

# Fieldwork among the Ye'kwana of Venezuela.

Natalia Cáceres Arandia Université Lyon 2

#### The Ye'kwana: a Carib speaking group Coordinación: F. Queixalos y O. Ren SUCRE MIRANDA LARA CARABOBO TRUJILLO MONAGAS PORTUGUESA AMACURO TACHIRA Geographically very extended Convenciones Datos etnolingüísticos Límite de frontera Lenguas Indígenas Límite de estado Lenguas en peligro de extinción: RANIVA RARÉ YARARANA Población Indígena alde 1983; OCEI 1994; Zent 1994, 1996; Vidal 1996; González Ñañez 199 Source: Queixalós & Renault-Lescure (2000)



- Hunter-gatherers located along rivers
- About **5.000 speakers** (more than 4.000 in two states of Venezuela, less than 500 in Brazil)

- 1. What makes the field context seem ideal for documentation
- 2. Field experience
- 3. The other side of the story
- 4. Proposed strategy

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What makes the field context seem ideal for documentation



#### 1. What makes the field context seem ideal for documentation

#### National context

- National political context apparently favourable towards indigenous rights
  - Indigenous rights included in the 1998 Constitution
  - Organic Law of Indigenous Peoples in 2006
  - Ministry of Indigenous Peoples and a specific program
     Misión Guacaipuro intendend for indigenous populations
- Being from the country makes it easier to work in it



#### 1. What makes the field context seem ideal for documentation

#### Academic context

- Trained and supervised by senior linguists specialists of Amerindian languages in Lyon, France and a Cariban specialist in Eugene, USA (Spike Gildea)
- Sponsored by a French linguist in Venezuela (Marie Claude Mattei Muller) and acquainted with other linguists in the country (José Alvarez, Luis Oquendo)
- Existing and ongoing work on the Cariban family with a network of linguists

#### 1. What makes the field context seem ideal for documentation

#### Community context

- Around 75% of the Ye'kwana population is monolingual
- A small part educated in Spanish, thus capable of helping with transcription and translation work
- Some Ye'kwana adults have engaged in some kind of cultural documentation (writing down traditional stories and chants, filming ceremonies)
- Ye'kwana organization created as interface with non-ye'kwana. Tries to coordinate the work with different partners for the development of the community

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#### First field trip

- "Pilot project", self funded, conducted during July-August 2006 among the ye'kwana population in urban (Ciudad Bolívar) and rural (Maripa) non-traditional areas
- Work on the phonetics and phonology with word lists
- Very small sample of spontaneous recordings (2 texts) translated in a sketchy way
- Approval from the community representatives for a larger project for a complete description of the grammar



#### A longer visit

- Longer stay in Venezuela from November 2007 to April 2008 funded by AALLED.
- Two months in a village in the forest and two and a half months in Ciudad Bolívar (at first supposed to be only an institutional visit)
- Data collection for morphological description and for the expression of space
  - 28 texts recorded (2h30) including tales, personal stories, conversations, a radio communication, parts of a class
  - 12 recorded sessions of video elicitation for path (research team Trajectoire video material)
  - Half of the texts transcribed, translated and elicited. Only 4 sessions of videos completely transcribed and translated



#### A longer visit

- Most of the analysis had to be done after the forest visit
  - Few bilinguals in the village: mainly those with a job (teachers, nurses)
  - Too many community activities during December through February (multiple day parties, hunting trips, ceremonies)
  - Only able to do a first transcription and translation of the 2 longest texts
- Stay in Ciudad Bolívar became part of the field trip
  - Hosted in the Ye'kwana organization headquarters with all the Ye'kwana families on transit
  - Work with language consultants instead of a research visit to an institution
- If I had not had the extra time (and extra money) in the field, I would have had little material to work on the morphological analyses



The other side of the story



# Downside 1: ineffectual political measures

- Many measures in the direction of the indigenous population are carried out by recent structures that are still defining their area of action
  - often the origin power conflicts that prevent actions of been undertaken
- Government invests a lot of money in the population but for the Ye'kwana:
  - it is a factor creating an unknown situation of "poor" and "rich" families
  - it facilitates urbanization of families having a member with a salary (kids are sent to the city schools earlier, people go to the city for no specific reason or just to buy consumables...)



# Downside 2: Education and Nationality, a double-edged sword

- Apparent tendency among linguists and anthropologists in Venezuela to be over-protective of "their group"
- Hostility precedings of local researchers toward foreign researchers
  - even though I was born and raised in Venezuela I've done all my theoretical training in linguistics abroad



## Downside 3: signs of decay in language use

- Although women and children are for the most part monolinguals, men also hold an important role in language transmission
  - 40-50 year-old men that usually would be learning from older men are busy with new activities, and sometimes are even away from the village
- The community has coined terms that express new concepts coming from outside but Spanish terms usually take over even for those that do not speak Spanish

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### Some things that need fixing before starting a documentation project

- Members of the community that actively worry about preserving their cultural knowledge don't necessarily like working with each other
  - Few attempts have been made to coordinate efforts
- Most of the time, community members get involved in a project while there is a salary coming from a collaborative project but won't take over when it becomes an only-Ye'kwana thing
- Projects à la occidentale do not take into account cultural time constraints
  - Men and women have tasks to do in their respective villages and can't always leave their hometowns
  - It is not easy to engage in long-term commitments because culturally Ye'kwana do not plan in the long term



# Prioritizing and finding a middle ground

- Documentation needs previous description and this is almost non-existent in the case of Ye'kwana
- People that are willing to document cultural practices are not necessarily the best technicians
  - Need to get other people interested and involved too
- Documentation aims at more than just traditional cultural practices
  - Ground work for explaining in what way everyday activities are also important in documentation



#### Adapted fieldwork

- Taking community members along on trips to the villages
- Different kind of trips for different kind of purposes
  - A short verification trip with one main consultant to a known village that concentrates on linguistic description
  - A longer trip with a team with stops in different villages where community members have identified a person they want to document
- Workshops for training in linguistics, technical skills, practical issues
  - Both while in the villages and when there is an opportunity in the city

