorian Spanish term for "curl" that is borrowed from the Quechua word *churu*, meaning "spiral" or "snail".

the same speaker characterizes a different phenotype, the children of Chachis with Manabas;[24] here a rapid motion sweeps up and down to indicate straight hair:

(5.10)

E: A veces hay unos que han llegado y se han casado con chachis arriba,
Sometimes some (Manabas) have arrived and married with Chachis upriver,

tambien hay otros que se han casado con chachis aqui mismo
and there are also others that have married with Chachis right here.

SF: y los hijos?
and the children?

E: Ahi ya le sale como chachi el pelo. [ONE HAND – "LONG HAIR"]
There their hair comes out like a Chachi. [ONE HAND – "LONG HAIR"]

The next example is comparable to the ones above in many ways; Alfonso responded in this way to my question about the children of Blacks and Chachis. He used a number of terms to refer to mixed-raced children, including the term "*mestizo*" which here takes on a different meaning from many contexts where it means mixture of indigenous and European descent. When Alfonso mentions the different kinds of hair that *mestizos* can have, he brings his hand up over his head to the back of his neck:

[24] This is a reference to the Children of Patricia, the interviewee cited above; an example from Patricia in

(5.11)

SF: Los hijos de ellos son chachis o negros?
Their children are Chachis or Blacks?

AL: Ya salen mestizos, mestizos, mestizos
They are *mestizos*, *mestizos*, *mestizos*,

ya salen yaa como le digo mestizo, ya es chileno,
they come out already as I tell you *mestizo*, now they are *chileno*,

como decir un machorromo ya.
that is to say a *machorromo*[25] now.

Pero igual salen su pelo choro [HAND SWEEP - HEAD], pero cuando son muy
but they come out with curly hair [HAND SWEEP – HEAD] but when they

apretadas tambien sale chureado.
are very tight then they can come out curly.

In the example below Lucrecia discusses both the skin color and hair of mixed raced children, using a twisting index finger pointing at the head to show curls, as in several of the other examples above. In fact, in comparison to Patricia's similar gesture

Chapter 6 will give more details about her marriage to a Manaba man..

[25] I am unaware of the meaning of this word; it may be particular to coastal Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish.

above, Lucrecia's gesture co-occurred with the very same spoken lexical item *wallullu* or "curly":

(5.12) Peechulla chachillaba kasaa i', kaya'chunbala kailla faatu,
When Blacks marry with Chachis, and they live together and children come,

chachilla' kuluryaa faatyuwe,
they don't come out in the Chachi color.

Yumaa kulur kambia ideiñu, tsaa pababaa achuwa te'wallulluu, [FINGER TWIST]
Now they have changed their color, like black hair in curls. [FINGER TWIST]

juntsaayaa faamudeewe, tsaaren lala chachiitalaya lala' koloryaa naaju,
they come out that way, so, we, (marrying) among Chachis, how our color is,

laachi lala' kolor naaju kanela juuñaba lala' kailla juntsaten faamudeewe,
how ours, how our color is cinamon, our children come out like that.

Tsajturen peechullalabaya yumaa lala rasa kambia ideiwaashujuntsaya
So like that, how our race is now changing with the Blacks,

laachi yumaa kaillabain kambia ideiwe.
now our children are also changing.

In addition to the hereditary qualities of hair, speakers can use reflexive gestures to talk about distinctive hairstyles that can distinguish different social categories. Here Lucrecia talks about the Tsachila people who are known for using red achiote paint in their hair:

(5.13) Kulaadulaya mishpuka pinta judeewe ruku- -kula yala' mishpuka
The Colorados paint their heads, the men, their heads.

mishpukasha mu pintanke kemudeewe,
they paint with achiote on their heads,

leshkapanu aabebeke pinta kemudeewe kulaadulaya [HAND TO FOREHEAD]
they paint around their foreheads, the Colorados. [HAND TO FOREHEAD]

Manpirendetyuwe chaiba yala' kultura yala' traje utilisa kemudeju
[HANDS TO CHEST]
They haven't lost their culture yet, they use their traditional clothig,
[HANDS TO CHEST]

tsenmi yaibain yala' idioma utilisa kemu deju tsa'mitya.
and like that they also use their language, for that reason.

Moving from gestures about hair type to gestures about hair style begins to blur the line between the biological and the cultural. Reflexive gestures also commonly refer to cultural practices of clothing and adorning the body, which in turn form an array of cultural distinction. In the example above, Lucrecia gestured at her body in reference to the traditional clothing that the Tsachila wear. In the introductory chapter I described some ways in which ethnic and racial terminologies can blend together and stand in for one another. Reflexive gestures on the body can be about either about biological phenotype or about material cultural practices of the body, as two different interwoven dimensions of social categorization.

Clothing is often mentioned as a marker of social difference with respect to the highland Quechua-speaking indigenous people. In this example Patricia moves the side of her hand down her shirt to depict the warm ponchos and shawls that highlanders wear:

(5.14) Erukulaa yaila' jalinun aseeta iimu [HAND DOWN CHEST]
Highland men we recognize by their clothing, [HAND DOWN CHEST]

yaila' palaa, aseeta yaila' palaanun.
and their language, they understand their language.

Crucially, these gestures on the body are part of more general ways of characterizing social groups, so in the example above clothing style is combined with language as part of the complex of features that form the basis of social differentiation. They can also be a way of negotiating the status of social categories in periods of social change, as in the following example in which Fausto discusses how distinctive Chachi clothing styles have fallen into disuse in recent years. In the first gesture noted in the transcript below the gestural material helps to enrich the meaning of the spoken material by showing where the clothing is located on the body, information which is underspecified in the spoken part of the utterance. I want to highlight the way in which these complex structures of meaning available to speakers through multimodal communication become resources for social differentiation:

(5.15) Bueno porque en ellos ya fue, o sea, la educación ha hecho que
Well because for them it was, I mean, education has made it so

hayan ido perdiendo un poco su tradición porque,
they have gone losing their tradition little by little because,

porque vera, los chachis antes ,
because look, the Chachis before,

su vestimenta no era la que tienen ahora,
their clothing didn't used to be what they have now,

ellos vestían con un trozo de tela amarrado [ARMS AROUND WAIST]
they dressed with a strip of cloth tied [ARMS AROUND WAIST]

y se les decía que era un anaco
and it was said to be an "anaco" (skirt),

andaban sin cubrirse el pecho [HANDS SWEEP OVER CHEST]
they went around without covering their chest [HANDS SWEEP OVER CHEST]

y ahora ya no se ve eso, porque, porque la civilización ha avanzado no?
and now you don't see that because civilization has advanced, right?

Se han dejado la tradición un poco atrás y se han-
They have left their tradition behind a little and they have-

se han metido a la civilización.
they have entered into civilization.

Here Fausto participates in the discourses that cast Blacks as participants in "civilization" through their historical use of Western clothing and language and their participation in the education system, in contrast to the Chachis, who are just recently entering "civilization". In the following example Susana makes similar comments about

the Chachis' "typical" clothing, and I think it is worth considering the semantics of the Spanish word *típico* because of how it evokes types and social typification:

(5.16) Antes, no, y también ahora las chachis mujeres
Before, no, and also now the women Chachis
ellas tienen vestimenta- se visten típico.
They have clothing- they dress typically.

pero ahorita ya poco se ve,
but now it is only seen a little bit,

y los hombres también se vestían típico,
and the men also dressed typically,

un- con un manto- no se como es que se llama,
a- with a cloth- I don't know how it is called,

eso es que se lleva hasta acá abajo [HANDS DOWN CHEST TO KNEES],
that is what goes down to here below [HANDS DOWN CHEST TO KNEES],

pero ellos ahorita, ya no- ya olvidaron esa costumbre.
but they now, not anymore- now they have forgotten that custom.

I have purposefully slipped from gestures about body types like those used in discourse about skin color and hair texture to those concerning clothing styles in order to blur the line between racial and ethnic forms of social categorization. However, as much as these two areas overlap and stand in for each other, I believe that on the part of both Chachis and Blacks the criteria for social differentiation between the different major racial groups of Blacks, Whites and indigenous people concentrate on racial difference while the criteria for differentiation between different indigenous groups internally to this macro-racial division focus on ethnic or cultural features such as clothing styles and language. This does not mean there are no discourses of physical differences among indigenous peoples or of cultural differences between Blacks and indigenous people, but simply that the three most historically relevant racial macro-categories in the Americas circulate locally and are articulated across different moments of social interaction, sometimes in tension with other bases for social categorization. The following example shows how Ermita uses the material culture of clothing styles to differentiate between the Chachis and other indigenous groups in ethnic terms:

(5.17)

E: Pero hay otros,otros, los colorados, asi, hay algunas etnias,
But there are others, others, the Colorados, like that, there are other ethnic groups,

SF: Y son parecidos a los chachis?
And are they similar to the Chachis?

E: Parecidos, pero en ese entonces usan un, un cintillo aquí
Similar, but in their case they use a, a little band here
[THUMB/INDEX > FOREHEAD]

y se ponen unas plumas aquí que los diferencea.
and they put some feathers here that differentiate them.

Gestures can be recruited for many different kinds of social differentiation, and meta-phenotypic gestures and depictions of clothing styles are just sub-sets of the full range of gestures that can become significant for social categorization in discourses where it is salient. Gestures can be used to evoke how people move and go about different tasks, which can also become ways for stereotyping cultural behavior. For instance, in the example below the speaker uses a co-speech gesture – linked directly to the semantics of the construction through the anaphoric properties of the semblative *así,* "like that" – to typify how highland indigenous people, known for their commerce, carry their bundles of goods.

(5.18) Y cuando lo- ellos lo andan a cargar lo cargan aqui encima asi.
And when- they carry (loads) they carry them above, like this.
[HANDS TO SHOULDERS]

esos son- o sea la piña.
they are- I mean pineapples and such.

In a similar example below, Susana discusses the highland indigenous people that sometimes come into the region to trade. She uses the term *longuitas* to describe highland indigenous people who are also *otavaleños* or *de Quito* (from Otavalo or Quito); this term has a long history in Ecuadorian Spanish. Through language contact the Quechua word *lunku* for "young man" has been adopted into Ecuadorian Spanish as a racialized and infantilizing term for indigenous men similar to some usages of "boy" in American English. As a Spanish word, *lunku* was adapted to Spanish phonology and gender marking and became *longo*, with an alternate feminine form *longa* by extension. Susana uses the feminine term with the addition of the diminutive suffix (*longuita*); it is unclear how to gauge negative valence here, but spoken to the face of a highland indigenous person the word would be highly offensive.

In this example Susana describes how she noticed, perhaps with her eye as a mother, that the highland women carry their children in a different way from what she is used to seeing; while speaking, she uses her right arm to model a cloth around her torso with a baby wrapped in tightly at her back:

(5.19) Saben venir los de Otavalo, los otavaleños.
The ones from Otavalo come, the otavalens.

Antes- ahorita es que ya no vienen, ellos sabian venir.
Before- it is now that the no longer come, they used to come.

También saben venir las longuitas,
The *longuitas* (women) also come,

hay unas longuitas que también saben venir.
there also some *longuitas* (women) that sometimes come.

SF: Que- de donde son las longuitas?
What- where are the *longuitas* from?

SU: Yo no se si serán de Quito
` I don't know if they are from Quito

pero en Borbon saben- de la sierra son- en Borbon saben venir
but often in Borbón- they're from the highlands - they usually come to Borbón.

y andan con los niños acá atrás [RIGHT HAND TO BACK].
and they walk around with the babies here behind [RIGHT HAND TO BACK].

As with the grammatical and discourse structures of spoken language discussed in the previous three chapters, it is important to frame the gestural parts of social categorizing discourse as articulations of broader socio-historical processes. But what does it mean to cast semi-conscious movements of the body as part of the localized manifestation of larger racial formations? What cognitive processes compel the momentary combinations of verbal and corporeal expression that, in my argument, form the building blocks of the social order? What can be drawn out of these examples is that discourse forms are at once socially generative and socially constrained, and that the constraints take the form of social conditioning that imprints the deepest parts of each social being where they become semi-conscious reflexes. This is by no means true only of racializing discourse, but is a characteristic of cultural transmission much more broadly. I began by focusing on gestures that concern the classic phenotypical markers of race like skin color, but by pulling back the focus a little it became clear that these are just part of wider gestural systems and subsystems that are an integral part of language. I showed how in multimodal speech racial discourses and discourses about ethnicity and material culture overlap, and that these kinds of discourse are only a small part of what gesture can help to accomplish expressively. Gesture has many roles as part of the communicative process and is not dedicated to social categorization, but it is one of resources available for making social meaning with discourses of social difference, and combines with spoken language to enrich meaning in composite utterances. In this small but significant way the history of racial formation is expressed with the body. Perhaps even more than spoken language, these gestural forms show how for participants in interaction the momentary articulation of broader social processes extends to the most micro levels where they inhabit almost every move that we make.

Summary

This chapter considered the role of multi-modal speech in social categorizing discourse. While recognizing that a wide variety of gesture types are potentially relevant for social categorization such as emblematic and deictic gestures, I narrowed my topic to just one general gesture type: reflexive gestures. These gestures have the basic components of corporeal reflexivity, meaning they establish a deictic link that indexes a part of the body *with* the same body that the speaker is inhabiting at the moment, and iconicity, meaning they model the shape or form of their referent. Meta-phenotypic gestures, or gestures that refer to aspects of the physical body, are particularly relevant for the study of racial discourse, but reflexive gestures come in all forms, and gestures about clothing types or typical activities can be equally significant for social categorization, as the examples demonstrated. Racial forms of social categorization and ethnic or cultural forms can be observed together and in overlap in multi-modal speech, but the patterns across the data upheld the idea that despite local specificity, the three racial macro-categories of Black, White and indigenous are among the most significant forms of categorization in circulation, reflecting their importance in social history. In a sense, we can read social history on some of the slightest movements made in interaction. This finding correlates with my findings regarding spoken discourse in the previous three chapters and indeed, the spoken language accompanying the gesture described in this chapter showed many of the features of social categorizing discourse that I described for spoken language in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Together with the multi-modal dimension added in Chapter 5, this completes my sketch of the properties of social categorizing discourse in Cha'palaa. Chapter 5 also establishes the framework for the final part of this dissertation, which introduces Spanish discourse by Blacks and puts it into dialogue with Chachi discourse. Now that the formal parts of my argument have been established, the following chapter will continue under this dialogic framework but will return to a discussion of spoken language, juxtaposing Chachis and Black discourses in order to flesh out the ethnographic dimensions of the social space where these discourse forms circulate.

Chapter 6: Dialogic dimensions of race relations

6.1 Cha'palaa and Spanish in multilingual social space

This chapter explores the relationship between Chachis and Black in the Cayapas River region of Esmeraldas by comparing and juxtaposing the discourses of both groups around similar topics in order give a **dialogic** ethnographic account in which meaning is generated out of the tensions created by multiple voices and perspectives The previous chapter included the discourse of Blacks alongside that of Chachis and this chapter continues the same framework and focuses more closely on Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish discourse about race relations with the Chachis. While the first part of this dissertation focused closely on Cha'palaa discourse, my intention is to show that discourse as part of a larger multilingual social space where the semantic meanings and linguistic forms of Spanish also circulate. From the perspective of descriptive linguistics thinking of Cha'palaa as an independent and cohesive system is a helpful approach for better understanding the language. But from the perspective of social analysis it is important to emphasize that in the Cayapas River region both Cha'palaa and Spanish discourse co-exist in daily language usage and interaction. Aside from the obvious linguistic split between Chachi communities that speak primarily Cha'palaa and Black communities that speak primarily Spanish, there are other sociolinguistic patterns to be found: Chachi men tend to travel more in Spanish-speaking society and use Spanish more than women and children; Chachis in more frequent contact with Blacks tend to use more Spanish, and a small percentage of Blacks pick up conversational Cha'palaa – usually from their Chachi schoolmates.[26] In addition, while Spanish is the national language of Ecuador and the fact

[26] Throughout my research I repeatedly attempted to schedule an interview with a Black man who was known for being a very good speaker of Cha'palaa. He was one of the public canoe drivers but whenever I rode with him he was too busy working to talk; several times we tried to plan for me to visit him where he lives upriver of Zapallo but we never managed to actually hold an interview. I believe this man is one of a small number of Blacks in the area that is considered to have a special affinal relationship by the Chachis,

that Blacks speak Spanish connects them to nationally-circulating discourses in ways that a monolingual Cha'palaa speaker might not experience, the variety of coastal Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish spoken by Blacks in Esmeraldas is different phonologically, lexically and in some cases grammatically from standard Ecuadorian Spanish. This dialectal difference significantly constrains how Blacks participate in national discourse and shapes how they are racialized through it.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, social categorization in Cha'palaa frequently uses the Spanish word *raza* in reference to Chachis and Blacks and rarely uses the term *etnia.* Both terms are from Spanish, but *raza* is used by older monolingual Chachis and is a much older borrowing than *etnia*, which is used mainly by young bilingual Chachis who are currently in contact with Spanish discourses of ethnicity and multiculturalism that are more recent developments. While Black interviewees usually used the word *raza* to talk about differences between Blacks and Chachis, many did so in combination with the word *etnia.* As Spanish speakers, Blacks are more exposed to internationally-circulating discourses of ethnicity they encounter through Spanish-speaking officials, NGO workers and other visitors. The adoption of ethnic terms is shallow, however, and examples in this chapter will show how it has been tacked on to racial discourses about descent and "blood". Like in the academic discourse on Esmeraldas cited in Chapter 1, in Spanish discourse on the Cayapas River *raza* and *etnicidad* often become stand-ins for one another, as in this example which mixes the two terminologies:

(6.1)

SU: Bueno, sobre las dos **etnias**, **Chachis** y **negros**,

Well, about the two **ethnicities**, **Chachis** and **Blacks**,

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growing up with them and still living close to a Chachi community. If I am able to finally interview him I believe his case will prove especially revealing about aspects of the relationship between Blacks and Chachis. Other Black Cha'palaa speakers I encountered were mostly school children at integrated schools who learned from their Chachi friends.

no se vive con problemas.
(they/we) don't live with problems.

Se vive bien, **los Chachis** no son de problema
(They) live well, **the Chachis** are not problematic.

Y con **la raza negra** también se vive bien, si.
And with **the Black race** also (they) live well

Si hay una buena amistad, no es que estamos con problemas, no.
There is a good friendship, it's not that we have problems, no.

Se llevan bien **las dos razas**.
The two races get along well.

Later in this chapter a section addressing both Black and Chachi perspectives towards race mixture and interracial marriage will show some of the depths of racial thinking articulated in the discourse of both groups and the superficial ways that more recent ethnic terms combine with it. By considering Black and Chachi discourses together it is possible to track discursive circulations across languages, speech communities and scalar levels of social organization. Including data from speakers of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish is also a way to include the voices of Black people in my discussion of the racializing discourses that Chachis use in reference to them. My concerns with describing Cha'palaa linguistic form meant that during my research I would spend much more time in Chachi communities in order to collect detailed information on the indigenous language; in Black communities, despite the notable differences between the local variety and my own Quito dialect,[27] approaching Spanish

[27] My adaptation to local ways of speaking became evident to me on several occasions when in Quito I used features of Esmeraldas Spanish and received surprised and amused reactions from Quiteños. One good example is the adverb *enantes* ("just before") which refers to the immediate past – highland Spanish would

discourse did not present the same kind of challenge. However taking the time to live and do research with Black people was an important complement to my research with the Chachis that helps to show both groups as part of broader social relationships rather than discrete isolated cultures.

About five months from the time of the interview with Yambu described in Chapter 1, when I had already collected a considerable about of data from one small Chachi community and was beginning to feel my command of Cha'palaa improving more rapidly, I decided to begin spending some of my time living with Afro-Ecuadorians. My closest Afro-Ecuadorian friend at the time was a man named Milton who lived in Zapallo Grande, a medium-sized town that was a local hub, with small stores, a two-story cement high school, and a hospital staffed by doctors doing their year of obligatory rural medical service. Zapallo is unique in the region as an integrated Chachi/Black town. Most towns in the region are almost exclusively either Black or Chachi. Other places like Santa Maria, a town downriver where I have done some limited research and interviewing, have both Chachi and Black populations but they are completely segregated into separate towns upriver and downriver. Even in Zapallo people remember a time when there was talk of segregating the community and moving the Blacks to a new town across the river, but enough locals valued living in an integrated town to stop this effort. Because Zapallo was home to Chachis and Blacks living as neighbors it seemed to be a good place to research the relationship between the two groups.

I met Milton through my Chachi friends. The village where I had been doing my initial research is located three to five hours poling a canoe up the Upi River from Zapallo, where it empties into the more highly trafficked Rio Cayapas. To make the trip, coming and going, it was necessary to stop in Zapallo and change canoes and I often had to stay the night there while waiting for transportation. My Chachi friends faced the same problem on their way in and out of the community, and they used to always stay with

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use a phrase like *hace un ratito* ("a little while ago"). These semi-conscious adaptations to local norms helped to make my interview methods in Spanish more meaningful.

Milton, where they invited me to accompany them. Milton, who was in his fifties, came to live in Zapallo when the Black owner of a large house there asked him to move in as a live-in caretaker. Later when the owner died and his family moved away they entrusted the house to Milton. About ten years before the period of my research, Milton had suffered from a serious spinal illness that had left him with limited use of his legs so that he walked slowly and with a limp. Since it was difficult for him to leave the house to work, Milton survived by keeping a small store and by hosting Chachi people in the spare rooms of the large house. He did not charge them anything to sleep there, but the Chachis made purchases in his store and when they cooked food they always shared with Milton, helping him to make ends meet.

I decided to begin extending my stopovers in Zapallo by several days on every field trip in order to do research in the area. I asked Milton if I could stay with him if I helped out with the household expenses and he agreed. Milton's porch with its view of the river, surrounded by shady trees with iguanas climbing in them, was an ideal place to observe interactions between Chachis and Blacks. Milton sat around for hours talking with Black friends while Chachi families came and went on different errands or hung around cooking food. Chachi and Black children ran in and out playing together. I met many of Milton's neighbors, both Chachi and Black, and I spent the mornings meeting with different community members for interviews and the afternoons holding English classes for a group of Chachi and Black students who had requested them. Milton's next door neighbor Susana was a Black woman married to a Chachi man, and getting to know their family was a window into attitudes about interracial marriage between Blacks and Chachis. During the first part of my research I recording interviews with members of a small remote Chachi community, while during this period I recorded interviews from a more diverse group of people. These included Blacks from Zapallo and from other towns on the Rio Cayapas and Chachis from the larger towns who knew more Spanish and were in closer contact with Blacks. This chapter includes excerpts from interviews with Blacks and Chachis of different ages and genders and from different villages and towns as a way

to ethnographically approach the broader multiracial and multilingual situation of the region.

Sometimes during the interviews I would ask interviewees to expand on their own personal histories when it was relevant for the question. Having observed Milton's relationship with Chachi people, in the part of the interview where I asked about Chachi/Black relations more generally I asked Milton to elaborate on his own experience making friends with Chachis:

(6.2)

SF: Noté que usted tiene muchos amigos Chachis
I've notices that you have a lot of Chachi friends

y que siempre vienen por aquí buscando
and they always come around here looking (for you)

entonces si puede contar la historia de cómo empezaron
so if you could tell the story about how they began

a llegar aquí a esta casa y conocer con usted y así.
to arrive here at this house and get to know you, like that.

M: Bueno, al llegar a, pongamos- cuando yo ya me radiqué en esta casa
Well, to get to, let's say- when I moved to this house

fue por medio, bueno, de los dueños de aquí.
it was because, well, of the owners here.

Entonces yo como antes tenía muchos amigos Chachis,
So because I had a lot of Chachi friends,

entonces ellos siempre me buscaban entonces cuando ya venían,
so they always looked for me when they were coming,

a buscar los dormitorios aquí, a buscar aquí posada.
to look for rooms here, to look for shelter here.

Entonces como yo no era el dueño de la casa,
So because I was not the owner of the house,

yo principalmente hablaba con el dueño de la casa,
I first had to speak to the owner of the house,

entonces el me decía, no hay posada.
and he told me, there is no shelter (for them).

Entonces yo le decía vea, nosotros somos caminantes,
So I told him look, we are travelers,

nosotros donde vamos nos encargamos donde dormir.
and wherever we go we ask for a place to sleep.

Si nos toca dormir en una playa, tendemos alguna carpa, y ahí nos quedamos.
If we have to sleep on a beach, we put up a tent and there we stay.

Pero si viene la lluvia y no cargamos como taparnos arriba, nos mojamos.
But if the rain comes and we don't have a way to cover ourselves, we get wet,

y siempre ocupábamos la casa de los Chachis.
and we always use the houses of the Chachis.

Entonces bueno ahí me decía, el me decía, diles que entren para acá a dormir.
So well there he said, he said to me tell them to come in to sleep.

Entonces en esa forma así, yo ya fui teniendo amistad con ellos
So in that way, I went making friends with them

y como ellos veían que yo no era mala gente,
and as they could see that I was not a bad person,

que si yo topaba que comer, yo compartía con ellos,
that if I found something to eat, I would share with them,

entonces así ellos se fueron acostumbrando, hasta que ya nos hicimos amigos,
so they went getting used to it, until we made friends.

entonces por eso siempre cuando ellos vienen, que yo estoy solo aquí,
Because of that every time they come, since I am alone here,

ellos vienen buscándome aquí en esa forma así ellos llegaron a,
they come looking for me and in that way they come to,

o sea llegamos a hacer amigos con ellos.
I mean, we come to be friends with them.

Siempre yo voy a la casa de ellos, por igual también me atienden asimismo.
Always when I go to their house, they take care of me in the same way.

Entonces, por eso yo también los atiendo.
So for that I reason I also take care of them.

Si no tienen que comer y yo tengo, yo consigo,
If they don't have anything to eat and I have some, I find some,

tome, cocine para que comamos todos,
take it, cook it so we can all eat.

Hoy día, la mujer de Manuel es mi ahijada.
Today, the wife of Manuel is my goddaughter.

Entonces por ahí yo tenía un pescadito, le digo ahijada cocine para que comamos
So there I had a little fish, and I said "Goddaughter cook it so that we can eat,"

entonces ahí ella cocino, y ya comimos todos.
so then she cooked it and we all ate.

Milton often explained to me how his relationships with Chachi families had lasted generations, so that sometimes the children or relatives of old Chachi friends he had not seen in years would arrive and by tracing genealogies he would connect them to his older acquaintances and offer them lodging as well. Some of those relationships became formalized, such as the *compadrazgo* (godfather/godchild) relationship Milton mentioned at the end of the excerpt above – now that his goddaughter is married he receives her husband and children at his house and they all chip in for communal meals. In Chapter 1 of this dissertation I discussed how the social science literature on Latin America has in general had an unfortunate tendency to not consider blackness and indigeneity together as part of a broader history of racial formation with its origins in the colonial encounter – given the social ties among Blacks and Chachis like those I describe above, in this setting discussing just one or the other group alone seems virtually impossible, despite the fact that most ethnographies of the Chachis have addressed their relationship with the Blacks peripherally if at all.

My method for approaching Black/Chachi relations through discourse in this chapter is to present the juxtaposed comments of Blacks and Chachis on similar topics to show where they converge and where they diverge and create tension. The Bahktinian concepts of **dialogicity** and **heteroglossia** provide good ways for thinking about how multiple voices create social meaning; in these terms the co-presence of varied, sometimes contradictory voices is **heteroglossic** and the way these voices respond and relate to other voices is **dialogic** (Bahktin 1981, Tedlock and Manheim 1996). This perspective in many ways combines well with the discursive or interactional constructionist approach that I am taking in this dissertation, in which social formations are unstable and must continually be reproduced incrementally through specific social interactions, each moment adding more voices. It also combines well with the interactivist analysis I will present in Chapter 7, in which I argue that social meaning is not constructed through monologic discourse but is co-constructed socially by multiple participants through their dialogic interaction. The example below will help to illustrate this point, if we consider it while recalling examples from Chapter 3 in which Chachis discussed offensive racial epithets; here a Black man gives his own account of how racial epithets are used between Chachis and Blacks:

(6.3)

DS: Porque a veces se pegan entre todos,
Sometimes they fight amongst everyone,

los negros, los chachis también golpean
the Blacks, the Chachis also hit,

cayapa, o sea un vocabulario feo, come crudo,
“Cayapa”, an ugly word, “raw (food) eater”

así comienzan a insultarlos y ellos se molestan,
they start to insult them like that and it bothers them,

ya, y ellos comienzan a decir pechulla, y así comienzan y sigue, sigue
ok, and they start to say "*peechulla*", and they start like that and keep going,

saben decir eh pechullla, pechulla, juyungo, osea negros hediondos
they say eh *peechulla*, *peechulla*, *juyungo*, like "stinky Blacks"

jaco, osea pechullia juyungo jaco, osea quiere decir salete negro de aqui, si.
"*jaco*," like "*peechulla juyungo jaco*" that means "get out of here Black", yes.

SF: ¿Que es juyungo?
What is *juyungo*?

DS: Eso quiere decir hediondo
That means "stinky".

SF: Los jovenes ya no saben mucho de esa palabra.
The young people don't know that word very much.

DS: Eeh en chapalachi dice, yo aprendí con mis compañeras, mis amigas,
Eeh, it is in Cha'palaa, I learned it with my comrades, my friends,

desde antes, pocas palabras solo que no les prestaba atención,
from before, a few words, just that I did not pay attention to them,

pero así saben decir
but that is what they used to say,

pechulla, juyungo, jaco o sea salte negro hediondo de aquí, jaco
"*peechulla, juyungo, jaco,*" I mean, "Get out of here stinky Black, *jaco*."

SF: La palabra peechulla, negro
The word *peechulla*, "Black",

pero un negro cuando oye eso ¿está bien o está mal o qué?
but a Black person when hearing that, is it good, or bad, or what?

DS: O sea, mira es que en el- a veces lo dicen,
So, look, when a- sometimes they say it,

si ya sabemos que nosotros somos negros, verdad?
and we already know we are Black, right?

Si, pero ellos lo dicen en una forma, cuando ya están tomados tu no los conoces,
Yes, but they say it in a way, when they're drunk you don't know them,

o sea dicen en una forma ofensiva,
so they say it in an offensive way,

o sea, y los negros se molestan, porque ellos ya saben que son negros
so, it bothers the Blacks, because they already know they are Black,

y se molestan de gana y comienzan los- los puñetes y las peleas.
and they are bothered uselessly and they start the- the punches and fights.

This excerpt provides a good illustration of how Black and Chachi discourses are articulations of the same broader social formation but at the same time retain aspects of their localized positionality, so that Blacks and Chachis are more-or-less aware of the

same insulting terms, but experience them differently. In this case, the speaker did not seem to be aware that *juyungo* refers to a kind of monkey, but instead took it to mean "stinky", an interpretation of the word that I heard in multiple interviews with Blacks. Analyzing such epithets in actual usage would mean coming to terms with the way their semantics are differently understood by the speaker and the addressee. At the same time that these different understandings exist, however, the way in which the Black speakers cited precisely the same terms shows that both groups to some extent inhabit similar social terrain even if they are positioned differently on it.

Before jumping into an extended set of long examples to continue my dialogic account of Black and Chachi discourse, I need to make one observation about linguistic form. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 do not have morphemic glosses because they are in a more ethnographic register and do not address morphosyntax directly, but the purpose behind describing aspects of linguistic form and discourse structure in the first four chapters was to show how the same discourse alignments described in those chapters are pervasive throughout virtually all the examples in the dissertation, and the reader should be sufficiently familiar with the forms in question to be able to see where collective marking, ethnonyms and pronouns combine in discourse even without the help of glosses. Another issue, addressed peripherally in Chapter 5, is how to approach similar racializing discourses but ones that are expressed using the linguistic resources of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish. Significant differences between Cha'palaa and Spanish do exist, the most relevant here being that unlike Cha'palaa Spanish has a true plural that is unconstrained by an animacy hierarchy and also has obligatory person marking on verbs where in Cha'palaa person marking is only through optional independent pronouns. Even with these differences, however, using its own particular resources Spanish can also achieve something similar to a racialized us/them alignment like in the Cha'palaa examples discussed in Chapter 4, with much of the work being done by person marking on verbs rather than independent pronouns. This short excerpt from my interview with Milton's neighbor Susana illustrates this kind of alignment in a discussion of the differences between traditional Chachi and Black houses:

(6.4)

SU: Y las formas también en **los Chachis**, ahorita, algunos,
And the forms (of house) also of **the Chachis**, now, some,

algunos para arriba, a ellos no les gusta vivir con las casas cubiertas,
some from upriver, they do not like to live in covered houses,

le gusta nomas piso, techo y ahí nomas.
They just like a floor, a roof, and nothing else.

Dicen que cuando la casa es así cubierta le da mucho calor,
They say that when the house is covered like that it is really hot,

no pueden dormir bien. Y cuando no esta así, sin cubrir, ahí
they can't sleep well, and when it is not like that, without covering, then

dice que duerme muy rico, porque entra brisa.
they say they they sleep really well, because a breeze comes in.

En cambio **los negros no acostumbramos** así,
On the other hand **we Blacks are not accustomed** to that,

la casa tiene que estar cubierta, para uno poder vivir.
the house has to be covered for one to live there.

The initial reference to the Chachis above agrees with a number of third-person predicates like the one highlighted in **bold**, while in the penultimate line the reference to the Blacks, also basically a third person reference, instead agrees with a first-person predicate ("we Blacks are not accustomed"). Both the Cha'palaa and Spanish examples

below show repeated cases of such alignments, each using the resources available by the specific language being used. I will not point this out for every case, but it should be kept in mind that such discourse structures are a basic part of social categorization for speakers of both languages. Instead, my role as an analyst in this chapter is minimal, mostly consisting of how I mediate the dialogue by juxtaposing different examples.

6.2 Economies of exchange

Some important dimensions of the relationship between Blacks and Chachis in the Cayapas River region are economic in the narrow sense, concerning the circulation of material goods and products. My standard interview both with the Chachis and with the Blacks included a question asking what kinds of commerce existed between the two groups and whether the interviewee thought it was beneficial to one or both groups. Both Black and Chachi interviewees mentioned many of the same products, but there were some interesting asymmetries between their accounts. In this example Antonia, a Chachi woman from Zapallo, explains that from her point of view the Chachis sell more products than the Blacks.

(6.5) Lala lalabain ati'kamudeju comercio yaibain ai'mudeju,
We, we also buy (for) commerce and they also sell,

lala chachillaa aa ai'mudeju ma patinmalaya
we Chachis sell more, when (you) mention it,

chachilla vendemos, kule, yanpa, pute, pulla
we the Chachis sell, canoes, oars, baskets, wood,

tablones, ta'pa, pishkali, panda, chilla, coco kayu,
boards, planks, carrying baskets, food, pineapples, coconut and more,

pure' juu, panbalaa lala chachillaa, kayu aa ai'mudeju
there are a lot, when mentioning us Chachis, we sell more,

tsenmin, yalaa no se tu tajtutaa tsadeeñubain yalaya naa.
well, they, I don’t know, maybe because they don’t have land.

Lalanaa aa ai'tyudeju, yalaa afuera ma patinmalaya
They don’ t sell much to us, talking about those outside (the area),

kuwanga Borbun chullalaa pescado fresco ai'mudeju,
that live in Borbón sell fresh fish,

mas que todo lala junkaa junka panbalaya Borbunsha panbalaa,
more in our area, but talking about there in Borbón,

yailabain carne ai'mudeju pollo, pescado jaiwa, cangrejo,
they also sell meat, chicken, fish, jaiba, crab,

tsaaren junka Borbunsha paate.
like that there around Borbón.

Tsaaren entalaya, entalaya ai'jatyudeju, mantsa aabishu
But then around here, around they don’t sell, some (sell) crawfish

ai'ja', mantsa pescado ati' lala' pescado maty enku,
coming to sell, some sell fish to us here,

juntsaa ne judeju.
that is how they are (around here).

Tsaaren yaibain mantsa pan ke' aimudeju yaibain mantsa,
So like that some of them sell bread, and also some of them,

ma shimbu aanu pan de coco kintsuñ
one woman around here makes coconut bread,

tsanke' yabain ai'mu laanu, laabain mantsa pan ke' ai'mu,
doing like that she also sells to us, and some of us also sell bread,

laabain chachillabain mantsa panda ai'mu yailabain, juntsaa ne juu.
and we also, some Chachis also sell plantain and they do also, that's how it is.

Tsaaren in panmalaya, chachillaa entsa kayu movimiento paate comercio paate
So then for me, the Chachis in terms of movement, in terms of commerce,

lalaa kayu aa atyamu, yalaya naa cocoba ma ai'tyudeju
we sell more, like they do not sell coconut

tsaaren lalaya naa cocoba ai'deju pandabain ai'mudeju.
so we sell coconut and plantain as well.

From Antonia's perspective Chachis have more products to sell than Blacks, perhaps because the Chachis have more land. Because Chachis inhabit the furthest upriver areas, it may be true that on the whole Chachis have better access to natural resources. The majority of Blacks on the other hand, live in the downriver areas and have easier access to products of outside markets; they often act as middlemen buying Chachi products for resale and bringing non-local products to sell to the Chachis. In this example Milton characterized the commerce between the two groups as *por igual* ("equal" or "the

same”), but points out differences in that Blacks might buy Chachi agricultural products like pineapple while selling non-local products like saltwater fish.

(6.6)

M: Entonces, y siempre, como vuelvo y repito, el negocio,
So, and always, as I return and repeat, business,

el comercio del Chachi con el negro, casi ha sido por igual
commerce of the Chachis with the Blacks, has been almost the same,

porque el chachi ha traído su producto, y los ha vendido
because the Chachi has brought his product, and has sold it,

porque los negros también hemos comprado,
because we Blacks have also bought,

si traen piña de adentro de Jeyambi ,
if they bring pineapple from inside (the remote area) from Jeyembi,

también compramos los negros si traen chontaduro, también compramos.
we Blacks also buy if they bring chonta palm, we also buy.

Y lo mismo ellos cuando nosotros también, nos vamos a la mar,
And the same thing when we also, when we go to the ocean,

traemos pescado, traemos piaquil, traemos concha,
we bring fish, we bring piaquil (type of fish), we bring conch shell,

todo eso ellos también compran, casi es por igual.
all that they also buy, it is almost the same (between the two groups).

Here in another conversation with Milton and some of his Black friends on the porch, they discussed how stores owned by Blacks depend on Chachi customers, and how both groups sell agricultural products to each other in complementary ways.

(6.7)

DS: Si un negro tiene una tienda,
If a Black person has a store

los chachis también nos compran a nosotros
the Chachis also buy from us,

entonces ahí es igual, si o Don Milton
so there it is the same, right Don Milton?

M: Claro. Lo mismo que por lo menos,
Right. The same because at least,

así como subió este chachi que llevaba unas piñas,
like how this Chachi came carrying some pineapples

el trae sus piñas, aquí los negros compramos,
he brings his pineapples, and here we Blacks buy them,

si nosotros llevamos algún racimo de verde
and if we are carrying a bunch of plantains

y los chachis no tienen verde también ellos nos compran
and the Chachis don't have plantain, they buy from us.

One of the primary products that Chachis sell to Blacks are woven baskets made with a river reed known as *rampira* in Spanish or *pichuwa* in Cha'palaa. The *pichuwa* is harvested, prepared and woven by Chachi women into baskets, mats, fans and other items, with beautiful designs of geometric patterns and animals that date back at least a century, as they appear in an early ethnography (Barrett 1925), but that have probably been around for much longer. Reed baskets are one of the few cash incomes for most Chachi women, but they sell them for a stunningly low price of 25 cents for a large basket that takes several hours to weave, not to mention the effort collecting the *pichuwa*. In numerous interviews both Chachis and Blacks said that the baskets were made only by Chachi women and that they are sold outside the area only by Blacks. Chachis are not familiar enough with markets outside the area to be able to sell their baskets themselves, people said, while Blacks had the capacity to commercialize but not the tradition of basket making. In this sense it is a complementary economic relationship.

Figure 3. Weaving *pichuwa* baskets.

As much as the activities of the basket-makers and the vendors complement each other, both Chachis and Blacks express the opinion that Black salesmen can buy baskets at an abusively low price and then sometimes sell for twenty times the price. Some people say it is understandable to raise the price somewhat to cover travel expenses, but others say that vendors can take advantage of this argument to raise the price higher than

necessary. Here a Black interviewee from the segregated Chachi/Black town of Santa María described the basket economy:

(6.8)

FA: Si por decir, ahora estamos tratando del dólar, no , dólar.
Well just to say, now we are talking about the dollar, right, dollar.

Si los cayapas le venden una canasta,
If the Cayapas sell a basket to them,

en una comparación, en un dólar,
for comparison, in one dollar,

ellos se van para afuera a venderlo,
and they go outside (the area) to sell it,

lo pueden vender en cinco dólares,
they can sell it in five dollars,

ya no es culpa de ellos, pues es su ganancia.
that is not their fault, that is just their profit.

¿Por qué? Porque de acá si no tienen una embarcación,
Why? Because here is they don't have a boat,

tienen que ir pagando pasaje hasta llegar a Borbón,
they have to go paying their fare to get to Borbón,

en Borbón tienen que embarcar en el carro,
and in Borbón they have to take it on the bus,

supóngase que en el carro no le cobren el pasaje
and will assume that in the bus they don't charge extra

por lo que llevan, pero, aunque por él tiene que pagar
for what they are carrying, although he has to pay his own ticket,

entonces todo eso se le va poniendo al negocio
so all this goes when they set up a business,

pero hay algunas personas que ponen demasiado el aumento,
but there are some people who raise the price too much,

que tengan que sacarle del producto que llevan para negocio
that they have to get out of the product that they buy for business,

porque a usted le pagan un dólar,
because to you they pay one dollar,

y ellos se van a ganar cinco, seis dólares,
and they are going to sell five or six dollars,

eso tampoco ya no es justo.
and that is not just either.

The economic activities of Chachis and Blacks on the Rio Cayapas are co-dependent and integrated in many ways, but economic agreements can turn out to be sources of conflict as much as they are complementary. For example, a few Black families live on the lower part of the Upi near Chachi territory and the upriver Chachis sometimes give members of those families permission to pan gold in the headwaters part

the Chachi villages, but when the Chachis are unsatisfied with the percentage of the earnings that Blacks pay for mining rights, the agreement can become contentious. Here Alfonso, a Black resident of the Upi River, reflects on problems surrounding mining rights:

(6.9)

AF: Ya, otra parte a mi me prohibían por buscar mi orito,
Ok, but another thing is that they prohibited me from looking for my gold,

que es lo que más molestan a la raza chachi,
which is what most bothers the Chachi race,

pero sin embargo yo no tengo Simón, una maquinaria,
but even so I do not have, Simón, machines,

yo lo hago con una batea redonda sin químicos,
I do it with a round pan without chemicals,

pero ya una maquina, ya lo hace sucio,
but now a machine, that makes it dirty,

que la gente no puede tomar ni el agua.
So the people can't even drink the water.

Another potentially contentious site of Chachi/Black economic relations concerns money lending and credit arrangements. In this example, some Blacks talk about problems with Chachis who do not pay back their debts:

(6.10)

MA: Si hay veces, hay veces si están los chachis contra los negros
Yes there are times, there are times when the Chachis are against the Blacks

ahí, lo que pasa una cosa es que hay veces
there, what happens is a thing that there are times

que los chachis nos quieren a nosotros los negros
that the Chachis want to, to us Blacks,

ya, y nosotros los negros, tampoco no nos dejamos pues (?)
ok, and we Blacks, we won't let them either,

le acuñamos a ellos.
we freeze (?) them.

O sea que ahí si los chachis quieren actuar con nosotros,
I mean that then if the Chachis want to act up with us,

nosotros los frenamos a ellos, las cosas son así pues.
we stop them, that's how things are.

DS: Lo que sucede también es otra cosa
What also happens is another thing

que ahorita algunos indígenas quieren ser mas sabidos
that right now some indigenous people want to be trickier

que los mismos negros.
than the Blacks themselves.

Los indígenas, algunos quieren como abusar de los negros
The indigenous people, some of them want to abuse the Blacks

ellos van y le piden hay veces a usted algo
and they go and they ask you for something sometimes

y le dicen mañana le entrego y se perdió.
and they say I'll give it to you tomorrow and it's lost.

Ahí tengo Milton el problema con, con este,
There I have, Milton, the problem with, with this,

con el hermano de Chanchiche,
with the brother of Chanchiche,

yo le estoy dando, le doy 130 dólar,
I am giving him, I give him 130 dollars,

me trae los 100 y los 30 dólares, que ahí se iba,
he brought me 100 and the 30 dollars, that he was going

aquí a Borbón por tres semanas, ya hace dos meses,
to Borbón for three weeks, now (that was) two months ago,

el que trabaja con Don Mariano, al que le gusta (?)
since he worked with Don Mariano, who likes(?)

dicen que se ha ido a Santo Domingo para siempre ya,
they say he has gone to Santo Domingo for good now,

dejó partiéndome pero los 30 dolar
he left owing the the 30 dollars though,

y la madera ya le ha vendido a Rafael ahi
and the wood that he has sold to Rafael there,

y bueno, el día que vino a cajarle a este aquel
and well, the day they he came to sell (?) it, this one

vendiendo la madera ahí siquiera digo bueno aqui vea aqui
at least selling the wood, but not even, well, here, look here,

la madera me voy a vender, yo vine por tantos meses
I am going to sell the wood, I came for so many months,

y no le ha de alcanzar para su madera
he must not have enough for his wood,

tome la plata o tome la madera, busca donde dejarla
take the money or take the wood, look for where to leave it (he could have said)

no lo dijo, hasta se fue, asi son.
but he did not, he just left, that's how they are.

Entonces hay veces dicen que los negros abusamos con los chachis, no
So there are times when they say that we Blacks abuse the Chachis, no

los chachis quieren abusar con los negros,
the Chachis want to abuse the Blacks,

quieren como cobrar lo que han hecho los antepasados
they want to charge (us) for what the ancestors have done,

pero nosotros, lo que hicieron los antepasados nosotros
but we, what the ancestors did we,

lo lo lo ahorita no tenemos porque pagar.
it, it it, now we don't have a reason to pay for it.

The last part of the excerpt seems to refer to the historical relationship that Blacks have had with Chachis as intermediaries who were often in a position to take advantage of Chachis with less experience dealing with money and commerce.[28] Economic relations between Blacks and Chachis go back at least two or three centuries, and that history has accrued mutual dependencies, friendly complementary relationships, and conflicts leading to animosity. As seen in the example about the baskets, in which the product is made by only Chachi women and sold by only Blacks, both racial and gender categories have become ordering principles for how these economic relationships work, placing social categorization at the center of how goods and resources are managed and circulated.

6.3 Interracial marriage and "collisions of blood"

One of the most significant aspects of social categorization for Chachis and Blacks concerns how racial categories give the basic ordering principles for relationships of marriage and ancestry. The ways that Blacks and Chachis have approached interracial

[28] In a strange way this example resembles White American discourses that argue that modern-day Whites should not be bothered with the consequences of their slaveholding ancestors and forbearers if they personally had nothing to do with it. While such discourses in American society usually function to obscure White privilege, in this context neither Blacks nor Chachis have any clear privileges over the other group.

marriage historically have been very different, and an ethnographic account of interracial marriage between the two groups must take both of their distinct positionalities into consideration. In this section I continue with a dialogic approach to Chachi/Black relations by juxtaposing different Black and Chachi discourses of interracial marriage in order to better understand the social tensions surrounding this issue. The fact that after centuries of contact Blacks and Chachis in the Cayapas river region have remained distinct social groups is partly due to the Chachi's cultural tradition of severe restrictions on marriage with non-Chachis; in other areas of Esmeraldas indigenous populations mentioned in the historical record are no longer distinct groups today (DeBoer 1995), probably having come together with Afro-descendant population in processes of *zambaje* or racial mixture between indigenous people and Afro-descendants. One aspect of Chachi society that has been noted in the ethnographic literature is the fact that while it is only recently that the Chachi have come to live in unified organized villages rather than isolated households, they share a long tradition of a strong indigenous legal system in which a heredetarily-assigned "governer" (*uñi*) has the authority to evaluate behavior in terms of traditional laws along with a group of officials know as *chaita rukula* who are in charge of doling out punishments like whippings (Altschuler 1967). Under those traditional laws marriage with non-Chachis was strictly prohibited, and this prohibition has provided a basis not only for cultural transmission from generation to generation but for genetic transmission as well, maintaining the Chachi phenotype and its significance for how the body is read according to the local articulation of the historico-racial schema. The Blacks, on the other hand, did not have any explicit marriage prohibitions that anyone recalls and instead, as part of larger discourses and attitudes about "bettering the race" (usually framed as "changing the race" or "lightening skin color") through interracial procreation, sometimes see marriages with non-Blacks as desirable. In the Cayapas river region these two distinct approaches to marriage and procreation are both relevant in the same overlapping social spaces, and over time their interaction has led to new conditions in which interracial families are more and more common. By juxtaposing Chachi and Black discourses about interracial marriage in this section I will illustrate

some of the ways in which different racialized positions and perspectives combine to form interracial social realities.

The first example is from Susana, Milton's next door neighbor, talking about how she came to marry a Chachi man and how initially her husband's family did not accept her because she is Black.

(6.11)

SU: Bueno, la costumbre de los Chachis dice
Well, the custom of the Chachis says

que ellos tienen que casarse entre Chachis.
that they have to marry between Chachis.

La ley no permite casar con una negra,
The law does not permit them to marry a Black woman,

pero la costumbre de nosotros, eso no impide entre nosotros.
but our custom, that does not impede us.

Entonces ellos dicen que siempre tienen que casar entre Chachi,
So they say that they always have to marry between Chachis,

si casa con una negra, lo botan del Centro.
if they marry a Black woman, they kick them out of the Center.

Porque ellos tienen una organización que se llama el Centro de los Chachi,
Because they have an organization that is called "Center of the Chachi",

entonces de ahí los botan de esa organización,
so they they kick them out of that organization,

pero mi esposo, el era de Piedra Grande.
but my husband, he is from Piedra Grande.

A él le botaron de allá pero él ha entrado a ser socio
They kicked him out of there but he has become a member

de aquí de la comunidad de Zapallo.
here in the community of Zapallo.

Pero en el tiempo de antes no permitían que casara con una negra.
But in earlier times they did not permit them to get married to a Black woman.

Pero ahorita ya algunos de (ahí) han ajuntado con negras.
But now some of them (there) have gotten together with Black women.

SF: Pero ahora ya no es tanto problema, y antes si,
But now it is not such a problem, and before it was,

y es lo mismo- o sea, lo mismo pasaba cuando una mujer Chachi
and is it the same- I mean, did the same happen when a Chachi woman

quería casarse con un hombre negro?
wanted to marry a Black man?

SU: Si, la misma cosa le daban látigo, le metían al cepo.
Yes, the same thing, they whipped her, they put her in stocks.

A veces las familias se enojaban, uu.
Sometimes the families got mad, ooh.

SF: ¿Entonces, para los negros que dirían?
So, for the Blacks what would they say?

¿Qué dirían si un hijo de alguien quiere casarse con un Chachi?
What would they say if someone's child wants to marry a Chachi?

SU: No hay problema, para negro no hay ningún problema.
There is no problem, for a Black there is no problem.

SF: No hay ningún problema.
There is no problem.

¿Y puede contar su propia historia de cómo fue?
And can you tell your own story, how it was?

SU: ¿Como yo me junté con un chachi?
How I got together with a Chachi?

Yo no soy de esta comunidad.
I am not from this community.

Yo soy de una comunidad que se llama San Jose de los Cayapas, abajo.
I am from a community that is called San José de los Cayapas, downriver.

Entonces yo me crié ahí.
So I was raised there.

Mi padre murió cuando yo tenía nueve años,
My father died when I was nine years old,

y ahí yo me crié con mi mama, mis hermanos,
and I grew up with my mother, my brothers,

y ahí me conocí con mi esposo.
and there I met my husband.

El vivía un poco más abajo de donde yo vivo,
He lived a little below where I live,

y el trabajaba con la misión y nos daba catecismo,
and he worked for the mission and gave us catechism,

y entonces ahí yo me conocí con el.
and so then I met him,

Y ahí estuvimos- fuimos enamorados, y de ahí yo me fui a Esmeraldas,
and there we were- we were a couple, and then I went to Esmeraldas,

de ahí el estuvo conversando con mi mama, que quería juntar conmigo,
and then he was talking with my mother, that he wanted to get together with me,

de ahí cuando yo llegue, mi mama me converso,
and then when I arrived, my mother told me about it,

y ahí yo me comprometí con el
and then I got engaged to him,

pero cuando yo comprometí con él, la mamá no quería.
but when I got engaged to him, the mother did not want (it).

SF: ¿La mamá de él?
His mother?

SU: No, ni el papa. Le criaron-
No, or his father either. They raised him-

estaban bien bravos, el papa, la mama, la familia.
they were very angry, the father, the mother, the family.

Entonces como ellos ni me querían a mí,
So since they did not like me,

yo no iba a la casa de ellos. Yo vivía con mi mama.
I did not go to their house. I lived with my mother.

Y ahí cuando ya tuve mi hija mayor,
And then when I had my oldest daughter.

ahí les enseñamos y ahí fue que ella-
then we got used to it and it was then that she-

cuando ya comenzaron a querer,
when they began to like (me),

pero al principio ellos no querian que yo tuviera un hijo.
but at the beginning they did not want me to have a child.

Esa fue mi historia mia.
That was my story.

SF: ¿Pero ahora? ¿Se llevan bien ahora?
But now? Do you get along now?

SU: Si, ahorita si. Ya no tenemos más problemas.
Yes, now yes. We don't have any more problems.

Even Blacks that have not personally been affected by Chachi prohibitions on interracial marriage are aware of the Chachi tradition, and the consequences for breaking with tradition. In this example a Black man describes how historically Chachis were severely punished for wanting to marry outside the group. Since similar punishments applied to infidelity more generally, this speaker (using the terms of ethnicity) interestingly frames interracial marriage as "infidelity in ethnicity".

(6.12) O un negro con una chachi y así viceversa,
Or a Black with a Chachi or like that vice versa,

eeh esta persona chachi era castigada y al mismo tiempo
eeh, that Chachi person was punished and at the same time

se la consideraba como un traidor a la- a la etnia, si,
they were considered a traitor to the- to the ethnicity, yes,

porque, porque estaba violando los derechos de esa de esa organización.
because, because they were violating the rights of that organization.

Entonces se le castigaba, se le metía aa un palo que se le decía el cepo
So they punished them, they put them in a board that they called *cepo* ("stocks"),

y ahí se le daba los latigazos porque, porque estaba siendo ,
and there they gave them a whipping because, because they were being,

estaba prácticamente, eh, practicando la infidelidad en la- en la etnia
they were being practically, eh, practicing infidelity in the- in the ethnicity

y lo mismo sucedía cuando ésta le ponía,
and the same happened when they put,

era infiel a su marido con otro marido
when a spouse was unfaithful with another spouse,

también se les castigaba fuertemente,
they also punished them strongly,

a tal punto que han habido, hubieron ocasiones que se las expulsaba,
to the point that there were, there were occasions that they expelled them,

se les negaba que tenían el derecho de ser indígenas.
they denied them the right to be indigenous.

Lo que hoy en día ya no sucede, hoy en día ya hay la
These days that does not happen, these days there is the

posibilidad en que el negro se casa con el chachi
possibility that a Black can marry a Chachi

y la chachi se casa con el negro y todo va en paz,
and a Chachi can marry a Black and everything in peace,

no pasa nada, o sea prácticamente esta tradición ya se va
nothing happens, I mean practically that tradition is disappearing,

terminando un poco en los chachis.
it is stopping a little bit for the Chachis.

Like many of my interviewees from both groups, the Black speaker in the example above observed that the Chachi interracial marriage prohibitions are weaker now than in the past. Chachis are also aware of these changing social norms, as illustrated in the next example in which a Chachi woman makes a very similar observation to that shown in the example above.

(6.13) Challa majuu ne chudena lala, kaspeleya tsajutyu.
Now they live however they want, we, before it wasn't like that.

Ñu weerasanu kashujuntsaya kayanmala
If you married someone from another race

manka' weelanu manguwaju lala chachiitala
they would take you and give you to someone else among us Chachis,

Tsaaren pannaaba tsaimala
When they did that to a young woman

kayu mas rukuu chumulanaa mankumudeju,
they would give her to a man who was older than her,

castigo in apa tsankemu.
my father used to use that punishment.

Naa ñu tyushandyai'ñubain manen maambala
Although you did not want to go, when (you were) brought back,

manen mantaji' aste pureke' mandaji' hasta que
they would take you to whip until

ya, nubi ya' rukuba ura' ura'tishujuntsaya,
the groom- until you come to terms with the husband,

tyushambera astekikin chunamu ne judeju.
they punished you until you live together.

Tse'mityaa kaspeleya jeemulaaka
For that reason they used to be afraid,

juuntsaañu kayu kastigo fuerte
that was a strong punishment,

challaya nebaade munuba meedityu deju,
but nowadays they don't listen to anyone.

Similarly to the Cha'palaa speaker in the example above, in the next example Milton discusses in Spanish the same practices of forcing Chachi women to marry older men as punishment for attempting to marry non-Chachis. He uses the terms of ethnicity and not race, but the racial nature of Chachi marriage prohibition becomes clearer through the discussion of the children of interracial unions later in this section. Milton describes how in the old days a Black man would have to "stand strong" to prevent his Chachi wife from being taken from him and obligated to marry an older Chachi man.

(6.14)

MI: Este hay una diferencia de etnia
So there is a difference of ethnicity,

o sea muchos no los aceptan,
and so many do not accept them,

aquí tiene que por lo menos decir,
here they have to at least say,

pararse el que, por lo menos si el chachi es hombre,
stand (strong) the one who, at least if the Chachi is a man,

tiene que pararse el chachi porque sino los separan
he has to stand (strong), the Chachi, because if not they will separate them,

pero si los, si es una chica débil entonces la separan,
but if they, if it is a weak girl then they separate them,

y le dan un esposo mas mayor todavía
and they give her an even older husband,

porque todavía existe eso, pero ahora muy poco si,
because that (practice) still exists, but now very little,

eso si muy poco entre los chachis si.
that's right, very little among the Chachis.

SF: Si la hija quiere casarse con un negro ellos intentan-
If the daughter wants to marry a Black they try to-

MI: La quitan, muchos la quitan,
They take her away, many take her away,

tiene que ser un hombre, o sea como le, bien fuerte bravo,
he has to be a man, I mean, like, really strong and fierce,

para no dejar porque sino ellos se llevan
to not let the, if not they take her

y la casan con otro chachi viejo veterano bien mayor.
and they marry her to another Chachi, an old timer, much older.

I was curious about whether Blacks had any similar traditions governing marriage practices, and so I asked Milton about it. He responded that Blacks got marriage simply *gusto a gusto* ("preference to preference" or "taste to taste"), with some minor formalities concerning consulting with older family members before marriage.

(6.15)

SF: ¿Pero en cambio los negros como se casaban antes?
But on the other hand how did the Blacks get married before?

MI: Así, de gusto a gusto,
Like that, from preference to preference,

de gusto a gusto se enamoraban,
preference to preference they fall in love,

y ahí, quedaban que si, si la novia lo quería,
and then, they stayed like that, if the girl wanted it,

entonces los mayores hacían una- , conversaban entre los viejos,
so the older people did a- they talked among the old people,

si los viejos quedaban de acuerdo entonces se iban llevando a la novia
and if the old people were in agreement then they went taking the girl.

Ethnographic accounts of the region have described Western or Christian marriage as a weak institution in among the Blacks of Esmeraldas, and have identified patterns of what has been called "serial polygyny" (Whitten 1965) in which a man has successive partners over his lifetime and only rarely formalized these relationships through official marriage. Even so, Blacks often use the term *esposos* ("spouses") to refer to the participants in these informal arrangements. The Chachi tradition, on the other hand, includes highly formalized marriage celebrations including marimba music, special dress, and a sequence of ceremonial activities and parties held over several days. For the Chachis, then, unions between Blacks and Chachis were not real marriages but just consisted of co-habitation and informally sharing a household, as Chachi woman María Mercedes describes it in the example below.

(6.16)

MM: Peechullabain, peechullabain,
The Blacks also, the Blacks also,

yaibain mantsa cha'na'mala judeeshujuntsa
they also, some Chachi girls,

peechui unbee dekaya
take Black men (as husbands),

ya' ruku panda kanmala fiken chumu
they live eating what food their husband brings,

pika' kunmala pika' demalanmala
they go get water for them and bring the water up (to the house),

pika' matyu jali manpipuken chunaaba jutaa
and getting the water they make them wash their clothes and live like that,

peechui unbee kayatu indetyuka junu
they take Black men (as husbands) and it seems it happens like that,

tsadei, ura' chukayanjutyaa
like that, they do not live well together,

lala' peechui unbee kayashujuntsaa.
when we take Black men (as husbands).

One of the biggest preocupations of Chachis when I would bring up the question of interracial marriage in interviews was that if a Chachi married a non-Chachi they cannot go through with the traditional ceremony and as such are not really married. Here María Mercedes continues to elaborate:

(6.17)
MM: Casaa ityudeewe peechullala
They don’t get married, the Blacks,

chachillanu katu kasaa ityu deewe
when they get together with Chachis they do not get married.

S: Casaa ityu
They don't get married.

MM: Tsaanun pannala kayamudee kasaa ityu deenuren,
Like that, the girls they get together with, they do not get married,

nendenwaala junu kayamudee, chachillabaa.
they just go around getting together, with Chachis.

Casaa itu ura' chumulan
Those that get married live well,

peechullalanu kayatu kasaa inu pudejdetu
but getting together with Blacks they cannot get married,

Casaa deityu tsana' ne yaiba pure' na kake'ba
Without marrying, like they have lots of kids with them,

mawela'ba miji' manen wee supu manka manka ki'ba,
then they separate and go get together with another woman again and again,

kityaandeenga peechullala.
that is the way the Blacks do it.

In a similar account another Chachi woman, Antonia, describes how Blacks do not celebrate traditional marriages as Chachis do, and relates this to the instability of their unions, using the terms of Cha'palaa to refer to the the idea of Black "serial polygyny" that has circulated in the social science literature on Esmeraldas. Antonia also laments the way some of the older practices have not been sustained, reflecting on how Chachi law and cultural practices regarding marriage are changing.

(6.18)

A: Bien, peechullala chachillaba uwain kayamudeewe,
Well, it’s true that blacks and Chachis get married,

Tsajturen, peechullalaya chachilla cos-
However, the blacks, how the Chachi cus-

cultura naajuñuba juntsaayaa kityudeewe
culture is, they don’t do it like that.

Tsaaren chachillaya, lalaya lala' cultura,
So the Chachis, us, our culture,

kayu uma basila i' kaya'chutu kasaa imin, kasaabain aparte
if one gets married just getting together, they have to also get married officially.

Tsembala matsudyabain fiesta de matrimonio,
They also have to do the marriage ceremony,

kasa ceremonialsha, juntsa matsudyaba imudeeyu
in the ceremonial house, there we celebrate.

tsaaren peechullalaya juntsaityudeewe, kasaabain ityu deju
However, the blacks do not do anything like that, they don’t even get married

tsaaren lala chachillaya, chachillaya kasaa imudeju,
but we the Chachis, the Chachis get married,

rukula chachilla tsadetiwe, lalanaa chachillanuya
the old Chachis say this, to us, to the Chachi (people),

kasaa jutyu juushujuntsaya kuusa tyudityaa timudeewe,
if they do not get married then they cannot have the cross (blessing), they say,

chachilla kasaa inuuyaa ju lala' leyaa lala' culturaya
the Chachis have to get married because of our law, our culture.

tse'mityaa lalaa kasaa imudeju,
for that reason we must get married,

tsaaren chachi peechullaba kasaa-
however if Chachis get married-

kayaishujuntsa yaba kaya' chudishujuntsaya
get together with them, getting together and living

kasaa jutyuren tsanamudeju
they can’t get married when they do like that,

peechullala kasaa imishtityu deju
the Blacks can’t get married,

cha' supu ka'bain o cha' umbee ka'bain
either with Chachi women or with Chachi men,

peechulla naa kasaa ityu deju tsenmin
because the Black do not get married like that (like Chachis),

peechullalaya yaichi ti ura tyuba'ba ne mawelaimu deju,
the Blacks, when they get tired (of their partner) they separate,

tsaaren chachillaa kulturaya tsaityu deeyu,
but (for) the Chachis the culture is not like that,

mawelatyu deeju, ma shimbubaren dee- derukui, peyatu, matyu
they don't separate, th- they grow old with their wife, and die, so

hablando de, matyu, peechullala' palaayaa,
speaking of, so, in Spanish (in the "language of the Blacks")

muerte seraa la separacion timu deewe, tsa'mitya
"Until death do us part" they say, like that,

juntsaayaa lalaa imu deeyu.
that is what we do.

Tsaaren peechullalaya juntsaayaa yala' costumbre jutyu
But for the Blacks they don't have that kind of custom,

naa pure' supu kake'bain mankepu' miji
they have many women and separate from them and go away,

mankepu' mijiimu peechullalaa nejudeeba
separating and going away, the Blacks are like that,

yailaa ti leyba tajdetu'mitya.
because they don't have their own law.

Tsaaren lalaa chachillaya ley tadeeyu
However we Chachis do have a law,

lala' ley, kaspeleya lala' ley kayu pureewe duru
our law, in earlier times our law used to be stronger,

tsaaren challaya jayu mika pai puntushaa rebaja ma iitsulaatee
but now it has has been decreasing a couple of points,

lala' kulturanu ke eediñuba
neglecting our culture,

porke challaa pure' faya iidetsuyu
because now we are failing a lot,

lala' ley, tsaaren kasaa inu ley juushujuntsaya
our law, the law regarding marriage,

chaiba konsta nawe, existe nawe lala' ley
because it still applies, it still exists, our law,

cultura juushujuntsa.
having do with culture.

Chachi concerns about interracial marriage are not just cultural or ethnic, however. It is for this reason that I took the position in Chapter 1 that their practices are better described as *racial* endogamy than *ethnic* endogamy. Both Chachis and Blacks participate in circulating discourses about phenotype and the physical results of interracial marriage as seen on the bodies of their Children. In this example a Chachi

woman observes that the children of such unions physically look different from children with two Chachi parents:

(6.19) Peechullalachee jayu paba kailla deeba.
The Blacks' children (with Chachis) turn out a little black.

Literature on race mixture in Latin America has rarely addressed mixture between Blacks and indigenous people in detail, focusing either on the concept of "mestizaje" as mixture between Whites and indigenous people or on *mulatos* and race mixture between Whites and Blacks (Wade 1995, 1997). The role of White supremacy in race mixture involving White people is fairly straightforward because expressions of preference for phenotypically whiter children by many non-Whites and of resistence to marriage with non-Whites by many Whites fits well with the idea of a hierarchiccal social order in which Whites have special privilage. Race mixture between Blacks and indigenous people and Chachi prohibitions against racial mixture are more complicated for analysis because while both blackness and indigeneity have their roots in the colonial encounter, they have historically had an ambiguous status with respect to either other and compared to either one's relationship to whiteness. Chachi aversions to race mixture with Blacks and occasional Black discourses of preference for Chachi spouses as "lighter" or "clearer" skinned certainly are connected to ideas of White supremacy, but the fact that Chachi unions were traditionally prohibited with *any* non-Chachi, including Whites and other indigenous people, reveals how the Chachi tradition overlaps with racial formation at a broader scale. Ultimately the Chachi prohibitions come down to ideas of racial purity, as observed in this excerpt from an interview with Antonia where she expressed fears that a distinct Chachi identity could change or disappear if race mixture continues:

(6.20)
SF: Yaila, eeh chachilla faamu o peechui faamu?
They, uh, do they come out Chachi or Black?

A: Peechullaa aamafaamudeju
The come out more Black

peechulla chachi lala manpiyainu ne judeju, juntsa,
Black, and we Chachis disappear, there,

peechulla shimbu na kambala,
when marrying a Black woman,

ya' na'ma awamin peechullanun mankayashujuntsaya
their children when they are grown, marrying a Black,

peechullaren mantiñaa tsaaren juntsa.
they become Black like that.[29]

Chachinu juntsa ya' enrasada chachinu mankayashujuntsaya
With Chachis, if an *enrazada* ("en-raced") person marries a Chachi,

chachin mantiña, juntsaindetsushee yumaa.
they become Chachi, that is already happening now.

In the penultimate line of the transcription above Antonia uses the term *enrazado* that, while a borrowing from Spanish, is not recognized as a word by speakers of standard Ecuadorian Spanish. The word, meaning literally "en-raced", is in circulation locally in Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish and Cha'palaa as a commmon word for talking about race mixture. Antonia uses the word in the context of making sense of the new racial combinations that are beginning to appear now that the traditional Chachi laws are not respected anymore. Because there is no specific cultural tradition to draw on in making

[29] In some accounts any Black ancestry at all causes a child to be Black, resembling the one-drop rule that is the traditional basis for racial difference in the United States.

sense of these new kinds of unions and the new, modified or hybrid social categories that are forming along with them, accounts of racial mixture are unstable and the social meaning of race mixture is unclear. The social outcomes of interracial marriages can be different almost on a case-by-case basis. In Susana's account of her own experiences she tells how her own children identify more with their indigenous heritage on their father's side than their Black heritage on their mother's side.

(6.21)

SF: ¿Que pasa con los hijos de una pareja chachi y un negro?
What happens with the children of a couple that is Chachi with Black?

¿Qué pasa con ellos, se considera chachi o negro?
What happens with them, are they considered Chachi or Black?

SU: Los míos se consideran chachi, ellos consideran chachi.
Mine consider themselves Chachi, they consider themselves Chachi.

SF: ¿Porque son Chachi y no negros?
Why are they Chachi and not Black?

SU: Porque ellos dicen que quieren ser a la costumbre del papa,
Because they say they want to belong to the custom of their father,

y además yo no soy negra negra.
and also I am not Black Black.

Mi papa era mestizo de negra con un cholo,
My father was a mestizo of a Black woman and a *cholo* (Epera),

entonces supongamos era como un mestizo,
so let's suppose that he was like mixed ("mestizo"),

tal como Adrian, que ajunta con una negra.
Like Adrian, that gets together with a Black woman,

entonces los hijos no salen negro, negro. Salen mestizo.
so the children do not come out Black Black. They come out "mestizo".

Entonces así soy yo.
So that's how I am.

The word *mestizo* on the Rio Cayapas is used in ways that differ from its usage more broadly in Latin America where it refers primarily to mixture between Whites and indigenous people. Locally in Esmeraldas the word is used for the results of any kind of racial mixture, especially for children of Blacks with Chachis and other indigenous people. Susana explains that she herself is actually *mestizo* because one of her grandparents was an Epera indigenous man, and links this fact to her children's self-identification as indigenous people.

The following excerpt from an interview with a Black man named Segundo from the town of Santa María presents another discussion of the term *mestizo* relating to ideas of how race and gender combine to shape the outcomes of race mixture, so that different results can occur with couples in which the man is Black and the woman is Chachi or vice versa.

(6.22)
SE: Depende tambien el color de la persona negra
The color also depends on if the Black person

si es mujer o es varon
is a woman or a man,

porque todos no somos negritos negritos no,
because not all of us are Black Black no,

siempre hay unos que son un poco más limpios,
there are always a few who are a little clearer ("cleaner"),

el chachi es un poco más limpio que el negro, pero,
the Chachi is a little clearer ("cleaner") than the Black, but

tampoco el negro queda tan quemado,
the Black does not end up that dark ("burnt") either,

siempre llega un poco al color del chachi.
(he) always gets a little of the Chachi's color.

YM: Es mestizo.
He's mixed ("mestizo").

SE: Quedan mestizos esa es la, la frase que se le pone
They end up "mestizos" is the, the phrase that they use for them

es que son mestizos.
because they are mixed ("mestizos").

SF: Le dice mestizo y ¿ellos hablan cha'palaa? ¿Aprenden?
They call them mixed, and do they speak Cha'palaa? Do they learn?

SE: Aprenden, si claro que aprenden
They learn, sure they learn.

YM: Pero según en el lugar que estén.
But depending on where they are.

SE: Según en el lugar que se encuentren aprenden el cha'paala.
Depending on where they are they learn Cha'palaa.

SF: ¿Y cuando son grandes con quien se casan, chachi o negro?
And when they grow up who do they marry, Chachi or Black?

SE: Bueno ellos dependen también la misma cosa
Well for them it depends on the same thing,

como le decía antes, si le nace un negro un negro se va-
as I was saying before, if (a child) is born Black they will-

si no que no hay cantidad de negro que este unido con la chachi,
but there are not a lot of Blacks that are united with Chachis,

si bien digo, con la raza chachi no hay cantidad.
if I say so, with the Chachi race there are not a lot.

SF: Acá arriba en Zapallo hay algunos.
Up in Zapallo there are some.

SE Allá si pero es la única parte que
There yes, but it is the only part

casi más negros hay unidos con chachi que, chachi con negro
almost with more Blacks united with Chachis of, Chachi with Black.

SF: En Zapallo casas de chachis y negros estan mas mezclados.
In Zapallo the houses of Chachis and Blacks are more mixed.

SE: Si que allá era, era un como-
Yes because there it was, it was a, like-

YM: Era un pueblo casi de chachis
It was a town almost of (only) Chachis.

SE: Un pueblito que es casi de los chachi
A town almost of (only) Chachis.

y ahí llegó fue un mm como le digo? Un evangélico.
and there arrive, it was, um, mm, how do I say? An evangelical.

YM: Evangélico.
Evangelical.

SE: Y entonces formó ese pueblo acabaron de formar ese pueblo,
So then that town formed, they finished forming that town,

con ese y ellos se hicieron evangelistas.
with that, and they became evangelists.

Entonces por eso hay mas mezclamientos allá que aquí
So that is why there is more mixture there than here.

In connection with my discussion earlier in this chapter of the racial integration of Zapallo relative to other towns in the are like Santa María, it is important that Segundo (and a second man who was also present) identify it as a place where there has been "more mixture." Segundo points out how interracial unions are rarer in less integrated places. Indeed, in my observations for Chachis living far from Black communities the prohibitions on interracial marriage are still very strong, and Chachis still run the risk of being expelled for interracial marriage in the more isolated communities. But even on the main course of the Rio Cayapas where Black and Chachi towns exists side by side Zapallo is a special case.

But if Zapallo is more open to interracial unions, it is certainly not a post-racial utopia. In the following comments Miltong echoes post-racial discourses that we are all "one race" but at the same time reaffirms race as a biological concept through his account of "colliding bloods" in the children of interracial unions:

(6.23)

MI: La diferencia que había también, en las dos razas anterior,
The difference that there is also, in the two races before,

porque en esa temporada, como explico antes la compañera,
because in that time, as the comrade explained before,

entre los negros y los chachis no se hacían matrimonios,
between Blacks and Chachis they did not have marriages,

porque era prohibido, o sea los chachis prohibían
because it was prohibited, I mean the Chachis prohibited,

que no debían de casarse el negro con el Chachi,
that they shouldn't marry Blacks with Chachis,

ni el Chachi con el negro tampoco.
nor Chachis with Blacks either.

Entonces solamente, cada cual en su etnia,
So only, each one in their ethnicity,

pero ahora como ha habido tanto estudio y han decretado que,
but now as there has been so much study and they have decreed that,

que no importa que el chachi se case con el negro,
that it does not matter if Chachis marry Blacks,

ni el negro con el Chachi,
or if Blacks marry Chachis,

y ya es una sola raza, y entonces ahí, hay una parte que
and now it is a single race, and so there, there is a part that,

ya si, yo tengo un hijo con una Chachi
ok, if I have a child with a Chachi

entonces como ya tienen dos sangres
then it will have two bloods,

que es la sangre Chachi y la sangre del negro,
that are Chachi blood and Black blood,

entonces es mas fuerte, ya tiene mas fortaleza, y- entonces-,
so it is stronger, it has strength, and- so-,

siempre decimos nosotros, si uno, uno se junta con una Chachi
we always say, if someone, if someone gets together with a Chachi

la Chachi no anda cayendo enferma porque ya
the Chachi does not go falling sick because

chocan las dos sangres,
the two bloods collide,

y ella tiene más fortaleza también la Chachi,
and she has more strength also, the Chachi,

entonces eso es la diferencia que hay entre el negro y el Chachi.
so that is the difference between Blacks and Chachis.

While previous chapters gave some examples of discourses that framed all indigenous people as a single race – part of the larger tri-partite racial categorization in the Americas – those discourses co-exist with marriage prohibitions against *any* non-Chachi spouses. While cases can be found such as that described earlier of the Awá indigenous man married to a Chachi woman and living in a Chachi village, and resistence to such unions may be less due to the fact they they do not challenge the macro-racial category of 'indigenous American', such unions can nevertheless face resistence. In this example Patricia describes the Chachi community's initial rejection of her husband, who is a Manaba, a social category with ambiguous indigenous/mestizo status, and their eventual acceptance of him based on his willingness to participate in Chachi customs:

(6.23)

SF: ¿Aceptan que él no es chachi no hay problema?
Do they accept him since he is not Chachi, is it a problem?

P: Ah, al principio si, uwain acepta dekityuwe
Ah, at first they did not accept him,

porque la costumbre kaspeleya
because the old custom was

chachiitala- talatene kayanu ju'mitya tsenbala,
only- only among Chachis, to get married, for that reason,

apa- tiempu pasa intsunbala ti ju'bain
as time went passing by,

yumaa decambia indu intyuka asu
now it is changing.

In rukunu panduren dedyashee
They criticized my husband,

tsenbala yabain ne na'baasa kesneibaa juumiñu
but since he has not been causing any trouble

ura' porta kintsushee challaya
he behaves well, so now

porque yabain costumbreshatene wiinu
because he is also entering into the customs (of the Chachis),

tyai'mitya chachillabain
because of that, the Chachis also

uwain ne juntsa manawa rukuaa ti' patyudeeshee
do not call him a Manaba man

porque yabain chachiyu pensaa juaa
because he also thinks like a Chachi

in rukuya juntsaa pensaa tashee.
my husband has that way of thinking.

For Chachis the tradition of endogamy is constantly being renegotiated. By comparison, the traditional ways that local Black people form unions, including "serial polygyny" and a lack of race-based marriage prohibition, may not be "traditional" so much as a reflection the social conditions Blacks have lived in since colonial times, in which impoverished conditions made stable families difficult to maintain and ideologies of White supremacy encouraged Blacks to whiten through marriage. Black discourses about interracial marriage often articulate the concept of *mejoranza de la raza* ("the improvement of the race") that circulated more broadly in Latin America and shapes how people think about race and reproduction in the context of White privilege. The next example is an extended excerpt, part of which I already discussed in Chapter 5 with reference to multi-modality. In addition to the phenotypic features associated with the gestures in that discussion, this example shows how those aspects of the body are linked to ideas of personality and character. In the last part of the example DS explains how the different "colliding bloods" resulting from interracial unions can cause the children to have angry temperments:

(6.24a)
DS: Y nosotros nos encantaría cambiar la raza también
And we would love to change the race also,

salen cruzaditos pues,
they come out crossed,

ellos salen cruzados, ellos ya no salen de mi color,
they come out crossed, they don't come out with my color,

yo como yo soy un poquito más clarito que mi compadre.
me since I am a little lighter than my *compadre* (other man in the room).

Pongamos así, si yo me entablo con una negra, con una chachi,
Let's put it this way, if I am with a Black- with a Chachi,

los hijos salen, salen ahi, (?), pelo enruchadito
and then the children come out, come out there, curly hair,

y no salen muy quemado.
and they don't come out very dark ("burnt").

Pero si es así como mi compa, más moreno,
But if he is like my friend, darker,

entonces ahí salen más quemaditos los muchachos
so then they come out darker ("more burnt") the kids,

el pelo ahí si le sale bien enchuradito,
and there the hair comes out really curly,

MA: Más virado el cabello.
Curlier hair.

SF: ¿Y los niños que les dicen chachis o negros o mitad mitad?
And they call the kids Chachis or Blacks or half and half?

MA: Mestizos.
Mixed ("mestizos").

DS: Nosotros lo empastamos como mestizos.
We classify them as mixed ("mestizos").

SF: ¿Es raro ser mestizo por aquí o ya es normal?
Is it rare to be mixed ("mestizos") around here or is it normal?

MA: Es lo normal, hay otros que son mas-
It is normal, there are others that are more-

MI: Hay unos, pero otros . . .
There are some, but others . . .

si son ya no salen del mismo genio, salen más bravos.
if they don't come out with the same temperment, they come out fiercer.

MA: Están chocadas.
They have collided.

MI: Y entonces ya decimos nosotros ahí las dos sangres están chocadas.
And so we say then that the two bloods have collided. [HANDS TOGETHER]

Están peleando pues ya sale,
They are fighting, and it comes out,

ya no sale pongamos como el padre o como la madre.
it does not come out, let's say, like the father or like the mother.

A little later in the same conversation DS described how certain racial combinations were more problematic than others, especially the combination between Chachis and mixed race people (*mestizos*). These mixtures compound the numbers of different classing "bloods" in the person, causing them to be bad tempered:

(6.24b)
SF: ¿Como eran diferentes los dos hijos?
How were the two children different?

DS: Más violentos, era más rabioso
More violent, they were angrier.

Pero si son negro con mestizo nomas, no, no pasa nada,
But if they are just from Black with "mestizo" nothing happens,

negro - chachi no pasa nada,
Black (with) Chachi nothing happens,

pero si yo soy mestizo y el otro es chachi ahí luchan,
but if I am "mestizo" and the other is Chachi, then they fight,

ahí como cuatro sangres,
there like four bloods,

es una pelea de sangres.
it is a fight among bloods.

In this dissertation I argue that Blackness and indigeneity as articulated locally in Esmeraldas are part of larger racial formations which, along with Whiteness, form the three most historically significant macro-racial categories in the Americas. But how Blackness and indigeneity will come into contact locally is not entirely determined by this history. In this dialogic exposition of Black and Chachi discourses of interracial marriage and race mixture there is tension both in the fine differences between the two groups' different but overlapping perspectives as well as in how those prespectives form part of larger social processes while retaining their local specificity; in both of these senses the meaning of race mixture on the Rio Cayapas is shaped dialogically.

6.4 Racializing the supernatural

The two dialogic juxtapositions of discourse presented above concerned the perspectives of Blacks and Chachis about material relations on an economic level and then about the intimate relations of family at the level of genealogy and the body. The third and last dialogue between Chachi and Black discourse that I will create in this Chapter concerns a different level of relationship between the two groups: the relationship of humans to non-human animate beings and the way racial distinctions are articulated as part of these relationships. Both Blacks and Chachis speak of meetings with dangerous non-human beings in the forest and on the river, and while to some extent they have separate traditions, these two ways of approaching the world have combined and overlapped through the long history of contact. In this section I will compare Chachi and Black discourses about one specific human-like being named *pillujmu*, a kind of river ghost that drags people under the water and kills them. A likely etymology for the word in *pi-llu-ujmu* or "river-rise-spirit" referencing its tendency to appear in dangerous high water. Particularly interesting for this discussion of race as part of a system of social categorization is the fact that the *pillujmu* is typically described as being Black, at least phenotypically. As with the examples of the Chachi afterlife cited in Chapter 2, here also we can see how racial categories can be projected from the world of physical bodies into the world of less tangible spirits. The first example in this section is from a recording made during my pilot research of a Chachi boy (N) giving an account of a personal encounter with the *pillujmu* in response to questions by a Chachi man (SA) who was assisting with translation during preliminary research.

(6.25)

N: Lala jee kajuruu de luñu' mitya

We came up with scared faces

yanu pishapumulachi lalaa mijdetui tishe tinaaju pasa itudeiyu
to him, the ones in the river, we didn't know, what's happening, they said,

pakandiuva najtun wapamnanchi
but they did not answer because they were frightened,

ikeyaiñu pakatyiuren tsanaturen demiji' uinaturen,
and without answering they went and were standing,

umaa de kuinda kitaa mama laanu kaa pechuikaana
and now we told them, "Mom, to us, a little Black child,

keraaya laanu kanu ti'sureijantsu
it looks like, is trying to get us, following

lui'ntsu de wapana' maayu tila titaa jumala.
and coming up, we came back scared" (we) said then.

SA: Tsen ajke' katatuya ñullanu pilujmusha tejanu tejanu kityu.
So when you encountered it you did not remember the pillujmu?

N: Tsaimala pillujmusha tejatyunkai.
Then (we) did not remember the pillujmu.

SA: Ne' ne ne peechulla faatu iee pensa ne kedekee.
So so so you thought that it was a Black.

N: Lalaa pechuikaana ñu' mitya, lalaa
We, a Black child like you, we,

lalaa peechuikaana iee pensankikila.
we thought that it was a Black child.

SA: Ñulla pechuikaana tilla yanu.
So you called him a Black child.

N: Lalaa pechuikaana titaa,
We called (him) a Black child

peechuikaanashu juntsa asu ji' kerakedaa,
if it was a Black child, we went "Let's go see,"

Victor peechuikaa nashu juntsaa
Victor (said) "if it is a Black child"

kanjutyaa titaa jintsulaa .
we were asking if he was going to get us.

SA: Uhn yaa aaa tsaaren ñuilla uj pillujmunubain pensankela.
Oh, so ok, you did think it was a pillujmu also.

N: Pensankindetyu lalaa.
We didn't think (that).

SA: Ah' peechuikaananun pensankikila.
Ah you thought he was a Black child.

N: Jee peechuikaananun pensankedekesh
Yes we thought he was a Black child.

SA: Tsa' mityaa ya' keetalan depuintsula.
For that reason you were going close (to him).

N: Jee tsaiñuba jee.
Yes that's how it was, yes.

SA: Tsen najtaa ma firuuñuba jali panajtuma
But is was ugly and unclothed,

alabenweenuba jaiba pensa tejatiun, ñuillanu.
and very dirty, it should remind you.

F: Es ke kerajdetu kayu kailla.
It's that they don't know it yet, they children.

In the boy's account above and his answers to SA's questions he tells how when the group of children first saw the *pillujmu* they thought it was a Black child and only when they told the adults what they had seen did they realized that it had been the *pillujmu.* The boy's father at the end of the example explains that this is because they aren't yet familiar with the distinct features of the *pillujmu.* In this way human-like phenotype becomes an identifying feature of this non-human being in a similar way to how phenotype is related to racial categories. However other accounts say that the *pillujmu* is not necessarily Black but rather it is a ghost of a drowning victim and that it retains the racial category of the dead person.

(6.26) Peechullala depiya' mityaa ya' pillujmubain jumeeka,
Because Blacks are also lost (by drowning) they also become pillujmu,

peechui pillujmubain chachibain.
Black pillujmu and Chachi also.

On several occasions while living in Chachi communities I was warned about swimming alone at night. They say that the *pillujmu* touches your foot two times and then, on the third, it pulls you under, which is why it is best to leave the water after the first touch. In this example a Chachi speaker describes the *pillujmu*'s appearance with dark, black skin and long tangled hair, and then described the violence they are capable of:

(6.27)

MR: Yapijtutuju, peechulla keraju, pillujmu, pillujmuaa
Dark, it looks like a Black, the pillujmu, the pillujmu,

maty mishpuka chiyayaa, juntsawaa,
with the head all tangled, that one,

main tsaa animaawe pisha pumu, pisha pumu animaa
that animal, it is in the river, it is in the river, the animal.

SF: Y ellos son negros también? O son-
And they are Blacks too? Or are they-

MR: Peechulla keraa juntsa, juntsa pisha pumu pillujmu juushujuntsa,
They look Black, that one, the pillujmu that lives in the water,

tsaaren timbunu tsadetiña juntsa pillujmu juushujuntsa,
so in the old times they used to say that, that it is a pillujmu,

chachilla ateeya tya'kesneneimulanu suuke'
and that it follows the people who are net fishing,

chachillanu tituba ke' matyi, ee, chachillanu naa dekanu ke' kerake.
and it does whatever (bad) things, ee, it grabs people.

Chachilla pai ruku nemula timbunu winke'
Once it fought against two men,

ma tutekeñaa aschiipujpun shajaran tute' kepumaa timudee timbunu,
when it killed it made bloody bubbles, they say when it killed in the old times,

timbunu juntsa pillujmu fifu' kemuaa detiwe timbunu.
in the old times the pillujmu used to attack people, they say, in the old times.

Black accounts of the *pillujmu* are similar to Chachi accounts, but they give it different names, including the term *ribier* used by Susana in this example:

(6.28)

SF: Para los Chachis como que hay unos fantasmas que saben andar.
For the Chachis there are like some ghosts that go around.

SU: Aja, ellos dicen la sombra
Aja, they say "the shadow."

Pillujmo dicen, ese cuco negro que anda en el agua,
"Pillujmu" they say, that black boogeyman that goes around in the water,

nosotros si creemos también eso, es un ribier
we believe in it also, it is a "*ribier*"

ya de nochecita sabe bajar en una canoita chiquitita
by night it comes down in a little tiny canoe,

baja sentadito con una lucecita ahí.
it comes down sitting with a little light there.

Entonces cuando uno se asoma
So when one comes out (of the house),

uno dice allá va el ribier, pero uno no puede decir duro,
one says "There goes the *ribier*," but one can't say it very loud,

porque si usted dice allá va el ribier' uu, se sube encima de la casa.
because if you say "there goes the *ribier*" ooh, it climbs up on the house.

Entonces uno tiene, si usted ve, nomás tiene que mirar y quedar calladito nomás.
So one has to if one sees-, you see, you just have to look and stay quiet.

Los ribier dicen que se hacen- hay personas que se ahogan,
The *ribier* they say, is made- there are people that drown,

y no-, nunca se encuentran. Entonces dicen que se consumen en el agua,
and I don't- they are never found. So they say that the water consumed them,

y ellos se hacen ribier pero ribier si existe.
and they become *ribier*, but *ribier* really exists.

SF: Los Chachis también dicen que él es negro. Cuando dicen pillujmo.
The Chachis also say that he is Black. When they say pillujmo.

SU: Si, ellos eso dicen cuco negro,
Yes, they say it is a black boogeyman,

SF: ¿Porque será que es negro y no es chachi?
Why is it that it is Black and not Chachi?

SU: No se, la costumbre de ellos dicen asi cuco negro,
I don't know, in their custom they say black boogeyman,

en cambio nosotros decimos ribier.
and on the other hand we say *ribier*.

SF A, ya. Pero también para ustedes es más,
Ah, ok. But also for you all is it more,

¿la cara es mas como un negro que como un Chachi?
is the face more like a Black than like a Chachi?

SU: Porque ambos las dos razas se ahogan.
Because both races drown.

O chachis o negros. Ahi no hay dabe (?)
Or Chachis or Black. There is no difference (?)

de las dos razas mismo se convierten en ribier
from both of the races they turn into *ribier*

entonces uno no puede decir este ribier es Chachi o este ribier es negro
so one can't say that that *ribier* is Chachi or that *ribier* is Black.

como eso anda así, quien puede andar mirando así.
as it goes around like that, who can go looking at it like that (close enough).

Eso es de lejitos nomas que uno ve.
One only sees it from far away.

Porque eso es capaz, si se sube a uno, lo agarra, lo mata.
Because it is capable, if it comes up to one, it grabs, it kills.

Si es muy peligroso el ribier.
It is very dangerous the *ribier*.

Like the Chachi example cited above, Susana makes reference to the idea that the *pillujmu* or *ribier* is not exactly racially Black, but as the ghost of a human can retain some racial characteristics. In another example I asked a Black interviewee about the *pillujmu* and he compared it to creatures called *duendes*, a name that circulates broadly in different traditions around Latin America.

(6.29)
DS: Por lo menos, nosotros, en el monte hay,
At least, we, in the woods there is,

bueno el diablo es casi lo mismo , y
well, the devil is almost the same, and

y hay otro tipo de visión, que pongamos él es de este altito
there is another type of vision, let's say he is this high,

así, el tiene un sombrero grande,
like this, he had a big hat,

los brazos son gruesos, y el pelo le da acá,
the arms are thick, and the hair down to here,

y nosotros le decimos duende
and we call it *duende*.

Entonces eso también para nosotros es una visión,
So it is also a vision for us,

y el pillujmo que los chachis dicen ,
and the pillujmo that the Chachis talk about,

es cuando una persona se muere y anda la sombra,
is when a person dies and walks in the shadow,

entonces a eso le dicen pillujmo o le dicen humo.
so they call it pillujmo or they call it smoke.

Entonces nosotros decimos muerto.
So we call it a dead (person).

SF: ¿Como es el duende? ¿Blanco, negro o como chachi?
How is the *duende*? White or black or like a Chachi?

DS: Bueno, principalmente yo, a mí se me apareció uno,
Well, principally me, one appeared to me,

yo andaba cortando una leña y se me para así al camino.
I was cutting some firewood and it stood like that in the path.

Milton picked up on my question and reiterated it: What race were the *duendes*? First DS classifies them as White, but then he acknowledges that there are different physical types:

MI: ¿Pero que es negro o es blanco?
But what is it, black or white?

DS: No ese, es blanco.
No that, it's white.

O sea que parece que él se les- se le aparece a distintas formas,
I mean it seems like he- he appears in different forms,

porque el que yo vi el cabello le daba aquí.
because I saw that its hair was down to here.

y el nomás era de este altito.
he was just this height.

MI: ¿Y el pelo que color?
And what color the hair?

DS: Bueno, casi el pelo es normal, como el pelo del chachi.
Well, the hair is normal, but like the hair of a Chachi.

Así, en esa forma es, como el cholo así en esa forma,
Like this, in this form, like the *cholo* (Epera) in this way,

pero el pelo largo, eso si el pelo es largo.
but long hair, the hair is really long.

No, que pongamos la sombra que se ve,
No, let's say that the shadow looks,

como ya cuando uno se muere, uno ya cambia,
like when one had died, one changes,

entonces como, le ponen a uno una vestidura blanca,
so like, they put one in white clothing,

entonces con esa vestidura aparece, entonces, simplemente,
so one appears with that clothing, so, simply

el cuerpo no le puede decir si es negro si es blanco,
the body (you) can't tell if it is Black or White,

porque solamente uno le ve nada mas la vestidura
but (you) can only see the clothing.

Like the Chachis who compared the *pillujmu*'s appearance to the Black phenotype, here a Black speaker compares the *duende'*s appearance to the indigenous phenotype. Beyond showing how both the Black and Chachi traditions mention similar non-human beings like the *pillujmu* and the *duende*, my intention in this section has been to demonstrate how the racial categories derived from social history are extended into the spirit world where they become resources for categorizing animate beings similarly to

how they work among humans. The way these categories from hemispheric patterns of racial formation are articulated as part of discourses that concern highly localized cultural traditions underscores my general argument in this dissertation about how specific instances of social interaction relate to the social order more broadly. The ways that racial categories are articulated are as diverse as the different cultural and linguistic heritages of people around the world, but the inertia of historical racial formation somehow ties these diverse articulations together to constitute broader, more abstract patterns. The focus in this chapter on dialogicity and multiple complementary positionalities in social formation adds further depth to this point, because it illustrates how distinct social groups with cultural and linguistic differences can nonetheless share in the same patterns of racial formation.

Summary

This chapter had two related goals: First, it provided ethnographic details that complement the linguistic analysis in chapters 2 to 5 by expanding on several different aspects of race relations between Blacks and Chachis in the Rio Cayapas area including economic relationships, interracial marriage, and the connection of race to how both groups talk about encounters with ghosts and spirits. Second, it constructed those topics dialogically in that it juxtaposed Chachi discourse in Cha'palaa to Black discourse in Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish and used discourse in one language to build on themes articulated in the other, bringing Black speakers of Spanish and the multilingual sociolinguistic situation of the region into closer view. The example of economic exchanges illustrated how the social meaning of reciprocal, complementary relationships between distinct groups of people are not reducible to one socio-cultural position but rather are co-constructed across positionalities. For this reason a discourse-centered interactional constructivist approach must take heteroglossia seriously when considering the complex and uneven relation between meaning created in discourse and shared meanings in the social world. The next example of attitudes towards interracial marriage

and race mixture further underscored this point by comparing how two very different sets of social norms combine in a single situation of inter-group interaction. Chachi society has a history of strict, normative endogamy and fidelity while Black society allows relatively unrestricted marriage norms, yet both groups share many of the same attitudes towards race and are enmeshed in similar processes to make sense of new racial experiences as interracial marriage becomes more frequent. The final example of discourses about dangerous river spirits showed how these partially-shared conceptions of race circulate more broadly in both Black and Chachi culture, so that racial categories can be used as a way for making sense of the spiritual or supernatural domains. Along with all the other differently racialized groups in the Americas, the Chachis and Blacks of Esmeraldas participate in and form part of racial formation more broadly, and the similarities between Black and Chachi discourse emphasize ways in which both groups operate according to the same macro-racial categories. The points of tension, on the other hand, emphasize how abstract social formations are made up of a great deal of heterogeneity at the local level. The next chapter continues to explore similar themes, but instead of creating an artificial dialogue as I did in this chapter, it considers actual instances of conversation in natural speech recordings and looking for evidence of the social order in interracial interactions and racializing speech.

Chapter 7: Race and racial conflict in interaction

7.1 Complications of demarcating boundaries

One evening during the summer of 2007 while I was doing pilot research on the Upi river, my friend Alberto asked me if I wanted to participate with the community in an event with a *miruku* (literally a "man who knows") with the purpose of resolving a land dispute over the boundaries of Chachi territory and Blacks' territory to the west. When we got to the top of the hill where the school house that doubles as a community meeting hall sits, most of the town was already there. At one end of the room a hammock was hung for the *miruku* alongside an altar that was arranged with different stones, small statues, candles, tabacco, cane alcohol, and pots full of corn chicha covered with banana leaves. Over the hammock hung a small pointed roof woven with leaves to protect the *miruku* from any dangerous shadows. We arranged our sleeping mats on the ground and some of the women blocked the doors by stacking school desks, to keep anything dangerous from sneaking in.

The community had contracted the *miruku* and brought him from where he lived downriver; they spent some time talking about the details of the land dispute with him before he settled in for the night and began to sing. The bright lights were extinguished, leaving only a few candles and the *miruku* began a long night of singing and whistling while shaking leafy branches and spitting alcohol and smoke into the air. Little by little the community members fell asleep in little piles of children and parents snuggled together. Sometime not long before dawn the *miruku* finally finished his singing, and with the first rays of light everyone descended the hill to start their day. The same procedure was repeated again that night, and the night afterwards.

Figure 4. The *miruku* sings to influence the land dispute. Candles and other ritual items are arrayed on the floor beside his hammock.

Many Chachi people are wary about the offensive power of shamans, and often when a person is inexplicably sick it is often suspected to be the doing of enemies who have contracted a *miruku* to take revenge. This particular event was not meant to harm the members of the Black community but instead to influence their willingness to accept a solution based on a historical land title that favored the position of the Chachi community. They hoped that the Blacks would respect the land title that had established the limits of the Chachi Center two generations before. Chachi "Centers" are a kind of comunal landholding in which legally all members of the community own the land collectively and an internal organization determines who can live and farm on which parts of the land. Each Chachi Center may include several towns as well as agricultural and forest land; the Chachi Center where I did field research has extensive forest resources in an ecologically sensitive area that borders the vast Cotacachi-Cayapas nature reserve to the east. To the west the Chachi Center borders the Comuna Santiago Cayapas, a large administrative unit that includes many small and large Black communities. The closest Black population to the Chachi village where I was living lies about ten kilometers away cross country through the forest. The Black town used to be a remote area, but a logging company had recently opened a road in order to have access to the valuable old-growth tropical hardwoods. They had made a deal with the Black community to pay for the wood and to employ the locals, but the trees were rapidly being

depleted in the area, leading them to push further into the forest to the point that they were encroaching on Chachi land. When the Chachis discovered that hundreds of trees had already been cut on what they considered to be their side of the border, new tensions arose between them and their Black neighbors. They hoped that through a combination of tactics using both legal channels and the powers of the *miruku* that they could make an agreement to clearly delineate the border and to respect it in the future.

A year after the event with the *miruku*, however, when I returned to the area to begin full-time field research, the problem had still not been settled. On several occasions a delegation of men had walked through the forest to attend community meetings with the Blacks in order to negotiate an agreement. At times after the meetings it had seemed like the Blacks had agreed to the boundary, but then a short time later the Chachis would find the stumps of cut trees and the scars of logging machinery, each time further inside their territory. During my first few months living in the Chachi community the land dispute was a constant topic of conversation when people gathered in the evening to sit around and talk; even with my beginning Cha'palaa I could figure out what they were talking about by catching isolated words and phrases like *peechulla* (Blacks) and *lala' tu* (our land). By my third month in the village people were getting anxious and decided to schedule another meeting with their Black neighbors. The evening before the day of the meeting some of the men asked me if I wanted to come along.

We set off early the next morning in order to arrive on time to the meeting, which was planned for ten o'clock. There were about ten of us as we crossed the Upi River by canoe and headed through the plaintain groves near the river into the forest beyond. Two other Chachi communities were also sending delegations that would take different routes and meet us at our destination. Fording a small stream and climbing up to the crest of a ridge, we came out of the forest into a clearing. It was the logging road, a great muddy gash torn by heavy machinery through the forest. Following the road, we eventually emerged into cow pastures on a hill and saw the outskirts of the town below. To get to the town we had to ford a river at a point where the logging road cut through the riverbed;

compared to the crystalline waters in the Chachi territory this river was brown with the silty runnoff from logging activity, contaminating the main source of water for drinking and washing.

Figure 5. The muddy ruts of the logging road cut; Chachi men on their way to the Black community for a meeting about the land dispute.

As we walked into town the Chachi men greeted a few of the Black community members that were around town. As usual for Ecuador, the officials had not yet arrived so the meeting would have to be delayed until the afternoon. While we waited in the shade under a house on stilts, I watched as a pickup truck and several motorcycles rode into town to sell clothes and other goods. A few years ago the town had only been accessible by canoe and on foot, but now due to the logging road it was connected to the Ecuadorian highway system. While it had increased access to consumer goods, the road did not appear to have brought prosperity to the town, which looked even more impoverished than the Chachi towns we had arrived from. Some Chachi men pointed out to me how some of the local men carried pistols and acted as enforcers for the logging company. In addition to their machetes, a few of the Chachi men had brought pistols as well. It was getting late in the afternoon now and the meeting still had not started. We would have to stay the night.

Finally a pickup arrived and the officials from the Comuna Santiago Cayapas arrived, Black men from the larger towns who, unlike most of the locals, move in national political circles. They were supposed to mediate the discussion between the Chachis and the local Blacks. The officials called everyone to the schoolhouse and began to set up at the front of the classroom, but the locals reluctantly hung about the door. The town president was missing and there was some debate if the meeting could even take place. Members of the Chachi delegation later claimed these were tactics to make sure that any resolution reached at the meeting would not be binding due to lack of quorum.

When at last there was agreement that the meeting could start, the representative from the Comuna Santiago Cayapas government took the floor and gave a long, high volume speech scolding the community members for their failure to cooperate with the natural resource management plans pushed by the Comuna and, ultimately, by the national government under the newly-elected leftist president Rafael Correa, who the Comuna representative praised in his speech. In line with international trends, the government was ecouraging participation in carbon trading as their major environmental strategy for protecting the emperiled Chocoan rainforest. Already the areas accessible by road had been logged and largely replaced by African palm plantations marketed as an ecological alternative for producing biofuels, but with a host of problems due to complications with monoculture and the displacement of smallholder farming. The consequences had been the destruction of many Black and indigenous communities in the province, who were intimidated through threats of violence to sell their land (Hazlewood 2004, 2010). Webs of corruption were rumored to connect the local political class, the contraband economy centering on the Colombian border,[30] and the logging companies, which pushed relentlessly on towards the last areas of virgin forest. Their strategy was to incorporate rural communities further into the capitalistic economy by offering wages and credit, seeking to create relationships of debt servitude to use as leverage for manipulating locals.

The Comuna representative scolded the community members at length for an episode in which locals had smashed the camera of a representative of a European Union carbon capture program as a rejection of the idea that they would stop logging the forest.[31] "How much can you get from the logging companies?" asked the Comuna representative. "Twenty dollars? You can't live off that when the forest is gone." In his discourse, the Comuna representative used the Spanish equivalent of the kinds of **prononoun system alignment with ethnonyms** seen in Cha'palaa in Chapter 4. Spanish has the possibility of marking person on the verb, so independent pronouns are not necessary to establish relationships of co-reference with ethnonyms. In this excerpt from the speech the ethnonymic phrase *los negros* ("the Blacks") is syntactically the subject of the verb *ver* ("to see"), however the verb is not inflected for a third person subject but rather for the first person, estbalishing the relationships of co-reference between the ethnonym, the person marking, the speaker, and the social group that he belongs to:

		[CO-REF] ↔ ↔ ↔ [1PL]
(7.1)	Por eso es que dicen algunos que	**[los negros] no ve[-mos]** hácia allá!
		[the Blacks] NEG see-[1PL]
	That is why some say that	**we Blacks don't see** far off.

¡No vemos hasta aquí, hasta allí! ¡Entonces no pues hermanos!
We see up until here, up until here! So (we say) no then brothers!
[GESTURE: POINTS HANDS AND HEAD IN FRONT OF BODY]

[30] Ballvé 2009 describes links between narco-traffickers and carbon capture programs.

[31] At this moment I became uncomfortably aware of my own pressence as a white foreigner wielding a video camera during the meeting. However, I had sought previous approval from the town authorities to film on the condition that I send a copy of the DVD to them – which I later did. In addition, the Chachis with whom I had arrived have a long-term documented agreement with me to participate in the collection of video data. The camera did not seem to be causing any immediate problems for any of the meeting participants so I continued to film.

After a number of speeches by the local and regional officials, in which all parties generally supported the idea that the land title of the Chachis would be upheld and both communities would participate in the demarcation of the territory, the floor was opened to the attendees, and a number of Chachis and Blacks stood up to voice their opinions. In these discourses as well proniminal forms came into such consistent alignment that the first and second person pronouns could be said to be operating with racialized semantics throughout the interaction. In the example below, one of the Chachis named Roberto, a member of our party on the walk through the forest, stood and spoke for several minutes in Spanish; readers may notice his non-standard Spanish which is best described as a variety of coastal Spanish similar to that of Blacks but with a number of distinct features connected to the influence of Cha'palaa. I point this out to highlight complex issues of multi-lingual semantics, and to suggest that the boundary is permeable between the meanings generated in the monolingual Cha'palaa discourse discussed in previous chapters and those that circulate in Spanish discourse. As in racializing Cha'palaa discourses, the particular resources of the language can be exploited in ways that link the people meeting in the school house to larger communities and, at a higher level of scale, ultimately to their macro-racial categories.

Figure 7. Roberto speaks at the meeting between Chachis and Blacks – he is standing at the right side of the image.

(7.2) Estamos tratando sobre la situación de límite Chachi Tsejpi
We are dealing with the situation about the limits of Chachi (Center) Tsejpi

y los compañeros conocidos de Juan Montalvo,
and the comrades known as Juan Montalvo,

compañeros, según me contaban que
comrades, according to what they tell me,

cómo hacer un contacto- un diálogo, **a favor de dos razas**
to have a dialogue, **in favor of two races**.

Cuando iniciaban el lindero pero ese momento **nosotros** estamos pequeños.
When they first began that border, but in that moment **we** are small,

nosotros no podemos repsonder sus preguntas, que se queda bien claro
we cannot respond to your questions, that it remains very clear,

esas son los antiguos gentes que ha hecho esa manga
they, the old people have made that cut (in the forest)

nosotros no tenemos- ese asunto no tenemos ni un (?) preguntas.
we don't have- that issue we don't have (?) questions.

Siempre **nosotros** seguiamos manteniendo que ha puesto la línea
We have always kept up the maintenance where they have put the line.

Eso no más estamos manteniendo **nosotros**.
Just that is what **we** are maintaining.

Roberto explains how the legal boundaries of the land were set when the people of his generation were small children – using the Spanish pronoun *nosotros* to make this link between himself and other adult community members. As Roberto describes how since that time they have simply respected the boundaries they inherited, he uses the pronoun so frequently that it strikes me as over-frequent for many forms of Spanish discourse, Spanish being a language that has the option of expressing person on the verb alone (in contrast to Cha'palaa, which does not mark person on verbs). As his speech continued Roberto began to use the second person pronoun *ustedes* in opposition to *nosotros*, as a way to consolidate his addressees as a single social group:

(7.3) **Nosotros** siempre hemos expuesto- hemos gastado
We have always explai- we have spent

y sacrificamos nuestro esfuerzo.
and we sacrificed our efforts.

Entonces **ustedes** tendrán que poner un financiamiento
So **you all** will have to provide some financing

para poner ese equipo.
to supply that equipment.

In the example above, Roberto references one of the most common points of contention surrounding meetings and other official activities, both between Chachis and Blacks and among different Chachi communities when they coordinate jointly: where do the logistical funds come from? Demarcating territorial boundaries far in the forest requires food, tools and GPS equipment, and somebody has to pay for them.

When members of the Black community took their turns to speak, they also described the situation through the same systems of pronoun alignment, but now inverted to a perspective centered on their position within their own racialized social categories. In the comments of one Black woman this was observable in how the first person is used:

(7.5a) **Nosotros** no tenemos tierra.
We don't have land.

The first person, aligned with the members of the Black community, then comes into opposition to the Chachis in the third person through us/them alignment:

(7.5b) **Ellos** se llevan todas las tierras de **nosotros**.
They are taking the land of **ours**.

The pronominal alignment further maps onto the participants in the interaction when the second person pronoun is used in reference to the visiting Chachis, contesting the legality of the land boundaries as they were set by previous generations:

(7.5c) Mi padre no se dió cuenta cuando **ustedes** hicieron esa manga.
My father did not realize when **you all** made that cut.

Part of the reason for the switch between third person in (7.5b) and second person in (7.5c) to refer to the Chachis is that the first part of the meeting was primarly oriented around the visit of the Comuna officials, while the second example is from the second part, which was oriented towards the Chachis. When the officials left, the meeting was supposed to continue in order for the two communities to come to an agreement, but the participants slowly began trickling out the door of the school house while nobody made an effort to proceed with the meeting. Finally a group of Black women took charge and attempted to call both the Chachis and Blacks back into the school house. The following interaction took place at the school house door, and consists of overlapping turns during a bit of confused mulling around. Here I will introduce a set of transcriptions designed for describing natural speech and interaction that I will refer back to throughout the chapter. I use a simplified version of the system developed by Gail Jefferson (Jefferson 2004) with the following conventions: [brackets] for overlappling speech, a period in parenthesis (.) for a pause of undifferentiated duration, the equals sign = for continuous speech between lines of transcript, CAPITALS for emphatic prosody and repeated letters for extended voooowels. Here CH1 and CH2 are Chachi men, and S1 is a Black woman. CH2 was moving as if to leave:

(7.6)

S1: Falta la reunión de Juan Montalvo con **ustedes**.
(We) still need to have the meeting of Juan Montalvo with **you all**.

CH1: [Si ese.
[Yes that's it.
[

CH2: [Aaaah. Todavia?

S1: [Si ese.
[Yes that's it.
[

CH1: [Si si.
[Yes yes.

CH2: Aaah, ya ya.
Aaah, ok ok.

In the interaction above both CH1 and S1 both speak, in part simultaneously, to CH2 to convince him to stay and continue participating in the meeting. S1 uses the second person pronoun in contrast to the name of the Black town, setting up a racialized pronoun alignment that the local organization of activity is responding to. Not only were the Chachis walking away, some of the Blacks were leaving as well. The women from the example above (S1) together with another Black woman (S2) called out to a third woman who was walking back to the center of town.

(7.7)

S1: Nena veeeeenga, ven acá a conversar con **los chachis** neeena.
Girl cooooome, come here to talk to with **the Chachis** giiiiiirl.

S2: Donde es que se va ieeeendo?
Where is it that you are gooooing?

S1: Vengan que **los chachis** van a venir.
Come back, **the Chachis** are going to come.

The use of the ethnonym *chachi* in the example above as a referential term for not *all* Chachis but the Chachis who were physically present in the speech situation is another way that linkages between social categories are are established with participants in actual instances of interaction. Eventually the meeting regrouped and a general agreement was made to set a date for mutual demarcation of the territory. After that agreement, the conversation turned to the discussion of the logging road that was being pushed through the forest towards the Chachi community. The Chachis were eager for the road to be completed so that they could avoid the difficult and expensive canoe trip that was their only way of traveling to urban centers to access different services and outside institutions. The Blacks offered permission for the Chachis to use the road to take their lumber to market, with the condition that they pay a toll to the Black community. They said that they needed an income now that they had spent virtually all of the money from their lumber on paying back the logging company for building the road. They did not have many trees left, which was why they had been pressing further into the forest near the territorial boundary. "The road cost us dearly," said one town official (*nos costó caro*).

Figure 8. Some of the last giant old growth hardwoods in the area on their way to market.

The late meeting had disrupted our plans to hike back to the Chachi community the same day, so we were offered the use of the pre-school building where we could sleep on the floor. A group of women volunteered to feed us and after some discussion at the store about sharing the cost of the food, we sat around talking and eating plates of rice and pork. Some of the Chachi men followed the sound of recorded music to join some of the local Black men to drink hard liquor, while the rest of us crowded onto the floor and slept as the rain hammered outside. In the morning the town was sleepy, partly due to the drinking of the night before. We waited while the women prepared breakfast for us and then set off on the long walk back through the forest. The Chachi men had agreed to meet the Blacks at the territorial boundary the following week. However the meeting never took place, I believe due to problems communicating with the Black town without phone or radio; at the time of writing the land dispute remains unresolved.

7.2 Racial formation in the interactional economy

Most of the discourse examples presented in the previous chapters of this dissertation have been taken from ethnographic interviews and monologic accounts of oral history or traditional stories. While the difference between language usage in these settings and in the natural speech data included in this chapter is gradient and should not be dichotomized, it is fair to wonder about whether the patterns described in previous chapters hold for the language of everyday conversational interaction, which constitutes the bulk of language usage as a whole. The examples of natural speech in the previous section from a recording of a meeting between respresentatives of opposing sides in a land dispute between Chachis and Blacks showed that very similar alignment patterns could be observed both in an interview context and elsewhere, in that particular case expressed with the resources of Spanish grammar. The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate how the discourse forms described in the previous chapters are articulated locally day to day in Chachi communities, both in Cha'palaa and in Spanish in a broader bilingual context including both Chachis and Blacks.

One of the central propositions of the Conversation Analysis school of interaction studies is that the analyst should not impose abstract social categories onto interaction data but should rather look for evidence of the social order as realized in interaction (Schegloff 2007). While hesitance to bring more abstract social knowledge to bear on interaction data seems based on a misconception about the the degree of empirical precision the method really allows relative to ethnography or other methods, there is something to be said for seeking empirical manifestations of social phenomena in reviewable, micro-analyzable data. Anthropological studies of race and social inequality sometimes jump directly to the macro-scale of social movements and political negotiations, and while this does not necessarily stop them from acheiving good ethnographic analysis, the resulting generalizations can gloss over a lot of detail about the

social mechanisms of race and racialization.[32] A good example of how to approach racialization through interaction is recent work by Paglaia (2009) that explores ways for connecting Omi and Winant's (Omi and Winant 1994, Winant 2000) concept of racial formation to specific interactional structures in racializing discourse in Italian. In interaction studies, the minimal unit of analysis is not a single construction like a phrase or a sentence, as in descriptive linguistics, but is instead a pair of utterances in conversational sequence, or an **adjacency pair**. This perspective puts a spotlight onto the **socialitity of language**, framing linguistic form not just as grammatically consistent in a descriptive framework but as an intersubjective, interactionally consistent system. In terms of the kinds of discourse structures described in Chapters 2, 3, and 4, an interactive approach demonstrates how those frameworks for social categorizing discourse are upheld across turns and between speakers, the true evidence of their social construction. The discourse forms associated with social categorization are distributed across speakers, across turns in interaction, across instances of discourse, and across languages in situations of complex mutlilingual relationships.

In everyday discourse in Chachi households social categories are drawn on as one of the basic ordering principles of human activity. In interaction studies ethnonyms and other words for referring to social collectivities have been referred to as **membership categorization devices** (Sacks 1992, Schegloff 2007), which become resources for person reference in interaction by associating referents with social categories (Sacks and Schegloff 1979; Stivers, Enfield and Levinson 2007). The example below shows how racial categories can be enlisted for the most mundane instances of person reference in conversation, where social knowledge provides common ground for making inferences about the identity of referents (Enfield 2006). The transcript shows the initiation of a conversation between Manuel and Humberto. I was filming Manuel as he worked on the finishing touches of a new canoe when Humberto had arrived and sat down in the hammock. Manuel began the conversation by making initial reference to an individual

[32] A few studies have approached these issues through discourse data, such as Urciuoli's work on prejudice and bilingual speech among New York Puerto Ricans (1996) and Hill's work on mock Spanish and racism

through the use of the ethnonym *peechulla*, assuming that Humberto will be able to infer which "Black man" he is referring to and not think he is talking about Blacks in general. It turned out to be an older Black man that sometimes lent money to Chachis; Manuel had seen Humberto talking to him and assumed they were arguing over interest. Humberto responded briefly in recognition and Manuel continued with a series of long turns including a series of third person pronouns all co-referent with the initial referent *peechulla* that established the frame. The maintenance of this frame across conversational turns shows how racial meaning is socially established and sustained in real instances of interaction.

Figure 9. Informal conversation.

(7.8)

M: **Peechulla** naatin **ya**' fantieeyaa ura ikaa

What did **the Black** have to say on **his** part?

in white discourse (1998, 2008).

Umaa naake'bain iee mijantsui ti' ma jaisu.
Now (he) should know what he comes to do.

H: Aee.

M: Je je je. Tsenñaa tsantintsu **ya**'ne ura tsantintun.
Ha ha ha. Well, **he** was speaking nicely like that.

Keenu chachilla rukula maty (.) **ya**bain (.)
Known (by) the Chachis, the old men so (.) **he** also (.)

peletu kes ne' kalen netyu
does not go around causing trouble

chachi amigu puree.
and has many Chachi friends.

Tsaayaa (.) peletu dejaa ti' (.)
So then (.) a problem comes (and he) says (.)

chachi tsaayaa maali tsantis neintsusaaka.
like a Chachi alone going around saying that.

H: Aaa.

M: Tsenñaa kepenene maa rukutaa **lala**'.
So then he is a very early (known) man for **us**.

In aa abuelunuba kerai ti (.)
He says he knows my great grandfather.

rukui ti tsa'mitya chachillaba naadetinka
saying he is old, for that reason Chachis say

mantsa (.)**ya**ibain (.) setenta y cincuuyu ti challa
some (.) **he** also (.) (he's) seventy five he says now.

A: Aaa.

M: Tsaaren weela manen ya'ne fijan mishuu=
And others go around with white hair

=manen ka ne palu'kayaa deneeti=
and hunchbacked, they say,

=yachi kayiibain (.) naa (.)
(people) younger than him (.) how (.)

Telembisha tsaaba dechaa ti.
They live in Telembí they say.

H: Yaa.

M: Tse'mitya (.) **ya** rukui ti tsaanuren (.)
Because (.) **he** is old, he says, it is like that

tsaa ibain matyu tsatsakai titaa=
like "I also did this and that" he says,

=tsantintsumi chachitsaayaa (.)Tapingu naatin (.)

saying that, like a Chachi (.) like Tapigo (.)

kera (.) kera rukulanu
(he) knows (.) (he) knows the old men

laaba kayinu uranu
when we were children, good,

entsa maty den ne' maty nemushaaka,
he came around here a lot.

H: Mmm.

M: Nara kera
He knows (the area) very well.

H: Maty **ya**bain inee ura in kajuunaa=
Well **he** also was nice to me to my face

=ne firu' palaayaa pandyaa
he did not speak rudely.

In the excerpt above Manuel takes a series of long turns at talk, with Humberto upholding his part of the conversation through minimal **backchannel** turns that reveal how even long conversational turns like Manuel's turns above are socially and interactionally co-constructed (Schegloff 1982, White 1989, Young and Lee 2004). Structurally in this interaction it appears that even though Manuel began with a question he did so not to request an immediate response but rather to initiate his own series of turns, which Humberto supported through his backchanneling. When Humberto finally did take a longer turn, his use of the third person pronoun *ya* is a way of taking up the

same referent that has been tracked and maintained throughout all of Manuel's turns since its initial introduction through the ethnonym *peechulla*. In this way Humberto confirms his uptake of the pronominal frame and by extension the social validity of offering an ethnonym to stand for a reference to a single individual by way of his social category. At a very high level of granularity, it confirms the status of the category as a social phenomenon. The conversation between Manuel and Humberto continued for several more minutes, all concerning the same referent but never using any other recognitional terms for him, only third person pronouns and, more often, predicates unmarked for person marking of any kind. In Cha'palaa discourse more generally reference is highly underspecified at the clause or sentence level and relies heavily on discourse structure for disambiguation, notably more so than languages with obligatory person marking. Once a referential framework has been established between speakers, that framework is present to be exploited by speakers for disambiguating their underspecified utterances (until they are modified by the introduction of new referents or by the switch reference system of the grammar). Understanding Manuel and Humberto's conversation in those terms helps to show how Manuel successfully drew on the intersubjective social reality of race to acheive person reference in interaction. Picking up at a later part of the conversation we can obvserve that the same framework has been maintained throughout the duration of the conversation, in which all clauses reference the same Black man under discussion. Throughout much of the conversation not even third person pronouns (*ya*) are required for tracking co-reference, and person is grammatically unmarked in all but one clause below:

(7.9)

H: Tsenñu naatimuumiñu weelanu dran pa'bain=
Well as you say to others he speaks loudly=

=matyu ajaati'bain matyu (.)
=um speaking agrily um (.)

inee in kajuunaa (.)
to me in my face (.)

firu' palaayaa [pandyaa kaspele tsantiñaa
rude words [(he) did not speak before as they say.
[
M: [Jee firu' pa- firu' pandyaa
[Yes rude spea- speaking rudely

panchibain ma ratu jatubain (.)
also to speak for a moment coming (.)

tsaawe matyu [tsaañu'mitya cusas matyu.
like that um [because things are like that um.
[
H: [Jee **ya**bain- **ya**bain chachi (.)
[Yes **he** also- **he** also Chachi (.)

Chachitalaa (.) maty chachi juntsaayu
among Chachis (.) um like a Chachi

pensa- pensa ke'mitya (.) ñu'pa'ba tishu (.)
think- thinking because (.) as you'd say (.)

yumaa rukula amigudee ti.
now he is friends with the old men (he) says.

In one sense, from the moment of initial reference, across turns and between speakers, the social category of *peechulla* (Black) is confirmed and co-constructed, and acknowledged as one of the major relevant aspects of the referent. The continued salience

of social categorization beyond the initial reference is also highlighted by the way the referent is compared and contrasted with Chachi people throughout the conversation. The speakers evaluated the extent to which this particular Black man was like or unlike Chachis, hinging on his long-term experience with Chachis and his acquaintance with the earlier generations. These aspects of the referent help to establish him as someone who is affinal to Chachis and who is favored because he does not "speak rudely" in credit negotiations, but at the same time he is established as a member of a distinct racial category from the Chachis. This relatively positive discourse about interracial relationships is only one sample of how social categories can be constituted in interaction. Keeping in mind the relatively simple alignment patterns seen in the dyadic conversation presented above, now I will track similar structures through a complex stretch of multi-participant conversation that directly concerns issues of interracial conflict.

Returning to my account of the land dispute between the Chachi town and the neighboring Black town, over the next few months after the meeting the two parties had not successfully been able to complete the boundary demarcation. During that time I was living in the house right at the center of town with an older couple, Mecho and María Pastora, along with their grandson Alberto and his family. Alberto was the town president at the time and was generally known in the community as someone who speaks good Spanish and is adept at navigating official circles outside the Chachi area. In the evenings the men of the town would gather on the balcony of the house and discuss news, gossip and current events, including frequent conversations about what steps whould be taken regarding the land dispute. Women were not usually included in these conversations, although sometimes they sat by listening and speaking up from time to time.[33] The following set of examples consists of excerpts from one such evening conversation in

[33] I am aware that a bias towards men's speech is a problem throughout my dissertation. In general during fieldwork it was more difficult for me to record informal conversation among women. I attempted to partially compensate for this problem by including interview data from women speakers. The gender bias in my data also reflects the gender bias of male Chachis who tend to dominate official discussions in the community; interestingly, in my brief experience at official meetings in Black communities the women appeared to have a more prominant role in the proceedings.

which the local men discussed their options for dealing with the land dispute. By this time there had been several attempts to meet with the Blacks partway through the forest, but when they had finally met there had been an argument and some tense moments of near violence. In this excerpt, the Chachi men discuss the meeting point where a pile of soft drink bottles had been discarded, and Ebaristo (EB) received laughter for reminding everyone how the Blacks had apparently almost harmed José, an Awá man who lives in the Chachi community and is married to Lucrecia, a local Chachi woman. Like the example above, a social category term is used for the interactive function of making reference to a single person; Ebaristo relies on his intersubjective awareness that there is only one relevant Awá. They almost "finished" him, Ebaristo said:

(7.10)

V: Tsaaren inaa junu tiee inaa jityusai timiya
But for me, there, I say, for me, not to go there,

laatalan ketu junu (.) cola tsamantsa (.)
doing it amongst ourselves (.) a bunch of soft-drink (.)

cola lemeta bui'purenashujunu miinu keñuren (.)
soft-drink bottles are piled up, going to do it there (.)

yaila [meedityu' enku ajkesha jainu dekeshujuntsaa-
if they [don't listen and come futher towards here-
[

ALL: [MANY TALKING AT ONCE]

PE: Lejos (.) lejos.
Far (.) far.

EB: Peechullachi.
The Blacks'.

RI: Jee?
Yes?

EB: Peechullachi.
The Blacks'.

V: Junka yala' junka-
Place, their place.

EB: Junaa **awaa** juntsa kalaa kera keraishaaka.
There **the Awá** came out and they saw each other,

ALL: Je je je je [LAUGHTER]

EB: Akawa iitsumin.
(He) almost got finished.

V: Juntsankedaa . . .
Let's do that . . .

This short example is a good illustration of the complexity of multi-party conversation; there are numerous things going on. In terms of the discussion of social categorization, two ethnonyms (*awaa, peechulla*) were used for reference. Interactionally, Vicente (V) attempted to take a longer turn and explain his position about meeting the Blacks but was interrupted by other particpants who added comments to establish that the place in question was far away, that the soda bottles belonged to the

Blacks, and that it was the spot where José had been threatened. In his final turn Vicente re-took the floor to continue expressing his opinion.

Figure 10. Night time conversation among men on the porch. The topic is the land dispute with the Blacks. Town president Alberto (AL) is in red on the right, with Vicente (V) in black in the center and Braulio (BR) in white on the left.

The man identified as SD in the transcript is a Chachi from the local area who has lived for many years in the city of Santo Domingo de los Colorados, where many Chachis travel for work or education. A number of these Chachis, including SD, work in plantations owned by the Tsachila people, in a fairly new kind of reciprocal relationship that has developed between the two indigenous groups. The following transcript shows SD attempting to convince the others that the best solution for dealing with the Blacks would be to call the military, and in the previous conversation he mentioned names of officers that he knew in Santo Domingo that might help them. Through the course of the transcript Alberto (AL) and Vicente (V) offer more peaceful solutions centered on continued efforts for meetings, negotiations and territory demarcation. All of the discourse features identified in previous chapters are present, including pronouns in co-

referential alignment with collectivized ethnonyms that is co-constructed across turns in interaction. I include a very long transcript (divided into sections) here to give a sense of the tone and structure of this conversation about interracial conflict to give a sense of how meaning is negotiated around such conflicts on a mundane communal level for Cha'palaa speakers.

(7.11a)

SD: Ahora sí naawanu negeela (.)
Now how it is with the *negros* (.)

lala' linderunuren tsaMANSTA problema detanañu'mitya (.)
on **our** borders becasue we're having treMENDOUS problems (.)

naawanuba **chachilla lala**' centruno (.)
and how the **Chachis** at **our** Center (.)

tiba kendetyaa tiñu'mitya umaa (.)
do not intend to do anything about it now (.)

naadejuyu dos tres ciento persona tishujunsaa (.)
what will you do? Saying two or three hundred people (.)

yaichiya naakenu tinu jutyu=
for them (the military) it is no problem.=

=Naaju presidentee,
=Hey president (of the community),

presidentenu yumaa (.) junpiee (.) pundetsuña (.)
to the president now (.) up to here (.) putting it

tsenmala (.) este este ya, [HANDS SWIPE TOGETHER] tapao
so then here and here ok [HANDS SWIPE TOGETHER] cut off

tapao (.) junuya.
cut off (.) it will be.

BR: Je je je je. [LAUGHTER]
ha ha ha ha.

EB: Tapao, je je. [LAUGHTER]
Cut off ha ha.

SD: **I**ya juntsAA pensa keekeñu llashpe in pensaya
ThAT is what **I** think gentlemen, my thoughts

ibain-
I also-

RI: (unclear name?) tsumi.
(unclear) is there.

SD: Jee.
Yes.

AL: Saaduma **yala**n acepta ke'ba [dekenmala
On Saturday if **they** accept [when (they) do
[
V: [Jee.
[Yes.

AL: Umaa taaswasha aranca kenu pantsumeeka.
There will be an agreement to begin the work.

V: Naa pu ke maintsumi(?).
How are (they) coming (?)

BR: Juntsaidaa juntsaidaa, (.)
Let's do that, let's do that (.)

tsenbalaa tienpu gana inu juba tsaityushujuntsaa (.)
then time can be gained by doing like that (.)

lala tiempo gana injutyaa.
we can gain time.

V: Ayu juntsa ayu **ñulla** (?)
Tomorrow there tomorrow **you** (?)

naatieeka [tsankenmalaa.
as (I) was saying, [doing like that.
[
SD: [Ura inchi kebuchunaa.
[For me that is not enough.

ALL: [MANY TALK AT ONCE]

V: Tsankenmala-
Doing like that-

BR: [UNCLEAR]

V: Tsanmkenmala (.) demeetyunmala
Doing like that (.) if (they) don't listen

enku kejtsasha detaanu kenmala
and (they) bring it here to the middle

suspende ke' majaintsumee.
(we'll) come back suspending (talks).

AL: Mm hm.

V: Junaa serio' mawikeenu juba
Then (we'll) have to get into it seriously.

At this point in the conversation Alberto took an extended turn where he created a hypothetical reported speech frame (shown with "quotes") in which the first-to-second person frame imagines what the Chachis could say to the Blacks, embedded into a first-to-third person us/them alignment, also co-referential with the Chachis and the Blacks.

(7.11b)
AL: **Lala** junu reunionchiren (.)
By **us** having a meeting

ma kaa dibuju kemin linea [DIRECTIONAL GESTURES]
and doing a small drawing of the line

“Entsan **laachi** enu
“Here is **ours**,

lala mijiikenu ke (.) keee- [DIRECTIONAL GESTURES]
we measure it to here (.) maaa

patu reunion keturen
speaking at a meeting

tsaaren **ñulla** junuren acepta deputyushujuntsaa umaa (.)
but if **you** don’t don’t except it there then (.) now

laachi escritura na'baasa iinu juñu'mitya umaa.” (.)
(we have) **our** title and (you) can’t cause any problems now.” (.)

Lala entsadekiwashujuntsaya enaa [GESTURES 2 HANDS FORWARD]
If **we** do like that right here

(ñulla) maderanun aapensa judeeñu'mitya
(you) are mostly worrying about the wood

madera kalaamiren escritura (.) linea naajuñuba
we cut out the wood the title (.) how the line is

juntsanu mantencion **lala**
we have to maintain that

juntsa idea inu ju **yala**nu
we have to go to **them** with that idea.

After Alberto's turn, SD attempted to take another turn but was interrupted by Braulio, who recommended attempting to frighten the Blacks with legal documents. When SD finally took another turn, he insisted that the military solution was the best in his view:

(7.11c)

SD: Juntsaa, juntsaren [juu.
Right, right that [is.
[
BR: [Tsaaren tsaañu'mitya
[So for that reason

peechullala juntsanti depa' (.)
(we) have to talk to **the Blacks** saying that (.)

depanmala (.) kaspelee firu' pensa keeketun (.)
when (we) speak (.) in the past they had bad intentions (.)

jee pensaba dekewa challa juntsanti depa'
that will make them scared if (we) say that, speaking

deshiikaamalaa tsaañu'mitya umaa (.)
ordering (?) like that, for that reason now (.)

jayaa meedejaa pensa keekemi **i**yaa,
they will listen a little but, **I** think

RI: Jee (?).
Yes (?).

BR: Meedidejaa pensa keekemi
That will make (them) listen.

V: Recto mankalanu.
To cut it straight (the boundary).

BR: Jee **i**yaa recto mankalaañubain
I also think (we should) cut it straight.

SD: Tsenmala juntsanti panmalaa
So then when (you) speak to them saying that

ñulla de aseeta dekityunmala
and **you** don't convince (them)

militarlanutene tyatyukeshujuntsaa (.)
(you have to) just talk to the military (.)

juntsanaa wapantentsumi laabain.
that is also how we also can scare (them).

Similar conversations took place on many different nights during this period, the men debating how best to "scare" the Blacks and what outside officials might be enlisted to help. As in these examples, social categorization was salient in these discussions more generally, and the discourse patterns and alignments sketched in previous chapters were identifiable throughout them. When the occasion arose to collectively make sense of the land dispute and to debate plans of action for confronting it, speakers brought to bear the resources offered by their grammar and their store of experiences of previous moments of discourse through these and similar instances of interaction. The way that these specific articulations of social categories and interracial conflict generate and reproduce socially-

circulating meanings goes to the heart of the general argument about language and social meaning that I am advancing in this dissertation. The way that such current social conflicts play out is shaped and constrained by the kinds of meanings they take on through social history at different scales. One relevant level of scale here is the local history of previous generations through which the first attempts to establish a land boundary were made, and the way successive generations have interpreted these earlier events. But another relevant level of scale is that of hemispheric patterns of racial formation that developed through the colonial encounter and that continue to shape current social conditions through their iteration as global capitalism, in which the racial categories inherited from colonialism remain significant in new and changing ways. It is in this context that social categories come to be articulated as an ordering principle for conflicts that develop along racial lines. Mollet makes a similar point in describing how in a somewhat comparable land dispute in Honduras between the Afro-indigenous Garífuna and the indigenous Miskitu in which "subalterns draw upon dominant racial ideologies to justify and legitimate natural resource claims" (2006, 78).[34] But what does the articulation of dominant ideologies mean in this setting in which two differently racialized but similarly dominated social groups come into conflict and the dominant sectors of soceity do not appear to be present or even fully conscious of what is happening in thise remote area of the country?

From the earliest European colonial expeditions into the tropical lowlands of South America to more recent episodes of contact with previously isolated groups in the Amazon, the major method for incorporating indigenous peoples into colonial and capitalist societies has been through the strategic generation of dependency on commodities. Whether the circulating goods consist of fish hooks, knives and beads, as they did two hundred years ago, or outboard canoe motors, chainsaws and television sets,

[34] Mollett arrives at these conclusions through a political ecology approach that I feel complements the more semiotic approach that I am undertaking here, and insightfully situates some discourse data in the other details of analysis to demonstrate how "Natural resource struggles are simultaneously racial struggles and thus, the manner in which indigenous and Afro-indigenous identities are racialized in Honduras shapes their access to natural resources" (2006, 78).

as they do today, the social relationships that develop out of such economies stretch beyond susbsistence and localized trade relations and ultimately connect to global racial formations more broadly. As with many Ecuadorian indigenous groups, the Chachi relationship with European colonialism began in the 16th century and has accrued a deep level of historical meaning over the centuries, meaning which is expressed through the discursive particularities I have considered in this dissertation. Afro-descendant peoples in Latin American after emancipation have been incorporated into the commodities economy in much the same way as indigenous people, transitioning from enslaved labor to wage labor under exploitative conditions in order to gain the capital required for any kind of activity in the money-based economy. Both the Chachis and the Blacks of Esmeraldas have been faced with the dilemma of being incorporated into social conditions that impose the logic of capital and demand to be paid in its currency, and at the same time facing a racialized social hierarchy that denies them equitable access to capital. The once-inaccessible hinterland that was the refuge of both indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples in search of land and self-determination far from the gaze of White elites in the urban power centers have now come to the center of that gaze, as projects of capitalist resource extraction reach their limits in other areas and begin to set their sights on newly-attractive unexploited areas. Through the accidents of both groups' history, today rural Black and Chachi communities of the Cayapas River basin are the residents and caretakers of the last relatively intact areas of virgin forest in Esmeraldas. The demand for tropical hardwoods has come to provide the main source of cash for both Blacks and Chachis and is the economic base on which all other local industries rest. That is why in the land dispute issues of boundaries and tenure over land are entirely secondary to the issue of lumber extraction; as Alberto stated explicitly in the interaction trascribed (7.11b) above, "*maderanun aapensa*" ("the major concern is the wood"). The reason the land dispute had taken on a new urgency after several relatively uneventful generations is because, due to the new road, lumber extraction in the area had become feasible for the first time. In fact, extraction had already begun on what the Chachis considered to be Chachi land, the initial discovery of which catalyzed this new conflict.

Approaching disputes between Afro-descendant and indigenous peoples can be bewildering for social analysis because both groups occupy distinct but partially comparable positions in contrast to the White elites, who appear invisible on the ground in the forests of Esmeraldas. However it is through these conflicts that we can see the presence of the dominant class. In her ethnography of Guyana, Williams[35] describes how mutli-racial, multi-ethnic social relations continue to be shaped by the "ghost of hegemonic dominance," (1991, 201-225) long after the official departure of the colonial power structure, where none of the local social groups are strictly egalitarian or hierarchichal with respect to the others. A similar observation can be made of relations between Black and indigenous people in Esmeraldas, except with a longer time depth allowing for social categories to align along the hemispheric macro-racial categories of Black, White and indigenous and to become deeply embedded in local social life. These categories become the terms both for social belonging and for social conflict. Race relations in this historical formation are based on white supremacy, but where are the Whites in these disputes between Blacks and indigenous people? Whites are sometimes physically present in rural Esmeraldas, whether as doctors, NGO workers, tourists, officials, missionaries, natural resource extractivists or anthropologists like me. But another way that we are present, if only in a ghostly manner, as consumers of wood and other natural resources. Wood from Esmeraldas is commercialized in both domestic and international markets (Sierra 2001); consumers, however, are unaware of the conditions of social conflict and environmental degradation that the demand for wood generates at its localized source.

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[35] Williams expands on the postcolonial dynamic of social groups in contact but with not clear hierarchical dimensions to their relationships:

> "The very formation of the ethnic categories "African" and "East Indian" represents a transformation of previous identities and classificatory distinctions based on factors such as religion, language, place of birth, and other social characteristics that existed among the enslaved and indentured immigrants as they entered Guiana. Further, as the Hindu-Muslim, North-South Indian distinctions suggest, these factors have not lost their ideological force. Yet, for Cockalorums, their current meanings also have been assimilated to the different precepts of the ideological field in which they now operate and they must, therefore, be understood in those terms.
>
> Contemporary interpretations, whether viewed as ideological resistance or as "colonial mentality," continue to be part of a debate fashioned in an ideological field where neither hierarchical nor egalitarian precepts legitimately dominante conceptions of sociocultural and political order." (1991, 225)

When Chachis and Blacks deploy racializing langauge and racist stereotypes against each other the relationship of these expressive forms to inequality and dominance is not as clear as when similar discourses are used by Whites, who benefit personally from the reproduction of hegemony. But one thing the study of socially circulating discourse can show is that racism reproduces hegemony no matter who articulates it. When Chachis and Blacks articulate versions of dominant ideologies in their dispute over land and resources, the resulting competitive animosity has the systematic result of giving loggers access to cheap wood, with either side eager to sell as quickly as possible to avoid letting the other side exploit the trees first. Since I never came into direct contact with the loggers except through evidence of their presence in the trip to the Black village, for my ethnographic project they also seemed like a kind of unseen-but-felt, ghostly presence. On several occasions I heard Chachis talking about how they were already indebted to the logging bosses who had given them cash advances on the basis of promises of cut wood in the future. Through these relationships of debt servitude, the Chachis were following the same path that had led to the depressing conditions of the deforested Black town with its polluted water and its armed enforcers keeping watch.

There is a sense of resignation among the Chachis of the Upi River in the face of the coming ravages of environmental degradation its social consequenses. In these remote places, the presence of the State is feeble and its grasp is overextended; at one point President Correa declared a national emergency and installed an army-backed freeze of logging nation-wide. But it was only a matter of days before the logging ban disintegrated, a testament not only to the strength of logging companies relative to the State in Esmeraldas, but also to the massive public rejection of the logging freeze because it cut off the main cash source for most families. Forest preservation efforts have been intermittent and unsuccessful, and do not provide the same level of earnings as logging. With a desperate pragmatism, the community officials are quick to promise the carbon trading NGOs that have recently targeted the area, promising that they will preserve their forest in exchange for monthly payments, and then proceed without hesitation to cede

logging rights to some of the same areas for advance credit. The immediate acquisition of capital becomes the single goal of their economic activities, fueled by Chachi peoples' incorporation into economic structures where they are pressed to spend capital on education, medical care, transportation and manufactured goods.

Chachis are well aware that their resources are being depleted, and often talk about how they need to go constantly farther to find game or wood, but when asked about how the next generations will be able to hunt, fish or build canoes without forest land, most answer with nervous laughter or a shrug that seems to say that the total depletion of local natural resources is inevitable. In this last example from the recording of the evening conversation on Alberto's porch, the men considered the conditions of the Black town that had made a deal with the loggers as a way to think about what might happen to the Chachi village. Alberto pointed out that even though they have depleted all of their trees they don't have much to show for it. Braulio, on the other hand, made reference to the *compadrazgo* relationship that bosses enter into for local leverage, giving specific locals favors and keeping their "stomach full." Vicente then countered that the Blacks receive Frontera, a local cane alcohol, not food, in reference to the loggers' use of alcohol as a motivation to control their extractive operations:

(7.12)

AL: Naa dekalareke'bain millonario tityainu juulañu.
Even though they extracted (all of their trees) they are not millionaires.

V: Junkaya (.) desayunu naaju comidaa (.)
There breakfast, what food (.)

naaju comidaa kenudee tejain
what food do you think they have,

[desayunuya kaana yaichiya?
[for their breakfast?
[

BR: [Kaspeleya tenbiyadeewe
[Before they were poor

Sapayitu' chullala tenbiya deju
the inhabitants of Zapallito were poor

tsaaren challaya (.) naa uranuba ñu jitu (.)
but now (.) you just go (.)

ma rukuba compradre ti'ba (.) uupeedi'lushujuntsaa=
and ask a man to be (.) your compadre=

=ñunu pandachee ñunu ajkaa chapujtuu tanandeju.
=and you can have your stomach full of food.

V: Tsenmiren naajuaa desanu juaa tejan
So then what do (you) think they have for breakfast?

Desanu Frontera (.) ishkala yaichi desayuno
Frontera for breakfast (.) alcohol is their breakfast.

The coercive force of capitalism is not entirely invisible to Chachi people as it excerts pressure on them, and Chachis are able to see clear parallels between their position and that of the Blacks, who they see have been exploited by the loggers. But this does not stop the Chachis and Blacks from competing with each other along racial lines instead of forming a coalition for their mutual defense based on their similar subordinate positions, as political idealists might hope for. The local articulations of macro-racial

categories have all the weight of history behind them and continue to be major ordering principles of social life. As a conclusion to this chapter, however, I will offer a tentative exploration of the possibilities and obstacles for interracial political solidarity that could alternatively emphasize social conjunctures rather than disjunctures between the two groups.

7.3 Old categories and new collectivities

In this section I will center a discussion of interracial coalition politics using data from a recording made at a town meeting where a candidate for the local governing body, the Parish Council, made his case in order to earn the support of Upi River residents in the upcoming election. The way that Parish Council elections work is that each party nominates a list of candidates for the five seats on the Council, with one candidate as the "head" of the list. Then voters have the option of voting for a straight party ticket or of choosing individual candidates for each seat. Tomás, the visiting candidate, was the head of the Movimiento Popular Democrático (MPD) list, a left wing party with a historical power base in Esmeraldas and strong ties to the workers unions. The main opposition for control of the Parrish Council was the Alianza País list, the national party of President Correa; the two leftist partiest had enjoyed a national coalition until recently when it had disolved due to a conflict between the national government and the national teachers' union, which is tied to the MPD. Tomás and his companions had arrived at the communities of the Upi River to distribute some computers donated by the Provincial Prefect, also a member of MPD; the computers were desktop CPUs that need more power than was available from the local solar panel system, compared to my laptop computer which ran perfectly on the local electric system. Within a few weeks the computers were abandoned and full of insects.

Without romanticizing political negotiations in the region, which like everywhere in Ecuador is clientelistic and sometimes corrupt, Tomás' list did offer a real possibility

of interracial coalition; two of the candidates were Black, and the remaining three were Chachi. People of both races were providing logistical support for the campaign as well, including two Black men that were accompanying Tomás on his visits to the upriver communities, helping with the canoe and the computer donations. Tomás downplayed the racial composition of the list during his initial speech, which emphasized general themes of progress and social services for the area. When the meeting was opened up to comments from the audience, however, the issue of race was raised by one of the attendees, the school teacher Raimundo, who complained that in previous administrations only Blacks had been elected to the Parish Council. At the end of the excerpt below Raimundo uses the ethnonyms *chachilla* and *peechulla* to describe local politics along racial lines:

Figure 11. Parrish Council candidate speaking in white at center, with donated computer to the right.

After asking for questions and comments from the audience, Tomás (T) acknowledged Raimundo (R) and gave him the floor:

(7.13)

T: Compañero, por que tema, que pueda, maa kuinda kinu?
Comrade, on what theme, what could, be discussed?

R: Maa enu, padre familiala jayu meenañu uraa pensa keeña,
So here, the parents of families should listen and think well,

kuinda keñu ura tsaaren entsa kuinda kekinuuya
discussing is good, to have this discussion

puita depaa pensakitu, tantiya ki'tu, ñu' pa'ba tishu
when they speak too much, as you say,

kayiimala ajaatenmuña tsaaren lala de awen indu
when we were children it made us angry but now we have grown up,

uranun tsaju, bueno ñuillanu challa **lala' chachilla** deputyuña
that is good, well now to you **our Chachis/people** are not there,

maliiba tsaaren **peechullatene**, **peechullatene** wiidetsuña.
alone, **just Blacks**, **just Blacks** enter (the Parish Council).

Tsaaren **chachilla**bain umaa kapuka jayu dechainke'mitya
But now **the Chachis** have also opened their eyes a little,

juntsasha winu kendetsuña.

and want to enter.

From what I was able to acertain, the Parish Council had indeed been dominated by Black candidates during previous election cycles, some of whom according to both Chachi and Black interviewees had obstructed and attempted to remove the few Chachis that had been elected in the past. Using metaphoric language, in the excerpt above Raimundo explains that as the Chachis "grow up" and "open their eyes" they will be able to secure more positions on the Council. Raimundo continued speaking for several minutes; when he finished his turn Tomás responded, and the two continued through several more exchanges of long turns, discussing the racial composition of the candidates. I include a transcript of much of the exchange below, because in many ways this conversation brings together the different themes that I have been concerned with connecting in this dissertation. I will break the example into sections and offer periodic commentary as a guide to the data.

Figure 12. Raimundo makes his point at the political speech.

In the excerpt below Raimundo continues his turn, explaining why he is not sure if Chachis should help Blacks by voting for them. I mark the pronouns (1COL = *lala/laa*, 3COL = *yala*) and the collectivized ethnonyms (Chachis = *chachilla*, Blacks = *peechulla*) in **bold** to show how they are aligned in the same kind of us/them framework described in detail in Chapter 4.

(7.14a)

R: Juntsa katawawaiña (.)

(We) have seen that (.)

tsaañu'mityaa iyaa **lala' chachi**=
so for that reason I- **our Chachis/people**

=wideishujuntsaa ayuda kinu=
=going in to help=

=**peechullala**nu ayuda kinu (.)
=to help **the Blacks** (.)

chachillanuren kedekee tinmala (.)
the Chachis are doing it (they'll be) saying (.)

chachillanu **peechullala laa**nu naatimu deenka (.)
the Chachis for **us the Blacks** they will end up saying (.)

chachillallanu (.) mijtujdekee (.) tindetsu=
the Chachis (.) don't know anything (.) (they're) saying=

=**yala**nu dekutyaati'mitya (.) pareeren junu juñaa (.)
because **they** gave it to then (.) they have to be equal (.)

ya iya tsaañu'mitya (.) tujlekei tiitieeña (.)
so that is why I say (.) they are confused (.)

ya (.) aanu pure' **chachilla** mishpukasha pudenaa (.)
so (.) over there there are many **Chachis** in the "head" (.)

tsenmala (.) main **peechulla** luña (.)
so then (.) one **Black** will get in (.)

peechullanu mankala'kepuntitu (.)
to get **the Blacks** out (.)

When Raimundo finished his turn Tomás responded with a long turn explaining the composition of his party's ticket. He named the candidates of both races and located them according to additional descriptive phrases for locating them socially, through kinship ("Eliseo's daughter") and known histories and associations ("buys wood from Jobani") for the two Blacks, and through place of residence ("lives in Corriente Grande") for the Chachis, including local candidate Alberto ("lives here"). He uses the positional phrase *bulu pudena* ("be bunched up together") in a metaphoric sense referring not to being physically bunched up but to be bound together politically.

(7.14b)

T: Bueno (.) jayu keenaa aanu ñu pensa manpirentyuren (.)
Well (.) wait a minute here before you get lost (.)

lalanu (.) lala paashaaka iee unu kejtala=
we (.) we have spoken here in the middle=

=enu iya punmalan (.) enu (.) main (.) **neguee**shimbu=
=here I am (.) here (.) one (.) one (.) ***negro*** woman=

=lala pa'pa detyeeshu=
=we were saying=

=**negee chachill**aba bulu pudena lala (.)
=with ***negros*** and **Chachis** we are all "bunched up" together (.)

main tisee Mejía' shinbu (.) Eliseo na'ma (.)
one is the wife of Mejía (.) Eliseo's daugther (.)

enu está (.) tisee (.) Jofre tisee **negee** ruku=
here is (.) um (.) Jofre um, a ***negro*** man=

=Sanminguel chumu ta'pa ati atikeshujuntsa Jobani detiñu
=who lives in San Miguel who buys wood Jobani they say

kaspele mantejan ñuillanuba (.) enu tisee (.)
back in the old times with you all (.) here um (.)

Leida main Corriente Grandenu chumu (.) tsenmala enu (.)
Leida an inhabitant of Corriente Grande (.) then here (.)

Albertu enu chumu (.) laachi- tse'mityaa laachi plancha=
Alberto lives here (.) our- because our ticket=

=entsa jumi **lala chachilla** pema (.) **negeela**a palluaa (.)
=is like this **we** are three **Chachis** (.) and two ***negros*** (.)

lo que queremos es que (.) **laa**chi entsa (.)
what we want is that (.) **ours** here (.)

entsanke paki pakikelaa (.)
doing like this flat flat (straight party) (.)

para entrar (.) osea la mayoría (.)
to get in (.) um the majority (.)

ahora tisee (.) muba deputyu enu **laa**ba=
now um (.) with nobody else here with **us**=

=**negee** ruku putyu (.) inchin juu.
=there are no other ***negro*** men (.) there is my (spot).

In this excerpt the pronoun alignment accomplishes something quite different from the kinds of us/them alignments described in Chapter 4. Tomás uses the first person collective pronoun to talk about *laachi plancha* ("our list"), and in the next line when the pronoun's referent is further specified it turns out to include both Chachis and Blacks (*chachilla* and *negeela*). The kind of collectivity that Tomás proposed did not break down along racial lines, as many of the different discourses of social collectives have in examples throughout this dissertation.

(7.14c) Tse'-mityaa **laa-**chi plancha entsa ju-mi,
SEM-RES-FOC **1COL**-POSS ballot DEM.PRX be-PTCP
For that reason **our** party ticket is like that,

lala chachi-lla pema **negee-la-**a pallua-a.
1COL Chachi-COL three **negro-COL**-FOC two-FOC.
we are three **Chachis** and two ***negros***.

In the context of the pervasive circulation of racializing discourses in rural Esmeraldas among Chachis and Blacks that essentialize the differences between the two groups and orient collective activity around racial categories and allegiances, the idea of political cooperation can be met with considerable resistence and incredulity. As their conversation continued, Raimundo asked Tomás why they shouldn't choose only Chachis, voting for the Chachis on Tomás' list and then individually choosing Chachis from other lists to total five candidates none of which were Black.

(7.14d)

R: Peechulla maliba putyushujuntsaa (.)
Alone without any Blacks there (.)

lala plancha ma kedekeñubain (.)
on our ballot doing that (.)

chachillanu (.) manda lunbera (.)
for the Chachis (.) five get in (.)

llena kenbera ñuchi aanu (.) pema (.) pallu (.)
filling it up for you there (.) three (.) two (.)

millanke kutyu'bain kejtalaa kunu juba.
not giving everying but (we) have to give half.

Tomás' answer to Raimundo's comment is revealing, because it does not question the underlying logic of why voting along racial lines would be desirable. Instead he offers the explanation that because the majority of Chachis are unfamiliar with official documents, if they attempt to vote individually instead of straight party they will make mistakes and invalidate their ballots.

(7.14e)

T: Tsaami profe (.) el problema es que (.) **chachillala**a (.)
That's right teacher (.) the problem is (.) **the Chachis** (.)

kepunu mijdetuña ñu aantsanti papatimiya=
don't know how to vote while you say that=

=es porque ñu kepunu mi'mitya (.)
becasue you know how to vote (.)

tsaaren **lala**' pensaya (.) **chachilla** (.)
but **our** thought is (.) **the Chachis** (.)

casi el sesenta por cienta ma comunidaanu kepunu mijdetu (.)
almost sixty percent of the community does not know how to vote (.)

seleeciona kenu pude deju mantsala (.)
a few know how to select (candidates) (.)

enku kalare junka kalare (.)
here picking and there picking (.)

(.) cinco voto (.) ñu cinco **chachi** kalaanu pude main (.)
(.) five votes (.) you can pick five **Chachis** (.)

tsaaren tsanti' depanmala (.)
but when you say that (.)

chachilla tsaa enku kalare' entsanke chi'pajte (.)
the Chachis here pick like this scribbling (.)

chi'pajte dekinmla voto nulu tene luindejuba mushatene.
when they scribble just a null vote comes out damaged.

Tomás could have made a more compelling case for an interracial coalition ticket that simply resorting to scare tactics based on stereotypes of backwards rural people who cannot understand the voting process. His central position remaining unchallenged,

Raimundo remained persistent in reiterating his intention to vote selectlively only for Chachis.

R: Iya entsanke pensa kintsaaña (.)
I am thinking like this (.)

ñunu Tomás mishpuka pukentsaaña (.)
to put you Tomás as the head (.)

tsenmala junu main chachi pele pumunubain=
and then to put a Chachi below=

=kentsaaña tsenmala=
doing like that then=

=Albertunubain kentsaaña ementsakeesha (.)
=and also Alberto doing like that (.)

ementsa pudenashujuntsanubain (.)
is (we) could put it like that (.)

chachillanun mantsaaña manda lunbera junu (.)
for some Chachis then five will get in (.)

tsenmala juntsa balenun jun tijtieeña.
so (I) wanted to ask if that would work.

The exchange between Tomás and Raimundo was in one sense a conversation between just two people, but it was also a performance oriented towards all the attendees at the meeting. Raimundo as the village school teacher and Tomás as the politician are

both positioned as people who can inform and educate community members about official matters like voting, and their exchange was staged partly as a display for the audience members, who both speakers cast as confused and unable to correctly fill out a ballot. Taken as a whole, the meeting is at once an articulation of racial categories illustrating their extreme rigidity and a piece of evidence that racial collectivities are unstable and that other kinds of collectivities that cross-cut racial categories might be possible. It is through these kinds of tensions in specific interactions that racial categories are reproduced, changed or challenged in small, incremental ways. Before ending this chapter I will add a third voice to this discussion which adds another important dimension to the different positions of Tomás and Raimundo as for or against an interracial coalition. Towards the end of the meeting Tomás gave to floor to one of his Black companions who addressed the assembled Chachis in a plea for support for the coalition. Tomás introduced him in mixed Spanish and Cha'palaa:

(7.15a)

T: Compañero que queríamos conversar, ahora el siguiente
Comrades what we want to talk about, now the next

punto que vamos entrar, este,
point that we are going to address, um

Elíanu enu punto kundetsaaña
Elía will give this point,

entsa historia paate, dos minuto.
this part of the story, two minutes.

C: Pues, ven ustedes, buenas tardes, yo soy Mauricio.
Well, look you all, good afternoon, I am Mauricio.

No soy canditado de esta plancha, no me vean como un canditado,
I am not a candidate on this ticket, don't look at me as a candidate,

sólo estoy manejando la parte de la comunicación de este grupo
I am just managing communication for this group

para que ustedes, lleguen canditados . . .
so that for you, the candidates can arrrive . . .

Su pequeño historia- de los dos, este,
Their short story- of the two, um,

son los honorables candidatos que tienen ustedes,
there are two honorable candidates that you all have,

y si tambien, de este equipo yo si quisiera criticar por qué
and yes, also, from this group I would like to offer a critique because

me ven ustedes que hablo con el compañero Tomás,
you all see that I speak with comrade Tomás,

por acá andaba otro compañero **negro**,
around here another **Black** comrade was going around,

pero **nosotros los negros estamos cansados**
but **we the Blacks are tired**

de que sólo los negros lleguen a la parroquia Telembí.
of just Blacks getting into Telembí Parish (council).

Following Raimundo's advocation for Chachi-only politics, the Black speaker had the complicated task of explaining why he and other Blacks would support a coalition ticket. In the last two lines of the excerpt above we can observe the ethnonym *los negros* (the Blacks) aligning first with the first person plural and then with the third person plural ("We the Blacks are-1PL tired that just Blacks get-3PL into the Parrish Council"). Mauricio's strategy is to distinguish between the traditional Black political class and the Black/Chachi coalition he supports as leader of the association of Black cacao producers in Zapallo. In the excerpt below he uses the terminology of ethnicity to frame the town of Zapallo as having a multi-ethnic identity. As one of the few places where Chachis and Blacks live in integrated neighborhoods, Zapallo is a good setting for experiments in coalition building.

(7.15b)

Eso significa ustedes pueblo chachi analisen,
This means that you the Chachi community analyze

pero aquí está el compañero Nelson
but here is the comrade Nelson

que fue presidente de la OUNE de una . . .
who was president of the OUNE of a . .

Entonce por ese lío
So because of that problem

aunque haya chachi en esta plancha pero no todo pueblo,
even though there are Chachis on the ticket, the whole community,

aquì está el compañero plancha de la 12 partido,
here is the comrade on the party ticket 12.

Que le ha hecho el señor que anda allí
what he has done, the man over there,

el otro negro que anda junto con nosotros,
the other Black that is with us,

motorista, es hijo de Gabe el compañero Lara,
the canoe motorist, is the son of Gabe, comrade Lara,

pero que porqué se vira el lado del papá apoyar al otro equipo porque
but he has turned away from his father's side to support the other team because

él ve que el papá no ha hecho nada.
he can see that his father has not done anything.

En Zapallo nosotros somos zapaleños, **en Zapallo vivimos dos etnias**,
In Zapallo we are *zapaleños,* in Zapallo **we live (as) two ethnic groups**

los negros y los chachis, este gran equipo
the Blacks and the Chachis, this great team

se une porque tenemos dos elecciones allì, el centro chachi,
unites because we have two elections there, in the Chachi Center

y una asociación de productores de cacao que es negra
and an association of cocoa producers that is Black,

la asociación, de esa asociación yo soy el vicepresidente,
that association, of that association, I am the vice-president,

este asociacion se une apoyar al compañero Tomás.
this association is united in support for comrade Tomás.

As a bystander witnessing this interaction, I was impacted by the way that Mauricio made his case for supporting Tomás' candidacy by saying that Blacks were tired of Black elected officials and wanted to try voting for Chachis in order to bring about a change.

(7.15c)

Por eso **los negros estamos** cansado y **hemos** decidido
That is why **we blacks are** tired and **we have** decided

que vaya **un chachi** en la junta parroquial
that a **Chachi** should go to the Parish Council.

At the end of his speech Mauricio directly addressed the previous conversation of Tomás and Raimundo by mentioning that even though he does not speak Cha'palaa he understood enough to know that they had been discussing voting for individual Chachis instead of for the interracial party ticket. He makes a case that if the Chachis vote along racial lines it is still likely that some Blacks will be elected to the Council, but crucially it will not be those Blacks who were running in coalition with the Chachis. If Tomás' ticket wins, on the other hand, two Blacks would sit on the council but they would be "managed" and kept "humble" by Tomás and the other Chachis:

(7.15d)

Les digo- decir, señores
I say to you- to say, sirs

que al pedir voto en plancha, porque,
that to ask for the straight party vote, because,

yo no hablo cha'palaachi pero decir palabras que hablo
I don’t speak Cha’palaa but to say the words that I speak,

ustedes hablaban de que automaticamente
you all were speaking automatically

quieren apoyar al pueblo chachi
that you want to support (only) the Chachi people,

por eso le persigue este momento que
for this reason I follow this moment that-

la junta parroquial , y pueden automáticamente los tres chachis
the Parish Council, and the three Chachis can automatically

presionar al negro para que-
pressure the Black so that-

pero esos chachis tampoco se han amarrado los pantalones
but the Chachis have not tied up their pants well either,

que pasaría ustedes votan por los chachis solamente
what would happen if you all vote only for Chachis,

pero van a llegar negros a la junta parroquial
but some Blacks will get into the Parish Council (anyway)

y un negro que llegue allí, si es que llega, un ejmplo,
and a Black that gets in there, if he get's in, for example,

Ayoví va hacer tambaliar esa junta
Ayoví would really shake up the Council,

entonces, por eso que nosotros pedimos ese votitos en plancha
so for this reason we ask for your votes in straight ticket

para que los negros que entren sean humildes
so that the Blacks that get in are humble

y sean manejado por este compañero chachi.
and can be managed by this Chachi comrade.

I wondered how this same campaign might position itself when asking for support from a Black community, and I doubted it would be in the same terms as Tomás and Mauricio used in the examples above. Combining the concept of **recipient design** in specific interactions with the more general observation that **intersubjective awarenes of social categories** that in this area of rural Esmeraldas circulate across racial and linguistic divisions, we can better understand the ways that the speakers at the political meeting framed their positions through their discourse. The history of racial formation does not determine absolutely new social developments, but it constrains them in such a way that transformations can only be imagined on the basis of the terms and categories of the entrenched social order. When the candidates attempt to cross-cut social categories in an appeal for coalition politics, they still tailor their appeals to some extent in terms of the social category membership of the audience. While Blacks and Chachis sometimes observe that they share similar class positions, their interactions are always marked by their different histories of racialization, and racial thinking becomes an obstacle for coalition building, as illustrated by Raimundo's resistence to voting for an interracial

ticket. This same tension between historical social category distinctions and the project of the political campaigners can be observed at the level of linguistic form in the examples above where they used ethnonyms in novel alignments with pronouns as a way to describe the kinds of collectivities they were imagining. It can be observed at the level of interaction in Raimundo's interjections and Tomás and Mauricio's responses to them. And it can be observed at higher levels of social organization, such as the coalition between the Chachi and Black political associations in Zapallo and their coordinated campaign. It appears, however, that Tomás' campaign was able to make a convincing case in the face of historical momentum of racial divisiveness; a few days after I recorded the political meeting the election was held and when the results were counted Tomás' interracial coalition had won control of the Parish Council.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to explore the ideas and observations about racializing language presented in earlier chapters in an interactive framework. Most of the data presented in Chapters 2 to 6 was taken from ethnographic interviews, but the interaction data presented in this chapter illustrated how many of the same discourse structures described in previous chapters are observable in natural speech data as well, from mundane informal conversations to formal public events. In addition, an interactional approach is able to show how those discourse structures exist not only in more monologic speech but take shape across speakers and turns to reveal their status as socially-circulating constructions, recognized and co-constructed by discourse participants. My ethnographic account of the land dispute between the Chachis and their Black neighbors was designed to put those discourse structures into a social context to help show how they function to create meaning in real moments of contention and racial conflict. My account began with a description of the shamanic performance held to influence the land dispute as a way to think about how culturally-transmitted linguistic and discursive resources provide ways for approaching current situations of social

conflict. The next section described my trip to the Black community to be present at a meeting held in order to discuss possibile solutions to the conflict; examples of interactions from the meeting showed how the particular resources of Spanish grammar can create similar alignments between ethnonyms and pronouns as those seen in social categorizing discourse in Cha'palaa. The next section dealt with Cha'palaa household conversation in which racial categories are part of the way social relationships are reflected from the most mundane instances of reference to the most contentious discussions of interracial conflict. The final section dealt with the complications for the possibility of interracial coalition politics through examples from a political meeting in which participants debated the merits of voting along racial lines. The general point that brings these examples together is that expression is highly constrained by the significance of social categories and their role in maintaining historical relations of racial difference and inequality. The basis for the racist power structures established in colonial times and re-invented today through the cultural logic of transnational capitalism is the principle of White supremacy, which has been a precept for how both indigenous and Afro-descendant peoples have been racialized. When indigenous and Afro-descendant people come into conflict, however, their articulation of socially-circulating discourses of racial difference towards each other hegemonically reproduces racial inequalities but does not justify racial privilege for those who articulate them in the same way that White hegemonic discourses do. To the contrary, as the case of the land dispute shows, racial conflict and competition for resources between Blacks and Chachis does not generate privileges for either group, but rather creates a situation that can be exploited by the loggers as agents of the capitalist market structure. A coalition politics that might be able counter these kinds of exploition such as that proposed by the political candidates in the final examples above faces the difficult obstacle of having to transform and reconceptualize rigid socio-historical tendencies of divisiveness, but if their successful campaign was any indication, such possibilities for transformation may exist.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 On Milton's porch

At times during my research I felt as if I spent the vast majority of my time hanging out on porches, talking to people. In the Chachi village it was my host Mecho's porch, where locals gravitated in the evening and where outsiders like White NGO workers or Black gold miners met with members of the community. In Zapallo, it was Milton's porch, where Chachi and Black visitors and neighbors came in and out all day. My research took me to different sites, walking cross-country through the forest to the meeting about the land dispute, canoeing up and down the rivers, or strolling across town to meet with students for English classes. But it was a focus on the most informal contexts, hanging out and conversing with people on the porch, that generated the most new understanding for me over the months and years of research in the Rio Cayapas area. This dissertation takes a discourse-centered approach to social categorization, and from that perspective spaces of social gathering and informal conversation are among the richest sites for looking for ways to observe aspects of the social order in language usage and interaction. One way of thinking about ethnographic research is as systematic participation in thousands of "conversations on the porch" that over time yield better and better understanding of local language, culture and society, a kind of simulation of the socialization process. Some of my interactions on the porch are documented here in transcribed recordings or ethnographic accounts, but many others are implicitly recalled by the generalizations that I make and the way that I process my experiences.

Figure 13: Chachis hanging out with Milton on his porch.

In the Cayapas River region, informal spaces like porches are also good places to learn about interracial relationships since they are where much of the interaction between Blacks and Chachis takes place. I strategically positioned myself in these contexts in order to participate in and observe the relationship between the two groups on a day-by-day, mundane level. The moments of friendly conversation that I shared with both Chachis and Blacks as we passed the time on Milton's porch illustrate how both groups as neighbors share many similar concerns and cultural frames of reference. However, the high degree of affinity and unity between Chachis and Blacks co-exists alongside the more conflictive and divisive aspects of their relationship, as seen in the racial stereotypes, negative attitudes, and disputes over resources and political power documented throughout this dissertation. The representation of these areas of contention

troubled me while collecting the data for this dissertation and processing it into its present form, and I worried that my project might turn into a voyeuristic spectacle of racial conflict. I wondered how I could do justice to those interactions on the porch and the other positive aspects of the relationship between Blacks and Chachis while still being honest about conflict and racist attitudes and how these aspects tie into the larger social histories that I was tracking ethnographically at the local level. Ultimately I came to understand racial conflict between Blacks and Chachis as a reflection of a history of racial formation that stretches back to colonial times and which continues to unavoidably saturate interactions with social meaning today, heavily constraining the way in which individuals inhabit social categories. While these meanings are reproduced through informal conversation, they are also challenged and transformed by it, and in that sense every conversation between Chachis and Blacks hanging out on Milton's porch offered a new opportunity for redefining race relations and affirming social ties in the face of social tensions.

8.2 Race and the depth of social imprint

I began this dissertation by proposing to take a language-based approach to social categorization that relied on linguistic analysis, not just linguistic analogy. The main task of that linguistic analysis was to describe a pattern of co-referential alignment established to link collectivized ethnonyms, pronouns and the bodies of participants in interactions, both in terms of how their features are "read" and classified and how multimodal resources add meaning to spoken language. The co-occurrence and alignment of these properties of social categorizing and racializing discourse in Cha'palaa form a "certain frame of consistency" (in Whorf's terms) that might today be referred to as an **interface** among different grammatical and socio-pragmatic sub-systems. The way that the properties of Cha'palaa align in social categorizing discourse is part of more generalized processes of reference and referent tracking. Presumably all languages have some way of tracking referents and categorizing human referents as members of social groups –

indeed, at many points in this dissertation I used the resources of English to link ethnonyms to pronouns to social categories in the world in my own writing. Yet while social categorization may be universal, the grammars of particular languages constrain and shape how it is accomplished. Producing alignments between referents and social categories online in discourse in different grammars requires speakers to cognitively attend to the obligatory values of each particular grammar, implying different habitual patterns of thought linked to the production of well-formed speech, if only at a basic ambient level (or the level of "thinking for speaking"; Slobin 1996). Comparing the three languages present in this dissertation, Cha'palaa, Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish, and English in my own writing, is a good way to think about how different grammars organize and track reference in discourse.

	Cha'palaa	Spanish	English
NUMBER MARKING nouns/verbs	Nouns: collective Verbs: collective/plural **not obligatory**	Nouns: plural Verbs: plural **obligatory**	Nouns: plural Verbs: limited agreement pattern **obligatory**
PERSON MARKING noun phrase/ verb phrase	NP: independent pronouns **not obligatory** VP: unmarked	NP: independent pronouns **not obligatory (pro-drop)** VP: person agreement **obligatory**	NP: independent pronouns **obligatory** VP: limited agreement pattern **obligatory**
MAIN REFERENT TRACKING STRATEGY	STRATEGY: switch reference system; verb/noun animacy cross-referencing	STRATEGY: person/number agreement; gender agreement	STRATEGY: person/number agreement; some gender in pronouns
RELIANCE ON DISCOURSE STRUCTURE FOR DISAMBIG-UATION OF REFERENCE	**HIGH** Ambiguous at clause level.	**LOW** Some ambiguity in cases without explicit noun phrases (pro-drop).	**LOW** Obligatory explicit noun phrase with verb agreement.

When speakers of Spanish track referents across discourse, this is accomplished through obligatory person and number marking on the verb with a rich set of verbal

morphemes, optionally with explicit nominal referents marked for number and gender. In English explicit nominal referents are obligatory, marked for number, and must agree with verbs. Both of these languages feature different kinds of obligatory person marking. Cha'palaa, in contrast, does not track person reference on verbs and only optionally marks number or includes explicit nominal referents. Instead, it tracks reference mainly through switch-reference marking and pragmatic inferences derived from discourse context. Pragmatic factors have a higher functional load for referent tracking in Cha'palaa than in English or Spanish in the sense that any given predicate in English or Spanish will obligatorily include some information about person, while in Cha'palaa it is as likely as not that there will be no explicit person reference at all. For the kinds of collective reference involved in social categorization, culturally transmitted socio-historical knowledge can come to play a large role in disambiguation, as speakers use their acquired knowledge of local social groups to help to identify ambiguous collective references. Since English and Spanish conflate collectivity and plurality and do not relate them to the animacy hierarchy in the same way that Cha'palaa does, speakers of Cha'palaa grammatically attend to associativity and animacy in ways that Spanish and English speakers do not. At a basic level these different ways of referent tracking imply to some degree language-specific forms of cognition – not that Spanish speakers cannot imagine collectivity or that Cha'palaa speakers cannot imagine gender, but that their respective grammars do not obligate them to mark it.

While this relativistic approach holds for an articulation-level analysis, it begins to erode at the level of broader circulation. As examples in the previous chapters showed, both speakers of Cha'palaa and of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish can use the distinct resources of their respective languages to similar ends, connecting macro-social categories to participants in interactions and other human referents. The data presented in this dissertation illustrated how the same racial categories of Black, White and indigenous are relevant both in Spanish and in Cha'palaa, approached through different linguistic and cultural frames of reference in each language. So while whiteness in Cha'palaa is referenced through language-specific collectivized ethnonyms and has culture-specific

connotations linking White people to the *uyala*, the traditional cannibalistic enemies of the Chachis, at the same time Cha'palaa speakers participate in larger discourses of whiteness and other broad racial categories that are socially significant and frequently referenced. In fact, in some cases the practice of frequent collective reference to social categories has over time changed the linguistic forms associated with them, resulting in the fusion of the collective marker to several ethnonymic roots such as *uyala* (White) and *peechulla* (Black) and in the development of phonologically-reduced forms like *uya* and *peechui*. In such cases it is not the grammar of Cha'palaa that constrains how social categories are referenced, but rather the need to speak about and make sense of social categories that has shaped the grammar.

The idea of global-scale racial formation or concepts such the historico-racial schema comes into tension with more relativistic approaches that focus on local specificities. The latter emphasizes the internal perspective of a social group while the former emphasizes external relations among social groups. These two perspectives are not contradictory, however, but are rather complementary; in this dissertation I have been concerned with describing the role of language in social categorization as both shaping and being shaped by social conditions. Social conditions are heteroglossic, including many different voices and social positionalities – in Chapter 6 I described how the resources of Spanish and Cha'palaa together help to dialogically constitute the relationship between the two groups. Sometimes Spanish and Cha'palaa discourse reflect very different perspectives, such as with respect to interracial marriage, but this disjunct itself constitutes part of the relationship between Chachis and Blacks. Throughout this dissertation I illustrated how Chachis not only apply their linguistic resources to making sense of social conditions, but how they also apply their knowledge of oral history, traditional stories, shamanic practices, and accounts of the supernatural and the afterlife to how they interpret the meaning of race and racial categories. The wider significance of social categories, in the end, always *relies on* localized articulations and cultural frames of reference rather than contradicting them.

Both cultural knowledge and the grammatical forms used to express it provide terms for articulating social categories, and in this dissertation I have used both as ways for ethnographically tracking race through heterogeneous discourse forms, indentifying topics and patterns of alignment that frequently recur and following them through the data. Finding similar categories and discourse structures not just in monologic discourse but also constructed and maintained among speakers across turns in interactions (as discussed in Chapter 7) provides good evidence for those categories' social constitution and co-construction. Adding a dimension of social interaction to the study of social categorization, it becomes possible to see linguistic and cultural resources not just as means for articulating social categories but also for instantiating, reproducing and transmitting them. I hope that my methodology of not treating language as a social analogy but rather of following the trail of a social question through linguistic and discourse data has been able to increase the depth and transparency of my ethnography of social categorization in Cha'palaa and of my account of interracial relations between Chachis and Blacks. Treating language and culture as integrated phenomena is an effective methodology because it rests on how these two dimensions are jointly circulated and socially co-transmitted.

During the early stages of my research I remember sitting around on Mecho's porch listening to the rapid flow of discourse and wondering in frustration when my Cha'palaa would improve. But as time went on I noticed that my language abilities were indeed improving rapidly, and that this was not entirely due to my conscious efforts and descriptive linguistic investigations. Instead, I was semi-consciously acquiring language skills mainly through cultural exposure, participating in the process of social imprint. The lexicon, grammatical forms and discourse structures developed collectively by the Chachis' ancestors over history take on a social momentum that the properly-positioned social actor can acquire through stepping into the stream of their circulation. I was learning cultural frames of reference along with the language; cultural transmission works in much the same way as linguistic transmission, and both together provide people with the socially-conditioned meanings that allow them to make sense of society. These

meanings are determined by historical conditions and, except in moments of meta-reflection, are generally semi-conscious in those who share them. This perspective helps to illustrate why any social group that has been touched by the history of European colonial expansion is constrained to operate with localized versions of the terms and categories of hemispheric and global racial formations, just by virtue of their exposure to them. In a similar way that a speaker of a language cannot simply invent new words and expect them to be recognized socially, confronting race means coming to terms with the deep imprint of the history of racialization, whose terms cannot simply be reinvented at this stage in history. Racial categories are always present in the underlying "grammar" of social relations, to use a linguistic analogy that, by this point, I hope should not be too much of a stretch. From my view on the porch talking to the people of the Cayapas River region, social categorization sets the terms both for their relations of interracial affinity and of animosity, at the intersection of social history and discourse.

Appendices

Appendix A: Key to abbrevations

1, 2, 3 = personal pronouns

ACC = accusative

AG.NMLZ = agentive nominalizer

AUG = augmentative

CL = classifier

COL = collective

COM = comitative

COMPL = completive

COND = conditional

CNJ = mirative conjunct

DAT = dative

DEC.REF = deceased referent

DM.PX = proximal demonstrative

DM.MED = medial demonstrative

DM.DST = distal demonstrative

DIM = diminutive

DR = different reference

DSJ = mirative disjunct

DUB = dubitative

FOC = focus

HAB = habitual

INF = infinitive

INSTR = instrumental

IRR = irrealis

INTER= interrogative

LOC1 = directional locative

LOC2 = specific locative

LOC3 = general locative

LOC4 = endpoint locative

NEG = negation

NMLZ = nominalizer

PFTV = perfective

PTCP = participle

PL = plural

PN = proper noun

POS =positional

POSS = possessive

PROG = progressive

RECIP = reciprocal

REFL = reflexive

RES = resultative

SEM = semblative

SP= Spanish loanword

SR = same reference

TPN = toponym

(?) = unclear in recording

Appendix B: Standard format for ethnographic interviews

Interviews in Cha'palaa with Chachis and in Spanish with Afro-Ecuadorians followed roughly the same format. In order to approximate informal conversation, I followed the flow of discourse, varying the order of the questions and expanding on some fruitful topics while skipping others when interviewees had little to say. Sometimes third parties became involved in the interview, adding to their informal and conversational tone.

1. How would you describe the relationship between Chachis and Blacks?
2. What do people say about the history of how Chachis and Blacks came to live in this area?
3. What do you think are some differences between Chachis and Blacks?
4. What do people say about when Chachis and Blacks intermarry? What about children from those marriages?
5. How do Chachis and Blacks participate together in local (Parish/County) politics?
6. What kinds of commerce are there between Chachis and Blacks? Are they beneficial to both groups?
7. Aside from Chachis and Blacks, what other kinds of people are there in the region? In Ecuador? What are they like?
8. How are the beings talked about in traditional history (like "old stories") and cosmology (like "ghost stories") considered to be members of social groups? Are they Black? Chachi? Neither?
9. What kinds of things do Blacks and Chachis say about each other? Are these statements considered rude or polite?
10. Can you tell me a personal story about your relationship to Blacks/Chachis?

Appendix C: Orthography and pronunciation guide

CONSONANTS:

	bilabial	dental / alveolar / postalveolar	palatal	Velar	glottal
stop	p b	t tʸ d dʸ		k g	ʔ
affricate		ʦ ʧ			
nasal	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
tap		ɾ			
fricative	β	s ʃ		X	
approximant			j		
lateral approximant		l	ʎ		

SEMI-VOWEL:w

VOWELS: a, e, i, u [and nasal series: an, en, in, un]

PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY:

Letter	IPA	NOTES
a	a	- nasal form <an>
b	b	- the voiced bilabial is a phoneme and an allophone of /p/
ch	ʧ	- grapheme based on Spanish
d	d	- the voiced dental is a phoneme and an allophone of /t/
dy	dʸ	- the voiced palatal dental is a phoneme and an allophone of /ty/

e	e	- nasal form <en>
f	β	
i	i	- nasal form <in>
j	X	- grapheme based on Spanish
k	k	- voiceless velar is voiced after nasals
l	l	
ll	ʎ	- grapheme based on Spanish
m	m	- the bilabial nasal is a phoneme and an allophone of /n/
n	n	
ñ	ɲ	grapheme based on Spanish
p	p	- voiceless bilabial is voiced after nasals
r	ɾ	- grapheme based on Spanish
s	s	
sh	ʃ	- grapheme based on Spanish
t	t	-voiceless dental is voiced after nasals
ts	ʦ	
ty	t^y	
u	u	- nasal form <un>
w	w	- has allophone [v] before front vowels
y	j	- grapheme based on Spanish
‘	ʔ	glottal stop

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