



Toward an interactional approach to multilingualism: Ideologies and practices in the northwest Amazon

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ABSTRACT

This study examines language ideologies and communicative practices in the multilingual Vaupés region of northwestern Amazonia. Following a comparative overview of the Vaupés as a 'small-scale' language ecology, it discusses claims from existing ethnographic work on the region in light of data from a corpus of video-recordings of sociolinguistic interviews and spontaneous everyday conversations. It shows how a practice-based and interdisciplinary approach combining language documentation methodology and ethnographic, structural linguistic, and interactional perspectives can contribute to understanding of macro and micro aspects of multilingualism, thus contributing to future work on the Vaupés, typologies of small-scale multilingual ecologies, and language contact research.

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1. Introduction

Within the vast literature on multilingualism, a recent body of work has begun to shift attention from the urban, post-colonial, and globalized settings of most current research toward overlooked multilingual systems found in more rural or indigenous 'small-scale' communities (e.g. [Vaughan and Singer, 2018](#)). This new perspective questions the applicability of polyglossic models of multilingualism (à la [Fishman, 1967](#)) to such speech communities, in which the absence of explicit social hierarchy between groups (cf. [François, 2012](#)) has supported longstanding and egalitarian use of multiple languages — a sociolinguistic model judged to have been the norm throughout most of human history ([Vaughan and Singer, 2018](#) p. 83). To a large extent, however, this research has taken a birds-eye view of the phenomenon, focusing primarily on contrasts in historical development, language ideologies, and macro-level social dynamics that characterize small-scale multilingualism. The nature of multilingual discourse in these societies — especially how multiple languages are used in everyday interaction — and how this compares to usage patterns in more urban and globalized settings is still an open question ([Lüpke, 2016](#) p. 47; [Epps, 2018](#) p. 161).

Understanding how multiple languages are used in small-scale societies is not only an interesting gap to fill; it is central to evaluating the claims that 'small-scale' multilingualism is fundamentally different from 'polyglossic' multilingualism in which language choices are motivated by power and prestige ([Lüpke, 2016](#) p. 46). While the social dynamics and ethnographic contexts that lead to the development of small-scale and 'egalitarian' multilingual systems may differ in some obvious ways

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from the better-studied polyglossic systems, it is possible, and perhaps likely, that the use of multiple languages in everyday interaction in these distinct settings exhibits some similarities. Given the universal infrastructure of face-to-face social interaction, the natural home of language use (see e.g. Kendrick et al., 2020), we expect to find similar patterns and interactional principles shaping speakers' choice of linguistic resources across a wide range of multilingual contexts.

Our objectives in this article are to advance understanding of multilingual practice in a particular small-scale setting and propose a methodology for answering the questions of *whether* and *how* communicative practices may vary across various multilingual situations. We begin with a brief overview of key issues in recent research on small-scale multilingualism and continue with an examination of both ideologies and language use in the well-known multilingual Vaupés region of northwestern Amazonia. Data is drawn from a large corpus of video-recordings¹ documenting both speakers' experiences and perspectives on multilingualism and actual language use in spontaneous multilingual interaction, which we analyze from ethnographic, structural linguistic, and interactional perspectives. We find evidence of a wider range of practices and beliefs about language use than previously documented for this region and suggest that taking such closer looks at language use in everyday interaction across a range of small-scale settings is essential to determining the extent to which actual practice differs across multilingual environments. Specifically, despite the expectation that receptive multilingualism is the norm in the Vaupés, we find that monolingual interaction involving 'accommodation' of at least one participant is quite common. We also describe and analyze cases of code-switching in interaction — a practice previously described as one that speakers avoid outside of certain 'licensed' contexts, including direct quotations, to signal 'otherness', insure secrecy, or display politeness. Such practices, and speakers' seemingly flexible attitudes toward them, as exemplified and discussed in §§4–5, highlight a difference between explicit ideological norms and actual multilingual practice, illuminating a layer of implicit ideology not previously explored, but clearly at work.

The interactional approach we propose involves a shift in both the type of language material analyzed — video recordings of spontaneous face-to-face interaction — and the type of methods used to analyze them (i.e. methods of interactional linguistics and conversation analysis), which allows us to situate multilingual practices in their interactional context and identify possible interactional functions. Most previous work on small-scale multilingualism has focused on the ideologies indexed by multilingual practice (e.g. Di Carlo, 2018) but we argue that code-switches and other multilingual practices may also serve more local interactional functions in the specific sequential context in which they occur and that fine-grained analysis of actual practices in multilingual interaction across various small-scale settings can illuminate additional factors shaping language choice. Everyday conversations in the Vaupés reveal a mixture of speaker orientation to ideological norms, including language 'loyalty', and not only tolerance for, but active use of, varied linguistic resources depending on the needs of specific interactional situations. A telling example discussed in section 5.4.3 involves a husband's brief switch to his wife's language during an ongoing and otherwise receptive multilingual conversation. The sequential location of this switch, occurring after her delayed response to a question he has posed, is recognizable not as an alternation attributable to 'sociolinguistic' considerations, but as one serving to ameliorate a disfavorable *interactional* situation.

Indeed, Pakendorf et al. (2021), §4.2 state that situational pragmatics define choice of language in symmetrical or egalitarian multilingual settings, and Raymond (forthcoming) has shown that language choice in a so-called polyglossic context may also be shaped by pragmatics of interaction. Clearly, more detailed investigation on language choices and shifts in interaction across all these multilingual settings is still needed, and our work here takes a step in that direction.

Section 2 reviews a few of the currently prominent themes in the literature on small-scale multilingualism, points out pertinent contrasts between some of the better-studied contexts, and further highlights the need for integrating a practice-based, empirically grounded methodology in future studies. Section 3 moves us to the Vaupés, expanding the comparative perspective and looking to existing work on multilingual ideologies and practices in the region, whose claims are discussed considering insights from our own sociolinguistic interviews (section 4), and from our analysis of multilingual practices in everyday interaction (section 5). Our discussion in section 6 summarizes findings and implications of this study for future work on multilingualism in the Vaupés, typologies of multilingual systems, and language contact more generally.

2. On 'multilingualisms'

Research on small-scale multilingual systems is undergoing rapid theoretical and methodological development, arising primarily among scholars who rightly point out that most modern language documentation continues to focus on individual languages, downplaying their role within complex multilingual ecologies — a monolingual bias that has also influenced theorization on multilingualism more generally (Lüpke, 2015; Léglise, 2017; Di Carlo, 2016). Shifting the focus to small-scale multilingual systems thus serves to problematize both the current 'endangered language' paradigm as well as research on multilingualism, with important implications for the field of language documentation.

Though small-scale multilingualism is still understudied, it is characterized in this growing body of literature as intrinsically *different* from multilingualism that has developed as a result of European colonial and post-colonial dynamics, which have generally included migratory/immigratory movements and rapid urbanization. Lüpke (2016) and others argue that it is

¹ The recordings cited in this article are accessible at the Endangered Languages Archive (ELAR): <https://elar.soas.ac.uk/Collection/MPI1080602> where original videos, along with associated annotation and metadata, have been deposited. File names, e.g. "acpw_072", identify the source file for each extract, and time codes indicate location within the recording.

primarily the absence of social hierarchy and distinct domains of use among the languages involved that marks the contrast between small-scale or traditional multilingualism and more contemporary urban forms. The more ‘egalitarian’ distribution of languages associated with small-scale settings (François, 2012) is moreover taken to be the historical *default* in sociolinguistic relations (Singer and Harris, 2016; Vaughan and Singer, 2018). Thus, the study of small-scale multilingual societies has the potential to inform research on language development (cf. Evans, 2017), contact, and change; at the same time, it may provide vital clues to understanding multilingual phenomena currently developing in more well studied contexts (Silverstein, 2015) and help deconstruct the perception of multilingualism as somehow abnormal and/or problematic (Lüpke, 2016 p. 62). Autonomous multilingual societies found around the globe — in West and Central Africa, Amazonia and other regions of the Americas, Europe, Asia, Australia, and Melanesia — are, of course, also worthy of investigation in their own right, revealing the diverse faces of language ecologies caught up in the flux of ongoing and sometimes overpowering geopolitical forces (cf. Vaughan and Singer, 2018).

While not all multilingual scenarios involving endangered or indigenous languages constitute small-scale *systems*, certain shared features emanate from recent research. For example, François’s (2012 p. 93) discussion of ‘egalitarian’² relations as crucial to both the emergence and longevity of the self-contained, highly stable and diverse language ecology in northern Vanuatu resonates with accounts of the Amazonian Vaupés, in which ‘stratification is not a component of the language-aggregate system’ and ‘separate but equal’ sums up the predominant attitude toward constituent language groups (at least within the East Tukanoan system; cf. Jackson, 1974 p. 57; 1983 p. 174; Aikhenvald, 2002 p. 24).

François (2012 p. 86–94) additionally discusses how language ideologies often exploit the ‘emblematic’ function of language to anchor communities in social and geographic space. This mechanism contributes to long-term preservation of difference, and is evident in discussions of ancestral land ‘ownership’ or ‘intrinsic’ association in Australia and in village-based language group membership in West and Central Africa (Lüpke, 2016; Di Carlo, 2016; Rumsey, 2018). As for the Vaupés, traditional socio-spatial anchoring reflected patrilineal-patrilocal (language group) affiliations and was crucial to forging and perpetuating webs of alliance (foremost through matrimony) between ethno-linguistically distinct and equally-ranked neighboring groups (see §3 for discussion of changes to this delicate linguistic balance-of-power).

Singer and Harris’s work in north Australian Arnhem Land (2016 p. 165–67) identifies additional relevant features of small-scale systems as generally composed of *small* populations speaking related languages and interacting in ongoing and relatively non-stratified networks of contact without a dominant lingua franca. Such conditions predispose people to learning each other’s languages and are often coupled with high degrees of cultural homogeneity and intermarriage, the latter possibly developing into the kind of ‘institutionalized’ exogamy based on language group affiliation found in the Vaupés (see Epps, 2018 and §§3–4 below). Thus, combinations of strong societal language-identity links, shared cultural practices, and (for the most part) non-hierarchical relations create ‘perfect storm’ conditions for the development and maintenance of small-scale multilingual systems. They both safeguard diversity and imbue individuals with extensive and overlapping linguistic repertoires that facilitate both *reciprocal* (multidirectional, active) and *receptive* (multidirectional, passive) interactional practices.

Nevertheless, Singer and Vaughan (2018 p. 89) note the ‘diversities within diversity’ of rural or indigenous multilingualisms, especially in regard to language ideologies perceived as the driving forces of language ‘etiquette’ norms and ‘linguaging’ practices (cf. Légise, 2017, 2018) with long-term contact-convergence effects (cf. Aikhenvald, 2002; 2007; François, 2011; Lüpke and Storch, 2013; Yakpo, 2015; Lüpke, 2016; 2019; Epps, 2018). Lüpke (2016 p. 48–51) notes that the language ideology of the Casamance region of southern Senegal ostensibly values *being* multilingual and engaging in highly versatile linguistic behavior as resources favoring more fluid language-identity connections and alliance-building. Similarly, Di Carlo (2016 p. 82–86) notes that in the Lower Fungom region of Cameroon, languages are strategically and overtly used to index multiple group affiliations, allowing individuals to feel at home in different settings and enjoy the protection of powerful village chiefs. These African language ideologies contrast sharply with the more rigid ‘language loyalty’ ideology of the Amazonian Vaupés, argued to hierarchize individual repertoires, favor receptive practices, and curtail accommodation — claims discussed further in §§4–5. In sum, small-scale multilingual systems display certain shared features but also exhibit significant differences, especially regarding expectations of specific types of language *behavior* emanating from higher-level language ideologies.

Our research on multilingualism in the Vaupés illustrates the need to distinguish *explicit* and *implicit* ideologies and how these may be observed to compete with each other. The former are observable in “people’s opinions about the languages around them” while the latter — “covert systems of beliefs” — are uncovered via their tangible realizations in actual language use (Pakendorf et al., 2021, §§2.1–2). Our investigation aims to shift focus from overt ideological stances, already documented in the existing literature, to practices that may illustrate implicit ideologies, asking questions such as: What does language use in social interaction look like in small-scale multilingual systems? And to what extent are multilingual practices in small-scale systems shaped by these two types of ideologies? For example, does Lüpke’s (2016 p. 64) ideology-based cline of multilingual systems hold up when we examine language use in spontaneous interaction? And how does multilingual interaction in small-scale systems compare to that found in better-studied ‘superdiverse’ globalized settings, when actual practices, such as receptive multilingualism and code-switching (as discussed in §5.4), are considered?

² Also described as *balanced* (Aikhenvald, 2007), *traditional* or *pre-colonial*; Di Carlo (2016), Lüpke (2016, p. 46) nevertheless reminds us that hierarchy may not be totally absent (e.g. in the Vaupés, cf. Epps, 2018 and §3); rather that these are ‘configurations where multilingual language use is not *primarily* motivated by power relations or prestige accorded to particular codes.’

The turn toward small-scale societies represents an important shift in multilingualism studies; nevertheless, determining the nature of this newly recognized category still requires a more empirical approach. Even while recognizing substantial distinctions between small-scale and non-small-scale multilingual settings, we still need to investigate how actual linguistic practices in face-to-face interaction compare among them. Is small-scale multilingualism truly different in fundamental ways from that observed in more urban contexts? Answers to such questions will emerge from more documentation and analysis of everyday interaction, and our initial findings from the Vaupés suggest the dichotomy may not be as clear-cut as presented in recent literature (see especially §5). Ultimately, an interactional practice-based approach can aid our understanding of the complex dynamics of ideologies and language use in multilingual systems and contribute to development of an empirically-sound typology of multilingualisms around the world.

3. Multilingualisms in the Vaupés

The Vaupés river basin of northwestern Amazonia (including its major tributaries, and contiguous areas to the west in Colombia to the northeast in Brazil) is a star protagonist on the world's multilingual stage, debuting in the anthropological literature over fifty years ago and billed as 'a large, culturally homogenous area where multilingualism — and polylingualism in the individual — is the cultural norm' (Sorensen, 1967 p. 671). The Vaupés is home to some two-dozen autochthonous ethno-linguistic groups belonging to the East Tukano, Arawak, Naduhup, and Kakua-Nikak language families. Despite their linguistic diversity, these peoples share much material and ritual culture due to longstanding contact through geographically constrained networks of trade and alliances, patri-virilocal settlement patterns, and exogamic marriage norms based on phratrial descent groups for East Tukano and Arawak peoples, and internal clans for Naduhup and Kakua-Nikak peoples (cf. Sorensen, 1967 p. 671–2; Jackson, 1983; Chernela, 1989; Epps and Stenzel, 2013). Explicit language ideologies that promote language as an important, if not the preeminent, marker of social identity are also common, and are argued to project language 'loyalty', curtail lexical borrowing, and restrain displays of multilingual prowess as presumed behavioral outputs, claims we examine in §§4–5.

Though aspects of the 'traditional' Vaupés (i.e. East-Tukano/riverine peoples) system undoubtedly remain, centuries of interaction with non-indigenous society has profoundly transformed many facets of social life, including language use (Chernela, 1989; Neves, 2001; Wright, 2005). The region offers examples of waning multilingual repertoires, indigenous languages promoted to lingua franca status, increasing polyglossia involving national languages, and numerous cases of language shift and loss, alongside adjustments to traditional ideological precepts — all among the common linguistic consequences of 'post-colonial' or 'colonially mediated' contact (Vaughan and Singer, 2018), and especially notable in the region's more urban contexts (see Fleming, 2016; Shulist, 2016, 2017, 2018). Our investigation aims to help identify both aspects of the traditional system still visible in Vaupés contemporary life, as well as directions of change observable in both discourse *about* language and in everyday language practices.

Though some features of Vaupés society are in step with the emerging profile of small-scale multilingual societies outlined in the previous section, it is also a region that walks to the beat of its own drummer. One characteristic that sets it apart is unparalleled geographic and populational grandeur. Though perhaps 'small' in pan-Amazonian perspective, the region nonetheless spans some 200,000 square kilometers³ and includes approximately 67,000 people⁴ in ethnic populations ranging from a few dozen to many thousands of individuals. Thus, the Vaupés stands out as the *big* brother of *small*-scale multilingual systems.

Spatial and demographic complexity houses equally complex inter-ethnic dynamics involving the numerically smaller and socially stigmatized Naduhup and Kakua-Nikak hunter-gatherer 'forest' peoples, and the much larger and socially dominant Arawak and East Tukano 'riverine' peoples. The former traditionally range over the vast interfluvial areas, while the latter occupy villages along major waterways, fishing and utilizing nearby areas for slash-and-burn agriculture and limited hunting/gathering. Social ranking of forest and riverine groups predates colonial influence and is salient in day-to-day dealings, which are generally constrained and often contentious, marked by stereotyping, suspicion, and slights. Inter-marriage occurs but is relatively uncommon, from 3% to 6% depending on the subregion, and economic interaction is generally restricted to intermittent labor relations and to trade of subsistence items and a few specialized manufactured goods (Azevedo, 2005; Epps and Stenzel, 2013; Cabalzar, 2013).

The social divide between forest/riverine peoples has been downplayed in the better-known literature on Vaupés multilingualism, which tends to showcase the 'egalitarian' system involving the riverine (primarily Tukanoan) peoples. Nevertheless, the same populations constituting this egalitarian system concurrently occupy the elevated hierarchical position in a second, stratified riverine > forest peoples subsystem, and are among the disfavored participants in a third and equally stratified system that ranks national > indigenous languages. The Vaupés thus houses interwoven systems of contact dynamics with distinct linguistic consequences. The more egalitarian subsystem is analyzed as the base for long-term processes of multilateral linguistic convergence and diffusion of grammatical categories and structures (Gomez-Imbert, 1996;

³ Territory size is quoted from Cabalzar and Ricardo (2006; see also Aikhenvald, 2012 p. 75), while Epps and Stenzel (2013) cite 240,000 km² for the entire Upper Rio Negro watershed. It is an immense territory when compared to the 240 km² of the Lower Fungom region of Cameroon (Di Carlo, 2016), the 882 km² of the northern Vanuato system (François, 2011), or the Waruwi community of northern Australia (Singer and Harris, 2016) and their comparatively smaller populations.

⁴ Population statistics vary widely, especially for Brazil/Colombia binational groups, but East Tukano populations are estimated at around 30,000, Arawak groups at some 32,500 (of which approximately 21,000 are ethnic Baré, Warekena, and Tariana, whose languages are either severely endangered or considered extinct), while Naduhup peoples total some 4000 (ISA PIB online; Patience Epps, p.c.), and Kákua-Nikak 500 (Bolaños, 2016).

Aikhenvald, 2002, 2007). Conversely, unilateral directionality (unreciprocated bi/multilingualism) marks the stratified forest/riverine subsystem: forest peoples learn and use the languages of their Tukanoan neighbors, but rarely the contrary. Our sociolinguistic interviews confirm this pattern, even in villages in which forest-group families now live as virtually permanent residents (Epps, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2016; Epps and Oliveira, 2013; Bolaños, 2016). As Epps (2018 p. 2) points out, however, the social inequality of forest peoples prevalent in Vaupés society has not deterred long-term maintenance of their languages. Finally, broader regional relations have led to ‘Tukanization’ (further addressed in §6) and language shift to Portuguese.

Indeed, the grandiose scale, complexity, and internal diversity of Vaupés society impose a broad set of investigative challenges. One of these is to rethink regional multilingual practices ‘outside the box’ of the egalitarian (primarily Tukanoan) system on which the Vaupés’s linguistic claim to fame has largely been built, e.g. Epps (2018), which highlights fundamental structural differences between the multilingual experiences of forest and riverine groups. Equally imperative is to continue looking more deeply into the box itself to examine its internal complexities. These include questioning the presumed stability of traditional and egalitarian Tukanoan multilingualism, and recognizing the historical and geographic forces that have contributed to reshaping the system and the current linguistic situations of particular groups (e.g. Aikhenvald, 2002 [Tariana]; Cabalzar, 2000, 2013 [Tuyuka]; Stenzel, 2005 [Kotiria/Wa’ikhana]; Chacon, 2013, 2017 [Kubeo]). We moreover reiterate the need for thorough empirical investigation of communicative practices in everyday interaction, such as this study, which can help answer two key questions: How much of the ‘traditional’ system (as described/presumed) survives as individuals and communities confront increasing outside influence and change? and How does actual practice compare to expectations emanating from still-prevailing explicit local ideologies and to practices in other multilingual settings?

Our own research involves the East Tukanoan Kotiria and Wa’ikhana peoples (also known, respectively, as Wanano and Piratapuyo), whose similarly-sized populations and genetic relatedness mask distinct sociolinguistic profiles. Kotiria is generally vibrant in the surviving traditional villages on the upper Vaupés but takes on minority language status among those who relocate to urban centers in Colombia or Brazil, where national languages dominate (Stenzel, 2013). Over the past three decades, the Wa’ikhana have abandoned most of their traditional villages on the Papurí river, all but a few families migrating to the Tukano-dominant village of Iauaretê, where intergenerational transmission of Wa’ikhana is severely undermined (Stenzel, 2005). For members of both groups still living in the Upper Rio Negro Indigenous Land, multilingualism remains the norm despite ongoing changes in its configuration. The next two sections offer insights into ideologies and practice gleaned from data gathered in this setting (Epps, 2016; Williams et al., 2019).

4. Language ideologies in the Vaupés

Our collection of sociolinguistic interviews allows us to listen to Kotiria and Wa’ikhana speakers talking about language choices and multilingual identities, such listening to ‘the way people talk about language’ being central to both understanding explicit language ideologies and to theorization of indigenous multilingualism (Vaughan and Singer, 2018 p. 88). Language ideology is itself a much-debated concept in linguistic anthropology. Defined in early work as ‘beliefs about language’ (Silverstein, 1979 p. 193), more recent studies argue that (language) ideologies are never *only* and possibly not even *primarily* about ‘language’ (Nakassis, 2016 p. 333), but rather always connect to broader discourses and cultural frameworks. A central concern to many contemporary scholars is understanding the ‘mutually constitutive’ or ‘dialectical’ relationship between ideology and practice: the former contributing to ‘generate, drive, and account for practice’ (Chernela, 2013 p. 202), which in turn feeds emergence of new rationalizing ideologies (Nakassis, 2016 p. 333; Fleming, 2015). Arriving at an empirically grounded understanding of the ‘total semiotic fact’ of ideology-practice relations in multilingual settings (Nakassis, 2016) thus requires nuanced accounts of both explicitly espoused ideologies about multilingualism and spontaneous practices in multilingual interaction (reflecting implicit ideologies). This has been our objective in examining both what people *say* about language choice (this section) and what they *do* in spontaneous interaction (§5).

We begin with interview excerpts that reveal both highly personal experiences and more communal views of language use in the Vaupés, comments and accounts that in part confirm previous claims related to regional ideology, e.g. regarding allegiance to one’s patrillect, code-switching etiquette, and ambiguous attitudes toward Tukano as a rising lingua franca. Nonetheless, we also encounter attitudes toward linguistic behavior — such as broadly acknowledged use of matrilects and widespread acceptance of accommodative language shifts — which differ from what explicit regional language ideology would seem to predict. Whether participants deem these behaviors exceptional, permissible, or desirable remains to be seen, but they are clearly aware of them. Though prior literature acknowledged diversity in regional practices based on ‘situational constraints’, assessments of ‘convenience’, ‘politeness’ and other considerations (Jackson, 1974 p. 58; Sorensen, 1967 p. 678–79; Chernela, 2013 p. 202), systematic departures from ideologically-driven normative behaviors in the region have only begun to receive analytic attention (e.g. Chernela, 2003, 2011, 2012, on ritualized speech genres; Aikhenvald, 2001; 2013; Stenzel and Khoo, 2016; Silva and AnderBois, 2016; Silva, 2020). Our goal is to provide further insights into actual linguistic practice in these multilingual communities (as observable in recorded interaction) and how it relates to documented ideologies.

Before presenting interview data, we offer a note on our interview methodology, which drew inspiration from ethnographic/sociolinguistic investigations conducted in other small-scale multilingual settings (e.g. Di Carlo, 2016; Lüpke, 2016; Singer and Harris, 2016; Pietikäinen, 2018) and from a sociolinguistic survey undertaken in São Gabriel da Cachoeira in 2010–2011 (Stenzel and Cabalzar, 2012). Our interview format began with each individual producing and commenting on a ‘language portrait’, a methodology developed by Busch (2010, 2012) to elicit reflection on how languages in effect inhabit one’s being. A few examples are seen in Fig. 1. Portraits A and B demonstrate the overall tendency of our participants to locate their

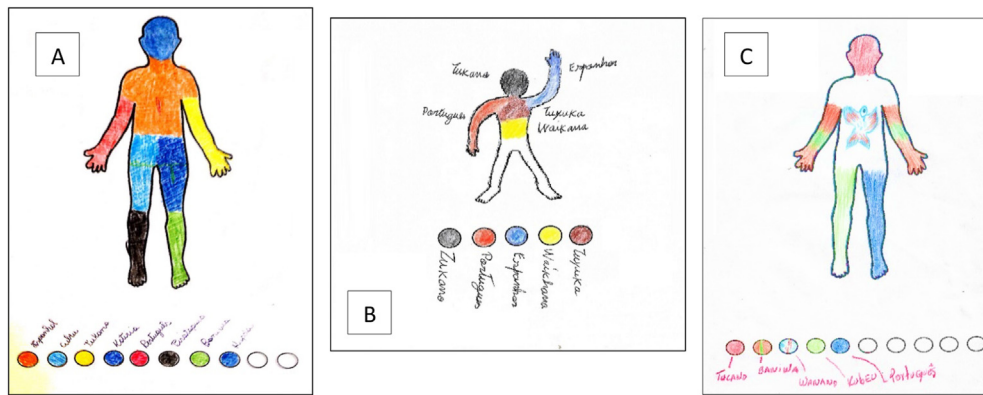


Fig. 1. Language portraits produced by EG, a 67-year-old Kotiria man (A); AP, a 43-year-old Tariana woman (B); and DN, a 25-year-old Kotiria man (C).

patrilect in the head, the case in thirty-seven of the forty-six portraits (eighty percent), whereas seven of the remaining nine show the patrilect in the chest region, as in portrait C. Other interesting tendencies include double occupancy of the head by patrilect and matrilect, and placement of national and other lesser-used languages in the extremities (feet or hands), a location several people identified as ‘utilitarian’.⁵

The interviews then continued by eliciting background information on the ethnicities of parents and spouse, places the person had lived, descriptions of the acquisition and use of each person’s language repertoire, and their views of the causes and consequences of language changes in the region.

We also added two new twists to the interview format. First, we discussed objectives with our indigenous research team so that *they* could conduct the interviews, the rationale being that people would feel more comfortable talking with members of their own communities and would express themselves more freely and eloquently in their own languages. To put people even more at ease, we often just set up the camera and left while the interviews took place. Second, all interviews involved more than one participant (Fig. 2), so that people could interact with each other during the process.



Fig. 2. Scenes from interviews conducted by project team members and teachers in lauretê (A), São Gabriel da Cachoeira (B), the Wa'ikhana village of Aracú Porto (C) and the Kotiria school in Carurú Cachoeira (D).

⁵ Space considerations prevent us from going more deeply into the many fascinating aspects of the portraits, but we comment on details from particular speakers cited throughout the article. Our corpus of portraits and sociolinguistic interviews will be the focus of in-depth discussion in future publications.

This approach both facilitated our research goals and stimulated interest among the indigenous researchers and participants — even prompting one group of previously interviewed Kotiria schoolteachers to organize and conduct interviews with three other groups from the village: teenage students (D above), in-marrying wives, and elder males. This spontaneous multiplication of the interview process helped produce an approximately 20-h subcorpus of recordings with primary linguistic and ethnographic data involving forty-six individuals representative of the traditional multilingual and multiethnic make-up of Kotiria and Wa'ikhana families and villages.

Both the portraits and the interviews provide a rich store of ethnographic information that can undoubtedly help us understand some aspects of language choice. Nevertheless, we argue for tempering expectations of the explanatory power of this information. For example, knowing a particular speaker's language history and background might reasonably prompt us to suppose that the language occupying the head in their portrait (apparently correlating to espoused identity language) is the one they are likely to favor in most circumstances. But what happens when data reveal contradictions or far greater variation than what this background information might indicate? This is the point where we must recognize that language choices are also — perhaps *primarily* — motivated by interactional factors, and from this perspective, ethnographic information becomes a different kind of tool. Rather than relying on this ethnographic information to guide our own (analyst) interpretations of linguistic practice, we look to it for insight into how *speakers* are interpreting and making sense of language choices that happen in the moment-by-moment unfolding of interaction, an approach that takes the interplay between macro and micro contexts (in the conversation analysis sense defined in §5) as the focal center. Such an approach allows us to capture and comprehend the variation attested in everyday interaction and begin to fill out more of the details of multilingualism as experienced at different moments of speakers' daily lives.

The backdrop to our interview excerpts includes key notions on the role of language in Vaupés social organization, introduced in §3 and theorized in numerous scholarly works. Particularly relevant are the notions of language as a salient emblem of ethnic identity, ascribed by patrilineal descent and deemed essential to a system with norms of ethno-linguistic exogamous marriages. The need to preserve diversity feeds an explicit 'essentialist' language ideology with a preeminent ideal of linguistic 'loyalty', the demands of which are argued to both constrain practices such as code-switching (see §5.4) and promote overt hierarchization of *individual* (patrilineal > matrilineal, alterlects), and *village* (predominant ethnic male > varying ethnic female) linguistic repertoires (albeit concomitant with the *non*-hierarchization, or egalitarian status of the same languages at the metadiscursive level, as discussed in §§2–3).

Excerpts from our interview data⁶ provide clues as to *whether* and *how* speakers orient to such notions. Consider this telling quote from a Wa'ikhana elder:

(1) *Ti a'liro minikuhũno mehe, to pahkũro ya'ukhu mahsãli ya'ukhumipe.* [WAI]

'The bird, too, sings the song its father taught it.' [JV, a man in his 60s whose wife is Tukano; they live in the village of Aracú Porto, where Wa'ikhana is losing ground to Tukano and Portuguese] [sgcw_007-2, 9:44]

Just as each bird's song reveals its inherent belonging to a unique species of winged creatures, essentialist Vaupés language ideology entails the notion that for humans, language is *equated* with identity, that 'one creates one's self in the act of speaking' and moreover that 'to speak a language not your own is to "become" another' (Chernela, 2013 p. 221, 227; see also Gomez-Imbert, 1996). Although this association is progressively moving from the *de facto* to the symbolic level because of processes of language shift among many groups in the Vaupés subregion (cf. Stenzel, 2005; Fleming 2016), the notion still shapes speakers' ideals and interpretations. A second quote from JV clearly demonstrates that speaking one's language is the proper and expected display of intrinsic human ethnic identity.

(2) *Tipehepule tina: "Yũ'u dahsei ihiedayũ. Yũ'u wai'khũ ihiaha yũ." Nii, tii ya'uduhku dũhka, ya'uhkukali ihiri ni ya'uduhku muhuatũ. [...] Yũ'u to wai'khũ mahkũ ihia. Yũ'u wai'khana tii ya'uduhkuere. Koedaboali [...] yũ'ũna yee ihika nimahato maliye ihika nimahato.* [WAI]

'When I was young, everyone in my village would say: "I'm not Tukano. I'm Wa'ikhana." So, I grew up speaking my language.' [...] I'm the son of a Wa'ikhana; I speak the language. I wouldn't want a different language [...] for me, our language is who I am.' [JV] [SGCW_007-2, 32:22; 9:19-37]

Similar sentiment echoes even from younger Wa'ikhana affected by language shift to Tukano, who, like members of the Arapaso, Mirititapuyo, and Tariana ethnic groups, are described as speakers of a 'borrowed' language. Comments from JV's nephew JN (3) and son NF (4)⁷ show that for these young men, speaking a borrowed language creates an existential conflict crossing who they are (ethnic Wa'ikhana) with what they *do* (speak Tukano).

⁶ For space considerations, interview selections have no interlinear analysis, though significant lexical and grammatical elements are noted. Quotes appear in orthographic form and include discourse features (repairs/reductions/repetitions). Language codes are WAI-Wa'ikhana, KOT-Kotiria, and source references indicate [recording ID code + timecode].

⁷ Interestingly, the language portraits of these two younger Wa'ikhana men show both the patrilineal (Wa'ikhana) and matrilineal (Tukano in both cases) in the head region. This contrasts with the portraits of men from the generation above theirs, in which only the patrilineal appears in the head. Note that "you've arrived!" is a common greeting, roughly equivalent to *Good to see you again!* or *Welcome back!*

- (3) *Buonidi malī dahseye ya 'uduhkugu pe'na, buonidi, buolī, buolī . . . malī aā "pīri" niali naha. "Pīri, mu'ū a'tali mu'ū?" Malī dahseye ya 'uduhkugū saaniali.* [WAI]

'We're ashamed when we speak Tukano, ashamed, ashamed, ashamed . . . other Wa'ikhana call us "**brother-in-law!**" "**Brother-in-law**, you've arrived!"¹ That's what they say when we speak Tukano.' [JN, 44, is man married to a Tukano-speaking woman; his family migrated to Tukano-dominant Iauaretê when he was young] [sgcw_007-3, 1:46-1:53]

At issue for JN is being addressed by a fellow Wa'ikhana as 'brother-in-law', since exogamic practices ensure spouses and in-laws always have a *different* ethnic identity from one's own. Villages tend to participate in constellations of nearby in-law groups within which spouses are recruited, and norms of inter/intra-generational sister exchange moreover ensure equilibrium, reinforcing a village's language repertoire and multiethnic configuration (Gomez-Imbert, 1996; Stenzel, 2005). All offspring of same-generation males are thus classificatory siblings (agnates) who should be called 'brother' or 'sister', *never* 'in-law' (reserved for members of affinal groups). Therein lies the rub — from the ideological viewpoint, addressing an agnate as 'in-law' is tantamount to shunning, an annulment of social identity and membership in one's own ethnic group! Such relegation to 'outsider' status for non-use of one's ethnic/identity language is the equally unpleasant upshot of the grandfather's⁸ caustic question to NF in (4).

- (4) *Sata wa'ali. Akāta buotiaro waru maikiro chorãoPOR. To a'taro ihiri. Paina yu'duro nini tona. "Ne panami" nidi. "No'opu wa'ahali?" nidi. Yu'ū dahseye ya 'uduhku mahkādū taha. "Sōpu wu'we" nimahkādū. Tio! Mahami duhkahale duhkasa, Nihkeoyado "Yabe mahsū mu'ū ihiali, panami?" nidi. "Malī ya 'uduhkue me'na yu'ure yutia" nidi.* [WAI]

'It once happened that I was shamed by grandfather 'weepy'. He came up to me. Lots of people were around. "Hi, grandson! Where are you headed?" he asked. I (without thinking) answered in Tukano. "I'm going over there," I said. Man! He turned around and said "**What kind of person are you, grandson?** (aren't you Wa'ikhana anymore?) Answer me in our language!" [NF, a 30-year-old Wa'ikhana man whose Tariana wife and mother speak Tukano. He was born in a Wa'ikhana village but schooled in Iauaretê and is currently a schoolteacher in a Tukano village] [sgcw_007-3, 16:40-17:13]

Essentialism imposes an ideal of overt language loyalty as a marker of ethnicity that ostensibly guarantees inappropriate unions between members of the same group will be avoided. This deeply ingrained notion explains why not only semi-speakers, but anyone who situationally engages in accommodative language behavior risks symbolic annulment of social identity, as shown in accounts by Kotiria CS (5) and MD (7).

- (5) *Kubeo yare yu'ū duruhkuha. Nūhita yu namo bu'isamahkono hira tikoro. Ā yoaku, ti to koeya kha'pu sūku, ti ya duruhkuha, bu'isamahkā ya duruhkuha yu'ū. Ā yoa "bu'isamahkunowuru hika a'riro" nitokhuabiare topu yu'ū sūku, bu'isamahkūno dohoa mūhati yu'ū topure.* [KOT]

'I (also) speak Kubeo. You all know my wife is Kubeo. So, when I visit her relatives, I speak their language, I speak Kubeo. While I'm there, someone could even say "This one here is a Kubeo," because there I *become* Kubeo.' [CS, a 41-year-old Kotiria with a Tukano mother and Kubeo wife. He lives in the Kotiria village of Taracua] [crck_173 58:21-36]

As Chernela and others have noted, Vaupés language ideology is reflected in the lexical terms used to describe language acquisition and use. The Kotiria speech verb *duruhku* (a grammaticalized verb compound *du* 'talk/make noise'+the word-internal allomorph of *duku* 'stand', marking continuous aspect) usually refers to speaking one's *own* language, but CS uses it in (5) for his Kubeo-speaking ability and also tellingly employs the term *doho* 'transform into/change/become' (cf. Chernela, 2013 p. 227) to describe his state-of-being when speaking Kubeo (see also (9) below). A third verb, *thu'o*, 'listen/understand' generally indicates receptive knowledge of additional languages (e.g. in (10) below). Chernela's study cites this as the preferred term for reference to one's matrilect, while *khayo* 'imitate' described active (speaking) use of any alterlect, 'a language where the speaker makes no claim to the social identities it usually indexes' (Chernela, 2013 p. 226). Our interviewees also employ the *duruhku-thu'o-khayo* (Wa'ikhana cognates being *ya'uduhku-thu'o-keo*) terminology, but not always with strictly corresponding patrilect-matrilect-alterlect associations. All our participants use *duruhku* for their patrilects, but many also used it for other languages they know well (e.g. their matrilect or spouse's language), as in (6). A key feature in the overlap between use of *duruhku* and *khayo* for non-patrilect languages seems to be the ability or willingness to actively *speak*, with *thu'o* generally reserved for passive understanding. Whether this terminological flexibility indicates a shift in attitudes over time or represents an always existing but unrecognized categorial fluidity remains to be seen. In either case, Chernela's insightful analysis of the ideological nature of the semantics of these terms, which goes beyond mere assessment of ability, is vital.

⁸ Males of one's paternal grandfather's generation are all called 'grandfather'. NF uses the nickname *chorão* ('weepy' in Portuguese) for this 'grandfather', who cried copiously after his wife died.

- (6) *Yü phokohũ to yare duruhkuera. Dahsea ya di'ta duruhku yoachũ, to dahsea ya duruhkuchũ, dahsea ya duruhkuriro. Mipure āta dahsea ya duruhkuduhkuhāka. Muhsa me'ne hii kotiria ya duruhkuha.* [KOT]

'My mother didn't speak her language (Tariana). She only spoke Tukano, and because of that, I'm a Tukano speaker. Even now I always speak Tukano. I only use Kotiria when I'm here with you.' [MF, 43-year-old man from the Kotiria village of Carurú; his mother and wife are both Tukano-speaking Tarianas] [crew_073: 1:09:24-36]

Though MF's comments above drew reserved chuckles from fellow Kotiria teachers participating in the interview, he wasn't joking. Everyone knows that MF, his wife and nine children speak Tukano at home, contrary to traditional expectations for a Kotiria male-headed household. That language ideology continues to frame interpretations of modern-day circumstances and their consequences is also clear in the predicament described by the Kotiria teacher MD:

- (7a) *Yü me'ne mahkariro hire tiro marĩ ñuchuta kobewü hire hã? Kobewü. Ā hichutha sã pho'nakã, yü pho'na, phuarokã mua sa'sero, phuarokã mua sa'sero. Kotiria numiare kha'mainakã chori hiase'e ...* [KOT]

'There's my husband, everyone realizes he's Kubeo, right? Kubeo. Our two little children (are Kubeo) too, two little boys. They will (someday) want (to marry) Kotiria girls ...' [MD is a 33-year-old woman from Carurú. Her mother is Tukano-speaking Tariana, and her husband is Kubeo] [crew_073: 1:21:22-32]

The prevalent social norm of virilocality is the issue for MD here: if the couple were properly residing in her husband's Kubeo village, their children would be learning Kubeo and could eventually covet Kotiria girls as marriable affines. However, precisely *because* MD is a Kotiria-speaking teacher, she has been assigned to the Kotiria school in her own village (following the current municipal educational policy), which throws a monkey wrench into the proverbial sociolinguistic machinery.

- (7b) *Ā yoa siro yü me'ne mahkariro me'ne hina, sã português duruhkuha nihakuru yü'ü. Patena tiro kotiria ya me'ne nitusure. Tiro kotiria yana thu'ophañohare nihakuru, òse to yana tiro duruhkuerare tiro. Tiro michākāna òse khōa duruhkutariro hire nihakuru yü'ü hi'na [...] ti ñarana ya se're duruhkudua, a'ri kotiria, tua nimarero tihũtha, a'ri kotiria, tua nimarero tihũtha.* [KOT]

'So, when I'm with my husband, we speak Portuguese, I admit. (And) sometimes he speaks a little Kotiria too. He understands everything in Kotiria, but he never speaks his own language. The little one is starting to talk [...] in Portuguese, I confess, and Kotiria, which is very strong (as the dominant village language).' [MD] [crck_073 1:21:22-44]

MD's discomfort with the family's unusual linguistic situation and the fact that her older child's incipient speech is a mixture of Portuguese and Kotiria (matrilect) rather than Kubeo (patrilect) are evident in the modal marking in her account (note the adversative suffix *-kuru* in the expression *nihakuru* 'I say-ADVERS', translatable as 'I confess/admit' something unfortunate but unavoidable). The implied consequence is that failing to become Kubeo *speakers* compromises her children's true Kubeo ethnicity, and, by ideological extension, casts an incestuous pall over their (otherwise legitimate and appropriate) vocation as future husbands of Kotiria women.

The shaping hand of ideology is also evident in the oft-noted regional norm of 'receptive' bi/multilingual conversations, in which 'each speaker performs in his or her own patrilect' (Chernela, 2013 p. 215; Gomez-Imbert, 1996 p. 445). This is described in accounts such as (8)⁹ and empirically confirmed (at least partially) in recordings of informal interactions (see §5.2).

- (8) *Pateretha tikorohũ, to ya me'ne, dahsea ya me'ne, o yü'ühũ, yü'üre to dahsea ya me'ne yü'üre to nichũna, dahsea ya me'ne yü'tii. Yo tikorose yü'üre yü'tiera tire. Òse kotiria ya me'ne yü nichũre hi'na, dahsea ya me'ne tikoro yü'tia. Thusũtha yü pho'nakãtha. Tinakã phini duruhku phañohare tinakã hini.* [KOT]

'Sometimes (my wife) uses her language, speaks Tukano and I do too, (but) when she speaks Tukano with me and I respond in Tukano, then she won't answer me! When I speak in Kotiria with her, she answers in Tukano. It's the same with the children. (That's why) they can speak both languages so well.' [Kotiria JM, 40, is the son and husband of Tukano women. He has lived in both Tukano-speaking Iauareté and in Carurú, where he is currently a teacher] [crck_173 1:23:12-23]

⁹ The quote also suggests that interactional practices themselves can contribute to reinforcing receptive multilingualism, since the wife orients to her husband's use of Tukano (creating a monolingual, rather than receptive, exchange) as inappropriate or dispreferred. Investigation of these practices will continue in future publications.

Still, while receptive multilingual exchanges do occur in our recordings, they are not as common nor as rigidly prescribed as explicit East Tukanoan loyalty-based ideology would indicate. Chernela (2013 p. 224–29) affirms that the ideological hierarchization of individual repertoires makes men particularly reluctant to admit knowing or using their mothers' languages (often also their wives' languages, as with JM), a kind of ideological 'erasure' that inhibits accommodative behavior. She argues that Tukanoan peoples' aversive stance toward matrilect accommodation contrasts with the more openly receptive attitude of the (Arawakan) Tariana, citing this difference as key for language preservation: 'For linguistic diversity to be maintained, language loyalty is a necessary requirement' (Chernela, 2013 p. 231). We decline judgement on the extent to which prototypical language loyalty behaviors were and/or still are *deterministic* to language shift processes in the Vaupés. Understanding the forces driving change is no easy task: divergent historical, geographic, and demographic details are at play for each group and disrupting outside interference has engendered shift among the Arawak (Tariana/Baniwa) and East Tukano populations alike. Though ideology may play a role, the weight of other contributing factors and the specific circumstances of each population need to be carefully considered. We note, too, that ideologies favoring accommodative behavior have apparently *not* been detrimental to language maintenance in the multilingual systems of Africa, Australia, or Vanuatu mentioned in §2 (cf. also Pakendorf et al., 2021, §2.5).

Indeed, though patrilect loyalty persists on the explicit ideological level, few individuals seem to strictly adhere to the norm on the interactional level. In our recordings, the more rigid patrilect-speakers are primarily in-marrying Tukano-speaking women (ethnic Tukano, Tariana, Tuyuka, or Desano), in contrast to Baniwa or Kubeo wives who seem more likely to learn and use their husband's (village) languages (cf. §5.3).¹⁰ In general, both male and female interviewees acknowledge understanding and use of their matrilects and other languages in their repertoires (e.g. those of their in-laws) and describe accommodative behavior as circumstances require. Indeed, accounts similar to (9) and (10) are frequent in our interviews.

- (9) *Yɨ marechũhu phaana himare. Ti ya duruhkuerare, dahsea ya dita duruhkure. Ā yoai yɨ 'ukhũ toi wa'ai dahseiro dōhōa wa'asui.* [KOT]

'My in-laws are Tariana. But they don't speak their language, only Tukano. So, when I'm there with them, I become (speak) Tukano.' [MF, see (6) above] [crck_173 1:29:36-41]

MF's use of the frustrative morpheme *-ma* (bolded) in the first sentence 'My in-laws are Tariana' is significant. Ethnic identity being immutable, they could never be anything *but* Tariana, yet speaking a 'borrowed' language diminishes their ethnicity, and in some respect, they *aren't* fully Tariana anymore. Use of the frustrative encodes such semantics of unfulfilled expectations, loss, or lack of some essential feature.

- (10) *Dahsea ya bohkasuku, tina me'ne duruhkuha. Mari koeyare õpũ hirinare bohkasuku, tinare yaba me'ne bohkaha ti mari ya me'ne duruhkuha. Ti pho'nakure mari ya me'ne khayochũkhũre tina thu'ouerachũ ñuku, dahsea ya ti. Duruhkua me'ne duruhkuha. Sõ'õpũ yũ'dukũkhũ āthiha. [...]* *Ñarana ya duruhkuina, yabaina bahchare bohkasuku, ti mari ya duruhkuerachũ, ñuku tinare português yũ'u thu'okuri ma'no tinare, yoadoha tinare.* [KOT]

'When I meet up with Tukanos (in Iauaretê), I speak (Tukano) with them. When I'm among (Kotiria) relatives there, I speak our language. With the kids who only imitate Kotiria, who don't understand, I speak Tukano. I speak the language they do. Wherever I go it's like that [...] There (in São Gabriel) with Portuguese speakers or when I meet up with Baniwa, if they don't speak our language, I speak (my limited) Portuguese, I help them.' [CF, 44, is from the Kotiria village of Arara, having a Tukano mother and Tariana wife.] [crck_173 1:31-32:08]

The Vaupés sociolinguistic literature acknowledges that 'speakers [language] choices are influenced by many criteria in different contexts and are complicated by numerous factors' (Chernela, 2013 p. 213). Besides situations in which switches are consistently and overtly 'licensed', such as direct quotations and discourse repetitions (cf. Gomez-Imbert 1996 and §5.4.2), other suggested triggers include politeness, convenience, communicative efficacy, and orientation to interlocutors' social rank (Sorensen, 1967 p. 678–79; Jackson, 1974 p. 59; Epps, 2018 p. 158). Yet accommodation for purposes of mutual intelligibility is only truly relevant when speakers have non-overlapping repertoires, such as CS mentions in (10) — but this is *not* the case for most individuals (even in-marrying wives), whose daily lives are played out among people with largely overlapping repertoires. Additionally, many interactions occur

¹⁰ One reviewer suggested that some differences in accommodative behavior on the part of in-marrying wives may have a generational component, a possibility we will keep in mind as analysis of the corpus progresses. However, our data so far does not present clear evidence that greater or lesser tendency toward accommodation correlates with age; rather, what stands out is the fact that Tukano-speaking wives are less accommodative than those whose languages are *not* Tukano. Thus, currently, the dominance of Tukano as a lingua franca appears to be more of a determining factor than age.

between speakers with similar social rank, making explanations involving (rank-based) politeness difficult to ascertain. We argue that rather than assuming the omnirelevance of macro-level concerns such as rank or identity, we need to determine what language choices mean for the speakers themselves as they engage in moment-by-moment interaction, a topic we explore further in the next section.

5. Multilingual practices in a corpus of everyday interaction

We now turn from ideologies of multilingualism to documented multilingual practices in face-to-face interaction, the primordial home of language. By examining how linguistic resources are deployed in actual interaction, we can begin to understand the origin of strongly held explicit language ideologies while also uncovering empirical evidence for more implicit ideologies. We may also discover apparent exceptions to ideological expectations which must inform our analysis of the ‘total semiotic fact’ of ideology-practice relations (Nakassis, 2016). Our primary goal in the analysis that follows is to understand both *when* and *why*, or for what communicative and interactional purposes, speakers use different languages — in other words, *why that now* (Schegloff and Sacks, 1973). While this question can be answered in different ways, we focus here on the sequential organization of turn-by-turn talk and the multilingual practices therein. Our extensive video corpus of everyday interaction shows people engaging in a wider range of multilingual practices than the ethnographic literature has suggested, including code-switching by individual speakers, but also orientation to the ideological norms described in §4, such as the practice of non-accommodating bilingual interaction, or using one’s own language even when interacting with a speaker of another language. By looking at spontaneous talk in everyday situations, we begin to examine the ‘greater variation and exception’ in language use that has been affirmed, but not explored in detail, in previous studies (Chernela, 2013 p. 202).

Our investigation draws on the well-established methods of conversation analysis, now in widespread use by interactional linguists and linguistic anthropologists. In this approach, linguistic practices are seen in the context of social interaction, which is organized sequentially as turns and unfolds moment-by-moment in real time. Turns are distributed among participants in an interaction following an apparently universal¹¹ system of turn-taking rules (Sacks et al., 1974). Such turns implement *actions*, which are always interpreted in their sequential context, action sequences being organized as *adjacency pairs*, one turn serving as the first pair part (e.g. an invitation), followed by a second pair part (e.g. an acceptance/rejection). Though context is ‘complex and layered,’ CA emphasizes the importance of the immediately *preceding* turn as ‘the most elementary context in which a turn at talk occurs’ (Heritage, 2010 p. 210). Thus, for example, a given turn may be structurally designed as an interrogative, but whether it is *understood* as a request for information, an invitation, a complaint, or some other action, depends entirely on how it is *responded to* by the speaker of the next turn. The way a participant ‘treats’ the prior turn will then be inspected and accepted or challenged in the *next* turn, and so on, such that conversation is not ‘just talk’, but rather talk that implements actions and is continuously made sense of by the participants themselves. It is within this framework that we approach multilingual practices.

The CA/IL framework understands a *practice* to be any distinctive design feature of a turn — including choice of linguistic code — that occurs in a specific sequential location and has consequences for the meaning of the turn (Heritage, 2010). How ‘sequential location’ is defined is equally important; for multilingual practices, the focus is on the location of switches within the interactional sequence itself, rather than on the structural location within a sentence, as in more linguistic approaches to code-switching. A growing body of CA literature has examined code-switching in bilingual interaction (Auer, 1984; Wei, 1998, 2002; Gafaranga, 1999), including recent work by Raymond (forthcoming), who reconsiders *why* switches happen at particular moments in bilingual interaction, complementing prior explanations such as indexing a bilingual or hybrid identity, for politeness reasons, or for communicative efficiency. The interactional approach focuses instead on what switches accomplish in the moment-by-moment unfolding of social interaction and what sense the interactants themselves make of such switches.

5.1. Monolingualism

Interestingly, although Vaupés society is characterized as highly multilingual, a great deal of interaction in our corpus is actually conducted entirely in one language. Such conversations primarily occur among people who have the same patrilineal, even if they have other shared languages in their individual repertoires. However, given current processes of shift, the language of choice may be a dominant village language, nowadays often Tukano. This is the case in many of our recordings from the Wa’ikhana village of Aracá, which show people, including ethnic Wa’ikhana, conversing almost exclusively in Tukano. While we avoid quantifying monolingual vs. bi-/multilingual interactions, we notice that people in East Tukano communities appear to engage in a significant amount of monolingual conversation in their daily lives (e.g. Extract 12 below), and that such conversations may well be a distinguishing feature of this particular small-scale multilingual system — or of the current *state* of this system — in contrast to other systems in which mundane interactions typically involve hybrid linguistic practices (cf. François, 2012; Lüpke and Storch, 2013; Singer and Harris, 2016).

¹¹ The universality of conversational turn-taking has been widely debated. Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) made the case originally based on American English conversation. While their work has been criticized, recent studies support the claim based on data from a much wider range of languages (see Stivers et al., 2009).

5.2. 'Receptive' bi/multilingualism

In addition to monolingual talk, another pattern observed in our data are 'receptive' (also 'passive' or 'non-accommodating') multilingual practices, in which participants each speak their 'own' language (patrillect), even in the rapid turn-taking of ordinary conversation. This practice, attested in other small-scale multilingual settings (Ten Thije and Zeevaert, 2007; Singer and Harris, 2016; Singer, 2018), is analyzed as normative expected behavior in the Vaupés (Chernela, 2013) and as driven by the powerful ideological principle of linguistic loyalty (cf. §4). However, this receptive practice is less common in our data than interactions in which all speakers speak the same language (for which we have used the term 'monolingual').

The receptive practices we do observe typically involve husbands and Tukano-speaking wives, as in Extract (11).¹² This extract comes from a sociolinguistic interview conducted by DD (offscreen), while MC and his wife, AP, were making language portraits (hers is picture B in Fig. 1 above). Throughout the exchange, MC speaks his patrillect, Wa'ikhana, while AP (ethnically Tariana) speaks Tukano, her *de facto* patrillect. For instance, in line 1, AP's turn is in Tukano, while MC's response in line 3 is in Wa'ikhana. This pattern continues throughout the extract, with MC and DD speaking Wa'ikhana while AP consistently speaks Tukano. Note that turns 'in Wa'ikhana' or 'in Tukano' may also have elements from Portuguese (e.g. line 11) or elements that are seemingly identical in Wa'ikhana and Tukano (e.g. *yū'u* in line 3).¹³ However, we do not consider these utterances 'mixed'. Instead, we analyze such shared elements as not belonging to, or not 'indexing' a particular language. The language of an utterance can often only be determined by grammatical elements, such as the final inflectional verbal suffix *-o* in line 4, which is exclusively Tukano, whereas all the other elements are shared. In extract 11, we use shading to indicate Tukano, unshaded text to indicate Wa'ikhana, **bold** for elements equal in both languages, and double underlining for Portuguese loans (see Fig. 3).¹⁴



Fig. 3. 'These are my languages'

¹² Conversational extracts have interlinear analysis and annotation of interactional features (silences, overlaps, prosody). Line 1 gives an orthographic transcription, but includes reductions, repetitions and cut-offs; line 2 has complete forms and morphemic segmentation with corresponding lexical and grammatical glosses on line 3, followed by a free translation. A list of conventions and gloss abbreviations appears at the end of the article. Tukano glosses are based largely on Ramirez (1997a,b), Kotiria and Wa'ikhana glosses on Stenzel's analyses and Waltz's lexicons (2007, 2012). Each extract is presented with visual cues and a key to aid identification of salient differences.

¹³ In identifying the base language of utterances with loans or bivalent elements, e.g. lines 4–5, 7–9 in this extract, we follow the indication of our indigenous speaker-transcribers.

¹⁴ Everyday interaction is replete with particles, which vary in length, volume, prosodic pattern, and whether they are produced with a closed, e.g. (*mm*, *mhm*) or open (*ūū/āā/āha*) mouth. In our representations of particles, capital letters indicate more salient prosody (higher pitch and intensity). For more discussion, see (Williams et al., 2020).

Extract 11 [acpw_056 16:07-16]

Unshaded	=	Wa'ikhana
Shaded	=	Tukano
Bold	=	WAI/TUK
<u>Under.2x</u>	=	Portuguese

- 1 AP: *a'to ma- maha ñeno me'ra ohati*
a'to ma- maha ñemeno me'na oha-ti
 IMP.IND now language COM/INST write-INT
 'Now what language are we supposed to write here?'
 ap: ((points to the legend on MC's portrait, which he has already completed))
- 2 (0.2)
- 3 MC: *yü'ü ya'uduhkue [ihidi tia*
yü'ü ya'uduhku-ye ihi-di ti-a
 1sg language-PL COP.VIS.PFV.2/3 ANPH-PL
 'These are my languages.'
- 4 AP: [*wa'ikhana yee yü tü'o*
wa'ikhana yee yü'ü tü'o-o
wa'ikhana POSS 1sg hear/understand-VIS.PRS.1/2
 'I understand Wa'ikhana.'
- 5 DD: =*tü'o mahsia mü'ua*
tü'o masi-a mü'ua-a
 hear/understand know-PL 2sg-EMPH
 'You understand everything.'
- 6 AP: *Äa*
- 7 DD: *so'ö [mehe ya'ure*
so'ö mehe ya'u-de
 DEIC.DIST also speak-VIS.IPFV.2.3
 'and speak too.'
- 8 AP: [*tü'otha yü'ü pahko ko yee*
tü'o-tha yü'ü pahko ko yee
 hear/understand-ADD 1sg mother 3sgf POSS
 'I also understand my mother's language.'
- 9 MC: *Mm, mü'ü ya'uduhkuye*
Mm mü'ü ya'uduhku-ye
 2sg language-PL
 'Mm, your languages'
- 10 AP: *Äa*
- 11 DD: *tuyukatha kuota mü'ü*
tuyuka-tha kua-o-ta mü'ü
 tuyuka-ADD put-FEM-EMPH 2sg
 'Put Tuyuka down too.'
- 12 AP: *Äa*

Although receptive interaction appears fundamentally different from monolingual interaction, both practices are arguably rooted in the same principle of linguistic loyalty, the difference being whether participants share a patrilect or not. If they do, loyalty mandates monolingual interaction, whereas if their patrilects are different (but components of both individuals'

repertoires), receptive bi/multilingual interaction is expected. However, actual language use in everyday settings does not consistently bear out such expectations,¹⁵ as the documented ‘exceptions’ in the next two sections will show.

5.3. ‘Accommodating’ monolingual talk

The normatively expected receptive practice of speaking one’s patrilect, even when interacting with individuals with a different patrilect, is intertwined with the Vaupés system of exogamic marriage and virilocality mentioned in §4. Traditionally, and ideally, a woman grows up speaking her patrilect, but also understands her matrilect. She will then preferably ‘marry back’ into her mother’s ethnic group and will thus already be familiar with the dominant language spoken in her husband’s village. Prior ethnographic research affirms that a woman is expected to speak her own language (patrilect), both in interactions with her husband and with her young children, while also promoting transfer of the children’s loyalty to *their* father’s language as they mature (Gomez-Imbert, 1996; Chernela, 2004, 2013). It is not clear to what extent a wife is expected to *speak* her husband’s language, though the exogamic ideal of marrying back would certainly facilitate this (cf. Stenzel, 2005). Regardless of expectations or ideological norms, it is still not clear *how* women navigate the use of multiple languages in interactions with their children, husbands, and others. What language do they use when and with whom? Do women indeed prefer to speak their patrilect even when interacting with someone speaking a different language? What language do they use in interactions with their children and with other children in the village?

Our corpus of spontaneous interactions shows that some women do speak their husbands’ languages, rather than their own, in family interactions. Extract 12 is a typical example. ET (Kubeo, sitting far left), her Kotiria husband CS¹⁶ (sitting, blue pants), and their children JS (standing right), AX, PL, and SS (all seated), are talking while extracting fibers from tucum palm stalks. Throughout the 20-min recording, ET speaks only Kotiria (her talk is *shaded*), not only to respond (e.g. the repetition in line 8), but to initiate conversational sequences, as in lines 1–2 and 12. This accommodation runs counter to the expectation of loyalty to her patrilect, Kubeo. Notably, her accommodating behavior *cannot* be attributed to communication difficulties, as both CS (see (5) in §4) and the children claim to understand and speak Kubeo (see Fig. 4).¹⁷



Fig. 4. ‘Bad tucum fibers’

¹⁵ At this stage of analysis of the corpus we are not yet able to quantify monolingual vs. receptive multilingual interactions and reserve comments regarding preferences and norms for future publications.

¹⁶ ET and CS exemplify the ‘marrying back’ pattern. ET’s Kotiria mother married a Kubeo man. As his child, ET is ethnically Kubeo, but marrying CS brought her back into a Kotiria-speaking village.

¹⁷ CS and the two older boys include Kubeo in their language portraits, but locate it distant from the head region, which for all was occupied solely by Kotiria.

Extract 12 [tcpk_094 00:25:38]

Unshaded	= Family
Shaded	= ET's speech
Under.2x	= Portuguese

- 1 ET: *di'i maniari hira,*
di'i mania-ri hi-ra
 meat/fiber not.exist-NMLZ COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 '(These stalks) have no fiber,'
 et: ((pointing))
- 2 ET: *naeraro kha'maka*
na-era-ro kha'ma-ka
 get-NEG-SG need/want-IRR
 '(you/we) don't want to get (them, next time)'
- 3 AX: *āha mama*
 'Here mom'
 ax: ((hands his mother another stalk))
- 4 (4.1)
- 5 JS: *chiu! Hoo*
 INTJ:Ah!
 js: ((slapping a biting bug))
- 6 CS: *a'riño ōse*
a'ri-ño ō-se'e
 DEM.PROX-CLF:palm DEIC.PROX-CONTR
 'This stalk here'
- 7 CS: *wuho maniakureri hiratha*
wuho mania-kure-ri hi-ra-tha
 fiber not.exist-almost.not-NMLZ COP-VIS.IPFV-ADD
 'doesn't have hardly any fiber either.'
- 8 ET: *maniakure[re*
mania-kure-re
 not.exist-almost.not-VIS.PFV.2/3
 'Almost nothing at all.'
- 9 SU: *[maniakure[re*
mania-kure-re
 not.exist-almost.not-VIS.PFV.2/3
 'Almost nothing at all.'
- 10 JS: *[yɸ'ure kũño*
yɸ'ɸ-re kũ-ño
 1SG-OBJ one-CLF:palm
 '(Give) me one (a stalk).'
- 11 CS: *[do'se yɸ-*
do'se yɸ'ɸ
 INT:how 1SG
 'How (do) I-'
- 12 ET: *[āyoyaita ñunoma CS, phota hireti (.) tire*
ā-yoa-i-ta ñu-ro-ba CS phota hi-re-ti ti-re
 so-do-LOC-EMPH look-SG-DEIC CS thorn COP-VIS.PFV.2/3-ANPH ANPH-OBJ
 'So, look here CS, these (stalks) have thorns.'

Women may also use their husband's language, rather than their own patrillect, outside family interactions. In Extract 13, DS (ethnic Desano, married to DD, one of the Wa'ikhana men in extract 11)¹⁸ is arriving with her baby in the Wa'ikhana village of Aracú, where she meets AP (Tariana, herself a visitor) on the porch of the school. AP does not speak Desano (see language portrait B in Fig. 1) and addresses DS in Tukano. DS also knows Tukano but opts to speak Wa'ikhana throughout the interaction. Had DS's choice been to use Tukano (her interlocutor's patrillect), it might be seen as accommodative in a way similar to ET's use of Kotiria in extract 12. We cannot know for sure what motivates DS's choice for Wa'ikhana, but note that it may represent both accommodation, being a language the two women share through marriage to Wa'ikhana men, as well as a kind of 'adapted' linguistic loyalty to this same language, dominant in her upbringing and current household,¹⁹ though still not

¹⁸ DS is another case of marrying back, as her mother was Wa'ikhana and she was raised in Teresita, a largely mixed Desano/Wa'ikhana village in which Wa'ikhana is actually the dominant language.

¹⁹ AP and MC's sociolinguistic interview indicates that contrary to expectations, Tukano, rather than Wa'ikhana, is the main language of their household. This contrasts with purported 'exclusive' use of Wa'ikhana by DD, DS and their children in their home.

officially her patrilect. In this extract, DS's Wa'ikhana speech is shaded, AP's Tukano speech is unshaded, **bolded** elements are the same in both languages, and Portuguese loans have double underlining (see Fig. 5).



Fig. 5. 'The baby came?'

Extract 13. [acpw_044 04:00-4:10]

- 1 DS: ā'Ā?
- 2 AP: Āa
- 3 DS: mū'u wi'isali naha
 mū'u wi'i-saa-ti naha
 2SG arrive.CNTRP-COMP-INT EMPH
 'You already arrived (here)?'
- 4 AP: Ā: 'ā
- 5 DS: [()]
- 6 AP: [ehtathoapũ(-). ne?
 eta-toha-**pu** **ne**
 arrive.CNTRP-return-LOC PT. INT
 'You've come back, eh?'
- 7 AP: a'tiati mū'na
 a'ti-a-ti **mū'u-**(kē')ra
 come-PST.REC-INT 2SG-ADD
 'You just got here too?'
- 8 DS: nene(to/gũ) burutali (ne)
 nene(to/-gũ) buruta-di **ne**
 baby-DIM MOV.down-VIS.PFV.2/3 PT. INT
 'Baby came down, ne?'
- 9 AP: nene naa (tũ) [sirutuburūt(i)]
 nene naa tũ sirutu-burū-ti
 baby 3PL ? follow-MOV.down-INT
 'Baby followed them (mom and dad) down?'
- 10 DS: [.hh hh] (laughs)

Unshaded = AP, speaking TUK
 Shaded = DS, speaking WAI
 Bold = WAI/TUK
 Under.2x = Portuguese

5.4. Code-switching

Prior ethnographic research in the Vaupés points to prevailing ideologies around linguistic loyalty as a deterrent to language alternation practices. Our corpus nevertheless contains numerous examples of ‘code-switching’ — employed here as a broad cover term for practices ranging from extended discourse accommodation to grammatical integration/subordination of Portuguese lexical borrowings. Some cases exemplify ‘licensed’ contexts for switching as previously identified: to facilitate communication between people with non-overlapping repertoires; out of politeness or sensitivity to an interlocutor’s social status; in quotations (see §5.4.2); for secrecy, or to signal ‘otherness’ (Gomez-Imbert, 1996; Aikhenvald, 2001, 2002; Epps, 2018).

Yet these motivations are insufficient to explain many switches, and, eschewing the notion of random or neutral ‘mixing’ (cf. Aikhenvald, 2002 p. 187), we follow Jackson’s view that ‘code-switching [of any type] in Vaupés speech is undoubtedly meaningful — the *switch itself* conveying meaning — just as initial selection of code’ (1974 p. 58–59, emphasis added). The analytical challenge involves revealing the significance and motivation underlying switches in the local interactional context and for the specific people involved, whether these switches reflect broader social distinctions (e.g. Portuguese/indigenous language diglossias or non-reciprocal bilingualism in forest/riverine relations, cf. §3), situational negotiation of ‘hybrid’ multilingual identities (Stenzel and Khoo, 2016), fine-grained, sequentially-constructed interactional needs (see Raymond, forthcoming), or contextually-defined combinations of these. The question moreover remains whether such switching practices constitute ‘exceptions’ to ideological rules, or if normative linguistic practice in the Vaupés has always been more tolerant of other-than-patrillect speech in everyday contexts than we formerly realized (cf. Silva, 2020).

5.4.1. Code-switching with Portuguese

Code-switches involving Portuguese are frequent in our corpus, most cases involving words or phrases for objects, activities, or concepts associated with non-indigenous society that are now also integrated into the daily lives of indigenous peoples. Extract 14 demonstrates this practice in a conversation in the teacher’s room at the Kotiria school in Carurú (see Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. ‘The opening ceremony’

Extract 14. [crck_086 1:07-1:43]

Bold+Under.2x = Portuguese

- 1 MD: SG sō'o hiro mahkano, [(.)
 SG sō'o hi-ro maka-ro
 SG DEIC.DIST COP-SG place-SG
 'SG, about what's happening later,
- 2 SG: [hũũ?
- 3 MD: do'se khūatinakari mari ba'rore? (.5) numerore
 do'se khūatira-kari mari ba'ro-re numero-re
 INT.how organize-INT.SPEC 1PL.INC later-OBJ **number**-OBJ
 'How are we going to organize that (musical)number later on?'
- 4 (1.5)
- 5 MD: acolida mahkare
acolida mahka-re
 greeting place-OBJ
 'the greeting (song)'
- 6 (1.7)
- 7 SG: sã (.5) mari dũhkachũ noaharika?
 sã mari dũhka-chũ noa-hari-ka
 1PL.EXC 1PL.INC begin-SWRF good-INT.IPFV-ASSERT.IPFV
 'wouldn't it be good if we, we (all) start (with that)?'
- 8 MD: mari dũhka ba'aro hi'na āta?
 mari dũhka ba'a-ro hi'na āta
 1PL.INC begin after-SG EMPH PT.INT
 'afterward we (teachers) start (introducing ourselves), right?'
- 9 SG: mari dũhka, ba'aro,
 mari dũhka ba'a-ro
 1PL.INC begin after-SG
 'we start, and afterward'
- 10 MD: tina
 ti-na
 ANPH-PL
 'they'
- 11 SG: tina ensino médio
 ti-na ensino.médio
 ANPH-PL **high.schoolers**
 'the high schoolers'
- 12 (1.2)
- 13 SG: e ba'ro
e ba'a-ro
and after-SG
 'and after that'
- 14 (0.9)

- 15 SG: abertura hi'na(.)
abertura hi'na
opening EMPH
 'the (real) opening,'
- 16 SG: aberturata wa'aa nire yo'o [wa'arose to
abertura-ta wa'a-a ni-re yo'o wa'a-ro-se-to
opening-EMPH go-3PL PROG-VIS.PFV.2/3 EPIS go-SG-CONTR-LOC/EVNT.NMLZ
 'but maybe doing (all) that is (already) the event opening'
- 17 MD: [tota, ẽ
 to-tha (hi-ra)
 DEF-EMPH COP-VIS.IPFV.2/3
 'right, ok'
- 18 SG: ɦɦ

MD (at the desk), and SG (opposite her, blue shirt) are planning the opening ceremony of a language workshop. Their otherwise monolingual Kotiria conversation is peppered with Portuguese terms (**bolded** and with double underlining) referring to parts of the 'opening' event (lines 15–16), e.g. the 'musical number' (line 3) they have rehearsed to 'greet' (line 5) the guest (Stenzel), and to relevant groups, e.g. the 'high schoolers' (line 11). Numbers above four, time references, months, and days of the week are typically borrowed from Portuguese, as are conjunctions *e* 'and' (line 13) and *ou* 'or', which Kotiria does not have (see Extract 17 and Stenzel and Khoo, 2016).

5.4.2. Code-switching of indigenous languages in quotations

One of the recognized licensed contexts for code-switching is in direct quotations. A particularly interesting example is shown in Extract 15, an instance of receptive bilingual conversation (Kotiria-Tukano) into which quotation of a previous conversation is embedded. As a group of people gather to watch a film, ES (Tariana, Tukano-speaker), her husband EG (Kotiria-speaker, on the left) and FB (Desano, residing in Caruru with his children and Kotiria wife) look across the village plaza as ES points to someone coming. The person, never specifically named, is the topic of the following short extract, in which Tukano is shaded, Kotiria is unshaded, and shared elements are in **bold** (see Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. 'My name is bastard'

Extract 15. [crck_084 00:04–00:22]

Unshaded	= Kotiria
Shaded	= Tukano
Bold	= KOT/TUK

- 1 ES: *a'titohamini, sōpə a'tigu wemi*
a'ti-toha-mi-ni sō'o-pə a'ti-gu wee-mi
 come-return-VIS.PRS.3SGM-? **DEIC.DIST-LOC** come-SGM do-VIS.PRS.3SGM
 'He's coming, coming from over there'
- 2 (0.8)
- 3 FB: *sōhiripha, sōhiripha,*
sō'o-hi-ri-pha sō'o-hi-ri-pha
DEIC.DIST-COP-NMLZ-CLF:time **DEIC.DIST-COP-NMLZ-CLF:time**
 'One time, one time,'
- 4 FB: 'yabariro wamatihari mū'u' nii yu'u tirore
yaba-ri-ro wama-ti-hari mū'u ni-i yu'u ti-ro-re
 INDF-NMLZ-SG name-VBLZ-INT.IPFV **2SG** **say-VIS.PFV.1** **1SG** ANPH-SG-OBJ
 'What's your name?' I asked him'
- 5 ES: Āa
- 6 FB: 'chi'nape kōakū ni'i' nire
chi'nape kōakū ni-i ni-re
 abandoned child COP-VIS.PRS.1/2 **say-VIS.PFV.2/3**
 'I'm called bastard (lit: abandoned child)' he said'
- 7 ES: *chi'nape kōakū*
chi'nape kōakū
 'Bastard!'
- 8 FB: āha,
- 9 ES: hā
- 10 FB: 'cho'na! khuabia wamatika mū'u'
cho'na khuabia wama-ti-ka mū'u
 INTJ:surprise strange name-VBLZ-ASSERT.IPFV **2SG**
 'Wow! What a strange (name) way to call you,''
- 11 FB: *nimai tirore=*
ni-ma-i ti-ro-re
 say-FRUS-VIS.PFV.1 ANPH-SG-OBJ
 'I said to him'
- 12 EG: =noa?
 noa
 INT:who
 'who?'
- 13 FB: *sirokā*
si-ro-kā
 DEM.DIS-SG-DIM
 'that one'
- 14 ES: *si'ne hēomi (.) ['ñamu wametiti'*
si-ne hēo-mi ñabu wame-ti-ti
 DEM.DIST-OBJ talk.about-VIS.PRS.3SGM INT call-VBLZ-INT
 '(FB's) talking about that one, 'What's your name?''
- 15 ES: *nimiapū, 'chi'nape kōakū ni'i' nikāpū*
ni-mi-a-pū chi'nape kōakū ni-i ni-kā-pū
say-FRUST-PST.REC-REP.3SGM abandoned child COP-VIS.PRS.1/2 **say-REP.3SGM**
 'he (FB) had asked. 'I'm bastard' (the other one) said'
- 16 FB: [*'chi'nape kōakū ni'i' nire*
chi'nape kōakū ni-i ni-re
 abandoned child COP-VIS.PRS.1/2 **say-VIS.PFV.2/3**
 'I'm bastard' (he) said']
- 17 EG: *chona hoo!*
 INTJ:surprise

FB's recounting of the receptive multilingual exchange with 'Bastard' is structured as direct quotation of each participant's original talk. Thus, FB quotes himself speaking in Kotiria (lines 4, 10–11) and Bastard responding in Tukano (line 6). Note that this quoted conversation is embedded into the current receptive bilingual conversation, in which FB and EG speak Kotiria and ES speaks Tukano. This embedding is clear in lines 6 and 16, where the quoted response in Tukano *chi'nape kōakū ni'i* is the complement of the Kotiria inflected speech verb *nire*, 'he said'. EG's request for clarification in line 12 sets off a round of overlapping repetition of the conversation by both ES and FB. However, while FB sticks to faithful reproduction of the original two languages, ES's version in lines 14 and 15 is entirely in Tukano.

This short excerpt shows that practices in multilingual contexts can overlap in complex ways and that in any given situation, speakers' language choices may reflect sensitivity to different normative rankings. ES's consistent use of Tukano may be interpretable as a display of strict loyalty to her patriline, even when quoting other people's speech in languages within her repertoire. FB, in contrast, displays highly accommodating behavior by speaking Kotiria (*not* his patriline) within the Kotiria village while simultaneously orienting to the common and licensed practice of code-switching within quoted speech.

5.4.3. Other types of code-switching

We additionally find instances of code-switching not easily explained or attributable to any of the acceptable contexts. Extract 16, for example, shows a Tukano man (TM, whose wife is Kotiria) greeting EG in EG's patriline, Kotiria, rather than using his own, Tukano (which would have resulted in the receptive pattern). In Extract 17, we see EG switching from his patriline Kotiria to Tukano while interacting with his Tukano-speaking wife, ES, while in Extract 18, both EG and ES switch from their respective patrilines into Portuguese. These extracts all come from a recording on the couple's front porch, where Stenzel was filming ES making a woven pencil box. We present each extract separately and examine the switches in more detail below.

In Extract 16, EG and ES have been sitting and being recorded for a while when TM arrives with his wife. TM's utterance in line 1 is the first bit of talk between the two couples and serves to initiate the conversation through a greeting in Kotiria, to which EG also responds in Kotiria. In line 3, TM produces another initiating action, asking a question in Kotiria that again receives a response in Kotiria from EG in line 5. This is in keeping with the pattern of accommodating talk discussed in §5.2. Interestingly, both men's initial choices to speak Kotiria are followed by contrasting choices to use Tukano just moments later (see Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. 'What's Auntie Kris doing?'

Unshaded	=	Kotiria
Shaded	=	Tukano
Bold	=	KOT/TUK

- [illegible]

EG's switch in line 12 occurs in overlap with ES's response (both boxed in the extract) to his question (line 6) regarding the planned height of the box she's making. Her response does not seem to provide a valid answer to his query, and is also quite delayed, coming after nearly 2 seconds of silence. Such delays often occur when the eventual response is not the interactionally 'preferred' one, which in this case would be ES's providing the requested information (Pomerantz, 1984; Schegloff, 2007). In fact, ES's eventual response, in lines 9 and 11, is what has been called a 'transformative answer' (Stivers and Hayashi, 2010), indicating her orientation to the initial question as somehow problematic. Following ES's initial delay in responding, EG begins talking in overlap (line 12), partially repeating ES's prior turn by building on the same verb root *wee-* 'make'. In this way, he works to co-construct a response to the question he posed just moments before. ES then produces a confirming response particle in line 15. In lines 17–18, EG continues in Tukano, apparently echoing ES's mention of 'lid' in line 13, and ES then reconfirms her assertion about making the lid later (line 19). Interestingly, in lines 21–22, EG repeats his wife's initial answer, slightly reformulated but also now in Kotiria! While we cannot say yet exactly what each of these switches accomplishes, we suggest that EG's first switch to Tukano is at least partially motivated by his wife's delayed, dispreferred response to his initial question. In this case, by using Tukano, rather than Kotiria in line 12, EG can increase the likelihood that his talk will be treated as co-constructing with ES (see Fig. 9).



Fig. 9. 'I'll measure it later'

Extract 17. [iauk_002 01:29-1:53]

Unshaded	= Kotiria
Shaded	= Tukano
Bold	= KOT/TUK
<u>Under.2x</u>	= Portuguese

- 1 EG: *no'pe centímetro () noahari vinte será?*
*no'ope centímetro **noa**-hari vinte será*
 INT:QUANT centimeters **good**-INT.IPFV twenty maybe
 'How many centimeters (long) will it be, maybe 20?'
 eg: ((turns toward ES before starting speaking, holds gaze on her until 'será', then looks down at his own hand, making a 'measuring' gesture))
- 2 (1.5)
- 3 ES: *ūbani be'ro keo dehkeoti=*
ūbani be'ro keo dehke-o-ti
 don't.know later measure initiate-FEM-INTENT
 'I don't know, I'll measure it later, I'm getting started'
- 4 EG: *=tothika khī'ono centímetro*
to-thi-ka khī'o-no centímetro
 DEF-true-ASSERT.IPFV correct-SG centimeters
 'that really is the right centimeter (length, the right size)'
 eg: ((looking at ES))
- 5 (1.0)
 eg: ((looks down at hand))
- 6 EG: *no'puru muano yoakoharita?*
no'puru muano yoakoharita
 how.much high-SG make-build-INT=EMPH
 'how high will you make it?'
 eg: ((looking at hand, gesturing how high the sides should be))
- 7 (1.1)
 es: ((sniffs))
- 8 (0.5)
 eg: ((adjusts measuring hand gesture))
- 9 ES: *a'tiro p-pa'takā doaro wekā['a::=*
*a'tiro pa'ta-akā **noa**-ro wee-kā-'a*
 like.this shape-DIM **good**-SG.INAN make-ASSERT-VIS.PRS.1/2
 'I'm making it (the base) just this size (wide).'
 eg: ((looks at ES))
- 10 EG: [mhm

- 11 ES: =be'ro:: we[muhaoti (.)]
 be'ro wee-muha-o-ti
 after make-MOV.up-FEM-INTENT
 'Then I will build up (the sides)'
 es: ((looks up and gestures 'building up the sides'))
- 12 EG: [wemahami kemoro-(kaña hã)]
 wee-maha-mi kemorokaña hã
 make-MOV.around-FRUS build.up-NEG.IMP PT.INT
 'then won't you go building up the sides, huh?'
- 13 ES: mo'ano
 mō'a-ro
 cover-SG.INAN
 '(and) lid'
- 14 (0.4)
 es/eg: ((looking directly at each other))
- 15 ES: āaa
- 16 (.)
- 17 EG: be'ropu weyata mo'anopere
 be'ro-**pu** wee-ya-ta mō'a-ro-pe'e-re
 after-LOC make-IMP-EMPH cover-SG.INAN-CONTR-OBJ
 'make the lid later'
- 18 EG: [to ti kharo] di'akhã=
 to ti-aka-ro di'akũhũ
 DEF ANPH-box-SG.INAN only
 'now only make the box'
- 19 ES: [be'ro wa'rosa]
 be'ro wa'a-ro-sa
 after go-SG.INAN-FUT
 '(the lid) will go (be made) later'
- 20 ES: mMm=
- 21 EG: =ōse pha'ta yoaka()::: thũamaharemuo::
 ō-se pha'ta yoa-ka thũa-mahare-mua-o
 DEIC.PROX-CONTR CLF:flat make-ASSERT.IPFV wrap-MOV.around-high-CAUS
 'make the base (and then) wrapping around and around building up
 the sides)'
- 22 EG: wa'a muawaga hã
 wa'a mua-wa'a-ga hã
 go high-go-IMP PT.INT
 '(and) keep increasing, right?'
- 23 ES: °mMm°

Finally, the very short exchange in Extract 18 comes some 10 min later. The couple's conversation has taken other directions but has eventually circled back to the topic of the pencil box. EG has just finished explaining each step in the process to Stenzel and the camera, in Portuguese, but now addresses his wife. Lines 1 and 2 again exemplify receptive bilingualism, with EG speaking Kotiria and ES speaking Tukano, before the short switch on both their parts to Portuguese in lines 3–4. Although they do not directly address the camera or Stenzel at this moment, this switch can possibly be seen as a case of accommodation to include Stenzel in the assessment of the basket that is, in fact, being made as a gift for her. On the other hand, *ta bom* is a highly frequent response in Portuguese, similar in function to a 'discourse particle', which may be more easily borrowed. We reserve analysis as to what the difference might be between the Portuguese and the approximately equivalent Kotiria or Tukano until a much larger amount of transcribed data is available.

Extract 18. [iauk_002 11:13–11:18]

- 1 EG: *ōpuru yoaro wa'ari hã?*
 ōpuru yoaro wa'ari hã
 this.size **long**-SG go-INT PT.INT
 'it's going to be this long, right?'
- 2 ES: *Mm tokano yoarota*
 mm *tokā-ro yoa-ro-ta*
 mm size-SG.INAN **long**-SG.INAN-EMPH
 'Mm, just this size/length'
- 3 EG: *ta bom.*
 'it's good'.
- 4 ES: *ta bom.*
 'it's good'.

6. Discussion/conclusions

This article has taken steps both toward examining details of multilingual practice in the Amazonian Vaupés and proposing a broadly applicable methodology for answering the questions of *whether* and *how* communicative practices may vary across various multilingual situations. We began by highlighting some of the ways in which the Vaupés intersects with and differs from other small-scale multilingual societies around the world, noting as a primary contrast the sheer size of this very *large* small-scale linguistic ecology, which encases complex dynamics and intertwined internal and external subsystems. Shared features of the more well-known 'egalitarian' subsystem — fueled by exogamic marriage norms, virilocality, and traditional lack of lingua francas, and involving groups of speakers of primarily Tukanoan languages — contrasts with a second, equally longstanding subsystem of non-egalitarian sociolinguistic relations between forest and riverine groups. Both subsystems are further embedded in a broader context of stratified relations involving external colonial, national, and now globalized influences. This account of the Vaupés system of multilingualism thus demonstrates that small-scale multilingualism is both not a single 'type', but is internally diverse, and is also not separate from modern postcolonial multilingualisms.

As in investigations of other small-scale systems, language ideology has been a major focus in the literature on the Vaupés, where it is viewed as key to maintenance of systemic multilingualism. In contrast to some other contexts, however, Vaupés ideology has been analyzed as reinforcing individualized stratification of repertoires, given its essentialist nature and prioritization of loyalty to one's patriline. Regional language ideology is argued to drive concrete practices that favor receptive over reciprocal multilingualism, repress code-switching, downplay linguistic competences, and curtail accommodative language behavior. In this article, we have revisited these claims in light of new data and new methodological perspectives.

We have argued that a practice-based, interactional approach can provide a much-needed empirical basis for expanding our understanding of multilingualism at both the more abstract ideological and concrete discourse levels. Applying this to the Vaupés, we presented data from sociolinguistic interviews and recordings of everyday informal interaction that reveal a dynamic picture, at times complementing and expanding on findings from previous studies, at times challenging some of their claims.

In speakers' descriptions of their own multilingual experiences we see clear evidence of explicit ideology at work in shaping individuals' perceptions of expected and proper behavior. Yet their words also indicate a system in flux, in which groups and individuals are caught in forceful currents of change undercutting social configurations and fueling processes of language shift, in which perceptions of what 'should be' are often plainly at odds with what 'is'. We also find that attitudes toward use of other-than-patriline languages are much more flexible than noted in previous studies, perhaps shedding light on implicit ideologies at work. Excerpts from everyday interaction indicate a like mixture of orientation to ideology tempered by tolerance for (seemingly untroubled) accommodation, depending on the needs of specific interactional contexts that arise in daily life. We submit that much more analysis, above all of practices of multilingual talk in actual face-to-face interaction, will substantially contribute to our understanding of multilingualism as it is lived. The question of what multilingual practices, including code-switching, *do* for participants in the specific sequential contexts in which they occur is relevant to characterization of multilingualism as it is experienced, regardless of 'scale', and we propose the need for such detailed sequential analysis of multilingual interaction across diverse 'small-scale' and other multilingual settings.

Several issues complicate the picture of multilingual interaction in the Vaupés and remain open for future studies. First, the century-long rise of Tukano as a lingua franca and its adoption as the 'borrowed' language of certain individuals and groups has had profound effects on language choices in everyday interaction. Tukano has become pervasive in interaction among many people, including ethnic Tukanos, those (like many Kotiria) who still use their

‘original’ ethnic languages but also use Tukano as a lingua franca, those (like most Wa’ikhana) who are undergoing the later stages of language shift to Tukano, and those (like the Tariana, Arapaso, and Mirititapuya) who have completed the shift and now speak Tukano as a ‘borrowed’ patrillect. This array of change processes, sometimes grouped together and labeled as ‘Tukanization’, complicate the picture of contemporary language use, as speakers themselves grapple with overlapping ideologies and preferences for how to use the multiple languages in their repertoires. As noted in §5, most of the *receptive* multilingual discourse we observe occurs in conversations involving Tukano. That is, speakers more often stick to their own patrillect when Tukano is in the mix. In contexts in which Tukano is *not* one of the languages being used, *accommodation* — in other words, using a language other than one’s patrillect — seems to be a more frequent practice. This distribution is likely not coincidental and begs the question of what kinds of domino effects may arise from shifts in status of one of the languages in an otherwise egalitarian multilingual system — both in terms of redefinition of ideological precepts and remodeling of concrete language practices.²¹

Another challenge to researching multilingualism in the Vaupés and similar small-scale societies has to do with how to identify ‘shifts’ when the languages involved have many lexical and grammatical morphemes in common, not to mention potentially shared discourse particles, such as the ubiquitous *mm* (Williams et al., 2020). In §5, we intentionally mark such morphemes to call attention to shared elements that lack any features distinguishing them as belonging to one language or another. Such observation circles back to §1 and discussions that challenge the presumption of languages as completely distinct codes, especially within tightly knit multilingual ecologies (e.g. Lüpke, 2015; Léglise, 2017; Di Carlo, 2016).

How is it then, that speakers (including members of our indigenous teams working on transcriptions and acting as consultants in analysis) attribute language labels to such elements in the data? Or do speakers even distinguish separate languages in multilingual interaction? We know that attribution is sometimes based on small morphological clues, e.g. line 4 of Extract 11 in §5.2, where only the final verbal suffix *-o* is distinctly Tukano. Other identifications may rely on minute indexical elements at the phonological level to which speakers attune, but which fall below the radar of non-fluent observers. The question of how differences between genetically-related languages in close contact are maintained and perceived has been addressed for other multilingual contexts (e.g. Watson, 2018 for the Casamance) as well as in the Vaupés literature, e.g. Gomez-Imbert’s (1999) study of tonal contrasts in Tatuyo and Barasana, Aikhenvald’s (2001, 2002) discussion of language awareness among the Tariana, and Chernela’s (2013) overview of the phonological ‘shibboleths’ that aid the construction of difference among speakers of Kotiria and other East Tukano languages. When asked, speakers do seem to be able to identify such minute differences. Still, *if* and *how* participants orient to the distinctness of different ‘languages’ in this multilingual setting and what role these differentiating features might play in actual interaction remain open questions. Perhaps it is also the case that internalized knowledge about speakers and their presumed/attributed language ‘identities’ to a certain extent colors perception, such that a common morpheme, e.g. the second-person pronoun *mʉʉ*, is ‘heard’ as Tukano when coming from the mouth of a Tukano speaker and as Kotiria when uttered by a Kotiria speaker. The interplay between perceptual clues and speaker expectations in multilingual discourse begs further investigation and comparison of data across multilingual settings.

Indeed, it remains to be seen how the practices our corpus has begun to document compare to those found in other multilingual settings, including ‘large’ scale and traditionally ‘polyglossic’ environments. Undoubtedly, ‘small-scale’ multilingual systems differ from better-studied multilingual systems in ways not limited to their historical development, but also involving explicit ideology and patterns of social relations. But do the ways people *talk* and make use of their expansive multilingual repertoires in these various contexts equally differ, or are they perhaps quite similar? Only more thorough analyses of actual practices in multilingual talk-in-interaction in a wide range of environments will allow us to adequately address this question. A better understanding of multilingual *talk* will contribute to our overall understanding of multilingualism(s) as experienced within diverse cultural and social settings.

Annotation conventions

Transcribed speech includes the following notational conventions: [] beginning/end points of overlapping talk; (0.0) lengths of silences, in seconds and tenths of seconds; underlining indicates accented syllables; : indicates lengthening; - indicates cutoff; = indicates utterances in rapid sequence; ? indicates rising final intonation; , indicates level (continuing) intonation; . indicates falling final intonation; ↑ ↓ show sharp intonational rise or fall; lowercase initials and (() identify nonverbal actions; ° ° enclose whispered speech; () empty parentheses indicate unintelligible stretches of talk.

²¹ We thank the reviewer who pointed out that there may be features at play here beyond the shift in status of Tukano. Indeed, the distribution we observe may also reflect other features of the speakers in the community settings where interactions are taking place, e.g. gender, in addition to the interactional contexts themselves. We will keep this in mind as analysis of the corpus continues.

Gloss abbreviations

ADD	additive
ALT	alternate/other
ANPH	anaphoric
ASSERT	assertion (evidential)
BEN	benefactive
CAUS	causative
CNTRP	centripetal
CLF	classifier
COM/INST	comitative/instrumental
COMP	comparative
CONTR	contrastive
COP	copula
DEF	definite
DEIC	deictic
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
EMPH	emphatic
EPIS	epistemic
EVNT	event
EXC	exclusive
EXRT	exhortative
F/FEM	feminine
FRUS	frustrative
HORT	hortative
IMP,IND	imperative, indirect
INAN	inanimate
INC	inclusive
INDF	indefinite
INT	interrogative
INTENT	intent
INTER	internalized
INTJ	interjection
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MOV	movement verb
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
OBJ	objective (case)
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximal
PST	past
PT	discourse particle
QUANT	quantifier
REC	recent
REP	reported
REP,QUOT	quotative (evidential)
REP,DIF	differential reported (evidential)
RSPC	respectful
SG	singular/singulative
SPEC	speculative
SWRF	switch reference (diff. subject)
VBLZ	verbalizer
VIS	visual (evidential)

Author agreement

Both authors (Kristine Stenzel, Nicholas Williams) have seen and approved the final version of the manuscript being submitted. We declare that the article is our own original work, hasn't received prior publication and isn't under consideration for publication elsewhere.

Declaration of competing interest

None.

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