

Discourse Forms and Social Categorization in Cha'palaa

by

SIMEON ISAAC FLOYD, B.A.; M.A.

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

The University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

MAY 2010

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 A conversation with Yambu.....	1
1.2 Social categories in oral history.....	9
1.3 Using racial language.....	14
1.4 Linguistic resources for racial discourse.....	20
Summary	26
1.5 Race and ethnicity in northwest Ecuador.....	28
1.6 Racial and ethnic language in academic accounts.....	33
1.7 Linguistic analogies and linguistic analysis	46
1.8 Points of articulation	51
Presentation	57
Chapter 2: Grammatical and social collectivity	61
2.1 Social relations into the afterlife.....	61
2.2 Collectivity and the animacy hierarchy	64
Summary	81
2.3 Collectivity in predicates.....	81
Summary	94
Chapter 3: Ethnonyms and group reference	95
3.1 Ethnonyms in history: Chachilla and uyala.....	95
3.2 The autonym and indigeneity	107
3.3 Ethnonyms, oral history and whiteness.....	114
3.4 Blackness and history encoded on ethnonyms	120
3.5 Other exonyms and inter-indigenous differentiation	134
Summary	149
Chapter 4: Collective Pronouns, social categories and discourse structure	151
4.1 Ethnonyms and pronouns in us/them alignment	151
4.2 Racial language and the interview context.....	163

4.3 From person to place.....	171
4.4 The Cha'palaa pronominal system	175
4.5 Social knowledge and participation structure	181
Summary	189
Chapter 5: Social categorization across modalities.....	191
5.1 Gestural resources for social categorization.....	191
5.2 Gesture and the historico-racial schema	195
5.3 Reflexive gestures and social categorizing discourse.....	203
Summary	219
Chapter 6: Dialogic dimensions of race relations	220
6.1 Cha'palaa and Spanish in multilingual social space	220
6.2 Economies of exchange	234
6.3 Interracial marriage and “collisions of blood”	246
6.4 Racializing the supernatural	282
Summary	294
Chapter 7: Race and racial conflict in interaction.....	296
7.1 Complications of demarcating boundaries.....	296
7.2 Racial formation in the interactional economy	310
7.3 Old categories and new collectivities	335
Summary	354
Chapter 8: Conclusion	356
8.1 On Milton's porch.....	356
8.2 Race and the depth of social imprint	358
Appendices.....	364
Appendix A: Key to abbreviations	364
Appendix B: Standard format for ethnographic interviews	366
Appendix C: Orthography and pronunciation guide	367
References.....	369
Vita	388

Chapter 5: Social categorization across modalities

5.1 Gestural resources for social categorization

The previous three chapters described in detail some of the most significant features of social categorizing and racializing discourse in spoken language, including ways of referring to social groups as collectivities and for locating speech participants and other social actors as members of those collectivities. Discourse and social interaction consists of more than spoken language, however. This chapter will add a multi-modal dimension to the discussion of social categorization by examining **co-speech gestures** that associate with the discourse forms described in the previous chapters. In addition, this chapter includes not only Chachi speakers but begins to bring Spanish language discourse of Blacks into dialogue with Cha'palaa discourse, a framework that will be sustained throughout the rest of this dissertation and that will be fore-grounded in Chapter 6. While the grammatical systems and discourse structures described previously are in some ways radically different from those of the coastal variety of Spanish spoken by Afro-Ecuadorian communities of Esmeraldas Province, there are also many similarities to be found in discourse and expression in both languages, in part because the borders between languages in contact are permeable, and so to some degree the two languages inhabit a single space of social circulation. Some of the Spanish gestures described below are comparable to some of the Cha'palaa gestures in their form, in how they combine with spoken language and ultimately in the kinds of meanings being circulated in and across discourses of these two social groups. The underlying question to this observation is to what extent do both groups participate in the same social constructions of meaning and reflect the same or similar kinds of articulations of the larger social processes of which they play a part?

Participants in both Cha'palaa and Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish discourse engage in many different forms of gesture as they speak, but here I will focus on just one type,

gestures that refer reflexively to the body, as gestures that have special relevance for how people think about the bodily dimensions of race. This excludes a number of other potentially interesting gesture forms for the purpose of keeping the argument concise. Gesture studies have approached gestural typology with a number of different criteria, one of which is the degree of **conventionalization** of a gesture, meaning whether it is similarly and consistently performed in a relatively stable form across speakers and instances, and whether or not it can be ill-formed; the most conventionalized gestures are known as **emblematic** gestures (Kendon 2004, McNeill 2000, 2005). The following Spanish example is a good illustration of an emblematic co-speech gesture used in racializing discourse. The speaker is Milton, my host while staying in the mixed Chachi and Black town of Zapallo Grande. When he describes the stereotype that Blacks are stronger or braver than Chachis, he clinches his fists and brings both of them up to mid-chest level where he makes a “strong” gesture, moving his hands slightly up and down. This excerpt is part of a longer stretch of discourse in which Milton references a widely-circulating theme in local discourse that the Chachis have adopted certain cultural practices from the Blacks that allow them to better navigate Spanish-speaking society.

(5.1) Entonces siempre los negros hemos sido más parados,
So we Blacks have always been more (strongly) standing,

hemos sido mas fuertes,
we have been stronger,

y por medio de nosotros, los chachis no fracasan.
and because of (what they learn from) us the Chachis do not fail.

Entonces esa es la parte que siempre se dice
So that is the part that they always say

que los negros somos mas fuertes
that we Blacks are stronger,

porque siempre nosotros somos mas parados
because we are always more (strongly) standing,



asi no nos importa morir, pero somos mas fuertes, mas valientes. [TWO FISTS]
so we don't care if we die, we are stronger and braver. [TWO FISTS]

This two-fisted “strong” gesture occurs elsewhere in Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish discourse in combination with the word *fuerte* (“strong”) or words with other similar meanings. It is one of many emblematic gestures that speakers can draw on as communicative resources, including for racializing discourse. Emblematic gestures can have some degree of **iconicity**, meaning that they bear some form of resemblance to their referent – in this case the posture of a strong, braced body to refer to strength. But the key ingredient to emblematic gestures is not iconicity but conventionality; the gestures to be considered in this chapter, by contrast, are relatively less conventional.

Another type of gesture sometimes used in social categorization consists of different **deictic** gestures. These gestures are not primarily iconic or conventionalized; their key feature is their **indexicality**, meaning that they share a relationship of contiguity to their referents. One of the most common kinds of deictic gestures is **pointing**, in which a finger or other body part is extended to show the direction of a referent’s location (Haviland 2000, Enfield 2007). Pointing is one of the ways that speakers organize space in discourse, a function that can in turn be related to social categorization through the

way it orients to the different spaces inhabited by social groups. For example, in one town on the Cayapas River below Zapallo Grande, Black and Chachi communities are entirely divided on an upriver-downriver axis, and speakers in discourse will sometimes gesture upriver when talking about Blacks and downriver when talking about Chachis. In a similar way, in the following example Milton's neighbor Susana mentions the Epera who live far downriver near a coastal estuary at the mouth of the Cayapas River and when I asked for clarification exactly where they live she simultaneously stated "They live downriver" and pointed west.

(5.2)

SU: Hay raza cholo, pero ellos se llaman Epera.

There is the Cholo race, but they are called Epera.

Ellos se dicen Epera. Los Epera tambien se casan con negros,

They call themselves Epera. The Epera also get married to Blacks.

ellos tambien se unen con negro.

they also form unions with Blacks.

SF: Pero ellos son de aquí? O . . .

But they are from here? Or . . .



SU: No, abajo. Ellos son de abajo. [POINT:WEST]

No, downriver. They are from downriver. [POINT:WEST]

Like deictic gestures, the type of gestures I will discuss in this chapter have indexical aspects, but instead of being directed outwards into the spatial frame around the speaker, the indexicality is directed back onto the body of the speaker herself. Even though emblematic and deictic gestures like those shown above are significant for social categorization in different ways, it is the orientation to the body that makes these **reflexive gestures** an especially rich topic for a discussion of racializing discourse. For that reason I have chosen them as illustrative of what a multi-modal perspective can add to the study of discourse in general and racializing discourse in particular, where the body is always at issue.

5.2 Gesture and the historico-racial schema

The perspective taken here considers instances of speech and their accompanying gestures together as part of the creation of meaning in a **composite utterance** (Enfield 2009). The contributions of speech and gesture to the composite utterance are not redundant, but instead reflect distinct aspects of the single, compound meaning, a relation of **co-expressivity** (McNeill 2005). Different kinds of gestures can contribute different kinds of meaning – in the examples above, the emblematic gesture of “strong” above enriched the semantics of the adjectival descriptive phrase it co-occurred with, while the deictic gesture of “west” added spatial information to the directional phrase it co-occurred with. During the course of my research with speakers of Cha’palaa and with speakers of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish, I began to notice that at moments in conversation when aspects of the body became salient topics speakers would gesture towards different parts of their own bodies while speaking. Such gestures were such frequent accompaniments to discourse about the body that I began to be able to predict their occurrence with some success during transcription. Whenever I came across such discourse in the written transcript or the audio recording I found that if I checked the video recording of the same instance often there would be a co-speech gesture with some

kind of bodily reflexive characteristics. As a type, these gestures show internal differentiation, ranging from the kinds of **meta-phenotypic** gestures shown in the context of Yambu's historical narrative in the introductory chapter to gestures about less immutable aspects of the body such as clothing styles. What they all have in common is that they show how at some level of awareness speakers are attending to the bodies they inhabit while participating in social action and using that awareness as an expressive resource, and one that is frequent in racializing discourse.

Let's consider an initial example. This recording from an interview with Seferino, a young Chachi man from a small community on the Upi river, shows how the Cha'palaa phrase translated as "we are cinnamon-colored" co-occurs with a sweeping movement of the speaker's left hand over the surface of his right arm, referring to his own skin color. As part of the interview I had asked him to compare Chachi people to the other social groups in the area, and Seferino brought up phenotype as one area of difference. What brought Seferino to make this movement as he described the physical appearance of Chachis in contrast to that of their Black neighbors? Put more generally, what kind of cognitive process brings speakers' reflexive knowledge of inhabiting a body in a social world populated by bodies to bear on their gestural practices during language production? And more broadly, what does the social circulation of these gestural practices imply not only about how they are produced but about interlocutors draw meaning from them to complement the meaning in the spoken language?

(5.3) Tsen naa kolornu pañubain peechullala kolor neegro,
So speaking of color, the Blacks are black color,



tsenmala lalaa matyu somos kanela no? [SWEEP HAND OVER SKIN]

and then we are cinnamon colored right? [SWEEP HAND OVER SKIN]

There is consensus among many gesture researchers that spoken language and gesture are part of the same processing mechanisms and designed as part of the same socially meaningful expressions (Kendon 2004, McNeill 2005, Enfield 2009). What would this imply for gestures like the one above in which the body of the speaker becomes a frame for illustrating more abstract social meanings? It is important to keep in mind that the speech that co-occurred with the gesture shown above has many of the features of discourse described in previous chapters, including an us/them pronominal alignment in which collective pronouns are co-referent with collective ethnonyms. In my description of these kinds of discourse forms I discussed how it is not any one system of language in itself that reflects and helps to constitute cultural knowledge, but rather how disparate linguistic systems operate together in a frame of consistency. From a multi-modal perspective, if gesture is produced by the same thought processes as spoken language, then gesture should also be considered part of this frame – this is revealed for the gestures in question by their high degree of predictability in the context of the appropriate linguistic frame.

A further problem remains, however, when this question is pushed into the realm of social meaning, because in the approach taken here the entire communicative complex of speech and gesture are part of the same moment of articulation in a broad sense of the word; articulation of grammatical patterns, of bodily practices and of social meaning all

in concert. While the body exists in the material world, the significance of different body parts and ways of regarding the body is determined in social interaction, and as such is situated in social history. When a speaker directs an addressee's attention to her or his own skin, eyes or hair, she or he draws on a history in which culture of the body has provided an ordering principle for structures of social inequality. With this connection, it is possible to see how broad patterns of social history can subtly shape even the slightest movements in interaction. From this perspective, I argue that it is possible to observe aspects of the racialized social order articulated at the level of micro-interaction. Here I will recall Hall's ideas about how people "read" race based on the socially and historically significant features of the body (1996) and Vargas' idea of "hyperconsciousness" of race (2004), referring to the idea that at some level of awareness people are always attending to physical appearance and using it to apply racial categories to others, whether or not they do so in the more overt ways I am presenting in this dissertation.²¹ Fanon's idea of the "historico-bodily schema" ([1952] 2008, 111) best explains how these systems of racial meaning observed in momentary interactions are based on the full social experience of colonialism and racial inequality, which is so pervasive that it mediates any and all human interactions to some degree. The examples of co-speech gesture in this chapter show how reference to shared social history in its localized manifestations becomes a communicative resource for explicit gestural and spoken references to the body, but the more general idea I am advancing is that this level of social meaning is always potentially present in interaction, even when it is not directly invoked.

²¹ Herzfeld (2009) adds a methodologically reflexive dimension to these questions by describing the interplay between the physical presence of the body in interaction, socio-historical ways for "reading" the body, and discursive references to the body for the case of a white (or otherwise incongruous) anthropologist in settings where this causes him or her to stand out: "The interplay of framing such as clothing, phenotype, and gesture is indeed of considerable importance, though not necessarily in ways that we anticipate . . . In this sense, the politics of phenotype limits an actor's capacity to manage the politics of specifically cultural aspects of appearance, gesture and language included. Partial success is nevertheless feasible – but of necessity it usually remains partial, because phenotype is always lurking in the background, ready to jump forward and disrupt the pleasant experience of acceptance. On the other hand, an anthropologist should arguably always be ready to embrace the sharing of cultural traits that such

One of the goals of this dissertation is to describe indigenous Chachi people participating in the same social processes as their Afro-Ecuadorian neighbors (and with other social groups at different levels of scale, up to the national level and beyond). The example below shows how a Black speaker employs a co-speech gesture with many points of similarity to Seferino's gesture shown above. When the speaker, a Black school teacher named Fausto, refers to "the complexion that we have" he brings his open right hand to his left forearm and brushes the skin. He was responding to a question about interracial marriage:

- (5.4) A veces lo que pretende es cambiar el apellido,
Sometimes what they want is to change the last name,

osea cambiar el- no seguir siendo siempre tradicionalista
I mean, change the- to not keep being always traditionalist



en- en- con la tez que tenemos [BRUSH SKIN]

in- in- with the complexion that we have [BRUSH SKIN]

siempre hay que ir cambiando un poco, para decir, bueno
we always have to go changing a little bit, so to say, well,

ya no queremos ser solamente negros
that we don't want to be just Blacks anymore

sino que ir cambiando un poco la raza.
but rather to go changing the race a little.²²

In the example above, Fausto mentions the two major historical dimensions of race: phenotype, through skin color, and descent, through “last names.” His use of the first person plural verb forms signal the speaker’s inclusion in a larger social category, and his meta-phenotypic gesture helps to make linkages between such broad social categories, the physical aspects of the body that are associated with them, and the actual body the speaker inhabits as he speaks. Participants in social interaction constantly make these kinds of linkages between meaning as it is locally negotiated in conversation and meaning at the more abstract level of socio-historical processes. The local experience with the body and localized understandings of genealogy and descent become the moments of articulation of these larger processes, which in turn constrain and shape those moments of interaction even as they are constituted by them.

While the racial organization of social life has a powerful historical force that resists transformation, like any social construction it is unstable and incomplete. As in the example above, the interviewee in the example below uses meta-phenotypic gestures to describe the results of racial mixture. I will address discourses about interracial marriage in detail in Chapter 6; now I am most concerned with the multimodal dimensions of such discourse. Here the speaker is talking about how men with different colors of black skin produce different phenotypic outcomes in unions with indigenous women, some pairings resulting in children who are more *quemaditos* or “burnt” than others, and at two moments in the discourse he brushes his left forearm with his right hand in order to make reference to skin color (the images are unclear due to backlight – the speaker is in the hammock on the left).

‘going native’ altogether.” (140)

(5.5) Nosotros nos encantaría cambiar la raza también;
We would love to change the race too;

salen cruzaditos pues.
they come out crossed.



Ellos salen cruzados, ellos ya no salen de mi color (?) [BRUSH SKIN]
They come out crossed, they don't come out with my color [BRUSH SKIN]

yo como yo soy un poquito mas clarito que mi compadre,
me since I am a little bit lighter than my compadre,

pongamos asi, si yo me entablo con una negra- con una chachi
let's put it this way, if I am with a Black- with a Chachi woman

los hijos salen salen ahi, (?), pelo enruchadito y no salen muy quemado;
the kids that come out there (?) curly hair and not very burnt;

pero si es asi como mi compa, mas moreno,
so that's how it is, like my compadre, darker,

²² This evocation of discourses of racial improvement through interracial relations echoes widely circulating discourses around Latin America; I will address this topic more directly in Chapter 6.



entonces ahi salen mas quemaditos los muchachos [TAP SKIN OF ARM]
so then they come out more burnt the kids [TAP SKIN OF ARM]

el pelo ahi si le sale bien enchuradito, mas virado el cabello
the hair comes out very curly, more twisty the hair.

It is interesting to compare the two instances of meta-phenotypic gesture in the example above in terms of the linkages between specific bodies and larger socio-historical processes that I am claiming they can help to establish. The first co-occurs with the phrase *mi color* (“my color”), using the physical aspects of his co-present body to achieve a more precise reference about the kinds of phenotypic variation he is discussing. The second co-occurs with the phrase *más quemaditos* (“more burnt-DIM”) in reference to the skin color of a general class of mixed-race children. This is a case of the kinds of scalar linkages that I am referring to, where socially-circulating categories are connected to participants in a speech event through discourse.

5.3 Reflexive gestures and social categorizing discourse

Gestures referencing skin color are just one kind of a large range of possible reflexive gestures that associate with social categorization in discourse. All of these gestures can be generally characterized in a similar way: they combine a **deictic** aspect, indexing a physical point on the body, with an **iconic** aspect, tracing the form of the referent. The self-directed deictic aspect is the basic part of what makes these gestures reflexive. The iconic aspect, in common with iconic gestures more generally, involves different kinds of modeling and tracing of the form or shape of the referent (Enfield 2009). The example below shows a gesture that is primarily indexical in which Patricia points to her own eyes while explaining how white foreigners have light colored eyes. This gesture has a limited iconic dimension, although it is worth noting that the pointing is done with two fingers mirroring the symmetry of the eyes:

- (5.6) Gringo le dicen fibaa rukula uyaa ruku,
They call gringos white men, *uya* man



eso, kapuka naraañu'mityaa uyaa ruku timi; [POINT EYES] ishdandaa palaa.
that, because of their pretty eyes they are called *uya* man; [POINT EYES]
'transparent' is the word.

In contrast, an example from later in the same interview shows how Patricia uses an iconic gesture that relates the twirling of her index finger to the form of the hair of the children of Blacks with Chachis. The gesture also includes an indexical aspect in that the hand approaches the speaker's own hair.

- (5.7) Tsa'mityaa cha' supulanu dekanmala
For that reason when (blacks) marry Chachi women



yaila' kailla faami achuwa naraa te'wallullu, [FINGER TWIST]
their children come out with hair in pretty curls, [FINGER TWIST]

baate'wallulluu faanu juua.
with long curls they come out.

I found that similar gestures were common when describing curly hair, both in Cha'palaa discourse and in Spanish in interviews with Blacks. In this example Marco makes an almost identical gesture to that of Patricia in the example above.

- (5.8) OM: El pelo ahi si le sale bien enchuradito.
The hair comes out really curly.



MA: Mas virado el cabello. [FINGER TWIST]
Curlier hair. [FINGER TWIST]

Gestures can also focus on other aspects of hair, such as the way that it hangs around the head. In this example the interviewee Ermita describes the kind of hair that children of mixed marriages between Blacks and Chachis can have:

(5.9)

E: Salen muy bonitos, mira por lo menos la casa de ahí de esa casa,
They come out really pretty, look, at least the house there, that house,



de ahí, hay una niñas que tu has visto bien churoncitas,

[TWO HANDS – “LONG HAIR”]

and then, there are some girls that you have seen very curly,

[TWO HANDS – “LONG HAIR”]

ellas son entre chachi y negro.

they are between a Chachi and a Black.

The manner form of these gestures are a resource for phenotypic distinction. The gesture above has some degree of volume around the head, in combination with the spoken description of some local mixed race girls as *churoncitas*²³ in reference to their full curls. In contrast, the gesture shown below from the same interview illustrates how

²³ Simply to highlight the complex sociolinguistic situation of Ecuador, it is interesting to know that the root word of this word, *churo*, is an Ecuadorian Spanish term for “curl” that is borrowed from the Quechua word *churu*, meaning “spiral” or “snail”.

the same speaker characterizes a different phenotype, the children of Chachis with Manabas;²⁴ here a rapid motion sweeps up and down to indicate straight hair:

(5.10)

E: A veces hay unos que han llegado y se han casado con chachis arriba,
Sometimes some (Manabas) have arrived and married with Chachis upriver,

tambien hay otros que se han casado con chachis aqui mismo
and there are also others that have married with Chachis right here.

SF: y los hijos?
and the children?



E: Ahi ya le sale como chachi el pelo. [ONE HAND – “LONG HAIR”]
There their hair comes out like a Chachi. [ONE HAND – “LONG HAIR”]

The next example is comparable to the ones above in many ways; Alfonso responded in this way to my question about the children of Blacks and Chachis. He used a number of terms to refer to mixed-raced children, including the term “*mestizo*” which here takes on a different meaning from many contexts where it means mixture of indigenous and European descent. When Alfonso mentions the different kinds of hair that *mestizos* can have, he brings his hand up over his head to the back of his neck:

²⁴ This is a reference to the Children of Patricia, the interviewee cited above; an example from Patricia in 206

(5.11)

SF: Los hijos de ellos son chachis o negros?
Their children are Chachis or Blacks?

AL: Ya salen mestizos, mestizos, mestizos
They are *mestizos*, *mestizos*, *mestizos*,

ya salen yaa como le digo mestizo, ya es chileno,
they come out already as I tell you *mestizo*, now they are *chileno*,

como decir un machorromo ya.
that is to say a *machorromo*²⁵ now.



Pero igual salen su pelo choro [HAND SWEEP - HEAD], pero cuando son muy
but they come out with curly hair [HAND SWEEP – HEAD] but when they

apretadas tambien sale chureado.
are very tight then they can come out curly.

In the example below Lucrecia discusses both the skin color and hair of mixed raced children, using a twisting index finger pointing at the head to show curls, as in several of the other examples above. In fact, in comparison to Patricia's similar gesture

Chapter 6 will give more details about her marriage to a Manaba man..

²⁵ I am unaware of the meaning of this word; it may be particular to coastal Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish.

above, Lucrecia's gesture co-occurred with the very same spoken lexical item *wallullu* or "curly":

(5.12) *Peechulla chachillaba kasaa i', kaya'chunbala kailla faatu,*

When Blacks marry with Chachis, and they live together and children come,

chachilla' kuluryaa faatyuwe,

they don't come out in the Chachi color.



Yumaa kulur kambia ideiñu, tsaa pababaa achuwa te'wallulluu, [FINGER TWIST]

Now they have changed their color, like black hair in curls. [FINGER TWIST]

juntsaayaa faamudeewe, tsaaren lala chachiitalaya lala' koloryaa naaju,

they come out that way, so, we, (marrying) among Chachis, how our color is,

laachi lala' kolor naaju kanela juuñaba lala' kailla juntsaten faamudeewe,

how ours, how our color is cinamon, our children come out like that.

Tsajturen peechullalabaya yumaa lala rasa kambia ideiwaashujuntsaya

So like that, how our race is now changing with the Blacks,

laachi yumaa kaillabain kambia ideiwe.

now our children are also changing.

In addition to the hereditary qualities of hair, speakers can use reflexive gestures to talk about distinctive hairstyles that can distinguish different social categories. Here Lucrecia talks about the Tsachila people who are known for using red achiote paint in their hair:

(5.13) Kulaadulaya mishpuka pinta judeewe ruku- -kula yala' mishpuka

The Colorados paint their heads, the men, their heads.

mishpukasha mu pintanke kemudeewe,
they paint with achiote on their heads,



leshkapanu aabebeke pinta kemudeewe kulaadulaya [HAND TO FOREHEAD]
they paint around their foreheads, the Colorados. [HAND TO FOREHEAD]



Manpirendetyuwe chaiba yala' kultura yala' traje utiliza kemudeju

[HANDS TO CHEST]

They haven't lost their culture yet, they use their traditional clothig,

[HANDS TO CHEST]

tsenmi yaibain yala' idioma utiliza kemu deju tsa'mitya.
and like that they also use their language, for that reason.

Moving from gestures about hair type to gestures about hair style begins to blur the line between the biological and the cultural. Reflexive gestures also commonly refer to cultural practices of clothing and adorning the body, which in turn form an array of cultural distinction. In the example above, Lucrecia gestured at her body in reference to the traditional clothing that the Tsachila wear. In the introductory chapter I described some ways in which ethnic and racial terminologies can blend together and stand in for one another. Reflexive gestures on the body can be about either about biological phenotype or about material cultural practices of the body, as two different interwoven dimensions of social categorization.

Clothing is often mentioned as a marker of social difference with respect to the highland Quechua-speaking indigenous people. In this example Patricia moves the side of her hand down her shirt to depict the warm ponchos and shawls that highlanders wear:



(5.14) Erukulaa yaila' jalinun aseeta iimu [HAND DOWN CHEST]

Highland men we recognize by their clothing, [HAND DOWN CHEST]

yaila' palaa, aseeta yaila' palaanun.

and their language, they understand their language.

Crucially, these gestures on the body are part of more general ways of characterizing social groups, so in the example above clothing style is combined with language as part of the complex of features that form the basis of social differentiation. They can also be a way of negotiating the status of social categories in periods of social change, as in the following example in which Fausto discusses how distinctive Chachi clothing styles have fallen into disuse in recent years. In the first gesture noted in the transcript below the gestural material helps to enrich the meaning of the spoken material by showing where the clothing is located on the body, information which is underspecified in the spoken part of the utterance. I want to highlight the way in which these complex structures of meaning available to speakers through multimodal communication become resources for social differentiation:

(5.15) Bueno porque en ellos ya fue, o sea, la educación ha hecho que
Well because for them it was, I mean, education has made it so

hayan ido perdiendo un poco su tradición porque,
they have gone losing their tradition little by little because,

porque vera, los chachis antes ,
because look, the Chachis before,

su vestimenta no era la que tienen ahora,
their clothing didn't used to be what they have now,



ellos vestían con un trozo de tela amarrado [ARMS AROUND WAIST]
they dressed with a strip of cloth tied [ARMS AROUND WAIST]

y se les decía que era un anaco
and it was said to be an “anaco” (skirt),



andaban sin cubrirse el pecho [HANDS SWEEP OVER CHEST]
they went around without covering their chest [HANDS SWEEP OVER CHEST]

y ahora ya no se ve eso, porque, porque la civilización ha avanzado no?
and now you don't see that because civilization has advanced, right?

Se han dejado la tradición un poco atrás y se han-
They have left their tradition behind a little and they have-

se han metido a la civilización.
they have entered into civilization.

Here Fausto participates in the discourses that cast Blacks as participants in “civilization” through their historical use of Western clothing and language and their participation in the education system, in contrast to the Chachis, who are just recently entering “civilization”. In the following example Susana makes similar comments about

the Chachis' "typical" clothing, and I think it is worth considering the semantics of the Spanish word *típico* because of how it evokes types and social typification:

(5.16) Antes, no, y también ahora las chachis mujeres
Before, no, and also now the women Chachis
ellas tienen vestimenta- se visten típico.
They have clothing- they dress typically.

pero ahorita ya poco se ve,
but now it is only seen a little bit,

y los hombres también se vestían típico,
and the men also dressed typically,

un- con un manto- no se como es que se llama,
a- with a cloth- I don't know how it is called,



eso es que se lleva hasta acá abajo [HANDS DOWN CHEST TO KNEES],
that is what goes down to here below [HANDS DOWN CHEST TO KNEES],

pero ellos ahorita, ya no- ya olvidaron esa costumbre.
but they now, not anymore- now they have forgotten that custom.

I have purposefully slipped from gestures about body types like those used in discourse about skin color and hair texture to those concerning clothing styles in order to blur the line between racial and ethnic forms of social categorization. However, as much as these two areas overlap and stand in for each other, I believe that on the part of both Chachis and Blacks the criteria for social differentiation between the different major racial groups of Blacks, Whites and indigenous people concentrate on racial difference while the criteria for differentiation between different indigenous groups internally to this macro-racial division focus on ethnic or cultural features such as clothing styles and language. This does not mean there are no discourses of physical differences among indigenous peoples or of cultural differences between Blacks and indigenous people, but simply that the three most historically relevant racial macro-categories in the Americas circulate locally and are articulated across different moments of social interaction, sometimes in tension with other bases for social categorization. The following example shows how Ermita uses the material culture of clothing styles to differentiate between the Chachis and other indigenous groups in ethnic terms:

(5.17)

E: Pero hay otros, otros, los colorados, asi, hay algunas etnias,
But there are others, others, the Colorados, like that, there are other ethnic groups,

SF: Y son parecidos a los chachis?
And are they similar to the Chachis?



E: Parecidos, pero en ese entonces usan un, un cintillo aquí
Similar, but in their case they use a, a little band here
[THUMB/INDEX > FOREHEAD]

y se ponen unas plumas aquí que los diferencia.
and they put some feathers here that differentiate them.

Gestures can be recruited for many different kinds of social differentiation, and meta-phenotypic gestures and depictions of clothing styles are just sub-sets of the full range of gestures that can become significant for social categorization in discourses where it is salient. Gestures can be used to evoke how people move and go about different tasks, which can also become ways for stereotyping cultural behavior. For instance, in the example below the speaker uses a co-speech gesture – linked directly to the semantics of the construction through the anaphoric properties of the semblative *así*, “like that” – to typify how highland indigenous people, known for their commerce, carry their bundles of goods.



(5.18) Y cuando lo- ellos lo andan a cargar lo cargan aqui encima asi.

And when- they carry (loads) they carry them above, like this.

[HANDS TO SHOULDERS]

esos son- o sea la piña.

they are- I mean pineapples and such.

In a similar example below, Susana discusses the highland indigenous people that sometimes come into the region to trade. She uses the term *longuitas* to describe highland indigenous people who are also *otavaleños* or *de Quito* (from Otavalo or Quito); this term has a long history in Ecuadorian Spanish. Through language contact the Quechua word *lunku* for “young man” has been adopted into Ecuadorian Spanish as a racialized and infantilizing term for indigenous men similar to some usages of “boy” in American English. As a Spanish word, *lunku* was adapted to Spanish phonology and gender marking and became *longo*, with an alternate feminine form *longa* by extension. Susana uses the feminine term with the addition of the diminutive suffix (*longuita*); it is unclear how to gauge negative valence here, but spoken to the face of a highland indigenous person the word would be highly offensive.

In this example Susana describes how she noticed, perhaps with her eye as a mother, that the highland women carry their children in a different way from what she is used to seeing; while speaking, she uses her right arm to model a cloth around her torso with a baby wrapped in tightly at her back:

(5.19) Saben venir los de Otavalo, los otavaleños.

The ones from Otavalo come, the otavalens.

Antes- ahorita es que ya no vienen, ellos sabian venir.

Before- it is now that the no longer come, they used to come.

También saben venir las longuitas,

The *longuitas* (women) also come,

hay unas longuitas que también saben venir.

there also some *longuitas* (women) that sometimes come.

SF: Que- de donde son las longuitas?

What- where are the *longuitas* from?

SU: Yo no se si serán de Quito

I don't know if they are from Quito

pero en Borbon saben- de la sierra son- en Borbon saben venir

but often in Borbón- they're from the highlands - they usually come to Borbón.



y andan con los niños acá atrás [RIGHT HAND TO BACK].

and they walk around with the babies here behind [RIGHT HAND TO BACK].

As with the grammatical and discourse structures of spoken language discussed in the previous three chapters, it is important to frame the gestural parts of social categorizing discourse as articulations of broader socio-historical processes. But what does it mean to cast semi-conscious movements of the body as part of the localized manifestation of larger racial formations? What cognitive processes compel the momentary combinations of verbal and corporeal expression that, in my argument, form the building blocks of the social order? What can be drawn out of these examples is that discourse forms are at once socially generative and socially constrained, and that the constraints take the form of social conditioning that imprints the deepest parts of each social being where they become semi-conscious reflexes. This is by no means true only of racializing discourse, but is a characteristic of cultural transmission much more broadly. I began by focusing on gestures that concern the classic phenotypical markers of race like skin color, but by pulling back the focus a little it became clear that these are just part of wider gestural systems and subsystems that are an integral part of language. I showed how in multimodal speech racial discourses and discourses about ethnicity and material culture overlap, and that these kinds of discourse are only a small part of what gesture can help to accomplish expressively. Gesture has many roles as part of the communicative process and is not dedicated to social categorization, but it is one of resources available for making social meaning with discourses of social difference, and combines with spoken language to enrich meaning in composite utterances. In this small but significant way the history of racial formation is expressed with the body. Perhaps even more than spoken language, these gestural forms show how for participants in interaction the momentary articulation of broader social processes extends to the most micro levels where they inhabit almost every move that we make.

Summary

This chapter considered the role of multi-modal speech in social categorizing discourse. While recognizing that a wide variety of gesture types are potentially relevant for social categorization such as emblematic and deictic gestures, I narrowed my topic to just one general gesture type: reflexive gestures. These gestures have the basic components of corporeal reflexivity, meaning they establish a deictic link that indexes a part of the body *with* the same body that the speaker is inhabiting at the moment, and iconicity, meaning they model the shape or form of their referent. Meta-phenotypic gestures, or gestures that refer to aspects of the physical body, are particularly relevant for the study of racial discourse, but reflexive gestures come in all forms, and gestures about clothing types or typical activities can be equally significant for social categorization, as the examples demonstrated. Racial forms of social categorization and ethnic or cultural forms can be observed together and in overlap in multi-modal speech, but the patterns across the data upheld the idea that despite local specificity, the three racial macro-categories of Black, White and indigenous are among the most significant forms of categorization in circulation, reflecting their importance in social history. In a sense, we can read social history on some of the slightest movements made in interaction. This finding correlates with my findings regarding spoken discourse in the previous three chapters and indeed, the spoken language accompanying the gesture described in this chapter showed many of the features of social categorizing discourse that I described for spoken language in Chapters 2, 3 and 4. Together with the multi-modal dimension added in Chapter 5, this completes my sketch of the properties of social categorizing discourse in Cha'palaa. Chapter 5 also establishes the framework for the final part of this dissertation, which introduces Spanish discourse by Blacks and puts it into dialogue with Chachi discourse. Now that the formal parts of my argument have been established, the following chapter will continue under this dialogic framework but will return to a discussion of spoken language, juxtaposing Chachis and Black discourses in order to flesh out the ethnographic dimensions of the social space where these discourse forms circulate.

Chapter 6: Dialogic dimensions of race relations

6.1 Cha'palaa and Spanish in multilingual social space

This chapter explores the relationship between Chachis and Black in the Cayapas River region of Esmeraldas by comparing and juxtaposing the discourses of both groups around similar topics in order to give a **dialogic** ethnographic account in which meaning is generated out of the tensions created by multiple voices and perspectives. The previous chapter included the discourse of Blacks alongside that of Chachis and this chapter continues the same framework and focuses more closely on Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish discourse about race relations with the Chachis. While the first part of this dissertation focused closely on Cha'palaa discourse, my intention is to show that discourse as part of a larger multilingual social space where the semantic meanings and linguistic forms of Spanish also circulate. From the perspective of descriptive linguistics, thinking of Cha'palaa as an independent and cohesive system is a helpful approach for better understanding the language. But from the perspective of social analysis, it is important to emphasize that in the Cayapas River region both Cha'palaa and Spanish discourse co-exist in daily language usage and interaction. Aside from the obvious linguistic split between Chachi communities that speak primarily Cha'palaa and Black communities that speak primarily Spanish, there are other sociolinguistic patterns to be found: Chachi men tend to travel more in Spanish-speaking society and use Spanish more than women and children; Chachis in more frequent contact with Blacks tend to use more Spanish, and a small percentage of Blacks pick up conversational Cha'palaa – usually from their Chachi schoolmates.²⁶ In addition, while Spanish is the national language of Ecuador and the fact

²⁶ Throughout my research I repeatedly attempted to schedule an interview with a Black man who was known for being a very good speaker of Cha'palaa. He was one of the public canoe drivers but whenever I rode with him he was too busy working to talk; several times we tried to plan for me to visit him where he lives upriver of Zapallo but we never managed to actually hold an interview. I believe this man is one of a small number of Blacks in the area that is considered to have a special affinal relationship by the Chachis,

that Blacks speak Spanish connects them to nationally-circulating discourses in ways that a monolingual Cha'palaa speaker might not experience, the variety of coastal Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish spoken by Blacks in Esmeraldas is different phonologically, lexically and in some cases grammatically from standard Ecuadorian Spanish. This dialectal difference significantly constrains how Blacks participate in national discourse and shapes how they are racialized through it.

As I discussed in Chapter 1, social categorization in Cha'palaa frequently uses the Spanish word *raza* in reference to Chachis and Blacks and rarely uses the term *etnia*. Both terms are from Spanish, but *raza* is used by older monolingual Chachis and is a much older borrowing than *etnia*, which is used mainly by young bilingual Chachis who are currently in contact with Spanish discourses of ethnicity and multiculturalism that are more recent developments. While Black interviewees usually used the word *raza* to talk about differences between Blacks and Chachis, many did so in combination with the word *etnia*. As Spanish speakers, Blacks are more exposed to internationally-circulating discourses of ethnicity they encounter through Spanish-speaking officials, NGO workers and other visitors. The adoption of ethnic terms is shallow, however, and examples in this chapter will show how it has been tacked on to racial discourses about descent and “blood”. Like in the academic discourse on Esmeraldas cited in Chapter 1, in Spanish discourse on the Cayapas River *raza* and *etnicidad* often become stand-ins for one another, as in this example which mixes the two terminologies:

(6.1)

SU: Bueno, sobre las dos **etnias**, **Chachis** y **negros**,

Well, about the two **ethnicities**, **Chachis** and **Blacks**,

growing up with them and still living close to a Chachi community. If I am able to finally interview him I believe his case will prove especially revealing about aspects of the relationship between Blacks and Chachis. Other Black Cha'palaa speakers I encountered were mostly school children at integrated schools who learned from their Chachi friends.

no se vive con problemas.

(they/we) don't live with problems.

Se vive bien, **los Chachis** no son de problema

(They) live well, **the Chachis** are not problematic.

Y con **la raza negra** también se vive bien, si.

And with **the Black race** also (they) live well

Si hay una buena amistad, no es que estamos con problemas, no.

There is a good friendship, it's not that we have problems, no.

Se llevan bien **las dos razas**.

The two races get along well.

Later in this chapter a section addressing both Black and Chachi perspectives towards race mixture and interracial marriage will show some of the depths of racial thinking articulated in the discourse of both groups and the superficial ways that more recent ethnic terms combine with it. By considering Black and Chachi discourses together it is possible to track discursive circulations across languages, speech communities and scalar levels of social organization. Including data from speakers of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish is also a way to include the voices of Black people in my discussion of the racializing discourses that Chachis use in reference to them. My concerns with describing Cha'palaa linguistic form meant that during my research I would spend much more time in Chachi communities in order to collect detailed information on the indigenous language; in Black communities, despite the notable differences between the local variety and my own Quito dialect,²⁷ approaching Spanish

²⁷ My adaptation to local ways of speaking became evident to me on several occasions when in Quito I used features of Esmeraldas Spanish and received surprised and amused reactions from Quiteños. One good example is the adverb *enantes* ("just before") which refers to the immediate past – highland Spanish would

discourse did not present the same kind of challenge. However taking the time to live and do research with Black people was an important complement to my research with the Chachis that helps to show both groups as part of broader social relationships rather than discrete isolated cultures.

About five months from the time of the interview with Yambu described in Chapter 1, when I had already collected a considerable amount of data from one small Chachi community and was beginning to feel my command of Cha'palaa improving more rapidly, I decided to begin spending some of my time living with Afro-Ecuadorians. My closest Afro-Ecuadorian friend at the time was a man named Milton who lived in Zapallo Grande, a medium-sized town that was a local hub, with small stores, a two-story cement high school, and a hospital staffed by doctors doing their year of obligatory rural medical service. Zapallo is unique in the region as an integrated Chachi/Black town. Most towns in the region are almost exclusively either Black or Chachi. Other places like Santa Maria, a town downriver where I have done some limited research and interviewing, have both Chachi and Black populations but they are completely segregated into separate towns upriver and downriver. Even in Zapallo people remember a time when there was talk of segregating the community and moving the Blacks to a new town across the river, but enough locals valued living in an integrated town to stop this effort. Because Zapallo was home to Chachis and Blacks living as neighbors it seemed to be a good place to research the relationship between the two groups.

I met Milton through my Chachi friends. The village where I had been doing my initial research is located three to five hours poling a canoe up the Upi River from Zapallo, where it empties into the more highly trafficked Rio Cayapas. To make the trip, coming and going, it was necessary to stop in Zapallo and change canoes and I often had to stay the night there while waiting for transportation. My Chachi friends faced the same problem on their way in and out of the community, and they used to always stay with

use a phrase like *hace un ratito* ("a little while ago"). These semi-conscious adaptations to local norms helped to make my interview methods in Spanish more meaningful.

Milton, where they invited me to accompany them. Milton, who was in his fifties, came to live in Zapallo when the Black owner of a large house there asked him to move in as a live-in caretaker. Later when the owner died and his family moved away they entrusted the house to Milton. About ten years before the period of my research, Milton had suffered from a serious spinal illness that had left him with limited use of his legs so that he walked slowly and with a limp. Since it was difficult for him to leave the house to work, Milton survived by keeping a small store and by hosting Chachi people in the spare rooms of the large house. He did not charge them anything to sleep there, but the Chachis made purchases in his store and when they cooked food they always shared with Milton, helping him to make ends meet.

I decided to begin extending my stopovers in Zapallo by several days on every field trip in order to do research in the area. I asked Milton if I could stay with him if I helped out with the household expenses and he agreed. Milton's porch with its view of the river, surrounded by shady trees with iguanas climbing in them, was an ideal place to observe interactions between Chachis and Blacks. Milton sat around for hours talking with Black friends while Chachi families came and went on different errands or hung around cooking food. Chachi and Black children ran in and out playing together. I met many of Milton's neighbors, both Chachi and Black, and I spent the mornings meeting with different community members for interviews and the afternoons holding English classes for a group of Chachi and Black students who had requested them. Milton's next door neighbor Susana was a Black woman married to a Chachi man, and getting to know their family was a window into attitudes about interracial marriage between Blacks and Chachis. During the first part of my research I recording interviews with members of a small remote Chachi community, while during this period I recorded interviews from a more diverse group of people. These included Blacks from Zapallo and from other towns on the Rio Cayapas and Chachis from the larger towns who knew more Spanish and were in closer contact with Blacks. This chapter includes excerpts from interviews with Blacks and Chachis of different ages and genders and from different villages and towns as a way

to ethnographically approach the broader multiracial and multilingual situation of the region.

Sometimes during the interviews I would ask interviewees to expand on their own personal histories when it was relevant for the question. Having observed Milton's relationship with Chachi people, in the part of the interview where I asked about Chachi/Black relations more generally I asked Milton to elaborate on his own experience making friends with Chachis:

(6.2)

SF: Noté que usted tiene muchos amigos Chachis

I've noticed that you have a lot of Chachi friends

y que siempre vienen por aquí buscando

and they always come around here looking (for you)

entonces si puede contar la historia de cómo empezaron

so if you could tell the story about how they began

a llegar aquí a esta casa y conocer con usted y así.

to arrive here at this house and get to know you, like that.

M: Bueno, al llegar a, pongamos- cuando yo ya me radiqué en esta casa

Well, to get to, let's say- when I moved to this house

fue por medio, bueno, de los dueños de aquí.

it was because, well, of the owners here.

Entonces yo como antes tenía muchos amigos Chachis,

So because I had a lot of Chachi friends,

entonces ellos siempre me buscaban entonces cuando ya venían,
so they always looked for me when they were coming,

a buscar los dormitorios aquí, a buscar aquí posada.
to look for rooms here, to look for shelter here.

Entonces como yo no era el dueño de la casa,
So because I was not the owner of the house,

yo principalmente hablaba con el dueño de la casa,
I first had to speak to the owner of the house,

entonces el me decía, no hay posada.
and he told me, there is no shelter (for them).

Entonces yo le decía vea, nosotros somos caminantes,
So I told him look, we are travelers,

nosotros donde vamos nos encargamos donde dormir.
and wherever we go we ask for a place to sleep.

Si nos toca dormir en una playa, tendemos alguna carpa, y ahí nos quedamos.
If we have to sleep on a beach, we put up a tent and there we stay.

Pero si viene la lluvia y no cargamos como taparnos arriba, nos mojamos.
But if the rain comes and we don't have a way to cover ourselves, we get wet,

y siempre ocupábamos la casa de los Chachis.
and we always use the houses of the Chachis.

Entonces bueno ahí me decía, él me decía, díles que entren para acá a dormir.
So well there he said, he said to me tell them to come in to sleep.

Entonces en esa forma así, yo ya fui teniendo amistad con ellos
So in that way, I went making friends with them

y como ellos veían que yo no era mala gente,
and as they could see that I was not a bad person,

que si yo topaba que comer, yo compartía con ellos,
that if I found something to eat, I would share with them,

entonces así ellos se fueron acostumbrando, hasta que ya nos hicimos amigos,
so they went getting used to it, until we made friends.

entonces por eso siempre cuando ellos vienen, que yo estoy solo aquí,
Because of that every time they come, since I am alone here,

ellos vienen buscándome aquí en esa forma así ellos llegaron a,
they come looking for me and in that way they come to,

o sea llegamos a hacer amigos con ellos.
I mean, we come to be friends with them.

Siempre yo voy a la casa de ellos, por igual también me atienden asimismo.
Always when I go to their house, they take care of me in the same way.

Entonces, por eso yo también los atiendo.
So for that I reason I also take care of them.

Si no tienen que comer y yo tengo, yo consigo,
If they don't have anything to eat and I have some, I find some,

tome, cocine para que comamos todos,
take it, cook it so we can all eat.

Hoy día, la mujer de Manuel es mi ahijada.
Today, the wife of Manuel is my goddaughter.

Entonces por ahí yo tenía un pescadito, le digo ahijada cocine para que comamos
So there I had a little fish, and I said "Goddaughter cook it so that we can eat,"

entonces ahí ella cocino, y ya comimos todos.
so then she cooked it and we all ate.

Milton often explained to me how his relationships with Chachi families had lasted generations, so that sometimes the children or relatives of old Chachi friends he had not seen in years would arrive and by tracing genealogies he would connect them to his older acquaintances and offer them lodging as well. Some of those relationships became formalized, such as the *compadrazgo* (godfather/godchild) relationship Milton mentioned at the end of the excerpt above – now that his goddaughter is married he receives her husband and children at his house and they all chip in for communal meals. In Chapter 1 of this dissertation I discussed how the social science literature on Latin America has in general had an unfortunate tendency to not consider blackness and indigeneity together as part of a broader history of racial formation with its origins in the colonial encounter – given the social ties among Blacks and Chachis like those I describe above, in this setting discussing just one or the other group alone seems virtually impossible, despite the fact that most ethnographies of the Chachis have addressed their relationship with the Blacks peripherally if at all.

My method for approaching Black/Chachi relations through discourse in this chapter is to present the juxtaposed comments of Blacks and Chachis on similar topics to show where they converge and where they diverge and create tension. The Bahktinian concepts of **dialogicity** and **heteroglossia** provide good ways for thinking about how multiple voices create social meaning; in these terms the co-presence of varied, sometimes contradictory voices is **heteroglossic** and the way these voices respond and relate to other voices is **dialogic** (Bahktin 1981, Tedlock and Manheim 1996). This perspective in many ways combines well with the discursive or interactional constructionist approach that I am taking in this dissertation, in which social formations are unstable and must continually be reproduced incrementally through specific social interactions, each moment adding more voices. It also combines well with the interactivist analysis I will present in Chapter 7, in which I argue that social meaning is not constructed through monologic discourse but is co-constructed socially by multiple participants through their dialogic interaction. The example below will help to illustrate this point, if we consider it while recalling examples from Chapter 3 in which Chachis discussed offensive racial epithets; here a Black man gives his own account of how racial epithets are used between Chachis and Blacks:

(6.3)

DS: Porque a veces se pegan entre todos,
Sometimes they fight amongst everyone,

los negros, los chachis también golpean
the Blacks, the Chachis also hit,

cayapa, o sea un vocabulario feo, come crudo,
“Cayapa”, an ugly word, “raw (food) eater”

así comienzan a insultarlos y ellos se molestan,
they start to insult them like that and it bothers them,

ya, y ellos comienzan a decir pechulla, y así comienzan y sigue, sigue
ok, and they start to say “*peechulla*”, and they start like that and keep going,

saben decir eh pechulla, pechulla, juyungo, osea negros hediondos
they say eh *peechulla*, *peechulla*, *juyungo*, like “stinky Blacks”

jaco, osea pechullia juyungo jaco, osea quiere decir salete negro de aqui, si.
“*jaco*,” like “*peechulla juyungo jaco*” that means “get out of here Black”, yes.

SF: ¿Que es juyungo?
What is *juyungo*?

DS: Eso quiere decir hediondo
That means “stinky”.

SF: Los jovenes ya no saben mucho de esa palabra.
The young people don’t know that word very much.

DS: Eeh en chapalachi dice, yo aprendí con mis compañeras, mis amigas,
Eeh, it is in Cha’palaa, I learned it with my comrades, my friends,

desde antes, pocas palabras solo que no les prestaba atención,
from before, a few words, just that I did not pay attention to them,

pero así saben decir
but that is what they used to say,

pechulla, juyungo, jaco o sea salte negro hediondo de aquí, jaco
“*peechulla, juyungo, jaco*,” I mean, “Get out of here stinky Black, *jaco*.”

SF: La palabra *peechulla*, negro
The word *peechulla*, “Black”,

pero un negro cuando oye eso ¿está bien o está mal o qué?
but a Black person when hearing that, is it good, or bad, or what?

DS: O sea, mira es que en el- a veces lo dicen,
So, look, when a- sometimes they say it,

si ya sabemos que nosotros somos negros, verdad?
and we already know we are Black, right?

Si, pero ellos lo dicen en una forma, cuando ya están tomados tu no los conoces,
Yes, but they say it in a way, when they’re drunk you don’t know them,

o sea dicen en una forma ofensiva,
so they say it in an offensive way,

o sea, y los negros se molestan, porque ellos ya saben que son negros
so, it bothers the Blacks, because they already know they are Black,

y se molestan de gana y comienzan los- los puñetes y las peleas.
and they are bothered uselessly and they start the- the punches and fights.

This excerpt provides a good illustration of how Black and Chachi discourses are articulations of the same broader social formation but at the same time retain aspects of their localized positionality, so that Blacks and Chachis are more-or-less aware of the

same insulting terms, but experience them differently. In this case, the speaker did not seem to be aware that *juyungo* refers to a kind of monkey, but instead took it to mean “stinky”, an interpretation of the word that I heard in multiple interviews with Blacks. Analyzing such epithets in actual usage would mean coming to terms with the way their semantics are differently understood by the speaker and the addressee. At the same time that these different understandings exist, however, the way in which the Black speakers cited precisely the same terms shows that both groups to some extent inhabit similar social terrain even if they are positioned differently on it.

Before jumping into an extended set of long examples to continue my dialogic account of Black and Chachi discourse, I need to make one observation about linguistic form. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 do not have morphemic glosses because they are in a more ethnographic register and do not address morphosyntax directly, but the purpose behind describing aspects of linguistic form and discourse structure in the first four chapters was to show how the same discourse alignments described in those chapters are pervasive throughout virtually all the examples in the dissertation, and the reader should be sufficiently familiar with the forms in question to be able to see where collective marking, ethnonyms and pronouns combine in discourse even without the help of glosses. Another issue, addressed peripherally in Chapter 5, is how to approach similar racializing discourses but ones that are expressed using the linguistic resources of Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish. Significant differences between Cha’palaa and Spanish do exist, the most relevant here being that unlike Cha’palaa Spanish has a true plural that is unconstrained by an animacy hierarchy and also has obligatory person marking on verbs where in Cha’palaa person marking is only through optional independent pronouns. Even with these differences, however, using its own particular resources Spanish can also achieve something similar to a racialized us/them alignment like in the Cha’palaa examples discussed in Chapter 4, with much of the work being done by person marking on verbs rather than independent pronouns. This short excerpt from my interview with Milton’s neighbor Susana illustrates this kind of alignment in a discussion of the differences between traditional Chachi and Black houses:

(6.4)

SU: Y las formas también en **los Chachis**, ahorita, algunos,
And the forms (of house) also of **the Chachis**, now, some,

algunos para arriba, a ellos no les gusta vivir con las casas cubiertas,
some from upriver, they do not like to live in covered houses,

le gusta nomas piso, techo y ahí nomas.
They just like a floor, a roof, and nothing else.

Dicen que cuando la casa es así cubierta le da mucho calor,
They say that when the house is covered like that it is really hot,

no pueden dormir bien. Y cuando no esta así, sin cubrir, ahí
they can't sleep well, and when it is not like that, without covering, then

dice que duerme muy rico, porque entra brisa.
they say they they sleep really well, because a breeze comes in.

En cambio **los negros no acostumbramos** así,
On the other hand **we Blacks are not accustomed** to that,

la casa tiene que estar cubierta, para uno poder vivir.
the house has to be covered for one to live there.

The initial reference to the Chachis above agrees with a number of third-person predicates like the one highlighted in **bold**, while in the penultimate line the reference to the Blacks, also basically a third person reference, instead agrees with a first-person predicate (“we Blacks are not accustomed”). Both the Cha’palaa and Spanish examples

below show repeated cases of such alignments, each using the resources available by the specific language being used. I will not point this out for every case, but it should be kept in mind that such discourse structures are a basic part of social categorization for speakers of both languages. Instead, my role as an analyst in this chapter is minimal, mostly consisting of how I mediate the dialogue by juxtaposing different examples.

6.2 Economies of exchange

Some important dimensions of the relationship between Blacks and Chachis in the Cayapas River region are economic in the narrow sense, concerning the circulation of material goods and products. My standard interview both with the Chachis and with the Blacks included a question asking what kinds of commerce existed between the two groups and whether the interviewee thought it was beneficial to one or both groups. Both Black and Chachi interviewees mentioned many of the same products, but there were some interesting asymmetries between their accounts. In this example Antonia, a Chachi woman from Zapallo, explains that from her point of view the Chachis sell more products than the Blacks.

(6.5) Lala lalabain ati'kamudeju comercio yaibain ai'mudeju,
We, we also buy (for) commerce and they also sell,

lala chachillaa aa ai'mudeju ma patinmalaya
we Chachis sell more, when (you) mention it,

chachilla vendemos, kule, yanpa, pute, pulla
we the Chachis sell, canoes, oars, baskets, wood,

tablones, ta'pa, pishkali, panda, chilla, coco kayu,
boards, planks, carrying baskets, food, pineapples, coconut and more,

pure' juu, panbalaa lala chachillaa, kayu aa ai'mudeju
there are a lot, when mentioning us Chachis, we sell more,

tсенmin, yalaa no se tu tajtutaa tsadeeñubain yalaya naa.
well, they, I don't know, maybe because they don't have land.

Lalanaa aa ai'tyudeju, yalaa afuera ma patinmalaya
They don't sell much to us, talking about those outside (the area),

kuwanga Borbun chullalaa pescado fresco ai'mudeju,
that live in Borbón sell fresh fish,

mas que todo lala junkaa junka panbalaya Borbunsha panbalaa,
more in our area, but talking about there in Borbón,

yailabain carne ai'mudeju pollo, pescado jaiwa, cangrejo,
they also sell meat, chicken, fish, jaiba, crab,

tsaaren junka Borbunsha paate.
like that there around Borbón.

Tsaaren entalaya, entalaya ai'jatyudeju, mantsa aabishu
But then around here, around they don't sell, some (sell) crawfish

ai'ja', mantsa pescado ati' lala' pescado maty enku,
coming to sell, some sell fish to us here,

juntsaa ne judeju.
that is how they are (around here).

Tsaaren yaibain mantsa pan ke' aimudeju yaibain mantsa,
So like that some of them sell bread, and also some of them,

ma shimbu aanu pan de coco kintsuñ
one woman around here makes coconut bread,

tsanke' yabain ai'mu laanu, laabain mantsa pan ke' ai'mu,
doing like that she also sells to us, and some of us also sell bread,

laabain chachillabain mantsa panda ai'mu yailabain, juntsaa ne juu.
and we also, some Chachis also sell plantain and they do also, that's how it is.

Tsaaren in panmalaya, chachillaa entsa kayu movimiento paate comercio paate
So then for me, the Chachis in terms of movement, in terms of commerce,

lalaa kayu aa atyamu, yalaya naa cocoba ma ai'tyudeju
we sell more, like they do not sell coconut

tsaaren lalaya naa cocoba ai'deju pandabain ai'mudeju.
so we sell coconut and plantain as well.

From Antonia's perspective Chachis have more products to sell than Blacks, perhaps because the Chachis have more land. Because Chachis inhabit the furthest upriver areas, it may be true that on the whole Chachis have better access to natural resources. The majority of Blacks on the other hand, live in the downriver areas and have easier access to products of outside markets; they often act as middlemen buying Chachi products for resale and bringing non-local products to sell to the Chachis. In this example Milton characterized the commerce between the two groups as *por igual* ("equal" or "the

same”), but points out differences in that Blacks might buy Chachi agricultural products like pineapple while selling non-local products like saltwater fish.

(6.6)

M: Entonces, y siempre, como vuelvo y repito, el negocio,
So, and always, as I return and repeat, business,

el comercio del Chachi con el negro, casi ha sido por igual
commerce of the Chachis with the Blacks, has been almost the same,

porque el chachi ha traído su producto, y los ha vendido
because the Chachi has brought his product, and has sold it,

porque los negros también hemos comprado,
because we Blacks have also bought,

si traen piña de adentro de Jeyambi ,
if they bring pineapple from inside (the remote area) from Jeyambi,

también compramos los negros si traen chontaduro, también compramos.
we Blacks also buy if they bring chonta palm, we also buy.

Y lo mismo ellos cuando nosotros también, nos vamos a la mar,
And the same thing when we also, when we go to the ocean,

traemos pescado, traemos piaquil, traemos concha,
we bring fish, we bring piaquil (type of fish), we bring conch shell,

todo eso ellos también compran, casi es por igual.
all that they also buy, it is almost the same (between the two groups).

Here in another conversation with Milton and some of his Black friends on the porch, they discussed how stores owned by Blacks depend on Chachi customers, and how both groups sell agricultural products to each other in complementary ways.

(6.7)

DS: Si un negro tiene una tienda,
If a Black person has a store

los chachis también nos compran a nosotros
the Chachis also buy from us,

entonces ahí es igual, si o Don Milton
so there it is the same, right Don Milton?

M: Claro. Lo mismo que por lo menos,
Right. The same because at least,

así como subió este chachi que llevaba unas piñas,
like how this Chachi came carrying some pineapples

el trae sus piñas, aquí los negros compramos,
he brings his pineapples, and here we Blacks buy them,

si nosotros llevamos algún racimo de verde
and if we are carrying a bunch of plantains

y los chachis no tienen verde también ellos nos compran
and the Chachis don't have plantain, they buy from us.

One of the primary products that Chachis sell to Blacks are woven baskets made with a river reed known as *rampira* in Spanish or *pichuwa* in Cha'palaa. The *pichuwa* is harvested, prepared and woven by Chachi women into baskets, mats, fans and other items, with beautiful designs of geometric patterns and animals that date back at least a century, as they appear in an early ethnography (Barrett 1925), but that have probably been around for much longer. Reed baskets are one of the few cash incomes for most Chachi women, but they sell them for a stunningly low price of 25 cents for a large basket that takes several hours to weave, not to mention the effort collecting the *pichuwa*. In numerous interviews both Chachis and Blacks said that the baskets were made only by Chachi women and that they are sold outside the area only by Blacks. Chachis are not familiar enough with markets outside the area to be able to sell their baskets themselves, people said, while Blacks had the capacity to commercialize but not the tradition of basket making. In this sense it is a complementary economic relationship.



Figure 3. Weaving *pichuwa* baskets.

As much as the activities of the basket-makers and the vendors complement each other, both Chachis and Blacks express the opinion that Black salesmen can buy baskets at an abusively low price and then sometimes sell for twenty times the price. Some people say it is understandable to raise the price somewhat to cover travel expenses, but others say that vendors can take advantage of this argument to raise the price higher than

necessary. Here a Black interviewee from the segregated Chachi/Black town of Santa María described the basket economy:

(6.8)

FA: Si por decir, ahora estamos tratando del dólar, no , dólar.

Well just to say, now we are talking about the dollar, right, dollar.

Si los cayapas le venden una canasta,

If the Cayapas sell a basket to them,

en una comparación, en un dólar,

for comparison, in one dollar,

ellos se van para afuera a venderlo,

and they go outside (the area) to sell it,

lo pueden vender en cinco dólares,

they can sell it in five dollars,

ya no es culpa de ellos, pues es su ganancia.

that is not their fault, that is just their profit.

¿Por qué? Porque de acá si no tienen una embarcación,

Why? Because here is they don't have a boat,

tienen que ir pagando pasaje hasta llegar a Borbón,

they have to go paying their fare to get to Borbón,

en Borbón tienen que embarcar en el carro,

and in Borbón they have to take it on the bus,

supóngase que en el carro no le cobren el pasaje
and will assume that in the bus they don't charge extra

por lo que llevan, pero, aunque por él tiene que pagar
for what they are carrying, although he has to pay his own ticket,

entonces todo eso se le va poniendo al negocio
so all this goes when they set up a business,

pero hay algunas personas que ponen demasiado el aumento,
but there are some people who raise the price too much,

que tengan que sacarle del producto que llevan para negocio
that they have to get out of the product that they buy for business,

porque a usted le pagan un dólar,
because to you they pay one dollar,

y ellos se van a ganar cinco, seis dólares,
and they are going to sell five or six dollars,

eso tampoco ya no es justo.
and that is not just either.

The economic activities of Chachis and Blacks on the Rio Cayapas are co-dependent and integrated in many ways, but economic agreements can turn out to be sources of conflict as much as they are complementary. For example, a few Black families live on the lower part of the Upi near Chachi territory and the upriver Chachis sometimes give members of those families permission to pan gold in the headwaters part

the Chachi villages, but when the Chachis are unsatisfied with the percentage of the earnings that Blacks pay for mining rights, the agreement can become contentious. Here Alfonso, a Black resident of the Upi River, reflects on problems surrounding mining rights:

(6.9)

AF: Ya, otra parte a mi me prohibían por buscar mi orito,

Ok, but another thing is that they prohibited me from looking for my gold,

que es lo que más molestan a la raza chachi,
which is what most bothers the Chachi race,

pero sin embargo yo no tengo Simón, una maquinaria,
but even so I do not have, Simón, machines,

yo lo hago con una batea redonda sin químicos,
I do it with a round pan without chemicals,

pero ya una maquina, ya lo hace sucio,
but now a machine, that makes it dirty,

que la gente no puede tomar ni el agua.
So the people can't even drink the water.

Another potentially contentious site of Chachi/Black economic relations concerns money lending and credit arrangements. In this example, some Blacks talk about problems with Chachis who do not pay back their debts:

(6.10)

MA: Si hay veces, hay veces si están los chachis contra los negros
Yes there are times, there are times when the Chachis are against the Blacks

ahí, lo que pasa una cosa es que hay veces
there, what happens is a thing that there are times

que los chachis nos quieren a nosotros los negros
that the Chachis want to, to us Blacks,

ya, y nosotros los negros, tampoco no nos dejamos pues (?)
ok, and we Blacks, we won't let them either,

le acuñamos a ellos.
we freeze (?) them.

O sea que ahí si los chachis quieren actuar con nosotros,
I mean that then if the Chachis want to act up with us,

nosotros los frenamos a ellos, las cosas son así pues.
we stop them, that's how things are.

DS: Lo que sucede también es otra cosa
What also happens is another thing

que ahorita algunos indígenas quieren ser mas sabidos
that right now some indigenous people want to be trickier

que los mismos negros.
than the Blacks themselves.

Los indígenas, algunos quieren como abusar de los negros
The indigenous people, some of them want to abuse the Blacks

ellos van y le piden hay veces a usted algo
and they go and they ask you for something sometimes

y le dicen mañana le entrego y se perdió.
and they say I'll give it to you tomorrow and it's lost.

Aquí tengo Milton el problema con, con este,
There I have, Milton, the problem with, with this,

con el hermano de Chanchiche,
with the brother of Chanchiche,

yo le estoy dando, le doy 130 dólar,
I am giving him, I give him 130 dollars,

me trae los 100 y los 30 dólares, que ahí se iba,
he brought me 100 and the 30 dollars, that he was going

aquí a Borbón por tres semanas, ya hace dos meses,
to Borbón for three weeks, now (that was) two months ago,

el que trabaja con Don Mariano, al que le gusta (?)
since he worked with Don Mariano, who likes(?)

dicen que se ha ido a Santo Domingo para siempre ya,
they say he has gone to Santo Domingo for good now,

dejó partiéndome pero los 30 dolar
he left owing the the 30 dollars though,

y la madera ya le ha vendido a Rafael ahi
and the wood that he has sold to Rafael there,

y bueno, el día que vino a cajarle a este aquel
and well, the day they he came to sell (?) it, this one

vendiendo la madera ahí siquiera digo bueno aqui vea aqui
at least selling the wood, but not even, well, here, look here,

la madera me voy a vender, yo vine por tantos meses
I am going to sell the wood, I came for so many months,

y no le ha de alcanzar para su madera
he must not have enough for his wood,

tome la plata o tome la madera, busca donde dejarla
take the money or take the wood, look for where to leave it (he could have said)

no lo dijo, hasta se fue, asi son.
but he did not, he just left, that's how they are.

Entonces hay veces dicen que los negros abusamos con los chachis, no
So there are times when they say that we Blacks abuse the Chachis, no

los chachis quieren abusar con los negros,
the Chachis want to abuse the Blacks,

quieren como cobrar lo que han hecho los antepasados
they want to charge (us) for what the ancestors have done,

pero nosotros, lo que hicieron los antepasados nosotros
but we, what the ancestors did we,

lo lo lo ahorita no tenemos porque pagar.
it, it it, now we don't have a reason to pay for it.

The last part of the excerpt seems to refer to the historical relationship that Blacks have had with Chachis as intermediaries who were often in a position to take advantage of Chachis with less experience dealing with money and commerce.²⁸ Economic relations between Blacks and Chachis go back at least two or three centuries, and that history has accrued mutual dependencies, friendly complementary relationships, and conflicts leading to animosity. As seen in the example about the baskets, in which the product is made by only Chachi women and sold by only Blacks, both racial and gender categories have become ordering principles for how these economic relationships work, placing social categorization at the center of how goods and resources are managed and circulated.

6.3 Interracial marriage and “collisions of blood”

One of the most significant aspects of social categorization for Chachis and Blacks concerns how racial categories give the basic ordering principles for relationships of marriage and ancestry. The ways that Blacks and Chachis have approached interracial

²⁸ In a strange way this example resembles White American discourses that argue that modern-day Whites should not be bothered with the consequences of their slaveholding ancestors and forbearers if they personally had nothing to do with it. While such discourses in American society usually function to obscure White privilege, in this context neither Blacks nor Chachis have any clear privileges over the other group.

marriage historically have been very different, and an ethnographic account of interracial marriage between the two groups must take both of their distinct positionalities into consideration. In this section I continue with a dialogic approach to Chachi/Black relations by juxtaposing different Black and Chachi discourses of interracial marriage in order to better understand the social tensions surrounding this issue. The fact that after centuries of contact Blacks and Chachis in the Cayapas river region have remained distinct social groups is partly due to the Chachi's cultural tradition of severe restrictions on marriage with non-Chachis; in other areas of Esmeraldas indigenous populations mentioned in the historical record are no longer distinct groups today (DeBoer 1995), probably having come together with Afro-descendant population in processes of *zambaje* or racial mixture between indigenous people and Afro-descendants. One aspect of Chachi society that has been noted in the ethnographic literature is the fact that while it is only recently that the Chachi have come to live in unified organized villages rather than isolated households, they share a long tradition of a strong indigenous legal system in which a hereditarily-assigned "governor" (*uñi*) has the authority to evaluate behavior in terms of traditional laws along with a group of officials know as *chaita rukula* who are in charge of doling out punishments like whippings (Altschuler 1967). Under those traditional laws marriage with non-Chachis was strictly prohibited, and this prohibition has provided a basis not only for cultural transmission from generation to generation but for genetic transmission as well, maintaining the Chachi phenotype and its significance for how the body is read according to the local articulation of the historico-racial schema. The Blacks, on the other hand, did not have any explicit marriage prohibitions that anyone recalls and instead, as part of larger discourses and attitudes about "bettering the race" (usually framed as "changing the race" or "lightening skin color") through interracial procreation, sometimes see marriages with non-Blacks as desirable. In the Cayapas river region these two distinct approaches to marriage and procreation are both relevant in the same overlapping social spaces, and over time their interaction has led to new conditions in which interracial families are more and more common. By juxtaposing Chachi and Black discourses about interracial marriage in this section I will illustrate

some of the ways in which different racialized positions and perspectives combine to form interracial social realities.

The first example is from Susana, Milton's next door neighbor, talking about how she came to marry a Chachi man and how initially her husband's family did not accept her because she is Black.

(6.11)

SU: Bueno, la costumbre de los Chachis dice
Well, the custom of the Chachis says

que ellos tienen que casarse entre Chachis.
that they have to marry between Chachis.

La ley no permite casar con una negra,
The law does not permit them to marry a Black woman,

pero la costumbre de nosotros, eso no impide entre nosotros.
but our custom, that does not impede us.

Entonces ellos dicen que siempre tienen que casar entre Chachi,
So they say that they always have to marry between Chachis,

si casa con una negra, lo botan del Centro.
if they marry a Black woman, they kick them out of the Center.

Porque ellos tienen una organización que se llama el Centro de los Chachi,
Because they have an organization that is called "Center of the Chachi",

entonces de ahí los botan de esa organización,
so they they kick them out of that organization,

pero mi esposo, el era de Piedra Grande.
but my husband, he is from Piedra Grande.

A él le botaron de allá pero él ha entrado a ser socio
They kicked him out of there but he has become a member

de aquí de la comunidad de Zapallo.
here in the community of Zapallo.

Pero en el tiempo de antes no permitían que casara con una negra.
But in earlier times they did not permit them to get married to a Black woman.

Pero ahorita ya algunos de (ahí) han ajuntado con negras.
But now some of them (there) have gotten together with Black women.

SF: Pero ahora ya no es tanto problema, y antes sí,
But now it is not such a problem, and before it was,

y es lo mismo- o sea, lo mismo pasaba cuando una mujer Chachi
and is it the same- I mean, did the same happen when a Chachi woman

quería casarse con un hombre negro?
wanted to marry a Black man?

SU: Sí, la misma cosa le daban látigo, le metían al cepo.
Yes, the same thing, they whipped her, they put her in stocks.

A veces las familias se enojaban, uu.
Sometimes the families got mad, ooh.

SF: ¿Entonces, para los negros que dirían?
So, for the Blacks what would they say?

¿Qué dirían si un hijo de alguien quiere casarse con un Chachi?
What would they say if someone's child wants to marry a Chachi?

SU: No hay problema, para negro no hay ningún problema.
There is no problem, for a Black there is no problem.

SF: No hay ningún problema.
There is no problem.

¿Y puede contar su propia historia de cómo fue?
And can you tell your own story, how it was?

SU: ¿Como yo me junté con un chachi?
How I got together with a Chachi?

Yo no soy de esta comunidad.
I am not from this community.

Yo soy de una comunidad que se llama San Jose de los Cayapas, abajo.
I am from a community that is called San José de los Cayapas, downriver.

Entonces yo me crié ahí.
So I was raised there.

Mi padre murió cuando yo tenía nueve años,
My father died when I was nine years old,

y ahí yo me crié con mi mama, mis hermanos,
and I grew up with my mother, my brothers,

y ahí me conocí con mi esposo.
and there I met my husband.

El vivía un poco más abajo de donde yo vivo,
He lived a little below where I live,

y el trabajaba con la misión y nos daba catecismo,
and he worked for the mission and gave us catechism,

y entonces ahí yo me conocí con él.
and so then I met him,

Y ahí estuvimos- fuimos enamorados, y de ahí yo me fui a Esmeraldas,
and there we were- we were a couple, and then I went to Esmeraldas,

de ahí él estuvo conversando con mi mama, que quería juntar conmigo,
and then he was talking with my mother, that he wanted to get together with me,

de ahí cuando yo llegue, mi mama me converso,
and then when I arrived, my mother told me about it,

y ahí yo me comprometí con él
and then I got engaged to him,

pero cuando yo comprometí con él, la mamá no quería.
but when I got engaged to him, the mother did not want (it).

SF: ¿La mamá de él?
His mother?

SU: No, ni el papa. Le criaron-
No, or his father either. They raised him-

estaban bien bravos, el papa, la mama, la familia.
they were very angry, the father, the mother, the family.

Entonces como ellos ni me querían a mí,
So since they did not like me,

yo no iba a la casa de ellos. Yo vivía con mi mama.
I did not go to their house. I lived with my mother.

Y ahí cuando ya tuve mi hija mayor,
And then when I had my oldest daughter.

ahí les enseñamos y ahí fue que ella-
then we got used to it and it was then that she-

cuando ya comenzaron a querer,
when they began to like (me),

pero al principio ellos no querían que yo tuviera un hijo.
but at the beginning they did not want me to have a child.

Esa fue mi historia mia.

That was my story.

SF: ¿Pero ahora? ¿Se llevan bien ahora?

But now? Do you get along now?

SU: Si, ahorita si. Ya no tenemos más problemas.

Yes, now yes. We don't have any more problems.

Even Blacks that have not personally been affected by Chachi prohibitions on interracial marriage are aware of the Chachi tradition, and the consequences for breaking with tradition. In this example a Black man describes how historically Chachis were severely punished for wanting to marry outside the group. Since similar punishments applied to infidelity more generally, this speaker (using the terms of ethnicity) interestingly frames interracial marriage as “infidelity in ethnicity”.

(6.12) O un negro con una chachi y así viceversa,

Or a Black with a Chachi or like that vice versa,

eeh esta persona chachi era castigada y al mismo tiempo
eeh, that Chachi person was punished and at the same time

se la consideraba como un traidor a la- a la etnia, si,
they were considered a traitor to the- to the ethnicity, yes,

porque, porque estaba violando los derechos de esa de esa organización.
because, because they were violating the rights of that organization.

Entonces se le castigaba, se le metía aa un palo que se le decía el cepo
So they punished them, they put them in a board that they called *cepo* (“stocks”),

y ahí se le daba los latigazos porque, porque estaba siendo ,
and there they gave them a whipping because, because they were being,

estaba prácticamente, eh, practicando la infidelidad en la- en la etnia
they were being practically, eh, practicing infidelity in the- in the ethnicity

y lo mismo sucedía cuando ésta le ponía,
and the same happened when they put,

era infiel a su marido con otro marido
when a spouse was unfaithful with another spouse,

también se les castigaba fuertemente,
they also punished them strongly,

a tal punto que han habido, hubieron ocasiones que se las expulsaba,
to the point that there were, there were occasions that they expelled them,

se les negaba que tenían el derecho de ser indígenas.
they denied them the right to be indigenous.

Lo que hoy en día ya no sucede, hoy en día ya hay la
These days that does not happen, these days there is the

posibilidad en que el negro se casa con el chachi
possibility that a Black can marry a Chachi

y la chachi se casa con el negro y todo va en paz,
and a Chachi can marry a Black and everything in peace,

no pasa nada, o sea prácticamente esta tradición ya se va
nothing happens, I mean practically that tradition is disappearing,

terminando un poco en los chachis.
it is stopping a little bit for the Chachis.

Like many of my interviewees from both groups, the Black speaker in the example above observed that the Chachi interracial marriage prohibitions are weaker now than in the past. Chachis are also aware of these changing social norms, as illustrated in the next example in which a Chachi woman makes a very similar observation to that shown in the example above.

(6.13) Challa majuu ne chudena lala, kaspeleya tsajutyu.

Now they live however they want, we, before it wasn't like that.

Ñu weerasanu kashujuntsaya kayanmala

If you married someone from another race

manka' weelanu manguwaju lala chachiitala

they would take you and give you to someone else among us Chachis,

Tsaaren pannaaba tsaimala

When they did that to a young woman

kayu mas rukuu chumulanaa mankumudeju,

they would give her to a man who was older than her,

castigo in apa tsankemu.

my father used to use that punishment.

Naa ñu tyushandyai'ñubain manen maambala
Although you did not want to go, when (you were) brought back,

manen mantaji' aste pureke' mandaji' hasta que
they would take you to whip until

ya, nubi ya' rukuba ura' ura'tishujuntsaya,
the groom- until you come to terms with the husband,

tyushambera astekikin chunamu ne judeju.
they punished you until you live together.

Tse'mityaa kaspeleya jeemulaaka
For that reason they used to be afraid,

juuntsaañu kayu kastigo fuerte
that was a strong punishment,

challaya nebaade munuba meedityu deju,
but nowadays they don't listen to anyone.

Similarly to the Cha'palaa speaker in the example above, in the next example Milton discusses in Spanish the same practices of forcing Chachi women to marry older men as punishment for attempting to marry non-Chachis. He uses the terms of ethnicity and not race, but the racial nature of Chachi marriage prohibition becomes clearer through the discussion of the children of interracial unions later in this section. Milton describes how in the old days a Black man would have to “stand strong” to prevent his Chachi wife from being taken from him and obligated to marry an older Chachi man.

(6.14)

MI: Este hay una diferencia de etnia
So there is a difference of ethnicity,

o sea muchos no los aceptan,
and so many do not accept them,

aquí tiene que por lo menos decir,
here they have to at least say,

pararse el que, por lo menos si el chachi es hombre,
stand (strong) the one who, at least if the Chachi is a man,

tiene que pararse el chachi porque sino los separan
he has to stand (strong), the Chachi, because if not they will separate them,

pero si los, si es una chica débil entonces la separan,
but if they, if it is a weak girl then they separate them,

y le dan un esposo mas mayor todavía
and they give her an even older husband,

porque todavía existe eso, pero ahora muy poco si,
because that (practice) still exists, but now very little,

eso si muy poco entre los chachis si.
that's right, very little among the Chachis.

SF: Si la hija quiere casarse con un negro ellos intentan-
If the daughter wants to marry a Black they try to-

MI: La quitan, muchos la quitan,
They take her away, many take her away,

tiene que ser un hombre, o sea como le, bien fuerte bravo,
he has to be a man, I mean, like, really strong and fierce,

para no dejar porque sino ellos se llevan
to not let the, if not they take her

y la casan con otro chachi viejo veterano bien mayor.
and they marry her to another Chachi, an old timer, much older.

I was curious about whether Blacks had any similar traditions governing marriage practices, and so I asked Milton about it. He responded that Blacks got marriage simply *gusto a gusto* (“preference to preference” or “taste to taste”), with some minor formalities concerning consulting with older family members before marriage.

(6.15)

SF: ¿Pero en cambio los negros como se casaban antes?
But on the other hand how did the Blacks get married before?

MI: Así, de gusto a gusto,
Like that, from preference to preference,

de gusto a gusto se enamoraban,
preference to preference they fall in love,

y ahí, quedaban que si, si la novia lo quería,
and then, they stayed like that, if the girl wanted it,

entonces los mayores hacían una- , conversaban entre los viejos,
so the older people did a- they talked among the old people,

si los viejos quedaban de acuerdo entonces se iban llevando a la novia
and if the old people were in agreement then they went taking the girl.

Ethnographic accounts of the region have described Western or Christian marriage as a weak institution in among the Blacks of Esmeraldas, and have identified patterns of what has been called “serial polygyny” (Whitten 1965) in which a man has successive partners over his lifetime and only rarely formalized these relationships through official marriage. Even so, Blacks often use the term *esposos* (“spouses”) to refer to the participants in these informal arrangements. The Chachi tradition, on the other hand, includes highly formalized marriage celebrations including marimba music, special dress, and a sequence of ceremonial activities and parties held over several days. For the Chachis, then, unions between Blacks and Chachis were not real marriages but just consisted of co-habitation and informally sharing a household, as Chachi woman María Mercedes describes it in the example below.

(6.16)

MM: Peechullabain, peechullabain,
The Blacks also, the Blacks also,

yaibain mantsa cha'na'mala judeeshujuntsa
they also, some Chachi girls,

peechui unbee dekaya
take Black men (as husbands),

ya' ruku panda kanmala fiken chumu
they live eating what food their husband brings,

pika' kunmala pika' demalanmala
they go get water for them and bring the water up (to the house),

pika' matyu jali manpipuken chunaaba jutaa
and getting the water they make them wash their clothes and live like that,

peechui unbee kayatu indetyuka junu
they take Black men (as husbands) and it seems it happens like that,

tsadei, ura' chukayanjutyaa
like that, they do not live well together,

lala' peechui unbee kayashujuntsaa.
when we take Black men (as husbands).

One of the biggest preoccupations of Chachis when I would bring up the question of interracial marriage in interviews was that if a Chachi married a non-Chachi they cannot go through with the traditional ceremony and as such are not really married. Here María Mercedes continues to elaborate:

(6.17)

MM: Casaa ityudeewe peechullala
They don't get married, the Blacks,

chachillanu katu kasaa ityu deewe
when they get together with Chachis they do not get married.

S: Casaa ityu

They don't get married.

MM: Tsaanun pannala kayamudee kasaa ityu deenuren,

Like that, the girls they get together with, they do not get married,

nendenwaala junu kayamudee, chachillabaa.

they just go around getting together, with Chachis.

Casaa itu ura' chumulan

Those that get married live well,

peechullalanu kayatu kasaa inu pudejdetu

but getting together with Blacks they cannot get married,

Casaa deityu tsana' ne yaiba pure' na kake'ba

Without marrying, like they have lots of kids with them,

mawela'ba miji' manen wee supu manka manka ki'ba,

then they separate and go get together with another woman again and again,

kityaandeenga peechullala.

that is the way the Blacks do it.

In a similar account another Chachi woman, Antonia, describes how Blacks do not celebrate traditional marriages as Chachis do, and relates this to the instability of their unions, using the terms of Cha'palaa to refer to the the idea of Black "serial polygyny" that has circulated in the social science literature on Esmeraldas. Antonia also laments the way some of the older practices have not been sustained, reflecting on how Chachi law and cultural practices regarding marriage are changing.

(6.18)

A: Bien, peechullala chachillaba uwain kayamudeewe,
Well, it's true that blacks and Chachis get married,

Tsajturen, peechullalaya chachilla cos-
However, the blacks, how the Chachi cus-

cultura naajuñuba juntsaayaa kityudeewe
culture is, they don't do it like that.

Tsaaren chachillaya, lalaya lala' cultura,
So the Chachis, us, our culture,

kayu uma basila i' kaya'chutu kasaa imin, kasaabain aparte
if one gets married just getting together, they have to also get married officially.

Tsembala matsudyabain fiesta de matrimonio,
They also have to do the marriage ceremony,

kasa ceremonialsha, juntsa matsudyaba imudeeyu
in the ceremonial house, there we celebrate.

tsaaren peechullalaya juntsaityudeewe, kasaabain ityu deju
However, the blacks do not do anything like that, they don't even get married

tsaaren lala chachillaya, chachillaya kasaa imudeju,
but we the Chachis, the Chachis get married,

rukula chachilla tsadetiwe, lalanaa chachillanuya
the old Chachis say this, to us, to the Chachi (people),

kasaa jutyu juushujuntsaya kuusa tyudityaa timudeewe,
if they do not get married then they cannot have the cross (blessing), they say,

chachilla kasaa inuuyaa ju lala' leyaa lala' culturaya
the Chachis have to get married because of our law, our culture.

tse'mityaa lalaa kasaa imudeju,
for that reason we must get married,

tsaaren chachi peechullaba kasaa-
however if Chachis get married-

kayaishujuntsa yaba kaya' chudishujuntsaya
get together with them, getting together and living

kasaa jutyuren tsanamudeju
they can't get married when they do like that,

peechullala kasaa imishtityu deju
the Blacks can't get married,

cha' supu ka'bain o cha' umbee ka'bain
either with Chachi women or with Chachi men,

peechulla naa kasaa ityu deju tsenmin
because the Black do not get married like that (like Chachis),

peechullalaya yaichi ti ura tyuba'ba ne mawelaimu deju,
the Blacks, when they get tired (of their partner) they separate,

tsaaren chachillaa kulturaya tsaityu deeyu,
but (for) the Chachis the culture is not like that,

mawelatyu deedu, ma shimbubaren dee- derukui, peyatu, matyu
they don't separate, th- they grow old with their wife, and die, so

hablando de, matyu, peechullala' palaayaa,
speaking of, so, in Spanish (in the "language of the Blacks")

muerte seraa la separacion timu deewe, tsa'mitya
"Until death do us part" they say, like that,

juntsaayaa lalaa imu deeyu.
that is what we do.

Tsaaren peechullalaya juntsaayaa yala' costumbre jutyu
But for the Blacks they don't have that kind of custom,

naa pure' supu kake'bain mankepu' miji
they have many women and separate from them and go away,

mankepu' mijiimu peechullalaa nejudeeba
separating and going away, the Blacks are like that,

yailaa ti leyba tajdetu'mitya.
because they don't have their own law.

Tsaaren lalaa chachillaya ley tadeeyu
However we Chachis do have a law,

lala' ley, kaspeleya lala' ley kayu pureewe duru
our law, in earlier times our law used to be stronger,

tsaaren challaya jayu mika pai puntushaa rebaja ma iitsulaatee
but now it has has been decreasing a couple of points,

lala' kulturanu ke eediñuba
neglecting our culture,

porke challaa pure' faya iidetsuyu
because now we are failing a lot,

lala' ley, tsaaren kasaa inu ley juushujuntsaya
our law, the law regarding marriage,

chaiba konsta nawe, existe nawe lala' ley
because it still applies, it still exists, our law,

cultura juushujuntsa.
having do with culture.

Chachi concerns about interracial marriage are not just cultural or ethnic, however. It is for this reason that I took the position in Chapter 1 that their practices are better described as *racial* endogamy than *ethnic* endogamy. Both Chachis and Blacks participate in circulating discourses about phenotype and the physical results of interracial marriage as seen on the bodies of their Children. In this example a Chachi

woman observes that the children of such unions physically look different from children with two Chachi parents:

(6.19) Peechullalachee jayu paba kailla deeba.

The Blacks' children (with Chachis) turn out a little black.

Literature on race mixture in Latin America has rarely addressed mixture between Blacks and indigenous people in detail, focusing either on the concept of “mestizaje” as mixture between Whites and indigenous people or on *mulatos* and race mixture between Whites and Blacks (Wade 1995, 1997). The role of White supremacy in race mixture involving White people is fairly straightforward because expressions of preference for phenotypically whiter children by many non-Whites and of resistance to marriage with non-Whites by many Whites fits well with the idea of a hierarchiccal social order in which Whites have special privilage. Race mixture between Blacks and indigenous people and Chachi prohibitions against racial mixture are more complicated for analysis because while both blackness and indigeneity have their roots in the colonial encounter, they have historically had an ambiguous status with respect to either other and compared to either one's relationship to whiteness. Chachi aversions to race mixture with Blacks and occasional Black discourses of preference for Chachi spouses as “lighter” or “clearer” skinned certainly are connected to ideas of White supremacy, but the fact that Chachi unions were traditionally prohibited with *any* non-Chachi, including Whites and other indigenous people, reveals how the Chachi tradition overlaps with racial formation at a broader scale. Ultimately the Chachi prohibitions come down to ideas of racial purity, as observed in this excerpt from an interview with Antonia where she expressed fears that a distinct Chachi identity could change or disappear if race mixture continues:

(6.20)

SF: Yaila, eeh chachilla faamu o pee chui faamu?

They, uh, do they come out Chachi or Black?

A: Peechullaa aamafaamudeju
The come out more Black

peechulla chachi lala manpiyainu ne judeju, juntsa,
Black, and we Chachis disappear, there,

peechulla shimbu na kambala,
when marrying a Black woman,

ya' na'ma awamin peechullanun mankayashujuntsaya
their children when they are grown, marrying a Black,

peechullaren mantiña tsaaren juntsa.
they become Black like that.²⁹

Chachinu juntsa ya' enrasada chachinu mankayashujuntsaya
With Chachis, if an *enrasada* (“en-raced”) person marries a Chachi,

chachin mantiña, juntsaindetsushee yumaa.
they become Chachi, that is already happening now.

In the penultimate line of the transcription above Antonia uses the term *enrasado* that, while a borrowing from Spanish, is not recognized as a word by speakers of standard Ecuadorian Spanish. The word, meaning literally “en-raced”, is in circulation locally in Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish and Cha’palaa as a common word for talking about race mixture. Antonia uses the word in the context of making sense of the new racial combinations that are beginning to appear now that the traditional Chachi laws are not respected anymore. Because there is no specific cultural tradition to draw on in making

²⁹ In some accounts any Black ancestry at all causes a child to be Black, resembling the one-drop rule that is the traditional basis for racial difference in the United States.

sense of these new kinds of unions and the new, modified or hybrid social categories that are forming along with them, accounts of racial mixture are unstable and the social meaning of race mixture is unclear. The social outcomes of interracial marriages can be different almost on a case-by-case basis. In Susana's account of her own experiences she tells how her own children identify more with their indigenous heritage on their father's side than their Black heritage on their mother's side.

(6.21)

SF: ¿Que pasa con los hijos de una pareja chachi y un negro?

What happens with the children of a couple that is Chachi with Black?

¿Qué pasa con ellos, se considera chachi o negro?

What happens with them, are they considered Chachi or Black?

SU: Los míos se consideran chachi, ellos consideran chachi.

Mine consider themselves Chachi, they consider themselves Chachi.

SF: ¿Porque son Chachi y no negros?

Why are they Chachi and not Black?

SU: Porque ellos dicen que quieren ser a la costumbre del papa,

Because they say they want to belong to the custom of their father,

y además yo no soy negra negra.

and also I am not Black Black.

Mi papa era mestizo de negra con un cholo,

My father was a mestizo of a Black woman and a *cholo* (Epera),

entonces supongamos era como un mestizo,
so let's suppose that he was like mixed ("mestizo"),

tal como Adrian, que ajunta con una negra.

Like Adrian, that gets together with a Black woman,

entonces los hijos no salen negro, negro. Salen mestizo.

so the children do not come out Black Black. They come out "mestizo".

Entonces así soy yo.

So that's how I am.

The word *mestizo* on the Rio Cayapas is used in ways that differ from its usage more broadly in Latin America where it refers primarily to mixture between Whites and indigenous people. Locally in Esmeraldas the word is used for the results of any kind of racial mixture, especially for children of Blacks with Chachis and other indigenous people. Susana explains that she herself is actually *mestizo* because one of her grandparents was an Epera indigenous man, and links this fact to her children's self-identification as indigenous people.

The following excerpt from an interview with a Black man named Segundo from the town of Santa María presents another discussion of the term *mestizo* relating to ideas of how race and gender combine to shape the outcomes of race mixture, so that different results can occur with couples in which the man is Black and the woman is Chachi or vice versa.

(6.22)

SE: Depende tambien el color de la persona negra

The color also depends on if the Black person

si es mujer o es varon
is a woman or a man,

porque todos no somos negritos negritos no,
because not all of us are Black Black no,

siempre hay unos que son un poco más limpios,
there are always a few who are a little clearer (“cleaner”),

el chachi es un poco más limpio que el negro, pero,
the Chachi is a little clearer (“cleaner”) than the Black, but

tampoco el negro queda tan quemado,
the Black does not end up that dark (“burnt”) either,

siempre llega un poco al color del chachi.
(he) always gets a little of the Chachi’s color.

YM: Es mestizo.
He’s mixed (“mestizo”).

SE: Quedan mestizos esa es la, la frase que se le pone
They end up “mestizos” is the, the phrase that they use for them
es que son mestizos.
because they are mixed (“mestizos”).

SF: Le dice mestizo y ¿ellos hablan cha’palaa? ¿Aprenden?
They call them mixed, and do they speak Cha’palaa? Do they learn?

SE: Aprenden, si claro que aprenden
They learn, sure they learn.

YM: Pero según en el lugar que estén.
But depending on where they are.

SE: Según en el lugar que se encuentren aprenden el cha'paala.
Depending on where they are they learn Cha'palaa.

SF: ¿Y cuando son grandes con quien se casan, chachi o negro?
And when they grow up who do they marry, Chachi or Black?

SE: Bueno ellos dependen también la misma cosa
Well for them it depends on the same thing,

como le decía antes, si le nace un negro un negro se va-
as I was saying before, if (a child) is born Black they will-

si no que no hay cantidad de negro que este unido con la chachi,
but there are not a lot of Blacks that are united with Chachis,

si bien digo, con la raza chachi no hay cantidad.
if I say so, with the Chachi race there are not a lot.

SF: Acá arriba en Zapallo hay algunos.
Up in Zapallo there are some.

SE Allá si pero es la única parte que
There yes, but it is the only part

casi más negros hay unidos con chachi que, chachi con negro
almost with more Blacks united with Chachis of, Chachi with Black.

SF: En Zapallo casas de chachis y negros estan mas mezclados.
In Zapallo the houses of Chachis and Blacks are more mixed.

SE: Si que allá era, era un como-
Yes because there it was, it was a, like-

YM: Era un pueblo casi de chachis
It was a town almost of (only) Chachis.

SE: Un pueblito que es casi de los chachi
A town almost of (only) Chachis.

y ahí llegó fue un mm como le digo? Un evangélico.
and there arrive, it was, um, mm, how do I say? An evangelical.

YM: Evangélico.
Evangelical.

SE: Y entonces formó ese pueblo acabaron de formar ese pueblo,
So then that town formed, they finished forming that town,

con ese y ellos se hicieron evangelistas.
with that, and they became evangelists.

Entonces por eso hay mas mezclamientos allá que aquí
So that is why there is more mixture there than here.

In connection with my discussion earlier in this chapter of the racial integration of Zapallo relative to other towns in the area like Santa María, it is important that Segundo (and a second man who was also present) identify it as a place where there has been “more mixture.” Segundo points out how interracial unions are rarer in less integrated places. Indeed, in my observations for Chachis living far from Black communities the prohibitions on interracial marriage are still very strong, and Chachis still run the risk of being expelled for interracial marriage in the more isolated communities. But even on the main course of the Rio Cayapas where Black and Chachi towns exist side by side Zapallo is a special case.

But if Zapallo is more open to interracial unions, it is certainly not a post-racial utopia. In the following comments Milton echoes post-racial discourses that we are all “one race” but at the same time reaffirms race as a biological concept through his account of “colliding bloods” in the children of interracial unions:

(6.23)

MI: La diferencia que había también, en las dos razas anterior,
The difference that there is also, in the two races before,

porque en esa temporada, como explico antes la compañera,
because in that time, as the comrade explained before,

entre los negros y los chachis no se hacían matrimonios,
between Blacks and Chachis they did not have marriages,

porque era prohibido, o sea los chachis prohibían
because it was prohibited, I mean the Chachis prohibited,

que no debían de casarse el negro con el Chachi,
that they shouldn't marry Blacks with Chachis,

ni el Chachi con el negro tampoco.
nor Chachis with Blacks either.

Entonces solamente, cada cual en su etnia,
So only, each one in their ethnicity,

pero ahora como ha habido tanto estudio y han decretado que,
but now as there has been so much study and they have decreed that,

que no importa que el chachi se case con el negro,
that it does not matter if Chachis marry Blacks,

ni el negro con el Chachi,
or if Blacks marry Chachis,

y ya es una sola raza, y entonces ahí, hay una parte que
and now it is a single race, and so there, there is a part that,

ya si, yo tengo un hijo con una Chachi
ok, if I have a child with a Chachi

entonces como ya tienen dos sangres
then it will have two bloods,

que es la sangre Chachi y la sangre del negro,
that are Chachi blood and Black blood,

entonces es mas fuerte, ya tiene mas fortaleza, y- entonces-,
so it is stronger, it has strength, and- so-,

siempre decimos nosotros, si uno, uno se junta con una Chachi
we always say, if someone, if someone gets together with a Chachi

la Chachi no anda cayendo enferma porque ya
the Chachi does not go falling sick because

chocan las dos sangres,
the two bloods collide,

y ella tiene más fortaleza también la Chachi,
and she has more strength also, the Chachi,

entonces eso es la diferencia que hay entre el negro y el Chachi.
so that is the difference between Blacks and Chachis.

While previous chapters gave some examples of discourses that framed all indigenous people as a single race – part of the larger tri-partite racial categorization in the Americas – those discourses co-exist with marriage prohibitions against *any* non-Chachi spouses. While cases can be found such as that described earlier of the Awá indigenous man married to a Chachi woman and living in a Chachi village, and resistance to such unions may be less due to the fact they do not challenge the macro-racial category of ‘indigenous American’, such unions can nevertheless face resistance. In this example Patricia describes the Chachi community’s initial rejection of her husband, who is a Manaba, a social category with ambiguous indigenous/mestizo status, and their eventual acceptance of him based on his willingness to participate in Chachi customs:

(6.23)

SF: ¿Aceptan que él no es chachi no hay problema?

Do they accept him since he is not Chachi, is it a problem?

P: Ah, al principio si, uwain acepta dekityuwe
Ah, at first they did not accept him,

porque la costumbre kaspeleya
because the old custom was

chachiitala- talatene kayanu ju'mitya tsenbala,
only- only among Chachis, to get married, for that reason,

apa- tiempu pasa intsunbala ti ju'bain
as time went passing by,

yumaa decambia indu intyuka asu
now it is changing.

In rukunu panduren dedyashee
They criticized my husband,

tsenbala yabain ne na'baasa kesneibaa juumiñu
but since he has not been causing any trouble

ura' porta kintsushee challaya
he behaves well, so now

porque yabain costumbreshatene wiinu
because he is also entering into the customs (of the Chachis),

tyai'mitya chachillabain
because of that, the Chachis also

uwain ne juntsa manawa rukuaa ti' patyudeeshee
do not call him a Manaba man

porque yabain chachiyu pensaa juaa
because he also thinks like a Chachi

in rukuya juntsaa pensaa tashee.
my husband has that way of thinking.

For Chachis the tradition of endogamy is constantly being renegotiated. By comparison, the traditional ways that local Black people form unions, including “serial polygyny” and a lack of race-based marriage prohibition, may not be “traditional” so much as a reflection the social conditions Blacks have lived in since colonial times, in which impoverished conditions made stable families difficult to maintain and ideologies of White supremacy encouraged Blacks to whiten through marriage. Black discourses about interracial marriage often articulate the concept of *mejoranza de la raza* (“the improvement of the race”) that circulated more broadly in Latin America and shapes how people think about race and reproduction in the context of White privilege. The next example is an extended excerpt, part of which I already discussed in Chapter 5 with reference to multi-modality. In addition to the phenotypic features associated with the gestures in that discussion, this example shows how those aspects of the body are linked to ideas of personality and character. In the last part of the example DS explains how the different “colliding bloods” resulting from interracial unions can cause the children to have angry temperments:

(6.24a)

DS: Y nosotros nos encantaría cambiar la raza también
And we would love to change the race also,

salen cruzaditos pues,
they come out crossed,

ellos salen cruzados, ellos ya no salen de mi color,
they come out crossed, they don't come out with my color,

yo como yo soy un poquito más clarito que mi compadre.
me since I am a little lighter than my *compadre* (other man in the room).

Pongamos así, si yo me entablo con una negra, con una chachi,
Let's put it this way, if I am with a Black- with a Chachi,

los hijos salen, salen ahí, (?), pelo enruchadito
and then the children come out, come out there, curly hair,

y no salen muy quemado.
and they don't come out very dark ("burnt").

Pero si es así como mi compa, más moreno,
But if he is like my friend, darker,

entonces ahí salen más quemaditos los muchachos
so then they come out darker ("more burnt") the kids,

el pelo ahí si le sale bien enchuradito,
and there the hair comes out really curly,

MA: Más virado el cabello.
Curlier hair.

SF: ¿Y los niños que les dicen chachis o negros o mitad mitad?
And they call the kids Chachis or Blacks or half and half?

MA: Mestizos.
Mixed (“mestizos”).

DS: Nosotros lo empastamos como mestizos.
We classify them as mixed (“mestizos”).

SF: ¿Es raro ser mestizo por aquí o ya es normal?
Is it rare to be mixed (“mestizos”) around here or is it normal?

MA: Es lo normal, hay otros que son mas-
It is normal, there are others that are more-

MI: Hay unos, pero otros . . .
There are some, but others . . .

si son ya no salen del mismo genio, salen más bravos.
if they don't come out with the same temperment, they come out fiercer.

MA: Están chocadas.
They have collided.



MI: Y entonces ya decimos nosotros ahí las dos sangres están chocadas.
And so we say then that the two bloods have collided. [HANDS TOGETHER]

Están peleando pues ya sale,
They are fighting, and it comes out,

ya no sale pongamos como el padre o como la madre.
it does not come out, let's say, like the father or like the mother.

A little later in the same conversation DS described how certain racial combinations were more problematic than others, especially the combination between Chachis and mixed race people (*mestizos*). These mixtures compound the numbers of different classing “bloods” in the person, causing them to be bad tempered:

(6.24b)

SF: ¿Como eran diferentes los dos hijos?
How were the two children different?

DS: Más violentos, era más rabioso
More violent, they were angrier.

Pero si son negro con mestizo nomas, no, no pasa nada,
But if they are just from Black with “mestizo” nothing happens,

negro - chachi no pasa nada,
Black (with) Chachi nothing happens,

pero si yo soy mestizo y el otro es chachi ahí luchan,
but if I am “mestizo” and the other is Chachi, then they fight,

ahí como cuatro sangres,
there like four bloods,

es una pelea de sangres.
it is a fight among bloods.

In this dissertation I argue that Blackness and indigeneity as articulated locally in Esmeraldas are part of larger racial formations which, along with Whiteness, form the three most historically significant macro-racial categories in the Americas. But how Blackness and indigeneity will come into contact locally is not entirely determined by this history. In this dialogic exposition of Black and Chachi discourses of interracial marriage and race mixture there is tension both in the fine differences between the two groups' different but overlapping perspectives as well as in how those perspectives form part of larger social processes while retaining their local specificity; in both of these senses the meaning of race mixture on the Rio Cayapas is shaped dialogically.

6.4 Racializing the supernatural

The two dialogic juxtapositions of discourse presented above concerned the perspectives of Blacks and Chachis about material relations on an economic level and then about the intimate relations of family at the level of genealogy and the body. The third and last dialogue between Chachi and Black discourse that I will create in this Chapter concerns a different level of relationship between the two groups: the relationship of humans to non-human animate beings and the way racial distinctions are articulated as part of these relationships. Both Blacks and Chachis speak of meetings with dangerous non-human beings in the forest and on the river, and while to some extent they have separate traditions, these two ways of approaching the world have combined and overlapped through the long history of contact. In this section I will compare Chachi and Black discourses about one specific human-like being named *pillujmu*, a kind of river ghost that drags people under the water and kills them. A likely etymology for the word in *pi-llu-ujmu* or “river-rise-spirit” referencing its tendency to appear in dangerous high water. Particularly interesting for this discussion of race as part of a system of social categorization is the fact that the *pillujmu* is typically described as being Black, at least phenotypically. As with the examples of the Chachi afterlife cited in Chapter 2, here also we can see how racial categories can be projected from the world of physical bodies into the world of less tangible spirits. The first example in this section is from a recording made during my pilot research of a Chachi boy (N) giving an account of a personal encounter with the *pillujmu* in response to questions by a Chachi man (SA) who was assisting with translation during preliminary research.

(6.25)

N: Lala jee kajurru de luñu' mitya
We came up with scared faces

yanu pishapumulachi lalaa mijdetui tische tinaaju pasa itudeiyu
to him, the ones in the river, we didn't know, what's happening, they said,

pakandiuva najtun wapamnanchi
but they did not answer because they were frightened,

ikeyaiñu pakatyiuuren tsanaturen demiji' uinaturen,
and without answering they went and were standing,

umaa de kuinda kitaa mama laanu kaa pechuikaana
and now we told them, "Mom, to us, a little Black child,

keraaya laanu kanu ti'sureijantsu
it looks like, is trying to get us, following

lui'ntsu de wapana' maayu tila titaa jumala.
and coming up, we came back scared" (we) said then.

SA: Tsen ajke' katatuya ñullanu pilujmusha tejanu tejanu kityu.
So when you encountered it you did not remember the pillujmu?

N: Tsaimala pillujmusha tejatyunkai.
Then (we) did not remember the pillujmu.

SA: Ne' ne ne peechulla faatu iee pensa ne kedekee.
So so so you thought that it was a Black.

N: Lalaa pechuikaana ñu' mitya, lalaa
We, a Black child like you, we,

lalaa peechuikaana iee pensankikila.
we thought that it was a Black child.

SA: Ñulla pechuikaana tilla yanu.
So you called him a Black child.

N: Lalaa pechuikaana titaa,
We called (him) a Black child

peechuikaanashu juntsa asu ji' kerakedaa,
if it was a Black child, we went "Let's go see,"

Victor peechuikaa nashu juntsaa
Victor (said) "if it is a Black child"

kanjutyaa titaa jintsulaa .
we were asking if he was going to get us.

SA: Uhn yaa aaa tsaaren ñuilla uj pillujmunubain pensankela.
Oh, so ok, you did think it was a pillujmu also.

N: Pensankindetyu lalaa.
We didn't think (that).

SA: Ah' peechuikaananun pensankikila.
Ah you thought he was a Black child.

N: Jee peechuikaananun pensankedekesh
Yes we thought he was a Black child.

SA: Tsa' mityaa ya' keetalan depuintsula.
For that reason you were going close (to him).

N: Jee tsaiñuba jee.
Yes that's how it was, yes.

SA: Tsen najtaa ma firuuñuba jali panajtuma
But is was ugly and unclothed,

alabenweenuba jaiba pensa tejatiun, ñuillanu.
and very dirty, it should remind you.

F: Es ke kerajdetu kayu kailla.
It's that they don't know it yet, they children.

In the boy's account above and his answers to SA's questions he tells how when the group of children first saw the *pillujmu* they thought it was a Black child and only when they told the adults what they had seen did they realized that it had been the *pillujmu*. The boy's father at the end of the example explains that this is because they aren't yet familiar with the distinct features of the *pillujmu*. In this way human-like phenotype becomes an identifying feature of this non-human being in a similar way to how phenotype is related to racial categories. However other accounts say that the *pillujmu* is not necessarily Black but rather it is a ghost of a drowning victim and that it retains the racial category of the dead person.

(6.26) Peechullala depiya' mityaa ya' pillujmubain jumeeka,
Because Blacks are also lost (by drowning) they also become pillujmu,

peechui pillujmubain chachibain.

Black pillujmu and Chachi also.

On several occasions while living in Chachi communities I was warned about swimming alone at night. They say that the *pillujmu* touches your foot two times and then, on the third, it pulls you under, which is why it is best to leave the water after the first touch. In this example a Chachi speaker describes the *pillujmu*'s appearance with dark, black skin and long tangled hair, and then described the violence they are capable of:

(6.27)

MR: Yapijtutuju, peechulla keraju, pillujmu, pillujmuaa

Dark, it looks like a Black, the pillujmu, the pillujmu,

maty mishpuka chiyayaa, juntsawaa,

with the head all tangled, that one,

main tsaa animaawe pisha pumu, pisha pumu animaa

that animal, it is in the river, it is in the river, the animal.

SF: Y ellos son negros también? O son-

And they are Blacks too? Or are they-

MR: Peechulla keraa juntsa, juntsa pisha pumu pillujmu juushujuntsa,

They look Black, that one, the pillujmu that lives in the water,

tsaaren timbunu tsadetiña juntsa pillujmu juushujuntsa,

so in the old times they used to say that, that it is a pillujmu,

chachilla ateeya tya'kesneneimulanu suuke'
and that it follows the people who are net fishing,

chachillanu tituba ke' matyi, ee, chachillanu naa dekanu ke' kerake.
and it does whatever (bad) things, ee, it grabs people.

Chachilla pai ruku nemula timbunu winke'
Once it fought against two men,

ma tutekeñaaschiipujpun shajaran tute' kepumaa timudee timbunu,
when it killed it made bloody bubbles, they say when it killed in the old times,

timbunu juntsa pillujmu fifu' kemuaa detiwe timbunu.
in the old times the pillujmu used to attack people, they say, in the old times.

Black accounts of the *pillujmu* are similar to Chachi accounts, but they give it different names, including the term *ribier* used by Susana in this example:

(6.28)

SF: Para los Chachis como que hay unos fantasmas que saben andar.
For the Chachis there are like some ghosts that go around.

SU: Aja, ellos dicen la sombra
Aja, they say “the shadow.”

Pillujmo dicen, ese cuco negro que anda en el agua,
“Pillujmu” they say, that black boogeyman that goes around in the water,

nosotros si creemos también eso, es un ribier
we believe in it also, it is a “*ribier*”

ya de nohecita sabe bajar en una canoita chiquitita
by night it comes down in a little tiny canoe,

baja sentadito con una lucecita ahí.
it comes down sitting with a little light there.

Entonces cuando uno se asoma
So when one comes out (of the house),

uno dice allá va el ribier, pero uno no puede decir duro,
one says “There goes the *ribier*,” but one can’t say it very loud,

porque si usted dice allá va el ribier' uu, se sube encima de la casa.
because if you say “there goes the *ribier*” ooh, it climbs up on the house.

Entonces uno tiene, si usted ve, nomás tiene que mirar y quedar calladito nomás.
So one has to if one sees-, you see, you just have to look and stay quiet.

Los ribier dicen que se hacen- hay personas que se ahogan,
The *ribier* they say, is made- there are people that drown,

y no-, nunca se encuentran. Entonces dicen que se consumen en el agua,
and I don’t- they are never found. So they say that the water consumed them,

y ellos se hacen ribier pero ribier si existe.
and they become *ribier*, but *ribier* really exists.

SF: Los Chachis también dicen que él es negro. Cuando dicen pillujmo.
The Chachis also say that he is Black. When they say pillujmo.

SU: Si, ellos eso dicen cuco negro,
Yes, they say it is a black boogeyman,

SF: ¿Porque será que es negro y no es chachi?
Why is it that it is Black and not Chachi?

SU: No se, la costumbre de ellos dicen asi cuco negro,
I don't know, in their custom they say black boogeyman,

en cambio nosotros decimos ribier.
and on the other hand we say *ribier*.

SF A, ya. Pero también para ustedes es más,
Ah, ok. But also for you all is it more,

¿la cara es mas como un negro que como un Chachi?
is the face more like a Black than like a Chachi?

SU: Porque ambos las dos razas se ahogan.
Because both races drown.

O chachis o negros. Ahi no hay dabe (?)
Or Chachis or Black. There is no difference (?)

de las dos razas mismo se convierten en ribier
from both of the races they turn into *ribier*

entonces uno no puede decir este ribier es Chachi o este ribier es negro
so one can't say that that *ribier* is Chachi or that *ribier* is Black.

como eso anda así, quien puede andar mirando así.

as it goes around like that, who can go looking at it like that (close enough).

Eso es de lejitos nomas que uno ve.

One only sees it from far away.

Porque eso es capaz, si se sube a uno, lo agarra, lo mata.

Because it is capable, if it comes up to one, it grabs, it kills.

Si es muy peligroso el ribier.

It is very dangerous the *ribier*.

Like the Chachi example cited above, Susana makes reference to the idea that the *pillujmu* or *ribier* is not exactly racially Black, but as the ghost of a human can retain some racial characteristics. In another example I asked a Black interviewee about the *pillujmu* and he compared it to creatures called *duendes*, a name that circulates broadly in different traditions around Latin America.

(6.29)

DS: Por lo menos, nosotros, en el monte hay,

At least, we, in the woods there is,

bueno el diablo es casi lo mismo , y

well, the devil is almost the same, and

y hay otro tipo de visión, que pongamos él es de este altito

there is another type of vision, let's say he is this high,

así, el tiene un sombrero grande,
like this, he had a big hat,

los brazos son gruesos, y el pelo le da acá,
the arms are thick, and the hair down to here,

y nosotros le decimos duende
and we call it *duende*.

Entonces eso también para nosotros es una visión,
So it is also a vision for us,

y el pillujmo que los chachis dicen ,
and the pillujmo that the Chachis talk about,

es cuando una persona se muere y anda la sombra,
is when a person dies and walks in the shadow,

entonces a eso le dicen pillujmo o le dicen humo.
so they call it pillujmo or they call it smoke.

Entonces nosotros decimos muerto.
So we call it a dead (person).

SF: ¿Como es el duende? ¿Blanco, negro o como chachi?
How is the *duende*? White or black or like a Chachi?

DS: Bueno, principalmente yo, a mí se me apareció uno,
Well, principally me, one appeared to me,

yo andaba cortando una leña y se me para así al camino.

I was cutting some firewood and it stood like that in the path.

Milton picked up on my question and reiterated it: What race were the *duendes*? First DS classifies them as White, but then he acknowledges that there are different physical types:

MI: ¿Pero que es negro o es blanco?

But what is it, black or white?

DS: No ese, es blanco.

No that, it's white.

O sea que parece que él se les- se le aparece a distintas formas,

I mean it seems like he- he appears in different forms,

porque el que yo vi el cabello le daba aquí.

because I saw that its hair was down to here.

y el nomás era de este altito.

he was just this height.

MI: ¿Y el pelo que color?

And what color the hair?

DS: Bueno, casi el pelo es normal, como el pelo del chachi.

Well, the hair is normal, but like the hair of a Chachi.

Así, en esa forma es, como el cholo así en esa forma,
Like this, in this form, like the *cholo* (Epera) in this way,

pero el pelo largo, eso si el pelo es largo.
but long hair, the hair is really long.

No, que pongamos la sombra que se ve,
No, let's say that the shadow looks,

como ya cuando uno se muere, uno ya cambia,
like when one had died, one changes,

entonces como, le ponen a uno una vestidura blanca,
so like, they put one in white clothing,

entonces con esa vestidura aparece, entonces, simplemente,
so one appears with that clothing, so, simply

el cuerpo no le puede decir si es negro si es blanco,
the body (you) can't tell if it is Black or White,

porque solamente uno le ve nada mas la vestidura
but (you) can only see the clothing.

Like the Chachis who compared the *pillujmu*'s appearance to the Black phenotype, here a Black speaker compares the *duende*'s appearance to the indigenous phenotype. Beyond showing how both the Black and Chachi traditions mention similar non-human beings like the *pillujmu* and the *duende*, my intention in this section has been to demonstrate how the racial categories derived from social history are extended into the spirit world where they become resources for categorizing animate beings similarly to

how they work among humans. The way these categories from hemispheric patterns of racial formation are articulated as part of discourses that concern highly localized cultural traditions underscores my general argument in this dissertation about how specific instances of social interaction relate to the social order more broadly. The ways that racial categories are articulated are as diverse as the different cultural and linguistic heritages of people around the world, but the inertia of historical racial formation somehow ties these diverse articulations together to constitute broader, more abstract patterns. The focus in this chapter on dialogicity and multiple complementary positionalities in social formation adds further depth to this point, because it illustrates how distinct social groups with cultural and linguistic differences can nonetheless share in the same patterns of racial formation.

Summary

This chapter had two related goals: First, it provided ethnographic details that complement the linguistic analysis in chapters 2 to 5 by expanding on several different aspects of race relations between Blacks and Chachis in the Rio Cayapas area including economic relationships, interracial marriage, and the connection of race to how both groups talk about encounters with ghosts and spirits. Second, it constructed those topics dialogically in that it juxtaposed Chachi discourse in Cha'palaa to Black discourse in Afro-Ecuadorian Spanish and used discourse in one language to build on themes articulated in the other, bringing Black speakers of Spanish and the multilingual sociolinguistic situation of the region into closer view. The example of economic exchanges illustrated how the social meaning of reciprocal, complementary relationships between distinct groups of people are not reducible to one socio-cultural position but rather are co-constructed across positionalities. For this reason a discourse-centered interactional constructivist approach must take heteroglossia seriously when considering the complex and uneven relation between meaning created in discourse and shared meanings in the social world. The next example of attitudes towards interracial marriage

and race mixture further underscored this point by comparing how two very different sets of social norms combine in a single situation of inter-group interaction. Chachi society has a history of strict, normative endogamy and fidelity while Black society allows relatively unrestricted marriage norms, yet both groups share many of the same attitudes towards race and are enmeshed in similar processes to make sense of new racial experiences as interracial marriage becomes more frequent. The final example of discourses about dangerous river spirits showed how these partially-shared conceptions of race circulate more broadly in both Black and Chachi culture, so that racial categories can be used as a way for making sense of the spiritual or supernatural domains. Along with all the other differently racialized groups in the Americas, the Chachis and Blacks of Esmeraldas participate in and form part of racial formation more broadly, and the similarities between Black and Chachi discourse emphasize ways in which both groups operate according to the same macro-racial categories. The points of tension, on the other hand, emphasize how abstract social formations are made up of a great deal of heterogeneity at the local level. The next chapter continues to explore similar themes, but instead of creating an artificial dialogue as I did in this chapter, it considers actual instances of conversation in natural speech recordings and looking for evidence of the social order in interracial interactions and racializing speech.