Pleasures in Tarana.

Tarana is a very unusual Indigenous Australian language that is spoken in the Grampians region of Victoria, Australia. It is a highly complex language with a large number of grammatical features and is considered to be one of the most endangered languages in Australia. The language has a rich cultural heritage and is an important part of the local Indigenous community.

Tarana is a member of the Wimmera language group and is closely related to the Ngarrindjeri language. It is spoken by the Ngarrindjeri people, who are a small Indigenous community located in the Wimmera region of Victoria.

The language is spoken by a small number of people, many of whom are elderly, and there is a strong effort to preserve and promote the language through educational programs and community activities.

Pleasures in Tarana

Tarana is a language of great richness and diversity, with a wide range of grammatical features and a complex system of sounds. It is a language that is uniquely suited to the needs of the Ngarrindjeri community, and is an essential part of their cultural heritage.

The language is spoken in a number of different places, including the Grampians region of Victoria, and is spoken by a wide range of people, from young children to elderly adults.

Tarana is a language of great beauty and complexity, and is an important part of the Indigenous heritage of Australia.
Another language of the area is Língua Geral, spoken throughout the Upper Rio Negro (see Taylor 1985; Rodrigues 1986; Moore et al 1994). On the Vaupes, it is understood only by older people. Língua Geral, a creolized version of Tupinambá (Tupi-Guarani family), was spread from the east coast of Brazil by white merchants and missionaries. It was the lingua franca of the whole Amazon region from the late 17th century until the late 19th century. Its influence can still be seen in a few loanwords in Tariana and other languages of the Vaupes. It was gradually replaced by Tucano as a lingua franca starting around the early 20th century. The impact of Língua Geral is still felt in placenames (see §4).

Settlements on the Vaupes River where Tariana is still spoken (Juquirá, Ji-Ponta, Periquitos and Iaurete) are underlined. The arrow indicates the direction of Tariana’s migration from Wapui Cachoeira ‘Rapid of Wapui’ (in box).

3. Cultural Setting and Historical Evidence

3.1. Social Organization. In the Vaupes basin, Tarianas and Tucanos live in several discontinuous areas along the main river and its tributaries. They display great cultural similarity and a complicated network of interrelations by marriage (Sorensen 1967; Jackson 1974; Alkhenvald 1996a). Cultural homogeneity in the Vaupes is reinforced by shared means of subsistence, food, and ways of life, as well as by shared
4. Preparatory to the formation of the first insect-like larva, the tergum, many of these animals, such as the branchiate, the crustacean, and the insect, pass through a series of metamorphosis. This process involves a series of changes in the structure and function of the organism, including the formation of new tissues and organs. These changes are typically gradual and occur over a period of time. The process of metamorphosis is characterized by the transformation of the larval form into the adult form. This transformation is often accompanied by significant changes in the behavior and physiology of the organism.

5. The process of metamorphosis is essential for the survival of many animal species. It allows these animals to adapt to new environments and to take on new roles within their ecosystems. The ability to undergo metamorphosis is a distinguishing feature of many invertebrates and is a key factor in their ability to colonize new habitats and to thrive in diverse environments.

6. Metamorphosis is a complex process that involves a series of cellular and molecular events. It is controlled by a variety of biological and environmental factors, including hormones, temperature, and nutrient availability. The process of metamorphosis is typically triggered by a series of hormonal signals that activate specific genes and pathways. These pathways lead to the formation of new tissues and organs, and to the reorganization of existing structures.

7. The study of metamorphosis is an active area of research in biology, with many questions still unresolved. Scientists are working to understand the molecular and cellular mechanisms that underlie this process, and to use this knowledge to develop new strategies for the management of diseases and disorders. The study of metamorphosis is also important for our understanding of evolution and the history of life on Earth.
are associated with traditional, strictly Tariana mythic characters and the creation of the world, which I call “mythological” placenames (§4.4). 7

These placenames differ in several important properties: whether they exist in the languages of the region, or just in Tariana; 8 whether they are also named in Língua Geral or in Portuguese; and whether—if they have a name in languages other than Tariana—they are calque translations from one language to another. Finally, some but not all placenames have archaic features, and some but not all can be derived from proper names. These properties of placenames are summarized in table 1.

Table 1. Properties of Tariana Placenames

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Property</th>
<th>“Actual”</th>
<th>“Historical”</th>
<th>“Mythological”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Placenames Multilingual</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>rarely</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placenames Named in Língua Geral or Ptg</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>occasionally</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Placenames Calque Translations</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derived from Proper Names</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grammatical Archaisms</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>possible</td>
<td>possible</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some placenames refer to localities where the Tariana actually live; at the same time, these localities appear in stories about the Tariana’s migrations and in origin myths, so such names can be considered both “historical” and “mythological.” They have a number of peculiarities discussed in §4.5.

4.2. “Actual” Placenames. The names of places where Tariana live now, or lived until recently, are calques, with counterparts occurring in Tucano and other East Tucanoan languages of the Vaupes. They are also translated into Língua Geral, or Portuguese, and in these forms they appear on Brazilian maps. Thus they reflect not only the actual linguistic situation, characterized by multilingualism, but also recent history, in which Língua Geral was a língua franca of the Vaupes. Some placenames also have other, more recent names in Portuguese, often given by Catholic missionaries.

A useful list of “actual” placenames in Tucano, Língua Geral (LG), and Portuguese (Ptg) is given by Brúzzi (1977, 49 ff.) My consultants corrected this list and supplied Tariana equivalents. Such names also occur in biographical narratives in my corpus of Tariana texts. Examples of multilingual “actual” placenames, listed under Tariana forms, include the following, where CL = classifier and AF = affix:

yema-phe, Tucano uxtika-pãr ‘leaf of tobacco’ (tobacco-CL.LEAF);
LG no name; Ptg Cigarro (old name), Nova Esperança (new name).
iwi-taku, Tucano mod(no) ‘promontory associated with salt’ (salt- AFpromontory); LG Juquila; Ptg Juquira-ponta (old name), (hybrid with Língua Geral), Santa Rosa (new name).
iakul-taku, Tucano uhuri-pwea ‘rapids of the turtle’ (turtle-AF RAPIDS); LG no name; Ptg Jabuti.
tuili-taku, Tucano umu-hõa ‘promontory associated with the japã bird’ (japã.bird-AF.island); LG no name; Ptg Japã-ponta.
mawka-keru, Tucano wõhõ-nõkkáro ‘island of the arumã vine’ (arumã vin-AF.island); LG no name; Ptg Arumã.

Placenames of this group contain no grammatical archaisms. A place is named after a plant which grows in the place, or its physical property: thus yemapa ‘Cigarro’ is a settlement known for growing tobacco. The name iwikatu ‘juquila’, recently renamed Santa Rosa, is known for a plant used in traditional extraction of salt; it is the place where wamialikane live now. The name ikitikatu ‘jabutí’ is known for a concentration of turtles. The place called tuvitikatu—where Cândido, one of the oldest speakers of Tariana, was born—is known for a concentration of japã birds; and nawakere is known for the arumã vine, used for making roofs (both tuvitikatu and nawakere are now abandoned).

4.3. “Historical” Placenames. Historical places are associated with sites where Tariana lived in the ancient times and with their migrations. These placenames appear in stories about Tariana migrations, about the subtribes, and about wars between them. Unlike “actual” placenames, “historical” placenames do not necessarily refer to places of settlements; they may refer to important sites (stones, caves, etc.)
pu-whya-le-pani 'rapids of magic breath' (IMPERS-breath-POSS-CL.HISTORICAL), Tucano tópa-duri 'sieve-like rocks'; LG Ipanore (types: actual, historical). This culturally important example is the Tariana name for the famous Ipanore Rapids, where Tucano-speaking subtribes of the Tariana still live. The mythological traditions of various East Tucanoan peoples (Buchliet 1994) state they emerged from the rapids of Ipanore. But Tariana tradition is different: it relates that Ipanore was the place where all the East Tucanoan tribes came together and arrived at various agreements. Since the Tariana arrived "late," they did not receive their portion of "magic breath," which is believed to be the source of all kinds of sorcery, and which went mostly to Desanas. (This corresponds to the fact that the Tariana are indeed the most recent arrivals to the region.) Hence the name 'rapids of magic breath'.

Only one of the placenames given above combines the properties of an actual, an historical, and a mythological placename. This is Tariana yawhipani, from yawt 'jaguar' and the archaic suffix -hipani 'rapids'; (see §5). The name was taken from the adventures of a mythic character yawi-walli 'jaguar-like one', who lived there and who lost a battle to the forefathers of the Tariana, called irine. The archaic element hipani 'rapids', preserved in Baniwa of Ícana as hipani, hipana 'rapids', underwent the loss of its initial syllable in Tariana, and is used as a placename suffix -pani 'rapids'. Nowadays lauarete is a large mission, a sort of semi-urban center of the Tariana on the Vaupes. Unlike other historical and mythological placenames, the placename has corresponding terms in Tucano and in Lingua Geral. This irregularity can be explained by the unusual status of this settlement as the center of the Tucano-speaking Tariana.

5. Linguistic Properties of Placenames

5.1. Derivation of Placenames. "Actual" and "historical" placenames are formed on common nouns, and "mythological" placenames on common nouns or proper names with derivational suffixes. These suffixes are also used as numeral and verbal classifiers, and as noun class markers (see Alkhavenvald 1994), e.g., wallru-na 'mountain of evil spirit' (evil spirit-CL.VERTICAL), kuida-kere 'island of Brazil nuts' (Brazil nut-CL.ISLAND), yema-phe 'cigarro' (tobacco-CL.LEAF-LIKE).

Some derivational suffixes are used with placenames only, and are never employed as classifiers. One such suffix is -ali, as in adaru-ali 'river of the parrot', makwa-ali 'river of the Makú'. The equivalent of this suffix in ordinary language is -puwa, also used as a classifier meaning 'long stretch' or 'road'. Some "actual" placenames have two variants—one with -ali and the other with -puwa, e.g., awadu-ali, awadu-puwa 'river of awadu bird'. All rivers are referred to with -puwa, e.g., diha-puwa 'this one (river)' (this-CL.STRETCH). The suffix -ali may also be present in such placenames as coyali 'Vaupes' (see note 10) and ayali 'Aiari' (map 2). Other derivational affixes used with placenames only are na 'river bed, river mouth', e.g. an "actual" placename teyali numa-na 'Miriti'; and -pani 'rapids of' (see §5.2 on -hipani), e.g., the "actual" placenames inali-pani 'Mucura' (lit. 'rapids of the mucura rat') and puperi-pani 'Bacaba' ('rapids of the bacaba fruit').

5.2. Archaisms in Placenames. Archaic morphemes occur only in historical placenames, which do not have calque translations involving Tucano, and in monolingual mythological placenames. These archaic morphemes are either unproductive or non-existent in Tariana. They can be identified through comparison with other Arawak languages of the Upper Rio Negro region.

The suffix -le is used to mark a subclass of alienably possessed nouns in all Arawak languages (Payne 1991, 378). This morpheme is highly productive in Baniwa of Ícana, Warekena, and Bare (see Alkhavenvald 1995; 1996b), in which it marks possession of artifacts. In Tariana the suffix is preserved in two placenames. One is a "mythological" placename associated with the itinerary of the Tariana forefathers, itere-tapu-le 'spirit's dream'; the other is pa-whya-le-pani 'Ipanore' ('the rapids of the magic breath'), discussed in §4.5.

The suffix -wa 'in the quality of' is productively used as an oblique case marker and as a derivational suffix in Baniwa and Warekena (Alkhavenvald 1996b). In Tariana it is used only in kada-wa 'to become dark' and in the name of a mythological place where the Tariana's forefathers stopped on the way from Aiari to Lauarete, yeda-wa 'the river flowing downstream' (yeda 'downstream', in the modern language).
null
reflection of a general tendency toward “Tucanoization” in the Brazilian Vaupes. My corpus of texts in Tariana contains about 500 pages of texts in different genres.

I am grateful to all my teachers of the indigenous languages of the Amazon—the Brito family (Tariana), Humberto Baltazar and Pedro Ângelo Tomás (Warekena), the late Candialdo da Silva (Bare), Marcelia, Afonso, Albino, and João Fontes, Celsentino da Silva, and Cecília and Laureano da Silva (Banwa), Tiago Cardoso (Descos, Piraitapuya), and Alfredo Fontes (Tucano). I owe thanks to R. M. W. Dixon for discussion and comments. My appreciation goes to Silvana and Valdir Martins and to Elias and Lenita Coelho, without whose help this work would have been impossible.

2. The semi-nomadic Makú (the “untouchables” of the region) display a number of cultural divergences from the Eastern Tucanos and the Tariana, such as the lack of linguistic exogamy and of agriculture. They are considered inferior by the Eastern Tucanos and Tariana, who call them “slaves” (Silverwood-Cope 1990; Martins 1994). They do not intermarry with either the Eastern Tucanos or the Tariana. Even more peripheral are the Yanomami, semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers who live in the jungle around the small tributaries of the Upper Río Negro, and sometimes get as far west as the Vaupes region; they are not culturally integrated with other peoples of the Upper Río Negro.

3. The naming of the Arawak language family, the generic unity of which was first recognized by P. Gillij in 1783, has been the subject of controversy among scholars for some time. The majority of native South American scholars use the name “Arawak” (or “Arakú”) to refer to a group of unquestionably related languages, but other scholars—mainly North Americans—use the term “Arawak(an)” to refer to much more doubtful genetic units of a higher taxonomic order, and reserve the term “Malpurun” (or “Malpuren”) for the more limited grouping (Payne 1991). Here I retain the name Arawak for the family of directly related languages, following Rodrigues (1986).

Numerous dialects of Baniwa of Igana/Kurupas, the majority of which are mutually intelligible, are spoken by three or four thousand people on the Igana River and its tributaries, on the Upper Río Negro itself, and in the adjacent regions of Colombia and Venezuela. Warekena, a dialect of Baniwa of Guinna, is spoken by a few dozen old people on the Xie river (Aikhenvald 1966b). Bare, once the most important language of the area, is now almost extinct (Aikhenvald 1995). Other extinct Arawak languages (Amarizana, Guinna, Mano, Mandawara, Yabana) are shown on map 1.

4. Traditional social units important for the analysis of multilingualism in the Vaupes are the nuclear family, lineage, sib, tribe, phratry, longhouse group, linguistic group, and exogamy group (Sorenson 1972, 79). In the Brazilian Vaupes, the longhouse group has been replaced by multilingual villages, as a result of activities of Salesian missionaries since 1925. Nuclear families form a lineage, and several lineages form a patrilineal sib. A tribe is defined as a political and a ceremonial group which consists of several sibs; it is identifiable by a distinct language.

5. The following ten subgroups are arranged in order of seniority (the etymology of some is unknown; some are named after an ancestral mythic being, and some after a totemic animal): 1. kwenaka (descendants of the first son; meaning unknown); 2. isiri-hlene (?); 3. kall-ne (perhaps descendants of kalli, the mythic hero-creator; Kall-PL); 4. paipehe (?); 5. kumadene ‘ducks’ (people of the duck); 6. malle-ne ‘jacù birds’; 7. kudali-wa ‘feather of kudali bird’; 8. pichi-kwa ‘group of agouti’; 9. wayali ‘(people of jaguar?)’. The final subgroup, and the only dialect still spoken, is wamialikutne ‘the only/last ones’. A similar hierarchy of subtribes is given by Brúzzi (1977, 101-103). These hierarchical relations may have been different in the past. According to one of the origin stories told by the wamialikutne, they once possessed a magical musical instrument which their elder brothers did not have, and which gave them the right to a higher status. The names of the subtribes kalli, kwenaka, and pišia are given by Biocca (1965, 255), who gives no hierarchy.

6. As mentioned above, only the “bottom of the pile” subtribe of Tariana, wamialikutne, preserve their language as a badge of identity, thus following the multilingual pattern traditional in the Vaupes. The nine more senior subgroups of Tariana underwent acculturation and “Tucanoization”: their main language is Tucano. This process started before the establishment of the Salesian mission in 1925; according to Koch-Grünberg (111), the process of replacing Tariana with Tucano was already in an advanced stage by the early 1900s. This process was speeded up by Salesian missionaries, who were trying to fit the peoples of the Vaupes into a “one people, one language” norm. The Tucano-speaking Tariana still preserve some origin myths; however, everything is related in Tucano. Every traditional placename is known in a Tucano translation; when a placename has a different meaning in Tucano and in Tariana (see §§4.3, 4.5), just the Tucano name is used. The evidence of the Tucano-speaking groups is still valuable for determining differences in myths and stories between subtribes; however, it cannot be completely trusted because of Tucano influence. An important work, based on kaline tradition (the third group in the Tariana hierarchy), is that of Moreira (1994); however, one can only rely on what is confirmed by other sources (Stradelli 1890; Biocca 1965; Amorim 1987; Brúzzi 1977; 1994). During my fieldwork, the wamialikutne pointed out that Moreira’s versions of myths, and of the itineraries of their forefathers, disagreed with their own. They refused to give further comments, saying that people like Moreira “have lost their language.”

7. An additional group are placenames outside the Vaupes, borrowed from Portuguese or Spanish, such as Borá ‘Manaus’ (a name used for Manaus until this century), Sto Gabriel, and Mitú. These names are not considered here.

8. For the sake of simplicity, placenames are translated into Tucano only; often my consultants were hesitant about names in other East Tucanoan languages of the region.
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Preface

It was a pleasure and honor for me to be invited to act as guest editor for a special issue of Names on the topic of American Indian placenames. It was agreed that the range of articles should be broad, including toponyms used in the Native American languages themselves as well as names borrowed by English (or other European languages) from Native sources. Geographically, papers on both North and South America were welcome.

The result consists of the five papers which follow. Four on North American topics, and one on South America. Three of the papers are primarily on indigenous placenames, one is on names in Chinook Jargon—the trade language which developed between Natives and Europeans in the Pacific Northwest—and one is on names borrowed by English. The papers are by authors with backgrounds in linguistics, anthropology, geography, and onomastics.

If I may add a personal note, I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to the late Madison Beeler of Berkeley, who was the second Editor of Names, and who was my teacher and friend from the 1940s onward. A specialist in Indo-European and specifically Germanic linguistics, as well as onomastics, Beeler took up the study of California Indian languages in the middle of his career; and as many of his linguistics students at Berkeley were doing research on the languages of Native California, he encouraged us to undertake research on naming practices in those languages. My own involvement in onomastics from that time to the present is a direct result of the inspiration that I owe to Beeler.

Interest of the general public in Native American language and culture, and work by scholars in these fields, has grown immensely in recent decades. The heritage which modern American society has received from the American Indian is immense; it includes not only foods such as maize, squash, persimmons, pecans, tomatoes, chilies, and chocolate, but also the names of those foods. In the area of geography, it has not been adequately recognized that Indian trails were the original courses for our modern highways, and American Indian villages were the sites on which most of our major modern cities were built. Again on the linguistic side, the Indian names of those villages—along with the Native names of rivers, lakes, and mountains—are historic and distinctive features of the modern American map, and part of the general American consciousness. The study of American Indian placenames, both as elements of Native life and as contributions to the modern geographical lexicon, is a field which will reward much further study.

William Bright
University of Colorado