A Grammar of Tariana

This is a comprehensive reference grammar of Tariana, an endangered Arawak language from a remote region in the northwest Amazonian jungle. Its speakers traditionally marry someone speaking a different language, and as a result most people are fluent in five or six languages. Because of this rampant multilingualism, Tariana combines a number of features inherited from the protolanguage with properties diffused from neighbouring but unrelated Tucanoan languages. Typologically unusual features of the language include: an array of classifiers independent of genders, complex serial verbs, case marking depending on the topicality of a noun, and double marking of case and number. Tariana has obligatory evidentiality – every sentence contains a special element indicating whether the information was seen, heard, or inferred by the speaker, or whether the speaker acquired it from somebody else. This grammar will be a valuable source-book for linguists and others interested in natural languages.
CAMBRIDGE GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Editors: R. M. W. Dixon, Keren Rice

This series is devoted to the publication of comprehensive descriptive grammars of languages that have not previously been documented, and that have interesting and unusual characteristics which will expand our understanding of human language in all its diversity and challenge the limits of current linguistic theory. Some of these languages are spoken by only a small number of people and can be considered endangered.

Each grammar briefly introduces the society in which the language is spoken, and covers the key areas of phonology, morphology and syntax, together with typological and historical considerations. In each case, a sample text or texts in the language are provided, with full gloss and translation. A glossary of basic vocabulary is also included. The series aims to provide theoretical linguists in the various subdisciplines with reliable data and analysis which will provide a permanent and invaluable set of source materials.
For my Tariana family
Contents

List of tables, schemes and diagrams xv
Preface xvii
Acknowledgements xiv
Organisation and cross-referencing xxi
List of abbreviations xxii
Map xxiv

1. The language and its speakers 1
   1.1 Linguistic profile of Tariana 1
   1.2 Tariana and the multilingual setting of the Vaupés 6
   1.3 Historical information about the Tariana 9
   1.4 Social organisation 11
   1.5 Ceremonies and beliefs 13
   1.6 Naming practices 15
   1.7 Nonverbal communication 16
   1.8 What we know about the Tariana language 17
      1.8.1 Denominations of the language 17
      1.8.2 Previous studies of the language 18
   1.9 Materials and speakers 18

2. Phonology 25
   2.1 Segmental phonology 25
      2.1.1 Consonants 25
      2.1.2 Vowels 32
   2.2 Syllable structure, vowel sequences and the problem of diphthongs 34
      2.2.1 Syllable structure 34
      2.2.2 Vowel sequences and diphthongs 35
   2.3 Stress 37
      2.3.1 Primary stress 37
      2.3.2 Stress in monomorphemic words 38
      2.3.3 Stress in polymorphemic words 38
      2.3.4 Secondary stress 39
      2.3.5 Vowel reduction 39
   2.4 Phonological word 40
      2.4.1 Primary stress and prosodic classes of morphemes 40
      2.4.2 Nasalisation 42
      2.4.3 Aspiration 42
      2.4.4 Vowel harmony 44
      2.4.5 Word delimiting prosodic parameters in Tariana: a summary 45
   2.5 Phonological processes 46
      2.5.1 H-metathesis 46
viii Contents

2.5.2 Vowel fusions 47
2.5.3 Phonological processes within roots and within affixes 52
2.6 Prosodic classes of morphemes and their properties 53
2.7 Pause marking 60
2.8 Phonological phrase 63
2.9 Intonation patterns 64

3. Word classes 66
3.1 Open word classes 66
  3.1.1 Verbs 66
  3.1.2 Nouns 68
  3.1.3 Adjectives 72
  3.1.4 Word class-changing morphological derivations 77
3.2 Manner adverbs and time words 77
3.3 Closed classes 80
3.4 Word classes and functional slots: an overview 81

4. Nominal morphology and noun structure 82

5. Noun classes and classifiers 87
5.1 Overview of the multiple classifier system 87
  5.1.1 Organisation of the system 87
  5.1.2 Noun classes 99
  5.1.3 Classifiers as nominal derivational suffixes 101
  5.1.4 Numeral classifiers 103
  5.1.5 Verbal classifiers 104
  5.1.6 Classifiers with modifiers from closed classes 105
5.2 Functions of classifiers 115
5.3 Repeaters and 'ad hoc' classifiers 117
  5.3.1 The use of repeaters 117
  5.3.2 The functions of repeaters 118
  5.3.3 'Ad hoc' classifiers 119
  5.3.4 Classifiers and the lexicon 121
5.4 Summary 121

6. Possession 122
6.1 Personal cross-referencing 122
  6.1.1 The system 122
  6.1.2 The indefinite prefix 123
  6.1.3 Impersonal cross-referencing 126
6.2 Obligatorily possessed nouns 127
6.3 Optionally possessed nouns 128
6.4 Archaisms, innovations and irregularities in obligatorily possessed nouns 129
  6.4.1 Archaisms and innovations in marking inalienable possession 129
  6.4.2 Expansion of optionally possessed nouns 129
  6.4.3 Retention of possessive suffixes on optionally possessed nouns 131
  6.4.4 A common Arawak irregularity in possession marking 133
6.5 Possessive classifiers 133
   6.5.1 Constructions with the possessive -ya- 134
   6.5.2 Constructions with a generic possessed classifier -yarupe 136
6.6 Conclusions 137

7. Case marking and grammatical relations 139
   7.1 General properties of case marking system 139
   7.2 Semantics and function of core cases 140
      7.2.1 The marking of A, S, S_o 140
      7.2.2 The marking of non-A/S/S_o 143
   7.3 The semantics and function of oblique cases 148
      7.3.1 Locative case 148
      7.3.2 Instrumental-comitative case 150
   7.4 Omission of oblique case markers 154
   7.5 Marking case more than once 155
   7.6 Double case marking and double marking of syntactic function 158
      7.6.1 Double case marking 158
      7.6.2 Double marking of syntactic function 160
   7.7 Summary 163

8. Number 164
   8.1 Number marking 164
      8.1.1 Inanimate nouns 164
      8.1.2 Animate nouns 165
      8.1.3 Kinship nouns 166
      8.1.4 Uncountable nouns 168
      8.1.5 Pluralia tantum 170
      8.1.6 Singulatives 171
      8.1.7 Associative plural 172
   8.2 Plural marking on modifiers 173
   8.3 Multiple marking of number 176
   8.4 Number agreement 180
   8.5 Summary 182

9. Further nominal categories 183
   9.1 Tense 183
      9.1.1 Nominal future 183
      9.1.2 Nominal past 185
      9.1.3 Nominal and clausal tense marking: a comparison 187
   9.2 Extralocality and restrictivity markers 188
   9.3 Contrastive marker 189
   9.4 Conjoining morphemes 191
   9.5 Approximative 192
   9.6 Diminutive and augmentative 193
      9.6.1 Diminutive 193
      9.6.2 Augmentative 194
   9.7 Pejorative 195
Contents

10. Derivation and compounding 196
   10.1 Productive derivational suffixes 196
   10.2 Semi-productive and non-productive derivational suffixes 197
   10.3 Deverbal nominalising affixes 200
   10.4 Classifiers and nominal derivation 200
   10.5 Compounding 201

11. Closed word classes 203
   11.1 Personal pronouns 203
   11.2 Specifier articles 204
   11.3 Demonstratives 206
   11.4 Interrogative-distributive *kwa-*/*kwe-* 208
   11.5 Gestural deictic *khi* 213
   11.6 Distributive individualiser *napada* 214
   11.7 General indefinite *pa:-* 215
   11.8 Numerals 217
   11.9 Quantifiers 219
   11.10 Connectives 221
   11.11 Adpositions 222

12. Verb classes and predicate structure 234
   12.1 Verb classes 234
       12.1.1 Ambitransitive, transitive, ditransitive and extended transitive
           verbs 235
       12.1.2 Intransitive verbs 239
       12.1.3 Prefixless verbs with two arguments, and extended intransitive
           verbs 241
       12.1.4 Secondary verbs 244
       12.1.5 Copula verbs 250
   12.2 The structure of a predicate 253
   12.3 Verb root structure and verbal derivations 255
   12.4 Defining a verbal word 256

13. Valency changing and argument rearranging mechanisms 258
   13.1 Passive 258
   13.2 Reflexive-reciprocal 263
       13.2.1 Reciprocal meanings 263
       13.2.2 Reflexive meanings 266
   13.3 Increasing transitivity 267
       13.3.1 Morphological causatives 267
       13.3.2 Causative serial verb constructions 274
       13.3.3 Periphrastic causatives 275
       13.3.4 Causative mechanisms in Tariana: a comparison 277
   13.4 Argument-adding derivation 279
   13.5 Argument-manipulating derivation 283
   13.6 Summary 286

14. Tense and evidentiality 287
   14.1 General remarks 287
14.2 Tense-evidentiality in affirmative clauses 289
14.2.1 Semantics of tenses 289
14.2.2 Visual evidentials 293
14.2.3 Non-visual evidentials 296
14.2.4 Inferred evidentials 299
14.2.5 Reported evidentials 302
14.2.6 Lexical reinforcement of evidentials 304
14.2.7 Preferred evidentials and their cultural correlates 305
14.2.8 Omission of evidentials and speakers' competence 309
14.3 Tense-evidentiality in interrogative clauses 311
14.3.1 Visual interrogative evidentials 312
14.3.2 Non-visual interrogative evidentials 313
14.3.3 Inferred interrogative evidentials 315
14.3.4 Omission and variability of interrogative evidentials 317
14.3.5 Preferred interrogative evidentials 318
14.4 Future 320
14.5 Final remarks 321

15 Aspect, Aktionsart and degree 324
15.1 Aspect markers 324
15.1.1 'Short duration, little by little' -ina 324
15.1.2 Habitual prescribed -hyuna 326
15.1.3 Customary -kape 328
15.1.4 Habitual repetitive -nipe 329
15.1.5 Anterior -nhi 330
15.1.6 Non-completed ongoing -daka 334
15.1.7 Non-completed ongoing proximate -sida 336
15.1.8 Already accomplished -sita 337
15.1.9 Repetitive -pita, -ta 339
15.1.10 Completive -niki 340
15.1.11 Not quite completed -maña 'just about, almost' 342
15.2 Aktionsart enclitics 342
15.2.1 Aktionsart enclitics with corresponding verbs 343
15.2.2 Aktionsart enclitics not used as independent verbs 348
15.2.3 Semantic and syntactic properties of Aktionsart enclitics 363
15.3 Degree markers 366
15.4 Emphatic markers 367

16 Mood and modality 371
16.1 Imperatives 371
16.1.1 Unmarked imperative 371
16.1.2 Proximate, distal and postponed imperatives 372
16.1.3 Detrimental imperative 374
16.1.4 Imperative by proxy 376
16.1.5 Conative precative 377
16.1.6 Cohortative 378
16.1.7 Polite suggestion 378
16.1.8 Additional imperatives 379
16.2 Frustrative 380
16.3 Intentional 383
16.4 Apprehensive 384
16.5 Uncertainty 387
16.6 Conditional 390
16.7 Purposive 393
16.8 Counter-expectation 396
16.9 Declarative-assertive 398

17. Negation 400
17.1 General characteristics of Tariana negation 400
17.2 Clausal negation in non-prohibitive clauses 400
17.3 Negative imperative 409
17.4 Negative prefix ma- 410
17.5 Inherently negative lexemes 411
17.6 Negative ne and negative response 419
17.7 Double negation 421

18. Serial verb constructions and verb compounding 423
18.1 Working definition of a serial verb construction 423
18.2 Defining properties of serial verb constructions in Tariana 424
18.3 Assymmetrical serial verb constructions 430
18.4 Symmetrical serial verb constructions 440
18.5 Ambient serial verb constructions 442
18.6 A comparison of three types of serial verb constructions 443
18.7 Verb compounding 446

19. Complex predicates 449
19.1 Epistemic complex predicate with repetition 449
19.2 Prolonged customary action 450
19.3 Complex predicate with a subordinator and repetition 451
19.4 Passive complex predicate with auxiliary 452
19.5 Apprehensive complex predicate with auxiliary 453
19.6 Admirative complex predicate 453
19.7 Irresultative complex predicate 454
19.8 Complex predicate of small extent 456
19.9 Quasi-serial verb construction 456
19.10 Complex predicates with the optional subordinator kwe and purposive mood 457
19.11 Clause-like complex predicate 457
19.12 Complex predicates and serial verb constructions: a comparison 458

20. Participles and nominalisations 460
20.1 Participles 460
20.2 Nominalisations and converbs 461
   20.2.1 The -nipe nominalisation 461
   20.2.2 The -mi nominalisation 465
   20.2.3 The -ri nominalisation 467
20.2.4 Three nominalisations: a comparison 472
20.2.5 Nominalisations and subordinate clauses 472
20.3 Other derivational devices 473

21. Clause types and other syntactic issues 475
21.1 The structure of noun phrases 475
21.1.1 Position of adjectival and closed class modifiers with respect to the head of a noun phrase 475
21.1.2 Discontinuous noun phrases 479
21.1.3 Appositional constructions 480
21.1.4 Headless noun phrases 482
21.1.5 Possessive and adpositional noun phrases 483
21.2 Coordination of noun phrases 484
21.3 Structure of predicates 487
21.4 Types of clauses 487
21.4.1 Declarative clauses 488
21.4.2 Imperative clauses 502
21.4.3 Interrogative clauses 502
21.4.4 Exclamatory clauses 506
21.4.5 Dependent clauses: an overview 506
21.5 Grammatical relations 507
21.5.1 Defining 'subjects' 507
21.5.2 Objects and obliques 511

22. Subordinate clauses and clause linking 515
22.1 Clauses marked with sequencing enclitics 515
22.1.1 Switch reference-sensitive sequencing enclitics 516
22.1.2 Non-switch reference-sensitive sequencing enclitics 525
22.2 Sequential -ka 528
22.3 Subordinate clauses marked with adpositions 532
22.4 Subordinate clauses and clause linking 534

23. Relative clauses 537
23.1 Grammatical properties of relative clauses 537
23.2 Content question words as markers of relative clauses 543

24. Complement clauses 547
24.1 Complement clauses marked with -ka 'subordinator' 547
24.2 Complement clauses marked with purposive 551
24.3 Complementation strategies 552
24.4 Interrogatives in complement clauses 556

25. Discourse organisation 561
25.1 Pragmatic basis for constituent order 561
25.1.1 Order of words in NPs and multi-word predicates 562
25.1.2 Pragmatic basis for clausal constituent order 562
25.1.3 Constructions with fixed constituent order 568
25.1.4 ‘Doubling’ of personal pronouns 571
25.2 Ellipsis 573
25.3 Floating enclitics and discourse 574
25.4 Repetition and sentence linking devices 576
  25.4.1 Repetition 576
  25.4.2 Sentence linking strategies 576
  25.4.3 Discourse-organising phrase 'I am saying' 583

25.5 Grammatical properties of narratives and conversations 585
  25.5.1 Narratives 585
  25.5.2 Conversations 588
  25.5.3 Code-switching 590

26. Issues in etymology and semantics 594
  26.1 Tariana grammar and lexicon: an etymological perspective 594
     26.1.1 Arawak grammar and lexicon in Tariana 594
     26.1.2 Semantic restructuring under the influence of East Tucano languages 595
     26.1.3 Lexical borrowings 596
  26.2 Semantic issues relevant for grammar 598
     26.2.1 'Same' and 'different' 599
     26.2.2 Generic and specific terms 603
     26.2.3 Positional verbs 608
  26.3 Remarks on Tariana lexical semantics 616

Appendix. The main features of the Tariana dialects 620
Texts 630
Vocabulary 671
References 682
Index of authors, languages and subjects 690
Tables, schemes and diagrams

Tables

2.1 Consonants 26
2.2 Phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of consonants 31
2.3 Vowels 32
2.4 Phonotactic restrictions on the occurrence of vowels 33
2.5 Properties of affixes, proclitics and enclitics 42
2.6 Phonetic realisations of independent pronouns 45
3.1 Kinship nouns with fully suppletive vocative forms 69
3.2 Kinship nouns with partly suppletive vocative forms 70
3.3 Kinship nouns which form vocatives by subtraction of the gender sensitive suffix without stress shift 70
3.4 Kinship nouns which form vocatives by stress shift 71
3.5 Kinship nouns which undergo no change in vocatives 71
3.6 Kinship terms which distinguish three forms 71
3.7 Word classes and functional slots in Tariana 81
5.1 Classifiers in Tariana 89
5.2 Classifiers with modifiers of closed classes 114
5.3 Reclassification of a noun: uni 'river, water' liS
6.1 Cross-referencing prefixes and pronouns 122
7.1 Grammatical relations and core cases in Tariana 139
7.2 Oblique cases in Tariana 140
8.1 Personal pronouns in Tariana 177
9.1 Tense in Tariana nouns 183
9.2 Tense in Tariana participles 185
9.3 Properties of the diminutive marker with different word classes 194
10.1 Derivalional suffixes 197
10.2 Nominalising affixes 200
11.1 Properties of closed classes 204
11.2 Agreement forms of kwa-/kwe- 209
11.3 Agreement forms of khi- 214
11.4 Agreement forms of napada 214
11.5 Agreement forms of kanapada 221
11.6 Properties of adpositions of the types A–H: a summary 224
12.1 Verbs used as primary and as secondary verbs 248
12.2 Verbs of feeling: a comparison 250
12.3 Prefixless and prefixed copula verbs 251
13.1 Valency reducing mechanisms and verb types 286
14.1 Evidentials and tense in affirmative clauses in Tariana 289
14.2 The semantics of evidentials: a summary 294
14.3 Evidentials and tense in interrogative clauses in Tariana 311
14.4 Evidentials and clause types in Tariana 322
List of tables, schemes and diagrams

15.1 Aspectual markers in Tariana 325
15.2 Aktionsart enclitics with corresponding verbs 343
15.3 Aktionsart enclitics not used as independent verbs 349
15.4 Semantics of Aktionsart enclitics 364
17.1 Future and intentional in negative clauses 406
18.1 Verbs which impart aspectual meanings to asymmetrical serial verb constructions 432
18.2 Verbs which impart directional meanings to serial verb constructions 434
18.3 Order of components in asymmetrical serial verb constructions 440
18.4 Asymmetrical, symmetrical and ambient serial verb constructions 444
18.5 Properties of the two types of verb root compounding 448
18.6 Cliticised verb compounding and asymmetrical serial constructions 448
20.1 Nominal and verbal properties of nominalisations 472
22.1 Switch reference-sensitive sequencing enclitics 516
22.2 Properties of subordinate clauses in Tariana 535
23.1 Comparison of main, relative and subordinate clauses 537
25.1 Possible functions of a common NP in two syntactically linked clauses, with some illustrative examples of deletion of its full occurrence 574
26.1 'Sameness' and 'differentness' in Tariana 603
26.2 The uses of -ni 'do' 607
26.3 Semantic features of positional verbs 609

Schemes

12.1 Predicate structure in Tariana: affixes and root 253
12.2 Predicate structure in Tariana: enclitics 254
13.1 Causativising mechanisms, verb types and their semantics 278

Diagrams

4.1 Noun structure in Tariana 83
5.1 Semantics and form of articles with classifiers 108
11.1 Semantics and form of demonstratives with classifiers 206
14.1 Preferred evidentials in Tariana 305
14.2 Preferences for evidentials in interrogative clauses 318
14.3 Evidentials in question-response: Tariana and East Tucano 319
Preface

This is a grammar of Tariana, a member of the Arawak family – the largest language family of Central and South America. Tariana was once a dialect continuum spoken by over 1500 people in various settlements along the Vaupés river and its tributaries. The subgroups of Tariana used to constitute a strict hierarchy, and each would speak a different dialect. The difference between individual dialects is comparable to that between Romance languages. As the Catholic missions and white influence expanded, the groups highest up in the hierarchy abandoned Tariana. As the result, the language is actively spoken by only about 100 people, mostly adults, representatives of the lowest-ranking group Wamiarikune, and is severely endangered. I started assembling data on the language in 1991 and have since worked with most speakers of this dialect of Tariana. As by-products of this work, we produced a bilingual Tariana–Portuguese dictionary, several collections of texts and a practical grammar, and launched a program for teaching Tariana in secondary school. The dedication of the consultants, their insights and their patience made it possible to carry out this daunting task.

This grammar contains an analysis of the Tariana language, starting from a brief characterisation of language and its speakers, then going on to phonology, morphology, syntax, discourse organisation and semantics. The analysis is cast in terms of a cumulative typological framework of linguistic analysis – which employs ‘the fundamental theoretical concepts that underlie all work in language description and change’ (Dixon 1997: 128) and in terms of which significant typological generalisations are postulated; this has come to be called basic linguistic theory. I have avoided employing any of the more specific formalisms (which come and go with such frequency).

Every chapter of this grammar includes a presentation of the facts of the language interwoven with arguments for their analysis within a typological framework. No attempt has been made to separate pure ‘description’ from theoretical interpretation. In particular, numerous features of Tariana go against what was thought to be ‘universal’ – for instance, having serial verbs and complex predicates of several distinct types as independent grammatical phenomena, or having gender and classifiers as overlapping means for noun categorisation. A typological perspective for each phenomenon is crucial for the analysis given here.

Tariana is spoken in the multilingual area of the Vaupés basin, characterised by strong cultural inhibition against language mixing – viewed predominantly in terms of loan morphemes. The long-term interaction between East Tucano languages and the Tariana dialect continuum has resulted in a rampant diffusion of patterns and calquing of categories – which include classifiers, tense-evidentiality, number marking and even pronominal cross-referencing. There is a strong areal convergence of patterns – rather than of forms – without, however, implying anything like the emergence of an ‘identical’ grammar. When appropriate, information on the areally diffused or genetically inherited character of a pattern is included in this grammar. A full analysis of contact-induced developments in Tariana is dealt with in a separate study (Aikhenvald forthcoming-a).
Detailed exemplification is provided for every grammatical point. Most examples come from texts, and a few from spontaneous – or carefully directed – conversation. An additional objective is to convey as much of the Tariana culture as possible through using naturally occurring examples. I avoid using elicited sentences; elicitation was limited to lexicon and to paradigms.

English glosses are kept as close as possible to the glosses and explanations offered by my consultants. When no English equivalent is readily available, a Portuguese word is used, e.g. abiu-fruit or mucura-rat; some semantically complicated terms are explained in the texts, or in Chapter 1. Readers should be warned against trying to draw conclusions concerning Tariana grammar and semantics from the study of translations.

Examples, tables and diagrams are numbered separately within each chapter. Footnotes are numbered separately for each chapter. The orthography used in the examples from languages other than Tariana, and language names, follows that of the sources (unless indicated otherwise).

This grammar can be used as a sourcebook for further typological studies, and as a model for further grammars of languages of Arawak and of other families of the Americas. It is far from being the last word on Tariana – this grammar is intended to provide a sound systematic foundation for further studies, reanalyses and reinterpretations.

It is my hope that this book will encourage linguists to go out into the field and document languages threatened by extinction (before it is too late to do so), notwithstanding the difficulties and temporary frustrations which necessarily accompany a fieldworker.
Acknowledgements

My warmest thanks go to the Brito family who taught me their language and accepted me as a member of their family. When in July 1991 Graciliano Sanchez Brito (‘Gara’) appeared in a makeshift house in the township of São Gabriel da Cachoeira (state of Amazonas, Brazil) that I was sharing with a few students from the Federal University of Santa Catarina, little could I suspect that he would become my main teacher, and then my classificatory older brother. Later I met his brothers, Jovino and José Luiz, his sister Olivia, and his parents. His father, Cândido Brito – one of the few traditional speakers and a real treasure-chest of Tariana lore and culture – was an indefatigable and patient teacher. And his mother, Maria Sanchez – a Piratapuya herself – adopted me as her daughter and taught me quite a few secrets about the life of Vaupés women. Gara’s cousin, Rafael, the youngest speaker of the Santa Rosa dialect, has always been extraordinarily helpful, besides being great fun to have around.

When I went to the villages of Iauaretê and Santa Rosa, I met Ismael (Mayê) Brito, Gara’s older brother, and Leonardo Brito, Cândido’s younger brother. I learnt an enormous amount from both of them.

It is hard to find words to express my gratitude to these people.

I learnt a lot from all the other speakers of the Tariana dialect of Santa Rosa – who told me stories, or came to chat – Ricardo Brito (Diká) and his sons Emílio and Raimundo; José Manoel Brito and his children Sebastião (Saba), Cristiano (Kiri), João (Nu), Clementina and Joaninha; Juvenal, Abelardo and their mother Amélia (a Guanano herself); Cristina, married to Abelardo; Jacinto Brito, and Batista Brito. Américo Brito, the oldest living speaker of Tariana, shared with me his eyewitness accounts of the offering feasts – he is the only living Tariana to have seen them.

The women in Santa Rosa made an effort to communicate with me and help me in many ways. Some spoke Tariana, like Cecília (Leonardo’s wife). With others, our language of communication was rudimentary Tucano and Portuguese. I am deeply grateful to Edna Lucia, Maria do Canno, Clemencia, Marilia, Silvana and Maurilia. Feli Brito (Batista’s son) knew no Tariana – I am grateful to him simply for being kind. And there are so many more people to thank – Eduardo Brito and his wife Antônia; Júlia Brito and Nestor Brito – for their hospitality and friendship.

My warmest gratitude also goes to the people of Periquitos, for teaching me their variety of Tariana, and for their perseverance in maintaining the language and speaking it to their children. I am grateful to the elders: Marino and Jorge Muniz; to the younger generation: Domingo, Ismael, Batista, Dário, Vivaldo, Gustavo and João Bosco; and to the women of Periquitos – Alice, Maria Carlota, Ester Belinda and others – who are quietly determined to save Tariana. The future of the language is in their hands!

I met Roni Lopez, a speaker of the Santa Terezinha dialect, just once. I am deeply grateful to him for his patience and interest in teaching me his dialect.

I would also like to acknowledge my debt to Padre Casimiro Beksta, an expert on the area of the Upper Rio Negro and the Vaupés, who frequently helped with information and advice. He was the first person to mention to me, back in 1990, that Tariana is still
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

spoken by a very remote group, upstream from Iauaretê. And he has, ever since, been a
real encyclopedia of the Upper Rio Negro region for me. I have also profited from
discussions with Elias Coelho, Janet Barnes, Henri Ramirez and Stephen Hugh-Jones.
I am grateful to all my ex-students and friends from Brazil, who accompanied me at
the initial stages of fieldwork and provided me their friendship and support – Simoni
Valadares, Tatiana Santos, Marcos Baltar, Antônio Augusto de Souza Melo, Cristiane
Cunha de Oliveira and especially Rute Maria Coelho.

This grammar would have been impossible without the assistance, support and
friendship of Silvana and Valteir Martins. Lenita and Elias Coelho provided me with a
second home in São Gabriel da Cachoeira, looking after me, and giving me advice in
every aspect of life, and concerning fieldwork in the remote areas of the Upper Rio
Negro.

My gratitude goes to all those people from the Upper Rio Negro area who taught me
their languages: Humberto Baltazar and Pedro Ângelo Tomas (Warekena); the late
Candelário da Silva (Bare); Afonso, Albino and João Fontes, Celestino da Silva, Cecilia
and Laureano da Silva and the late Marcília Rodrigues (Baniwa); the late Tiago Cardoso
(Desano, Piratapuya), and also Alfredo Fontes (Tucano).

Warmest thanks go to Sisters Aline Sienkiewicz, Dária Moratelli, Cristina, Rita and
Ireni – who looked after me in so many different ways, making their mission welcome
for me – during my stays in Iauaretê.

All those who participated in the Tariana literacy class and helped organise it deserve
separate thanks. Marta Azevedo provided us with the infrastructure and food; she also
organised a Pedagogical workshop which resulted in the creation of quite a number of
stories in Tariana. And without Glória da Silva, Cecília da Silva, Lourdes Brito, Galdino
Pinheiro, Pedro Jesús, Padre Jesus, Padre Benjamim, Sister Dária Moratelli, Jaqueline
Brito, Vanilde Brito, Nestor Brito and many, many others, this course would not have
happened.

I am most grateful to those who read through the whole draft of this book, or parts of
it, and provided comments, corrections and ideas – Willem Adelaar, Avery Andrews,
Timothy J. Curnow, Antoine Guillaume, Keren Rice, Tom Payne, Gunter Senft, Fritz
Serzisko and Mary Ruth Wise. Invaluable comments on almost every page came from
R. M. W. Dixon, without whose constant encouragement and support I would have
never completed this grammar.

Tonya Stebbins and Carol El-Chaar carefully read through the draft of this book and
corrected it. Adam Bowles formatted the volume with meticulous care. Thanks are
equally due to them. Siew Peng Condon provided a wonderful working atmosphere at
the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology. This book would have been scarcely
possible without her.

I gratefully acknowledge the Wenner Gren Foundation for a grant which made my
fieldwork financially feasible.
A brief overview of the linguistic profile of Tariana is found at the beginning of Chapter 1. Phonology is discussed in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 contains an outline of word classes. Chapters 4–20 deal with various aspects of morphology, while syntactic issues are considered in Chapters 21–24. Chapter 25 deals with discourse organisation, and Chapter 26 provides a brief sketch of semantic issues, especially those relevant to the understanding of the grammar.

Here and passim • stands for any morpheme boundary, that is, a boundary between a root and an affix, or between two roots. The symbol ' indicates a boundary between a root and a clitic, or an affix and a clitic, or two clitics (see Chapter 2). The symbol ' indicates a primary stress, and ' indicates a secondary stress (obligatory on enclitics). Stress is marked on each example in Chapter 2 ('Phonology') and in other chapters only if it is relevant to the discussion. Since nasal vowels and long vowels are always stressed, stress on these is not marked.

In Tariana there is a considerable amount of variation between certain allophones (discussed in Chapter 2). Examples of alternative pronunciations are yapú, nápú 'bone', yápu, nápu 'stream', yama, nama 'two', pamiya, pamíña 'middle', -pídena, -pidána 'remote past reported', -naku, -nuku 'topical non-subject', -muka, -maka 'present visual', di-keña, di-keñwa 'he begins'. There is also variation between long vowels and short vowels, e.g. ke:ri, keři 'moon', na:, na 'they went, they said'. Most of these variants depend on the age and proficiency of the speaker; every example in this grammar records the actual pronunciation by the consultant.

Examples are numbered separately for each chapter. All the examples and texts are supplied with an interlinear morpheme gloss, and then translated into English. Homophonous morphemes (e.g. -nha 'pausal marker; interrogative present visual; imperative (containing doubt)) are differentiated by their glosses. The symbol • is used to indicate fused morphemes, e.g. direta 'he ordered' is glossed as 3sgnf+order+caus, its underlying form being di- (3sgnf) -ita (order) -ita (caus). Portmanteau morphemes are glossed with a •, for instance, -peni (pl:anim) 'plural.animate'. All grammatical morphemes are glossed in small caps while lexical morphemes are glossed in lower case. Pronominal prefixes are shown as 1sg, 3pl, in lower case. For polysemous morphemes, different translation in glosses corresponds to different meanings; for instance -kaka 'reflexive-reciprocal' is glossed as refl when it has reflexive meaning and as rc when it has reciprocal meaning.

Cross-references are of two kinds:

- those preceded by § refer to chapter and section number, e.g. § 11.1 refers to section 1 of Chapter 11;
- those beginning with a number refer to examples in the grammar, e.g. 11.1 refers to example 1 in Chapter 11.
**Abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>transitive subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTR</td>
<td>abstract</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACT.CONTR</td>
<td>action contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADM</td>
<td>admirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFF</td>
<td>derivational affix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANIM</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT</td>
<td>anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPR</td>
<td>apprehensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPROX</td>
<td>approximative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASS.PL</td>
<td>associative plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUG</td>
<td>augmentative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COHORT</td>
<td>cohortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COLL</td>
<td>collective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>completive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONV</td>
<td>convert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR</td>
<td>contrastive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTR.ACT</td>
<td>contrast of actions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COUNTEREX</td>
<td>counter-expectation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CURV</td>
<td>curved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CUST</td>
<td>customary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECL</td>
<td>declarative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUT</td>
<td>distributive plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DS</td>
<td>different subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX(IST)</td>
<td>existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXC</td>
<td>excessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXTRAL</td>
<td>extralocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f, fem, FEM</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC.A/S</td>
<td>focussed subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FR</td>
<td>frustrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT.CERT</td>
<td>certain future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT.UNCERT</td>
<td>uncertain future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>generic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN.INFR</td>
<td>generic inferred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABIT</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>impersonal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV.DETR</td>
<td>detrimental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV.DETR</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPV</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>inferred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INS</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>intentional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRRES</td>
<td>irresultative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCN</td>
<td>locational</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAT.PHEN</td>
<td>natural phenomena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCL</td>
<td>noun class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG.EX</td>
<td>negative existential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NF, nf</td>
<td>non-feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM.FUT</td>
<td>nominal future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM.PAST</td>
<td>nominal past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NONVIS</td>
<td>non-visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPOSS</td>
<td>non-possessed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NON.INDIV</td>
<td>non-individuated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>objective case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NUM.CL</td>
<td>numeral classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. REL</td>
<td>past relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>participle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART.CONTR</td>
<td>participant contrast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASS</td>
<td>passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAUS</td>
<td>pausal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEJ</td>
<td>pejorative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL, pl</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POL.SUG</td>
<td>polite suggestion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>possessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSTP.IMPV</td>
<td>postponed imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POT</td>
<td>potential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PREC</td>
<td>precative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRES</td>
<td>present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROH</td>
<td>prohibitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROX</td>
<td>proximate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP.NONVIS</td>
<td>purposive non-visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP.VIS</td>
<td>purposive visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUAL</td>
<td>qualitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC.P</td>
<td>recent past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REF</td>
<td>referential kinship term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REM.P</td>
<td>remote past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REP</td>
<td>reported</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPET</td>
<td>repetitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>subject of an intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S_a</td>
<td>subject of an active intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S_o</td>
<td>subject of a stative intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEC.INFR</td>
<td>specific inferred</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUB</td>
<td>subordinating</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG, sg</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINGL</td>
<td>singulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SS</td>
<td>same subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>thematic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP.ADV</td>
<td>topic-advancing voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP.NON.A/S</td>
<td>topical non uncertainty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCERT</td>
<td>uncertainty-subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VERT</td>
<td>vertical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIS</td>
<td>visual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOC</td>
<td>vocative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>