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INTEGRATIONAL LINGUISTICS AND PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Edited by
Sinfree B. Makoni, Deryn P. Verity,
and Anna Kaiper-Marquez

Integrational Linguistics and Philosophy of Language in the Global South

Exploring the nature of possible relationships between Integrational Linguistics and Southern Epistemologies, this volume examines various ways in which Integrational Linguistics can be used to support the decolonizing interests of Southern Epistemologies, particularly the lay-oriented nature of Integrational Linguistics that Southern Epistemologies find productive as a "positive counter-discourse".

As both an anti-elitist and antiestablishment way of thinking, these chapters consider how Integrational Linguistics can be consistent with the decolonial aspirations of Southern Epistemologies. They argue that the relationship between Southern Epistemologies and Integrational Linguistics is complicated by the fact that, while Integrational Linguistics is critical of what it calls a segregationist view of language, i.e., "the language myth", Southern Epistemologies in language policy and planning and minority language movements find the language myth helpful in order to facilitate social transformation. And yet, both Integrational Linguistics and Southern Epistemologies are critical of approaches to multilingualism that are founded on notions of "named" languages. They are also both critical of linguistics as a decontextualized, and institutionalized, extension of ordinary metalinguistic practices, which at times influence the prejudices, preconceptions, and ideologies of dominant western cultures.

This book will prove to be an essential resource for scholars and students not only within the field of integrational linguistics, but also in other language and communication fields, in particular the dialogic, distributed, and ecological-enactive approaches, wherein integrational linguistics has been subjected to scrutiny and criticism.

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9 Integrationism and the Global South: Songs as epistemic frameworks

Cristine G. Severo and Sinfree B. Makoni

In this chapter, we argue for an expansive view of language that includes life as part of language. By so doing, we propose a "Southern semiotic" perspective that incorporates Integrationism and the sociolinguistics of the Global South. By the Global South, we are referring to indigenous cosmovisions about language and life whose origins can be found in post-colonial societies in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. We agree with the notion articulated by Integrationism: "By proposing a semiology grounded in experience, Harris (as cited in Pablé, 2019) proposes a radically new conception of the sign, which transcends the usual concerns about ethnocentrism" (p. 3). For Harris (1998a), "The romantic view of the origin of writing is a very ethnocentric view, and specifically a Eurocentric view" (p. 252). When questioning this Eurocentric concept of language, we argue that, even though the sign is part of the common architecture of communication across most of human society, indigenous cosmovisions may interpret and enact signs in different ways. People from diverse worlds have dissimilar cosmovisions and languages which have pluralistic natures (Hauck & Heurich, 2018, p. 2; Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 72).

We argue that such a radically new conception may include songs as part of the meaning-making process. In this regard, Integrationism has been defined as an alternative approach that:

> sees language as manifested in a complex of human abilities and activities that are all integrated in social interaction, often intricately so and in such a manner that it makes little sense to segregate the linguistic from the nonlinguistic components.
>
> (Harris, 1998b, p. 6)

By arguing that songs are an integral part of language, we seek to avoid segregating language from other areas that may be regarded as part of the language of Southern indigenous cosmovisions. Our objective is to adopt a holistic approach to songs that can be construed as an expanded approach to Integrationism in the Global South.

Although Integrationism is deeply connected to a contextual, interactional, and dialogical approach to language practices and sign-making processes, it was not written or framed with the sociolinguistics of the Global South in mind. There is evidence, however, that Integrationism may be relevant to some colonial and postcolonial contexts in southern Africa, such as South Africa and Mozambique (Makoni, 2011; Makoni & Severo, 2017; Pablé, 2019). That line of thinking, however, has not been expanded to include the important phenomenon of songs in the Global South, by which we mean the postcolonial world, which is the majority world. We describe songs from a combination of Southern epistemological perspectives and Integrationism. In this sense, this chapter differs from other studies on songs from the Global South, which have tended to adopt a largely monological and segregationist approach. Although there is a broad scholarship that deals with songs, it does not frame songs from a Southern Integrationist perspective (Ross & Rivers, 2018; Shonekan, 2015; Watts & Morrissey, 2019).

From a semiotic perspective, Integrationism problematizes the way that linguistics has contributed to several reductionist and segregational epistemological processes, such as the one that limits the representation of speech to an alphabetic notation system. We argue, like Harris (2009) that songs can teach us how to deal with sounds, voice, and speech in a more complex way.

> [T]here was no longer any excuse for failing to recognize that writing is a mode of communication sui generis and has no intrinsic connexion with speech at all. This should already have been evident from the long history of musical notation, but linguists turned a professional blind eye to music.
>
> (p. 139)

In this chapter, we ask: What are the epistemic and ontological implications of songs for Integrationism in the Global South? By tracing the contextual, historical, aesthetical, ethical, and political elements that integrate the indigenous concept of songs, we contribute to a development of a Southern semiotic perspective that integrates Integrationism and Southern epistemologies. When doing so, we consider the colonial and postcolonial meanings of songs according to the *Guarani's* perspective, an ethnic and cultural group in South America for whom "song works as a way of communication and transformation" (Macedo, 2011, p. 377), in which songs function in most indigenous societies as ways of communication. A combination of Integrationism and Southern theories is ultimately aimed at contributing to the creation of analytical frameworks of communication that address the Western-centric modes of analysis of most research in communication.

Songs as an ontological framework for language in the indigenous context

In this section, we explore the role played by songs in colonial and post-colonial Brazil. We take into account the Guarani's perspective, a group who has been identified as speakers of the Guarani language. Although we understand that such categories are colonial inheritances, we recognize that forms of language have been resignified by local indigenous people as a marker of social and political resistance.

In the Latin American colonial era, as seen in Brazil, Christianity played a crucial role in colonization by taking the evangelization of indigenous people as one of its main objectives. Such missions integrated a broader colonial project centered in Portugal and Spain through the *Padroado*, an official agreement between the kingdom and the Holy See that delegated to the kings the power to rule local churches. This arrangement lasted until the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits were expelled from Brazil by the Portuguese Government. The *Padroado* was an official system that encouraged the religious domination of Latin America by Christianity. The Jesuits carried out the main tasks of the missionary work in Portuguese colonization, which also included parts of Africa and some regions in Asia. "The Jesuits took the lead not only in converting the indigenous Brazilians but also African slaves whom they encountered" (Thornton, 2014, p. 259). Religious conversion resulted in the emergence of a syncretized Christianity.

The Jesuits learned local languages as a strategy to evangelize indigenous peoples. They produced several grammars and translated religious discourses into indigenous languages, such as Guarani and Tupi (Severo, 2016). The production of grammars was a complicated process that included the conversion of dialogic into monologic texts (Makoni, 2011). This practice of learning local languages and local customs by the Jesuits was used as a strategy that made the Jesuits known by their defense of the accommodation of local and indigenous practices rather than by the practice of assimilation. "The primary challenge that the Jesuits, and indeed all missionaries, faced was that of presenting concepts in a different idiom. At its heart the accommodation method was an attempt to translation" (Brockey, 2014, p. 288).

Such an adaptation and accommodation method produced the emergence of several Christian discourses translated to an invented variety of Jesuitic Guarani and Tupi languages. In Brazil, the Jesuits are known as the creators of grammars and cathecisms, such as the *Arte de grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil* [Art of the grammar of the most used language along the coast of Brazil], written by the priest José de Anchieta in 1595. The production of these grammars is sociolinguistically important because they subsequently had an impact on how the formally literate were to experience their own languages.

In relation to political issues that concern the use of grammar, we know that "the basic linguistic terminology of Western education, including the term *grammar*, presupposes acquaintance with writing" (Harris, 2000, p. 208). Writing worked as a colonial epistemology used to frame—and invent—local languages with an oral tradition (Makoni, 1998). Harris (2000), in *Rethinking Writing*, does not mention the use of writing as a template to frame languages in the colonial context, although, according to Pablé (2019, p. 1) he does recognize that the ethnocentrism of linguistics "was the direct result of literacy as developed by the ancient Greeks onwards (and concomitantly in various Eastern civilizations)".

In addition to the use of written practices in the context of preaching, the Jesuits also used songs as a way of approaching indigenous oral practices. According to Hansen (2010), "By observing that the indigenous peoples like to dance and sing from an early age the priests used music as a catechetical instrument, considering it as effective in transmitting the doctrine" (p. 99).[1] Evidently, the indigenous people and the Jesuits did not share the same meanings of singing and dancing. The meanings of songs and dancing are, from an Integrationist perspective, indeterminate (Harris, 1996). Hansen notes that the missionaries who accompanied the Provincial of the Jesuits Manuel Nóbrega in Brazil/Bahia in 1595 were all singers. The seductive role of music for the practice of evangelization was also emphasized by the Brazilian sociologist Freyre (1933) who noted, "Nóbrega shared the opinion that through music he would be able to bring under the Catholic union all the naked Indigenous from the forests of America" (p. 222).[2] We see how complex the role played by songs was in the colonial context. It was not by chance that music was used as a strategy to attract indigenous people to Christianity.

The missionaries made use of songs and dances as instruments of evangelization, gradually changing the indigenous lyrics to reflect religious themes and replacing local instruments with European instruments. According to the Jesuit Manoel da Nóbrega, "It was more skillful to start with the sounds of *maracas* and *taquaras* and conclude … with 'organ singing music and flutes'" (Leite, 1938, p. 101).[3] The ritualistic use of indigenous songs with Catholic lyrics in indigenous languages did not mean that indigenous' musical practices had disappeared or been passively appropriated for religious purposes. One of the results of the musical approach between Portuguese, indigenous people, and Africans in Brazil would have been, according to Freyre (1933), the emergence, from the eighteenth century on, of Brazilian poetry and music, such as the *modinhas* and *ladainhas*. Another musical style that emerged in the colonial context was the *lundu*, a genre that mixed the musical and dancing practices of Portuguese and enslaved Africans from Bantu regions in Brazil. Such songs have both influenced the salon genres and been considered the ancestors of the *samba* and other popular Brazilian music (Kiefer, 1977). Integrationism, when used to describe songs in Brazil, needs to be sensitive to the socio-historical

contexts of colonial Brazil. The segregationist idea of songs as distinct from other facets of indigenous life is a colonial invention (Makoni et al., 2020). We therefore use Integrationism to challenge the legacy of colonial analytical practices.

The relationship between language and religiosity seems to characterize not only Christianity's ontology but also Guarani cosmology in different ways. "The language is the most 'divine' and is latent in the Guarani people" (Melià, 1997, p. 252).[4] The complexity of the Guarani's concept of language can be seen in the Guarani terms *ñe'ẽ*, *ayvu*, and *ã*, which mean "voice, speech, language, language, soul, name, life, personality" (Chamorro, 2008, p. 56). Another example of this semantic plurality is noted by Nimuendaju (1987) in relation to the Guarani terms *ava-ñeé*, *ñandé*, and *ayvú* used to designate language: "*ñeé* in old Guarani means 'language', while in Apapocúva [a Guarani language group] designates exclusively the voice of an animal … the Apapocúva word for 'language' is *ayvú* that in old Guarani means 'noise'" (p. 17).[5] Such semantic plurality signals the polysemy that characterizes the indigenous language, which makes the work of translation necessarily a work of deep interpretation. The two-way form-function model does not capture the complexities of a rhizomatic concept of the world (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Viveiros de Castro, 1986) or of language (Severo, 2019). We argue that such a rhizomatic concept of language works as an ontological and political framework that can be approximated to what we call Southern Integrationism.

For the Guaranis, language gives life to things in a special kind of relationship between language, being, and verticality. As an example, we can mention the Guarani's naming politics. In children's naming ceremonies, the proper name is a sacred word attributed by a shaman. The child's proper name is the soul blown out of the shaman's ear by the smoke of the gods. Thus, in the ceremony of naming a Guarani child:

> His/her real name is revealed by the priest after birth. Communicating that name would literally mean, for them, to split itself into two, to separate the body from the word … which would mean exposing oneself to disease and perhaps death.[6]
>
> (Clastres, 1990, p. 115)

For this reason, the use of a non-Guarani name often works as a protection of the original name and, therefore, of the Guarani soul. This original name is kept in secret in case of Christian baptism and conversion. An example of using a name as a form of resistance was noted by the explorer Hans Staden in the sixteenth century (Vainfas, 1995). According to Vainfas (1995), the indigenous people had many names, which were often mixed and changed as strategy of resistance. Names were not used in a positivistic sense to refer to a body, but rather in terms of pragmatics, to refer to a specific act, resistance, and compliance.

According to the Guarani's perspective, the *word*—understood as *Ñembo*—materializes itself in the form of myths and songs whose understanding requires an articulation between hearing, chanting, and seeing the word in a conjunction between the human and the sacred. The word becomes visible because it generates divinity. Singing, dancing, rituals, praying, and myths play an important role in the relationship with the sacred. "*Ñembo* means to pronounce sacred words, it means to become like them. This term is commonly translated as 'pray'" (Chamorro, 2008, p. 243).[7] The ritualistic dance is strongly linked to language and religions.

There also is a relationship between singing and the Guarani soul, as we can notice in the *Mbya Ñengarete* creation myth, considered either an epic poem (Cadogan, 1971) or the good word, true prayer (Chamorro, 2008). According to the Paraguayan ethnologist Cadogan (1971), this myth reinforces the hypothesis that:

> Ñande Ru Tenonde, our first Father, emerges from the action, creates four gods who will be in charge of the universe and create their own future consorts; having done this, Ñande Ru inspires in them the sacred song of the man and the woman, respectively.[8] (p. 35)

We notice in this myth a relationship between the creation of man and woman as the result of sacred singing. In this context, we can suggest a parody of the biblical text: In the Guarani symbolic universe, "in the beginning it was the song", but song as understood in an Integrationist and Southern epistemological perspective as open-ended, pluralistic, and indeterminate in meaning. Languages behave like songs, and songs behave like language. The two are inextricably linked.

Cadogan (1971), in his research on the Guarani Mbya worldview, also presents an association between the tree and the word: The word flows from the tree, which configurates another conception of language that places the human, the animal, nature, and the sacred into an ontological relationship of horizontality and intercommunication. In this regard, the wood of some sacred trees is used to make drums and other musical instruments that operate as means of communication with the extra-human.

In addition, Cadogan (1971) translates the Guarani word *ayvu* as "human language" and *ñe'eng* as "soul-word" (palavra-alma). There is a deep and religious relationship between life (animals, trees, and humans) and language, as one word designates both at the same time—soul-word. Notice that in ordinary Guarani, the words *ñe'eng* and *ñe'ē* mean both human language and the songs of some birds and insects. The expression *ñe'ē Porá Tenonde* means "the first beautiful words", which are related to the original Guarani Mbya myth. The following sentences translated by Cadogan provide an example of the complex role played by "language" in the Guarani Mbya's indigenous cosmovisions (Cadogan, 1971):

> *Ayvu Rapyta oguero-jera, oguero-yvára Ñande Ru tenonde ñe'eng mbyte rã* = el fundamento del lenguaje humano lo creó nuestro Primer Padre e hizo que formara parte de su divinidad, para médula de la palabra-alma [The foundation of human language was created by our First Father who made it part of his divinity, to the core of the soul-word].
>
> *Ayvu Rapyta, ñe'eng ypy, Nãnde Ru tenonde kuéry yvy rupa re opu'ã va'erã gua'y reta omboú ma vy omboja'o i ãguã* = el fundamento del lenguaje humano es la palabra-alma originaria, la que nuestros primeros Padres, al enviar a sus numerosos hijos a la morada terrenal para erguirse, les repartirían [The foundation of human language is the original soul-word, which our first Fathers when sending their many children to the earthly abode to rise up, would distribute to them]. (p. 54)

In regard to singing and language in the Tupi-Guarani symbolic universe, Viveiros de Castro (1986) addresses the relationship between the Araweté and songs, in which shamans play a central role. The Araweté are locally evaluated by the shamanistic songs that they sing, known as music of the gods, whose polyphonic and dialogic structure reinforces a complex concept of language and interpretation. The shamans are not the authors of the songs but, rather, mediators who report, by singing, what has been transmitted to them by the gods in their dreams:

> Usually, the production of a song follows this sequence: a man sleeps, dreams, wakes up, smokes and begins to sing, narrating what he saw and heard in the dream; when the gods and the dead want to come to earth, then the song unfolds into a narration of the descent of these beings … "The shaman is like a radio", they say. By this they mean that he is a vehicle, and that the body-subject of the voice is elsewhere, that it is not within the shaman. The shaman does not incorporate the deities and the dead, he tells—sings what he sees and hears.[9] (pp. 542–543)

These songs can be repeated and used daily by women and children, but their forms vary, as each song is inherently pluralistic, although they are not reproduced by shamans for religious purposes. Strictly speaking, each song cannot be repeated because it is unique to the context in which it is produced and is tied to many other social and political relationships that prevail at that particular time. The argument that we are making echoes what Harris (1998a) states about language:

> Human experience is constantly structured and restructured by the need to make sense of preset events in the light of past events and vice versa. Language is both a product and a mechanism of this process, by which the ceaseless flow of sensations, perceptions, feelings and judgments

> which contribute to the mental life of the individual are integrated into a continuum, and a stable framework of beliefs and expectations about the world is constructed and maintained. (p. 19)

In addition, unlike the music of the gods, which works as a unique and singular event, enemy songs, called *awī marakã*, are sung from the perspective of the dead enemy, who becomes the symbolic singer. In this context, "the acquisition of songs from dead enemies seems more fundamental then the acquisition of names: enemies are called 'future music', not 'future names'" (Viveiros de Castro, 1992, p. 242). Different from the case of enemy songs, the shamanic communication between the gods and the living happens through songs: "The gods are singing as they descend to earth, while the shamans sing as they go up to the sky to meet them" (Viveiros de Castro, 1992, p. 74).

Although different ethnic groups have different conceptions of language, as well as different linguistic practices, we understand, in relation to the Tupi-Guarani symbolic universe, that the various groups share an "equally surprising homogeneity in terms of cosmological discourse, mythical, and religious life, which spans centuries of history and thousands of kilometers"[10] (Viveiros de Castro, 1986, p. 90). The linguistic-structural proximity between the Tupi-Guarani languages, however, does not reflect social homogeneity or a semantic identity between the terms but, rather, a varied, plastic social structure and a discursive polysemy, both submitted to a native metaphysics. In other words, the approaches to songs are neo-Whorfian in that each ethnic group has unique songs and orientations, but the underlying philosophies of songs are universal, as some of the indigenous ethnic groups share similar cosmological views. Although Global South epistemologies aim to capture unique experiences, Integrationism seeks to provide a universal analytical framework that can cut across different experiences. The analytical framework that we seek to develop provides an interplay between a universalistic tendency in scholarship and an inclination toward more site-specific analysis, as captured in notions about indigenous cosmovisions. The challenge is whether the analytical framework can accommodate the conflicting tendency toward universalism and radical differences.

The logical systematization of indigenous language in the form of vocabularies and grammars by the missionaries did not imply a deep comprehension of what counts as language for the local people. The Jesuits used to have a strong intellectual formation based on logical reasoning, following "the synthesis between Greek thought and Christianity that Thomas Aquinas had initiated in the thirteenth century" (Brockey, 2014, p. 45). The missionary language policies operated in favor of the Jesuits, whose knowledge of language was taken as a model for understanding and "reducing" the language of the Other. We see that, in the Guarani context, the concept of language is complex and requires a Southern semiotic perspective that becomes sensitive to local experience and interpretation. We know that

it is about being able to not only hear the word but also to see it, which was impossible for the Jesuit verbal framework to capture.

On face of this indigenous perspective, the very concept of language is questioned, based on a broader and integrated view that considers the various social, cultural, religious, and political elements that help to define what counts as a language. We assume a *radical* plural conception of language, in which "[l]anguage is a sign system, a form of action, a social practice, and a cultural resource, but it is also something more than that, something that we might not yet have the right vocabulary to describe" (Hauck & Heurich, 2018, p. 2). We understand that Southern Integrationism has to be able to deal with this "something more". The "something" may be beyond the intellectual; it could potentially be spiritual. This is particularly so among communities in which the spiritual and secular are different sides of the same coin.

Songs as an ontological framework: Toward a southern integrationism

For Integrationism, songs—as well as language—should not be considered from an idealist framework that views them as distinct and separate: "No one doubts that a piece of music may acquire signification by association" (Harris, 1996, p. 226) with other forms of communication and other semiotic elements. Further, music should not be restricted to a representational or to an expressive framework that reinforces a fragmented and codificatory conception of music. Rather, we argue that music works as a template that conjures different metaphysics and political orientations: "Music embodies a kind of rhythmic infrastructure of phenomena"[11] (Wisnik, 1989, p. 26) with a powerful symbolic efficacy, as we notice in indigenous contexts whose cosmology is deeply connected to a musical conception. Rhythm, pace, voice, body, breath, and movement are taken as key elements to define what counts as songs, and means of communication for some indigenous communities. The dual concept of language, based on the relations of form-function, form-content, expression-representation, and performance-competence, is problematized from a more complex local perspective.

We argue that Integrationism and Southern perspectives can be epistemologically linked by considering the ontological and political implication of this rhizomatic concept of language (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987; Viveiros de Castro, 1986). This means that the ideas of multiplicity, horizontality, and space play an important epistemological role:

> Music has always sent out lines of flight, like so many "transformational multiplicities", even overturning the very codes that structure or arborify it; that is why musical form, right down to its ruptures and proliferations, is comparable to a weed, a rhizome.
>
> (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, pp. 11–12)

Rhizome works, as the elements of the Guarani's framework are multiple, interchangeable, moving, and contextually connected. The multiplicity of elements and the modes of connection are relevant in the rhizome's configuration, which means that a rizhomatic concept of song brings to bear several nondichotomic elements such as the relationship between humans, animals, gods, spirits, dead and living beings, enemies and relatives, life, personality, sound and image, and so on, which are central to a non-western conceptualization of the universe. By considering songs as an ontological framework to define language, we assume it as an element of a semiotic chain that works "like a tuber agglomerating very diverse acts, not only linguistic, but also perceptive, mimetic, gestural, and cognitive" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 8). What we are proposing is that, by considering indigenous songs as an ontological framework, we bring together Integrationism and Southern epistemological views.

Returning to the Guarani context, the word is not restricted to a communicative or representational function, nor is it defined on the basis of its grammatical or lexical structures only; rather, it is about the "word-dance, more than diction, it is movement, ritual paradigm" (Chamorro, 2008, p. 59).[12] The conception of language in some indigenous groups destabilizes the distinction between human and nonhuman or between culture and nature. It is, therefore, Integrationist in a maximalist sense. For example, indigenous groups in the Ecuadorian Amazon, such as the *Achuar* and *Runa*, share complex communicative practices that integrate humans and nonhumans, making use of specific linguistic resources. In other contexts, such as that of the North American indigenous people, the land also communicates with the *Apache* people (Hauck & Heurich, 2018). From such a perspective, the land also can sing. The Integrationism that we seek to advocate as part of Southern epistemologies is one in which language and songs are restricted to neither one racial or ethnic group nor to only birds and other species that can sing. It is only for this point that language sciences scholarship has not yet developed the apparatus to carry out such an analysis.

In the Brazilian Amazon, the Marubo people, especially the shamans, use iconography and visual representation in the construction of meaning in which "narrative and cosmographic structures are transposed to paper, by articulating them with the framework of poetic formulas and with the general disposition of memory involved in the processes of shamanic knowledge transmission"[13] (Cesarino, 2013, p. 437). Such shamans have the legitimacy to draw the so-called *yochĩ*, which comprise maps of the village, remedies from the forest, trees, or compositions that constitute the structure of the sacred and ritualistic songs used in Marubo shamanism. The objectives of this shamanism include the pluralization of the person in double-brothers, integrating into a complex cosmology the actual and the virtual (Cesarino, 2013). The Marubo shaman symbolically carries with it notions of being more than a single human—represented by the image of four auxiliary spirits—that make knowledge, thinking, and poetic creation possible.

Such pluralization of elements assembled together in the format of a rhizome presupposesthat there are "no points or positions in a rhizome, such as those found in a structure, tree, or root. There are only lines" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987, p. 8). Because Integrationism emerged as a critical perspective of the dominance of structuralism and generativism in linguistics (Harris, 1998b), it may intellectually be compatible with the rhizomatic thinking as articulated by Deleuze and Guattari. In the antistructuralist and anti-essentialist rhizome's conception, there are lines of flight and deterritorialization that connect several (likely and unlikely) elements of the multiplicity. As an example of this perspective, we may consider the nomadic nature of the Guarani people, who share a deep capacity for deterritorialization, which is also associated with the role played by language as the *locus* of being-Guarani preservation (Viveiros de Castro, 1986).

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have attempted to illustrate how an Integrationist perspective can be adopted to enrich an analysis of songs in the Global South. We have argued that, even though Integrationism can be used in conjunction with Southern epistemologies, Integrationism may need to be expanded to include songs as part of the way language is analyzed. An analysis of language that excludes songs lends itself to a charge of segregationalism, as songs are an integral part of the lives and lived experiences of some indigenous communities, as articulated by the Guarani and other indigenous groups. The argument that we make has ramifications that go beyond Integrationism and Southern epistemologies to include areas such as language rights and language planning.

From an Integrationist/Southern epistemological perspective, language policies and language rights should include a preservation of the songs that are used by the indigenous communities, as the songs are part of the language used by these indigenous communities. Paradoxically, as songs are inchoate and constantly changing, by seeking to preserve them, we are freezing them in time and rendering them into museum artifacts. We also seek to develop a critical orientation toward Integrationism as well by exploring and highlighting its limitations. In other words, we are arguing for a framework in which indigenous songs constitute a central element in a definition of what counts as language. This means that songs are not treated as things capable of being decoded by a linguistic theory, but rather as practices that reflect a specific indigenous cosmovision. By combining Integrationism with Southern epistemologies, we are postulating that the very concept of song make sense when it is viewed as a product of local social practices. A combination of Southern Integrationism with Southern epistemologies will also help us understand songs when viewed through a rhizomatic perspective thus providing us with opportunities to "develop metaphors that are consistent with the communities

that we are describing" (Pennycook & Makoni, 2020, p. 111). This means we should seek to problematize and expand the metalanguage we use by "listening" to the language about language by the local communities.

Notes

1 "Observando que os índios gostavam de dançar e cantar, desde cedo os padres usaram a música como instrumento catequético, julgando-a eficaz na transmissão da doutrina".
2 "Nóbrega chegava a ser de opinião que pela música conseguiria trazer ao grêmio católico tudo quanto fosse índio nu das florestas da América".
3 "Mais hábil foi, realmente, começar pelo som dos maracás e taquaras, para acabar … por 'música de canto de órgão e frautas".
4 "La lengua es lo más 'divino' que está todavía latente en lo Guaraní".
5 "*Ñeé* em guarani antigo significa 'língua', enquanto no Apapocúva [grupo guarani] designa exclusivamente a voz animal … a palavra Apapocúva para 'língua', *ayvú*, em guarani antigo significa 'ruído'".
6 "Seu verdadeiro nome é o que é revelado pelo sacerdote após o nascimento. Comunicar esse nome seria literalmente, para eles, dividir-se em dois, separar o corpo da Palavra […] seria sem dúvida expor-se à doença e talvez à morte".
7 "'*Ñembo* é pronunciar palavras sagradas, é tornar-se parecido com elas. Comumente esse termo é traduzido por 'reza'".
8 "Ñande Ru Tenonde, nuestro primer Padre surge a la actividad, crea cuatro dioses que tendrán a su cargo el universo, y éllos crean a sus futuras consortes; hecho esto, Ñande Ru les inspira el canto sagrado del hombre y de la mujer, respectivamente".
9 "Normalmente, a geração de um canto segue esta sequência: um homem dorme, sonha, acorda, fuma, e começa a cantar, narrando o que viu e ouviu no sonho; quando os deuses e mortos querem vir a terra, então o canto se desdobra em uma narração da descida destes seres … 'O xamã é como um rádio', dizem. Com isto querem dizer que ele é um veículo, e que o corpo-sujeito da voz está alhures, que não está dentro do xamã. O xamã não incorpora as divindades e os mortos, ele conta-canta o que vê e ouve".
10 "Homogeneidade igualmente surpreendente quanto ao discurso cosmológico, os temas míticos e a vida religiosa, que atravessa séculos de história e milhares de quilômetros de distância".
11 "A música encarna uma espécie de infra-estrutura rítmica dos fenômenos".
12 "Palavra-dança, mais do que dicção, é movimento, paradigma ritual".
13 "Estruturas narrativas e cosmográficas se encontram transpostas para o papel, a partir de sua articulação com o arcabouço de fórmulas poéticas e com a disposição geral da memória envolvida nos processos de transmissão dos conhecimentos xamanísticos".

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