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Acercamientos actuales a la lingüística arawak

Language Loss and Language Gain Across Centuries: A View From the Arawak Family

Pérdida y ganancia de las lenguas a lo largo de los siglos: Una mirada desde las lenguas de la familia ingüística arawak

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ABSTRACT

The history of Arawak languages, a major language family in South America and adjacent regions, has been marred with language extinction and loss ever since the European Conquest. Hundreds of languages have been irretrievably lost. Many extant languages across the Arawak family are highly endangered. The remarkable diversity of Arawak languages is under threat.

A closer look at the development of some extant languages reveals a somewhat different picture. The world over, younger generations speak differently from older people and show deviations from the traditional norm. Innovative Tariana, from the Vaupés River Basin in north-west Amazonia, is an example of a newly evolving younger people's variety. A new Tariana-Baniwa blended language is on the rise in one village on the Iauiarí river, off the Rio Negro in Brazil. As languages make their way into social media, new genres are on the rise. We also find attempts at language reclamation and language regeneration, through joint efforts of language communities and linguists. The emergent versions of Taino in the Dominican Republic and the USA are a case in point.

How vital are the newly developed varieties? And will they be transmitted across generations? These questions are bound to remain open for now.

Keywords: language endangerment, linguistic diversity, innovative languages, Tariana, Baniwa of Içana

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RESUMEN

La historia de las lenguas arahuacas, una importante familia de lenguas en América del Sur y regiones adyacentes, se ha visto afectada por la extinción y la pérdida de lenguas desde la conquista europea. Cientos de idiomas se han perdido irremediablemente. Muchos idiomas existentes en la familia Arawak están en peligro de extinción.

Una mirada más cercana al desarrollo de algunos idiomas existentes revela una imagen algo diferente y menos deprimente. Los sustratos de las lenguas arahuacas pueden haber sido fundamentales en la creación de nuevos etnolectos y variedades de lenguas nacionales. La innovadora Tariana, de la cuenca del río Vaupés en el noroeste de la Amazonía, es un ejemplo de una variedad de gente joven en evolución reciente. Un nuevo idioma mixto Tariana-Baniwa está surgiendo en un pueblo en el río Iauiarí, frente al Río Negro en Brasil. A medida que los idiomas se abren paso en las redes sociales, surgen nuevos géneros. En toda la familia, los intentos de recuperación y regeneración del idioma, a través de los esfuerzos conjuntos de las comunidades lingüísticas y los lingüistas, producen nuevas variedades lingüísticas. ¿Cuán vitales son las variedades recién desarrolladas? ¿Y se transmitirán de generación en generación?

Palabras claves: lenguas en peligro, diversidad lingüística, lenguas innovadoras, Tariana, Baniwa of Içana

1. The Arawak Family Across Centuries: A Story of Loss

The Amazon Basin —the world's major river system— is home to the world's greatest linguistic diversity (rivalled only by the island of New Guinea). The region comprises over 350 extant languages grouped into over fifteen language families, in addition to a number of isolates (Loukotka, 1968; Tovar and Tovar, 1984; Dixon and Aikhenvald, 1999; Crevels, 2012; Aikhenvald 2015, pp. 19-23).[2] As a result of population movements and d

2 Various attempts have been made, during the past two centuries, to align different families as part of macro-groupings or 'stocks', none of them with a solid backing of consistent proof (such as the putative 'Amerind', 'Macro-Equatorial' or 'Arawakan' said to encompass Arawak proper (previously called Maipuran), Arawá, Chapacura, Guahiboan, and Uru-Puquina: Aikhenvald, 1999, 2015, 2022). Macro-groupings or 'stocks' suggested by Kaufman (1994) and his predecessors (including Noble 1965 and others) are almost without exception illusory and otiose. The term 'Arawakan'

isplacement, the linguistic map of Amazonia resembles a patchwork quilt: most major families are spoken in several disconnected geographical locations. The Amazonian languages demonstrate a high degree of:

a. genetic diversity, in terms of different families and isolates;
b. numerical diversity, in terms of numbers of languages, and
c. structural diversity, in terms of lexical and grammatical features (many of them typologically unusual).

Yet in general this diversity is on the wane. Indigenous languages are rapidly losing ground to the majority national languages, and passing into extinction — the bane of the modern world. Arawak languages are no exception to this. The history of Arawak languages, a major language family in South America and adjacent regions, has been marred with language extinction and loss ever since the European Invasion.

1.1 The Impact of Invasion: Large Family, Immense Losses

Arawak languages form a major family spread across South America into the Caribbean. The genetic unity of Arawak languages was first recognized by Filippo Salvatore Gilij as early as 1783, three years before Sir William Jones laid the foundations for establishing the affinity between Indo-European languages. 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 (Venezuela), and in Mojo, a South Arawak language (Bolivia). The limits of the family were established by the early twentieth century.

Currently, the Arawak language family is the largest in South America in terms of its geographical spread, with over fifty extant languages and several dozen extinct ones. Arawak languages are spoken in Lowland Amazonia and beyond it, covering Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru, Brazil and Bolivia, and formerly Paraguay and Argentina. Thanks to its geographical spread and a long history of contact with other

(in English) is tainted by the pernicious ghost of the fantasy world of those with little training in comparative linguistics, and should be avoided, in favour of Arawak (Aruák, arouaque; or Maipuran, at a pinch). Recent work on Arawak languages by Ramirez (2001, 2019) is flawed (with numerous misinterpretation of language data and their statu, and wrong transcriptions), and will not be mentioned here.

groups, Arawak languages show substantial typological diversity, and numerous unusual features (see Aikhenvald, 2020a, 2022 for a summary, and an updateable bibliography in Aikhenvald, 2016).

Languages vary in terms of speaker numbers. Wayuu-naiki (or Guajiro) spoken around the Guajiro peninsula in Venezuela and Colombia, is the largest language of the family, with estimated 350,000 first language learners. Garifuna, the only extant Arawak language of the Caribbean, spoken in Belize, Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala in Central America, has c. 190,000 speakers. Only a handful of other languages have a substantial number of speakers, among them a few Arawak-speaking groups in Peru: the Yanesha' (or the Amuesha) number about 8,000, and the Asháninka Kampa about 25,000. Most groups have a relatively small number of speakers. The Palikur in Brazil and French Guiana number about 1,500, the Baniwa of Içana-Kurripako in Brazil, adjacent areas of Colombia and Venezuela, number about 5,000, the Achagua and the Yucuna in Colombia number about 200 speakers each, and the Tariana in Brazil about 100-150. Many of these groups may have been small originally. We suspect, however, that their numbers must have reduced since the European Invasion. Arawak languages played an instrumental role in the Invasion. The first native American peoples encountered by Columbus on the island of Hispaniola (the coast of modern Haiti) in 1492 were the Taino whose language appears to belong to the same subgroup as the Arawak languages of the Caribbean (see Aikhenvald, 1999; 2015, p. 33, and references there).

1.2 The Amazon — 'The Empty River'

In 1743 a famous French scientist Charles Marie de la Condamine went down the Amazon and was appalled to have to sail for days past totally uninhabited banks. As Hemming (2008: 73) put it, 'in the 800 km between Pebas in Spanish Peru and São Paulo de Olivença in Brazil, there was no warrior nation hostile to Europeans on the banks of the Amazon: all have submitted or retreated far away'.

'The empty river' —the title of a chapter in Hemming's (2008) classic— sums up the depletion and destruction of traditional peoples on the river banks. Further depletion was inflicted throughout the centuries —slaving expeditions, the 'reductions' of Indians into mission settlements, and especially the Rubber Boom (Ciclo da borracha, Fiebre del caucho (c. 1879 - c. 1912: see

a summary and references in Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 2-10). The depletion of peoples went hand-in-hand with loss of languages, forced migrations, resettlements, and regrouping of various nations for the purpose of survival.

Each linguistic family has its own tragic story to tell. We believe that the Arawak family, as the largest family in South America, had more languages to lose than others. Of about 150 language names which correspond to Arawak languages in what Loukotka (1968, pp. 125-149) refers to as 'Arawak stock', at least a hundred are extinct. At least half a dozen of remaining languages have just one remaining elderly speaker, as is the case with the Iñapari in Peru (Steve Parker, p.c.; Valenzuela, 1991). The last fluent remaining speaker of Chamikuro passed away last year (Steve Parker, p.c.). Or there may be just one rememberer, as is the case with the Kaishana in the Middle Rio Negro area in Brazil (Stefan Dienst, p.c.). There may also remain just a handful of elderly speakers, as is the case with the Mawayana in Brazil and Suriname; Warekena of Xié in Brazil, and apparently Cabiyari in Colombia and Paunaka in Bolivia) (Carlin, 2006, my own work; Catherine Bolaños p.c., and Tovar and Tovar, 1984, pp. 128-129). A number of languages lost their last fluent speakers and have effectively become extinct during the past 40-50 years, among them Yavitero in Venezuela, Baré in Venezuela and Brazil, and Bahuana in Brazil (Mosonyi, 1987; Aikhenvald, 2012; Ramirez, 1992). There are many more tragic stories to tell — and perhaps even more that will for ever remain untold. There is no doubt that the remarkable diversity of Arawak languages is in danger.

2. On The Wane: Language Obsolescence and Language Erosion

Many extant languages across the Arawak family are highly endangered. No longer used in most spheres of communication, an endangered language will face impending obsolescence and loss, under the pressure of larger groups and aggressive national languages (for the linguistic consequences of language obsolescence, see Aikhenvald, 2010, pp. 249-264, 2020c, and references there).

With language erosion, attrition, and obsolescence, special —often unusual— features of Arawak languages get lost. This is similar to the depletion of species in the natural world and loss of species, and, in the context of Northern Australia, bleaching of the Coral Reef. Two examples are particularly illustrative.

Achagua, once a powerful large group spread across Colombia and Venezuela in the region of the Llanos Orientales (with the estimate of 50,000-100,000 people), is currently spoken by about 200 people in the north-east of the Vichada department in Colombia and adjacent areas of Venezuela. The first relatively comprehensive documentation of the language goes back to Neira and Ribeiro (1762[1828]), Jesuit priests, making Achagua one of the earliest attested Arawak languages (see also Loukotka, 1968, pp. 129-130; Meléndez Lozano, 1989, 1998; Wilson 1992). The 1762 source indicates that Achagua had a robust system of about twelve numeral classifiers obligatory with number words one, two, and three (see Aikhenvald, 2019, p. 132 for the typological features of the system). In the modern language, numeral classifiers are falling into disuse and are often omitted (Meléndez Lozano, 1998, p. 92; Wilson, 1992, pp. 62-63).

Baré used to be a major language in the Upper Rio Negro region, spoken along the Baria river and the Casiquiare channel and into the Orinoco basin, extending onto the banks of the river Xié in Brazil and the Upper Guiania up to the Atabapo in Venezuela (see Aikhenvald 1995, 2012; Cunha de Oliveira, 1993; Lopez Sanz, 1972). The last fluent speaker, Candelário da Silva, passed away in 1992 (there may be some rememberers left). The language documented by Lopez Sanz's (1972) based on the data collected in 1960s had numerous aspectual and modal markers no longer used by Candelário (e.g. *-phéi* 'durative' and *-ya* 'dubitative'), and a marker of reported speech *-man*. Verb forms attested in Lopez Sanz (1972) contain up to five suffixes, whereas Candelário never used more than one suffix on the verb. Another major difference between texts and examples in Lopez Sanz (1972) and the corpus recorded from Candelário is the abundance of Spanish and Portuguese forms, just as expected in the case of advanced language obsolescence. For instance, Candelário used Spanish subordinating conjunctions *mientre ke, mientre* 'while', *purke* 'because' and *ke* 'that' (a speech report introducer), instead of the original clause-linking suffix *-ka*.

Baré has two genders —feminine and masculine (which go back to proto-Arawak). Gender agreement on demonstratives and adjectives was obligatory in the earlier source (Lopez Sanz, 1972). In contrast, in 1991 Candelário da Silva displayed variation in gender agreement, oftentimes in favour of the masculine form. An influx of loans and morphological reduction are typical for language attrition. The loss of agreement may have been enhanced by his main language, Nheêngatú, a Tupí-Guaraní língua franca with no genders.

Language loss is often accompanied by what is known as the discourse of nostalgia (Hill, 1998) —a set of evaluational propositions about the past and the pure traditional language, or languages, now on the wane, going, going, gone…

Alongside tragic loss and extinction, the Invasion brought about a number of new phenomena. This is what we turn to now.

3. The Aftermath of the Invasion: In With the New

Speakers of a dialect can split off from the main group and migrate, in search of better lands and greener pastures. Such migrations can be voluntary. Historically attested examples across the world include migrations of Danes to Iceland and the migrations of the Austronesian peoples to the coast of New Guinea and of Polynesian peoples to New Zealand and numerous islands across the South Pacific. Alternatively, a migration can be forced.

Population movements and migrations must have been common for Arawak-speaking groups, prior to the Invasion. This should partly account for the geographical spread of the family. At least one new language is known to have come about as a result of inter-nation wars, before the Invasion. The creation of a 'mixed' language of Arawak-Carib origin, with a curious distinction between male and female speech, in the Lesser Antilles just before Columbus's 'discovery' of the West Indies is one of the most interesting pieces of evidence on language history in pre-Invasion times (see Taylor, 1977, pp. 89-99, and a summary in Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 375-7).

We now turn to the post-Invasion population movements within the Arawak family which resulted in serendipitous language gain and survival.

3.1 Forced Removals and the Emergence of New Languages

The emergence of one of the largest languages of the family —Garifuna— is a prime example of the impact of a forced removal of speakers. In 1797, the British colonial authorities forcibly removed the bulk of the rebellious inhabitants of the island of St Vincent in the Lesser Antilles (in the Caribbean) to what is now Belize on the Caribbean mainland (Taylor 1977, p. 24). The then population of St Vincent consisted of the original Indian population and the Afro-American slaves, all speakers of Island Carib (an Arawak lan-

guage). The removal and the resettlement of the group —isolated from its homeland— resulted in the emergence of a new dialect of Island Carib, now known as Garifuna, or Black Carib, or Central American Island Carib, or Cariff. As Taylor (1977, p. 24) puts it, 'the relative isolation of the deportees in a sparsely inhabited area undoubtedly favored their increase and expansion'. A new language developed.

By the early twentieth century, the Central American Island Carib was no longer mutually intelligible with the 'original' Island Carib. The last fluent speaker of Island Carib passed away on the island of Dominica not more than twelve years prior to Douglas Taylor's first visit to Dominica in 1930 (Taylor 1977, p. 24). In contrast, Garifuna is now one of the largest languages of our family, spoken by estimated 190,000 people in Belize, Honduras, and Nicaragua (see also Haurholm-Larsen, 2016: pp. 49-50; Ravindranath, 2007; Escure, 2005, on the status and the composition of the language, currently endangered).

Another way of seeking survival was for different groups to come together and form larger units. Or to escape.

3.2 Regrouping: Merged Languages, Nested Identities

Slaving expeditions, 'reductions', forcible removals of people, and introduced diseases brought about a drastic decrease in population numbers. In a few known instances, several groups decided to come together and live as one entity (see, for instance, Dixon, 2004, pp. 4-5 on a few Arawá groups; and a summary in Aikhenvald, 2015, pp. 26-28). A few Arawak-speaking peoples followed this path.

Yucuna, a North Arawak speaking group in the department of Amazonas in Colombia (600-700 people, in the basins of the Miritiparaná and the lower Caquetá Rivers), is a conglomerate of four exogamous groups: the Yukuna proper, the Matapi, the Tanimuca and the Letuama. All these groups originally spoke different languages. As Jacopin (1988, p. 134) puts it, 'during the Peruano-Colombian war (1933-34), the Yukuna Indians were apparently enlisted on the Colombian side and were so decimated by measles that that almost all the men of the Matapi exogamic group died. Their allies, the Yukuna proper, took care of the small children, and gave them four women for the sake of continuing the alliance, but their original tongue was lost forever. Since that time, the Matapi have spoken Yukuna'.

Further ancestors of the present-day Yukuna are listed in Fontaine (2008, pp. 47-50). Yukuna is unusual for an Arawak in many ways (see also Aikhenvald, 2010). This may well be due to the impact of various substrata and contact languages (Tanimuca-Retuarã, an extant Tukanoan language, being one of them).

The Palikur, speakers of a North Arawak language spoken in the Brazilian state of Amapá and in the adjacent regions of French Guiana, report that they had arisen from nine different groups coming together (Diana Green, p.c.; Passes, 2004, p. 281; Green and Green, 2013, pp. 214-218). Different groups came together to form an alliance or a 'federation'. The Palikur recorded and documented in the recent sources is said to reflect a 'lingua franca', based on numerous substrata — most of them unknown. Palikur is quite unusual for the Arawak family. For instance, it has more distinct classifier types than any other known language worldwide, a large set of number words, and three genders (rather than just two, as do most Arawak languages: see Chapter 10 of Aikhenvald, forthcoming).

A few remaining speakers of Mawayana (or Mapidian), from the Rio Branco subgroup of North Arawak, live with the Waiwai and the Trio in Suriname. Mawayana is highly endangered (Carlin, 2006). According to their oral history, they originally comprised 'several different groups that spoke different languages, namely the Jiwiyana, Buuyana, Wadayana, and Sariyana. It is not clear how different these languages were because the few people from these groups grew up speaking Mawayana and Waiwai' (Carlin, 2011, p. 233). Groups that had come together for the purposes of survival are still aware of their different origins. This is what Carlin (2006, 2011) calls 'nested' identity.

Arawak-speaking peoples have formed parts of other, non-Arawak speaking conglomerates, including the Carib-speaking Trio in Suriname and the Tupí-Guaraní-speaking Kokama in Brazil (Carlin, 2006, 2011; Cabral, 2007). All members of the newly created group named Wai Wai (or Waiwai) speak the same language, from the Carib family. But 'there is an acute awareness among themselves, especially the older generations, of their different ethnic origins', among them Carib (such as Tunayana), Arawak (e.g. Mawayana) and an isolate (Taruma). While older generations are still aware of the different ethnic groups which had come together to form the present one, the younger ones are less cognisant of them.

The legacy of Taino survives in the lexicon of the English of the Dominican republic and across the Caribbean (Allsop, 1996; Winer, 2009). The role of

further Arawak languages in the composition of newly emerging varieties of Spanish and Portuguese in South America and South American Creoles remains to be investigated.

We now turn to a documented instance of a relatively recent emergence of a new language.

3.3 Escaping and Surviving: The Kumandene Tariana

There was no stopping invaders and missionaries who kept advancing into less and less accessible areas —including the remote regions of the Upper Rio Negro and the Vaupés river basin. What the secular invaders —the Portuguese in Brazil and the Spaniards in the adjacent regions of Colombia— wanted was to make Indians work for them, procuring rubber and other jungle produce. The aim of the Catholic religious orders was to 'save' Indians by converting them into Christianity and getting them to abandon their traditional 'heathen' and 'devilish' beliefs and practices. In other words —to catch as many souls as possible. Numerous groups ended up succumbing to the pressure. One chose to move away, seeking refuge in the remote depths of the jungle. This is what happened to the Kumandene Tariana (more details are in Aikhenvald, 2014, 2021).

The Kumandene Tariana speak one of the two extant dialects of the Tariana language, once a large and powerful group spread all along the Vaupés river banks in Brazil. There are still about 3,000 ethnic Tariana —most of whom have lost their language but not their ethnic allegiance. Tariana is the only language from the Arawak family within the multilingual Vaupés Basin Linguistic Area, dominated by East Tukanoan languages, especially Tukano. There used to be at least four or five 'dialects', in fact, perhaps each as different from the other as Spanish and Portuguese. The only other surviving dialect is Wamiarikune Tariana (Aikhenvald and the Brito, 2002; Aikhenvald, 2003, 2010, 2015, 2022). Its speakers live in several settlements and mission centres on the banks of the Vaupés River. In §4, we return to what is happening to the Wamiarikune Tariana (or just 'Tariana).

Currently, Kumandene Tariana is a minority language spoken in Santa Terezinha on the Iauarí river, off the Vaupés. It is not fully mutually intelligible with Wamiarikune Tariana. Representatives of the two groups speak Tukano, the local majority indigenous language, to each other. Older speakers recognise that their original land is in Iauaretê.

The Kumandene Tariana must have moved away from the Iauaretê region early in the twentieth century, as the Salesian missionaries intensified their hold on the area. From what their grandfathers told them, current speakers remember how the missionaries (*payu-nai* in K-Tariana, or *padres*, in Portuguese) told them to throw away all their ritual paraphernalia — and this was the last straw which got them to move on. Many of the Tariana around the Iauaretê area stayed behind; the Kumandene Tariana chose not to.

The oldest members of the group (in their sixties) remember that their grandfathers had moved to their present location from their original land near the current mission centre of Iauaretê (mouth of the Papurí River). The move took place via the Aiary River, where the Baniwa Hohôdene language is spoken. This is where, according to the speakers, the Kumandene Tariana started marrying Baniwa Hohôdene women. Diagram 1 summarises the history and trajectory of the recent migrations of the Kumandene Tariana (see Aikhenvald, 2014, pp. 334-335).

Diagram 1 the Migrations of the Kumandene Tariana: Approximate Dates

EARLY 20TH CENTURY: leaving the Iauaretê area and moving north

LATER: moving via the Aiary River and interacting with the Baniwa Hohôdene

EARLY 1950S: established in Santa Terezinha on the Iauiarí river

The village of Santa Terezinha is now dominated by speakers of Baniwa Hohôdene, closely related to Kumandene Tariana but not mutually intelligible. Continuous interaction with the dominant Baniwa has turned Kumandene Tariana into a new blended variety.

The following examples illustrate the differences between Kumandene Tariana and Wamiarikune Tariana. The Baniwa Hohôdene form in Kumandene Tariana in (1) is in bold.

(1)	wa-ya-pua-de	**hrie**	uni	*Kumandene Tariana*
	1pl-POSS-CL:RIVER-NEG	this: Baniwa	river	
	'This is not our river'			

(2) wa-ya-pua hī uni-kade-naka *Wamiarikune Tariana*
1pl-POSS-CL:RIVER this river-NEG-PRESENT.VISUAL
'This is not our river'

What is special about the Kumandene Tariana language?

FIRST, this is an instance of survival of a distinct dialect of Tariana, due to the group escaping from the claws of missionaries.

SECONDLY, the net result is the emergence of a **new** language, different from the original Kumandene (documented by Koch-Grünberg, 1910, 1911), —a blended language with strong elements of Baniwa Hohôdene. This is comparable to other blended languages, including Surzhik in Ukraine, Ojicree in Canada, and Portunhol from the border areas between Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina (Aikhenvald, 2014, p. 359).

The extent of Baniwa Hohôdene impact on Kumandene Tariana varies, depending on speaker's age, speech genre, and the audience, making it difficult to analyze. The degree of individual variation in Kumandene Tariana is especially high among younger people (in their twenties and early thirties). The language is endangered. Children and teenagers are no longer able to use it on a day-to-day basis. At the same time, Kumandene Tariana is the badge of the ethnic identity of the group and the core of their marriage practices. This is a factor which may help the language survive, albeit in a modified way, incorporating more and more elements from the dominant Baniwa Hohôdene.

4. The Legacy of Youth: Innovative Tariana in the Making

The world over, younger generations speak differently from older people and show deviations from the established norm. Emergent innovative varieties of traditional languages add to the linguistic diversity across any language family.

The Innovative Wamiarikune Tariana (Tariana for short) spoken by younger generations is a case in point. As mentioned in §3.2.2, Tariana is the only Arawak language spoken in the Brazilian part of the multilingual linguistic area of the Vaupés River Basin (which spans Brazil and Colombia: Aikhenvald, 2010, 2022). Currently, there are about 100 speakers of the language (their number is growing).

The most striking feature of the Vaupés River Basin Linguistic Area is obligatory multilingualism based on linguistic exogamy: you have to marry someone whose father speaks a different language from your father (and thus belongs to a different language group). Languages within the multilingual marriage network are Tariana (Arawak) and a number of East Tukanoan languages, including Tukano, Wanano, Piratapuya, etc. The Tariana used to be fluent in several East Tukanoan languages. Now, Tukano is gaining ground as the main language of the region (mostly thanks to the Catholic education policies); and many younger people use it on a day-to-day basis.

Tariana shares numerous grammatical categories with East Tukanoan languages, thanks to centuries of intermarriage and multilingual interaction. There are very few borrowed forms, due to a strong inhibition against loans. There is a marked difference between the **'Traditional Tariana'** (now almost gone; documented by myself jointly with the Brito family in the 1990s-early 2000s) and the **'Innovative Tariana'**, currently spoken by people born from early sixties onwards.

Traditional Tariana used to be a predominantly oral language, with literacy developed in the early 1990s. All speakers of the Innovative Tariana are now literate in the language. The materials of the language include written stories (produced during pedagogical workshops), recordings, personal letters, and communication by e-mail, messenger, Facebook, and *WhatsApp*. Innovative Tariana is mutually intelligible with Traditional Tariana. We now turn to its special features, which set it apart from the Traditional language as a separate emergent dialect.

4.1 Phonetics and Phonology

A marked feature of Innovative Tariana is monophtongization of a falling diphthong *ai* > *e* and ãi > *ẽ* within roots — a cross-linguistically common phenomenon. See (3).

(3) Traditional Tariana	InnovativeTariana	translation
haiku	*heku*	'tree, wood'
maipuku	*mepuku*	'fish trap'
hipay	*hipe:*	'land'

The rising diphthong *wa* changes into *a,* and the vowel sequence *oa* to *a*: see (4).

(4) Traditional Tariana	Innovative Tariana	translation
di-keñwa	*di-keña*	'he begins'
yakolekwa	*yakoleka*	'door'
di-panoa	*di-pana*	'he sends'

A further feature is partial loss of aspirated consonants. In Innovative Tariana, aspiration tends to be lost in normal register (it can be maintained in slow careful speech). See (5).

(5) Traditional Tariana	Innovative Tariana	translation
nu-a-mhade	*nu-a-made*	'I will go'
pi-pheru	*pi-peru*	'your older sister'
Kumatharo	*Kumataro*	'personal female name'

The first two features are internally motivated and shared with related languages. In particular, monophtongization is a recurrent phonological process attested in the history of many languages, including Spanish (see, for instance, Malkiel, 1966). The loss of aspiration may well be an outcome of the influence of Tukano.

4.2 Morphology and Syntax

A prime example of a morphological innovations in Innovative Tariana comes from possessive constructions. Like all Arawak languages, Tariana has two classes of nouns. Nouns which refer to close relationships and close possessions are 'inalienably posses sed' and always take possessive prefixes, as shown in (6) and (7).

(6) nu-p(h)eru *Tariana*
1sg-older.sister
'my older sister'

(7) pi-kapi *Tariana*
2sg-hand
'your hand'

Other nouns do not take prefixes, and possession is marked via juxtaposition, with a pronoun preceding the possessed noun, as shown in (8).

(8) nuha hinipuku *Tariana*
I garden
'my garden'

Like most Arawak languages, Traditional Tariana has two possession classes —see Table 1.

Table 1. Possession classes in Traditional Tariana

PROPERTIES	CLASS 1: OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED ITEMS	CLASS 2: OPTIONALLY POSSESSED ITEMS
a. Semantics of possessee	Body parts; Kinship terms; Important attributes	All else
b. Marking	Personal possessor prefixes on possessee	Juxtaposition of possessor and possessee
c. Obligatory expression of possessor	yes	no
Examples	• nu-kapi (1sg-hand) 'my hand', nu-hwida 'my head' • nu-itu (1sg-daughter) 'my daughter', nu-pheri 'my elder brother', nu-ha-niri (1sg-parent-masculine) 'my father', nu-hadua (1sg-parent-feminine) 'my mother'; nu-pitana 'my name'.	nuha tsinu (I dog) 'my dog', nuha panisi 'my house', etc.

Innovative Tariana maintains the same system as the Traditional language, with one exception. This is that possession of the most frequently used kinship terms —'mother' and 'father'— involves juxtaposition of Possessor and Possessee. Compare Traditional Tariana with Innovative Tariana in (9) and (10).

	Traditional Tariana	*Innovative Tariana*
(9)	nu-ha-niri	nuha ha-niri
	1sg-parent-MASCULINE	I parent-MASCULINE
	'my father'	'my father', lit. I father
(10)	nu-ha-do	nuha ha-do
	1sg-parent-FEMININE	I parent-FEMININE
	'my mother'	'my mother', lit. I mother

'Mother' and 'father' in Innovative Tariana form a new possession Class 3 —see Table 2 which features possession classes in Innovative Tariana.

Table 2. Possession classes in Innovative Tariana

PROPERTIES	CLASS 1: OBLIGATORILY POSSESSED ITEMS	CLASS 2: OPTIONALLY POSSESSED ITEMS	CLASS 3: OBLIGATORY POSSESSED KINSHIP TERMS 'MOTHER' AND 'FATHER'
(a) Semantics of possessee	Body parts; most kinship terms; Important attributes	All else	'mother', 'father'
(b) Marking	Personal prefixes on possessor	Juxtaposition of possessor and possessee	
(c) Obligatory expression of possessor	yes	no	yes

What are the origins of the third possession class in Innovative Tariana? Tukano, an East Tukanoan language used by speakers on a daily basis, employs juxtaposition for expressing all kinds of possession. Obligatorily possessed items (such as kinship and body part terms) always have to occur with a possessor which is juxtaposed to the possessee, e.g. *yɨ'ɨ pa-kɨ* (I parent-MASCULINE) 'my father' (lit. I father), and *yɨ'ɨ pa-ko* (1sg parent-FEMININE) 'my mother' (lit. I mother). As a consequence of the indirect influence of Tukano, the Innovative Tariana has (a) expanded its system of possession classes, innovating a special class just for 'mother' and 'father', and (b) evolved a cross-linguistically highly

unusual possession system shown in Table 2 (cf. Dixon, 2010), different from both Traditional Tariana and from Tukano.

The new typologically unusual pattern is different from the traditional system and from that in the contact language.

In addition to this, the class of inalienably possessed nouns is expanding. The Portuguese loan *celula* 'mobile phone' can now occur with a prefix. The speaker said (11) in 2020. The noun did not take the prefix, and possession was expressed via juxtaposition.

(11) panisi-se-nihka na-ītu-hni-niki *Tariana: 2020*
house-loc-rec.p.infer 3pl-steal-anterior-fully
nhua celula-nuku walite-nuku nu-dakini-tupe
I mobile.PHONE-OBJ NEW-OBJ 1sg-grandchildren-DIM.PL
'In the house my little grandchildren stole (recent past inferred) my new mobile phone'

In 2021 the same speaker told me, in (12), how he had sent his brother a voice message with a traditional blessing, using his phone.

(12) hi pañapanipe-nuku wa-weri-nuku *Tariana: 2021*
this blessing-OBJ 1pl-younger.brother-OBJ
audio-se **nu-celula**-se-nuku nu-pana-ka
audio-LOC 1sg-mobile.phone-WITH-OBJECT1 sg-send-REC.P.VIS
'I have just sent a blessing to our younger brother José via audio, via my mobile phone'

The use of mobile phones is expanding. This could well be the reason for treating them as a close possession.

4.3 Lexicon

New realities and new objects warrant new ways of saying things. One can either borrow a word from the majority language, or use one's own, with a new meaning. In some Arawak languages, the word for 'cow, bull' is borrowed from Spanish or Portuguese. In others, the term for another animal, usually a tapir, is extended to cover the newcomer, e.g. Baniwa Hohôdene

heéma 'tapir, cow', and Tariana *he:ma na:-nite na-hña* (lit. a tapir which is fed, or made eat) 'cow'. Speakers of Innovative Tariana have thoroughly embraced modernity and modern means of communication —they use mobile phones, *WhatsApp*, and social media on a daily basis. In agreement with the pan-Vaupés restrictions on recognizable loan forms, in the early 2000s there was a tendency to translate the new terms into Tariana. Those new formations are still in use, including the following:

- *nawiki i-whida* 'computer' (lit. people's head), frequently replaced by *komputadora*
- *iñe iha* 'money, lil Devil's excrement' (based on Tukano *wãtê ɨtâ* 'evil spirit's excrement');
- *pa-wha-nipa* (IMPERSONAL-sit-PASSIVE+CL:FLAT) 'a bank (for money)', cf Portuguese *banco* 'bank; bench'.
- *pakanipe pheta* 'photograph' > sometimes replaced by *foto,* Portuguese *foto*.

If a speaker cannot find a Tariana equivalent, a Portuguese code-switch used to be introduced with *yalana yaku-nuku* 'in white man's language'. As we saw in (11) and (12), speakers nowadays just use Portuguese words, without an introduction.

4.4 Innovative Tariana: An Interim Summary

Innovative Tariana, spoken by a younger generation, differs from the Traditional language in numerous ways, including phonology, morphology, syntax, and lexicon. The Innovative language displays some internally-motivated changes. Other changes in Innovative Tariana are due to an increasing impact of Tukano, nowadays the major language of the area, and also Portuguese. It would be a simplification to say that Innovative Tariana is 'just' a mixture of a relexified majority language. The language has kept its core. The new ways of speaking carry the seeds of language change —the direction which the language is likely to take in the future.

5. To Conclude: The Linguistic Legacy of the Invasion and the Dynamics of Linguistic Repertoires

I. The impact of the Invasion on the Arawak language family was devastating. The numbers of lost languages speak for themselves. The remarkable

diversity of the family (as of all Amazonian families) is under threat. Many of the remaining languages have undergone depletion and erosion. We saw this in the examples from Achagua and Baré. There are many more out there. The picture is grim.

II. A closer look at the dynamics of extant languages reveals a somewhat different picture —curious, if not less depressing. A forced removal of speakers of a dialect of Island Carib in 1697 resulted in the development of one of the largest languages in the family— Garifuna.

III. A few Amazonian groups, depleted by the Invaders, converged and united to form a bigger one. As a consequence, we witness the existence of unusual Arawak languages based on multiple groups, some non-Arawak —Yucuna and Palikur (and also Mawayana). Substrata from Arawak languages were instrumental in the creation of other languages with nested identities and some varieties of national languages.

IV. In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Kumandene Tariana, from north-west Amazonia, escaped from the pressure of Salesian missionaries. As a result, their language survived, albeit in a different form. It evolved into an unusual blended language with a strong component of the closely related Baniwa Hohôdene.

V. A new innovative variety of Tariana on the banks of the Vaupés River is on the rise. The language differs from Traditional Tariana in its phonology, morphology, syntax, and especially lexicon. New genres and new ways of saying things are on the rise.

And last but not least. Attempts at language reclamation and language regeneration, through joint efforts of language communities and language enthusiasts, descendants and linguists, can produce a novel, reconstituted language. The emergent versions of Taino in the Dominican Republic and the USA are a case in point. The numbers of the Taino people went down drastically after Christopher Columbus and his ilk set foot on their ancestral land back in 1492. But to say that the Taino language is no more will not be correct —there is a New Taino emerging, documented, and taught, almost as we speak (see, for instance, Estevez and Marrero, 2021). This is a testimony to the resilience of Arawak-speaking people, against all odds.

The emergence and the conscious creation of new languages and language varieties within the Arawak family allow us —as scholars and as adopted

community members— to work together towards a better and brighter future for the languages to which we have dedicated our lives. As Jovino Brito (a speaker of Innovative Tariana) put it, *Macha-nakɨ, macha-pidɨ, macha-pida thuiniki* 'It is good, all the best to all'.

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 first, second, third person; ANTERIOR anterior aspect; CL classifier; DIM.PL diminutive plural; fem.sg feminine singular; FULLY full involvement; LOC locative; masc.sg masculine singular; NEG negative; NUM.CL numeral classifier; OBJ object; pl plural; POSS POSSESSIVE; PRESENT.VISUAL present visual (no abbreviation); REC.P.INFER RECENT PAST INFERRED; REC.P.VIS recent past visual; REM.PAST.NONVISUAL remote past nonvisual; REM.PAST.REP remote past reported; sg singular; sgnf singular nonfeminine.

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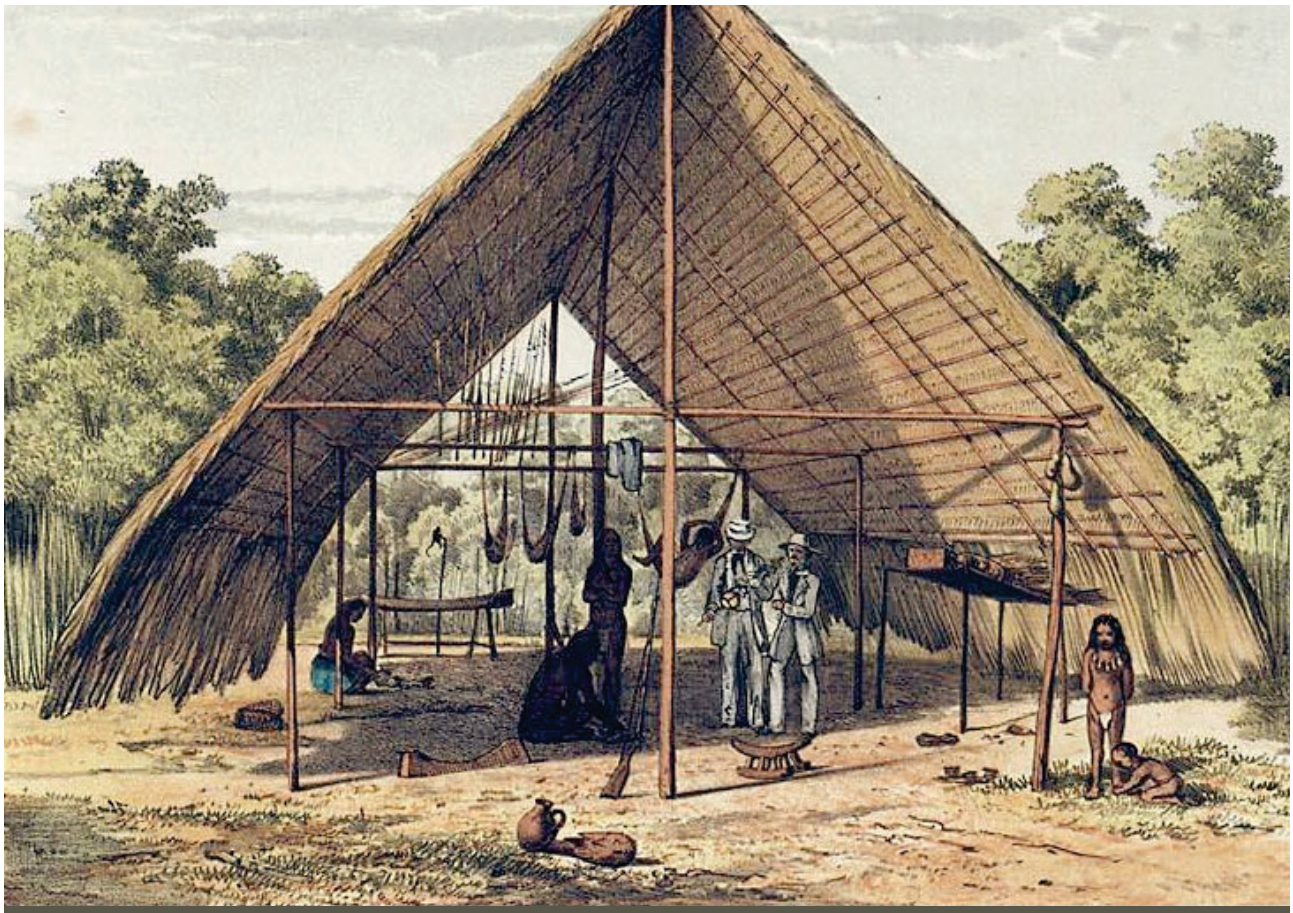

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Contenido