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Arawak Languages

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Introduction

The Arawak family is the largest in South America, with about forty extant languages. Arawak languages are spoken in lowland Amazonia and beyond, covering French Guiana, Suriname, Guiana, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Brazil, and Bolivia, and formerly in Paraguay and Argentina. Wayunaiki (or Guajiro), spoken in the region of the Guajiro peninsula in Venezuela and Colombia, is the largest language of the family. Garifuna is the only Arawak language spoken in Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Guatemala in Central America. Groups of Arawak speakers must have migrated from the Caribbean coast to the Antilles a few hundred years before the European conquest. At least several dozen Arawak languages have become extinct since the European conquest. The highest number of recorded Arawak languages is centered in the region between the Rio Negro and the Orinoco. This is potentially a strong linguistic argument in favor of the Arawak protohome having been located there. The diversity of Arawak languages south of the Amazon in central Peru around the Rivers Purús and Madeira must have been greater in the past than it is now. The settlements of Arawak-speaking peoples south of the Amazon are believed to be of considerable antiquity. The Arawak family is also known as Maipure or Maipuran (based on Maipure, formerly spoken in Venezuela). The family got its name "Arawak" from the language known as Lokono Arawak, Arawak, or Lokono Dian (spoken in French Guiana, Guiana, Suriname, and Venezuela by about 2,500 people). The genetic unity of Arawak languages was first recognized by Father Gilij as early as 1783. The recognition of the family was based on a comparison of pronominal cross-referencing prefixes in Maipure, a now-extinct language from the Orinoco Valley, and in Mojo (or Ignaciano) from Bolivia. Problems still exist concerning internal genetic relationships within the family and possible genetic relationships with other groups. North Arawak languages appear to constitute a separate subgroup; so do Campa languages and Arawak languages of the Xingu region. The legacy of Arawak languages survives in many common English words, including *hammock*, *hurricane*, *barbecue*, *iguana*, *maize*, *papaya*, *savanna*, *guava*, and possibly *tobacco*. This article focuses only on the major and most significant works. There are at least an equal number of more minor studies on the languages of the Arawak family.

General Overviews

The Arawak family was first recognized by Gilij 1780–1784. The understanding of the family was refined by Brinton 1891 and von den Steinen 1886, which proposed to divide the family into Nu-Arawak and Ta-Arawak, based on the form of the first person subject and possessor prefix. Brinton 1891 renamed the family Arawak and offered further criteria for its genetic unity. Further studies and classifications include Adam 1890. Aikhenvald 2013 outlines migrations of the Arawak-speaking peoples.

Adam, Lucien. 1890. *Trois familles linguistiques des bassins de l'Amazone et de l'Orénoque. Annales du Congrès International des Americanistes* 7:489–496.

An early approach to the classification of Arawak language family based on geographical distribution (that is, setting North Arawak languages off from the rest of the family).

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2013. Amazonia: Linguistic history. In *The Encyclopaedia of global human migration*. Vol. 1. Edited by Immanuel Ness and Peter Bellwood, 384–391. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

A brief account of migrations and putative proto-home of Arawak-speaking groups, in the context of other Amazonian groups, based on linguistic and archaeological evidence available to date.

Brinton, Daniel G. 1891. *The American race*. New York: Hodges.

This is an ethnographic description and an early attempt at linguistic classification of languages of North and South America based on available materials. It contains a concise description of the "Arawak stock" with a list of languages and a preliminary comparison and classification. Arawak languages in the Orinoco area are discussed separately.

Gillij, Filippo Salvatore. 1780–1784. *Saggio di storia americana; o sia, storia naturale, civile e sacra dei regni, e delle provincie spagnuole di Terra-ferma nell'America Meridionale descritto del abate F. S. Gillij*. 4 vols. Rome: Iluigi Perego.

Volume 1, *Della storia geografica, e naturale della provincia dell'Orinoco*. Volume 2, *De' costumi degli Orinochesi*. The first classificatory, and descriptive, approach to the languages of South America. In this groundbreaking book, the author establishes the unity of Arawak languages (via a comparison between the now-extinct Maipure, formerly spoken in Venezuela, and Mojo, or Ignaciano, an Arawak language of Bolivia; and also of Carib languages). This book has immense historical value.

Granberry, Julius, and Gary S. Vescelius. 2004. *Languages of the pre-Columbian Antilles*. Tuscaloosa: Univ. of Alabama Press.

An up-to-date comprehensive study of languages and the reconstructed linguistic situation in the pre-Columbian Antilles, involving a few key Arawak languages such as Taino (now extinct) and its grammatical structures and lexical features.

von den Steinen, Karl. 1886. *Durch Zentral-Brasilien: Expedition zur Erforschung des Schingú im Jahre 1884*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.

Karl von den Steinen was the first European to have visited the Xingu area and documented the four Arawak languages spoken there (Waurá, Mehinaku, Yawalapiti, and the now-extinct Kustenaú). This is a fascinating description of von den Steinen's expedition accompanied by a comparative analysis of Arawak languages (based on state-of-the-art knowledge). Reissued in paperback, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2010.

Monographs and Dissertations

The recognition of the Arawak family was based on a comparison of pronominal cross-referencing prefixes in Maipure, a now-extinct language from the Orinoco Valley, and in Mojo (or Ignaciano) from Bolivia. De Goeje 1928 is a grammar and a dictionary of Lokono Arawak language, with a list of common Arawak lexemes. Comprehensive albeit somewhat outdated classifications of Arawak languages are in Loukotka 1968, Tovar and Tovar 1984, and Tovar 1986. Von Martius 1867 is an outstanding resource for earlier language and culture documentation. Noble 1965 is a failed attempt at establishing wider genetic relations. More up-to-date overviews of Arawak languages and their neighbors are in Aikhenvald 2010 and Aikhenvald 2012.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2010. *Language contact in Amazonia*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive overview of language contact situations involving Arawak languages with a special focus on northwest Amazonia and the Vaupés River Basin linguistic area. Appendix 1 features a summary of the grammatical and phonological features of Proto-Arawak, and an up-to-date classification of Arawak languages. Appendix 3 outlines the features of North Arawak languages.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012. *The languages of the Amazon*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A general monograph on South American languages; contains a snapshot of the Arawak family, its history, and typological features. Special characteristics of Arawak languages including segmental phonology, tones, split-ergativity, possession, changing valency, evidentials, noun categorization, and discourse techniques are addressed throughout this volume.

De Goeje, C. H. 1928. *The Arawak language of Guiana*. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen.

A masterly grammar of the Arawak (or Lokono Dian) language with substantial notes on other languages of the Arawak family, cognates of Lokono forms in other Arawak languages, and a separate chapter detailing de Goeje's ideas about Proto-Arawak and the spread of the family. Reissued in paperback, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009.

Loukotka, Chestmir. 1968. *Classification of South American Indian languages*. Los Angeles: Latin American Center, Univ. of California.

A general classification of South American languages, unsurpassed in the level of detail and attention to sources. This book offers a detailed list of Arawak languages with major bibliographic references.

Noble, G. K. 1965. *Proto-Arawakan and its descendants*. *Folklore and Linguistics* 38. Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press.

A methodologically flawed attempt to offer a reconstruction of Proto-Arawak and a number of families such as Arawá which are not demonstrably related, based on mass comparison and dubious correspondences. A special publication of the *International Journal of American Linguistics* 31.3, Part 2.

Tovar, Antonio. 1986. *Las lenguas arahuacas: Hacia una delimitación más precisa de la familia Arahuaca*. Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto Caro y Cuervo.

A concise approach to common characteristics of Arawak languages and the limits of the family.

Tovar, Antonio, and Consuelo Larrucea de Tovar. 1984. *Catálogo de las lenguas de América del Sur: Con clasificaciones, indicaciones tipológicas, bibliografía y mapas*. Madrid: Editorial Gredos.

A general classification of South American languages, with a separate chapter on each area and family. Contains a concise description of the Arawak family, with a list of languages and their distribution, some grammatical characteristics, and a substantial list of bibliographic sources.

Von Martius, Carl Friedrich. 1867. *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde America's zumal Brasiliens*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer.

Vol. 1, *Zur Ethnologie*. Vol. 2, *Zur Sprachenkunde*. During his travels across Brazil in 1817–1820, von Martius (a famous botanist) collected word lists in over a hundred indigenous languages of Brazil, including more than twenty Arawak languages (at least half of them now extinct). This is a remarkable collection which also contains von Martius's view of

classification of Arawak languages, and the history of their speakers. Reissued in paperback, Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009.

Edited collections

Wise 1991 is a pioneering collection of papers on various issues in Arawak languages, followed by Wise 2005. Michael and Granadillo 2014 is a focused study of negation in a selection of Arawak languages.

Michael, Lev, and Tania Granadillo, eds. 2014. *Negation in Arawak languages*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

A collection of studies on negation in nine Arawak languages (Garifuna, Lokono Arawak, Kurripako, Tariana, Apurinã, Wauja (or Waurá), Paresi, Nanti, and Mojeño Trinitario) followed by a typological and comparative perspective on negation in Arawak languages. The introductory chapter contains a perspective on the studies of Arawak languages and the family in general.

Wise, Mary Ruth, ed. 1991. *Lingüística Arawaka: Estudios presentados en el 46o Congreso de Americanistas 4–8 de julio de 1988, Amsterdam Holanda*. Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etnolingüísticos 6. Lima, Peru: Ignacio Prado Pastor.

A collection of thirteen papers on Arawak languages (in addition to two Arawá languages) presented at the first symposium on Arawak languages at the 46th International Congress of Americanists in 1988, dealing with numerous issues in Ashéninka varieties (such as stress, classification of verbs, time and space, and flora and fauna), Waurá discourse, pronominal forms across North Arawak languages, classification of Iñapari, nominal classification, and subgrouping (published as a special issue of a major ethnographic and linguistic journal in Peru).

Wise, Mary Ruth, ed. 2005. *Lingüística Arawaka*. Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etnolingüísticos 10:5–14.

A collection of thirteen papers, originally presented at the second symposium on Arawak languages at the 47th International Congress of Americanists in 1991, dealing with various issues in Guajiro, Ashéninka, and Yawalapiti; grammaticalization of verbs into markers of tense-aspect and directionality; and Apolista (a hitherto barely described Arawak language of Bolivia).

Articles and Book Chapters

The most up-to-date classification and lexical and grammatical features of Arawak languages are addressed in Aikhenvald 1999, Aikhenvald 2006, and in general terms in Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999. Some lexical reconstructions and a disputable classification based on innovations (rather than retentions) are in Payne 1991. Derbyshire 1986 offers a list of selected features of some Arawak languages. Mason 1950 is a competent outline of features of Arawak languages and cultures. Matteson 1972 is a flawed attempt at establishing wider genetic relations.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1999. The Arawak language family. In *The Amazonian languages*. Edited by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, 65–105. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A comprehensive survey of the Arawak language family and its reconstruction with the most up-to-date classification, list of languages, and state-of-the-art of investigation and reconstruction. Paperback reissue 2006.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Arawak languages. In *Encyclopaedia of language and linguistics*. 2d ed. Edited by Keith Brown, 446–448. Oxford: Elsevier.

A short survey of the Arawak language family, its classification, and salient features of languages. Reprinted in *Concise encyclopaedia of languages of the world*. Edited by Keith Brown and Sarah Ogilvie (Oxford: Elsevier, 2009), pp. 59–61.

Derbyshire, Desmond C. 1986. Comparative survey of morphology and syntax in Brazilian Arawakan. In *Handbook of Amazonian languages*. Vol. 1. Edited by Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum, 469–566. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A competent survey of grammatical features of a selection of Arawak languages of Brazil spoken south of the Amazon, with a special focus on their highly synthetic features. This pioneering piece of work uncritically assumes genetic relationship between Arawak and Arawá languages; this diminishes the quality of this contribution.

Dixon, R. M. W., and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald. 1999. Introduction. In *The Amazonian languages*. Edited by R. M. W. Dixon and Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald, 1–21. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

An outline of cultural background, history of studies, and genetic classification of Amazonian languages, with a special focus on well-established families. This chapter refutes putative long-distance relationships, and demonstrates, inter alia, the lack of feasibility of the putative “Arawakan” grouping. Paperback reissue 2006.

Mason, J. A. 1950. The languages of South American Indians. In *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 6. Edited by J. H. Steward, 161–317. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute.

A state-of-the-art list of Arawak languages with an attempt at a geographically based classification. This classic article outlines some ethnographic characteristics of Arawak languages and lists some of their features such as pronominal marking.

Matteson, Esther. 1972. Proto-Arawakan. In *Comparative studies in Amerindian languages*. Edited by Esther Matteson, Alva Wheeler, Frances L. Jackson, Nathan E. Waltz, and Diana R. Christian, 160–242. The Hague: Mouton.

Matteson assumes genetic relationship between what is now known as Arawak (or Maipuran) languages and a number of other families, including Harakmbet and Arawá, which are not demonstrably related to Arawak. This paper is based on a selected set of ad hoc similarities in form, and the proposed reconstruction is flawed.

Payne, David Lawrence. 1991. A classification of Maipuran (Arawakan) languages based on shared lexical retentions. In *Handbook of Amazonian languages*. Vol. 3. Edited by Desmond C. Derbyshire and G. K. Pullum, 355–499. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A compressive phonological reconstruction of Proto-Arawak, with around two hundred reconstructed lexical items and some grammatical reconstruction based on approximately thirty languages. Not all the data are reliable. The subgrouping proposed in this paper is based on shared retentions from the putative protolanguage (rather than shared innovations), contrary to the standard practice in comparative linguistics.

North Arawak Languages

North Arawak languages are spoken in a dozen locations north of the Amazon. Their shared features are discussed in Aikhenvald 1999 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters) and Aikhenvald 2002 (Appendix 3, cited under Dictionaries of North Arawak Languages). The main features of North Arawak and problems of classification are addressed in Aikhenvald 2001 and approached in Payne 1985 (both cited under Articles and Book Chapters); Ramirez 2001 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations) is a book-length study with numerous errors in language data. Koch-Grünberg 1911 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters) is an excellent source of reference for North Arawak languages of the Rio Negro area, their sociolinguistic features and distribution.

Monographs and Dissertations

The only general monograph on North Arawak languages is Ramirez 2001, which contains a number of dubious assertions and mistakes.

Ramirez, Henri. 2001. *Línguas Arawak da Amazônia setentrional: Comparação e descrição*. Manaus, Brazil: Editora da Univ. do Amazonas.

A survey of Arawak languages with a special focus on selected Arawak language of northern Amazonia, containing descriptions of selected languages (some based on limited fieldwork by the author), and reconstructions. Data on the languages of the Upper Rio Negro contain numerous mistakes, and the word lists are often reproduced incorrectly. This source should be used with caution.

Articles and Book Chapters

Aikhenvald 2001 discusses the features of North Arawak languages, and problems with their classification. Koch-Grünberg 1911 is a valuable resource on early documentation of North Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro. Payne 1985 is a breakthrough in genetic classification of North Arawak.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2001. Areal diffusion, genetic inheritance and problems of subgrouping: A North Arawak case study. In *Areal diffusion and genetic inheritance: Problems in comparative linguistics*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 167–194. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A reassessment of the status of North Arawak subgroup within the Arawak language family with a number of reconstructions and analysis of the impact of language contact and the ensuing difficulties in establishing subgroups of Arawak languages. Paperback edition with revisions 2006.

Koch-Grünberg, Theodor. 1911. Aruak-Sprachen Nordwestbrasilien und der angrenzenden Gebiete. *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft Wien* 41:33–153, 203–282.

During his extensive travels in northern Brazil and adjacent areas, Theodor Koch-Grünberg documented a dozen North Arawak languages, including the now-extinct Baré and dialects of Tariana, providing word lists and phrases, and brief sketches of the sociolinguistic situation and history of the speakers. This is one of the most valuable sources on the North Arawak languages of the Amazonian northwest.

Payne, David Lawrence. 1985. The genetic classification of Resígaro. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 51:222–231.

Resígaro is a North Arawak language which bears substantial influence from the neighboring but genetically unrelated Bora. This paper offers a definitive proof of the Arawak affiliation of Resígaro and outlines some features of North Arawak languages. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Reference Works

The Languages and Cultures of the Tropics and Surrounding Areas web page hosted by the Language and Culture Research Centre (JCU) offers an archive of materials on languages and cultures of South America with special focus on Arawak languages (including Tariana, Bare, Warekena, and Asheninca Campa) and materials on the Arawak language family.

Languages and Cultures of the Tropics and Surrounding Areas: South America. Cairns Institute.

This page offers online materials on numerous North Arawak languages, with a focus on those from the Upper Rio Negro area; there are also resources on Campa languages.

Grammatical and Lexical Studies

Comprehensive grammars are available for only a handful of North Arawak languages. Allin 1975 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations) is a comprehensive grammar of Resígaro, Pet 1987 and van Baarle and Sabajo 1997 cover Lokono (also known as Arawak), Olza Zubiri and Jusayú 1978 and Alvarez 1994 provide in-depth studies of Guajiro, Mosonyi 1987 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations) provides in-depth studies of Yavitero, Reinoso Galindo 2002 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations) of Piapoco, Wilson 1992 of Achagua, Gomes dos Santos 2006 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations) of Wapishana, Bezerra 2005 of Kurripako, and Aikhenvald 2003 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations) of Tariana. Shorter grammars include Patte 1989, on Añun (or Parauhano); Ramirez 1992, on Bahuana; de Goeje 1948 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters), on Manao; González Nández 1997 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations), on Guarequena; Aikhenvald 1995 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations), on Baré; Mosonyi 2000 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters), on Baniwa of Guiana; Aikhenvald 1998 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters), on Warekena of Xié; and Launey 2003 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations), on Palikur. Little information is available on Taino, the now-extinct Arawak language of the people who welcomed Columbus in 1492; the few studies include Miner Solá 2002 and von Martius 1867 (cited under general Monographs and Dissertations).

Alvarez, José Ramón. 1994. *Estudios de lingüística Guajira*. Maracaibo, Venezuela: Gobernación del Estado Zulia, Secretaría de Cultura.

A selection of papers on the grammar of Guajiro (or Wayuunaiki), the largest North Arawak language spoken in the region of the Guajira Peninsula in Venezuela and Colombia. The papers address segmental and suprasegmental phonology, reduplication, verbal conjugations, passives, and relative clauses (with the analysis cast in the framework of relational grammar).

Bezerra, Zenilson A. 2005. *Gramática Kuripako*. Mimeographed. Anápolis, Brazil: Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil.

A comprehensive grammar of Kuripako (variety spoken in Brazil) with a competent account of phonology, word structure, and major grammatical categories, in addition to some information on syntactic features of the language, and some cross-dialectal comparisons.

Miner Solá, Edwin. 2002. *Diccionario Taino ilustrado. Puerto Rico Prehistorico 1. San Juan, Puerto Rico: Ediciones Servilibros.*

The Taino people were the first to welcome Columbus to South America, and the first to have become extinct. This is a comprehensive source on the Taino lexicon with examples of cooccurrence of morphemes and a brief discussion of the elements of Taino grammar, accompanied with a concise history of the Taino people and the extinction of the language.

Olza Zubiri, Jesús, and M. A. Jusayú. 1978. *Gramática de la lengua Guajira. Caracas, Venezuela: Univ. Católica Andrés Bello.*

A comprehensive grammar of Guajiro (or Wayuunaiki), the largest North Arawak language spoken in the region of the Guajira Peninsula in Venezuela and Colombia. The grammar (coauthored with a native speaker of the language) covers all the aspects of the language, with a special focus on verbal conjugations, gender assignment, and syntactic structures. Cast in the framework of a traditional grammar.

Patte, Marie-France. 1989. *Estudio descriptivo de la lengua Añun (o "Paraujano"). San Cristóbal, Venezuela: Univ. Católica del Táchira.*

A brief sketch of Añun, a North Arawak language from Venezuela, closely related to Guajiro, highlighting its major characteristics, including pronominal cross-referencing, gender, and verbal conjugations.

Pet, W. J. A. 1987. *Lokono Dian, the Arawak language of Suriname: A sketch of its grammatical structure and lexicon. PhD diss., Cornell Univ.*

An incisive description of the Arawak language (also known as Lokono Arawak, or Lokono Dian) as spoken in Suriname, with special attention to constituent order and gender semantics, accompanied with a lengthy word list and a selection of texts.

Ramirez, Henri. 1992. *Le Bahuana, une nouvelle langue de la famille Arawak. Chantiers Amérindia: Supplement 1 of No. 17, Amerindia. Paris: Association d'Ethnolinguistique Amérindienne.*

A sketch grammar of a previously undocumented and now-extinct North Arawak language based on the work with the last partial speaker. This description highlights features of special interest, such as pronominal marking, the unusual person system, numeral classifiers, and complex clauses, and is accompanied with a word list and a text.

van Baarle, P., and M. A. Sabajo. 1997. *Manuel de la langue Arawak. Paris: Éditions du Saule.*

A pedagogical grammar of the Arawak language (also known as Lokono, or Lokono Dian) which covers phonology, morphology, and syntax. Clearly written and comprehensive, this is the major source on the grammar of the language since de Goeje 1928 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations).

Wilson, Peter J. 1992. *Una descripción preliminar de la gramática del Achagua (Arawak). Bogotá, Colombia: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.*

Achagua used to be a major North Arawak language spanning various locations in modern Venezuela and the adjacent regions of Colombia (it was first described by Jesuit missionaries in the mid-18th century). As of the early 21st century, it is spoken by a couple of hundred people and is endangered. This is a careful and comprehensive study of the language, with special focus on phonology, classifiers, person marking, and discourse characteristics.

Monographs and Dissertations

Aikhenvald 1995 is a description of Baré, a once highly important language, based on work with the last speaker. Aikhenvald 2003 is a comprehensive grammar of Tariana, and Allin 1975 is a full grammar of highly endangered Resígaro. González Nájñez 1997 offers a partial analysis of Guarequena. Gomes dos Santos 2006 describes major features of Wapixana. Launey 2003 presents a somewhat simplified analysis of Palikur. Mosonyi 1987 is a comprehensive grammar of now-extinct Yavitero. Reinoso Galindo 2002 is a good-quality description of Piapoco.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1995. *Baré*. Languages of the World/Materials 100. Munich: Lincom Europa.

A short grammatical description of Baré, which used to be spoken by a large population in the Rio Negro Basin of northwest Amazonia in Brazil and adjacent areas. This grammar is based on fieldwork with the last fluent speaker, takes account of all the available sources on the language, and includes a selection of texts.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2003. *A grammar of Tariana, from northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A comprehensive grammar of Tariana (of 735 pp.), an endangered language in contact with East Tucanoan, with dialect survey, a word list, and a sample of texts, with a survey of Tariana culture, kinship system, and sources on the language. Special attention is accorded to contact-induced changes in Tariana, and the reflection of Proto-Arawak forms in the language. Paperback reissue 2006.

Allin, T. R. 1975. *A grammar of Resígaro*. PhD diss., Univ. of St. Andrews.

A pioneering description of Resígaro, an endangered North Arawak language which underwent contact-induced influence from unrelated Bora and Witotoan languages. Contains a word list, and lengthy textual examples. Special features of Resígaro include classifiers and highly synthetic verbs.

Gomes dos Santos, Manoel. 2006. *Uma gramática do Wapixana (Aruák): Aspectos da fonologia, da morfologia e da sintaxe*. PhD diss., Univ. Estadual de Campinas.

A competent partial grammar of Wapixana, a North Arawak language spoken in Guiana and adjacent areas of Brazil by several thousand people. The grammar follows a typological approach, and is accompanied by a word list.

González Nájñez, Omar. 1997. *Gramática de la lengua Warekena*. PhD diss., Univ. Central de Venezuela, Caracas.

A partial analysis of the grammar of Warekena (also known as Guarequena), a North Arawak language spoken in Venezuela (and one elderly speaker on the Xié River in Brazil) and closely related to Tariana and the Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako continuum. This source contains a number of basic paradigms, focusing on the discussion of typological theory rather than on language analysis.

Launey, Michel. 2003. *Awna parikwaki: Introduction à la langue palikur de Guyane et de l'Amapá*. Paris: Institut de recherche pour le développement.

A brief and somewhat simplified sketch of Palikur, a highly synthetic and typologically unusual North Arawak language spoken by at least two thousand people in French Guiana and the adjacent areas of Brazil (state of Amapá). The grammar offers a snapshot of phonology, and verb structure, without going into an in-depth analysis of multiple classifier systems (see the section on South American Indian languages in the *Oxford Bibliographies* article on Classifiers).

Mosonyi, Jorge Carlos. 1987. *El idioma yavitero: Ensayo de gramática y diccionario*. PhD diss., Univ. Central de Venezuela.

A comprehensive grammar of Yavitero, a now-extinct North Arawak language closely related to Warekena of Xié (Aikhenvald 1998), and Baniwa of Guainia (Mosonyi 2000 [both cited under Articles and Book Chapters]). This valuable resource contains a discussion of major features of the language, including split-ergative patterns and relative clause structure, and is supplied with a selection of texts and a lengthy vocabulary. Cast in a typological framework.

Reinoso Galindo, Andrés Eduardo. 2002. *Elementos para una gramática de la lengua piapoco*. Bogotá, Colombia: Ministerio de Cultura.

Piapoco (or Dzase) is an endangered North Arawak language spoken in Colombia and Venezuela, and is closely related to the North Arawak languages of the Içana-Vaupés (Tariana, Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako, and Guarequena). A fine analysis of the grammar of the language with its brief history and a discussion of its social structure.

Articles and Book Chapters

Aikhenvald 1998 is a comprehensive grammar of Warekena of Xié, a dialect of Baniwa of Guainia. De Goeje 1948 summarizes the features of now-extinct Manao. Hanke 1960 is a snapshot of the now-extinct Kaishana. Mosonyi 2000 is a brief outline of Baniwa of Guainia.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 1998. Warekena. In *Handbook of Amazonian languages*. Vol. 4. Edited by Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum, 215–439. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A comprehensive grammar of Warekena of Xié, an endangered North Arawak closely related to Baniwa of Guainia (Mosonyi 2000) and Yavitero (Mosonyi 1987, cited under Monographs and Dissertations). The Warekena of Xié have an interesting history, having migrated from Venezuela to Brazil in relatively recent times. This grammar, somewhat constrained by the presentational framework of the *Handbook*, addresses the major issues in syntax, morphology, and phonology of the language.

De Goeje, C. H. 1948. La langue Manao (famille Arawak-Maipure). *Proceedings of the International Congress of the Americanists*, Session 28:157–171.

A comprehensive outline of grammar and lexicon of a once most important language of the area of the Rio Negro (which gave its name to the city of Manaus, the capital of the state of Amazonas in Brazil). This fine article contains references to common Arawak features preserved in the Manao language.

Hanke, Wanda. 1960. Die Sprache der Kaishana am Lago Mapari. *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 85:54–81.

The only study of Kaishana, a North Arawak language once spoken in the Tefe region of the state of Amazonas in Brazil. This contains a grammar sketch, some lexicon, and an outline of the linguistic situation, in addition to a number of phrases in Kaishana, which is said to have been influenced by a language from the Makú family.

Mosonyi, Esteban Emilio. 2000. Baniva (Baniwa). In *Manual de lenguas indígenas de Venezuela*. Edited by Esteban E. Mosonyi and Jorge C. Mosonyi, 184–200. Caracas, Venezuela: Fundación Bigott.

A brief sketch of Baniwa of Guainia (a North Arawak language closely related to Yavitero: Mosonyi 1987) and Warekena of Xié (Aikhenvald 1998), with few examples and selective treatment of individual topics such as accentual patterns, relative clauses, and pronominal cross-referencing.

Specific Issues in the Grammar and Other Aspects of North Arawak Languages

Issues of interest in North Arawak languages include split-ergativity and cross-referencing, as described by Danielsen and Granadillo 2007, which addresses some shared issues to do with the active-stative split. Aikhenvald 2007 discusses classifiers in multiple environments in a selection of North Arawak languages and their etymologies. Aikhenvald and Green 1998 analyzes a highly complicated classifier system in Palikur with three genders and five classifier types. Meléndez 1989 outlines properties of nouns and numeral classification in Achuagua. Munro 1997 discusses partial semantic motivation of genders in Garifuna. Aikhenvald 2013a discusses the impact of recent changes on Tariana. Aikhenvald 2013b addresses the attitudes to the Tariana language. Aikhenvald (see *Oxford Bibliographies* article on Classifiers) addresses the interaction between number and noun categorization in a selection of North Arawak languages, arguing for number as a means of classifying nouns.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2007. Classifiers in multiple environments: Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako—A North Arawak perspective. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 27:475–500.

A detailed analysis of systems of classifiers in multiple environments (with numerals, demonstratives, adjectives and verbs, and in possessive constructions) and gender systems in Baniwa of Içana/Kurripako and Tariana, two closely related North Arawak languages, with a historical scenario of development and contact-induced change. See also the section on South American Indian languages in the *Oxford Bibliographies* article on Classifiers.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2013a. Shifting language attitudes in north-west Amazonia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 222:195–216.

A reappraisal of a sociolinguistic situation of Tariana with a snapshot of extant speakers and a discussion of processes of recent changes which accompany the obsolescence of the language.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2013b. The language of value and the value of language'. *Hau: A Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 3.2: 55–73.

An analysis of the expression of the concepts to do with value in various aspects of Tariana grammar and lexicon, with special attention to the status of women as “dangerous other,” followed by a discussion of how the Origin myth was affected by recent economic developments among the Tariana and other neighboring Arawak-speaking groups.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y., and Diana Green. 1998. Palikur and the typology of classifiers. *Anthropological Linguistics* 40:429–480.

A detailed analysis of a most complicated system of classifiers (with three genders, numeral classifiers, verbal classifiers, locative classifiers, and possessive classifiers, different in form and meaning) in Palikur, a North Arawak language spoken in Brazil and in adjacent areas of French Guiana. See also the section on South American Indian languages in the *Oxford Bibliographies* article on Classifiers. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Danielsen, Swintha, and Tania Granadillo. 2007. Agreement in two Arawak languages: Baure and Kurripako. In *The typology of semantic alignment*. Edited by Søren Wichman and Mark Donohue, 396–411. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A discussion of shared patterns of split-ergativity in Bauré, a South Arawak language spoken in Bolivia, and one variety of Kurripako spoken in Venezuela. The paper, despite factual limitations in the analysis of Kurripako, contains some insights into Proto-Arawak grammar.

Meléndez, M. A. 1989. El nominal en Achagua. *Lenguas Aborígenes de Colombia* 4:3–66.

A detailed fieldwork-based analysis of the noun phrase structure, patterns of number marking, and classifiers in Achagua, once an important language of Venezuela and Colombia, nowadays highly endangered.

Munro, Pamela. 1997. The Garifuna gender system. In *The life of language: Papers in linguistics in honor of William Bright*. Edited by Jane H. Hill, P. J. Mistry, and Lyle Campbell, 443–461. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A detailed semantic analysis of a two-way gender system in Garifuna, a North Arawak language of Central America. Gender choice is partly based on sex, and partly on physical properties of the referent. The paper is based on limited work with speakers residing in North America.

Mixed Arawak-Carib Language and the Emergence of Island Carib

One of the most fascinating events in the history of Arawak languages was the emergence of a mixed Arawak-Carib language in the Lesser Antilles just prior to the European conquest, which is discussed in Taylor 1951 and Taylor 1977. Speakers of Iñeri, a dialect of the Arawak language now (misleadingly) called Island Carib, were conquered by Carib speakers. They developed a “mixed” Carib/Arawak pidgin which survived until the 17th century. “Speech of men” and “speech of women” were distinguished in the following way: women used morphemes and lexemes of Arawak origin, while men used lexical items of Carib origin and grammatical morphemes mostly of Arawak origin. The pidgin coexisted with Carib used by men and Iñeri used by women and children; it belonged to both parties and served as a bridge between them. This diglossia gradually died out with the spread of competence in Island Carib among both men and women. As a result, Island Carib, an Arawak language, underwent strong lexical and, possibly, grammatical influence from Carib.

Taylor, Douglas MacRae. 1951. *The Black Carib of British Honduras*. Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology 17. New York: Wenner Gren Foundation.

A comprehensive study of the history of the Black Carib speakers in Honduras, and the lexicon and grammar of the Garifuna (or Black Carib) language, with a special focus on differences between male and female speech and the Carib structures.

Taylor, Douglas MacRae. 1977. *Languages of the West Indies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Univ. Press.

This fundamental monograph deals with the linguistic situation in the West Indies, past and present. It contains an outline of extinct languages (including the Arawak languages Taino and Shebayo) and an in-depth discussion of Island Carib (an extinct North Arawak language that formed the basis of Garifuna, or Black Carib). There is also discussion of the mixed Carib-Arawak pidgin, and how its elements survived in Island Carib.

Language Contact and the Effects of Language Obsolescence

Many North Arawak languages are in contact with their non-Arawak-speaking neighbors, such as Carib (Carlin 2006), Tucanoan (Aikhenvald 2006, Aikhenvald 2012b, Aikhenvald 2013a, and Aikhenvald 2013b, and also Aikhenvald 2002, cited under Dictionaries of North Arawak Languages, and Aikhenvald 2012b), and Witotoan (Aikhenvald 2001, cited under Articles and Book Chapters). Effects of language obsolescence on Arawak languages in contact are addressed in

Aikhenvald 2012a. Aikhenvald 2014 discusses the emergence of a blended language in northwest Amazonia. Seifart 2011 and Seifart 2012 address contact-induced changes in Resígaro (an issue addressed in Aikhenvald 2001).

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2006. Semantics and pragmatics of grammatical relations in the Vaupés linguistic area. In *Grammars in contact*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 237–266. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

The Vaupés River Basin is a linguistic area characterized by obligatory societal multilingualism regulated by linguistically based exogamy between speakers of one North Arawak language, Tariana, and East Tucanoan languages. This study explores the patterns of contact-induced change and preservation of common Arawak categories in Tariana, focusing on marking grammatical relations.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2012a. Language contact in language obsolescence. In *Dynamics of contact-induced language change*. Edited by Claudine Chamoreau and Isabelle Léglise, 77–109. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A study of contact-induced change and the effects of obsolescence with a special focus on North Arawak languages Baré, Tariana, Resígaro, and Mawayana. Special consideration is given to the influx of lexical loans and the diffusion of grammatical patterns.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2012b. Invisible loans: How to borrow a bound form. In *Morphology: Between copies and cognates*. Edited by Lars Johanson and Martine Robeets, 167–185. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

Following the general principles of the multilingual Vaupés linguistic area (Brazil-Colombia), Tariana has a prohibition against recognizable loan forms. However, a number of morphemes of Tucanoan made their way into the language as bound forms; these include verbal morphology, classifiers, and bound verbal roots.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2013a. Areal diffusion and parallelism in drift: Shared grammaticalization patterns. In *Shared grammaticalization in Transeurasian languages*. Edited by Lars Johanson, Martine Robeets, et al., 23–41. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Languages of the Vaupés linguistic area share grammaticalization patterns. Patterns shared by related languages (Tariana, Baniwa-Kurripako, and Piapoco) are indicative of what is known as parallelism in drift, whereby related languages develop in similar ways.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2013b. Multilingual fieldwork, and emergent grammars. In *Proceedings of the 33rd Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*. February 9–11, 2007, Special Session on Languages of Mexico and Central America. Edited by Zhenya Antic, Charles B. Chang, Clare S. Sandy, and Maziar Toosarvandani, 3–17. Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

An account of new grammatical phenomena in Tariana under the impact of Tucanoan languages within the areal context of obligatory multilingualism.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra. 2014. Language contact, and language blend: Kumandene Tariana of north-west Amazonia. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 80:323–370.

A comprehensive account of a newly developed blended language which contains elements of Tariana and elements of Baniwa, languages which are highly endangered and not transmitted to children.

Carlin, Eithne B. 2006. Feeling the need: The borrowing of Cariban functional categories into Mawayana (Arawak). In *Grammars in contact*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 313–332. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

Mawayana (also known as Mapidian) is a highly endangered North Arawak language, closely related to Wapishana. The few remaining speakers of Mawayana reside in villages where Wai Wai and Trio (Carib family) are spoken by the majority of inhabitants. This detailed study examines the ways in which Mawayana has been restructured under the influence of Carib languages.

Seifart, Frank. 2011. Bora loans in Resígaro: Massive morphological and little lexical borrowing in a moribund Arawakan language. *Cadernos de Etnolingüística. Série Monografias 2*.

A discussion of borrowings from Bora into Resígaro, a highly endangered North Arawak language, based on the analysis of extant sources and limited fieldwork with partial speakers. The premise that lexical influence of Bora onto Resígaro was limited is not borne out by previous scholars (such as the author of Allin 1975, cited under Monographs and Dissertations, who misclassified Resígaro as a Bora language based on formal similarities).

Seifart, Frank. 2012. The Principle of Morphosyntactic Subsystem Integrity in language contact: Evidence from morphological borrowing in Resígaro (Arawakan). *Diachronica 29.4*: 471–504.

A somewhat superficial discussion of morphological borrowing from Bora into Resígaro, a highly endangered Arawak language (described by Allin 1975), which places the language in a genetically unproven "Arawakan" grouping, and partly disregards achievements of Payne 1985 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters).

Dictionaries of North Arawak Languages

Comprehensive dictionaries (most of them alphabetical) are available for North Arawak languages. Jusayú and Olza Zubiri 1988 is a thematic dictionary of Guajiro. Cadete 1990 is an alphabetical dictionary of Wapishana and contains unglossed examples. Schauer, et al. 2005 is a comprehensive dictionary of Yucuna that contains elaborate contexts for each entry. Alphabetical dictionaries with limited information are available for Piapoco (Klumpp 1995) and Baniwa (Ramirez 2001). Bezerra 2014 is a dictionary of Kurripako. Aikhenvald 2002 is a dictionary of Tariana organized by thematic fields and also alphabetically.

Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. 2002. *Dicionário Tariana-Português e Português-Tariana*. Belém, Brazil: Museu Goeldi.

A comprehensive dictionary of approximately five thousand entries consisting of three parts: a thesaurus by semantic fields covering body parts, human classification, kinship terms, flora, fauna, and other fields; a Tariana-Portuguese and a Portuguese-Tariana finder list; and a brief sketch of the grammar of the language. Published in *Boletim do museu Goeldi* 17.1, July 2001.

Bezerra, Zenilson A. 2014. *Dicionário Kuripako/Português*. Mimeographed. Anápolis, Brazil: Missão Novas Tribos do Brasil.

An alphabetical dictionary of Kuripako (variety spoken in Brazil), with some information on cross-dialectal variation. This is a work in progress which is being constantly expanded, based on the author's extensive knowledge of the language and a large corpus of texts.

Cadete, Casimiro M. 1990. *Dicionário Wapichana-Português e Português Wapichana*. São Paulo, Brazil: Edições Loyola.

An alphabetical bilingual dictionary of Wapishana which contains approximately 2,500 entries. Each entry is supplied with examples of usage (with no interlinear gloss). The dictionary is accompanied with a brief outline of the Wapichana writing system.

Jusayú, Miguel Angel, and Jesús Olza Zubiri. 1988. *Diccionario sistematico de la lengua guajira*. Caracas, Venezuela: Centro de Lenguas Indigenas, Univ. Catolica Andres Bello.

A comprehensive alphabetical dictionary of the largest North Arawak language, with ample exemplification and some contexts of use. The dictionary is bilingual (Guajiro [or Wayuunaiki]-Spanish) and contains more than two thousand entries.

Klumpp, Dorothy. 1995. *Vocabulario Piapoco-Español*. Santafé de Bogotá, Colombia: Asociación Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

This bilingual dictionary of Piapoco, a North Arawak language spoken by approximately three thousand people in Venezuela and adjacent areas of Colombia, contains more than two thousand entries arranged alphabetically and accompanied by examples. There is also a Spanish-Piapoco list, and a concise outline of the Piapoco grammar which covers most aspects of the language.

Ramirez, Henri. 2001. *Dicionário Baniwa-Português*. Manaus, Brazil: Univ. do Amazonas.

An alphabetical dictionary of Baniwa of Içana (based predominantly on the Hohôdene dialect), containing approximately two thousand entries. The dictionary is based on a limited amount of fieldwork. It contains a brief introduction to the phonology and the morphology of the language, and the history of the speakers. A Portuguese-Baniwa word list is also provided.

Schauer, Stanley, Junia Schauer, Eladio Yucuna, and Walter Yucuna. 2005. *Meke kemakánaka puráka'aloji: Wapura'akó chu, eyá kariwana chú: Diccionario bilingüe Yukuna-Español, Español-Yukuna*. Bogotá, Colombia: Editorial Fundación para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Marginados.

This comprehensive alphabetical dictionary of Yucuna, a North Arawak language spoken by just under two thousand people in Colombia, contains more than three thousand entries accompanied by numerous examples and illustrations. There is also a Spanish-Yucuna dictionary; an appendix with annotated pictures of the most common fishes, animals, and birds; the structure of a longhouse and human body parts; and a further appendix with a thesaurus and a grammar sketch.

Pre-andine Arawak Languages

Arawak languages spoken in the Andean foothills and surrounding areas include Campa languages, which form an undisputable subgroup, spoken in Peru and also in the adjacent regions of Brazil. Amuesha (also known as Yanasha') and Chamicuro (which in the early 21st century is close to extinction), both spoken in Loreto Province, Peru, can each be considered a special subgroup. Piro, and a number of purported dialects (such as Mashco-Piro and Maniteneri), are spoken in Peru and adjacent areas of Brazil. Iñapari, an endangered language of eastern Peru, is closely related to Piro. Apurinã, spoken in the state of Amazonas in Brazil, has sometimes been grouped together with Piro (Payne 1991, Aikhenvald 1999, Aikhenvald 2006 [cited under Articles and Book Chapters]; Aikhenvald 2012 [cited under Monographs and Dissertations]); however, this has not been fully proved. Further outlines of Pre-andine Arawak languages and their

features are in Adelaar 2004, Wise 1985, and Wise 1986. Wise 2002 addresses applicatives and valency-increasing devices across Pre-andine languages.

Adelaar, Willem F. H. 2004. *The languages of the Andes*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press.

A monumental survey of languages of the Andes and surrounding areas with an incisive outline of major grammatical and phonological features of a selection of Arawak languages spoken in the Andean foothills (Campa and Amuesha, or Yanesha').

Wise, Mary Ruth. 1985. Indigenous languages of lowland Peru: History and current status. In *South American Indian languages: Restrospect and prospect*. Edited by Harriet E. Manelis Klein and Louisa R. Stark, 194–223. Austin: Univ. of Texas Press.

A highly competent outline of the language situation, language spread, and linguistic characteristics of the indigenous languages of lowland Peru, with a special focus on the Pre-andine Arawak languages.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 1986. Grammatical characteristics of Preandine Arawakan Languages of Peru. In *Handbook of Amazonian languages*. Vol. 1. Edited by Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum, 567–642. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

A pioneering and insightful survey of selected features of phonology, morphology, and syntax of the major Pre-andine Arawak languages with a special focus on Campa and Piro (as the best known to date), highlighting their synthetic structure, cross-referencing, noun categorization devices, and clause-linking techniques.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 2002. Applicative affixes in Peruvian Amazonian languages. In *Current studies on South American languages: Selected papers from the 50th International Congress of Americanists in Warsaw and the Spinoza Workshop on Amerindian Languages in Leiden, 2000*. Edited by Mily Crevels, Simon van de Kerke, Sérgio Meira, and Hein van der Voort, 329–344. Leiden, The Netherlands: Research School of Asian, African and Amerindian Studies (CNWS).

A highly professional modern analysis of valency-changing devices in the indigenous languages of Peru, with a special focus on synthetic Pre-andine Arawak languages and their applicative and causative derivations, in the light of comparison with other Arawak languages.

Campa Languages

Campa languages form a closely knit subgroup, consisting of Ashaninca, Ashéninca, Axininca, Ashéninca Perené, Machiguenga, Nomatsiguenga, and Nanti (only recently contacted; see Michael 2008). The analysis in Payne 1981 provides a general framework for describing Campa languages which is also reflected in the grammars Payne, et al. 1982 and Swift 1988. Mihás 2014 is a major collection of myths and legends of the Ashéninca Perené in a general and in a Campa perspective.

Michael, Lev D. 2008. Nanti evidential practice: Language, knowledge, and social action in an Amazonian society. PhD diss., Univ. of Texas at Austin.

A comprehensive analysis of the means of expression of perception and information source among the Nanti, a recently contacted Campa-speaking group (closely related to Machiguenga), based on lengthy immersion fieldwork. This is accompanied by a brief sketch of Nanti grammar.

Mihas, Elena. 2014. *Upper Perené Arawak narratives of history, landscape, and ritual*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press.

A comprehensive analysis of a large corpus of myths and legends of the Ashéninca Perené, with an ethnographic analysis and discussion of toponyms and migrations of the peoples within the context of other Campa-speaking groups.

Payne, David Lawrence. 1981. *Phonology and morphology of Axininca Campa*. Dallas: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano and Univ. of Texas at Arlington.

This pioneering albeit partial study of phonology and of basic morphological structures of a Campa language addresses in detail segmental phonology and phonological processes, and offers a template for verbal structure (which is highly complex) and some observations on the structure of the noun. It has provided a paradigm for describing Campa languages followed by most linguists within the Peruvian branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Payne, David Lawrence, Judith Payne, and J. Sánchez. 1982. *Morfología, fonología y fonética del Ashéninca del Apurucayali*. Série Lingüística Peruana, No. 18. Yarinacocha, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A partial description of phonology, phonetics, and aspects of morphology of the Ashéninca variety of Apurucayali, modeled in its framework and approach on Payne 1981. The major focus is on the structure of the highly complex verbal word, in terms of slots and their order within the word.

Swift, Kenneth E. 1988. *Morfología del Caquinte (Arawak Preandino)*. Série Lingüística Peruana, No. 25. Pucallpa, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A basic outline of the grammar of Caquinte, a Campa language, with a special focus on phonology and phonological processes, and verbal structure, modeled on the approach in Payne 1981.

Monographs and Dissertations

Payne 1989 is a comprehensive grammar cast in a pedagogical format. Mihas 2010 is the only grammar of a Campa language within a typological framework; Michael 2008 (cited under Campa Languages) offers a brief sketch of Nanti grammar; Lawrence 2013 addresses Nomatsiguenga verbal morphology. Wise 1971 covers the basic grammar of Nomatsiguenga cast in tagmemic framework. Aspects of Campa phonology and grammar are addressed in Payne and Davila 1983. Literacy and orthography development among the Machiguenga is discussed by Trudell 1993. Pío Aza 2005 is a classic older text on Machiguenga.

Lawrence, Aimee Lynn. 2013. *Inflectional verbal morphology in Nomatsiguenga*. MA diss., Univ. of Texas Austin.

A comprehensive analysis of verb morphology in Nomatsiguenga, covering person, gender, number, aspect, and reality status, with cognates in other Campa languages and an attempt to trace the historical development of various categories.

Mihas, Elena. 2010. *Essentials of Ashéninca Perené grammar*. PhD diss., Univ. of Wisconsin–Milwaukee.

A highly competent outline of the major features of phonology, morphology, and syntax of Ashéninca Perené, with its complex synthetic verbal structure and elaborate noun classification system. Cast in a typological framework and accompanied by text samples and a word list.

Payne, David L., and Marlene B. Davila, eds. 1983. *Estudios lingüísticos de textos Asheninca (Campa-Arawak Pre-andino)*. Pucallpa, Peru: Ministerio de Educacion, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

This edited collection contains six outstanding contributions each focusing on an aspect of grammar of Asheninca based on extensive textual analysis, including an unusual active-stative profile and transitivity alternations (by David L. Payne), directionals as temporal markers (by Judith K. Payne), and adverbials (by Janice Anderson).

Payne, Judith K. 1989. *Lecciones para el aprendizaje del idioma Ashéninca*. Série Lingüística Peruana 28. Yarinacocha, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico del Verano.

A comprehensive grammar of Ashéninca (with a focus on the Pichis, with some notes on the Upper Perené variety), cast in the frame of a teaching grammar. Supplied with numerous examples, accessible explanation, and word lists, this is a major resource on the grammar of a Campa language.

Pío Aza, José. 2005. *Estudio sobre la lengua machiguenga*. Pamplona, Peru: Ediciones Eunat.

New edition of work first published in 1924 with introduction and notes by Guillermo Lorenzo González. Fray Pío Aza clearly understood the role of applicatives and pronominal affixes; the book is remarkably insightful.

Trudell, Barbara. 1993. *Beyond the bilingual classroom: Literacy acquisition among Peruvian Amazon communities*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Univ. of Texas at Arlington.

An in-depth study of orthography development and literacy acquisition in previously unwritten languages, with a special focus on author's first-hand experience among the Machiguenga and a number of other Campa groups.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 1971. *Identification of participants in discourse: A study of aspects of form and meaning in Nomatsiguenga*. Norman: Summer Institute of Linguistics and Univ. of Oklahoma.

This comprehensive, and pioneering, grammatical study of Nomatsiguenga is based on first-hand fieldwork and in-depth analysis of texts. Combines elements of discourse analysis and tagmemic approach.

Dictionaries of Campa Languages

Major dictionaries of Campa languages include Snell, et al. 2011; Kindberg 1980; Shaver 1996; Heise, et al. 2000; and Mihás 2014. Rutter 2012 addresses ethnobotanical terminology in Pajonal Campa.

Heise, María, David Payne, Judith Payne, and Elsa Vilchez. 2000. *Diccionario escolar Asheninka/Ashaninka*. Lima, Peru: Ministerio de Educación.

An alphabetical dictionary of Asháninka accompanied by forms in five varieties of Ashéninka, which also include definitions in the variety represented by the head word; accompanied by Spanish glosses.

Kindberg, Lee D. 1980. *Diccionario Ashaninca*. Pucallpa, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A comprehensive bilingual dictionary of a Campa language, accompanied by some examples, and containing an appendix with a list of verbal affixes in this highly synthetic language.

Mihás, Elena. 2014a. *Ashéninka Perené-Spanish thematic dictionary: Iñani katonkosatzi: Diccionario temático ilustrado Alto Perené-castellano.*

A comprehensive dictionary of Ashéninka Perené and Spanish in a form of a thesaurus (see also alphabetical form *Community-based production of the Alto Perené-Spanish illustrated thematic dictionary*).

Rutter, Richard A. 2012. *Amazon rainforest gardening: Pankirentsi, The plant world of the Pajonal Ashéninka people.* SIL e-Books 41. Dallas: SIL International.

Gives Pajonal Ashéninka terms for plants and their environment as well as scientific and Spanish terms.

Shaver, Harold. 1996. *Diccionario nomatsiguenga-castellano and castellano-nomatsiguenga.* Pucallpa, Peru: Ministerio de Educacion, Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A bilingual dictionary (Nomatsiguenga-Spanish and Spanish-Nomatsiguenga) with more than two thousand entries and good exemplification for each, accompanied by a brief sketch of phonology, and major grammatical structures.

Snell, Betty Elkins de, Mary Ruth Wise, Irene P. Chávez, Anita Collantes, Ventura K. Cruz, and José E. Pereira. 2011. *Diccionario matsigenka-castellano: Con índice castellano, notas enciclopédicas y apuntes gramaticales.* Lima, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

This monumental work (of 895 pp.) contains a comprehensive bilingual dictionary of Machiguenga (or Matsigenka) with numerous examples. There is also a detailed grammar outline, and information of the ethnography of the Machiguenga, accompanied by lists of terms for flora and fauna. This is a model dictionary, and one of the most detailed one of a Campa language to date.

Articles and Book Chapters

Payne and Payne 2005 offers an in-depth analysis of a highly unusual system of split-ergativity in Campa which is based on topical continuity of the referents and the semantics of the verb. Crowhurst and Michael 2005 discusses stress placement in a Campa language which is based on prominence and foot structure. Michael 2013 and Michael 2014 addresses grammatical aspects of Nanti. Mihás 2012a, Mihás 2012b, Mihás 2012c, Mihás 2013, Mihás 2014a, and Mihás 2014b focus on various grammatical topics in Ashéninka Perené.

Crowhurst, Megan J., and Lev D. Michael. 2005. Iterative footing and prominence-driven stress in Nanti (Kampa). *Language* 81:47–95.

A pioneering account of stress placement and the notion of foot and metrical structure in a previously undescribed Campa language. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Michael, Lev. 2013. Possession in Nanti. In *Possession and ownership: A cross-linguistic typology.* Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 149–166. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive discussion of the ways of marking possession (within a noun phrase and within a clause) in Nanti, with additional information of conceptualization of ownership among the Nanti.

Michael, Lev. 2014. Nanti self-quotation: Implications for the pragmatics of reported speech and evidentiality. In *Evidentiality in interaction.* Edited by Janis Nuckolls and Lev Michael, 155–191. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An account of two quotation strategies employed by speakers of Nanti: one involving grammaticalized quotatives and the other involving complement-taking verbs of speech, with a focus on pragmatic differences between the two and their interaction with the system of evidentials.

Mihas, Elena. 2012a. Spatial deixis in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak): Semantics, pragmatics, and syntax of the demonstrative markers =ka, =ra, =nta. *LIAMES/Linguas Indígenas Americanas* 12:53–79.

An interaction-based account of demonstratives in Ashéninka Perené, with a focus on their anaphoric functions and use in discourse.

Mihas, Elena. 2012b. Ideophones in Alto Perené (Arawak) from Eastern Peru. *Studies in Language* 36.2: 300–343.

An exhaustive corpus-based study of ideophones and onomatopoeic expressions in Ashéninka Perené, with a discussion of their phonological structure and usage.

Mihas, Elena. 2012c. Bodily-based conceptual metaphors in Ashéninka Perené myths and folk stories. In *Endangered metaphors*. Edited by Anna Idström and Elisabeth Piirainen, 145–160. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

A detailed analysis of body-part expressions in Ashéninka Perené and their usage in a comprehensive collection of stories.

Mihas, Elena. 2013. Subordination in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak) from Central-Eastern Peru. *Italian Journal of Linguistics/Rivista di Linguistica* 24.1: 261–298.

A comprehensive account of clause types and clause subordination in Ashéninka Perené, their marking and usage, with a special focus on relativization and focalization strategies.

Mihas, Elena. 2014a. Expression of information-source meanings in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak). In *The grammar of knowledge: A cross-linguistic typology*. Edited by A. Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 209–226. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive analysis of evidentiality strategies and parentheticals in Ashéninka Perené (which does not have any grammatical evidentials).

Mihas, Elena. 2014b. Nominal and verbal temporal morphology in Ashéninka Perené (Arawak). *Acta Linguistica Hafniensia: International Journal of Linguistics* 45.1: 1–30.

A comprehensive analysis of verbal tense and modality morphology used on noun phrases in Ashéninka Perené, a typologically unusual system.

Payne, Judith K., and David L. Payne. 2005. The pragmatics of split intransitivity in Asheninka. *Revista latinoamericana de estudios etnolingüísticos: Lingüística Arawaka* 10:37–56.

A detailed study of a highly unusual pattern of split ergativity in Asheninka Campa, where the choice of a nominative-accusative or of an absolutive-ergative pattern marked through cross-referencing (also depending on the tense-aspect value of the clause) is determined by the topicality of the participants.

Amuesha

Amuesha is a highly synthetic Arawak language which has a number of unusual features (including various phonological traits such as glottalization, and lack of genders) which set it apart from neighboring Pre-andine Arawak languages. As first outlined by Wise 1976 and then further discussed by Adelaar 2006, Amuesha must have undergone contact-induced impact from numerous unrelated languages (among them Quechua). Duff-Tripp 1997 is a basic grammar of the language; Duff-Tripp 1998 is a dictionary. Wise 1963 is a pioneering analysis of Amuesha verb structure.

Adelaar, W. F. H. 2006. The Quechua impact on Amuesha, an Arawak language of the Peruvian Amazon. In *Grammars in contact*. Edited by Alexandra Y. Aikhenvald and R. M. W. Dixon, 290–312. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.

A comprehensive investigation of contact-induced changes in Amuesha, in the areas of phonology, grammatical structure, and lexicon, with a potted outline of the history of the Amuesha people and their contacts with Quechua speakers. Not all the unusual elements in Amuesha can be accounted for by Quechua influence; a number of substrata from unknown languages have contributed to its specific profile of Amuesha.

Duff-Tripp, Martha. 1997. *Gramatica del idioma Yanesha' (Amuesha)*. Lima, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A basic grammar of Amuesha (or Yanesha'), which covers most issues, including highly synthetic verb structure and complex phonology. Lack of interlinear glossing of examples makes using this resource somewhat difficult.

Duff-Tripp, Martha. 1998. *Diccionario Yanesha' (Amuesha)-Castellano*. Lima, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A bilingual dictionary of Amuesha-Spanish and Spanish-Amuesha with more than three thousand entries and numerous examples and explanations. It is supplied with some information on orthography, phonology, and elements of grammar.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 1963. Six levels of structure in Amuesha (Arawak) verbs. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 29:132–152.

A pioneering and influential article dealing with a highly synthetic language and its verb structure, detailing the major verbal categories and their presentation in terms of tagmemics. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 1976. Apuntes sobre la influencia inca entre los Amuesha, factor que oscurece la clasificación de su idioma. *Revista del Museo Nacional* 42:55–66.

A highly innovative discussion of unusual features of Amuesha, an Arawak language which differs from other members of the family in its phonology, grammar, and lexicon. This paper puts forward the hypothesis of intensive Quechua influence on Amuesha and discusses the Quechua elements in the language. This was the first scientific approach to contact-induced change in an Amazonian language.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 2007. Algunas preguntas sobre la metátesis y fenómenos relacionados en el Amuesha. In *Lenguas indígenas de América del Sur: Estudios descriptivo-tipológicos y sus contribuciones para la lingüística teórica*. Edited by Andrés Romero-Figueroa, Ana Fernández Garay, and Angel Corbera Mori, 95–109. Carácas, Venezuela: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello.

A phonological study of Amuesha which explores possible conditioning factors of metathesis and concludes that these factors do not seem to operate by rigid rules.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 2013. Rastros desconcertantes de contactos entre idiomas y culturas a lo largo de los contrafuertes orientales de los Andes del Perú. In *Estudios sobre lenguas andinas y amazónicas: Homenaje a Rodolfo Cerrón-Palominino*. Edited by Pilar Valenzuela, Roberto Zarequiey, and Willem F. H. Adelaar, 305–326. Lima, Peru: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

A first presentation of the hypothesis that the notable differences between Amuesha and the neighboring Campa languages can be explained by different migration routes from a proto-Arawak homeland and different histories of contact with other languages.

Wise, Mary Ruth. 2014. A Yanesha' alphabet for the electronic age. In *Developing orthographies for unwritten languages*. Edited by Michael Cahill and Keren Rice, 191–209. Dallas: SIL International.

This paper summarizes the phonological issues that affect orthography and the interactions between the Yanesha' and Peruvian Ministry of Education in arriving at an orthography that works well on any computer with a Spanish keyboard.

Chamicuro

Chamicuro is undoubtedly an Arawak language; however, it is structurally and lexically very different from other Pre-andine Arawak languages. Parker 1987 and Parker 1991 are fundamental descriptions of Chamicuro (which is on the verge of becoming extinct). Parker 1994 and Parker 1999 address issues of typological interest in this language. Parker 2010 is an exhaustive list of words and materials in Chamicuro.

Parker, Stephen G. 1987. *Kana Acha'taka ijnachale Kana Chamekolo: Vocabulario y textos chamicuro*. Comunidades y Culturas Peruanas, No. 21. Yarinacocha, Peru: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A word list and a selection of stories in Chamicuro (not glossed) translated into Spanish, with a brief outline of the Chamicuro alphabet, collected from the last speakers of this language.

Parker, Stephen G. 1991. *Estudios sobre la fonología del chamicuro*. Pucallpa, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A detailed study of the phonology and segmental phonological processes of Chamicuro based on fieldwork with the last speakers of the language (cast in the framework of autosegmental phonology), with an attempt at offering a putative Amuesha-Chamicuro reconstruction. Also contains a brief sketch of morphology (with a focus on the verbal structure).

Parker, Steve. 1994. Laryngeal codas in Chamicuro. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 60:261–271.

An incisive discussion of laryngealization and other phonological processes in Chamicuro, with a focus on translaryngeal vowel harmony. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Parker, Steve. 1999. On the behavior of definite articles in Chamicuro. *Language* 75:552–562.

Unlike many Amazonian languages, Chamicuro has definite articles which are cliticized to the preceding word in a clause. The article addresses this typologically unusual phenomenon in a clear and insightful way. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

Parker, Steve. 2010. Chamicuro data: Exhaustive list (Datos del chamicuro: lista exhaustiva). SIL Language and Culture Documentation and Description 12.

A comprehensive list of Chamicuro materials now made available in print and electronically. The previous five issues of SIL Language and Culture Documentation and Description (7–11) contains data on various phonemes, loanwords, and morphonemic paradigms in this language.

Piro and Iñapari

Piro (also known as Yine) and its dialects (including the barely described Mashco-Piro and Maniteneri) are spoken by more than two thousand people in Peru and adjacent regions of the state of Acre (Brazil) and of Bolivia. Matteson 1965 is a comprehensive grammar, and Nies 1986 is a dictionary. Iñapari, on the verge of extinction in the early 21st century, is closely related to Piro (Valenzuela 1991, Parker 1995, Parker 1999).

Matteson, Esther. 1965. *The Piro (Arawakan) language*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press.

A comprehensive and highly informative grammar of Piro, accompanied by a selection of texts, and based on intensive fieldwork. Cast in the tagmemic framework, it is not always easy to follow; nevertheless, this is among the best grammars of any Arawak language to date.

Nies, Joyce. 1986. *Diccionario Piro (Tokanchi gikshijikowaka-steno)*. Série Lingüística Peruana 22. Yarinacocha, Peru: Ministerio de Educación and Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A bilingual dictionary of Piro (Piro-Spanish and Spanish-Piro) with more than ten thousand entries, accompanied by illustrative examples, a brief but informative grammar sketch, a list of grammatical affixes, and number words. One of the most elaborate dictionaries of an Arawak language to date.

Parker, Stephen G. 1995. *Datos de la lengua Iñapari*. Yarinacocha, Peru: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A collection of all materials available on Iñapari (most of them based on original fieldwork with a family of last speakers of the language). This source contains an Iñapari-Spanish and a Spanish-Iñapari word list, and also a grammar sketch and observations concerning orthography and phonology of the language.

Parker, Steve. 1999. A sketch of Iñapari phonology. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 65:1–39.

A definitive analysis of Iñapari phonology and phonological processes.

Valenzuela, Pilar B. 1991. Comprobación del lugar de la lengua Iñapari dentro de la rama pre-andina de la familia arahuaca. *Revista Latinoamericana de Estudios Etno-Lingüísticos* 6:209–240.

This paper provides a definitive proof of Arawak affiliation of Iñapari based on lexical and grammatical cognates, and comparisons with Piro and a few other languages of the Pre-andine area.

Apurina

Various issues of the grammar of Apurina (also known as Apurinã, Ipurina, and Kangiti) are discussed in Pickering 1971, Pickering 1973, and Aberdour 1985. Facundes 2000 is a reference grammar of the language.

Aberdour, Cathie. 1985. Referential devices in Apurinã discourse. In *Porto Velho Workpapers*. Edited by David Lee Fortune, 43–91. Brasilia, Brazil: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A detailed analysis of discourse structure and devices employed for maintaining reference and reference tracking in Apurina, based on a large corpus of texts.

Facundes, Sydney. 2000. The language of the Apurinã people of Brazil. PhD diss., State Univ. of New York at Buffalo.

A reference grammar of Apurina cast in a typological framework and based on original fieldwork. It approaches most issues in the grammar of the language (especially incipient classifiers, and verbal structures); however, scientific argumentation is lacking.

Pickering, Wilbur N. 1971. *Apurinã grammar*. Arquivo Lingüístico 8. Brasilia, Brazil: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A brief but informative and concise outline of the grammar of Apurina, with a discussion of basic affixes, verb structure, and the expression of gender expression. Reprinted in 2009.

Pickering, Wilbur N. 1973. *Gapping and constituent order in Apurinã*. Arquivo Lingüístico 5. Brasilia, Brazil: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A competent discussion of constituent order and rules of ellipsis in Apurina based on an extensive corpus of texts. Reprinted in 2009.

Arawak Languages of the Xingu Indigenous Park

Arawak languages spoken in the Xingu Indigenous Park are Waurá (or Wauja), its close relative Mehinaku, Yawalapiti, and the now-extinct Kustenaú. Pioneering materials on these languages (and also the now-extinct Kustenaú) are in von den Steinen 1886 (cited under General Overviews). Unfortunately, there are no comprehensive grammars of any of the Xinguan languages.

Mehinaku

A number of aspects of phonology and morphology of Mehinaku are discussed by Mori 2007, Mori 2012, and Mori 2014. De Carvalho 2015 analyzes diachronic aspects of possession in Mehinaku.

de Carvalho, Ferdinando O. 2015. The realization of nominal possession in Mehinaku: A diachronic account. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 81:119–132.

An attempt to trace the diachronic development of nominal possessive structures in Mehinaku (including nasalization, vowel quality, and stress).

Mori, Angel Corbera. 2007. Aspectos da estrutura nominal em Mehináku (Arawák). *Estudos Lingüísticos* 36.1: 249–257.

A brief analysis of major nominal categories in Mehináku, an Arawak language of Xingu (closely related to Waurá). This clearly written and incisive paper addresses categories such as possession and noun classification, and the general structure of a noun phrase.

Mori, Angel Corbera. 2012. Algunos procesos de formación de palabras nominales en mehinaku (arawak). In *Lenguas indígenas de América del Sur. Vol. 1, Fonología y Léxico*. Volúmenes temáticos de la Sociedad Argentina de Lingüística. Edited by Marisa Censabella, Cristina Messineo, Hebe A. González, and Beatriz Gualdieri, 151–171. Mendoza, Argentina: Editorial FFyL-UNCuyo and SAL.

A detailed analysis of derivational processes in Mehinaku, with a special focus on classifiers as derivational devices.

Mori, Angel Corbera. 2014. Un breve esbozo tipológico del proceso de palatalización en mehinaku (Arawak). In *III Encuentro de lenguas indígenas Americanas, Libro de actas*. Edited by Marisay Malvestiti and Patricia Dreidemie, 159–170. Viedma, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Río Negro.

A comprehensive account of the phonology of Mehinaku, with a particular focus on palatalization in various environments.

Waurá

Possession, clause structure and clause types, and verbal structure in Waurá are discussed by Richards 1973, Richards 1977, and Richards 1988. Postigo 2012 looks at classifiers and other types of morphemes. Ball 2007 offers an ethnographic study with little attention to grammar. The Wauja Language dictionary (online) is listed at the end of the entry.

Ball, Christopher. 2007. Out of the park: Trajectories of Wauja (Xingu Arawak) language and culture. PhD diss., Univ. of Chicago.

A discussion of Waura (Wauja) rituals, identity, spatial orientation, and some social structures, also addressing selected topics in the grammar of the language including gender and possession types and their conceptualization.

Postigo, Adriana Viana. 2012. Gêneros, número, avaliativos e classificadores em Wauja (Arawak). In *Lenguas indígenas de América del Sur. Vol. 1, Fonología y Léxico*. Volúmenes temáticos de la Sociedad Argentina de Lingüística. Edited by Marisa Censabella, Cristina Messineo, Hebe A. González, and Beatriz Gualdieri, 208–225. Mendoza, Argentina: Editorial FFyL-UNCuyo and SAL.

A cursory discussion of classifiers and gender-like derivational marking in Waurá, and an outline of augmentatives and diminutives with few isolated examples.

Richards, Joan. 1973. Dificuldades na análise de possessão nominal na língua Waurá. *Série Lingüística* 1:11–29.

A paradigm-setting analysis of highly complex possessive noun phrases in Waurá, with special attention paid to possession classes. Nouns in Waurá can be obligatorily or inalienably possessed, optionally or alienably possessed, or may not be possessible at all. The paper also discusses phonological process involving possessive suffixes and prefixes.

Richards, Joan. 1977. Orações em Waurá. *Série Lingüística* 7:141–184.

A pioneering account of the sentence structure in Waurá with special attention to the structure of simple clauses.

Richards, Joan. 1988. A estrutura verbal Waurá. *Série Lingüística* 9:197–218.

First-ever attempt at outlining the structure of the verb of Waurá, a highly synthetic language, outlining slots and fillers (cast in accordance with the tagmemic model).

Wauja Language. Wauja-English Wiktionary.

This is a comprehensive undateable electronic resource on Waurá (Wauja), consisting of Wauja–Portuguese dictionary (alphabetical and thesaurus-type) directed by Emilienne Ireland, an anthropologist and expert in the Wauja language and culture. The work on the dictionary is ongoing, with plans to train the Wauja speakers to update the resource.

Yawalapiti

Mujica 1992 is the only available grammar sketch of Yawalapiti.

Mujica, Mitzila I. O. 1992. Aspectos fonológicos e gramaticais da língua Yawalapiti (Aruak). MA thesis, Univ. de Campinas.

A brief but concise outline of phonetics, phonology, and elements of morphology (including pronominal marking and classifiers) in Yawalapiti, a Xinguan Arawak language on the verge of extinction.

Arawak Languages of Areas near Xingu

A genetic grouping which would include Paresi (also known as Haliti and as Parecis) and Xinguan Arawak languages (e.g., Payne 1991 [cited under Articles and Book Chapters]) has yet been substantiated. Rowan and Burgess 1979 is a comprehensive grammar of Paresi; a partial structural analysis of its phonology is in Romling da Silva 2009. Brandão 2014 is a reference grammar of the language; Rowan 2001 is a dictionary which contains valuable information but no glosses. Enawenê-Nawê (also known as Salumã) is very little described; a partial analysis of phonetics and phonology is in Rezende 2003.

Brandão, Ana Paula B. 2014. A reference grammar of Paresi-Haliti (Arawak). MA thesis, Austin: Univ. of Texas.

A comprehensive and professional reference grammar of Paresi, with a detailed treatment of phonology word classes, the structure of a noun, verbal categories, and syntax, accompanied by a selection of texts.

Rezende, Ubiraj M. N. 2003. Fonética e fonologia da língua Enawene-Nawe (Aruak): Uma primeira abordagem. MA thesis, Univ. Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

A first attempt at establishing phonemes and their allophones in Enawenê-Nawê, using trace theory. Based on a limited amount of original fieldwork, this thesis contains rather few data of the language.

Romling da Silva, Glauber. 2009. Fonologia da língua Paresi-Haliti (Arawak). MA thesis, Univ. Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

A partial analysis of phonetics and phonology of Paresi cast in a generative framework.

Rowan, Orlando. 2001. *Dicionário Parecis-Português*. Cuiaba, Brazil: Sociedade Internacional de Linguística.

An alphabetical dictionary of Paresi, with a Portuguese-Paresi finder list. Supplied with illustrative examples, it contains more than two thousand entries.

Rowan, Orlando, and Eunice Burgess. 1979. *Gramática Parecis*. Brasília, Brazil: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A pioneering grammatical description of Paresi containing a brief analysis of almost every aspect of the grammar of the language, with some exemplification, but little in terms of argumentation. Certain features of the language—including verbal classifiers—are not discussed at all.

South Arawak Languages

South Arawak languages spoken in Brazil (the state of Mato Grosso do Sul) include Terêna and the highly endangered Kinikinao. Bendor-Samuel 1961 is an interesting attempt at capturing the grammatical structures of Terêna, but cast in an impenetrable framework. Bendor-Samuel 1966 is a pioneering piece on phonological processes including vowel assimilation and nasality spread in Terêna. Ekdahl and Butler 1979 is a competent pedagogical grammar of the language. Ekdahl and Grimes 1964 is a fine outline of the verbal structure in this highly synthetic language. Souza 2008 is a grammar of Kinikinao based on fieldwork with the remaining speakers. Other South Arawak languages spoken in the Chacos area are addressed in Tovar and Tovar 1984 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations), Loukotka 1968 (cited under Monographs and Dissertations), and Aikhenvald 1999 (cited under Articles and Book Chapters).

Bendor-Samuel, John T. 1961. *An outline of the grammatical and phonological structure of Terêna*. Vol. 1. Arquivo Lingüístico 90. Brasília, Brazil: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

A comprehensive grammar of Terêna, which pays special attention to its phonology, unusual phonological processes, and highly synthetic verb structure. It is cast in a highly idiosyncratic framework which makes the discussion hard to follow. See pp. 1–81.

Bendor-Samuel, J. T. 1966. Some prosodic features in Terêna. In *In memory of J. R. Firth*. Edited by Charles E. Bazell, J. C. Catford, M. A. K. Halliday, and R. H. Robins, 30–39. London: Longmans.

A classic discussion of nasal assimilation and its limitations in Terêna (in particular, regarding the treatment of the erstwhile first-person prefix realized as a nasal feature of the initial consonant or vowel), and of vowel harmony (resulting from a reflex of the erstwhile second-person prefix).

Ekdahl, Muriel, and Nancy Evelyn Butler. 1979. *Aprenda Terêna*. Vol. 1. Brasília, Brazil: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A competent grammar of Terêna cast as a pedagogical grammar. Contains a succinct analysis of phonetics, phonology, and basic facts of morphology, in addition to some syntactic structures. The strong point of this book is the wealth of examples.

Ekdahl, Elizabeth Muriel, and Joseph E. Grimes. 1964. Terêna verb inflection. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 30:261–268.

A pioneering analysis of the highly complex synthetic verbal structures in Terêna, with a special focus on slots and the order of morphemes, and vowel alternations in the formation of some categories, such as realis versus irrealis.

Souza, Ilda de. 2008. *Koenukunoe emo 'u: A língua dos índios kinikinau*. PhD diss., Univ. of Campinas.

This competent description of Kinikinao, an endangered language closely related to Terêna, contains a comprehensive analysis of the history of the Kinikinau, and their relationships with the Kadiweu and other, more aggressive, neighbors. The dissertation examines phonetics and phonology, and basic morphological and syntactic structures of the languages, comparing it with Terêna.

Arawak Languages of Bolivia

The major Arawak languages spoken exclusively in Bolivia are Baure and a number of varieties of Mojo (also known as Mojeño, or Ignaciano). Ibarra Grasso 1982 and Muysken and Crevels 2012 provide a bird's-eye view on indigenous languages of Bolivia, with a chapter on Arawak languages mentioning South Arawak languages of Bolivia (Guaná and Chané, both extinct), Saraveca (also extinct), and Paunaka and Paiconeca (spoken by small populations) (also see Tovar and Tovar 1984, cited under Monographs and Dissertations). Guillaume and Rose 2011 focuses on the marking of grammatical relations in Bolivian languages. Payne (in Wise 2005, cited under Edited collections) addresses the materials on the extinct Apolista.

Guillaume, Antone, and Françoise Rose, eds. 2011. *Special issue: Argument-coding systems in Bolivian Amazonian languages*. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 77.4.

This special issue focuses on marking grammatical relations and argument structure in a number of languages from Bolivian Amazonia, including the Arawak languages Mojeño Trinitário (by Rose) and Baure (by Danielsen).

Ibarra Grasso, Dick Edgar. 1982. *Lenguas indígenas de Bolivia*. La Paz, Bolivia: Librería-Editorial "Juventud."

A brief but incisive snapshot of linguistic families of Bolivia, with a special chapter on the Arawak languages of Bolivia. This chapter provides basic information on the structure of these languages, their history, and their sociolinguistic situation, and provides a few words in each language.

Muysken, Pieter, and Mily Crevels, eds. 2012. *Las lenguas de Bolivia*. Vol. 2, *Amazonía*. La Paz, Bolivia: Plural Editors.

A comprehensive approach to indigenous languages of Bolivia, with special chapters on individual languages, including Arawak languages.

Baure

A major modern source on Baure is Danielsen 2007. Additional aspects of Baure grammar are addressed in Danielsen 2011, Danielsen 2012, and Danielsen 2014 (see also Guillaume and Rose 2011 and Muysken and Crevels 2012, both cited under Arawak Languages of Bolivia).

Danielsen, Swintha. 2007. *Baure: An Arawak language of Bolivia*. Leiden, The Netherlands: CNWS.

A competent reference grammar of Baure, a major Bolivian Arawak language, cast in a typological framework. This grammar addresses the major issues in phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax of Baure, and is supplied with references to some cognates and parallels across the Arawak family. Appendices contain a list of grammatical morphemes, a short word list, and a short text.

Danielsen, Swintha. 2011. Clause embedding strategies in Baure (Arawak). In *Subordination in South American Indian languages*. Edited by Katharina Haude, Rik van Gijn, and Pieter Muysken, 79–108. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

An outline of clause-combining strategies in Baure and their meanings, with special focus on embedded clauses.

Danielsen, Swintha. 2012. Afijos compuestos y su lexicalización en el baure (arawak). In *Lenguas indígenas de América del Sur. Vol. 1, Fonología y léxico. Volúmenes temáticos de la Sociedad Argentina de Lingüística*. Edited by Marisa Censabella, Cristina Messineo, Hebe A. González, and Beatriz Gualdieri, 151–171. Mendoza, Argentina: Editorial FFyL-UNCuyo and SAL.

A discussion of affixes of different kinds in Baure, with special attention to classifiers used as derivational affixes and how they grammaticalize and lexicalize.

Danielsen, Swintha. 2014. Los verbos genéricos o pro-verbos en la lengua baure (familia Arawak). In *III Encuentro de lenguas indígenas Americanas: Libro de actas*, Edited by Marisay Malvestiti and Patricia Dreidemie, 197–209. Viedma, Argentina: Universidad Nacional de Río Negro.

An account of the polysynthetic structure of verbs in Baure, with special focus on generic verbs which can be employed as pro-verbs.

Mojo

The Mojo language has two varieties: Mojeño Trinitario and Mojeño Ignaciano. A comprehensive grammar of the Ignaciano variety is Olza Zubiri, et al. 2001. Ott and Ott 1983 is a dictionary with a grammar sketch. A number of aspects of grammar of the language are addressed by Rose 2012, Rose 2013, Rose 2014, and Rose 2015 (see also Guillaume and Rose 2011, cited under The Arawak Languages of Bolivia, and Michael and Granadillo 2014, cited under Edited Collections).

Olza Zubiri, Jesús, Conchita Nuni de Chapi, and Juan Tube. 2001. *Gramática Moja Ignaciana (morfosintaxis)*. San Cristóbal, Venezuela: Univ. Católica del Táchira.

A masterly grammar of Mojo or Ignaciano which covers every aspect of phonetics, phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language. This valuable compendium is cast in a mixture of traditional grammar and a more modern, typologically informed model. It contains numerous illustrative examples which are not glossed (but the clarity of explanation makes up for this drawback).

Ott, Willis, and Rebecca Burke de Ott. 1983. *Diccionario ignaciano y castellano: Con apuntes gramaticales*. Cochabamba, Bolivia: Instituto Lingüístico de Verano.

A comprehensive bilingual dictionary of Ignaciano with more than two thousand entries. It is accompanied with an insightful and concise grammar sketch of the language which contains detailed information about classifiers, male and

female speech forms, and the verbal structure, in addition to basic facts. Until the publication of Olza Zubiri, et al. 2001, this was the best grammatical source on Ignaciano.

Rose, Françoise. 2012. Competition for the object status: The effects of referential factors in derived and non-derived ditransitive verbs in Mojeño Trinitario. *Linguistics Discovery* 10.3: 17–36.

An account of various verb types in Mojo with a special focus on transitivity and the problem of the status of ditransitive verbs.

Rose, Françoise. 2013. Los generolectos del mojeño. *Liames* 13:115–134.

A detailed account of genderlects in Trinitario Mojeño which is reflected in the use of third-person masculine singular pronominal form (in itself typologically unique).

Rose, Françoise. 2014. When vowel deletion blurs reduplication in Mojeño Trinitario. In *Reduplication in South-American languages*. Edited by Gale Goodwin Gómez and Hein van der Voort, 375–399. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.

A discussion of partial verbal reduplication which expresses repetition or attenuation of an event within a perspective of phonology-morphology interface.

Rose, Françoise. 2015. Innovative complexity in the pronominal paradigm of Mojeño: A result of contact? In *Borrowed morphology*. Edited by Francesco Gardani, Peter Arkadiev, and Nino Amiridze, 241–267. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

An analysis of pronominal paradigms in Mojeño (and its varieties) from the point of view of its genesis. Innovative third-person forms may have arisen through language contact (though the exact pathways of development are not clear).

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