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LANGUAGE CONTACT, AND LANGUAGE BLEND: KUMANDENE TARIANA OF
NORTH-WEST AMAZONIA¹

ALEXANDRA Y. AIKHENVALD

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE RESEARCH CENTRE, JAMES COOK UNIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

The Vaupés River Basin in north-west Amazonia is a well-established linguistic area characterised by obligatory multilingualism and exogamy based on linguistic allegiance. The core members of the area who take part in the multilingual marriage network are speakers of East Tucanoan languages and of one Arawak language, Tariana. The impact of East Tucanoan influence on Tariana is recognizable through structural diffusion. Two dialects of Tariana are currently spoken. Wamiarikune Tariana (W-Tariana), with a few speakers in the middle Vaupés area, is highly endangered; it is under strong pressure of Tucano. Kumandene Tariana (K-Tariana), also endangered, is spoken in the community of Santa Terezinha on the Iauarí river (tributary of the Lower Vaupés). The K-Tariana moved to their present location from Iauaretê on the middle Vaupés two generations ago, escaping pressure from Catholic missionaries. The K-Tariana intermarry with the Baniwa Hohôdene, speakers of a closely related language, now the major language in their village. Over the past fifty years, speakers of K-Tariana have acquired numerous Baniwa features. This can be seen through comparison with older sources on this dialect. At present, the degree of Baniwa impact on Kumandene Tariana varies depending on the speaker, and on the audience. The result is a curious language blend. We discuss the status of K-Tariana in the context of other blended, or 'merged' languages.

[KEYWORDS: Tariana, Vaupés River Basin linguistic area, Amazonian languages, language contact, blended language]

1. Preamble: Identifying contact-induced change. The Amazonian language region is renowned for its linguistic diversity. Speakers of many Amazonian languages are multilingual. The languages they speak inevitably influence each other, in their pronunciation, grammatical categories and vocabulary items. No area of grammar or lexicon appears to be immune from borrowing and contact-induced change. However, the extent of this varies, depending on language attitudes, relationships between languages and the degree of multilingualism.²

If a pattern, or a form, is shared by a language with its neighbour rather than with a genetic relative, it is most likely the result of contact. One of the most daunting problems for a historical linguist is identifying the impact of contact-induced change in closely related languages (see, e.g., Burridge 2006, Ameka 2006). The issue becomes more difficult if we deal with obsolescent languages, unstable communities, and discontinuous language change.

Following Tsitsipis (1998: 34), contact-induced changes can be divided into COMPLETED; ON-GOING (or CONTINUOUS), and DISCONTINUOUS (also see Aikhenvald 2002a: 6, 2003c, on how this can be applied to Amazonian languages). Completed changes cover those aspects of a language which do not show any synchronic variation and which go beyond speakers' awareness. On-going or continuous changes are those in progress; here the degree of influence of the other language depends on the speaker's competence and possibly other, sociolinguistic, variables (such as age or degree of participation in community life). Discontinuous changes are one-off deviations, characteristic of individual speakers.

This classification of changes is particularly important for distinguishing between old and established diffusional processes – characterized by completed changes – and new, incoming continuous changes making their way into a speech community. In a situation of language obsolescence, one expects to encounter a multiplicity of sporadic changes which

would be considered to be mistakes by fluent speakers (if indeed they existed). Such aberrant individual innovations are tantamount to Tsitsipis' discontinuous changes.

Intensive language contact in the situation of language obsolescence usually goes together with numerous calques, and the restructuring of the endangered variety following patterns in the dominant language. One also sees the enhancement of already existing similarities. Forms in the obsolescent language — which are similar to those in the dominant one — tend to become more frequent, and may assume meanings influenced by the dominant language (see further discussion in Aikhenvald 2012b). These basic principles are at work throughout our discussion here.

Two distinct dialects of Tariana, from the Arawak family, have been heavily influenced by East Tucanoan languages. Wamiarikune Tariana (W-Tariana) is spoken by a handful of people in the traditional Tariana-speaking areas in the middle Vaupés (Santa Rosa, Periquitos and Iauaretê). Their language of daily interaction is Tucano. Consequently, more and more calques from Tucano show up in their Tariana. Kumandene Tariana (or K-Tariana) is spoken by a limited number of migrants who moved from the traditional Tariana-speaking area of Iauaretê to the Iauarí River, off the Vaupés (see Map). The K-Tariana have been living together with the Baniwa Hohôdene, speakers of a closely related language, since they moved

to their present location about two generations ago.³ Their language, currently endangered, bears an imprint of Baniwa.

Comparison between the two Tariana dialects and other related Arawak languages (see Aikhenvald 1999a, 2002a) allows us to identify completed contact-induced change under the impact of East Tucanoan languages. Differential impact of language contact onto W-Tariana (in contact with Tucano) and K-Tariana (in contact with Baniwa) constitutes an additional layer. Older sources on K-Tariana help us to further identify the ways in which K-Tariana has changed, over the past decades.

In §2, we offer a bird's eye view of the traditional Vaupés River Basin linguistic area, and an overview of the extant Tariana dialects spoken there. In §3, we focus on the language situation among the K-Tariana, their origins, and older sources on their language. The impact of Baniwa on the grammar and lexicon of K-Tariana is the focus of §4. A comparison between K-Tariana and other, somewhat similar, 'blended', languages in other regions of the world is offered in §5. The final section contains a brief summary.

2. Tariana within the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area: a bird's eye view. The Vaupés River is a major tributary of the Rio Negro, a northern tributary of the mighty Amazon River. The Vaupés River Basin in north-west Amazonia is a well-established linguistic area.⁴ It is characterised by obligatory multilingualism and exogamy based on linguistic allegiance. According to the rules of language-based exogamy: one can only marry someone who belongs to a different language group (inherited through one's father) and thus has a right to be called 'speaker' of the language. Marrying someone who is a speaker of the same language as oneself is referred to 'what dogs do' (this is a common saying, by the Tariana and the Tucanoan peoples of the area).

On the Brazilian side of the area,⁵ its core members — who take part in the multilingual marriage network — are speakers of East Tucanoan languages and of one Arawak language, Tariana. Traditionally, there used to be a strong inhibition against borrowed forms.

The Tariana are believed to be relatively recent arrivals in the Vaupés Basin (Natterer 1831), from the Aiary River (tributary of the Içana River) (see Map). According to the speakers' lore (also see Koch-Grünberg 1910: 24), they used to be a larger group decimated by illnesses and internal warfare a few generations ago.

The Tariana are divided into a number of hierarchically organized clans. The clans higher up in the hierarchy are said to have emerged first from a hole in the Wapuí Rapids on the Aiary River (see Aikhenvald 1999a, 2003a for a list of extant groups and additional analytic problems to do with the exact hierarchies; also see Brüzzi 1977). Most of the groups who are higher in the tribal hierarchy lost their language in the early 20th century (Koch-Grünberg 1910, 1911, Aikhenvald 2003a). At present, the number of ethnic Tariana is over 3,000. Only a few speak the language. Based on the comparison of existing sources, and the

results of my own fieldwork spanning more than twenty years,⁶ we can safely say that each clan used to speak their own dialect. Differences between them appear to be comparable to those between Spanish and Portuguese. All the Tariana are classificatory agnatic relatives. Representatives of higher-ranking clans are 'older siblings' with respect to lower-ranking ones.

Tariana has been in contact with East Tucanoan languages for a lengthy period of time. There are no precise dates for the Tarianas' move to the Vaupés area (the archaeological dates provided by Neves 1998 are controversial and based on the assumption that the Tariana had moved to the Vaupés region as one unified group, which is not supported by the ethnohistory of the Tariana groups). However, we estimate that the Tariana-Tucanoan contact has been on-going for at least a couple of hundred years (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 17-28, and references there). As a result of contact with East Tucanoan languages, Tariana underwent substantial restructuring. Comparison between Tariana and other closely related languages of the Wapuí group of North Arawak (Baniwa-Kurripako, Piapoco and Guarequena), and with other Arawak languages, allow us to distinguish areally diffused patterns from those inherited from a common ancestor.⁷

Using Grace's (1990) term, Tariana is an 'aberrant' language within the Arawak family, due to numerous East-Tucanoan-like features which define its grammatical profile. In contrast, Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako, Piapoco and Guarequena are 'exemplary' in that they are more archaic and in line with the common Arawak profile.

Structural changes in Tariana under the impact of East Tucanoan languages vary in terms of their stability and integration into the language. The analysis of extant Tariana dialects and of the old sources on Tariana allow us to outline a number of completed structural changes shared by all the varieties of the language (in the sense of Tsitsipis 1998). These are also among the major points of difference from what we find in Baniwa (further

details are in Aikhenvald 2002a, 2003c, 2006). (Due to limits of space, I will not include comparison with Piapoco and Guarequena here).

A major completed change concerns marking grammatical relations. Grammatical relations in Tariana and in Baniwa are expressed on the verb, following the stative-active marking principle (Aikhenvald 2002a: Appendix 3). Tariana and Baniwa employ a set of personal prefixes (which go back to proto-Arawak) to mark A (subject of transitive verb) and S_a (subject of active intransitive verb). Baniwa has a series of enclitics which mark O (object of a transitive verb) and S_o (subject of stative intransitive verb). Tariana has no cross-referencing enclitics.

Similarly to other Arawak languages, Baniwa does not employ cases for expressing core grammatical functions. In contrast, Tariana has acquired an object case marker (Aikhenvald 2002a). In its semantics and usage, this marker mirrors the topical non-subject case *-re* found in Tucano and numerous East Tucanoan languages.

Tariana has also developed evidentials fused with tense, mirroring the East Tucanoan system (see Aikhenvald 2003c, for the mechanisms of their development). Baniwa has only one reported evidential.

To summarise: Only two dialects of Tariana are spoken at present: the lowest-ranking Wamiarikune Tariana (W-Tariana) and the middle-ranking Kumandene Tariana (K-Tariana). The two dialects are barely mutually intelligible. The K-Tariana dialect is a direct descendant of the dialect originally spoken in Iauaretê and documented by Koch-Grünberg (1911).⁸

The effects of the completed changes are shared by the Tariana varieties that we know of. A major difference between W-Tariana and K-Tariana is on-going contact-induced change. W-Tariana is under intensive pressure from Tucano, their language of daily interaction. Intensive contact with Tucano involves enhancement of completed changes within the language. It also involves development of new contact-induced patterns by

individual speakers, as part of discontinuous language change in the obsolescent W-Tariana (see Aikhenvald 2002a, 2012b).

K-Tariana is under strong influence of Baniwa, the major language of communication among its speakers. Contact-induced changes in K-Tariana involve attrition of Tucanoan-like features absent from Baniwa, and enhancement of pre-existing similarities between Baniwa and Tariana, in addition to the introduction of further Baniwa-like features. However, the exact degree of Baniwa impact on the endangered K-Tariana varies, with the speakers, and with the audience. The two languages are close enough for what Einar Haugen (1969) called 'confusion of identity' for individual forms. Distinctions between bona fide loans and code-switches become blurred. The net result is a 'blended' language where the exact amount of contact-induced change is a matter of variation, with most of the changes being discontinuous.

Within this paper, we will focus on the following varieties of Tariana:

1. Kumandene Tariana (K-Tariana):

- the old language documented in a word list recorded in 1956 (Brüzzi 1961)
- the current language spoken in 2012 in Santa Terezinha on the Iauarí River (my fieldwork)

2. Iauaretê Tariana: documented by Koch-Grünberg (1911), no longer actively spoken;

precursor of K-Tariana

3. Wamiarikune Tariana (W-Tariana):

- the archaic language actively spoken in 1990s (my fieldwork: see Aikhenvald 2003a) and currently spoken by two old people
- the innovative language spoken in the 2000s (my fieldwork: see Aikhenvald 2003a)

3. The Kumandene Tariana.

3.1. The group and their origins. The Kumandene Tariana (K-Tariana) is a group of about forty people who live in Santa Terezinha, on the Iauarí river, a small tributary of the Lower Vaupés. The Kumandene, or Kumada, derive their name from the 'duck' (*kumada*), a pet of the Trickster-Creator. They emerged from the smoke of the Creator's Cigar. The K-Tariana rank higher than the W-Tariana on the tribal hierarchy (Brüzzi 1977: 101-2; Aikhenvald 2003a). They refer to the W-Tariana as *iñe* 'devil', and to their language as *iñe i-aku* (devil INDF-talk) 'devil's talk'.

In contrast to the W-Tariana, the K-Tariana were originally major river dwellers, and still remember this. All the living speakers of K-Tariana were born at the present location. According to FL, one of the oldest speakers of K-Tariana, their grandfathers decided to move to the Iauarí river area from the Iauaretê area (Middle Vaupés, the mouth of the Papurí river: see Map), to escape the pressure of Salesian missionaries who were making them get rid of their cultural practices and magic. They do not regard the Iauarí River area as their land, stressing the fact that they have come from the Iauaretê region.⁹ This is how FL described this:¹⁰

- (1) [Hĩ ke-peni netse-hini wa-dia wa-nu-hini]
 DEM:PROX thus-PL.ANIM there-PERF/PAST 1pl-return 1pl-come-PERF/PAST
 [wa-nu-hina wha]
 1pl-come-PERF/PAST we
 [te wa-ya-hipay-tse ri-tsueta]
 until 1pl-POSS-LAND-LOC 3sgnf-stay:CAUS
 [ai-tse Papuri-numana-tse, phali hĩhĩ Yawhipani
 there-LOC Papurí-mouth-LOC all DEM:VERY.PROX Iauaretê

wa-ya-da *hipay-ka-hini*] [*hai-peni-de* *wha-ne*]
 1pl-POSS-CL:ROUND land-DECL-PERF/PAST here-PL-NEG we-CONTRAST
 [*hahi-de-ne* *waya-da*] [*hipay-de* ***hriëhë***]
 HERE:EMPH-NEG-CONTRAST 1pl-POSS-CL:ROUND land-NEG **this:BANIWA**

K-Tariana

'This way we returned there, until (such time as) he (the Creator) put us on our land, there at the mouth of the Papurí river, all of us at this Iauaretê, it has been our land, we are not from here (from Iauarí), not from here, this is not our land'

The oldest Kumandene of Santa Terezinha (in their middle to late sixties) say that their grandfathers moved there via the Aiary river, where they had started to marry the Baniwa. In the Tariana kinship system, *wa-hwe-ri* (1pl-grandparent-MASC.SG) is the term for grandfather and any kind of ancestor (including 'Thunder', the mythical ancestor of the Tariana) (see Aikhenvald 2003a, 1999a). That is, the term 'grandfather' is vague. How can we tell if the migration happened in the time of the actual grandparents, or at some more remote stage? This is where a grammatical feature can help.

The use of nominal past markers shows that the K-Tarianas' migration from the Iauaretê area must have indeed taken place within the life time of actual grandparents of the present-day speakers. All the extant varieties of Tariana have nominal tense (which is different from propositional, or clausal, tense: Aikhenvald 2003a). When used with 'grandfather', the nominal past tense markers always refer to the actual grandfather that one may have known rather than to a remote ancestor. The late grandfather who'd brought the K-Tariana to the Iauarí River is always referred to as *wa-whe-zi-mikui-zi* (1pl-grandparent-MASC.SG-NOMINAL.PAST-MASC.SG) 'the late grandfather of ours'. A very remote or mythical ancestor, such as the forbearer of all the Tariana, or the Irine, is referred to as just *wa-whe-zi*

izine-tsi3i (1pl-grandparent-MASC Irine-SINGULATIVE) 'our ancestor the one of the Tariana Irine'. This additional linguistic evidence further confirms that the K-Tarianas' migration to the Iauarí river is indeed relatively recent.

3.2. The language situation among the K-Tariana of Santa Terezinha. The K-Tariana maintain the principle of linguistic exogamy — a defining feature of the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area. No Tariana will ever marry a Tariana (considered an agnatic relative). Preferential marriage partners for the K-Tariana are the Baniwa (who are considered members of a different language group). The badge of identity across the whole Vaupés area (and beyond it, in the Içana region) is one's father's language. That is, someone whose father is ethnic Tariana will be allowed to marry someone whose father is Baniwa. The ethnic Tariana are the majority in the Santa Terezinha village (which has thirteen households, estimated total 65 people).¹¹

A major feature of the Santa Terezinha (Tariana *Kapina-wari*, or *Kapina-wazi*, lit. place of garden) community is seasonal movements. The villagers remain in the community only during the school term. When the school term finishes, they tend to move to their gardens in various places further up the Iauarí river and away from the river banks into the jungle. This happens in the period between October-November and January-February each year, and also from June to August (during the school holidays). They often visit Iauaretê and other villages on the Vaupés River, including Santa Rosa and Periquitos (the traditional W-Tariana-speaking villages). Many travel as far as São Gabriel da Cachoeira on the Rio Negro, to sell their produce (smoked fish and manioc flour), and to get cash to buy what they deem necessary (also see Aikhenvald 2003a: 626, for a brief snap-shot of K-Tariana).

K-Tariana is an endangered language. Children have difficulty speaking it: they are much more at ease with Baniwa, their mother's language. It is not fully clear when exactly K-

Tariana became endangered. The situation of endangerment may have started before the peoples' move to this region (while they were still in Iauaretê area, where, according to Koch-Grünberg 1911, Tariana became an endangered language in the early twentieth century). According to the K-Tariana themselves, during their gradual move from the Iauaretê area to the Iauarí River, they'd spent some time in various locations along the Içana river where many of them had intermarried with the Baniwa Hohôdene women. The women had taught their language to the K-Tariana children, to the detriment of the K-Tariana language. Incidentally, this discourse is highly reminiscent of how representatives of other Tariana groups (including the W-Tariana) used to blame women for the loss of the language (further details are in Aikhenvald 2013). It is however likely that migrations through the Baniwa-speaking areas may have exacerbated language loss among the K-Tariana.

However, every ethnic Tariana (that is, everyone whose father is Tariana) identifies with K-Tariana, and proudly considers themselves the 'true' Tariana — in opposition to the 'devils', that is, the W-Tariana. This deprecatory reference to the W-Tariana, members of a lower-ranking group, reflects an inter-clan rivalry attributed to the fact that the W-Tariana are said to have emerged later than the K-Tariana from a hole in the Wapuí Rapids. According to the K-Tariana lore, the W-Tariana are thus hierarchically inferior; they used to be their 'servants' whose traditional role was to light the K-Tarianas' cigars during the Offering Feasts (see further discussion concerning the inter-clan relationships among the Tariana in Aikhenvald 2003a: 11-14).

The K-Tariana language is not taught at the local school.¹² In contrast, W-Tariana is now established as the official language of the ethnic Tariana school in Iauaretê and a number of other communities on the Vaupés River. There is a certain amount of resentment against the fact that the language of the low-ranking W-Tariana is now the 'status' language taught at school.¹³

3.3. What we know about the K-Tariana and their language. Results from the materials on K-Tariana I obtained during fieldwork in 1999 and 2012 can be compared with two sets of older sources on the language.

During his stay in Iauaretê in August 1904, Theodor Koch-Grünberg worked with Kumandene (or Kumatene) Tariana and collected a word list (1910: 17, 23-4, 1911).¹⁴ A sample of forms shared by Iauaretê Tariana and K-Tariana is in Figure 1. Incidentally, these very words were spontaneously volunteered as tokens of difference from W-Tariana (the language in which some of my initial fieldwork was conducted).¹⁵

<Figure 1 about here>

A further piece of earlier documentation of K-Tariana comes from Brüzzi (1961: 34, 146-8). In 1955 he wrote down a word list in Tariana with a speaker named Martinho, of Iauaretê (who was fifty years old then). A year later he tape-recorded this list with another speaker named Fabrícia (45 years old) who was said to have come from the Iauarí River. Fabrícia spoke no Portuguese, and Father Brüzzi spoke no Tucano or Tariana. He pronounced the words in Portuguese which were then translated into Tucano by Fabrícia's son, and then into Tariana by Fabrícia. This recording was retranscribed by the author, from the available CD. This list contains 194 words most of which are in many ways identifiable as the K-Tariana spoken today by most older speakers (50-60s). This list also shows that at least some K-Tariana lived on the Iauarí river in 1956. A comparison between this list, and the current K-Tariana, allows us to outline some tendencies of language change within the past 56 years.¹⁶

4 The impact of Baniwa on Kumandene Tariana. K-Tariana is currently spoken by the ethnic Tariana in a predominantly Baniwa-speaking environment. A number of features differentiate the current K-Tariana from W-Tariana, and from K-Tariana recorded in 1956 (Brüzzi 1961). These features can be explained as a result of Baniwa influence. The data on the original and now extinct Iauaretê dialect, which shares a substantial number of features with K-Tariana, are also useful.

We start with the impact of Baniwa on the K-Tariana phonology, in §4.1. Then, in §4.2 we turn to the ways in which Baniwa has influenced the grammar and the lexicon of K-Tariana.

4.1 The impact of Baniwa phonology on K-Tariana. To understand the major points of Baniwa impact on the K-Tariana phonology, it is useful to outline the main differences between the phonological systems of Baniwa, W-Tariana and the old K-Tariana (also see Appendix). Figure 2 lists some sound correspondences between Baniwa, W-Tariana and K-Tariana.

<Figure 2 about here>

FIRSTLY, Baniwa has a retroflex voiced fricative ζ absent from W-Tariana and the old K-Tariana (this phoneme only occurs in the context of front or high vowels). In K-Tariana, it has a phonemic status. This voiced fricative corresponds to Tariana ι , as in Baniwa /*ma ζ e*/, W-Tariana /*mare*/ 'guan (a bird)', Baniwa /*i:na ζ u*/, W- and old K-Tariana *i:naru* 'woman'.

Its aspirated counterpart in Baniwa (underlyingly ζh) is realised as *f*, a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative. This phoneme generally results from a phonological process of h-metathesis on a morpheme boundary, e.g. **zu-ha* (3sgf-pronominal formative) to **zhua* ->

fua 'she'. In this context, the correspondent of *f* is W-Tariana *dh* (from *du-ha* -> *dhua* 'she': W-Tariana has no rhotics word-initially). The phoneme *f* appears in just a few roots in Baniwa. Then, its correspondent in W-Tariana is *s*, e.g. Baniwa *-fua*, W-Tariana *-swa* 'lie down', current K-Tariana *-tswa*.

SECONDLY, Baniwa distinguishes between voiceless alveo-palatal affricate *ts* and voiced alveopalatal affricate *dz*. The correspondent of Baniwa *ts* in Tariana is *ts*, e.g. Baniwa, Tariana *tsuite* 'small (animate)'. The correspondent of Baniwa *dz* is Tariana *y*, e.g. Baniwa *dzame-*, Tariana *yame-* 'two', Baniwa *-dza:mi*, Tariana *-ya(:)mi* 'be sick, lose conscience, die'.

THIRDLY, Baniwa has an alveolar stop *t* which corresponds to *s* in W-Tariana and to *ts* in K-Tariana, e.g. Baniwa *i:fa*, K-Tariana *i:tsa*, W-Tariana *i:sa* '(a) smoke'; Baniwa *tidze* 'fire, firewood', W-Tariana *sie* (older variant *siye*), K-Tariana *tsie* 'firewood'.

FOURTHLY, Baniwa has a flap *r* which corresponds to a flap in both old K- and W-Tariana. The Baniwa flap corresponds to the voiced retroflex alveo-palatal fricative *ʒ* between two high vowels, as in Baniwa *i:nizi*, W-Tariana *iniri* 'traira fish'. The aspirated counterpart *hr* corresponds to *dh* in W-Tariana (if the sequence is derived from aspiration metathesis), or to W-Tariana *s* and K-Tariana *ts*, e.g. Baniwa *nu-hriu*, W-Tariana *nu-siu*, current K-Tariana *nu-tsiu*.

Phonologically and phonetically speaking, the most striking features of present-day K-Tariana are the presence of the voiced fricative *ʒ*, and its voiceless counterpart *f* (Figure 2). That both are innovations, due to the Baniwa impact, follows from (a) their absence in the earlier record of the language (Brüzzi 1961), and (b) their presence in Baniwa. Their frequency is very high: they occur in the third person singular feminine prefix with the form *ʒu-* (if the root does not contain an aspirated consonant) and *fu-* (if it does), and in the masculine singular derivational suffix *-ʒi* (see §4.2.1). Speakers are aware of these sounds — as was made clear to me during our work on the orthography proposal for K-Tariana (during

which the existing orthography, based on W-Tariana and in use at school, was rejected as inappropriate).¹⁷

A further feature of the old K-Tariana and W-Tariana is nasalization as a property of a phonological word (Aikhenvald 2003a: 42). If a word contains a nasalized consonant or vowel, nasalization spreads to adjacent vowels and consonants. This feature is attributable to East Tucanoan influence, since other Arawak languages of the region (including Baniwa) do not have it (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 45-6). The patterns of word-level nasalization are absent from the current K-Tariana. Figure 3 contains a sample of forms in W-Tariana, the old K-Tariana, the current K-Tariana and Baniwa. The absence of nasalization in the current K-Tariana is in all likelihood due to Baniwa impact.

< Figure 3 about here >

A number of phonological features in W-Tariana were developed separately, under East Tucanoan, and especially Tucano impact. These are absent from K-Tariana. For example, in W-Tariana, proto-North-Arawak **r* became *d* word-initially, replicating a similar restriction in East Tucanoan (there a few examples of word-initial *r* in W-Tariana which could be loans: see Aikhenvald 2003a: 29). This change did not take place in other Tariana varieties, including K-Tariana, e.g.

| | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | W-Tariana | old K-Tariana | |
| | <i>di-ya</i> | <i>ri-ya</i> | 3sgnf-skin 'its skin' |
| | <i>di-sawi</i> | <i>ri-tsawi</i> | 3sgnf-horn 'its horn' |

W-Tariana also has an aspirated stop *dh* in its consonantal inventory. In about 95% of its occurrences, this phoneme is a result of aspiration metathesis and vowel fusion on a prefix-root boundary if the root begins with *h*, e.g. *di-* (3sgnf) + root *-hima* 'hear' > *dhíma* 'he hears', *di-* (3sgnf) + root *-heni* 'ear' > *dheni* (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 46).

K-Tariana does not have the phoneme *dh*. From the few available examples in Brüzzi (1961), it appears that the process of aspiration metathesis does not occur on the boundary between third person singular non-feminine prefix *ri-* and a root with a word-initial root, e.g. *ri-heni* 'his ear'. This, however, could be the effect of slow careful speech in Brüzzi's list. Incidentally, older speakers of W-Tariana in the 1990s occasionally pronounced forms like *dheni* as *di-heni* in a very slow register. It is thus difficult to decide whether the old K-Tariana had an aspirated flap, based on Brüzzi's (1961) list. The aspirated flap is a feature of the present-day K-Tariana where it could be attributed to Baniwa influence. In W-Tariana, *dh* also occurs in a few forms with an unknown etymology, e.g. verbal Aktionsart enclitic *-dhuli* 'be folded or broken in two, bow down' (like a tree on a windy day). In the current K-Tariana this enclitic has the form *-duhri* with an aspirated flap.

A major difference between vowel inventories in W-Tariana and K-Tariana lies in the absence of the high central vowel *ɨ* in K-Tariana (also absent from Baniwa). The emergence of this phoneme in W-Tariana is in all likelihood due to the impact of East Tucanoan languages.

4.2. The impact of Baniwa on the grammar and the lexicon of K-Tariana. Baniwa has affected both the grammar and the lexicon of K-Tariana. The processes at work involve (a) enhancement of features and forms shared between K-Tariana and Baniwa, (b) obsolescence of those features of K-Tariana which are not shared with Baniwa, and (c) introduction of Baniwa loan forms. We concentrate on a few focal points — the third person

singular cross-referencing prefixes and gender-sensitive derivational suffixes (§4.2.1), demonstratives (§4.2.2), negation (§4.2.3), evidentiality (§4.2.4), and aspect and tense (§4.2.5).

The impact of Baniwa on the K-Tariana lexicon involves loanshifts and loss or obsolescence of forms not shared with Baniwa (§4.2.6-7), and Baniwa loans and code-switches (§4.2.8).

4.2.1. Cross-referencing prefixes and gender-sensitive derivational suffixes. We saw in §4.1 that current K-Tariana differs from old K-Tariana in the phonological form of third person singular cross-referencing prefixes and gender-sensitive derivational suffixes. These are given in Figure 4. The prefixes mark possessor on obligatorily possessed nouns, and the A/Sa (that is, subject of transitive and active intransitive verbs) on verbs in W- and K-Tariana, reflecting a common Arawak pattern of expressing grammatical relations.¹⁸ The last column contains the correspondents in W-Tariana (also see Figure 2, for phonological correspondences).

<Figure 4 about here>

There are a number of other morphemes ending in *-ri*, e.g. Aktionsart enclitic *-weri* 'by smashing'; there, *r* is also often pronounced as *-zi*. The same applies to the name of the village Santa Terezinha pronounced as *Kapina wari* or as *Kapina wazi*. Some older speakers sometimes sound more consistent with the old K-Tariana. For instance, RL, in his mid-sixties, was alternating between a more Baniwa-like *inazu* and a more old K-Tariana-like *inaru* 'woman', and between *ri-ña-weri* and *ri-ña-wezi* (3sgnf-hit-SMASH) 'he smashed (it)'. JS, in his mid-twenties, and his peers, used *inazu* and *ri-ña-wezi*, unless he spoke in a very slow and

deliberate register. Gui and L, language purists in their mid-fifties, were careful with their flaps when telling me that the W-Tariana variety was strange to him; but when talking to their peers, the Baniwa sounds kept creeping in. These morphemes are immediately detected and condemned by the W-Tariana as a 'Baniwa'-accent in the K-Tariana.

The prefixes form the basis for third person independent personal pronouns. The current K-Tariana forms are similar to Baniwa, e.g. K-Tariana *hria*, Baniwa *hria* 'he', K-Tariana *fua*, Baniwa *fua* 'she' (compare W-Tariana *diha*, *dhya*, *dihya* 'he', *duha*, *duhwa* 'she') (Brüzzi 1961 has no third person feminine pronoun).

4.2.2. Demonstratives. W-Tariana has a four-term demonstrative system (Aikhenvald 2003a: 206-8): proximate very close to the speaker *hĩhĩ*, proximate 'close to the speaker' animate non-feminine *hĩ*, proximate feminine or inanimate *ha-* (followed by a classifier), and distal *hane*. They do not take plural markers. The forms *hĩ*, *hĩhĩ*, and *hane* are used to mean 'here', 'right here' and 'there', respectively. These forms are still in use by older speakers of K-Tariana¹⁹ — see (1) where FL used *hĩ* 'demonstrative proximate animate' (these) as a modifier to *ke-peni* 'the ones like this' (first line) and *hĩhĩ* 'emphatic demonstrative, this very one' in the third line. He continued the same story as follows:

- (3) [*Wa-ya-pua-de* *hrie* *uni*],
 1pl-POSS-CL:RIVER-NEG **this:BANIWA** river
 [*hane* *wa-ya-da* *hipay yahwipani-tse*]
 DEM:DISTAL/there 1pl-POSS-CL:ROUND land Iauaretê-LOC
 [*hane* *Myaka-pani-tse* *hĩ* *wa-ya-hipay*]
 DEM:DISTAL ancient-CL:RAPIDS-LOC DEM.PROX.ANIM/here 1pl-POSS-CL:LAND
 [*hĩ* *wa-ya-pua-de* *hriēhē*]

| | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| DEM.PROX.ANIM/here | 1pl-POSS-CL:RIVER-NEG | this:BANIWA |
| [<i>hĩ</i> | <i>wa-ya-pua-de</i> | <i>hriẽhẽ</i>] |
| DEM.PROX.ANIM/here | 1pl-POSS-CL:RIVER-NEG | this:BANIWA |

K-Tariana

'This river is not our river, our land is there in Iauaretê, there in Ipanorê is our land, this is not our river, this is not our river'

Most K-Tariana speakers freely replace the K-Tariana proximal demonstratives with their Baniwa counterparts. The last clause of (3) was repeated using the Baniwa form. In each instance, the Baniwa forms are in bold. The forms *hrie* and *hriẽhẽ* in (3) are Baniwa (the form *lihya* 'third person non-feminine pronoun' is occasionally used by the current K-Tariana speakers of the older generation in lieu of a proximal demonstrative). Older speakers employ Baniwa and Tariana non-feminine proximal demonstratives in approximately equal proportion. For instance, in the narrative about her life (30 clauses), LL (early fifties) used the K-Tariana demonstrative *hĩ* five times, and Baniwa *hriẽhẽ* four times. Younger speakers confirm that the K-Tariana demonstrative is 'correct', but use the Baniwa forms in their own stories and in conversations.

The feminine form *juahã* 'this (feminine singular)' is the only feminine demonstrative used by younger speakers; older speaker use it interchangeably with what appears to be the K-Tariana form *ha-ma* (DEM.PROX-CL:FEM) (the same as used in W-Tariana). The Baniwa plural form of the proximal demonstrative *nha:hã* freely alternates with K-Tariana *naha* 'they'.

The distal demonstrative *hane* is used by all generations, and not replaced by their Baniwa counterparts *hrierahã* 'further away from speaker' or *hrietahã* 'far from the speaker' in careful discourse. These Baniwa forms do appear in conversations. Baniwa distal feminine singular demonstratives *juarahã* 'further away from speaker' and *juatahã* 'far from the

speaker', and the corresponding plural forms (no gender distinctions) *nha:rahã* and *nha:tahã* are used only by younger speakers in conversations and occasionally in narratives.

The spread of the singular non-feminine proximal demonstrative of Baniwa origin, at the expense of the original K-Tariana form, among all generations of speakers is likely to be due to its segmental similarity to the K-Tariana third person pronoun *hria* (also influenced by Baniwa — see §4.2.1).

4.2.3. Negation. The expression of negation between the current K-Tariana and W-Tariana is markedly different, both in forms and in patterns. In current K-Tariana, the suffix *-de* or *-ka-de* is the only means of marking negation on verbs of all types, e.g. Santa Terezinha *ri-nu-de*, *ri-nu-kade* (3sgnf-come-NEG)'he does not come'. In W-Tariana, negation involves the Proto-Arawak prefix *ma-* which replaces the person-number prefixes, and the suffix, e.g. *ma-nu-kade* (NEG-come-NEG) 'he does not come'. The difference in the way negation is marked was picked up by Gui, one of the K-Tariana purists, as one of the major differences between K-Tariana and W-Tariana:

- (4) [*wha mayakani ri-nu-de wa:*],
 we straight 3sg-come-NEG 1pl+say
 [*nha Iwitaku-peni ma-nu-kade na:*]
 they Salt.point-PL.ANIM NEG-come-NEG 3pl+say

K-Tariana

'We say straight: "inude, he is not coming", they the Santa Rosa people (lit. people of the Point of salt) say "manukade (not-come-not), he is not coming"

Baniwa marks negation just with the particle *ñame* or *ña* preposed to the verb (Aikhenvald forthcoming-b provides an overview of negation marking in North Arawak languages; see also Bezerra 2005, 2012, for a comparison between Baniwa and Kurripako varieties in terms of their negation marking).

The form with the suffixed negator is considered the 'correct' Tariana. In practice, speakers used the techniques of negation marking summarised in Figure 5. Note that the negative prefix *ma-* does not occur on K-Tariana verbs. Throughout this section, negative markers are in bold face.

<Figure 5 about here >

These five patterns reflect various degrees of Baniwa influence. Pattern 1 is the most archaic. It is used by the oldest, traditional and puristically minded speakers, and has equivalents in W-Tariana, Tariana of Iauaretê and the oldest Tariana list recorded by Natterer (1931). A typical K-Tariana example, from a story by RL, is (5):

- (5) *Pa:pe ita wa-keta-**de**-thama na-ine-naku*
 maybe canoe 1pl-encounter-NEG-FRUST+PRES.NONVIS 3pl-with-TOP.NON.A/S
 K-Tariana

'Maybe we wouldn't have encountered a canoe at their place'

K-Tariana has two patterns of negating future. The negator *-de* can co-occur with the future marker *mhade*, as in (6) (also from a story by FL):

- (6) *pa-yekha-**de**-mhade kweka ri-a*
 IMP-know-NEG-FUT how 3sgnf-go

K-Tariana

'It is not known how it will go' (i.e. how things will be)

This pattern is used by all K-Tariana. Alternatively, the future negative suffix *-katse* is used with the verbal root, as in (7), by RL:

(7) *nu-ma-katse*

1sg-sleep-NEG.FUT

K-Tariana

'I won't sleep'

This pattern is only occasionally used by purists and older speakers. A cognate pattern W-Tariana future requires the negative suffix *-kasu* accompanied by the future enclitic *-mhade* for younger speakers, but not for older speakers (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 405-7 for the discussion). (6) was rephrased by JB, a representative of younger speakers' generation of W-Tariana speaker, as:

(8) *ma-yeka-kasu-mhade* *kwe* *di-a*

NEG-know-NEG.FUTURE-FUTURE how 3sgnf-go

W-Tariana

'It is not known how it will go' (i.e. how things will be)

Examples (1) and (3) show that *-de* can occur on a non-verbal predicate. The suffixal negator in K-Tariana can negate constituents other than the predicate, as in the following example, also from FL:

- (9) *hria-tse* *matsia-de-ka-mha* *nu-yekha*
 it-CONTRAST good-NEG-DECL-PRES.NONVIS 1sg-know

K-Tariana

'I don't know this well (lit. I know this not well, meaning that he did know the origin story, but did not know it well)'

This feature is absent from W-Tariana where no non-verbal constituent cannot be negated separately. In the following clause from FL's narrative, the negative suffix is used on the indefinite/interrogative pronoun *kwaka* 'what, something':

- (10) *kwaka-de* *na-yekha*
 what/something-NEG 3pl-know

K-Tariana

'They knew nothing'

This shows that in K-Tariana the negator can appear on an indefinite pronoun or another non-verbal constituent negating the whole clause. This usage is not found in W-Tariana. The W-Tariana correspondent of (10) is (11):

- (11) *ne* *kwaka* *ma-yeka-kade-pidana*
 NEG what/something NEG-know-NEG-REM.P.REP

W-Tariana

'They knew nothing'

W-Tariana has the negator *ne*, an emphatic negative particle which usually has to be accompanied by the negated predicate. This double marking of negation is reminiscent of Tucano, and may be considered a result of the Tucanoan influence (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 134-5). The form *ne* is used as the only negative marker in W-Tariana in a few fixed expressions, e.g. *ne pa-ka-niki* (NEG IMP-see-COMPLETIVE) 'it is impossible to see (something)!'.

The particle *ne* as a marker of negation and as an emphatic marker in negative contexts in Tariana remains a puzzle. A number of North Arawak languages have a negative particle containing a nasal. These include Resígaro *nií*, *niíkó*, *niíkhámí* 'declarative negator', Yucuna *-niña/-niño* 'prohibitive', Bare *hena* 'declarative negator', and nasal formatives in Guarekena *nalé* 'declarative negator', Ehe Khenim Kurripako *khenim* or *khen*, Achagua *queniu* 'there is not'. But this evidence is plainly not enough to establish cognacy. Interestingly, Hup, a Makú language, has a particle marking 'reinforced' negation (Epps 2008: 736-7), *ná*, a borrowing from Tucano, identified as such by the speakers themselves. The ways in which the particle *ne* is used in Tariana bear the impact of Tucano influence (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 134-5; forthcoming for more details and references on other Arawak languages). Whether or not the particle itself is a Tucano borrowing remains an open question. No speaker of Tariana considers it a loan from Tucano.

Pattern 2 in K-Tariana involves the negative particle *ne* and the negative suffix *-de*. This is illustrated in (12), from a story by LL:

- (12) *ne* *nu-dana-de* *nu-yekha* *ne* *nu-bueta-de*
 NEG.EMPH 1sg-write-NEG 1sg-know NEG.EMPH 1sg-study-NEG

K-Tariana

'I don't know how to write, I didn't study'

An alternative is Pattern 3, marking negation with the emphatic negative particle *ne* and the positive form of the verb. (13) comes from a story by LL:

- (13) *ne* *hĩ* *Portugues* *nhuma*
 NEG.EMPH DEM.PROX Portuguese 1sg+hear,understand
 K-Tariana
 'I don't understand Portuguese'

While Patterns 1 and 2 appear to be predominantly characteristic of the older generation, representatives of all generations use Patterns 3-5. Negation is marked with the Baniwa particle *ñame* or *ña* 'negation' and the negative suffix *-de* on the verb, as in (14), said by FrL, a representative of the older generation:

- (14) *ñame* *hanipa* *na-kawita-de*
 NEG:BANIWA much 3pl-pay-NEG
 K-Tariana
 'They do not pay much'

Pattern 5, marking negation with the Baniwa particle *ñame* or *ña* 'negation' and the positive form of the verb, is a feature of younger speakers (in their twenties and thirties), and some of their parents' generation. (15) was said by LL:

- (15) [*Hĩ* *kika* *nhua-ni* *hikite-ya*] [*ñame-ka*
 DEM.PROX for.nothing I-EMPH thus.like+CL:ANIM-EMPH NEG-DECL

| | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| <i>ka-bueta-kazu-ka</i> | | <i>nhua-ni</i> | | <i>nu-emhani</i>] |
| REL-study-REL.fem.sg-DECL | | I-EMPH | | 1sg-go.round |
| [<i>aĩ nuhpani</i>] | | [<i>ñame nu-anihta</i> | | <i>ha-ehkwapi</i>] |
| here | 1sg+work | NEG | 1sg-understand/think | DEM-CL:WORLD |

K-Tariana

'This (way) for nothing I am like this, I am the one who didn't study, I go round, here I work, I don't understand this world'

(16) was said by her niece, N (28 years old), a widow who has just moved back to her parents' village after her husband had committed suicide:

| | | | |
|------|-----------|------------------|-------------------|
| (16) | <i>ña</i> | <i>nu-a-daka</i> | <i>nu-a-nhani</i> |
| | NEG | 1sg-go-YET | 1sg-go-AWAY |

K-Tariana

'I am not going away yet'

The only negative form attested in the old K-Tariana is *hyãkade* 'no', a cognate to W-Tariana *hyu-kade* (appear-NEG) 'no, not appear' (Aikhenvald 2003a: 414-415). This is in use in K-Tariana, as a negative response, in free variation with Baniwa *ñame* 'no'.

We conclude that negation in K-Tariana has been strongly affected by Baniwa. Patterns of Tariana origin are mostly used by older speakers. Speakers of all generations freely use Baniwa negators.

4.2.4. Evidentiality. Grammaticalised marking of information source, or evidentiality, is a salient feature of W-Tariana. (Since there are no texts in now extinct dialects it is hard to

know how important evidentials were in these.) There are five specifications — visual, non-visual, inferred, assumed and reported. Each of the evidentials are fused with tense — present, recent past, and remote past. In contrast, imperative clauses have only one, reported specification. The reported evidential can also be used as a quotative (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 289-323; historical development and East-Tucanoan influence are discussed in some detail in Aikhenvald 2003c, and summarized in Figure 6 there). Every sentence has to contain a marker of information source (see Aikhenvald 2003a,b, on rules for omission of evidentials).

In contrast, Baniwa has only one reported evidential in declarative clauses, with no tense specification. The same form is used in reported commands, and as a quotative. The reported evidential is used in all three languages as a token of traditional narratives. Figure 6 contrasts evidentials in W-Tariana, Baniwa and K-Tariana.

<Figure 6 about here >

We can see from Figure 6 that speakers of K-Tariana do not have tense distinctions in visual, nonvisual and reported evidential. The form of the reported evidential, and the contexts of its use, are shared with Baniwa. Incidentally, those speakers who use the Baniwa-like form *-pida* of the reported evidential (without tense distinctions) are condemned as 'language-mixers' by those speakers of W-Tariana who distinguish tense in the reported evidential (and use the set of three forms: *-pida* for reported present, *-pidana* for reported recent past and *-pidana* for reported remote past) (see Aikhenvald 2003c).

K-Tariana employs an archaic form of the visual evidential, *-nuka* (rather than *-naka*, the form employed by the younger generation of W-Tariana speakers. This reflects the enclitic-final vowel assimilation possibly due to Wanano influence: Waltz 2002). The newly developed inferred evidential (inference based on visual evidence) widely used by younger

speakers of W-Tariana, is not found in K-Tariana. (This evidential developed as a result of the reinterpretation of the anterior aspect marker *-nhi* and the visual evidential: see Aikhenvald 2003c).

The assumed evidential in K-Tariana has two forms: *-tsi* and *-tsina*. The form *-tsi* is used by speakers of all generations to express inference and assumption. RL was talking about something moving in the river; he inferred that it must have been a fish hook:

(17) *kuleyu-tsi*

fish.hook-ASSUM.EV

K-Tariana

'It was a fish hook (assumed and inferred)'

This was rendered into W-Tariana by the late CB and IB as *koleyu-sika* (fish.hook-ASSUMED.REC.P).

The form *-tsina* only appears in traditional stories told by older speakers (FL, FeL, and RL). It is cognate to W-Tariana remote past assumed evidential *-sina*; and is used under similar circumstances. The W-Tariana form *-sina* regularly 'appears in culturally important stories, such as the travels of the Tarianas' ancestors', who left 'signs' of their endeavours, such as stones and caves, behind them (Aikhenvald 2003a: 300). That is, *-sina* is a token of the story genre. The K-Tariana form *-tsina* is used in similar stories.

An example is in (18), from a story told by FL about the emergence of the K-Tariana and their travels to the Iauarí River:

(18) *kwaka-de*

what/which-NEG

ri-mina-nai-tsina

3sgnf-owner-PL-REM.P.ASSUMED

kapawa uni

itself river

K-Tariana

'The river had no owner'

The retention of *-tsina* as a genre marker is reminiscent of formulaic discourse. The retention of just one form out of a paradigm is typical for a situation of language obsolescence (since the recent past correspondent is not used any more).

The reported evidential is used as a token of stories of other genres, including animal tales and ancestral stories for which no traces are available. There, W-Tariana uses the remote past reported *-pidana* (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 302-3, 2003b, d), as in (19):

- (19) *nese-pidana* *u:ni* *di-musu* *hipa-da-yawa-se*
 then-REM.P.REP water appeared earth-CL:ROUND-CL:HOLE-LOC

W-Tariana

'Then reportedly water appeared in the hole in the ground'

K-Tariana employs the tenseless form *-pida*, as in (20):

- (20) ***ne:ni-pida*** *hi* *pa:-da* *hipa-da-yawa*
then:BANIWA-REP DEM.PROX one-CL:ROUND earth-CL:ROUND-CL:HOLE
ri-wika-tse *ri-mutsu* *u:ni*
 3sgnf-on.top-LOC 3sgnf-go.out water

K-Tariana

'Then water is said to have appeared on top of one hole in the ground'

The present reported evidential *-pida* in W-Tariana marks information one has just acquired through someone else's speech report, similarly to a quotative marker (Aikhenvald 2003a: 302-3). The same form is used to report a command, e.g. *pi-hña-pida* (2sg-eat-REP.COMMAND) 'eat (on someone else's order)!' (Aikhenvald 2008). I have observed similar use of *-pida* in K-Tariana and in Baniwa (Ilda da Silva Cardoso, p.c.), e.g. K-Tariana, Baniwa *pi-dieta-pida* (2sg-return+CAUS-REP) 'turn it (the tape) back' (quoting someone else's command). In Baniwa, *-pida* is also used in reported questions. I asked ISC, referring to a word I didn't know, *kwaka?* 'what (is it)?'. She readdressed my question to her husband, AF, saying *kwaka-pida* (what-REP), literally 'what is it, she is asking'. This pattern is found in K-Tariana, but not attested in W-Tariana.

As discussed in some length in Aikhenvald (2003a: 310-11, and 2003c), those speakers of W-Tariana who grew up exposed to Baniwa and to K-Tariana regularly use the tenseless form of the reported evidential *-pida* where a tensed form would have been expected. These speakers were condemned, by traditional W-Tariana speakers and by purists, as incompetent 'language mixers'.²⁰ The forms of evidentials were thus the basis of speakers' judgement of the competence of others.

This indicates the importance of evidentials in speakers' awareness of what is, and what is not, 'correct' Tariana. Employing the correct evidential is significant in communication: using the right evidentials is a token of speakers' reliability and competence in many Amazonian languages and also in Huallaga Quechua (see Aikhenvald 2012a: 248-78 and references there).

A further striking feature of K-Tariana is the optionality in evidential use. Compare (10), from K-Tariana (without a reported evidential), and (11), from W-Tariana (with a reported evidential). Examples (1), (3), and (13)-(15) relate speakers' personal experience and would warrant a visual or a non-visual evidential if they were cast in W-Tariana. In K-

Tariana, they have no evidential — just like in Baniwa. In a K-Tariana story, an evidential is typically used just once, at the beginning of the narration. In W-Tariana it is used on every sentence (just like in East Tucanoan languages). Personal stories in K-Tariana have no evidentials at all. Speakers of W-Tariana react to such omission of evidentials with scorn and suspicion: I was told that since the K-Tariana do not want to indicate the information source, they must be hiding something from us, and may have bad intentions (consistent with W-Tarianas' fears that the Baniwa are prone to applying poison (*ya:ne*) to people).

In summary, the assumed and the reported evidentials in K-Tariana continue being used as markers of narrative genres. The form of reported evidential reflects Baniwa impact. So does the use of the reported evidential in questions, and the omission of evidentials in general.

4.2.5. Aspect and tense. W-Tariana has a number of aspect markers (see Aikhenvald 2003a: 325). Of these, only a few have cognates in Baniwa. W-Tariana and K-Tariana share the enclitic *-nhi* 'anterior: an action (a process or a state) which has started before the time-frame of the narrative or the moment of speech, and continues to be relevant at the moment of speech' (Aikhenvald 2003a: 330-7). Baniwa Hohôdene and other Baniwa-Kurripako varieties have the suffix *-hini* 'perfective, past' (Bezerra 2005: 117, 132; Ramirez 2001a: 16). In K-Tariana *-hni*, *-hini* and *-hina* are used interchangeably by all speakers in the meaning of perfective, anterior and general past. Example 1 (lines 1 and 2) illustrates the speaker's variation between *-hini* and *-hina*.

We saw, in §4.2.4, that K-Tariana no longer employs most of the archaic remote past forms which are widely used in W-Tariana. (The only exception is the assumed remote past evidential *-tsina* used in story-telling.) All the speakers of K-Tariana are filling this 'gap', by

using the Baniwa Hohôdene suffix *-pia* 'remote past' (Ramirez 2001a, my own fieldnotes, Bezerra 2005: 131).

In Baniwa varieties, *-pia* is a suffix or an enclitic which usually appears once per paragraph (often, but not necessarily, on the verb). In K-Tariana, *-pia* also appears once per paragraph, as in (21), by LL.

- (21) *hi kika nu-bueta-de-pia*
 DEM.PROX thus 1sg-study-NEG-REM.PAST:BANIWA

K-Tariana

'This is how I did not study'

In K-Tariana, *pia* can be used as an independent phonological word:

- (22) *ri-wapa-ka ri-wha ri-na pia*
 3sgnf-wait-DECL 3sgnf-sit 3sgnf-OBJECT.CASE REM.PAST:BANIWA

K-Tariana

'He (the jaguar) was sitting waiting for him (turtle)'

In Baniwa, *pia* can occur as an independent phonological word bearing its own stress (da Silva Cardoso 2012 frequently writes it as an independent word). However, it is never used at the end of a clause, as it is in K-Tariana (22). This is an instance of a curious reinterpretation of a bound morpheme in Baniwa as it was borrowed into K-Tariana.²¹

4.2.6. Loanshifts. Loanshift (a term used by Haugen 1969: 400-404) refers to a form in one language which has shifted its form, or its meaning, under the influence of another

language. For example, European Portuguese *grosseria* whose original meaning used to be 'rude remark' shifted its meaning to 'grocery' in Portuguese spoken in North America, under the influence of English *grocery* (further examples of loanshifts, or lexical accommodations, are in Aikhenvald 2003c: 3).

Loanshifts in K-Tariana are of two kinds. PHONOLOGICAL LOANSHIFTS include those forms which have undergone phonological change under the influence of their Baniwa cognates. In other words, they became phonologically adjusted to their Baniwa counterparts. For instance, the verb 'kill' in W-Tariana and the old K-Tariana (Brüzzi 1961, item 57, *pa-inu-nipe* (IMP-kill-NOM) 'killing') is *-inu* 'kill'. The Baniwa form is *-inua* 'kill'. The same form, *-inua*, is now used in K-Tariana by everyone as a bona fide Tariana form.

The word for 'yesterday' is *heku* in W-Tariana, and in the old Tariana of Iauaretê (Koch-Grünberg 1911: 233, *hěku*). Speakers of K-Tariana say *wheku* or *hweku*, under the influence of the Baniwa cognate *whe:ku-dza* (yesterday-particle) 'yesterday'.

The transitive verb 'smoke' in W-Tariana is *-sitá*. The same form was used in Iauaretê Tariana in Koch-Grünberg (1911: 249) *yěma pisita* '(*ye:ma pi-sita* lit. tobacco 2sg-smoke) 'you smoke tobacco'. The Baniwa form is *-fitua*. K-Tariana employs the form *-situa* — adjusted to the Baniwa form (and following the sound correspondences in Figure 2).

The transitive verb 'know, know how to' in W-Tariana and in the old Tariana is *-yeka* (Brüzzi 1961, item 193, *pa-yeka-nipe* (IMP-know-NOM) 'knowing'). This form is cognate with Baniwa Hohôdene *-dze:ka/-dze:kha*, Kurripako *-ye:kha* (Bezerra 2012, Ramirez 2001a: 77) 'manage to do something, know how to do something, be used to'. Speakers of the current K-Tariana use the form *-yekha*. This form has been adjusted to Baniwa: the correspondence Tariana *y* to Baniwa *dz* is kept (see Figure 2 above), and the velar stop has acquired aspiration.

These adjustments go only so far. The phonemes or phoneme sequences which undergo adjustment are the ones that are shared between Baniwa and K-Tariana. Baniwa-specific phonemes /dz/ and /t/ absent from K-Tariana (see Figure 3 for their regular correspondences in K-Tariana) are not transferred to loanshifts. This feature may be useful in differentiating loans from code-switches (see §4.2.8).

SEMANTIC LOANSHIFTS include those forms which have undergone semantic change under the influence of their Baniwa cognates. In other words, they became adjusted to their Baniwa counterparts in terms of their meanings. W-Tariana uses the verb *-yeka* in the meaning of 'know (something or someone), know how to'. This same verb was documented by Brüzzi (1961, item 193) in the meaning of 'know' ('saber'; no further specifications are given). Its Baniwa Hohôdene cognate *-dze:ka/-dze:kha* means 'manage to do something, know how to do something, be used to'. The verb *-a:hne:* in Hohôdene means 'know (something or someone)', while in W-Tariana the cognate verb means 'recognise'. In W-Tariana it is typically used in serial verb constructions *-ka -nhe* (see recognise) 'recognise by seeing' and *-hima -anhi* (see recognise) 'recognise by hearing'. In K-Tariana, the verb *-ahne* is consistently used in the meaning of 'know something or someone', just like its Baniwa cognate.

Another example of a semantic loanshift concerns the words for 'sun' and 'moon'. Under East Tucanoan influence, W-Tariana, the old K-Tariana and other Tariana dialects lost lexical differentiation between 'sun' and 'moon' (see Koch-Grünberg 1911; Aikhenvald 2002a: 228). Tariana uses one form *ke:ri* 'sun, moon' (from Proto-Arawak **ketfi* 'moon') (items 67-68 in Brüzzi 1961). This is similar to the neighbouring East Tucanoan languages which also use one word for 'sun' and 'moon'. In contrast, Baniwa Hohôdene (and some Kurripako dialects: Bezerra 2012) has two words, *ke:zi* 'moon' (a cognate to Tariana *ke:ri* 'sun, moon') and *kamui* 'sun' (Proto-Arawak **kamuy* 'sun, summer': Payne 1991: 420, Aikhenvald 2002a). That is,

Baniwa is more archaic than Tariana in this respect. The root *kamuy* in W-Tariana and other Tariana dialects means 'summer heat, year cycle' (the Periquitos dialect has the form *kamuy-api* (heat-CL:LONG) 'year').

Current K-Tariana has two words: *ke:zi* 'moon' and *kamuy* 'sun', replicating the Baniwa pattern. (A few older people do say that one can use *ke:zi* meaning 'moon' and 'sun'; but nevertheless use *kamuy* in daily interaction). In this case, a semantic loanshift resulted in K-Tariana 'returning' to a more archaic pattern, consistent with most other Arawak languages, thanks to the Baniwa influence. There is no evidence that words for 'sun' and 'moon' in K-Tariana have ever been influenced by Tucano.

Loanshifts can, at a pinch, be considered instances of 'obsolescence' of the original meanings of the K-Tariana forms and their replacement with Baniwa meanings. We now turn to further instances of obsolescence of the forms and structure that are not shared with Baniwa, and the enhancement of those which are.

4.2.7. Further impact of Baniwa on K-Tariana. Further outcomes of Baniwa influence on K-Tariana lies in (a) the obsolescence of forms and structures not shared with Baniwa and (b) the enhancement and maintenance of forms and structures also present in Baniwa. This is in line with the fact that K-Tariana is an obsolescent language in a predominantly Baniwa-speaking environment.

A. OBSOLESCENCE OF FORMS AND STRUCTURES NOT SHARED WITH BANIWA

As frequently happens in the situation of language contact, those Tariana forms and structures which are not shared with Baniwa fall out of use. Tariana has numerous Aktionsart enclitics, while Baniwa has very few. Those enclitics which do not have a Baniwa counterpart tend to become lost. One example is the clitic *-bosa* 'do by smashing or splitting'. This enclitic is

widely used in W-Tariana (Aikhenvald 2003a: 249). It was in use in the old K-Tariana (Brüzzi, item 168 ('split; rachar') *na-ña-bosa ne:neta* (3pl-hit-DO.BY.SMASHING.OR.SPLITTING 3pl+take.over+CAUS) 'they hit by splitting'. Nowadays, no speaker of K-Tariana recognises this form as Tariana. As we were revising a Tariana primer for K-Tariana, I asked if *-bosa* which appears in the primer for W-Tariana may possibly have a K-Tariana equivalent. It was suggested that *-kalee/-khale* 'intensively, forcefully' should be used to translate the W-Tariana *-bosa*. In Baniwa and also in Kurripako, *-kalee/-khale* is an intensive marker (Bezerra 2005: 129)

Serial verb constructions in Baniwa are less complex than in those W-Tariana and in the old K-Tariana. They typically consist of a verb of motion or stance and another non-stative verb of any semantic type. This is also the case in K-Tariana. (Three-verb serial verb constructions were attested in the old K-Tariana: e.g. item 173 in Brüzzi 1961). Serial verbs in W-Tariana can contain up to seven verbs (Aikhenvald 2003a), and belong to numerous structural types, including causative serial verb constructions. K-Tariana does not have causative serial verbs (it does have syntactic causatives, similar to Baniwa).

B. MAINTENANCE OF FORMS AND MEANINGS SHARED WITH BANIWA

In a number of instances, K-Tariana maintains an archaic form shared with Baniwa. K-Tariana uses the nominal past forms non-feminine singular *-mikui-zi* (see §3.1), feminine singular *-mikui-zu*, and plural *-mikui-nai*. In contrast, W-Tariana uses the forms non-feminine singular *-miki-ti*, feminine singular *-miki-ru*, and plural *-miki-ne*. Forms in Baniwa and Kurripako are non-feminine singular *-mikui-zi*, feminine singular *-mikui-dua*, and plural *-mikui-nai* (Ramirez 2001a: 184, Bezerra 2005: 51-2, da Silva Cardoso 2012). That the set of forms containing the formative *-kui-* (rather than *-ki-*) is more archaic is corroborated by information from the Tariana dialect of Ipanoré which appears in Koch-Grünberg (1911:

229), under the entry 'dead' ('tot'), *liamikālimikuri*. This can be analysed as *li-yami-kali-mikui-ri* (3sgnf-die-PAST.PART-NOM.PAST-NONFEM.SG) 'the dead one'. The maintenance of *-kui-* is in all likelihood attributable to Baniwa influence.

W-Tariana does not productively use the possessive suffix *-ni* on optionally possessed nouns. In current K-Tariana, the possessive suffix *-ni* — highly productive in Baniwa — occurs on many nouns, e.g. *ri-piya-ri-ni* (3sgnf-hide-NOM-POSS) 'his secret'.²²

A further feature shared by K-Tariana, and Baniwa is the lack of contraction and monophthongization of the diphthong *-ai* in word-final position. Compare K-Tariana and Baniwa plural *-nai*, with W-Tariana *-ne*. That *-nai* and not *-ne* is more archaic is corroborated by comparison with related Arawak languages, e.g. Piapoco, Guarekena *-nai* 'plural'. In all likelihood, the maintenance of an archaic form in K-Tariana has been reinforced by the cognate archaic form in Baniwa. The existence of a regular phonetic correspondence between K-Tariana *ai* and W-Tariana *e* corroborates this statement (e.g. K-Tariana *haiku*, W-Tariana *heku* 'wood').

W-Tariana has two ways of saying 'our language': *wa-yarupe* (1pl-thing), literally, 'our thing', and *wa-aku*, literally 'our speech'. The Baniwa refer to their language just as *wa-aku* 'our speech'.²³ The K-Tariana do not use the word *yazupe* 'thing' to refer to language; they only use the form *-aku*, following the Baniwa pattern. (When they speak of the W-Tariana in a derogatory fashion and behind the speakers' backs, they do refer to their language as *iñe yazupe* 'devil's thing'). This can be considered a 'negative' loanshift — eliminating the usage not shared with Baniwa, and reinforcing a similar form used in both languages.

4.2.8. Loans and code-switches. Speakers of K-Tariana do not have any inhibitions against using recognizable loan forms from any language, including Baniwa.²⁴ This is different from W-Tariana of Santa Rosa where many of the traditional inhibitions against loan

forms are maintained. The W-Tariana of Periquitos are more relaxed in this respect (see Aikhenvald 2002a), and do use some Tucanoan forms.²⁵

We saw in §4.2.3 that K-Tariana speakers of all generations employ the Baniwa negators *ña* and *ñame*. Another frequent Baniwa form used by everyone is a clause introducer *ne:ni* 'then, so'. The W-Tariana identify this marker as a token of 'Baniwa-like' speech. As I pointed out in Aikhenvald (2003b: 11), 'Baniwa speakers and those [Tariana] who occasionally insert Baniwa words into their Tariana are mocked behind their backs (by W-Tariana) and referred to as '*ne:ni, ne:ni*' (that is, those who say *ne:ni, ne:ni* 'then, then' all the time).

Among forms of Baniwa origin used by K-Tariana is the word for manioc flour *matsuka*, from Baniwa *matsuka* (borrowed from Língua Geral, a Tupí-Guaraní-based mission lingua franca spread in the region: see Cruz 2010; Aikhenvald 2012a). (The word for manioc flour recorded by Koch-Grünberg (1911) was *kaúhi*, cf. W-Tariana *kawhi* 'manioc flour'). The word for 'capybara' (a large rodent) is *ke:tu* (different from Koch-Grünberg's *hemátsiēre*, W-Tariana *hemasiere*). The word *ké:tu* is pronounced just as it is in Baniwa Hohôdene, with high tone (also see Ramirez 2001a: 7; Bezerra 2005: 36).

In some instances, one speaker would use a Baniwa word and claim that it is K-Tariana, while another (an older one) would be able to suggest the K-Tariana form. We can recall, from Figure 1, that the K-Tariana form for 'widow' is *uphevini* (suggested by LL). A younger speaker used the Baniwa form *maduidzuami* 'widow' insisting that it is K-Tariana. (In actual fact this is a recognizably non-Tariana form because K-Tariana does not have *dz*. As shown in Figure 3, the K-Tariana correspondent of Baniwa *dz* is *y*). This is an instance of 'confusion of identity' of individual forms outlined by Haugen (1969) for speakers of Norwegian in the USA.

An analytical question arises here. Are the Baniwa-looking words and forms in K-Tariana true loans or code-switches? Establishing a clear-cut boundary between borrowings and code-switches is often a hard task (see Clyne 1987, Bernsten and Myers-Scotton 1993: 145, Heath 1989: 40-1, Poplack 1980, and a summary in Aikhenvald and Dixon 2006: 333). Usually, borrowings and code-switches can be distinguished based on (a) their phonological integration, (b) their morpho-syntactic integration, and (c) a number of further criteria, such as speakers' knowledge of both languages, and the use of an item by monolinguals.

Neither criterion can be straightforwardly applied here. Phonological systems of K-Tariana and Baniwa are similar, but not identical (see Appendix). We saw that the fricative *ʒ* — characteristic of Baniwa in the first place and recognizable by the W-Tariana in K-Tariana as a Baniwa feature — has been integrated into K-Tariana. Thanks to phonological convergence between K-Tariana and Baniwa, Baniwa code-switches are not immediately recognizable by their phonological shape. The same applies to morpho-syntactic integration. K-Tariana and Baniwa share a substantial amount of their morphology. As we saw in §4.2-7, the grammar and the lexicon of K-Tariana have been affected by Baniwa.

Typically, code-switches are identified by speakers as belonging to a language other than the main one. If a speaker is monolingual, they are likely not to code-switch (that is, if a foreign item is used by monolinguals, it is more likely to be a loan). A code-switch would have an equivalent in the other language which would be known to a non-monolingual speaker. Each of these rules of thumb is hard to apply in the K-Tariana community.

Every K-Tariana speaker is proficient in Baniwa and uses Baniwa in most part of their daily interaction. There are no monolingual speakers. For each item there is an equivalent in both languages. However, as we saw for the word for 'widow', the K-Tariana term is often forgotten by speakers. This is a consequence of the obsolescence of K-Tariana. Importantly, there are no limitations on the frequency of occurrence of Baniwa items (note that code-

switches are usually considered to be one-off occurrences). The difficulties in distinguishing loans from code-switches are reminiscent of other obsolescent languages in contact with national languages (a prime example is the discussion in Sarhimaa 1999).

A further problem for recognition of Baniwa forms in K-Tariana is what Haugen (1969: 68-9) called 'confusion of identity': for most speakers — except a few purists who could remember the way their father and grandfather the late Mário Lopez used to speak — 'the effort to distinguish' Baniwa imports from 'legitimate' K-Tariana forms 'was hampered by the great number of cognates already existing in the two languages' (Haugen 1969: 69). This blend of two languages — Baniwa and K-Tariana — has resulted in something comparable to what Einar Haugen described for the North American Norwegian. Paraphrasing Haugen (1969: 72), K-Tariana remains Tariana, 'though we may wish to designate it as a *bilingual dialect* of that language'. However, unlike American Norwegian, American Swedish or any other immigrant or heritage language, K-Tariana has no 'homeland' variety which could serve as a prototype of a 'pure' language, and for unquestionable identification of each item as Tariana or Baniwa.²⁶

We can conclude that K-Tariana has undergone substantial influence from Baniwa, as a result of intensive language contact, with growing Baniwa dominance, over the past two generations. The comparison between the current K-Tariana spoken in Santa Terezinha and a short word list recorded from a speaker of K-Tariana in 1956 shows some of the changes — such as the introduction of a new consonantal phoneme ʒ and a loanshift from one term for 'sun' and 'moon' to two terms, mirroring the Baniwa system. We now turn to the evaluation of the effects of high-degree inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation among the K-Tariana and the impact of Baniwa, in a broader perspective.

5. K-Tariana as a blended language. K-Tariana is being affected by Baniwa Hohôdene in numerous ways, including phonology, morphology, and lexicon. Intensive language contact between two closely related languages has resulted in a curious language merger, with a high degree of individual variation between speakers and in the speech of the same speaker. All speakers (especially those over forty) alternate between being more 'archaic' (with more Tariana-like traits) and more 'innovative' (displaying more Baniwa-like features). Younger people are more innovative.

5.1. A language in flux: variation among the K-Tariana speakers. A high degree of intra-speaker variation can be illustrated with the following figures. In the narrative about her life (30 clauses), LL (early fifties) used the K-Tariana demonstrative *hĩ* five times, and Baniwa *hĩēhē* four times. Her elder brother FL (late fifties) alternated between *r* and *ʒ* (e.g. *panitsazu*, *panitsaru* 'abandoned settlement') throughout the stories he told. JS (his son, in his late twenties) consistently employed *ʒ* before *-i* and *-u*; and alternated between *ri-* and *ʒi-* in third person singular non-feminine cross-referencing prefix.

This high degree of personally-patterned variation among the Kumandene Tariana co-exists with language obsolescence: even older speakers forget the K-Tariana forms, as a consequence of having Baniwa as the major language in the community. This is somewhat reminiscent of variation in Embo Gaelic, also an obsolescent language (Dorian 2010: 298).

Similarly to the situation among the last speakers of Gaelic, variability in K-Tariana does not mark group membership, nor does it have social boundary-marking function. The high degree of individual variation among the K-Tariana offers a challenge to a radical position whereby individual grammatical and phonological patterns are excluded from consideration in linguistic analysis. In Johnstone's (2000: 411) words, speakers 'have different grammars'.

The degree of individual variation on the K-Tariana/Baniwa continuum makes it hard to determine what is really K-Tariana and what is not. The question of a language community for Santa Terezinha is problematic. We saw in §3.2 that the Santa Terezinha community is truly interactive only during some seasons (the school year). During other periods, individual families (which would usually have just a couple of ethnic K-Tariana) move away, and communicate exclusively among themselves, in Baniwa. The facts of K-Tariana and 'confusion of identity' for many individual forms suggest that recognition of any canonical form or status for one particular form of their language as it is spoken would be next to impossible. Labov (1966: 412) states that 'the speech community as a whole is unified by a common set of norms'. However, at present, the amount of individual variation is such that norms are highly elusive. What unifies the community is the spirit of being a K-Tariana.

We have seen that in many cases where a cognate morpheme between Baniwa and Tariana is available, most speakers tend to choose the Baniwa form. As is the case in other obsolescent languages (cf. Sarhimaa 1999: 184-5), it is next to impossible to differentiate between borrowing from Baniwa and code-switches between the two languages (see §4.2.8). Ethnic pride in 'being Tariana' and speaking Tariana is reflected in some knowledge of the Tariana origin myth, and a few lexemes different between Baniwa and K-Tariana. These include words with K-Tariana *dz* versus Baniwa *y* and K-Tariana *ts* versus Baniwa *t*, e.g. K-Tariana *dzatse* 'toucan', Baniwa *ya:ʔe* 'toucan'.

A further feature of K-Tariana as used in Santa Terezinha is its adjustability to the audience. Having an option of adjusting one's language to one's interlocutors — consciously or unconsciously — can be compared to Matisoff's (2000) analysis of Yiddish: one can make it sound more Germanic or more Hebrew depending on the speaker's intentions. In the case of K-Tariana, the choice does not seem to be always conscious. This is reminiscent of how speakers of Surzhyk, a mixed Russian-Ukrainian language, subconsciously adjust their ways

of speaking to a Russian or a Ukrainian-speaking audience (Kent 2012). In terms of its status, K-Tariana is reminiscent of blended, or 'merged' languages.

5.2. K-Tariana, and 'blended' languages. Intense language contact, especially on the border between communities who speak closely related languages, may result in 'blended' languages. Well-known examples include Portunhol or Portuñol (a 'mixture' of Portuguese and Spanish), Surzhyk (a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian, Ukraine and adjacent areas of Russia), and a few more (see Kent 2012, Auer 1999).²⁷

Portunhol or Portuñol is a continuum of 'blended' varieties spoken on the border between Brazil and Uruguay ('fronterizo'), and by Portuguese and Spanish speakers who 'adjust' to each other. This is condemned by schools in Brazil and in Spanish-speaking countries as a 'product of ignorance and laziness' to be 'remedied by formal language study' (Lipski 2006: 3; Lipski 2008, for a general overview of blended varieties involving Spanish). The following example offers a comparison between the opening lines of 'Our Father' in Portuguese, Spanish and the Fronterizo Portuñol:

(23)

| Portuguese | Spanish | Fronterizo (Brazil/Uruguay) | English |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i><u>O Pai Nosso</u></i> | <i><u>Padre Nuestro</u></i> | <i><u>U Padre Notru</u></i> | <i><u>Our Father</u></i> |
| <i>Pai nosso</i> | <i>Padre Nuestro</i> | <i>Padre notru</i> | Our Father |
| <i>que estás</i> | <i>que estás</i> | <i>Q'ehtá</i> | which art |
| <i>no céu</i> | <i>en el cielo</i> | <i>nuh celuh</i> | in heaven |
| <i>Santificado seja</i> | <i>Santificado sea</i> | <i>Santificado seya</i> | Hallowed be |
| <i>o Teu nome</i> | <i>Tu nombre</i> | <i>Tu nombre</i> | Thy name |

Venha o Teu reino *Venga Tu reino* *Venga Tu reino* Thy kingdom
come

Portuñol, or Portunhol, often serves as a jocular language. An example is at (24). What makes this example hilarious for speakers of both Spanish and Portuguese is what appears to be an ad hoc mixture of similar, but not identical, forms from both languages. Spanish elements are in bold, and Portuguese elements are not bolded (Chatroom, 5 August 2002):

(24) '*Horre de **mañana** saiu **una nota en el** Jornal do Brazil **hablando** sobre **nuestro sitio**'*
(cf. Portuguese: 'Hoje de manhã saiu uma nota no Jornal do Brazil falando sobre o nosso sítio')

'This morning a note came out in Jornal do Brasil talking about our site'

Various types of Surzhyk combine — to various extents — elements of Russian and Ukrainian, two closely related Eastern Slavic languages. Surzhyk functions as the only language of the community, and is emerging as a marker of linguistic identity of the speakers. Kent (2012: 139-40) argues that in Surzhyk, interclausal and intraclausal code-switches are recognizable and conventionalised — which is different from what we saw in K-Tariana. Speakers of Surzhyk can differentiate between Russian and Ukrainian, and are near-balanced bilinguals. Nowadays, the major language of school and official life is Ukrainian. This is different from the K-Tariana, where 'confusion' of identity between Baniwa and K-Tariana elements is prevalent (see §4.2.8). In addition, neither of Spanish, Portuguese, Russian and Ukrainian are endangered. K-Tariana is.²⁸

K-Tariana can be compared to immigrant languages, such as Norwegian and Swedish in the USA (Haugen 1969, Klintborg 1990), the immigrant Turkish in the Netherlands (Backus 2003), and possibly Spanglish (Rothman and Rell 2006; Lipski 2008). This

comparison is all the more attractive if we recall that the K-Tariana are immigrants in Santa Terezinha — which is 'not their land' (see (1)). A major difference between the immigrant Norwegian and other immigrant languages and K-Tariana lies in the fact that the K-Tariana do not have a homeland language with which their newly emerging Tariana-Baniwa blend in flux can be contrasted.

In addition, as Haugen (1969: 71) puts it for Norwegian in the USA, 'those who join the social group soon discover that they have to follow the customary norm if they wish to be understood. There exists within the group a general sense of purism, which keeps the movement from proceeding too rapidly. Individuals who go too far in the direction of English are laughed at.' This is something notably absent from K-Tariana. The existing purism is directed against dialect-mixing between W-Tariana and K-Tariana (in agreement with traditional language attitudes among the Tariana against mixing any Tariana dialects: see Aikhenvald 2003b). There is no opposition against Baniwa elements.

A close analogy to the K-Tariana situation comes from a highly endangered variety of Ingrian Finnish spoken by a few old people in Estonia (Riionheimo 2002). This Balto-Finnic language was originally spoken in the territory of Ingria around Saint Petersburg in Russia. Nowadays, most remaining speakers use Estonian (closely related but not mutually intelligible) on daily basis. Language 'blending' is illustrated below. Archaic Ingrian Finnish uses past tense marker *-i-*. Estonian uses the marker *-si-*. Note the differences in the root form and person marking in Archaic Ingrian Finnish (documented in the literature) and Estonian:

(25a) *lopet-i-mma*

finish-PAST-1pl

archaic Ingrian Finnish

'We finished'

(25b) *lõpeta-si-me*

finish-PAST-1pl

Estonian

'We finished'

(25c), from the modern Ingrian Finnish as spoken by a few older people whose major language is Estonian is a blend. It has the Ingrian Finnish root and person marker, and the Estonian past tense marker:

(25c) *lopetta-si-mma*

finish:INGRIAN.FINNISH+ESTONIAN-PAST:ESTONIAN-1pl:INGRIAN.FINNISH

modern Ingrian Finnish spoken in Estonia

'We finished'

This blended form is reminiscent of language blending in K-Tariana. However, the information on Ingrian Finnish is limited, which makes it difficult to pursue the analogy any further. What makes K-Tariana similar to the situation of the Ingrian Finns are (a) language endangerment and (b) co-existence and blending of closely related languages in contact. In each case, changes are discontinuous, in Tsitsipis' (1998) sense.

Figure 7 offers a brief comparison between K-Tariana and a few other 'blended' languages. Speakers' attitudes to the 'blended' languages vary. Attitudes to Spanglish and American Norwegian have been described as basically 'positive': the new 'blended' varieties have become symbols of the group identity of the minority who speaks them. This is similar to the K-Tarianas' attitude to their language: they are proud of it. Unlike Spanglish or

American Norwegian, the K-Tariana do not have a 'non-blended' (or 'pure') variety with which to contrast the newly emerging blended one. K-Tariana is also subject to high degree of individual variation. The status of Portunhol is different from these three; there is no minority group that identifies with this blend. The attitudes to Portunhol vary between jocular, endearing, and negative. Attitudes to Surzhyk have been traditionally negative (despite the fact that the language is spoken by quite a number of people: Bilaniuk 2004). This can be explained by a variety of social circumstances. Surzhyk used to be spoken by population with low educational and socio-economic background. The pressure of Russian and Ukrainian, the two literary languages with higher status than Surzhyk, is a further factor in 'downgrading' the value of Surzhyk.

Unlike most other 'blended' languages, K-Tariana is highly endangered. This is a feature it shares with Ingrian Finnish.

< Figure 7 about here >

6. Language contact, and language blend: the case of K-Tariana. Kumandene Tariana (K-Tariana) appears to be a unique blend between two closely related languages, the erstwhile K-Tariana dialect and Baniwa Hohôdene. The degree of Baniwa impact can be seen through a comparison between K-Tariana as spoken in 1956, and the language spoken now. The confusion of 'identity' between Tariana and Baniwa forms is exacerbated by (a) the obsolescence of K-Tariana, (b) the dominance of Baniwa in daily life, and (c) a high degree of individual variation, especially among younger speakers. This is reminiscent of numerous immigrant languages — including American Norwegian and American Swedish. Such 'transient' and ephemeral nature of contact-induced change on immigrant language is reflected in the title of Klintborg (1999), 'The transience of American Swedish'.

An obsolescent language 'retreating, contracting, as it gradually falls into disuse' (Dixon 1991: 199) is often flooded with an influx of patterns and forms from the dominant language. K-Tariana is converging more and more towards Baniwa. High variation between speakers, and even within each speaker, creates a peculiar, and highly individualized Tariana/Baniwa blend.

K-Tariana is similar to other merged or blended languages, including Portunhol, Spanglish and a continuum of varieties of Surzhyk spoken across the Ukraine. The closest analogy comes from Ingrian Finnish, a moribund Balto-Finnic language in close contact with the related Estonian: Estonian forms are blended into the way Ingrian Finnish is spoken by its last generation. The bulk of contact-induced changes are one-off, discontinuous adaptations to the dominant language.

In contrast to K-Tariana, Wamiarikune Tariana (W-Tariana), also highly endangered, is now developing numerous Tucano-like features which make it look closer and closer to relexified Tucano. There is some rivalry between the two Tariana-speaking groups. The K-Tariana occupy a higher position in the traditional hierarchy than the W-Tariana. Growing aversion to the fact that the lower-ranking variety has been accorded the important status of a language taught at school forges an impetus for creating a K-Tariana-teaching program, with a new primer and a new teaching manual. Whether or not this work in progress will result in a

new K-Tariana language norm only time will tell.²⁹

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Notes

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ISO codes for the languages discussed here have not been included, due to numerous mistakes and inconsistencies in their description in the Ethnologue (www.sil.org).

² See Curnow (2001) and an overview of contact-induced change with further references, and critiques of some approaches, in Aikhenvald (2006).

³ Baniwa Hohôdene (referred to as Baniwa, unless further specified) is a dialect within the Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum. This continuum is spoken by 3000-4000 people in the basin of the Içana River and its tributaries in Brazil and the adjacent areas of Colombia and Venezuela, stretching into the basin of the Middle Vaupés. Baniwa has at least twenty dialectal varieties, all mutually intelligible to varying degrees (sharing 90-96% of their lexicons) (see lists of dialects in Nimuendajú 1950/5; Rodrigues 1986; pace Ramirez 2001b (since he worked with two Tariana speakers who mixed their language with Baniwa), there is no mutual intelligibility between Tariana and Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako). Partial descriptions of Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako grammar are in Taylor (1990) and in Ramirez

(2001a). All the data quoted here come from my own work unless otherwise specified. I have also taken account of other sources on Baniwa and Kurripako (e.g. Bezerra 2005, 2012; Taylor 1990; Valadares 1993).

⁴ The Vaupés River Basin area is located within the Upper Rio Negro Federal Territory in the Brazilian state of Amazonas. Amazonas is home to fifty five identified indigenous groups. Of these, twenty three are located in the Upper Rio Negro Federal Territory. The major indigenous linguistic families are: (I) Arawak, consisting of (a) The Wapuí subgroup: Tariana, Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako dialect continuum (major representatives: Hohôdene, Siuci, Iauaretê-tapuya; Kumandene, Adzanene); and Guarekena; (b) the Rio Negro subgroup: Warekena of Xié, †Baré; (II) East Tucanoan (Tucano; Piratapuya, Wanano, Desano, Tuyuca, Cubeo and a few others); (III) Makú (Dâw; Hup, Yuhupde), and (IV) the Yanomami dialect continuum. In addition, *Nheêngatú* (or *Língua Geral*) locally known as *Baré*, is a semi-creolized variety of Tupinambá, a Tupí-Guaraní language, introduced by Catholic missionaries in the eighteenth century. In 2002, Tucano, Baniwa and *Nheêngatú* (or *Língua Geral*) acquired official status. Further information, and additional references, on the linguistic composition of the region is in Aikhenvald (2002a, and 2012a: 75-83).

⁵ The Vaupés River Basin linguistic area spans Brazil and adjacent regions of Colombia. The first study of the Colombian part of the Vaupés area is in Sorensen (1967). However, since there have never been any traditional Tariana-speaking communities in Colombia (Aikhenvald 2002a), Sorensen's work concerns only the interaction of East Tucanoan languages, and is largely irrelevant here.

⁶ I started working with W-Tariana in 1991. The materials consist of more than two thousand pages of transcribed texts and numerous conversations. Aikhenvald (2003a) is a comprehensive reference grammar (with some information on K-Tariana); Aikhenvald

(2002b) is a dictionary. Studies of contact-induced change in Tariana include Aikhenvald (2002a, 2012a,b).

⁷ W-Tariana, and the old K-Tariana (Brüzzi 1961) share c. 75% lexicon with Hohôdene Baniwa. Tariana shares c.60% lexicon with both Piapoco and Guarequena; their grammars are rather different (see Aikhenvald 2002a).

⁸ A brief analysis of older sources on Tariana is in Aikhenvald (2003a: 627-9).

⁹ Abbreviations used are: A - subject of transitive verb; ANIM - animate; ASSUM.EV - assumed evidential; AUG - augmentative; Baniwa - Baniwa Hohôdene; CAUS - causative; CL - classifier; DECL - declarative; DEM - demonstrative; DEM:DISTAL - distal demonstrative; DEM.PROX - proximal demonstrative; DEM.PROX.ANIM - proximal animate demonstrative; DEM:VERY.PROX - proximal demonstrative referring to very near distance; EMPH - emphatic; FEM, fem - feminine; FRUST - frustrative; FUT - future; IMP - impersonal; INDF - indefinite person; LOC - locative; MASC, masc - masculine; NEG - negative; NEG.EMPH - negative emphatic; nf - non-feminine; NOM - nominalization; NOM.ANIM.PL - nominal animate plural; NOM.PAST - nominal past; nonthird.p - nonthird person; O - object; PASS - passive; PERF - perfective; PERF/PAST - perfective/past; PL, pl - plural; PL.ANIM - plural animate;POSS - possessive; PRES.NONVIS - present nonvisual; REC.P.VIS - recent past visual; REC.P.VIS. INTER - recent past visual interrogative; REM.P.ASSUMED - remote past assumed; REM.P.REP - remote past reported; REM.P.VIS - remote past visual; REM.PAST - remote past; S - subject of intransitive verb; Sa - subject of intransitive active verb; SEQ - sequential; SG, sg - singular; So - subject of intransitive stative verb; SVC - serial verb construction; TOP.NON.A/S - topical non-subject.

¹⁰ Here and elsewhere recognizable Baniwa Hohôdene elements in K-Tariana are in bold. Clauses are in square brackets.

¹¹ The majority of the Baniwa people in the village belong to the Hohôdene group. Two women are Siuci (but speak Hohôdene). There is one Cubeo speaker married to a K-Tariana. She is fully proficient in Tucano, K-Tariana, W-Tariana and Baniwa.

¹² The K-Tariana live in the region defined by the official Federation of the Indigenous Organizations of the Upper Rio Negro as 'the Tucano triangle'. As a consequence, they are assigned to indigenous school system called 'Escola Yepa mahsa' (Tucano school). The school is 'Tucano' in name only. The Tucano language is not taught at the school; neither is it spoken by school children. There are currently three school teachers, two of them ethnic Tucano and one Baniwa Hohôdene. Most adult K-Tariana have some knowledge of Tucano. Baniwa is the language of daily life and village meetings and prayers.

¹³ The Tariana of Santa Terezinha and I agreed that a special K-Tariana language program will need to be introduced (this is currently being considered by the Education Department).

¹⁴ The presence of Kumandene Tariana in Iauaretê and surrounding areas, and also on the Iauarí river, was signalled by Brüzzi (1961, 1977: 101-2) based on his work in the 1950s.

¹⁵ Koch-Grünberg (1910: 22-26) describes his consultant Matthias, and the circumstances of his three-day stay in Iauaretê. The existence of a distinct Tariana dialect of Iauaretê was also mentioned by Coudreau (1886: 160). The words in the list provided by Koch-Grünberg are often not easy to interpret. What is translated as one word may turn out to be a clause, or a serial verb construction, and can be understood only from what is known about Tariana. For example, the form *pi-tásape-ne* (translated as 'speak', 'reden': Koch-Grünberg 1911: 249) is to be understood as 2sg-speak-POSS, 'your speech'. The translation of 'dumb' ('stumm') into Tariana of Iauaretê is given as *litātsákataliēka* (Koch-Grünberg 1911:

229). This form is interpretable as *li-tātsa-kade li-yeka* (3sgnf-speak-NEG 3sgnf-know/can) 'he cannot speak'.

¹⁶ Another list of 118 words recorded by Brüzzi (1961: 78, 89-90) was labeled as Kumādene. According to Brüzzi (1961: 78), this group 'settled on the Uaupés River and finally adopted the Tukano language. In 1953 only two old men, the 80 year old shaman Martinho, and the 60 year old local chief Mandú Henriques remembered some words of their native language. In this record, with many hesitations, Mandú recorded the pronunciation, helped by Martinho, who died in 1957'. Brüzzi (1977: 55) uses the name Ipecatapuya (Língua Geral 'people of the Duck') to refer to the same group who are said to have lived in Urubuquara. (Currently, there are ethnic Tariana in Urubuquara who do not speak the language any more; at least some belong to the Kumandene subclan: Tarcísio Filho, p.c.). This list is almost identical to the modern W-Tariana (the only major difference is the third person singular non-feminine prefix *ri-*, W.-Tariana *di-*). The term Kumandene (or Kumādene) is also employed as ethnonym for a Baniwa-Kurripako speaking group (not mutually intelligible with either Hohôdene or W-Tariana and K-Tariana).

¹⁷ A further point of difference between the present-day K-Tariana and W-Tariana concerns the status of the lamino-palatal voiceless affricate *tʃ*. In W-Tariana, *tʃ* is (a) a separate phoneme, and (b) can have an allophone *ts* with some older people. In K-Tariana, *tʃ* is always an allophone of *ts* before a high vowel. This is reminiscent of Baniwa where *ts* and *tʃ* have this same distribution. However, some palatalization of *ts* is attested in item 47 in the old K-Tariana word list (Brüzzi 1961) *pi-utʃida* (2sg-knee) 'knee'. It is possible that palatalization in the current K-Tariana was enhanced by the influence of Baniwa.

¹⁸ See Aikhenvald (1999b, 2012a: Chapter 1). The prefixes and the suffixes go back to proto-Arawak *(-)ri(-) 'third person singular non-feminine', *(-)thu(-) 'third person singular

feminine' (Aikhenvald 2002a, Appendix 2, on these and other features of the proto-Arawak grammar).

¹⁹ The forms of demonstrative pronouns in Brüzzi (1961) are unclear. We can recall that the word list was recorded from Fabricia, a Tariana woman from Iauarí River through her son who translated the words requested by Brüzzi into Tucano for her. It is notoriously difficult to elicit demonstratives out of context; which is why one cannot restore the full system based on Brüzzi's list. The form given for 'this' is *lihya*, most likely the third person singular non-feminine pronoun (note that in all varieties of Tariana it is also used as a specifier-article like-modifier). The form given for 'that' is *hãsite*. The form which translates 'who?' is *hĩ*, in all likelihood, the demonstrative pronoun 'this (proximate animate)'. The form for 'this' (dieser) written down by Koch-Grünberg (1911: 221) for the Iauaretê variety is *he(i)nuká*, interpretable as *hĩ-nuka* (this.proximal.animate-PRES.VIS) 'it is this one'.

²⁰ Ramirez (2001b) compiled a short and patchy sketch of Tariana based on his work with EB and RB, whose language bears a strong imprint of Baniwa. It should be treated with caution because the information was taken from the speakers who are known to mix their Tariana with Baniwa.

²¹ The morpheme *-pia* in K-Tariana is a bound morpheme: it does not have the status of an independent phonological or grammatical word.

²² Note that FL pronounced a flap in the nominalizer *-ti* rather than the retroflex *ʒ*. His son JS was helping us transcribe the story, and repeated this word with the retroflex.

²³ The form *yaru-pe* in Tariana is morphologically complex; it contains collective plural marker *-pe*. The cognate of its root *-dzazu-* is used in Baniwa in the meaning of 'one's possession' (Ramirez 2001a: 71; also Bezerra 2012).

²⁴ K-Tariana has some loans from Tucano which are judged as unacceptable by more puristically-minded W-Tariana. One such loan is the clitic *-ba* 'evidently', freely used by the K-Tariana but condemned by the W-Tariana as a token of language-mixing with Tucano.

²⁵ Language-based exogamy rules are still very much alive among both groups of W-Tariana, and of K-Tariana. The exact reasons for some groups being more puristic than others requires further investigation.

²⁶ A further question concerns the number of lexical borrowings from Baniwa into K-Tariana. Tariana and Baniwa Hohôdene share about 75% lexicon (see Aikhenvald 2002a: 304). We have just outlined the difficulties in distinguishing between potential lexical loans from Baniwa Hohôdene in K-Tariana and code-switches. My estimate is that, depending on the speaker and on the audience, Baniwa Hohôdene lexical items can be used by K-Tariana speakers for any of the non-shared lexicon. It is the status of these items that is problematic.

²⁷ In dialectology, blended languages can be compared to 'fudged dialects' or 'mixed dialectes' (Trask 2000: 128, 214). Further examples of 'blended' languages include Trasjanka (a Russian-Belarussian blend: Hetschel and Zaprudski 2008), Cocoliche, a now extinct blend of Italian and Spanish spoken by Italian migrants in Argentina between about 1886 and 1950, and Barraquenho (a blend of Spanish and Portuguese in Barrancos, Portugal on the Portugal-Spain border: Clements, Amaral and Luís 2011)

²⁸ Instances of 'mixed languages' in South America include Jopara in Paraguay (this could be defined as vernacular Guaraní with numerous loans from Spanish and distinctly Spanish-like structures: see, e.g., Dietrich 2010), Media Lengua and Callahuaya (Muysken 1996a,b). Each are different in nature from blended languages (see a summary in Aikhenvald 2012: 374-8). See Bakker and Mous (1994), Auer (1999) and Backus (2003) on the differences between blended languages and 'mixed' languages such as Michif (see Bakker

1997). 'Blended languages' are different in nature from examples of code-switching addressed by Muysken (2000).

²⁹ A further threat to K-Tariana comes from Portuguese, the national language. As younger people acquire university degrees (by distant education) and move out of the village in search of better jobs, their competence in Portuguese increases. At present, there are very few Portuguese loans and calques in K-Tariana and Baniwa spoken in Santa Terezinha. Given the seasonal nature and the general instability of the Santa Terezinha community, this may change in the near future. W-Tariana also has just a few loans from Portuguese (see Aikhenvald 2013, 2002a, on code-switching in W-Tariana).