

The language and its speakers

1.1 Linguistic profile of Tariana

Tariana is the only Arawak language spoken in the linguistic area of the Vaupés river basin in the territory of the Upper Rio Negro in northwestern Brazil. All the other languages belong to the East Tucano subgroup of the Tucano family. The main feature of the Vaupés area is its obligatory multilingualism, dictated by the principles of linguistic exogamy (one has to marry someone who speaks a different language). There is a strong inhibition against ‘language-mixing’, viewed in terms of lexical loans. As the result of a long-term interaction, Tariana combines a few features inherited from proto-Arawak, with those diffused from East Tucano. Independent innovations in Tariana include grammatical phenomena divergent from those found in closely related languages and not explainable in terms of the influence of the East-Tucano languages (see Aikhenvald 1999b,c).

Tariana is polysynthetic and basically head-marking (in the sense of Nichols 1986), with elements of dependent-marking — the latter due to the Tucano influence since most Arawak languages are entirely head-marking (see Aikhenvald 1999b).

Tariana has 25 consonants and six vowels. As in many other Arawak languages of the area, there is a series of aspirated stops, preaspirated nasals and a glide. The vowels *a*, *i*, *e* and *u* have long and nasal counterparts, while *o* has only a nasal counterpart, and *ɨ* has neither. The emergence of *ɨ* and *o*, the two vowels with a limited distribution, is most probably due to the Tucano influence. Accent is contrastive, and of a pitch type, also a result of Tucano influence. An extensive set of phonological processes such as aspiration floating, *h*-metathesis and vowel fusion operate within a morpheme and across affix boundaries. Syllable structure is (C)V(h). Accent, translaryngeal vowel harmony, aspiration and nasalisation delimit the boundaries of a phonological word. See Chapter 2.

Open word classes are verbs, nouns and derived adjectives. Underived adjectives form a closed class, with about 29 members. They share some properties with nouns, some with stative verbs, and have some properties of their own. Adverbs and time words are semi-closed classes. Closed classes include demonstratives, interrogatives/distributives, quantifiers, over 20 postpositions, one preposition, and an unusual gestural deictic *khi* ‘this size’, which involves an actual demonstration of the shape or size of an object. A member of any open or semi-open word class can occupy the predicate slot. Verbs have more morphological possibilities than members of other word classes used as predicates: for instance, only verbs can form imperatives. See Chapter 3.

Nouns in Tariana are both derivationally and inflectionally complex. They can contain up to 15 structural positions (one of which is a prefix position). Nominal categories include case, gender, number, classifiers, nominal tense (future and past), extralocality,

contrastivity, and various other affixes and clitics. 1.1 exemplifies an inflectionally complex noun (see Aikhenvald 1999d).

- 1.1 nu-we-du-ma-pe=yana-pe=tupe=pena=ne=se=misini=nuku
 1sg-younger.sibling-FEM-CL:FEM-PL=PEJ-
 PL=DIM:PL=NOM.FUT=COM=CONTR=ALSO:PART.CONTR=TOP.NON.A/S
 ‘with my naughty future little younger sisters, too’
 Nouns have variable ordering of affixes, which results in meaning changes. Compare 1.2 and 1.3, where the same suffixes *-da* and *-ma* appear in a different order.

- 1.2 nu-kapi-ma-da
 1sg-hand-CL:SIDE.OF-CL:ROUND
 ‘one palm of my hand’

- 1.3 nu-kapi-da-ma
 1sg-hand-CL:ROUND-CL:SIDE.OF
 ‘one side of my finger’

Plural and gender on nouns can be marked recursively. 1.4 shows that plural can be expressed up to five times within one noun:

- 1.4 nu-we-du-ma-pe=yana-pe=tupe=miki
 1sg-younger.sibling-FEM-CL:FEM-PL=PEJ-PL=DIM:PL-NOM.PAST:PL
 ‘my poor little dead younger sisters’

The highly polysynthetic structure of Tariana nouns is an independent innovation of the language (neither Arawak, nor Tucano languages have this property) — see Chapter 4.

Tariana has a very complicated system of over forty established classifiers which are used as noun class agreement markers, derivational affixes, numeral classifiers and verbal classifiers (in terms of Aikhenvald 2000a). Example 1.5 illustrates a classifier *-dapana* ‘house, habitat’ (underlined) with an adjective, with a numeral, on a demonstrative, in a possessive construction, and on a verb:

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|---|-------------|
| 1.5 | ha- <u>dapana</u> | pa- <u>dapana</u> | pani-si |
| | DEM:INAN-CL:HAB | one-CL:HAB | house-NPOSS |
| | nu-ya- <u>dapana</u> | hanu- <u>dapana</u> | |
| | 1sg-POSS-CL:HAB | big-CL:HAB | |
| | heku | na-ni-ni- <u>dapana</u> -mahka | |
| | wood | 3pl-make-TOP.ADV-CL:HAB-REC.P.NONVIS | |
| | | ‘This one big house of mine is made of wood.’ | |

An item is often introduced with just a noun, and then referred to with an appropriate classifier throughout a narrative. In this way classifiers are more frequent in discourse than actual nouns. Classifiers are potentially an open class, since any noun with an inanimate referent can be used as a ‘repeater’ (or ‘self-classifier’). Repeaters also mark agreement

with a topical noun, while established classifiers are used under other circumstances. Slightly different sets of classifiers are used with members of closed classes. The two-way gender opposition (feminine vs. nonfeminine covering everything else) is used in personal pronouns (just for third singular and all the plural forms) and verbal cross-referencing. Within a noun phrase, agreement can be marked twice. If a noun phrase contains another noun phrase as a modifier, noun class agreement with two distinct ‘heads’ — the head of the embedded noun phrase, and the head of the embedding noun phrase — is marked on the modifier. Thus, Tariana consistently follows the principle of multiple-layered marking of syntactic function, both within a clause (see below on double case), and within a noun phrase — see Chapter 5.

Tariana distinguishes alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienably possessed nouns take person/gender/number prefixes. Besides first, second and third person, these have a form for ‘fourth person’, or impersonal, used for marking a generic referent, e.g. *pa-kapi* (IMP-hand) ‘someone’s hand’. Indefinite person marking replaces any other person marker on a noun used in a possessive construction, or as an argument of a postposition, e.g. *nu-whida* (1sg-head) ‘my head’, *di-whida* (3sgnf-head) ‘his head’, but *ne:ri i-whida* (deer INDF-head) ‘the head of a deer’, *nu-pumi* (1sg-after) ‘after me’, *ne:ri i-pumi* (deer INDF-after) ‘after the deer’. The indefinite person marker is not used with verbs, while all the other person markers are. There is a possessive classifier construction which employs the generic noun *yarupe* ‘thing, way’ — see Chapter 6.

Tariana is one of the very few Arawak languages with case marking for core syntactic functions. It developed the case marking under Tucano influence (see Aikhenvald 1996a, 1999b,c). Personal pronouns with an animate referent distinguish subject and non-subject cases. Any non-subject topical constituent is marked with an enclitic *-nuku* (archaic form *-naku*). A subject in a contrastive focus is marked with a clitic *-ne/-nhe*. One case (*-se*) covers all locational meanings (locative, directional, elative). Another oblique case is instrumental/comitative *-ne* (see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000, for a discussion of core versus oblique arguments). These case markers are optional and can combine with the marker *-nuku* ‘non-subject topical constituent’ if the constituent is topical (thus yielding a peculiar instance of marking the same syntactic function twice). Tariana also allows ‘double case’, that is, two distinct clausal functions can be marked on one noun phrase. Note that the double marking of syntactic function is distinct from marking the same function twice; see Chapter 7.

Tariana nouns divide into several subclasses by their number marking. Number agreement in noun phrases and in clauses is obligatory only with human referents; see Chapter 8. Among typologically unusual nominal categories are nominal tense, extralocality and contrast; see Chapter 9. There are comparatively few productive derivational suffixes, with classifiers frequently used to form new nouns; see Chapter 10. Closed classes — articles, demonstratives, etc. — differ in their syntactic possibilities and in the subset of classifiers they require; see Chapter 11.

Tariana preserves the common Arawak division of verbs into transitive, intransitive active, which take prefixes cross-referencing A/S_a , and intransitive stative, which do not take cross-referencing markers. The person, number and gender of A/S_a are neutralised in negative forms. They are marked with the prefix *ma-* and with the suffix *-kade* (note that

there is only one prefix position per verb). A third class of predicates, those expressing feelings, physical states, etc., does not take cross-referencing markers. These predicates mark their subject with the non-subject case.¹

The Tariana verb is polysynthetic, with 21 structural slots (10 of which are enclitics). 1.6 illustrates a predicate with 9 positions filled; see Chapter 12.

- 1.6 ma-siteta-kaka-kade-karu=pidana=pita=niki
 ma-sita-i-ta-kaka-kade-karu=pidana=pita=niki - underlying form
 NEG-smoke-CAUS1-CAUS2-REC-NEG-PURP.VIS=REM.P.REP=AGAIN=
 COMPLETELY
 ‘(We) did not make each other smoke (reportedly) again at all.’

Tariana has a reciprocal and a passive derivation (strikingly similar to the passive in Tucano), and three types of causative. Morphological causatives are formed on intransitive verbs. The same morpheme with a transitive verb indicates the advancement of a peripheral argument to the core, and/or complete involvement and topicality of the O argument. Periphrastic causatives (indirect causation) and serial causative constructions (direct causation) are applied to transitive verbs. An argument-manipulating derivation marked on the verb is employed to promote a focussed constituent to surface subject. The underlying subject retains a number of subject properties, including verbal cross-reference — see Chapter 13.

The Tariana verb has a vast array of categories to do with tense, evidentiality, aspect, mood and modality. A complex evidentiality (fused with tense) is, cross-linguistically speaking, one of the unusual features of Tariana (developed under the influence from Tucano languages). Four obligatory evidentiality specifications indicate the source of information obtained — visual, non-visual, inferred and reported. For instance, in describing an event such as ‘The jaguar killed a man’, use of the visual evidential would imply that the speaker saw this event happening. The non-visual evidential would be used if the speaker heard the noise of a man fighting the jaguar (or smelt the blood). The reported evidential would be used if someone told the speaker of the event, while the inferred evidential might be employed if the speaker had encountered a jaguar covered with human blood. Only visual, non-visual and inferred are distinguished in interrogative clauses. The four non-future tense specifications are present, recent past (used to talk about actions or states that started from two minutes to a few days ago), and remote past (used to refer to

¹ Tariana has lost the proto-Arawak morphological split-ergativity (split S system in the sense of Dixon 1994: 71) marked through cross-referencing affixes (see further discussion in Aikhenvald 1995b, 1998b and 1999b) in the following way:

A=S_a and possessor, expressed with cross-referencing prefixes

O=S_o expressed with cross-referencing enclitics,

where A is the subject of a transitive verb, O is the object of a transitive verb, S_a is the subject of an intransitive active verb, and S_o is the subject of an intransitive stative verb (see Dixon 1994: 70). Similarly to a number of other Arawak languages (for instance, Bare in the area of the Upper Rio Negro, or the Xinguan Arawak languages: see Aikhenvald 1999b), Tariana has retained the proto-Arawak cross-referencing prefixes but lost the cross-referencing enclitics.

actions or states that started a long time ago and may be still continuing). Of the two future markers, one is used only with first person, and the other with any person. There is a reported future construction. No other evidentiality distinctions are made in the future; see Chapter 14.

In addition to obligatory tense, Tariana marks a number of aspectual meanings to do with completion of an action or a state, e.g. anterior, on-going, on-going proximate, accomplished, completive; or to do with its duration, e.g. habitual, repetitive, short duration. Several dozen clitics describe varying facets of the action, some of which have highly specific meanings. These include ‘do early’, ‘spill water’, ‘wag a tail in a friendly manner’, ‘step on something and feel sharp pain’. Most of these originate in verbal roots, and were calqued from Tucano. Clitics which mark the degree of action or state are the diminutive, augmentative, approximative (‘more or less’) and excessive; see Chapter 15.

Tariana has an interrogative mood and a number of imperatives: simple (unmarked), proximate (‘do here’), distal (‘do there’), by proxy (order on someone else’s behalf), precative (‘please do’), cohortative (‘let’s do’), and detrimental (‘do to your own detriment’). There are only two possibilities for the negative imperative in the negative: the general prohibitive, and the imperative ‘by proxy’. Modalities include frustrative (‘do in vain’), apprehensive (‘lest’), dubitative and conditional; see Chapter 16. Negation is marked differently for A/S_a (transitive and active intransitive) verbs and for S_o (stative intransitive) verbs; see Chapter 17.

Serial verb constructions express aspectual, directional, benefactive, causative and other meanings. The causative serial verb constructions are typologically quite unusual — both verbs, which have different agents, are marked for the same subject. See 1.7, and Chapter 18.

- 1.7 du-a du-ñha t̃jãri-nuku
 3sgf-make 3sgf-eat man-TOP.NON.A/S
 ‘She fed (lit. make-eat) the man.’ (lit. she-made she-ate the man).

Complex predicates, used to express epistemic meaning, prolonged customary action, admirative, apprehensive, irresultative (that is, an action or state which does not quite amount to what they ought to), small extent etc., differ from serial verb constructions. Serial verb constructions require the same subject marking on all the components which cannot be separated by any intervening constituents or any markers of syntactic dependency; in contrast, complex predicates do not have these restrictions; see Chapter 19.

The predicate of a relative clause is marked with a participle which distinguishes three tenses — past, present and future. Deverbal nominalizations are regularly formed on any verb, and employed as a complementation strategy; see Chapter 20. Clause linking is marked with sequencing enclitics, some of which are switch-reference sensitive: the choice of an enclitic depends on whether or not the subject of the main clause is identical with that of the subordinate clause. The emergence of switch-reference in Tariana is probably due to Tucano influence; see Chapter 22. Any argument except the possessor can be relativized. Interrogative pronouns are also employed in relative clauses, possibly under the influence of Tucano languages; see Chapter 23. Complement clauses can occur only in O function.

Besides complement clauses, Tariana has a number of complementation strategies, one of which is a direct speech complement used after the verbs of speech; see Chapter 24.

Similarly to a number of other languages of the world (see Mithun 1987) Tariana does not have any basic constituent order. The rules for ordering constituents within an NP, a verbal complex, a clause or a sentence depend on types of constituents, the construction type and the pragmatics — for instance, the order within a noun-adjective phrase depends on the definiteness of the noun referent and how topically established it is. This is discussed in Chapter 25, together with different discourse genres and principles of code-switching.

In spite of a strong cultural inhibition against lexical borrowing, Tariana does have a few borrowings from *Língua Geral* (a lingua franca employed until recently throughout the Upper Rio Negro and the Vaupés area — see §1.2), and from Tucano languages. These borrowings are fully nativized bound morphemes, many of them verbs. Tariana has also undergone a number of lexical shifts under East Tucano influence. The striking difference between the two dialects of Tariana, of Periquitos and of Santa Rosa, lies in the degree of ‘acceptance’ of loans from Tucano. While loans are not accepted — and are ridiculed — by the Santa Rosa speakers, a few Tucano loan morphemes have made their way into the Tariana of Periquitos. This is conspicuous in the speech of younger people; see Chapter 26.

This grammar is basically focussed on the Santa Rosa dialect of Tariana. The main features of the other actively spoken dialect, that of Periquitos and of other Tariana dialects are summarized in the Appendix. The Tariana language of Santa Rosa is not being learnt by children, and shows a degree of obsolescence. The younger generation are still fluent in Tariana, but many prefer to use Tucano when speaking among themselves or to their non-Tariana spouses. They consistently use Tariana only when speaking to someone from their father’s generation. The language spoken by younger speakers is characterized by calques and loan translations from Tucano, and, rarely, from Portuguese (Aikhenvald forthcoming-a).

1.2 Tariana and the multilingual setting of the Vaupés

The variety of Tariana described here is spoken as the first (father's) language by less than 100 people, considered members of two families in two settlements on the Vaupés river: the Brito family of the Santa Rosa village (also known as Jukira-ponta, Tariana *Iwi-taku* 'point of salt') and the Muniz family of the Periquitos village (also known as *Kerekere-pani* 'rapid of a parakeet', or *Tupiyari-numana* 'the mouth of a lizard').² A few Tariana speakers live in Iauaretê (*Yawhipani* (jaguar+CL:RAPID) 'the rapid of a jaguar'), a local mission centre, and in Jî-Ponta (*Episitaku* (stone.axe-CL:POINT) 'the point of stone axe') — see Map. Over 1500 people in numerous settlements along the upper and the middle course of the Vaupés river identify themselves as ethnic Tariana but no longer speak the language (cf. Aikhenvald 1996a and Moreira and Moreira 1994).

The North Arawak languages are spoken on the Içana and its tributary, the Aiari (the Baniwa/Kurripako language, with Hohôdene and Siuci as its main representatives), on the Vaupés (Tariana and Hohôdene) and on the Upper Rio Negro (Warekena and, formerly, Bare) (see Aikhenvald 1996a, 1999a-c, and forthcoming-c). Several languages of the East Tucano subgroup are spoken on the Vaupés (see Barnes 1999 and Aikhenvald 1999c). Traditionally, the most numerous East Tucano-speaking groups in the Brazilian Vaupés were the Tucano, the Guanano/Piratapuya and the Desano (there are also some Tuyuca and some Cubeo). Nowadays Tucano is gradually gaining ground as the lingua franca of the area.

Linguae franche spoken in the region are Língua Geral, or Nheengatu, and Tucano. Língua Geral is spoken in the whole region of the Upper Rio Negro (see Rodrigues 1986: 102, Bessa Freire 1983, Moore et al. 1994). On the Vaupés, it is only understood by older people.³ Língua Geral is a creolised version of Tupinambá (Tupí-Guaraní family) spread from the east coast of Brazil by white merchants and missionaries. It was the lingua franca of the whole Amazon region from the late 17th century up to the middle of the 19th century; its influence can still be seen in a few loan words in Tariana and other languages of the Vaupés (see Chapter 26). In the Vaupés area, it was gradually replaced by Tucano as a lingua franca from the early 20th century, as a result of the language policy of Catholic missionaries and the civil authorities. Indo-European languages are represented by Portuguese and Spanish. They are also gaining ground as lingue franche of the region, especially among younger people.

Multilingualism used to be — and to a great extent still is — a cultural norm over the whole Vaupés. Among the East Tucano peoples and the Tariana, marriage is exogamous. There are strict marriage rules, which are governed by language affiliation (see Sorensen

² The old location for this settlement of the Muniz family of the Wamiarikune was *Kerekere-pani*, 'the rapid of a parakeet', of which Periquitos is a translation into Portuguese (*periquito* is a word for parakeet). It became swampy and uninhabitable a generation ago, and the Muniz moved to a nearby location called *Tupiyarinumana* 'mouth of a lizard'. The Portuguese name *Periquitos*, which had already figured in maps and official documents, has been transferred to this new location.

³ The Tariana term for Língua Geral is *Ba ve*, which suggests that in the early days the Bare were identified with speakers of Língua Geral.

1972, Aikhenvald 1996a). Marrying someone who belongs to the same language group is considered akin to incest. Jackson (1974: 62), referring to the linguistic attitudes of the Bará, an East Tucano group of the Vaupés basin, reports being told: ‘My brothers are those who share a language with me’, and ‘We don’t marry our sisters’. Consequently language — which is acquired through patrilineal descent — is a badge of identity, together with the patrilineal descent. An Indian always identifies with their father’s tribe and language.

An individual generally knows between three and ten other languages of the region, including their own mother’s language which would frequently coincide with his wife’s language, and in addition Portuguese and/or Spanish. Since language identity is a symbol of ethnic identity, languages — even the most closely related ones — are kept strictly apart (cf. Sorensen 1972: 82). This creates a very strong impediment to lexical borrowings — in contrast to other multilingual situations. Each tribe, identifiable by a distinct language (e.g. Tariana, Piratapuya, Tucano etc.), is traditionally divided into several subtribes, hierarchically organised depending on whether they are descendants of the first, second, third etc. son of an ancestor. The lower groups in the hierarchy are said to be ex-Makú (and called ‘underlings’, or ‘soldiers’) due to the traditionally low status of the Makú groups in the Vaupés society. Their role is to serve the members of senior subtribes who are to be treated as elder brothers — for instance, lighting their cigars in the cigar-smoking ritual. Each group — and apparently each subtribe — has its own version of origin myths; there are dialectal differences between subtribes (see Appendix).

All the Tariana are considered blood relatives (and called *di-kesi-ni* ‘relative’), while members of other groups — which include Baniwa and all the East-Tucano groups except for the Desano — are referred to as ‘marriageable cousins’ (see Aikhenvald 1999a).

The basic rule of language choice throughout the Vaupés area is that one should speak the interlocutor’s own language. According to the language ‘etiquette’ of the area, one is supposed to speak the language one identifies with — that is, one’s father’s language — to one’s siblings, father and all his relatives, and one’s mother’s language to one’s mother and all her relatives.

However, during past decades the traditional pattern of language transmission in the Brazilian Vaupés has been affected by a number of factors. When Salesian missionaries established themselves in the area in the early 1920s, they imposed Western-style schooling on the Indians, forcing children into boarding schools where they were made to speak just one language, Tucano. Salesians aimed at ‘civilizing’ Indians. This implied not only making them into ‘good Christians’. Salesians also considered the traditional multilingualism of the area a ‘pagan’ habit, and strived to make Indians monolingual ‘like other civilized people in the world’. The Tucano language was chosen because it was, numerically, the majority language. Salesian missionaries also practiced forceful relocation of Indian settlements closer to mission centres — where the Indians could be more easily controlled — and amalgamation of different settlements, eliminating the traditional longhouse system and introducing European-style nuclear family houses. Another reason for the disintegration of traditional multilingualism was a breakdown of traditional father-child interaction: with the need for cash-flow, all the able-bodied men would go off to work for Brazilians — undertaking such tasks as collecting rubber and gold-mining — and as a result children would have a considerably reduced degree of exposure to their father’s

language. This resulted in the spread of Tucano, and, to a lesser extent, of other East-Tucano languages, to the detriment of Tariana (see Aikhenvald 2001c).

The main consequence of the recent spread of the Tucano language in the Brazilian Vaupés is the gradual undermining of the one-to-one identification between language and ethnic group. Language has gradually ceased to be an emblem of ethnic identity, and the majority of languages other than Tucano have become endangered. The discrepancy between the number of those who belong to a tribe and those who actually speak the language is particularly marked in the case of Tariana. The spread of Tucano is also leading to the gradual disappearance of one of the most fascinating multilingual areas of the world, and the areal phenomena associated with it.

At present, Tariana is a highly endangered language. The language described here is actively spoken in just two locations — Santa Rosa and Periquitos — by representatives of one subgroup, who call themselves *Wamia-riku-ne* (1pl+float-AFF:PLACE-PL) ‘the people of the place where we floated’.⁴ See Appendix on the minor differences between these.

This denomination reflects the origin myth. While the hierarchically higher groups of the Tariana appeared directly from the blood of Thunder, the latest arrivals — among them the Wamiarikune — appeared drifting on the water of the Apui falls after the Woman-Creator had smoked her sacred cigar. Some older people — Américo and the elders from Periquitos — pronounce the name of the group as Wamiarikine. The existence of a sacred name Wamiari, in the Periquitos group, could be used as a piece of evidence in favour of *-ki* in Wamiarikine being a separate morpheme; it could be cognate to the masculine suffix *-ki*, as in *nu-dalipa-ki* (1sg-near-MASC) ‘the one who is near me; a wife’s relative’ (see B under §10.2, for further examples). Marino Muniz, one of the Periquitos elders, used *Enu-dakini* ‘Thunder’s grandson’ and *Enu-maki-ni-se-ri* (thunder Makú-MASC-SINGL), lit. ‘the Makú of Thunder’, as alternative names for the same group.

Systematic efforts to start teaching Tariana at secondary school level started in 1999, when the author, together with the Brito family and the then Director of the Secondary School in Iauaretê, decided to introduce Tariana as a school subject. A course in Tariana language and literacy was held in Iauaretê in June 2000, with over 300 participants, most of whom were non-speakers and semi-speakers, jointly financed by La Trobe University with the Instituto Socioambiental in Brasília. Regular teaching of Tariana as a second language is scheduled for 2003 at the secondary school in Iauaretê; and further educational activities are being planned as part of the agenda for the recently established Indigenous Association for the Language and Culture of the Tariana of the Iauaretê area (*Associação Indígena da Língua e Cultura Tariana do Distrito Iauaretê, AILECTIDI*), under the presidentship of Jovino Brito (see Aikhenvald forthcoming-f).

1.3 Historical information about the Tariana

⁴ The Tucano-speaking Tariana still preserve some origin myths. Information from the Tucano-speaking Tariana groups is valuable for determining differences in myths and stories between subtribes; however it cannot be completely relied upon. An important work based on *Kaline* tradition (third group in the Tariana hierarchy: see §1.4) is Moreira and Moreira (1994); however, one can only rely on what is confirmed by other sources (such as Brüzzi 1977; 1994; Biocca 1965; Amorim 1987; Stradelli 1890).

The first information about the population of the Rio Negro and Vaupés, including the first mention of Tariana, goes back to the second half of the 18th century (also see Aikhenvald 1999a and c). The analysis of Tariana place names shows that ‘historical’ and ‘mythological’ place names exist only in Tariana and not in any of the Tucano languages (see Aikhenvald 1996b). This conclusion — unexpected in an environment of obligatory multilingualism — suggests that the Tariana might have arrived in the Vaupés from a predominantly monolingual context, and that they have adopted multilingualism fairly recently.

The first source we have which gives some indication about the spread of the tribes of the Vaupés is by Vigário Geral (Dr. José Monteiro de Noronha; dated 1759: see Brüzzi 1977: 20-31). Another early source is Francisco Xavier Ribeiro da Sampaio (1774-1775), who mentioned the Tariana, the Desano, the Guanano and the Uaupé on the Vaupés, and on the Papurí river. He was also the first historian to have observed the existence of social hierarchies in the Vaupés region. Alexandre Rodrigues Ferreira (1775-6) also noted the Cariana (Tariana?) on the Papurí, and the Uaupé⁵ on the Vaupés river. Wallace (1853) mentions the Tariana in São Joaquim on the Vaupés river; and Martius (1867, vol.1: 567) pointed out the existence of the Tariana at São Jeronimo (now Ipanoré) on the Vaupés — characterising them as ‘Nehmer, Räuber’ (‘takers, robbers’). See Brüzzi (1977: 20-31).

A detailed account of the spread and early history of contacts of the Tariana is given by Koch-Grünberg (1911: 49ff). He also points out the existence of two Tariana groups on the Vaupés: one in Ipanoré and the other in Iauaretê.⁶ The report that the Tariana knew of gold and possessed it is repeated in several sources, contributing to the idea that the Tariana in particular were highly civilised and constituted a kind of elite among the indigenous population. According to Cândido Brito (p.c.), they indeed used to get gold from the Andes. Incidentally, Tariana has a native word for gold, *hiwaru*.

The Tariana (and other tribes of the Vaupés) were involved in the ‘rubber boom’ in the late 19th century. Hemming (1987: 315) describes the depopulation and depression of the whole region of the Upper Rio Negro in the mid-19th century, due to epidemics. When in 1850 the province of Amazonas was separated from Pará, the attention of the governors of the new stage turned to the tributaries of the Upper Rio Negro, and among them the Vaupés (with its tributaries, the Tiquié and the Papurí), where there was still a considerable Indian population, among them the Tariana. This period is marked by numerous attacks by the government on the ‘nomadic’ tribes of the region, including the Hohôdene (Baniwa) and Makú. A new wave of baptism of the Indians started in 1852, with the appointment of Frei Gregório José Maria de Bene, a mission director, who reportedly baptised a third of the

⁵ The term Uaupé, or Buopes could have been an umbrella term for indigenous peoples of the Vaupés area.

⁶ He reports that the mission of São Jeronymo was built in Ipanoré in the second half of the 18th century, by Carmelites. This mission was visited by Johann Natterer in July 1831, by Wallace in 1852 and by Spruce in 1853. The Ipanoré mission was rebuilt by Franciscans in 1880-1883 (see Koch-Grünberg 1911: 35). At that time, there were 330 inhabitants (62 houses), almost all of them Tariana. The mission of São Antonio in Iauaretê then had 402 people. The missionaries were expelled from the region in 1883, and the Indians returned to the lifestyle of their ancestors in longhouses. Permanent Salesian missions were established in 1925, which resulted in the disintegration of the Vaupés culture (see above).

estimated 2300 Indians in the Vaupés basin. Traders and governors used the rivalries between the tribes to capture Indian slaves; Indians were urged to leave their villages and to move to the main rivers. Wallace (1853) reports that the Tariana assisted in capturing Indians of other tribes for traders; it appears that the Tariana were used for these purposes because of their high status among Indians of the region (also see Hemming 1987: 319).

According to Koch-Grünberg (1911: 51), the Tariana language started to be ousted from everyday use in Iauaretê as early as the beginning of the twentieth century.⁷ The gradual spread of Tucano as a lingua franca started at the end of the 19th century (Giacone 1962: 7).

1.4 Social organization

Descriptions of the social organisation of the peoples of the Vaupés area can be found in Goldman (1979), C. Hugh-Jones (1979), S. Hugh-Jones (1979), Sorensen (1972; 1985), Jackson (1974, 1976, 1983); Galvão (1979), and Brüzzi (1977); additional information was obtained from my Tariana teachers and various other people of the region (including some non-Tariana-speaking Tariana). The Tariana and Tucano classificatory kinship systems are a variation of a basic Dravidian type (Sorensen 1972: 85; Goehner, West and Merrifield 1985: 59). The basic distinction is between cross and parallel cousins. Members of ego's generation are either parallel cousins considered classificatory siblings, or cross-cousins; only cross-cousins are regarded as marriageable. Consequently, any Tariana is referred to as a parallel cousin, and any member of a marriageable tribe is referred to as a cross-cousin. The 'unmarriageable' Makú are referred to as 'underlings'. The kinship terminology distinguishes five generations, with the sex of relatives being marked for each generation (cf. Jackson 1983: 106). A member of an exogamous patrilineal phratry is eligible to marry a person from another exogamous phratry who is identified as speaking a different language. See Aikhenvald (1999a) for a full list of kinship terms.

The traditional settlement pattern involved multifamily longhouses each including a patrilineage. As mentioned above, the process of replacing traditional longhouses with individual family houses began in the Brazilian part of the Vaupés region in the 1920s. There are no longhouses left in Brazilian territory; a local descent group is now necessarily split into Western-type nuclear families. The patterns of slash-and-burn agriculture require access to extensive territory, and the fight for resources may explain the raiding and

⁷ 'The male Tarianas of Yauareté speak only Tucano among themselves, which is the language of their mothers and daughters, since exogamy is strict in all the tribes of the Vaupés, i.e. a wife is taken from another tribe, very often from far away. However, when they go on a visit to other Tariana villages, at the reception and in conversations, they use Tariana which is perceived as a more appropriate ceremonial language, a kind of 'salon language', whereas Tucano is used in everyday affairs or during trips. The younger generation has already forgotten many Tariana words, and this is the best proof that this sonorant language [i.e. Tariana] is gradually on its way out, whereas Tucano is spreading more and more, and has already become a kind of 'Língua Geral' in the Lower and Upper Caiary-Vaupés and its tributaries Tiquié and Papurí, for tribes of different languages' (Koch-Grünberg 1911: 51, my translation).

feuding, memories of which live on (e.g., the wars between the Guanano and the Itjirimhene subgroup of the Tariana).

Historically, the Tariana consisted of ten subgroups. Different subtribes used different sets of sacred names ('blessing names': see below and §3.1.2); there are also differences in at least some origin myths.⁸

The following ten subgroups of Tariana are arranged in order of seniority, following Brüzzi (1977: 101-3). Some are named after a mythological being they descend from, and some after a totemic animal; the etymology of some names is unknown. Names ending in *-ne* are plural (*-ne* is the Tariana plural animate marker: for instance, the Britos are called *Brito-ne*; this marker is also used in the name *Iri-ne*, the autodenomination of the Tariana: see §1.8.1).

1. *Kwenaka* (descendants of the first son; meaning unknown)
2. *Ijirimhene* (descendants of the second son; meaning unknown)
3. *Kali-ne* (possibly, descendants of Kali, the creator: Kali-PLURAL)
4. *Paipene* (meaning unknown)
5. *Kumandene* (Ducks; people of the Duck)
6. *Mali-ne* (Guans)
7. *Kunuli-whi* (feather of Kúnuli bird)
8. *Phiñ-kawa*, *Phiñ-kawa-pu* (group of agoutis); or *Phiñ-ne* 'Agoutis'; or *Phiñ-kawa-pu-pe* 'big feet of agouti'
9. *Yawyari* (people of jaguar)
10. *Wamia-riku-ne* (1pl+float-AFF:PLACE-PL) 'the people of the place where we floated'

The exact hierarchy of the Tariana subtribes remains to be determined. Representatives of different groups give different reports concerning their relationships to other groups. According to Wamiarikune lore, the Tariana groups fall into two large classes: those who came floating out of the water at Ipanoré rapids, and those who appeared out of the smoke of the creator's cigar. The former — which include Kabana, Kaline, Nerikwa, Pukudane, Kunuliwhi and Itjirimhene, besides the ones listed above — are higher on the hierarchy than the latter — which include Wamiarikune and Paipene, or Paiphene, in this order. The exact place of Kumadene and Ādarune in the hierarchy needs to be further investigated. According to Galdino Pinheiro, the Paipene — a group to which he belongs — are ranked below the Wamiarikune. (The names of subtribes *Ka\i*, *Kwenaka*, *Piña* (cf. *Phiñ-ne*) are also quoted by Biocca 1965: 255 — who does not put them in any order.)

⁸ For instance, in the story of the origin myth by descendants of a senior subtribe, Kaline, reflected in Moreira and Moreira (1994) and Biocca (1965), there were sometimes two, and sometimes three Tariana forefathers, while in the version told by the Wamia\ikune they were always two.

1.5 Ceremonies and beliefs

The Tariana share numerous beliefs, ceremonies and superstitions with other peoples of the Vaupés region, and also with the Baniwa of Içana. Here I will not attempt an exhaustive description of Tariana and Tucano ritual life; my intention is to highlight the most striking features necessary for understanding Tariana stories. Details are in Aikhenvald (1999a).

Tariana religion is animistic. Due to the efforts of the Catholic church traditional religious concepts are now intertwined with Christianity. The creator of the Tariana and of the whole world is believed to be *Yapi-riku-ri* (*ˆapirikuri*) (lit. bone-LOC-REL) (cf. Baniwa *Yapi-Jiku-Ji* ‘the one who is on the bone’, Tucano *O’ã-ki* (bone-son) ‘son of the bone’). He is sometimes identified with the Christian God, e.g. *Yapi-riku-ri di-ñami-kada* (3sgnf-die-CL:DAY) ‘Good Friday’, lit. the day when Yapirikuri died. Kali is the creator and the master of manioc, and Kui (possibly related to Baniwa Kuwai: Brüzzi 1994) is the master of various types of snuff and the protector of shamans. He is also the owner of the Yurupary flute (*piti i-mina-ri* flute INDF-master-MASC). The reason why it is forbidden for women to see the Yurupary flute is that both Yapirikuri and Kui dislike women (*ka-duiha ka-na* REL-dislike REL-want), who had ‘sinned’ by having allowed the Moon (*Ke:ri*) to copulate with them. Ancient people of the ‘olden days’ are called *Hipada nawiki* (‘stone people’) since the traces of their adventures are still there, in the form of stones on the rapids around the Vaupés.

White people (*yalana*) appear in the origin myth as one of the Tariana subgroups; it says that, due to their ‘knowledge’, they managed to get hold of guns and clothing while other groups (e.g. Tariana, Cubeo, Desano, Piratapuya) were helpless, ‘like children’ (cf. Hugh-Jones 1988, on how white people were incorporated into the mythological cycle of the East Tucano group Barasano). The mythical ‘fish-people’ (*kuphe-ne*), are also conceived of as ‘white’. They are ‘in charge’ of fishing and, sometimes, hunting. They belong to the other world (*pa:-ehkwapi* ‘one/other-CL:WORLD’) and typically appear disguised as big handsome white women or men. They lure unsuccessful hunters (*husaite*, Portuguese *panema*), or ‘men not loved by women’ (*ina meninite*) to live with them in their huge beautiful underwater houses; when the hunters come back to the earth they bring nothing but misfortune to their relatives. The ‘fish people’ also take away girls menstruating for the first time if they dare to run away from their seclusion in order to have a wash. The ‘fish people’ can be helpful to a human being in trouble: in one story a snake man helped a destitute widow get fish from a secret stream, on condition that she should not take too many; but once the allowed quantity was exceeded, the whole village was destroyed.

Shamans — see Table 9 in Aikhenvald (1999a) — are divided into six groups, according to their strength and ability to inflict illnesses (*kaiperi di-a* ‘illness he-gives’) and to cure them (*kaiperi di-susu* ‘illness he-sucks’). They sniff different kinds of snuff (generic *whe ru*, *hipatu* ‘snuff’). Shamans of a ‘higher’ category can do anything the lower category can do; however, each has his specialisation — for instance, the ‘beginner’, *sakaka*, specialises in ‘attracting women’. The higher castes of shamans are known as *yawi* ‘jaguar’ because of their ability to ‘turn into jaguars and eating people’ (see §1.8.1, on *Yawi* as one of the erroneous names for the Tariana). These shamans also have the power of opening ‘the pot of fever’ so as to make their enemies fall ill and die.

Other people with some magic powers (outside the hierarchy of shamans) are *ka-ñapa* (REL-bless) ‘blesser’ (i.e. a person with the power to bless the tar of certain trees, and to bless people so that some illnesses go away), *yaku-si mina-ri* (INDF+talk-NPOSS master-MASC) ‘master of speech; a magician who does not sniff snuff but can foresee the future’, *di-tape-kani* (3sgnf-cure-AGENTIVE.NOM) ‘curer; someone who can cure diseases’, and *ma:ru* ‘the master of ritual dances’.

When a girl menstruates for the first time (*hi\$stuka*) she is put into an enclosure for three days, where she has to eat certain types of fruit, but not fish, game or pepper, and is forbidden to bathe. After three days she is let out, beaten, bathed and painted by an old woman, and an offering feast (see below) is organised. A boy, once he reaches puberty, is supposed to spend some time in the jungle proving he can hunt and fast; after that he returns to the village, gets beaten, bathed and painted by an old man, and participates in an offering feast. Female initiation is still practised, while male initiation was abandoned several decades ago. These initiation rites are similar across the Upper Rio Negro; cf. the description of the male initiation of Candelário da Silva, the last speaker of Bare, in Aikhenvald (1995a: 52-4), and cf. Jackson (1983) and S. Hugh-Jones (1979).

The Tariana term for an old man or woman who is performing the initiation ritual is *di-tude-ta-kasi* (3sgnf-hit+CAUS1-CAUS2-AGENTIVE) (this term is often translated as ‘godmother’, or ‘godfather’); the child to whom the ritual is done is called *nuri-da* (1sg+son-CL:ROUND) (now used in the meaning of ‘godchild’).

The offering ritual (known in Portuguese as Dabucuri festival, Tariana *na-walita-nipe* (3pl-offer-NOM)) is the most important part of Tariana culture; the modern Tariana regret the fact that it is not practised any more. Apparently, Américo Brito (see §1.9) is the last Tariana to have participated, as a guest, in a real offering festival. It used to be organised by one village or longhouse if they had a surplus of produce, or as a part of the rite of initiation. The village or longhouse where the feast was going to take place was responsible for making manioc beer (Portuguese *caxiri*), while the others provided the food (see Reichel-Dolmatoff 1971, and especially the description in Brüzzi 1977: 303-4). After ritual dances organised by *ma:ru* ‘the master of ritual dances’, *kahpi* (a strongish variety of manioc beer) was distributed, and drinking carried on until the next day — this is why another term for the offering festival is *pa-ira-ni-kada* (IMP-drink-TOP.ADV-CL:DAY) ‘day of drinking’. Drinking involved vomiting (inducing oneself to vomit), to be able to fully enjoy the feast. On the morning of the third day the cigar-smoking ritual took place, to mark the end of the feast. Male members of a low-ranking group used to light two big cigars (*yema*), each of which was held in a forked cigar-holder (*yemapu*). The most important males (usually, the most powerful shamans) of the two participating groups (the ‘host’ group and the ‘guest’ group) offered the cigars to each other to smoke (*na-siteta-kaka* (3pl-smoke+CAUS-REC) ‘make each other smoke’); after that the cigars were passed from more important to less important men. The shamans and the important men alternated in reciting episodes from origin stories (further details are in Brüzzi 1977: 312). Cigar-smoking was accompanied by putting snuff on each other’s tongue and licking it from there (*na-peita-kaka* (3pl-lick+CAUS-REC) ‘make each other lick’) (this is not mentioned by Brüzzi 1977).

A subtype of ‘offering’ feast (offering of fruit, but not of meat or fish) involves the sacred flutes (*piri*) known as Yurupary flutes (Tucano *mi\$ri*, Baniwa *Kuwai*; see S. Hugh-

Jones 1979; Jackson 1983: 188-91; Brüzzi 1977: 313-15, on the geographical spread of the Yurupary cult and its characterisation as a cultural feature of the Içana-Vaupés region). Women are not allowed to see the flutes (and have to run away inside the longhouse as soon as they hear the sound of them); a woman who has seen a Yurupary flute must die.

Numerous taboos concern a man's behaviour in the jungle. A hunter, if he wants to be successful, cannot have sex, or even think about women, before he goes on a hunting trip. Otherwise he may fall victim to the evil spirit *ñamu* who might appear to him in the image of a 'white woman' (i.e. a 'fish-woman': *kuphe i-sa-do* (fish INDF-spouse-FEM)) and devour him, or 'take his heart away'.

Similar sets of taboos apply to women who know the secret of making pots. For three days before they go to a faraway place (usually a clearing in the jungle), they are not supposed to have sex, eat, drink, defecate, or urinate: otherwise the pots will break (Olívia Brito and Maria Sanchez, p.c.). Nowadays, very few women know these secrets, so female taboos are falling into disuse.

The taboos concerning women's behaviour are linked to the traditional fear of women's menstrual blood (widespread in numerous other cultures across the world). Menstrual blood is believed to be the result of women's 'misbehaviour' with the Moon (*ke:ri ka-sa-do* (moon REL-spouse-FEM) 'moon marries [them]'). Similar to Tucano origin myths, Tariana origin myths mention an 'ancestor' woman believed to be the first to use the Yurupary flute, which she subsequently lost; however, this story is not well remembered. Since women continually 'misbehave' and cannot even see the Yurupary flute, they are often referred to as *ma:nihta-kadite* (NEG+think/reason-NEG+NCL:ANIM) 'the ones who do not reason' — see §26.3.

Various other taboos are linked to the 'likes' and 'dislikes' of evil spirits (see Table 10 in Aikhenvald 1999a). The most important of the evil spirits, *ñamu*, is known to have a liking for the blood of the first menstruation; this is the reason why girls who menstruate for the first time (*hi\$tu-kite* 'menstruate.for.the.first time-THEMATIC+CL:ANIM') have to be kept in seclusion and maintain dietary restrictions — lest *ñamu* comes and devours them. The evil spirits are believed to be especially dangerous at night-time — for instance, one is not supposed to make any appointments with another person after dark lest the evil spirit learn about it and come and eat a person up, disguised as the other person. The fear of getting close to 'beings who are different from us' is reflected in numerous stories about people living together with evil spirits, or snake-people, and striking deals with spirits of the jungle; all this involves moving into 'the other world' (*pa:-ehkwapi*) which is always ominous and not recommended. (See also Aikhenvald and Dixon 1998a: 255, for some putative correlations between the various taboos and restrictions, and linguistic phenomena, in Tariana.)

1.6 Naming practices

All the Tariana have a Portuguese given name and a Portuguese family name; the given name is used to refer to people when they are absent; kinship terms are often used for address. Similarly to other peoples of the Vaupés region, the Tariana have a closed set of traditional personal sacred names called 'names of blessing' (Tariana *pa-ñapa-nipe i-pitana*

(IMP-bless-NOM INDF-name) ‘blessing name’, Tucano *basé'ke wame* ‘spirit name’). ‘Names of blessing’ are given to children (not to babies); they used to be employed in ‘spells’ and ‘blessings’, especially when children were sick. Personal names are a separate subclass of nouns (they have vocative forms, and no plurals).

The list of names of the Brito family, as far back as my consultants could remember, is given under D in §3.1.2. Children of Tariana women are not ‘named’ in Tariana, because they belong to a different language group and do not count as Tariana. Only some of the sacred names have a translation: *KumatharO* means ‘female duck’, *Tui ri* means ‘japú bird’, *Serewhari* means ‘lilac-tailed parrotlet’, and *Kumada* means ‘male duck’. It is unclear on what principle people are given names (the blessing names of my consultants are listed in Aikhenvald 1999a).⁹

Portuguese names also distinguish reference forms from vocative forms; and they are often abbreviated. *Olívia* is addressed as *Olí* and referred to as *Óli*, and *Leonardo* is referred to as *Leó* and addressed as *Leoná*, while *Ismael* is both referred to and addressed as *Mayē*. In addition, each man has a nickname, usually the name of an animal, or an insect, or of a part of it, e.g. *Namuitu* ‘wild peccary’ for Ricardo, *Nēwi* ‘otter’ for José Manoel, *Hema* ‘tapir’ for Rafael, *Hi:ri isipi* ‘rat’s tail’ for Jacinto, *Paitji* ‘type of frog’ for Ismael, *Kumada* ‘duck’ for José Luis, *Dume* ‘aracú fish’ for Leonardo, or *Wirikaru* ‘flycatcher, Portuguese bem-ti-vi’, for Emílio ((I have no such data for women). Some of these names are considered slightly comical and some slightly offensive, and people do not like their own nicknames. For instance, Cândido Brito has never revealed his nickname to me, and Jovino was very reluctant in revealing, to the satisfaction of others, his nickname *Kapatu* ‘bodó-fish’ (a fish that sticks underneath the canoe). I was strongly discouraged from using Cristiano’s nickname *Naki* ‘evil spirit’, Raimundo’s *Makini* ‘a Makú man’, Juvenal’s *Ka:siri* ‘crocodile’, and Marino Muniz’s nickname *Inari* ‘mucura rat’ which they were said to dislike. White people are also given nicknames — for instance, Giacone (§1.8.2) was known as *Maliapa* ‘whitehaired monkey’ (Portuguese *macaco loiro*), because of his white hair.

The blessing names are hardly ever used in day-to-day life. When addressing one another, speakers mostly use appropriate kinship terms or abbreviated versions of their Portuguese names. All the older speakers — except Leonardo, who occasionally uses Portuguese names — use kinship terms to address their relatives, keeping Tariana and Tucano forms strictly apart. See §25.5.3, on the use of Tucano and Portuguese kinship terms in Tariana.

1.7 Nonverbal communication

The patterns of nonverbal communication are similar across the Vaupés area. Among the people, there is a lot of bodily contact as a sign of affection: indigenous women often walk around holding each other by the hand. Female relatives hug each other. Laughter often signals that the people are amused, but the source of this amusement is most often the cultural inappropriateness of something, frequently of language behavior: when one

⁹ I was given a name, *Kumatha\O* ‘female duck’ only during the fourth field trip, and my son was named *Tui\i* ‘japú-bird; pied crested oropendola’. These names were said to be given ‘to keep us safe during our trips because we fly a lot’.

unexpectedly switches languages or uses a Tucano or a Piratapuya word while speaking Tariana, this is accompanied by roars of laughter. A discourse organizing phrase ‘I am saying this’, frequently employed by narrators as a hedge in telling a story, also provokes outbursts of laughter because it is considered somewhat inappropriate (cf. §25.5.3). People, especially women, used to laugh when I first started speaking Tariana (since it is unusual for a white woman to do so).

Gestures are important in story-telling. A story-teller will accompany their talk with gestures indicating the direction of movement of people or of animals, and also the direction of the sun (as a way of showing what time it is).

In day-to-day communication, lips are employed for pointing at things which are close and can be seen. Lip-pointing is accompanied with a head-tilt to point at things which are further away but still within the range of vision. Finger pointing is employed for more distant things, especially those which are too far away to be seen. A full palm is used to indicate directions (which is important during trips on boats) and the position of the sun (that is, time of the day).

1.8 What we know about the Tariana language

1.8.1 Denominations of the language

The Tariana refer to themselves as Tariá, Tariána or Tariána; *-na* is a suffix used in names of people (see §10.2). This term also combines with the singulative *-seri*: *Taria-seri* ‘a Tariana man’, or with *-sa-do* (spouse-FEM), as in *Taria-sa-do* ‘Tariana woman’. According to Brüzzi (1977: 100), the suffix *-na* could be a loan from Língua Geral. Another autodenomination of the Tariana is *Iri-ne* (blood-PL) ‘the ones of the blood’.

In Tariana, the Tariana language is referred to as *waku* ‘our speech’, or *wa-yarupe* ‘our thing’, or *taria yarupe* ‘Tariana’s thing’ (cf. §26.2.2). The Tucano-speaking Tariana do not use the term *Iri-ne*; they refer to the Tariana with the Tucano word *Diroa* (‘blood’) (see Moreira and Moreira 1994).

Two other names are used to describe the Tariana in the literature:

— The denomination Iñene (*iñe-ne* (evil spirit-PL) ‘demons’) is a pejorative name for the Wamiarikune subgroup of the Tariana, given to the Wamiarikune ancestors by their envious ‘elder brothers’ because of their ‘impertinence’. Koch-Grünberg (1911) reported that the Yurupary-tapuya (‘people of the evil spirit’, in Nheengatu) — also known as *Iyäine*, or *iyemi* ‘evil spirits’ — used to be a ‘subtribe’ of Tariana which was very low on the tribal hierarchy (see also Coudreau 1886-7, vol. 2: 160, 163). Loukotka (1968: 134) erroneously lists *Iyäine*, Yurupary-tapuya, and Kumandene (sic) as one and the same tribe, distinct from the actual Tariana (whom he also calls Yavi, following Coudreau).

— The name *Yawi*, or *Yavi*, ‘jaguar’ was mentioned by Coudreau (1886-7, vol. 2: 474-6), and was correctly refuted by Koch-Grünberg (1911: 50); this term is only used to refer to a type of shaman.

1.8.2 Previous studies of the language

The first short word-list in Tariana was collected by Johannes Natterer (20 July 1831), in São Gerônimo (now Ipanoré). This list was believed to be lost (cf. Hemming 1987: 489-90; and Koch-Grünberg 1911: 50, fn.3); but has been just recently re-discovered. Further lists in Tariana were collected by Wallace (1853) and Martius (1867, Volume 1: 537). Koch-Grünberg (1911) published a longish word-list, accompanied by a few phrases and a list of Tariana tribes — these data are interesting, but full of mistakes. Brüzzi (1961) published a reliable list of over one hundred words in Tariana. Brüzzi (1977) contains a list of Tariana subtribes, their location, and a detailed description of Tariana-Tucano cultural characteristics.

A short grammar of Tariana with a list of phrases and a short dictionary was published by Giacone (1962). He started working on the Tariana language in 1946-7 with the speakers of the Tariana dialects of two high-class Tariana groups: Phitjikawape, spoken in the village of Dom Bosco, and Kabana (Kwenaka), spoken in Itaiçu. Both dialects are now extinct (see Appendix). In 1959, Giacone started revising his materials, with the help of Anibal Muniz, a fluent speaker of the dialect of Periquitos and a classificatory younger brother of the elders of the Periquitos community — Marino and Maximiliano Muniz. As a result, Giacone's grammar is a peculiar mixture of different dialects of Tariana and is not a reliable source.

A longish word-list in Tariana was collected by Alva Wheeler in the early 1960s (parts of it were published in Huber and Reed 1992), from a representative of the Ádarune subtribe; this dialect is very different to the Santa Rosa dialect described here (see Appendix). González-Ñáñez collected a 100-word list from Roberto Brito (the elder brother of Cândido Brito) who lives in Maroa, Venezuela; this list is deeply flawed. A typical example is the Spanish gloss *porque* (afirmativo), i.e. 'because', translated into Tariana as *jãida* (in González-Ñáñez's transcription). The word *hãida* in Tariana means 'I don't know'. Apparently, when the researcher asked the Indian 'how do you say 'because'?', the Indian honestly said 'I don't know', and the researcher mistook it for the required word.

Some ethnographical materials on the Tariana were collected by Ettore Biocca (1965); he also made a few recordings of shamanic songs sung by an old man from Ipanoré. Brüzzi also recorded a number of songs (see Brüzzi 1961). These songs are only partly intelligible to younger speakers. Older people, such as Cândido Brito and José Manoel, seem to understand more. However, none of the speakers was able to translate any of these though they had no doubt as to their authenticity and have even made an attempt to learn them 'back'.

Various aspects of Tariana grammar have been discussed in my publications, from a typological, areal and historical perspective (see References). Features of Tariana culture are discussed in Aikhenvald (1999a), which contains a sample of texts.

1.9 Materials and speakers

This grammar is based on the materials collected during five field trips between 1991 and 2000. The materials include over 1700 pages of texts, and also word lists and conversations.

I have worked, or been in contact, with 90% of the estimated 30 speakers of the Santa Rosa variety in Santa Rosa and in Iauaretê. In addition, I worked with Marino, Jorge, Batista, Dário, Gustavo and Domingo Muniz, of the Periquitos variety (and contacted a few more representatives of the Muniz family in Iauaretê), and with Roni Lopes, one of the remaining twenty or so fluent speakers of the Santa Terezinha dialect. This grammar is followed by two stories in the Santa Rosa dialect, a story from Periquitos and a story from Santa Terezinha.

Speakers of the Santa Rosa variety vary in their proficiency, depending on generation and upbringing. There are only eight representatives of the older generation (60–80 years of age). Of these, only José Manoel Brito and Ricardo Brito live in Santa Rosa; Cândido, Leonardo, Américo and Batista Brito live in Iauaretê, Eduardo Brito lives in São Pedro (on the Middle Vaupés), while Roberto Brito lives in Maroa (in Venezuela).

CÂNDIDO BRITO, my main consultant (about 70–80 years old) is perhaps the best and the most traditional speaker of Tariana. To my knowledge, he is the only person never to violate the rules for language choice. Though perfectly fluent in Tucano and in a number of other East-Tucano languages (as well as in *Língua Geral*), he never uses Tucano when speaking to his children, his younger brother Leonardo or his classificatory brothers, addressing them in Tariana and demanding the same from them. His wife, Maria, a Piratapuya herself, is proficient in Tariana (her mother's language). She rarely uses Tariana: most of her communication with her husband and children is in Piratapuya, while she speaks Tucano and regional Portuguese to her grandchildren. This may explain why her Tariana remains archaic. Cândido Brito is an elaborate story-teller, and has a vast knowledge of Tariana placenames, culture and lore. His language is archaic: he never substitutes the indefinite person marker with other markers, he uses archaic gender forms of demonstratives, and does not apply vowel harmony to enclitics *-naku* 'topical non-subject' and *-pidana* 'remote past reported' (realized as *-nuku* and *-pidena* by younger people). He, his wife and his eldest daughter Olívia are equally proficient in Tariana kinship terms and relationships.

LEONARDO BRITO, Cândido's younger brother (born in 1949), is a fine story-teller, very proficient in Tariana. Leonardo's wife, Cecília, a Cubeo, can speak and understand some Tariana. Leonardo speaks Tariana and Tucano to his two sons (Rafael and Gabriel), and just Tucano to all his daughters. Gabriel (now 15) understands Tariana, but answers in Tucano; so does Vanilde, his eldest daughter (now about 20). The younger daughters, Clarisse, Fátima and Maria Esther, speak and understand only Tucano. Rafael (born in 1973), a fluent speaker of Tariana, speaks to his father mostly in Tucano, but now and again also in Tariana. Age-wise, Leonardo is closer to Cândido's children in age (he is just a year older than Ismael Brito), and so his speech is more similar to that of the younger generations in that it lacks some archaisms found with Cândido: he does not use archaic demonstratives; but, like Cândido, he uses the forms *-naku* 'topical non-subject' and *-pidana* 'remote past reported'. His knowledge of culture and lore is good, but somewhat more restricted than that of Cândido.

JOSÉ MANOEL BRITO (probably over 70) is a fluent speaker, and a reasonable story-teller. He is a widower, and now lives with one of his eight children, (see below). He speaks Tariana to his son and Tucano to his daughter-in-law. His grandchildren appear to be the only children in the village (besides Ireni: see below) to understand some commands

in Tariana — he probably does speak Tariana to them now and again. He knows some things (but nowhere near as much as Cândido) about traditions. His Tariana is looked upon as somewhat ‘faulty’. His pronunciation is blurred, and he reduces all vowels. According to some, he grew up among the speakers of Hohôdene, and consequently has never completely learnt how to use the evidential system; he consistently uses present reported - *pida* instead of remote past and recent past reported. Some of the forms he uses are archaic; he says *-naku* and not *-nuku*.

RICARDO BRITO (Diká) (younger brother of José Manoel, also over 70) is a middling speaker, and an eager — but not a very articulate — story-teller. His pronunciation is somewhat blurred, and the reduction of unstressed syllables makes his speech difficult to understand, even for native speakers. He speaks Tariana and Tucano to his children, and Tucano to his daughter-in-law. Like José Manoel, he grew up among the speakers of Hohôdene, and for this reason is said not to have mastered the system of evidentials. The forms he uses are archaic in other respects.

BATISTA BRITO (Bati, probably 60) is fluent in Tariana. He is the only representative of the older generation of Wamiarikune in Brazil to have a good command of Portuguese, which he freely mixes with Spanish. He spent a number of years working in Colombia and Venezuela, and is known to show off his proficiency in ‘the white man’s language’. He is the only person to be mocked for inserting Spanish or Portuguese words into his Tucano or Tariana, because he is considered a ‘show off’. He speaks only Tucano to his children, and Portuguese to his grandchildren. His wife Teresa (a Tucano) does not speak or understand Tariana, and neither do his children. His son Feli, a male nurse who lives in Santa Rosa and who is responsible for distributing government medicine, was the only male in the village never to participate in the language work, for the simple reason that he had no knowledge whatsoever of the language. Bati is a good and witty story-teller; however, he does not know as much as Cândido about tradition and lore. He told me that he only started learning Tariana when he was about eight. His Tariana is innovative and full of calques from Tucano, and he tends to employ the forms younger people use. This could be explained by his late acquisition of the language.

AMÉRICO BRITO (Amé, well over 80) is the oldest speaker of Tariana in Brazil (he is approximately the same age group as Roberto Brito, Cândido’s elder brother, now in Maroa). He is extremely proficient in the language, and a marvellous story-teller; his knowledge of tradition equals that of Cândido. Unlike Cândido, he speaks only Tucano with his wife Maria (a Tucano) and with his children. Consequently, none of his children speak Tariana. His language is very archaic and his ways of expression elaborate.

I have not worked with Roberto Brito, who now lives in Maroa in Venezuela and is married to a Guanano woman. None of his children speak Tariana; his eldest daughter Celestina (Celeste) who lives in the São Paulo community on the Vaupés can understand the language but lacks the confidence to speak it.

My main consultants among the younger generation (30-50 years of age) are the children of Cândido Brito. Their proficiency in Tariana varies. None of their children speak Tariana; Cândido’s grandson Francismar, the son of his late son Francisco (‘Chico’), understands some Tariana (he lives in the same house as Cândido and gets some exposure to the language).

Cândido's eldest son, ISMAEL (Maye, born in 1950) is probably the best speaker of his generation. He is an elaborate story-teller, and has a vast knowledge of traditional stories and of the lexicon; his speech is morphologically complex. He alternates between archaic and innovative forms (e.g. *-naku* and *-nuku*), and is sometimes innovative himself (one of the peculiarities of his speech is overusing vowel harmony: for instance, he regularly pronounces negative marker *-kade-* as *-kede-*). He almost never displays any signs of the loss of the indefinite prefix. He speaks Tucano to his wife Margarida (a Tucano herself), and only recently started systematically speaking Tariana to his elder son Osmar (who seems to understand it). Ismael also speaks good Portuguese — he is a trained mechanic and a general handyman; however, his addiction to cane whiskey ('*cachaça*') hinders him from securing a good job.

Cândido's eldest daughter OLÍVIA (born in 1953) is a fluent speaker, very caring and motherly to her siblings (including me, as a classificatory sibling). She has an amazing knowledge of the kinship system; she speaks mainly Tucano with her daughter Laura and her nephew Francismar (in her care, after her younger brother Chico's death). Her Portuguese is reasonable (but not as good as that of her brothers). Her Tariana is typical of a younger speaker and is full of calques from Tucano and — if she does not control herself — Tucano words creep into her narratives and especially spontaneous conversations. I had to recheck every piece of data she volunteered, and what she said was often corrected by Ismael, Leonardo and Cândido.

Her younger brother GRACILIANO (Gara, born in 1954) was trained as a nurse in Manaus (the capital of the state of Amazonas) and is now in charge of the purchasing department of the hospital at Iauaretê. He was my first teacher of Tariana. He is fluent in Tariana and speaks excellent, native-like Portuguese. He is a good and witty story-teller; however, his Tariana is marked by numerous calques from Tucano, and quite a few things he says are later corrected by Ismael, Leonardo and Cândido. For instance, he is the only person to insert an object NP between two components of a serial verb: once, when I repeated such a construction, I was told not to use it again because 'it was Gara who said it, it's Gara's stuff'. Since he is the only one in the family who proved successful in the white man's world, his brothers do not dare criticize him, even behind his back; but he is not considered an authority on language and culture.

His younger brother JOVINO (born in 1960) is fluent in Tariana. He is the one who, in spite of having completed just six years of school, aspires to be the political leader of the Tariana people. He is a very good story-teller, and knows a lot about hunting and fishing, but not so much about the traditional culture. His Tariana is a representative of younger people's language, with Tucano calques and coordinating techniques. He often comes up with hypercorrections, and does not use the indefinite person marker. He is often not quite sure of his Tariana and seeks older people's advice. His wife, Glória (a Piratapuya), does her best to communicate in regional Portuguese — rather than in Tucano — with her children; Jovino rarely does this. He speaks Tucano with his wife, children and younger siblings, Piratapuya with his mother and Tariana with his father and elder brothers. He has recently started using some Tariana when speaking to his eldest son, Hélio.

Cândido's youngest son JOSÉ (born in 1969) is a trained schoolteacher. He has a job as the librarian at the secondary school in Iauaretê (and has been chosen by the school principal to teach Tariana). He is fluent in Tariana; however, he does not know much about

the traditional life and practices, but is eager to learn: there are a few archaic forms used by Cândido that he is not familiar with. He is a very good story-teller. But the stories he tells are mostly ‘white man stories’ — such as Little Red Riding Hood and numerous stories about a man (usually not loved by women) who managed to marry a king’s daughter after a series of trials. He speaks the younger people’s variety, similar to Jovino (except for hypercorrections); he often appeals to Cândido for advice about ‘how to say it correctly’. He is probably the greatest zealot of the language ‘norm’ of all the Tariana.

The youngest sibling, MARIA LOURDES spent a long time working as a maid in Curitiba, in southern Brazil. She spent the best part of her early childhood living with nuns. As a result, she can understand Tariana but is too shy to speak it (see §1.2, on the high level of language proficiency required for people to be able to ‘open their mouth’ in a language). She has only just come back from southern Brazil to live with her parents and elder sister in Iauaretê.

Leonardo’s eldest son RAFAEL (born in 1973), a teacher at the primary school at Santa Rosa, is rapidly developing his skills in Tariana, becoming more and more fluent (with the help of his father). He can tell a coherent albeit simple story in Tariana, and carry a good conversation. He was instrumental in co-teaching a course in Tariana for non-speakers and semi-speakers, and translating numerous Brazilian songs and Catholic hymns into Tariana. His Tariana is full of Tucano calques. He speaks Tucano with his wife, Ednalúcia, and Tucano, Portuguese and Tariana (in that order) with his young children. He and José Luis were instrumental in teaching the Tariana language course in June 2000.

José Manoel’s children who live in Santa Rosa, SEBASTIÃO (Saba), and Cristiano (Kiri) (both about 30), are reasonably fluent in Tariana. Saba — with whom José Manoel used to live — speaks better Tariana than Kiri; he has a good knowledge of hunting and fishing practices and is a reasonable story-teller. Due to his father’s influence, he displays a significant degree of vowel reduction, and does not use ‘the right evidentials’. In addition, his stories are full of Tucano calques; he tends not to employ the indefinite person marker and prefers analytic possession to synthetic (see Chapter 6). Kiri — with whom José Manoel lives now — is an average story-teller. He seems to have difficulties in communicating in Tariana, and speaks only Tucano with his peers. He enjoys great respect in the village, having been elected its chief (‘capitão’). José Manoel’s daughters CLEMENTINA and JOANINHA who live in Iauaretê and are married to Tucano men there, are good speakers; both complain of getting a bit ‘rusty’ for want of people with whom to speak Tariana with. José Manoel’s youngest son ÑU (short for João) lives with his two other sisters (whom I haven’t met) in Balaio, a Tucano settlement. He is a competent speaker and seems to have acquired a taste for writing in Tariana during the Tariana language course and pedagogical workshop in June 2000.

Ricardo Brito’s two sons (both about 30) live in Santa Rosa while his other four children are scattered over the Vaupés area. EMÍLIO is one of the best story-tellers in the village; he is fluent and witty. He has a vast knowledge of the local flora and fauna. His Tariana is said to ‘be influenced by Hohôdene’ (a dialect of Baniwa of Içana), of which he seems to have some knowledge: he consistently uses *-pida* (‘present reported’) instead of recent past and remote past reported, omits the indefinite person marker and uses a reduced system of classifiers. Similarly to the speakers of the Periquitos variety, he distinguishes a general animate numeral classifier (e.g. *paité* ‘one (animate)’) from a general inanimate one (e.g.

paita ‘one (inanimate) man-made object’), unlike the mainstream speakers of the Santa Rosa dialect who use the general inanimate form to cover animates and inanimate man-made objects (*paita* ‘one (animate or man-made object)’). His wife, Silvana, understands basic Tariana (she is Tucano, but her mother was Tariana). His younger brother RAIMUNDO is a very good speaker, but he does not feel confident enough to tell a full story in Tariana. His Tariana is very similar to that of Emílio; they both speak Tariana and also Tucano with Diká, their father, and nothing but Tucano with their wives and children.

JUVENAL (Juvena), like his elder brother ABELARDO (Ave), had been thought by everyone not to speak any Tariana at all. Their father Jum (Américo Brito’s younger brother) had died when they were little, and their mother Amélia brought them up all on her own. Amélia (a Guanano herself) — who now lives with Ave — speaks good Tariana. However, a couple of weeks after I had arrived, Juvena volunteered to tell a story in Tariana, and did it very well, to the surprised appreciation of all the others. Juvena’s level of competence is similar to that of Rafael, and his lexical knowledge seems to be good; he is now very keen to speak the language. His eldest daughter, Anastásia, is also keen to learn the language, and while I was in the village, made an attempt to speak it. Juvena’s elder brother Ave, the deputy-chief of the village, does not speak Tariana, but does understand the language; he was beginning to speak it when I had to leave.

Abelardo’s wife, CRISTINA (Kiri), is the daughter of Cândido’s late second cousin Júlia married to Albino (a Hohôdene; see below). They used to live close to Santa Terezinha on the Iauarí river. Cristina is fluent in Tariana and in Hohôdene, as well as in Tucano, but she is not a good story-teller. Her Tariana is a mixture of the Santa Rosa and Santa Terezinha varieties, with a strong influence from Hohôdene: she uses Santa Terezinha 3sgnf prefix *ri-* instead of Tariana *di-*, and Santa Terezinha *-peta* instead of Santa Rosa *-pita* ‘again’. Clearly she was having difficulty keeping her Baniwa Hohôdene and her Tariana apart. She speaks Hohôdene to her father, Albino (now about 100 years old). ALBINO is a fluent speaker of the Santa Terezinha dialect of Tariana, and of Baniwa Hohôdene; he is still very active, but would not tell a story in Tariana because ‘it is not his language’. Cristina’s eldest daughter, IRENI (about twelve years old), is the only child in the village who can understand and say simple things in Tariana. She was born before Cristina married Ave, and her father is unknown, so, according to Olívia, Albino took the place of her father: he treated her as an ethnic Tariana and spoke Tariana to her (and continues to do so); this explains her knowledge of the language.

JACINTO — who lives in the same house as Cristina, Ave, Amélia and Albino — is the son of Eduardo Brito (Cândido’s second cousin) and his wife Antônia (Hohôdene). He speaks fluent Hohôdene and Tucano, and also passable Tariana: he is considered a competent speaker. Jacinto is very shy (which is why whenever urged to tell a story he would simply go away), but, in spite of his young age (he is no more than 20), he is a very experienced hunter and fisherman. His Tariana is the Santa Terezinha, and not the Santa Rosa, variety.

I briefly met Eduardo Brito, his wife Antônia (who live in the community of São Pedro on the Vaupés), and his children Marta and Laureano. Eduardo Brito is a fluent speaker. His wife and children are fluent in Tariana; their Tariana is an interesting mixture with Hohôdene.

The majority of the population of Periquitos (about 50 people, including small children and women) are fluent in Tariana. The three elders of the community, all in their mid-fifties — Marino, Jorge and Maximiliano Muniz — make it a point to speak nothing but Tariana with their children, and so do their children with their own children. In particular, all Marino's children — from 27-year old Domingo, the vice-chief of the village, to 10-year old Bosco — are very fluent. Lauro Muniz, a local school teacher, recently compiled an alphabet book in the Tariana of Periquitos (which I was asked to check for 'spelling mistakes'). The Periquitos elders are less eloquent story-tellers than the Britos and know less about their origins. For instance, they had difficulty remembering the name of their grandfather and even some of their own sacred names. However, the younger generation — in particular the village chief Ismael, the vice-chief Domingo, and Batista Muniz, all in their twenties — appear to be much more language-conscious than their peers among the Santa Rosa Tariana, who do not speak the language. They are most eager to maintain the language in their homes and to create their own program of language teaching.