



Cultural and Linguistic Affinities of the Foraging People of Northern Amazonia: a New Perspective

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Introduction

In pre-Colonial times, the region of the Orinoco/Río Negro watershed was an important link in the trade network that extended from the Ucayali to the Orinoco Delta and, as such, it provided the channel for many cultural as well as economic exchanges. But after the eighteenth century, the formal establishment of an international boundary between the Hispano- and lusophone colonies, coupled with the dislocation or destruction of many Upper Orinoco indigenous communities by slave-trading, missionization and a variety of extractive fronts, had the effect of breaking the chain of contacts. Indigenous groups on both sides of the frontier were induced to turn their attention downstream, towards local colonial entrepôts, to the relative neglect of their former trade partners on the other side of the watershed (Hill & Wright 1988:84-85, Dreyfus 1992:84-87).

This rupturing of the link between the Río Negro and the Orinoco has also been reflected to a certain degree in anthropological studies of the region since the many connections between the indigenous peoples of the two river basins are often overlooked (Henley 1990:191). A case in point concerns the foraging groups of the two river basins, i.e. those

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who depend to a considerable degree on a variable mix of hunting, fishing and gathering, and place correspondingly less emphasis on agricultural activities.

In a former article¹ we presented evidence that suggests that there is a possible genetic relationship between the languages spoken by a number of such groups in the Orinoco-Río Negro region. More specifically, we sought to show that the language of the Hodĩ, a small group inhabiting the headwaters of various right bank tributaries of the Middle Orinoco is related to the languages spoken by the various Maku groups of the Vaupés and neighbouring regions of Colombia and Brazil². Although a number of previous attempts have been made to associate these languages with those spoken by these groups' respective neighbours, none has been generally accepted as convincing. In effect then, for most specialists, both the Hodĩ and the Maku groups have remained linguistic isolates.³ Yet if we had borne in mind the pre-Colonial contact between the Orinoco and the Río Negro, the possibility that the Hodĩ and the Maku might share some common linguistic inheritance would have suggested itself far more readily.

In this article we propose to widen the discussion on the Maku/Hodĩ comparison, with the intention of examining their "cultural" similarities and analysing their linguistic and cultural affinities may convey not merely for the comparative linguistics of northern Amazonia but also for the general ethnohistorical account of the region. Moreover, it would also cast new light on the long-running debate about the status of foraging groups in Amazonia as a whole.

¹"Relations between the Hodi of Venezuela and the Maku of Brazil and Colombia. New views on the classification of the Maku family." paper presented during the XIII International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (Mexico City July 29-August 5 1993) in the Symposium "Anthropological Investigation in Northern Amazonia: evaluation of the last 10 years." This article will be published in *Ethnohistory and Ethnicity in Northwest Amazonia* [in press]. IVIC- Universidad de los Andes Merida, 1996.

²The term "Maku" is usually said to be derived from an Arawakan word meaning 'servant', 'slave' or, according to some authorities, simply "Indian of another group" (G. Taylor, pers. comm., 1994). As such it has been used to refer to a number of different groups in northern Amazonia whose languages bear no known relationship to one another. In addition to the Maku of the Vaupés-Río Negro, these include: the Maku (also written Macú) of the Auari River, a tributary of the Uraricoera in the Brazilian state of Roraima; the Maku, also named Macó, who live on the savanna between the Ventuari River and the Orinoco River within Venezuela and who are sometimes said to be a subgroup of the Piaroa; the Cofán-Macú, also named Maco, of the Cuyabeno lagoon in Ecuador. See Métraux (1963c: 862-864); Mason (1950:257).

³Greenberg classifies the Maku languages of the upper Río Negro as part of a Macro-Tukanoan sub-family which would belong, with the Tukanoan and Arawak Languages, to an "Equatorial-Andean Family," but this classification has been criticised (see Lyon 1974:42, Ramos, Silverwood-Cope and Oliveira 1980). The Maku "stock" is presented as an independent set of languages in the best known chiefly Loukotka 1968:190-193). It seems that the affinities between the Maku languages and the Tukanoan languages can be reduced to no more than the fact that the Maku have adopted some Tukanoan words into their vocabulary.

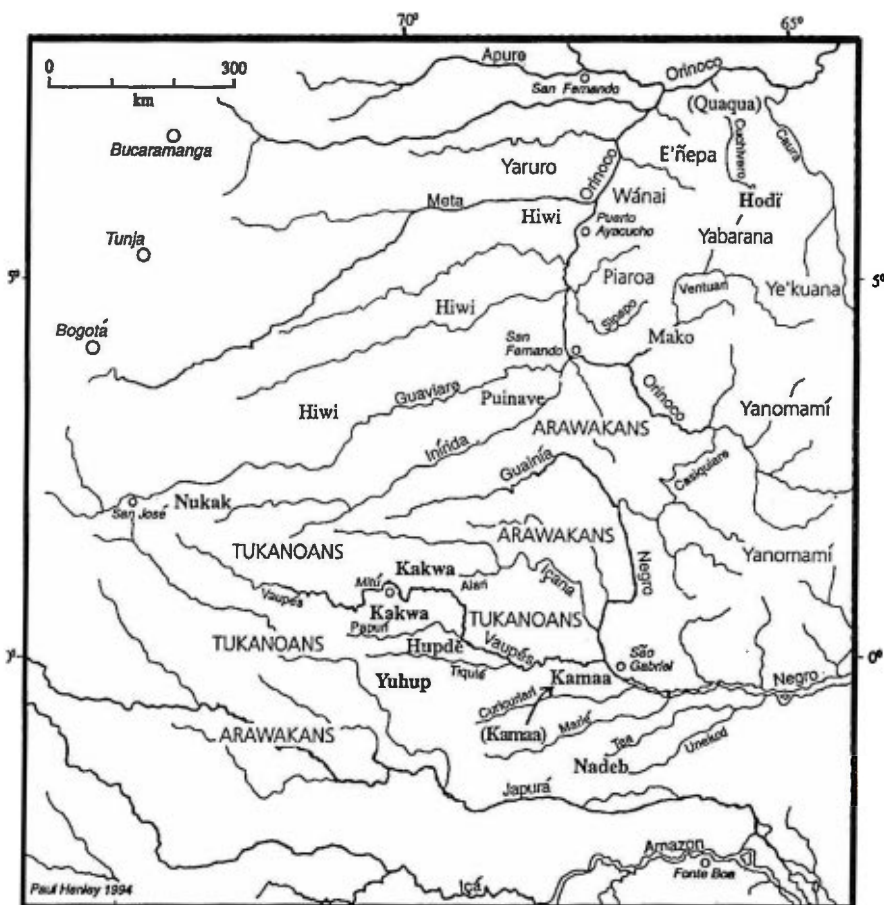
For if one ignores present-day geopolitical frontiers, and considers only the relative geographical distribution of these groups, one becomes aware that both the Hodī and certain groups of Maku inhabit the headwaters of tributaries that eventually flow into the Middle and Upper Orinoco. In the Hodī case, these tributaries lie on the right bank and enter the Orinoco via the Ventuari; in the Maku case, the Nukak Maku inhabit the headwaters of the Guaviare and Inirida which are tributaries of the left bank of the upper Orinoco. Meanwhile, most of the other Maku groups are strung out in a roughly southeasterly direction along the headwaters of right-bank tributaries of the Vaupés-Negro river system, whilst the most southerly group, the Nadëb, live on the watershed dividing the Negro from the Japurá, a major tributary running directly into the main channel of the Amazon (Map 1).

The Maku and the Hodī: an ethnographic overview

The Maku

Considered as a whole, the Maku are the largest of all the northern Amazonian foraging groups, both numerically and in terms of the size of their territory. In total, there are estimated to be somewhere between 2,700 and 3,400 Maku, distributed over a vast area. Distances between neighbouring groups can be as great as 300 kms whilst the total distance from the settlements in the extreme northwest of Maku territory, just south of the Guaviare River in Colombia, to those in the extreme southeast, close to the Japurá, a major tributary of the Amazon within Brazil, is about 1,000 kms. It is well known that the term 'Maku' is not an autodenomination - it is used in the Vaupés by other Indians and non-Indians alike to label any nomadic forest-dwelling Indians. It is considered both by the Maku themselves, and by the local users, to be a derogatory term, implying primitiveness and savagery. In this sense, it is rather akin to European usage of the word 'gypsy'. But for want of a widely accepted alternative, we are obliged to continue using the name here (see note 2). The members of all the Maku groups, like the Hodī, refer to themselves simply by the word for 'people' in their language and to other groups by the same term modified by a classificatory descriptive term, i.e. 'Blowpipe people', 'Poison grub people' or 'Howler monkey people'. In this article, we shall refer to each group by its own self-name.

According to our latest information, the Maku groups (Mattéi-Muller, Henley & Reid 1996 in press), located on both sides of the Brazilian-Colombian border are geographically distributed, from North to Southeast, as follows:



MAP 1
THE MAKU - HODÍ AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS

a) Nukak:

Some 500-1,000 members of this group live in the rainforest between the Guaviare and Inírida rivers, close to San José de Guaviare. This is the point where the Amazonian hylea gives way to the Llanos of southeastern Colombia. As such, the Nukak are the most northerly Maku group and in a direct line, live no more than 400 kms from the foothills of the Andean cordillera where Bogotá and other major cities are situated. But they were only contacted in the 1980s and to date, no anthropological studies of any depth have been published on this group, though there has been some preliminary analysis of their language (cf. Mondragón 1992, Mahecha *et al.* 1992).

b) Kakwa:

Some 200 kms to the southeast of the Nukak, around the headwaters of the Papurí, and close to the Colombian frontier town of Mitú, live the Kakwa or Bara Maku. A small group, currently estimated at 220 people, they were studied intensively by Silverwood-Cope in 1968-70 (cf. Silverwood-Cope 1972, 1980).

c) Hupdē:

Immediately to the south of the Kakwa, between the Papurí and Tiquié rivers, live about 1,300 Hupdē. This group (also referred to as Hubdē, Hupdu, Jupda etc.) was studied by Reid in 1974-76 (Reid 1979) and by Pozzobon in 1988-89 (Pozzobon 1991).

(d) Yuhup:

To the south and southwest of the Hupdē, on the other side of the Tiquié, live about 300 Yuhup (referred to by Loukotka as Yehúpde). Although a few Yuhup live within Colombia, most live on the Brazilian side of the frontier (Pozzobon 1991).

(e) Kamaa:

At the beginning of this century, when this group (also referred to as Dao) was visited by the German ethnologist, Theodor Koch-Grünberg (1906), they were living to the southeast of the Yuhup, at the headwaters of the Curicuriari and Marié rivers, both of which are right bank tributaries of the Río Negro. But now, the 70 or so Kamaa who remain are to be found living near the Brazilian town of Sao Gabriel on the Río Negro (Pozzobon 1991).

(f) Nadēb:

To the southwest of the Kamaa, in the watershed region between the middle Río Negro and the Japurá, there are 300-400 Nadēb. Some aspects of their language were described (Helen Weir 1984). Pozzobon

visited them in 1982 but no anthropological study has yet been done on this group. Besides we are not aware of any contacts between Nadëb speakers and (Indian or non-Indian) speakers of other Maku languages.

In general, all the Maku groups that have been studied in any depth know of the existence of the other Maku groups. Some even maintain that there are even additional Maku groups who live 'a long way away'. However, at present, contacts between the various Maku groups are generally limited. There is some intermarriage between Kakwa and Hupdë and, also, to lesser extent, between Hupdë and Yuhup. But the other three groups, the Nukak, Kamaa and Nadëb are all geographically and socially isolated, both from one another and from the Kakwa, Hupdë and Yuhup.

Relations between the Maku and the neighbouring groups

Although the contacts between the various Maku groups themselves may be infrequent or non-existent, most maintain active social relations with the largely Tukanoan groups who occupy the banks of the larger rivers which flow through their territories. Typically, these relations have economic, political and metaphysical components. Traditionally, the Maku have exchanged specialized items or products such as arrow poison, blowpipes, baskets or meat, for agricultural products, large clay pots, manioc graters and, increasingly over the last century, industrially manufactured goods. The Maku may also work for their Tukanoan neighbours building houses, clearing gardens and processing agricultural products.

Most Tukanoans consider and treat Maku as inferiors and there is always an element of tension in these inter-ethnic relations. Mutual accusations of sorcery are common and there are occasional fights and killings on both sides. Intermarriage across these ethnic boundaries is very rare and overall, both Maku and Tukanoans tend to use each other as examples of everything they themselves are not. By so doing, they define their own system of cultural values by default.

In general, the Maku have had less exposure to non-Indian traders, raiders, rubber-gatherers, missionaries and government agents than the other Indians of the northwest Amazon. Until the coming of the aeroplane, major rivers had always been the main avenues of non-Indian penetration of Amazonia which meant that those living on their banks were the most exposed to outside influences. Living in the forest interfluves, the Maku had a chance to observe how these powerful outsiders treated the other Indians in the area and were therefore frequently able to evade the fate of their neighbours.

The Nukak remained largely hostile to the outside world until the mid-1980s though they are now under acute threat from illicit coca-

growers who have invaded the fringes of their territory. When Silverwood-Cope (1968-70) and Reid (1974-76) carried out fieldwork amongst the Kakwa and Hupdë respectively, some local groups had been visited once or twice by non-Indians but many had not. Today, a few of them speak Spanish or Portuguese and occasionally go to trade at mission stations, but in general these groups still prefer to live in the safety of the forest. The Yuhup are much the same, though a sizable part of their territory has been invaded by both non-Indian and Indian gold miners. The Nadëb were first visited by non-Indians around 1950 and some of them are now in regular contact with local Brazilians. But only the Kamaa have succumbed in a major way to the magnetism of the outside world. They now live on the outskirts of São Gabriel and suffer greatly from alcoholism, prostitution and other 'civilised' depravities. Overall, despite pressures of many different types, the Maku have chosen to retain most aspects of their 'traditional' way of life in the forest, rather than 'integrating' into the dominant national societies surrounding them.

The Hodī

The heart of their territory lies in the Serranía de Maigualida, the westernmost extremity of the Guianese Shield which demarcates the boundary between the Venezuelan states of Bolívia and Amazonas. The Serranía is also the watershed between, on the one hand, the Asita and Parucito, which flow south into the Ventuari, and, on the other, the Kayamá and Moyá, which flow north into the Cuchivero. According to the 1992 national Venezuelan census, they numbered only 643 people, of whom 257 lived in Amazonas State and 386 in Bolívar (OCEI 1993), but according to the latest information (Robert Storrie, personal communication 1996) the Hodī might number more than 800.

Hodī is an autodetermination which simply means "indigenous people," where *ho-* means "indigenous person" and *-dī* is a plural marker for animate beings. The group has been referred to as "Hoti" in the recent ethnographic literature (Coppens 1983) whilst in earlier sources they were known by an array of different names, including "Chicano," "Orechicano," "Yuwana," "Waruwaru," "Onwa," "Guatquiare," "Wōkiare" and others. For the most part, these were simply the terms used by neighbouring indigenous groups. The Hodī are a much smaller group than the Maku.

Most of the available ethnographic information on the Hodī comes from the work of Walter Coppens, who carried out three short field visits in the 1970s (cf. Coppens & Mitrani 1974, Coppens 1983). There is also an undergraduate thesis by Virginia Guarisma (1974). Although Coppens provides valuable data on the demography and geographic

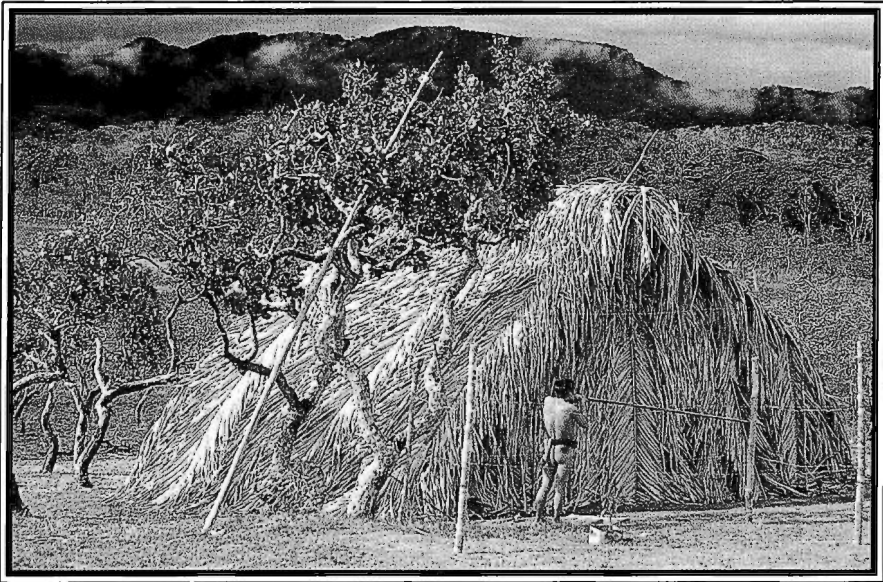


PLATE 1
TRADITIONAL HODI COLLECTIVE HOUSE (KAYAMA, 1993)



PLATE 2
HODI BUILDING A NEW HOUSE ACCORDING TO THE PANARE MODEL
(KAYAMA, 1993)



PLATE 3
HODĪ COLLECTIVE HOUSE (PANARE STYLE) (KAYAMA, 1993)



PLATE 4
HODĪ MAN PREPARING A BLOWGUN (KAYAMA, 1993)



PLATE 5
HODĪ WOMEN WEAVING A HAMMOCK (KAYAMA, 1993)



PLATE 6
A HODĪ FAMILY GOING FISHING (KAYAMA, 1993)

distribution of the population, as well as on subsistence activities and technology, the insights he gives into social and cultural aspects of Hodi life are necessarily limited since he was unable to remain long enough to gain anything more than a rudimentary grasp of the language. Prior to the study reported on here, the only study of the Hodi language was a preliminary analysis of the phonological and morphological system by a Venezuelan undergraduate, Diana Vilera Diaz (1985). In the absence of any detailed studies, it is not possible at this stage to identify any clearly demarcated subdivisions amongst the Hodi of the kind one finds amongst the Maku population, nor to distinguish any significant dialectal variations.

However it would appear from Coppens' account that the Hodi conform to the general pattern of Amazonian foraging groups. That is to say, under traditional circumstances, they live in small and mobile residential groups, sometimes consisting of no more than a single nuclear family and usually no more than 40 people. Hunting and particularly gathering play an important part in their subsistence, though fishing is a relatively unimportant activity because very few fish manage to reach the headwaters of the rivers where the Hodi live. Although they do practice agriculture and clearly depend on it greatly at certain times of the year, their plots are relatively small compared to other indigenous groups of the region. These plots are generally situated close to a settlement site and together, these act as a kind of base from which they go out on foraging expeditions (Coppens 1983).⁴

This pattern of practising limited agriculture around a base settlement site but concentrating energy and interest on wild forest resources appears to be common to Hodi and all Maku except the Nukak. The latter appear to differ from all other groups in that they do not seem to these 'bases'. Rather, they appear to move in extended circles through the forest, visiting gardens, peach palm groves and specific locations in the forest where they know that there will be seasonal abundance of various types of food. There may be historical reasons (primarily, persecution by other Indians and by non-Indians) to explain these distinctive Nukak patterns of subsistence and mobility.

Relations between the Hodi and the neighbouring groups

In contrast to most Maku groups, the contact that the Hodi have had with non-Indians has been very limited. This is because both

⁴Coppens' three visits to the Hodi all took place in the dry season (February-May), so it is possible that the highly mobile and dispersed residential pattern that the observed was, at least in part, a seasonal characteristic only. This does not alter the fact though that the size of Hodi gardens and the permanence of their settlements appears to be less than those of neighbouring groups.

overland and river access to Hodī territory remains, even today, very difficult. The most important channels of contact with the non-Indian world are two small mission stations. One of these is Catholic, staffed by an order of Colombian nuns and established on the Kayamá River on the northernmost fringe of Hodī territory in 1982. The other is mission of the North American evangelical Protestant sect, the New Tribes Mission. This was set up in 1969 on Caño Iguana, a tributary of the Parucito, at the southern limits of Hodī territory.

Like all the Maku groups with the exception of the Nukak, the Hodī maintain active social relations with neighbouring indigenous groups. In the Hodī case, their principal contacts are with the E'ñepa (Panare), though they also have less frequent contact with other neighbouring groups such as the Ye'kuana, Yawarana and Piaroa. The basis of the Hodī relationship with the E'ñepa is primarily economic: The Hodī provide the E'ñepa with certain forest products, in exchange for curare and industrially manufactured goods to which the E'ñepa have more ready access. In addition, some Hodī have begun to work on a temporary basis as porters for Piaroa gold-miners (R. Storrie, personal communication, 1994).

The Hodī have been in active contact with the E'ñepa since as long as anyone can remember but these contacts have intensified with the establishment of missions in the area as both groups gravitate around them in order to take advantage of the medical attention, elementary schooling and trade opportunities that the missions provide. Even in pre-mission times, the Hodī would sometimes build their houses right next to those of the E'ñepa. But at the mission station at Kayamá, there are now several E'ñepa and Hodī houses within a few minutes walk of one another.

Yet despite the frequency of the contacts between them, the ethnic boundary between the two groups has remained very clear. The first known case of intermarriage between the two groups involved an E'ñepa woman whose parents were supposedly both killed during a raid on their village by other E'ñepa when she was a girl. Having taken refuge in the forest, she was later found wandering alone by the Hodī who took her home and gave her shelter. However when contact was re-established with her own group of E'ñepa, she went back to them, taking with her the son she had borne by a Hodī man in the interim. Her son is still alive, he lives at Kayamá, and considers himself an E'ñepa. This man is now the only bilingual speaker of Hodī and E'ñepa. Yet some intermarriage between Hodī women and E'ñepa men in Caño Culebra, an E'ñepa community near San Juan de Manapiare, were reported by R. Storrie (personal communication 1994).

Since E'ñepa is a Carib language and bears no relation whatsoever to Hodī, communication mostly takes place in a limited trade language

consisting of a few terms drawn from each language. Nowadays, at the mission at Kayamá, Spanish terms may be used as well.

In styles of dress, architecture and other aspects of technology and material culture, the Hodī and the E'ñepa appear at first impression to have a great deal in common. But according to the E'ñepa, this has come because the Hodī are progressively copying E'ñepa styles. Even allowing for E'ñepa chauvinism, some evidence for this could be found in the fact that, generally speaking, the Hodī manufactures, from houses to loin-cloths, appear to be somewhat imperfect copies of the E'ñepa versions.

The general air of informality which characterises the Hodī in comparison with the E'ñepa is evident in the very kinesics of the two groups. The E'ñepa are generally reserved and exhibit a high degree of self control in the way in which they walk, stand or move about as a group. In contrast, the Hodī are generally much less inhibited, and more voluble. The contrast between the respective *techniques de corps* of the two groups is clear for all to see when both come for the weekly distribution of malaria pills at the clinic at the Kayamá mission. The Hodī arrive as a large, somewhat disordered, group of mixed gender, all talking loudly, carrying their pet monkeys with them or playing their flutes. In contrast, the E'ñepa approach silently, with men and women in clearly separated groups, and then stand or sit in postures of studied calm whilst they await the dispensing of medicines (cf. Henley 1994).

In general, in their relations with the E'ñepa, the Hodī do not seem to suffer the attitude of near-contempt which the Maku suffer from their Tukanoan neighbours. However there is no doubt that the E'ñepa are the dominant partners in any exchange and regard the Hodī as inferior beings. They call them *tinchakeejke*, literally "without knowledge" and compare them in this regard to children. They are generally disdainful of the Hodī and claim that they live "all jumbled up." Just as the Tukanoans say of the Maku, the E'ñepa also claim that Hodī marry their sisters. R. Storrice also confirmed this information (pers. comm. 1996) which, according to him, only applies to the Hodī who live in Kayama. The E'ñepa do however recognize that the Hodī are very able musicians. An E'ñepa myth attributes the origin of the Hodī to an anaconda which was cut up into small parts, each of which then turned into a Hodī who walked off playing a flute. Present-day E'ñepa freely admit that they have adopted some Hodī music for their own pleasure.

Maku-Hodī: some differences and other cultural similarities

Both Hodī and Maku take advantage of a very wide range of forest foods - they all eat insects, grubs, honey, freshwater crabs, wild nuts and fruits as well as fish and game animals. There are, however, certain

minor variations in subsistence activities from group. For example, the Hodī and the Nukak do not use bows and arrows whilst the Kakwa and Hupdē use them extensively. Similarly, whilst the Hodī and Nukak dedicate little time to fishing, this is an important activity for the Kakwa and Hupdē. These differences can probably be attributed to a large extent to local ecological differences which in turn give rise to differences in the nature and volume of game and fishing resources that are available in the immediate vicinity.

The social organization of both the Hodī and the Maku revolves around small bands or local groups which are not only highly mobile but whose composition is in a constant state of flux. In this regard, these two groups may be sharply distinguished from other Amazonian foraging peoples, such as the Waorani, Sirionó and Yuquí. These groups are also reported to be very mobile but the social composition of local groups appears to be much more stable than that of the Hodī and Maku.

We have already noted this point of similarity between the Hodī and the Maku in our paper noted before (see note 1): both groups appear to be very musical, although there are also some differences between them in this regard as well. In both groups, men play a variety of different flutes, pipes and whistles. Although neither Hupdē nor Kakwa women sing, both Hodī and Nukak women do so a great deal, both to their babies and to themselves. The men of all groups chant on ritual occasions but the Hodī appear to be unique in that at night men can be heard singing long, elaborate solos in their houses. These are probably connected with shamanic activities, for which some Hodī are both renowned and feared by the E'ñepa.

In the absence of any detailed published studies, these comparative observations can be no more than tentative and preliminary. In the cases of both the Nukak and the Hodī, there is an almost total absence of literature about anything more than the most superficial aspects of social organization. The same may be said of their systems of belief. However, it is pleasing to report that there are currently a number of a field studies in progress amongst these two groups and these will undoubtedly transform our understanding of both of them entirely. On the evidence presently available, it seems that the Hodī share more cultural features in common with the Nukak than they do with other Maku groups. But whether the results of the studies currently underway will confirm or refute this conclusion, remains to be seen.⁵

⁵We know of two Colombian colleagues working with the Nukak, the ethnologist Hector Mondragón and the archeologist Gustavo Politis, as well as three students from the Universidad Nacional (cf. Mahecha *et al.* 1992). There are also two European doctoral students engaged in research on these groups: Sabine Groux (Université de Paris X - Nanterre) has been working with the Nukak; Robert Storrie (University of Manchester) has been working with the Hodī since 1994.

Maku- Hodī: linguistic comparison

There is still a great deal of work to be done on clarifying the precise relationship between all these languages. The published material on Maku languages is too fragmentary to draw any firm conclusions about their degree of relatedness to Hodī at this stage.

One of current questions concerning the Maku family is the Maku-Puinave relationship. This association has been advocated at various points in the literature since at least the time of Rivet in the 1920s.⁶ Puinave is presently spoken by an highly acculturated group of 2-3,000 people (probably more, 5,000 according to Jorge Gonzalez, personal communication 1994) whose communities are scattered around the lower reaches of the Inírída, Guaviare and Atabapo rivers (Map 1). The Puinave were erroneously often considered as the descendants of the Guaipunaves, an Arawak group who dominated the Upper Orinoco in the eighteenth century as active partners in the slave trade operated out of the upper Río Negro by the Portuguese (Gilij 1965, I: 55; Dreyfus 1992: 86-87, Lizarralde 1993: 100). More recently Pozzobon (1991: 243) reports that Wirpsa and Mondragón (1988) present "a tree of linguistic affinities in which the Puinave Want-Yingt would belong to the same stock as the Maku languages." A phonological and grammatical description of this language is presently in progress (Nestor Pardo). But as we did not get any Puinave data for this present investigation, we could not include this language in the linguistic comparison we presented in our former article (see note 1).

Some of the Maku languages are mutually intelligible (Nukak and Kakwa, Hupdē and Yuhup), thereby constituting a dialectal rather than merely linguistic distinction, though others clearly are not. It is obvious that only with the aid of much more profound linguistic descriptions of each language and a detailed comparative analysis between all the Maku languages that one would be able to establish the degree of relatedness between them, and consequently clarify the process of dialectalisation within the Maku family. Our comparative list (Appendix I) suggests that Hodī is most closely related to Nukak and Kakwa, which is as one would expect given that they are geographically the closest Maku to the Hodī. Although there are also some striking correspondences between Hodī and Hupdē, they would appear to be somewhat more distantly related. It is important to stress then that spatial distance is not an index of linguistic differentiation: the two groups which most extensively intermarry, the Kakwa and the Hupdē, live in adjoining territories but speak mutually unintelligible languages

⁶All the works on classification of South American languages which were published after Rivet's article (1920: 12 69-82) maintain the Maku-Puinave affinity (Mason 1963; Loukotka 1968), but without adding more data.

(Reid 1979, Pozzobon 1991: 242-243).⁷ Until one has data that is equal both in quantity and quality from all the Maku languages, there will always be the risk that the perceived degree of closeness with Hodī could be no more than a function of the quality of the data on the Maku language concerned.

Nor has the problem only to do with the data we do not have. We are only too well aware that even with the material that is available, certain errors may have crept in due to differences in the conventions of transcription used by the various sources.⁸ The number of correspondences we found between Maku languages and Hodī is still quite limited. Nevertheless as we underlined in our linguistic comparison (1996 in press), the relevant point is that most of these lexical correspondences have been found in four semantic fields of the basic vocabulary of these languages (anatomy, kinship, environment and primary activities), which means that one can rule out the possibility that they are mere coincidences or loan-words. Therefore in spite of the limitation of our data we hypothesized that these languages might constitute four groups related to the same stock, distributed as follows:

(1) Nukak-Kakwa in Colombia:

These languages are largely mutually intelligible (Mondragon 1988, Reid 1992).

(2) Hupdë-Yuhup-Kamaa in Brazil with a few Yuhup in Colombia:

Hupdë and Yuhup are mutually intelligible (Reid 1979) and Kamaa seems nearer to Hupdë/Yuhup than to Nadëb according to Pozzobon (1991: 242-243), Reid and Valteir Martins- a missionary linguist who has studied Kamaa for many years.

(3) Nadëb, also in Brazil:

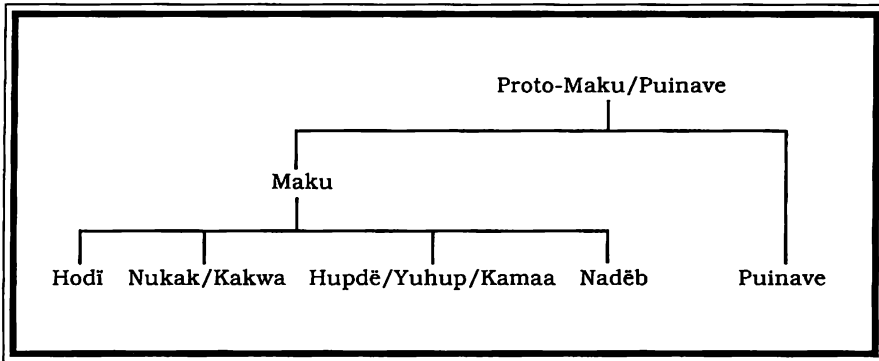
All the data published until now agree that Nadëb should not be understandable by the neighbours Maku (Kamaa, Hupdë, Yuhup).

(4) Hodī, in Venezuela:

Through lack of currently available material on the Maku-Puinave relationship, we assume that they derived from an hypothetical Proto-Maku/Puinave:

⁷Pozzobon's comparison (1991: 242) is based on a list of only 63 words, derived from a variety of sources of mixed reliability. Pozzobon recognizes that this renders the validity of his statistical comparison "doubtful" but in the absence of any more authoritative study, it is useful reference purposes.

⁸We tried to homogenize, as much as we could, the transcriptions of the data we got for our comparative analysis.



Some speculative conclusions about origins

In very general terms, the way of life of the Maku and Hodī seems to be similar to that of many small indigenous groups, scattered throughout Amazonia, whose life-styles entail a high degree of nomadism associated with a mode of subsistence based on foraging.

Almost all such groups also practise swidden agriculture to some extent. They generally invest much greater time and show much greater interest in foraging activities, particularly in hunting. For the most part, they live away from the mainstreams of the major rivers, around the headwaters of tributary rivers or in interfluvial regions.

Settlement groups are generally small, typically 2-6 families (10-35 people), and the architecture of their houses is rudimentary. The relative simplicity and portability of their technology and material culture is complemented by their sophisticated knowledge and understanding of the natural environment. Some of these foraging groups maintain, at least for certain periods of the year, a relationship of dependence (or "intelligent parasitism," according to one's point of view) on more sedentary and populous indigenous groups.

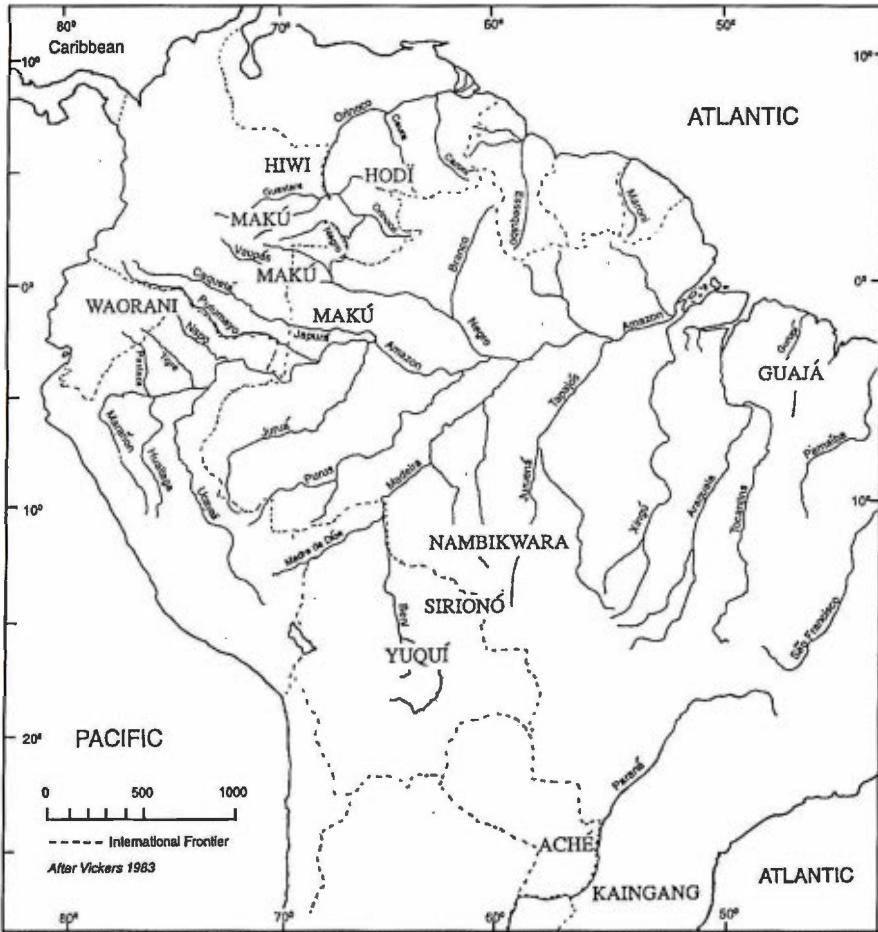
In northern Amazonia, the Maku groups are perhaps the most extensively studied, though further to the south, in the Ecuadorian Oriente there is the well-known case of the Waorani (Rival 1992, 1933). There is also the case of the Cuiva and other foraging Híwi (Guahibo) subgroups, who live on various left bank tributaries of the Middle Orinoco and who rely exclusively on hunting, fishing and gathering. These subgroups represent 10% of the total Híwi population, the remainder of whom intersperse dry season foraging with rainy season agriculture. The Híwi as a whole are rather different from the other northern foraging groups mentioned above, firstly because they generally live on the banks of major rivers, and secondly because they live in what is essentially a savanna habitat rather than in the forest (Arcand 1972, Metzger & Morey 1983).

One also finds such foraging groups around the southernmost rim of the Amazon Basin. These include such well-known cases as the Nambikwara of the Mato Grosso in south-central Brazil (Lévi-Strauss 1948, 1963), and, about 500 kms to the southwest of them, in the eastern Bolivian lowlands, the Sirionó and the Yuquí (Holmberg 1969, Stearman 1989). Roughly 1,500 kms further still to the south and east, there are the Aché-Guayakí in eastern Paraguay (Métraux & Baldus 1963, Clastres 1972) and the Kaingang in the southern Brazilian state of Santa Catarina (Henry 1964). Meanwhile, far to the north and only about 650 kms southeast of the mouth of the Amazon, on the middle reaches of the Pindare, there are the Guajá (Balée 1993) (Map 2).

The view enshrined in the editorial policy of the Handbook of South American Indians, originally published in 1946-8, was that these groups were "marginal tribes," whose isolated headwater or interfluvial locations had meant that they simply had not been reached by the "cultural flow" emanating from more advanced societies, supposedly situated on the Lower Amazon, which would have brought them such technological benefits as canoes, pottery, weaving and above all, developed swidden agriculture. As a result, these "Marginals" had remained "pre-agricultural nomads" or, at best, inefficient agriculturalists who "admitted," almost as a guilty secret, that they had learned what few agricultural techniques they did know from their more advanced neighbours (cf. Steward 1963:383, Métraux 1963c:862)⁹.

This view was later famously contested by Lathrap who argued that far from being relics of some pre-agricultural era, the so-called "hunting" societies of Amazonia "can be interpreted as the wreckage of evolved agricultural societies forced into an environment unsuitable to the basic economic pattern." Lathrap's position on foragers formed part of a broader argument whereby the whole of Amazonian history was to be considered within the context of competition for control of major riverbanks since these offered not only the most fertile soils for agriculture but also the best opportunities for hunting and fishing. According to this perspective, the societies inhabiting the Amazonian interfluves were those who had lost the struggle and who had therefore been reduced to foraging because of the unproductivity of soils for agriculture. Although Lathrap formulated this argument with specific reference to "all the simpler groups within the Tupi-Guaraní, Arawak and Panoan linguistic stocks," he suggested that it could be extended to other foraging groups, including the Maku, "whose cultural and linguistic affiliations are less clear" (Lathrap 1968, 1970).

⁹The diffusionist precepts of the editors were not however shared by all the contributors to the Handbook. Lévi-Strauss has recently recalled how he attempted, in vain, to argue against the notion that the Nambikwara should be regarded as the pristine vestige of some archaic time rather than a product of "the vicissitudes of history" (Lévi-Strauss 1993:8).



MAP 2
FORAGING GROUPS OF THE AMAZON BASIN

In the twenty-five years since Lathrap published his celebrated paper on Amazonian foragers, certain of his arguments have come to be widely accepted, even though, at the same time, some of the general principles on which they are based have been questioned. There seems to be little doubt, for example, that at least some Amazonian foraging groups are "devolved agriculturalists" who have been displaced from their original territories by their enemies and who have taken up a more nomadic way of life as a result. This argument appears to apply particularly well to the southern Amazonian groups.¹⁰

But many regional specialists would now question the importance of environmental factors in this process of "devolution." In the first place, comparative ethnographic evidence would not support the view that one of the principal sources of conflict in Amazonia has been competition for control of natural resources. Far more important, generally speaking, has been raiding with the aim of capturing people - perhaps the scarcest of all resources in Amazonia (cf. Rivière 1984) - be it as wives, trophies, sources of names or identities, or simply as slaves. Moreover, there is strong evidence, particularly with regard to slave-raiding, that this warfare greatly intensified following the European invasion. Thus the devolutionary process cannot be projected back into pre-Colonial times without considerable caution (Menget 1985 *et al.*). This comparative evidence suggests that if some groups have been forced into the interfluves, this is not because they lost out in the struggle for the choicest resource sites on the banks of the major rivers, but rather because they have been seeking refuge from those who might want to attack them.

Nor would comparative evidence suggest that once such groups have taken refuge in the interfluves. They are obliged to become nomadic foragers simply because the soils are unsuitable for agriculture and the game so scarce that they have to be constantly on the move to keep up with it. The few detailed studies of indigenous subsistence activities in the interfluves that have actually been carried out indicate that sedentary swidden agriculture is entirely possible in these regions and that sources of animal protein are abundant (cf. Lizot 1978, Descola 1994).

¹⁰Even at the time of the Handbook of South American Indians, in direct contradiction to the editorial view that foraging groups were relics of a pre-agricultural era, the detailed entries on particular groups suggested that the Nambikwara, Sirionó, Aché-Guayakí and Kaingáng had all once practised agriculture to a significantly greater extent and that the nomadic, foraging-based life style which they had adopted was a consequence of the general social dislocation that resulted from harassment and displacement by a variety of enemies (Lévi-Strauss 1963:363; Holmberg 1963:455; Métraux & Baldus 1963:436; Métraux 1963a:450-451 and see also Henry 1964:3). More recent evidence suggests that the same is also true of the Guajá (Balée 1993:245).

This suggests that one has to find other explanations for the nomadic, foraging-based life style of some interfluvial groups. Indeed it need not be the same explanation for all of them. In some cases, it may be that they are simply refugees, fleeing from their enemies, and therefore reluctant to settle down in any one place and establish gardens. If the dislocation they have suffered is very great or continues over a number of generations, as seems to have been the case with the Guajá, they may lose entirely the necessary agricultural expertise (cf. Balée 1993: 245). In other cases however, it may be simply a matter of cultural choice, i.e., the groups in question prefer this mobile mode of existence to the sedentary life-style required by an agriculture-dependent subsistence strategy.

It is this latter explanation which appears to apply best to the situation of the foraging groups of northern Amazonia, particularly the Maku. The ethnographic accounts of Maku society emphasize the positive cultural value of mobility as a pre-requisite of growth, maturation and reproduction. Far from being the miserable "wreckage" of some supposedly more advanced society, the Maku are well adapted to their foraging life style and they make a good living from the environment with a minimum of effort (Silverwood Cope 1972, 1980; Reid 1979).

In this connection, we should draw attention to a major difference that distinguishes the northern Amazonian foragers from those further south. Most southern foragers speak languages that belong to well-attested language groupings and to which more sedentary, agriculture-dependent and socially complex societies also belong.¹¹ Of course, this does not itself imply that any particular foraging group is a devolved version of its socially more complex linguistic cognates: clearly, the present social and cultural differences between them could simply be interpreted as the end-result of a process of diversification from a

¹¹Of the well-known cases cited here, only the Nambikwara have not been successfully affiliated to any broader linguistic grouping. Thus the Santa Catarina Kaingang studied by Jules Henry (1964) were the only group of Kaingang that depended exclusively on foraging. The other Kaingang groups, according to Métraux, were reported to be sedentary agriculturalists (Métraux 1963a). More generally, the Kaingang are a Gê-speaking group and hence are related to the northern and central Gê, who are justly renowned for their large, semi-permanent and elaborately laid out villages which in pre-Contact times are reported to have numbered over 1,000 people (Turner 1979: 149). Similarly, the Sirionó and Yuquí (who are closely related to one another anyway) and the Aché-Guayakí all speak languages which have been classified as Tupi-Guaraní. This is the language family to which the Tapirapé and Parintintin of Central Brazil also belong, with their elaborate social organization and large sedentary villages. It is also the language family of the Tupinamba groups that lived on the Atlantic Coast of Brazil in the sixteenth century and whose villages have been estimated to number several thousand people on occasion. The Guajá are yet another Tupi-Guaraní group and are reported to speak a language which is very similar to their sedentary agricultural neighbours the Tembé (Viveiros de Castro 1992:24; Nimuendajú 1963).

common starting point. But in conjunction with the historical evidence referring to above, the linguistic affiliations of the southern foragers are at least compatible with the thesis that in some degree and in some local circumstances, they may be the product of a process of social devolution.

In contrast, the extensive ethnography of northern Amazonia has not yielded any examples of socially more complex but linguistically cognate groups that might offer a vision of what the foraging groups might once have been, or of what they might have become under different historical circumstances. Both Hodī and Maku are surrounded by indigenous groups whose languages belong to well-established groupings and who dominate access to the main rivers running through their respective territories. In the Hodī case, they are encircled by Carib-speakers: the E'ñepa to the north, the Yawarana to the west and the Ye'kuana to the south and east.

Similarly, most Maku local groups are surrounded by Tukanoan groups. But all attempts to relate the Hodī or Maku languages to any of these groupings have so far met with failure. This incontrovertible ethnolinguistic fact would appear to preclude the possibility that the Hodī or the Maku split off from their respective riverine neighbours at some point in the past and, as such, they cannot represent either archaic or devolved forms of the latter.¹²

It is more appropriate therefore to take them at face value, as groups whose foraging way of life should be interpreted as a positive feature of their general cultural profile rather than as a purely negative quality. This would not preclude the possibility that they may have been displaced from downstream locations by other, demographically more powerful, groups. But rather than see their foraging subsistence strategy as a consequence of their displacement, it would perhaps be more appropriate to see it as the reason for it. That is, on account of the small, mobile groups in which they choose to live, the Maku and perhaps the Hodī as well, may have been unable to resist the incursions of other groups whose agriculture-based mode of subsistence permitted them to develop larger and politically more organized communities.

For if the Hodī and Maku are not related historically to their riverine neighbours, it is tempting to speculate that they may, after all,

¹²Various attempts have been made to link the languages of northern foraging groups to broader groupings but these have not gained widespread acceptance. We have already referred to such attempts to classify the Maku languages in note 2. Of the other groups mentioned in the text, the attempts to classify Hiwi as either Arawakan or Macro-Chibchan remains tenuous (cf. Metzger & Morey 1983:134), as do the attempts to classify Waorani as anything other than an independent language (cf. Rival 1993).

represent a previous phase of human settlement in Amazonia and that they have been displaced to geographically marginal locations by ancestors of their present neighbours. One does not have to take on board the "eco-determinist" assumptions of the Lathrap model of Amazonian social development in order to accept this hypothesis. In the light of the demonstration that a foraging-based subsistence strategy is not absolutely required by the resource constraints of the interfluvial or headwater regions of Amazonia, it is not necessary to suggest that it was only when the Hodī-Maku were confined to such regions that foraging took on particular importance for them. It could equally be the case that even before this period, their dependence on agriculture was, in comparison to other Amazonian groups, relatively minor. Indeed it may be precisely because they were more committed agriculturalists in the first place that the expanding groups of Caribs, Tukanoans or Arawaks were able to develop the larger settlements and greater political organization which allowed them eventually to displace and dominate the Hodī-Maku.

Nor is it necessary to hypothesize that process of displacement was brought about by a series of violent conflicts over natural resources, as the Lathrap model suggests. If there were any violent conflicts it is much more likely, in view of the comparative ethnographic evidence, that these would have entailed raiding for people rather than a struggle for control over the resources of particular biotopes. Accounts of Maku ethnohistory certainly lend themselves well to this interpretation.

For the time being though, in the absence of any further data, these hypotheses must remain in the realm of speculation. Perhaps more immediately useful are the questions that the Hodī-Maku association raises concerning the linguistic affiliations of other Amazonian foraging groups whose languages have not yet been identified with any established language grouping. The Hodī-Maku case suggests that rather than seek such affiliations with immediately neighbouring agriculture-dependent groups, one should look instead to groups settled in similar, supposedly "marginal," ecological circumstances at headwaters or in interfluves, even though their present territories may lie at considerable distances. It might be profitable, for example, to carry out a detailed comparison of Waorani with Hodī-Maku.¹³

¹³As a straw in the wind, we can report that Waorani autodetermination (also written Huaorani) is similar to both Hodī and Hupdē in that it too is composed of two morphemes. *huao*, meaning "person, human being" and *-rani*, a plural marker (Rival 1993: 650n). However a comparison by Reid of approximately 250 ethnobotanical terms failed to produce any obvious cognates.

But perhaps the most immediate task should be to examine the possibility that there are related groups in the upper Río Negro-Middle Orinoco region since not only does it lie midway between the Maku and the Hodī territories but, as we observed at the beginning of this article, it was an important link in the pre-Colonial indigenous exchange network that operated between the two river basins.

One might ask whether there could be any linguistic or cultural affinity between the Maku-Hodī and the Hīwi. On the face of it, given the cultural differences between them and the savanna, mainstream location of the Hīwi, it seems unlikely that there could be any such relationship, but it is still perhaps worth another look.

As we observed in our former publication mentioned above, the same could be said of the so-called "Mako" who live on various tributaries of the middle Ventuari. At the present time, the Mako are socially and culturally integrated with the Piaroa¹⁴ but there remains some doubt as to whether they really are of the same cultural origin. Some Mako are said to have come from further north, from the headwaters of the Parguaza and Cuao rivers, which would place them relatively close to Hodī territory (Overing and Kaplan 1987: 316-317, Mansutti-Rodríguez 1990, 1991).¹⁵

One might even ask about the now-extinct "Quaqua," situated by the Jesuit missionary Gilij above and below the junction of the Cuchivero with the Middle Orinoco in the mid-eighteenth century. They were a small group, of no more than 150 people, who were quite different from their Carib-speaking Tamanaku neighbours. Gilij reports that in relative contrast to the latter, the Quaqua were extremely resistant to being settled in mission stations and tended to escape at the first opportunity. Gilij associates their language with Piaroa but cites no evidence to support this classification (cf. Gilij 1965, I: 127; 131-133; II: 155; III: 116n, 174). Could they instead be distant cousins of the Bara Maku of the Vaupés, whose autodenomination is *Kakwa*? After all, the latter told Peter Silverwood-Cope that their ancestors came from the northeast. Moreover, the Quaqua would have lived only a few days' travel downstream from the Hodī.

In short, the discovery of a linguistic affiliation between Maku and Hodī poses more questions than it answers. But it is only in raising such questions that we will be able to progress beyond the perspectives offered by the now clearly inadequate ethnohistorical paradigms that have dominated studies of Amazonian foragers for the last fifty years.

¹⁴S. Zent, who has been working among the Piaroa for many years has observed some similarities between the Piaroa and Hodī languages but this still needs clarification.

¹⁵Mansutti-Rodríguez (1990: 15; 1991: 12) also refers to the "nomadic" Sereu, a group of "hunter-gatherers" who, according to Piaroa oral tradition, formerly inhabited the headwaters of the Cuao, Cataniapo and Guaviarito.

Abstract

The Hodí of Venezuela and the Maku groups of Brazil and Colombia, in addition to sharing linguistic affinities, present a set of common features concerning their geographical ubication and their socio-economic organization: they both live in relatively "marginal" interfluvial areas and they depend to an important degree on hunting and gathering. This article considers the implications of these cultural and linguistic affinities not only for the ethnohistory of the Upper Orinoco - Rio Negro watershed but also for the long-running debate about the status of foraging groups within the Amazon Basin as a whole.

Resumen

Los Hodí de Venezuela y los grupos Makú de Brasil y Colombia, además de compartir afinidades lingüísticas presentan un conjunto de características referentes a su ubicación geográfica y su organización socio-económica: viven en áreas interfluviales relativamente marginales y dependen, en buena parte, de la caza y la recolección. Este trabajo contempla las implicaciones que plantean estas afinidades culturales y lingüísticas no solamente para la etnohistoria de la región del Alto Orinoco-Río Negro sino también para la larga controversia referente al estatus de los grupos cazadores y recolectores en toda la cuenca amazónica.

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Appendix I

These are the words selected for our comparative list, from which we established the lexical correspondences between the Maku-Hodi languages and hypothesized their genetic relationship.

ANATOMY					
	Hodi	Nukak	Kakwa	Hupdë	Nadëb
Arm	<i>mo</i>	<i>mo</i>		<i>momoi</i>	<i>mooh</i>
(pl.)	<i>mota</i> <i>moweya</i>	<i>mihna</i>	<i>mihda</i>	<i>momoi</i>	<i>mo</i>
Hand	<i>mo</i> <i>mohwahwa</i>	<i>teidit</i>	<i>téichaa</i>	<i>dahpong</i>	<i>mooh</i>
Finger	<i>tela</i>	<i>teih</i>	<i>tei</i>	<i>chibm</i>	
(pl.)	<i>teliye</i>				
Head	<i>tu</i>	<i>kiu</i> <i>chëü</i>		<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i> <i>nuuh</i>
Mouth	<i>a</i>	<i>panât</i>	<i>yak</i>	<i>nohkodn</i>	<i>nooh</i>
Calf	<i>wenah</i> <i>mEhnatuno</i>	<i>wiunah</i>		<i>chibm webeh</i>	
Leg	<i>mEhna</i>	<i>wionah</i>	<i>wiunah</i>		<i>hüm</i>
Testicle	<i>ini dare</i> ¹ <i>inena dari</i>	<i>tikeri</i>	<i>diri</i>	<i>hat tip wugn</i> ²	
Urine	<i>duri</i>			<i>chi deh</i>	
Penis	<i>inena</i>	<i>diri</i>		<i>tubm</i>	

¹*ini dare* "child seed"
²*hat tip wugn* "egg holder"

KINSHIP, PERSON					
	Hodi	Nukak	Kakwa	Hupdë	Nadëb
Woman	<i>au</i> <i>hau</i>	<i>yad</i>	<i>aa</i> <i>yad</i>	<i>au</i> <i>ai</i> <i>ta'ai</i> <i>tai</i>	<i>hëñ</i>
Wife	<i>aun</i>	<i>yadn</i> <i>yau</i> <i>yad</i> <i>yan</i>	<i>aa</i> <i>yad</i> <i>yatn</i>	<i>tehin</i> ³ <i>tEin</i> <i>taai</i>	
(pl.)	<i>anti</i> <i>aundī</i>				

KINSHIP, PERSON CONTD.

	Hodī	Nukak	Kakwa	Hupdē	Nadēb
Mother	u	in	in	in	ēēn
Grandmother (FM)	a hu ⁴ hanio ⁵			aa'	hoonh
Father	laE lai	ip	ip	ip	ib
Cognate	hi ⁶				
Elder brother	nē ⁷	jeñé	jéñe		
My elder brother	hyene				
Father's brother	laE lai	ipçu	ibii	paih	
Grandfather (FF)	laE ah ⁸		nioah		dooh
Forefather	lai ai battecho		nioah	oodē hibah teindē	ooh
Lineage		nio			
Old (person)	ah	ah máa	máa	wudn wuhudn	
(thing)	tahwo				
Old man	uri dewē			wihudn	wahēh
Old woman	waihlo				
Young	bai	bai	bai nūhma	taī dor ⁹	
Son	haye ine ini	nein manui	nīm weh	teh	taah
Daughter	hayu	nīm	nīm	togm	
Young daughter	titau				
Child (pl.)	ini inimo	tibmjē		dor	
To make child	inimo bai ¹⁰		nūminūmi	dēwei	
Brother-in-law	baiha ¹¹	baih	baih	yoh	
Sister-in-law	baihui	bairi baari		mehin	
He	kye		kau	tuh	
They (masc.)	didī	ket	ket	hudn	
You (pl.)	ketī kēdī			nung	
Person	ho	kak	kak	hup	

The kinship terms have not yet been clearly identified in Hodī. Therefore we presented the variants collected with different informants.

³tehin or tEīn "son's mother"

⁴ah u "old mother";

⁵ha nio "ancestor woman";

⁶hi refers to any person one cannot marry;

⁷ne vocative form. Other terms were collected by R. Storrie for "elder brother" *molokwaha*; *amahno akia*)

⁸laE ah "old father";

⁹taī dor "woman child";

¹⁰inimo bai "to make children";

¹¹Baiha according to R. Storrie (pers. comm.) means "young brother". According to him it seems that there are no in-law terms in some Hodī areas.

	ENVIRONMENT				
	Hodï	Nukak	Kakwa	Hupdë	Nadëb
Forest	<i>cho</i> ¹² <i>tauku</i>	<i>hyaa</i>	<i>hyaa</i> <i>tunââ</i>	<i>chaa</i> <i>chugn</i>	
Leaf	<i>hya</i>				-get
Flower	<i>bu</i>		<i>chaa</i>		
Vine	<i>ibuhu</i>	<i>buu</i>			
Seed	<i>dare</i> <i>tare</i>	<i>dare</i>		<i>wugn</i>	
Soil	<i>ne</i>	<i>noh</i>		<i>tyah</i> <i>tsah</i>	
Path	<i>mana</i>	<i>namaa</i> <i>ñama</i>	<i>namaá</i>	<i>tiu</i>	
Bee (spec.)	<i>maina</i> <i>mumaina</i>	<i>manui</i> <i>meumono</i>			
Honey	<i>hena</i>			<i>neng</i>	
Dog or cat	<i>yewi</i> ¹³	<i>yiw</i>	<i>yiw</i> <i>yuyi</i>	<i>ñ'a'am ho</i>	
Forest dog or Jaguar	<i>cho yewi</i>	<i>yiw</i>	<i>yiw</i>	<i>ñahaam</i> <i>ñ'a'am</i>	<i>awad</i>
Rain	<i>o</i>	<i>abuni</i>		<i>deh</i> ¹⁴	
To rain	<i>o ibu</i>	<i>maabïn</i>		<i>deh loyoi</i>	
Wind	<i>hune</i> <i>chihuchedë</i>	<i>huat</i>	<i>johrit</i>	<i>bohot</i>	
Fire	<i>kule</i>	<i>tüa</i>	<i>kut</i>	<i>tegn hud</i>	<i>tüüg</i>
Ember	<i>bute</i>	<i>tüha</i>	<i>tuu</i>	<i>tegn hoi</i>	
Swamp	<i>moo</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>moh</i> ¹⁵ <i>bo'</i>	
Tree (pl.)	<i>tawï</i> <i>tau</i>			<i>tegn</i>	<i>tüüg</i>
Here	<i>bëni</i>	<i>nïn</i>	<i>nin</i>	<i>nut</i>	

Environment:
¹²*cho* refers to any space out of the house, consequently forest;
¹³*yewi* refers to any animal of the feline or canine family
¹⁴*deh* "water";
¹⁵*moh* "lake";

**PRIMARY ACTIVITIES
MISCELLANEA**

	Hodï	Nukak	Kakwa	Hupdë	Nadëb
Fire-place	<i>to'ine</i>	<i>tïtnah</i>		<i>tegn hudn</i>	
Food	<i>hawa</i>			<i>wedn</i>	<i>waa</i>
To eat	<i>kwâ¹⁵</i>	<i>wam</i>		<i>wedei</i>	
	<i>hwa</i>	<i>hemat</i>			
To walk	<i>manau</i>	<i>namaa</i>	<i>namaá</i>	<i>hamai</i>	
		<i>numa</i>			
To come back	<i>wei</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>bei</i>	<i>bayai</i>	
	<i>be-</i>			<i>beyei</i>	
To go	<i>wai</i>		<i>wei</i>	<i>vai</i>	
				<i>wayai</i>	
To blow (blowpipe)	<i>hue</i>	<i>hïw</i>	<i>hùh</i>	<i>chawai</i>	
To fall or To go down	<i>hui</i>	<i>chiun</i>	<i>yïg</i>		<i>hïn</i> <i>hïih</i>
Loin-cloth (pl.)	<i>doto</i>	<i>düh</i>		<i>bwobm</i>	
	<i>utï [udï]</i>				
Thing	<i>hae</i>	<i>hap</i>	<i>yap</i>		
	<i>hai</i>				
Good	<i>ti</i>	<i>tïi</i>	<i>tïi</i>	<i>nau</i>	
	<i>tïhat¹⁶</i>				

Primary activities Miscellanea: ¹⁵*hawa* means "things"; ¹⁶*tïhat* "good thing"

GRAMMATICAL MORPHEMS

	Hodï	Nukak	Kakwa	Hupdë	Nadëb
plural marker (+ animate)	<i>-dï [tï]</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>-de [dï]</i>	
(+ inanimate)	<i>-dë</i>	<i>-na</i>			
	<i>-wa</i>				
accusative (ergative) (marker of the direct object)	<i>-nï</i>	<i>-dih</i>	<i>-dih</i>		
negation	<i>-de</i>				
	<i>-deh</i>				<i>-dooh</i>

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