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Chapter 3
Endangered Languages of Lowland Tropical South America[1]

Denny Moore

The languages discussed in this chapter are found in a vast region which roughly corresponds to lowland South America: the Amazonian regions of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia, as well as all of Brazil, Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. Present figures indicate the presence of about 300 indigenous and creole languages in this region, though the number would be less if mutually intelligible dialects were not listed as separate languages. The available figures (and those presented here) are unreliable, but give some idea of the situation of these languages which can be compared to the situation in other world areas.

South America is noted for linguistic diversity. Nichols (1990: 479) estimates the continent has about 90 linguistic stocks, conservatively defined, compared to 14 stocks in Africa. Kaufman and Golla (2001: 48) estimate 50 language families and 50 isolates in South America. Lizarralde (2001: 266) estimates that there were "possibly 1,200 indigenous groups" in native South America before European contact, and that 65 percent of the native languages became extinct. Kaufman and Golla (2001: 48) estimate 550 native languages in pre-Columbian South America, of which 300 survive. The Andean highlands are rather different from the lowlands culturally, linguistically, and even genetically (Simoni et. al. 2001). The earliest pottery in the New World (8,000 to 6,000 B. P.) is in Amazonia (Roosevelt 1994: 5). According to Roosevelt (1994), the floodplains of Amazonia supported dense populations organized in chiefdoms which were quite different from the surviving indigenous cultures in the present-day tropical forest. The arrival of the Europeans ultimately decimated the chiefdoms, though there was a long and eventful period of interaction between them and the Europeans.

The surviving native lowland societies are mainly in the hinterlands, where sustained contact has been relatively recent. In Eastern Brazil, for example, few native groups still speak their language. Rodrigues (1993) estimates that 75 % of the native languages of Brazil have already disappeared. There are still indigenous groups in Amazonia who live with no

contact with national society. Even today these groups usually lose two-thirds of their population from diseases when they enter into sustained contact. This mass death is completely unnecessary since the diseases responsible for it are all preventable or treatable, but the necessary assistance measures are seldom carried out, and both the general public and specialists, such as anthropologists, often accept the deaths as routine and normal.

Scientific knowledge of the languages of lowland South America is still limited. In Brazil, for example, according to the estimates of Franchetto (2000: 171) there is good description for only 19% of the native languages, some description for 64%, and nothing for 13%. The national capacity for linguistic research varies greatly from country to country, with Brazil, Colombia, and Venezuela seemingly the most developed in scientific linguistics (leaving aside French Guiana, which is formally a part of France and undergoing recent development). In Brazil the scientific investigation of indigenous languages only began in the second half of the twentieth century but is developing at an accelerating pace. In the last 15 years 23 doctoral dissertations involving indigenous languages were defended in Brazilian graduate programs (including one by a foreign missionary linguist). Of these, 16 included analysis of language structure. Aside from these, 17 doctoral dissertations involving indigenous Brazilian languages were defended in graduate programs abroad (including three by foreign scientists). Of these, 15 included analysis of language structure. Characteristically for the region, the number of linguists with only an M.A. is disproportionately high: about one hundred M. A. theses involving indigenous languages have been defended in Brazil in the last 15 years.

Progress in the development of national centers for linguistics in the region increases the national capacity for dealing with the question of endangered languages and their documentation, though much more remains to be done. At least in Brazil there has been too little respect for linguistic description, which is often disparaged, more prestige being attributed to partial descriptions with theoretical pretensions. The first published complete description of an indigenous language by a Brazilian linguist in decades is the grammar of *Kamaiurá* by Seki (2000). Real dictionaries (not wordlists) and text collections are still rare in Brazil. Recent support by the *Volkswagen Foundation* for projects documenting the *Kuikúro*, *Trumái*, and *Awetí* languages of the Xingu is having an excellent impact on the level of documentation being carried out.

In my experience, the nature of scientific underdevelopment is not generally understood. Underdevelopment is not the lack of something; rather it is a positive system which intends to maintain itself and which will react against developmental efforts which might threaten it. Those wishing to promote scientific development should anticipate possible resistance by those most heavily invested in the underdeveloped system. Where development does not occur it is the result of human decisions and not of mystical factors or lack of innate capacity.

Though it is often believed that the presence of missionary linguistic organizations will help develop linguistics in the Third World, the facts from Latin America prove the contrary. Of the non-missionary Brazilian linguists with a doctorate, none owes his training principally to missionary organizations. There is an inverse relation between missionary presence and the development of national scientific linguistics. In Brazil, for example, the position of missionary linguists has declined steadily as more and more well-trained Brazilian linguists have appeared. In Bolivia, by contrast, where there are relatively few national linguists specializing in indigenous languages, the great preponderance of linguistic investigation is carried out by missionary organizations, which have little interest in producing non-missionary Bolivian linguists.

There are relatively few non-missionary foreign linguists active in lowland South America, in spite of the many research opportunities and the possibility of interesting collaborations with national entities and indigenous organizations. With a few exceptions, such as the regions of Colombia involved in armed conflict, there is reasonably secure access to research sites in the region. In Brazil anyone conducting scientific research in a native community must have the authorization of the National Indian Foundation, which entails having the permission of the community and formal affiliation with a Brazilian scientific institution. Foreigners must also have a research visa, which in principle takes 120 days to obtain, though delays are common and at least a third of foreign applicants fail to follow instructions and must repeat steps. In the other countries of the region the authorization process is probably less regulated than in Brazil. In Bolivia, for example, it is possible to conduct research on indigenous languages without special authorization. Linguists who have worked in other world areas are often surprised that in Brazil there is a firm expectation that the linguist will do something of practical use for the community and will collaborate with national linguists. In my experience, foreign linguists and Latin American linguists have very different attitudes toward missionary organizations. For most North American linguists, if these organizations eliminate native religions and do not develop national scientific linguistic capacity in the countries where they work, that is acceptable and even natural, especially if the missionaries are "nice" and do some "good lin-

guistics" and perhaps offer data or other favors. By contrast, for most Brazilian linguists the elimination of native religions and the lack of interest in national scientific development are simply unacceptable-period.

Given the small size of most of the surviving groups of the lowlands, it is not surprising that many of their languages are in serious danger of extinction within one or two generations. This is especially true where history and social forces remove the contexts in which the language was always used. Intermarriage, dispersion in search of work or training, and minority status in relation to other indigenous languages in the same community tend to undermine transmission of the language over time. At least in Brazil the native communities are interested in documentation of their language and culture and usually welcome scientists willing to assist them in that respect. Methods for language revitalization are not generally known or employed yet in lowland South America, though there is considerable activity in literacy in the native language. In Brazil many such literacy efforts are hampered by orthographies which do not reflect the phonology of the language, by competing multiple orthographies, and by a lack of objective evaluation of results. In such cases the written materials developed will be of doubtful value to future generations since the pronunciation cannot be recovered from the written form.

In the tables that follow, an attempt is made to review the status of each of the languages of lowland South America. However, most of the data presented is questionable, since in this region few efforts are specifically aimed at collecting the information relevant for determining the degree of endangerment of languages, which are often spoken in remote locations. One general problem is the confusion of population size with the number of speakers, the latter being more important for possible endangerment. For example, Rodrigues (1986: 72 and 1993) estimates the number of speakers of *Yawalapití* as 135, whereas according to Seki (1999) only 13 people are really fluent in the language, due to encroachment by neighboring languages. The number of speakers of *Torá* is estimated as 256 by Rodrigues (1986: 81, 1993), and as 250 by Aikhenvald and Dixon (2000: 343), but according to a website for the *Torá* (www.socioambiental.org/website / epi/tora/tora.htm), they only speak *Portuguese*. The effect of this confusion is to underestimate the degree of endangerment. Data on the transmission of languages is generally missing, though this is one of the most important facts for endangerment. With time and the cooperation of specialists in various regions, it would be possible to obtain a more realistic and detailed picture of the status of the lowland languages, and this should be a priority.

A further difficulty in the data presented below is the confusion of ethnic or political groups with languages. For example, within the *Mondé* family *Gavião* and *Zoró* are listed as separate languages, though they speak slightly different dialects of the same language. Some of these confusions are corrected, especially if they are relevant for endangerment and there is no doubt about the correction. The data in each table is country-specific; that is, the population of a group is the population in that one country, which will be different from the total population if the group exists in other countries. The amount of study on each language, which is also country-specific, is a very rough estimate of doubtful reliability, based on available information. Languages with little or no significant scientific description are rated 0; those with a M.A. thesis or several articles are rated 1; those with a good overall sketch or doctoral thesis on some aspects of the language are rated 2; and those with reasonably complete descriptions are rated 3. Because of the fragility of the data, the only languages for which an endangerment status is attributed are those which are obviously in very severe immediate danger. These (77 in all) are marked as "d", "d, e" or "e". These letters refer to the Krauss definitions on the degrees of language vitality in chapter 1, this volume: "d" – "critically endangered" and "e" – "extinct". This obviously does not imply that the other languages are not endangered. The languages status was generally not marked if another dialect with a sizeable number of speakers or a fair-size community of speakers in another country exists. Notice that the most endangered languages tend also to be the languages with the least description. In some cases the language so marked may already be extinct, but it is better to indicate the language since it sometimes happens that a language thought to be extinct may have a few speakers somewhere, if a careful search is made. An attempt was made to retain the language names (variants are in parentheses) commonly used in each country, together with the classification usually recognized, though with occasional modifications. Principal and supplementary sources of information are indicated in each table. For countries other than Brazil, where my knowledge is very limited, considerable reliance was placed on *As Línguas Amazônicas Hoje* (= *LAH*) (Queixalós and Renault-Lescure 2000) and data kindly supplied by Willem Adelaar and Mily Crevels from their database on languages of the region. The map displaying the approximate locations of urgently endangered languages was created by Reinaldo Shinkai.

Table 1. Brazil

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Tupí Stock					
Tupí-Guaraní Family					
Akwáwa					
Parakanã	most	624	high?	0	
Suruí do Tocantins	most	185	high?	1	
Asurini do Tocantins	most	233	high?	2	
Amanayé	any?	66	none?	0	d, e
Anambé	6	105	none?	1	d
Apiaká	0?	43	?	0	d, e
Araweté	most	230	high	0	
Asuriní do Xingu	most	81	high?	0	
Avá-Canoeiro	most?	14		0	d
Guajá	all	370	high	1	
Guaraní		25,000		2	
Kaiowá		total			
Mbyá (in Ar, Pa)					
Nhandéva (in Ar, Pa)					
Kaapór / Urubu-Kaapór	most	500	high	2	
Kamayurá	most	364	high	3	
Kayabí	most?	1,200	high?	1	
Kawahíb				2	
Parintintin		130			
Diahkói		30			
Juma		7			
Karipúna					
Tenharin		360	med		
Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau	all	106	high		
Kokáma					
Kokáma (in Co, Pe)	320	5	low?	2	d
Omágua / Kambeba	[240]	few?	low?	0	d, e
Língua Geral Amazônica / Nheengatú					
= coastal Tupi-Guarani altered by contact (Co, V)		>6,000?	med	1	
Tapirapé	380			1	

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Tenetehára					
Guajajara	10,200			1	
Tembé	800		variable	1	
Wayampí / Waiãpi / Oiampi (FG)	498	most?	high?	2	
Xetá	[8]	3			d
Zo'é / Puturú	152	all	high	1	
Arikém Family					
Karitiana	all	171	high	2	
Awetí Family					
Awetí	all	100	high	1	
Juruna Family					
Juruna / Yuruna / Yudjá	all	212	high	1	
Xipaia / Shipaya	2?	15?	none	2	d
Mawé Family					
Mawé / Sateré-Mawé	most?	5,825	good	2	
Mondê Family					
Aruá	12?	36	low	0	d, e
Cinta-Larga	all	643	high	1	
Cinta Larga, Zoró, Gavião dialects of one language					
Gavião	all	360	high	2	
Mondê	3 semi?	?	none?	0	d, e
Suruí / Paitér	all	586	high	1	
Zoró	all	257	high	0	
Puruborá Family					
Puruborá	?2 semi	20?	none	0	d, e
Mundurukú Family					
Kuruáya	3?	10?	none?	0	d, e
Mundurukú	most	3,000	high	3	
Ramarama Family					
Karo / Arara	most	130	good	2	
Tuparí Family					
Ajurú / Wayoró	10?	38	low	0	d, e
Makuráp		129	med?	1	

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Popula-tion*	*Trans-mission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Mekém / Mekens / Sakirabiár	25	70	low	2	d
Tuparí	most?	204	med-low	1	
Akuntsu	7	7	high	0	d
Macro-Jê Stock					
Boróro Family					
Boróro		914		2	
Umutina / Omotina	1	100	low		d
Krenák Family					
Krenák	10?	99	low	1	d
Guató Family					
Guató	5 [40]	700	low	2	d
Jê Family					
Akwén					
Xakriabá	0?	4,952	none		e
Xavánte	most	7,100	high?	1	
Xerénte	all?	1,552		1	
Apinayé		718	high?	2	
Kaingáng		20,000		2	
Kaingang do Paraná		total			
Kaingáng Central					
Kaingáng do Sudoeste					
Kaingáng do Sudeste					
Kayapó		4,000	high	1	
Gorotire		total			
Kararaô					
Kokraimoro					
Kubenkrankegn					
Menkrangnoti					
Mentuktíre / Txukahamãe					
Xikrin					
Panará / Kren-akore / Kren-akarore	all	197	high	2	
Suyá					
Suyá	all	223	high	1-2	
Tapayúna / Beiço-de-Pau		63			

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Popula-tion*	*Trans-mission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Timbíra					
Canela Apaniekra		336	high	2	
Canela Ramkokamekra		883	high		
Gavião do Pará / Parkateyé		333		1	
Gavião do Maranhão / Pukobiyé		150			
Krahô		1,198	high	1	
Krenjê / Kren-yé		?			
Krikatí / Krinkatí		420			
Xokléng		1,650	low	1	
Karajá Family					
Karajá					
Javaé	most	750	good	2	
Karajá	1,860	1,900	high	1	
Xambioá	10	250	none	0	
Maxakalí Family					
Maxakalí	most	594		1	
Ofayé Family					
Ofayé / Opayé / Ofayé-Xavante	25	87		0?	d
Rikbaktsá Family					
Rikbaktsá / Erikpaksá		690	med?	1	
Yathê Family					
Yathê / Iatê / Fulniô / Carnijó	most?	2,788	med?	1	
Arawá Family					
Banawá-Yafí		120	high	1	
Deni		570	high	1	
Jarawára		160	high	3	
Kulína (Pe)		2,500	high	1	
Paumarí		539	low	3	
Yamamadí / Jamamadí / Kanamantí		250	high	1	
Suruahá / Zuruahá		143	high	0	

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Aruák Family (Arawak, Maipure)					
Apurinã / Ipurinã		2,800	med	2	
Baníwa do Içana / Kurripako (Co, V)		3,189 [5,000]	high	3	
Baré (V)	0?	2,170	none	1	
Kampa / Axíninka (Pe)		763		0	
[Mawayana] (Gu, Su)	>10	>10	none?	0	d
Mehináku					
close to Waurá	all	160	high	1	
Palikúr (FG)		722		1	
Paresí / Aritĩ / Haliti		1,200		1	
Píro		[530]		0	
Manitenéri (Pe)					
Maxinéri (Bo)		[345]		0	
Salumã / Enawenê-Nawê		253	high	0	
Tariana					
Yurupari-Tapúya / Iyemi (Co)	100	1,630	very low	2	d
Terena / Tereno		15,000		1	
Wapixana (Gu)		5,000	variable	1	
Warekena (Co, V)		476		2	
Waurá					
close to Mehinaku	all	226	high	1	
Yawalapití	8	184	none	1	d
[Bora Family]					
[Miranha]					
dialect of Bora (Co)	few?	400		0	
[Guaikurú Family]					
[Kadiwéu]	most	[900]	high	2	
Jabutí Family					
Djeoromitxí / Jabutí	30?	67	low	1	d
Arikapú	3	6	none	0	d
Karib Family					
Aparaí / Apalaí (FG)	most	[150?]	high	2	
Arara do Pará / Ukarãgmã	all?	165	high?	1	

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Bakairí	most	570	good	2	
Galibí do Oiapoque (Gu, Su, FG, V)		37	low?	0	
Hixkaryána	most?	[550]	high	3	
Ingarikó / Kapóng / Akwaio (Gu, V)		1,000	good	1	
Kalapálo					
Kalapalo, Kuikúro, Matipú, Nahukwá are dialects of one language	most	353	good	1	
Kuikúru	most	364 [500]	good	2	
Makuxí (Gu)	most	15,000	high?	3	
Matipú					
very close to Nahukwá?	few	62	low	0	
Mayongong / Makiritáre / Yekuána	most?	180	high?	0	
[Nahukwá]	most	86	good	1	
Taulipáng / Pemóng (V, Gu)	most	200	high?	1	
Tiriyó / Tirió / Trio (Su, Gu?)	all	380 [900]	high	3	
Txikão / Ikpeng	all	189	high	2	
Waimirí / Waimirí-Atroarí	all	611	high	1	
Wayána (FG, Su)	most?	[150?]	med?	1	
Wai-Wai (Gu)	all?	1,366	high	2	
Katukína Family					
Kanamarí	most?	1,300		1	
Katawixí	10?	250		0	d
Katukina do Rio Biá / Pedá Djapá	few?	250		0	d, e
Txunhuã-Djapá / Tsohom-Djapá	30?	100		0	d
Makú Family					
Bará / Kakua (Co)	220				
Dow / Kamã	83			1	
Húpda (Co)	1,800	1,800	high	1	

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Nadëb / Guariba	400			1	
Yuhúp (Co)	400			1?	
Mura Family					
Mura	?any	1,400	none	0	d, e
Pirahã	all	179	high	3	
Nambikwára Family					
Nambikwára do Norte / Mamindê / Latundê / Nakarotê	323	[346]	med	1	
Nambikwára do Sul	all	[721]	good	2	
Sabanê	7 active	[30]	none	1	d
Pano Family					
Amawáka (Pe)		[220]		0	
Arara / Shawanauá					
Arara, Shanenawá, Yaminawa, Yawanawá dialects of one language	9?	300		1	
Katukina do Acre / Katukina Pano		400		1	
Kaxararí		220		0	
Kaxinawá (Pe)		3,387		2	
Korúbo		40		0	d
Marúbo		960	high	2?	
Matis	all	178	high	1	
Matsés / Mayoruna (Pe)		640	high	1	
Nukini	any ?	400	none ?	0	d, e
Poyanáwa	2	385	none	0	d
Shanenawá		[300]		1	
Yaminawa / Jaminawa (Pe)		270		0	
Yawanawá		200			
Tukano Family					
Arapaço		317		0	
Bará / Barasána (Co)		40		0	
Desána (Co)		1,458		1	
[Juritî] (Co)		[50?]			

Table 1. Brazil (cont.)

Language *Dialects, Groups*	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Karapanã (Co)		40		0	
Kubewa / Kubeo (Co)		219		0	
Makúna / Yebá-masã (Co)		34		0	
Pira-Tapuya / Waíkana (Co)		926		0	
Siriáno (Co)		[10]		0	
Tukano (Co, V)		2,868		3	
Tuyúka (Co)		518		0	
Wanano (Co)		506		0	
Txapakúra Family					
Kujubim	2	[50]	none	0	d
Oro Win	few?	40			d, e
Torá	0?	25 [250]		0	e
Urupá	?	[150]		0	e
Warí / Pakaanova		1,300		3	
Yanomami Family					
Ninam / Yanam	466		high	2	
Sanumá (V)	462		high	2	
Yanomám / Yanomae (V)	[4,000]		high	2	
Yanomami (V)	6,000	9,000	high	3	
Isolated Languages					
Aikaná / Masaká / Kasupá		175	med?	1	
Iránxe					
very close to Mynky		250		2	
Kanoê	8	61	low	1	d
Kwazá / Koaiá	25	15 [40]	low	3	d
Máku	1	[1]	none	1	d, e
Mynky		69			
Trumái	51	94	low	2	d
Tikúna (Co, Pe)		23,000		3	
Creole languages					
[Galibi Marwono]		[860]		0	
[Karipuna do Norte]		[672]		1	

Language names and classification in table 1. are adapted from Instituto Sócio Ambiental 2001a. Population figures are generally taken from Instituto Socio Ambiental 2001b. Modifications and additional information, indicated in brackets, are taken from Rodrigues 1993, Centro de Documentação Indígena 1987, Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999, and various other sources, including personal communications. Amount of study estimates are taken from Rodrigues 1993, Dixon and Aikhenvald 1999, and a miscellany of other sources.

Table 2. Colombia

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawak Family					
Baniva (V, Br)		6,948 with Curripaco			
Cabiyari	few?	277	low?	0	d
Curripaco (V, Br)		6,948		2	
Guarequena (V, Br)	few	25			
Tariano (Br)	few?	255	none?		d
Yucuna		381		1	
Bora Family					
Bora (Pe)		388		1	
Maraña dialect of Bora (Br)		457			
Muinane		263		1	
Caribe Family					
Carijona	30 passive	234		1	d
Huitoto Family					
Nonuya	3	199		0	d
Ocaina (Pe)	few	126			d
Uitoto / Minica (Pe)		6,604		3	
Macú					
Cacua / Bara (Br)		300?	high		
Hupda (n Br)		few 100	high		
Nukak		700-1,000	high	1	
Yuhup (Br)		200	high	1	

Table 2. Colombia (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Tucano Family					
Barasána (Br)		939 [1,891]		3	
Carapana (Br)		412		1	
Coreguaje		1,731		1	
Cubeo (Br)		4,616		1	
Desano (Br)		2,216		2	
Guanano / Wanano (Br)		1,113		1	
Macuna (Br)		571 [922]			
Piratapuyo (Br)		474			
Pisamira	25	54			d
Siona (Ec)		468 [700]		1	
Siriano (Br)		715			
Tanimuca / Retuarã		277 [1,149]		1	
Tatuyo		294		2	
Tucano (Br, V)		7,305		2	
Tuyuca (Br)		570		1	
Yuriti (Br)		610			
Tupi-Guarani Family					
Cocama (Pe, Br)	few	285 [767]			d
Geral / Nheengatu (Br, V)		some 100s			
Peba-Yagua Family					
Yagua (Pe)		279			
Isolated Languages					
Andoke		304	low?	3	
Cofán (Ec)		1,061	high?	1	
Ticuna (also Pe, Br)		5,578		2	

Language names and population estimates are adapted from Montes Rodrigues 2000 and Centro Colombiano de Estudos de Lenguas Aborigenes (C.C.E.L.A.) 2000. Other population estimates, in brackets, are from website "Etnias Indígenas de Colombia" 2001.

Table 3. Venezuela

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawaka					
Añu / Paraujano (Co?)	[very few]	13,000		1	d, e
Baniwa (Br, Co)		1,129	low	2	c
Baré (Br)	[few]	1,209	low	1	d
Kurripako (Co, Br)		2,760[?]		1	
Piapoko (Co)	[100]	1167		1	
Warekena (Co, Br)		409		2	c
Wayuu / Guajiro (Co)		[179,31]	[high]	[2]	
Caribe					
Akwayo (Gu, Br)		few?			
Eñepa / Panare		[3,133]	high	3	
Kariña / Galibi (Br, Gu, FG, Su)		[45,000]		1	
Mapoyo	[semi]	[178]	none	1	d
Pemon (Br, Gu)		21,000	good	1	
Yabarana		318	low?		c
Yekuana / Maiongong / Maquiritari (Br)		2,619		2	
Yukpa (Co)		[4,174]		1	
Cibchan Family?					
Barí / Motilón		1,503	good		
Guajibo Family					
Guajibo / Sikuani		9,221		2	
Kuiva / Cuiba (Co)		[856]			
Puinave-Makú Family					
Puinave (Co)		774 [240]			d
Sáliva Family					
Mako (Co?)		345			d
Piaroa (Co)		8,938	good	1	
Sáliva (Co)		79			
Tukano Family					
Tukano (Co, Br)		731		1	

Table 3. Venezuela (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Tupi-Guarani Family					
Yeral / Nheengatu (Co, Br)		100s?			
Yanomami Family					
Yanomami (Br)		7,069	good		
Sanema (Br)		373 [1,500]	good		
Isolated Languages					
Jodi / Yuwana		257	good	1	d
Pumé / Yaruro		6,000		2	
Uruak / Awaké (Br?)	few	[45]			d
Warao (Gu)		25,000		2	

Adapted from González Ñañez 2000 and Ruette 2000. Other information, in brackets, is mostly from the Database on Endangered Latin American Languages, compiled by Crevels and Adelaar. The status "endan" (endangered) is attributed by González Ñañez to Baré, Baniva, Jodí, Máku, Mapoyo, Puinave, Sáliva, Warekena, Yabarana.

Table 4. Peru

Family, Languages	*Speakers***	*Population***	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawá Family					
Culina (Br)	[400]	[400]	[yes]	3 [3]	
Arawak Family					
Asháninca (Br)	52,232 [26,000]	[30,000]	[yes]	3[3]	
Campa Caquinte	229 [250-300]	[250-300]	[yes]	[1]	c
Chamicuro	126 (100-150) [2]	[10-20]	[no]	[1]	d
Iñapari	4 [4]		[no]	[1]	d, e
Machiguenga w/out Cogapacori	[5,700-13,000]	[6,400-13,000]	yes	2 [2]	

Table 4. Peru (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers***	*Population***	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Nomatsiguenga	[2,300-4,500]	[2,300-4,500]	[yes]	[1]	
Piro/Yine w/out Mashco-Piro (Br)	[2,150]	[2,150]	[yes]	3 [3]	
Resígaro	11 [11]	with Bora, Ocaina [5,500-10,000]	[some]	[2]	d
Yanesha / Amuesha	[1,750-8,000]		[locally]	2 [2]	
Bora Family					
Bora (Co)	[260-2,000]	[260-3,000]	[locally]	2 [2]	
Cahuapana Family					
Chayahuita	[7,900-12,000]	[7,900-12,000]	[yes]	[2]	
Jebero	few [elders, interest in revival]	[2,000-3,000]	[doubtful]	[1]	d
Harkmbut-Katukina Family					
Harakmbut	[830-1,000]	[900-1,000]	[yes]	[3]	
Huitoto Family					
Huitoto [Murui] (Co?)	[1,100-3,000]	[1,100-3,000]	[some]	[2]	
Huitoto [Muinane] (Br? Co?)	[50-100]				d
Ocaina (Co)	188 (150-250) [54-150]	150	few	[1]	d
Jíbaro Family					
Achuar (Ec)	[2,800-5,000]	[2,800-5,000]	[yes]	1 [2]	
Aguaruna (Ec)	45,137 [34,000-39,000]	[34,000-39,000]	[yes]	3 [3]	
Candoshi [-Shapra] [*Candoshi Family*]	[1,120-3,000]	[1,120-3,000]	[yes]		
Huambisa	[4,000-10,000]	[4,000-10,000]	[yes]	[2]	
[Munichi Family]					
[Munichi]	[3 in 1988]		no	[2]	e
Pano Family					
Amahuaca (Br)	247 [190-1,000]	[190-1,000]	[locally]	[3]	c

Table 4. Peru (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers***	*Population***	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Capanahua	[50-120]	[400]	no	1 [3]	d
Cashibo-Cacataibo	[1,150-1,500]	[1,150-1,500]	[yes]	[2]	
Cashinahua (Br)	[750-1,000]	[750-1,000]	[yes]	[3]	
[Chitonahua]?	[35]				d
[Mastanahua]?	[100]				d
Mayoruna / Matses (Br)	[890-2,500]	[890-2,500]	[yes]		
[Sharanahua]?	[350-450]	[350-450]	[yes]		
Shipibo-Conibo	20,168 [13,200-16,085]	[13,200-16,085]	[yes]	1 [2]	
Yaminahua (Br)	[380-1,000]	[380-1,000]	[yes]	[1]	
[Yora(nahua)]?	[200]	[200]			
Isconahua*	28 [30]				d
Moronahua*					
Remo*					
Peba-Yagua Family					
Yagua (Co)	[760-4,000]	[5,000]	[locally]	3 [3]	
Shimaco Family					
Urarina	[170-3,500]	[170-3,500]	[yes]		
Tacana Family					
Ese Eha [/Huarayo]	[225]	[225]	[most]		
Tucano Family					
Secoya (Ec, Co)	[250-600]	[250-600]	[yes]		
Orejón	190-300 [225-260]	[225-260]	[some]	1	
Tupi-Guarani Family					
Cocama-Cocamilla (Co, Br)	few [260]	[15,000]	[no]	[3]	d
Omagua (Ec?)	[nearly extinct]	[627 in 1976]	[no]		d, e
Záparo Family					
Arabela	[50-150]	[300]	few	1 [1]	d
[Cahuarano]	[5 in 1972]				d, e

Table 4. Peru (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers***	*Population***	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Iquito	150 [elder]	[150]	[no]	0 [0]	d
Taushiro [/Pinche] [Taushiro Family]	7 [7 in 1975]	[20]	[no]		d, e
Isolated Languages					
Ticuna (Co, Br)	[700-6,000]	[700-40,000]	[yes]		

* Unknown if dialect or different language.

** Numbers in brackets are from the Database on Endangered Latin American Languages, compiled by Crevels and Adelaar. Numbers in parentheses are from Solis Fonseca 2000 and represent the 1975 census. Other numbers are from García Rivera 2000 and it is unclear if they indicate population or speakers.

Information is also adapted from the map of Pozzi-Escot, Solis, and García Rivera 2000, which considers the following languages "in the process of extinction" ('c' or 'd' above): Campa Caquinte, Iñapari, Resígaro, Jebero, Ocaina, Amahuaca, Omagua, Iquito, and Taushiro.

Table 5. Bolivia

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawak Family					
Baure	40 elders	631	none	sil/1	d
Machineri (Br)	140	155	high	0	
Mojeño	22% use	20,805	med	mis/sil/1	
Mataco-Maka Family					
Chulupi (Ar, Pa)	none?	dispersed		0	e
Pano Family					
Chacobo	550	767	good	sil/1	
Pacahuara	9	9		sil/1	d
Yaminahua (Pe, Br)	137	161	good	0	
Tacana Family					
Araona	81	90	high	sil/1	

Table 5. Bolivia (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Cavineña	1,180	1,736	med	sil/1	
Esse Ejja (Pe)	502	584	med	sil/1	
Reyesano	few elders?	4,118	none		d, e
Tacana	1,821	5,058	med/low	sil/1	
Tupi-Guarani Family					
Guarasugwe	0?	46	none	0	e
Guarayo	5,933	7,235		mis/sil/1	
Siriono	399	419		mis/2	
Yuqui / Bia Ye	125	156		0	
Isolated Languages					
Canichana	3 semi	583	none	sil/1	e
Cayubaba	2 semi	794	none	sil/1	e
Itonama	5 elder	5,099	none	sil/1	d, e
Leco	20	80		1	d
More	76	200		2	d
Moseten	585	1,177		sil/1	
Movima	2,000	6,516		mis/1	
Tsimane	5,316	5,907		mis/1	
Yuacare	2,675	3,333			

sil = study by SIL. mis = study by other mission. Adapted from Rodríguez Bazán 2000, Rodriguez Bazán and Ayreyu Cuellar 2000, and the Database on Endangered Latin American Languages, compiled by Crevels and Adelaar, which includes Albó 1995, Diez Astete and Murillo 1998, and the Censo Indígena Rural de las Tierras Bajas of 1994.

Table 6. Ecuador

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Jívaro Family					
Achuar Chicham (Pe)	4,000	[5,000]		1	
Shuar Chicham (Pe)	35,000			3	
Quíchua Family					
Runa Shimi	1,800			2	
(Western) Tucano Family					
Pai Coca / Siona / Secoya (Co, Pe)	600			1	
Zaparoan Family					
Záparo	24 [1-5]	24 [170]		1	d
Isolated Languages					
A'ingae / Cofán (Co)	800	[800]		1	
Wao Tiriro	1,200	[1,200]		2	

Based on Gnerre 2000, Ushiña S. 2000, Juncosa 2000, and the Database on Endangered Latin American Languages, compiled by Crevels and Adelaar. Numbers in brackets are from this last source.

Table 7. Guyana

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawak Family					
Arawak / Lokono (FG, Su)	<10%	15,500		2	
Mawayana (Br, Su)		?		0	e
Wapixana (Br)		6,900			
Carib Family					
Akwaio Kapon is auto-desig (V, Br)		5,000		1	
Carib / Kariña, Galibi / Kali'na (V, Br, FG, Su)		3,000			

Table 7. Guyana (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Makushi (Br)		7,750			
Patamona Kapon is auto-desig		5,000			
Pemon / Arekuna (Br, V)		500			
WaiWai (Vr)		24			
Isolated Languages					
Warrau (V)				1	
Creole Languages					
Guyanese English base					
Berbice Dutch base				1?	c
Skepi Dutch base					c

Adapted from Forte 2000, Carmago and Boven 2000b, and the Database on Endangered Latin American Languages, compiled by Crevels and Adelaar. Carmago indicates an "endangered" status for Mawayana, Berbice, and Skepi.

Table 8. Suriname

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawak Family					
Arawak / Lokono (Gu, FG)	[700]	[2,000]	low	2	
Mawayana (Br, Gu)	[5]	[60]	none		d
Carib Family					
Akurio	[10]	50	low	0	d
Carib / Kariña (Br, Gu, FG, V)	[800-1,000]	3,000	med	3	
Sikïyana	[15]		none		d

Table 8. Suriname (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Trio / Tiriyó (Gr?, Br)	[1,000-1,200]	1,000[-1,200]	high	1	
Tunayana close to Waiwai	[10]		none		
Wayana (FG, Br)	[500]	500	high	1	
Creole Languages, English based					
Alaku / Boni					
Guyanese					
Kwinti					d
Matawari					
Ndjuka					
Paramaca					
Sranan Tongo / Taki Taki					
Saramaccan English & Portuguese based					

Adapted from Boven and Morroy 2000, Camargo and Boven 2000, and the Database on Endangered Latin American Languages, compiled by Crevels and Adelaar. Camargo and Boven give indicate Akurio and Kwinti as in danger of extinction.

Table 9. French Guiana

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Arawak Family					
Arawak / Lokono (Gu, Su)		350		1?	
Palikur (Br)		500		1	

Table 9. French Guiana (cont.)

Family, Languages	*Speakers*	*Population*	*Transmission*	*Studies*	*Status*
Carib Family					
Aparaí (Br)					
Kali'na / Galibi / Carib (Br, Gu, Su, V)		2,000		2	
Wayana (Su, Br)		1,000		1	
Tupi-Guarani Family					
Émérillon	200	400+		1	c
Wayãpi (Br)		500		3	
Creole Languages					
Ndyuka English base					
Aluku / Boni English base					
Paramaka English base					
Saramaka English & Portuguese base					
Guyanais French base					

Adapted from Grenand 2000, Queixalós 2000 and Camargo and Boven 2000c. Camargo indicates Émérillon as endangered.

Map 2. Lowland and Tropical South America

Ecuador	26 Baré	48 Puruborá
1 Záparo	27 Uruak (Awaké)	49 Kujubim
Peru	*Guyana*	50 Mondê
2 Arabela	28 Mawayana	51 Akuntsu
3 Cahuarano	*Suriname*	52 Kwazá (Koaiá)
4 Taushiro [/Pinche]	28 Mawayana	53 Sabanê
5 Jebero	29 Akurio	54 Umutina (Omotina)
6 Chamicuro	30 Sikïyana	55 Guató
7 Munichi	*Brazil*	56 Apiaká
8 Iñapari	13 Kokáma	57 Yawalapití
9 Mastanahua?	15 Omágua (Kambeba)	58 Trumái
10 Chitonahua?	23 Tariána	59 Xipaya (Shipaya)
11 Isconahua?	26 Baré	60 Kuruáya
12 Capanahua	28 Mawayána	61 Anambé
13 Cocama-Cocamilla	31 Máku	62 Amanayé
14 Iquito	32 Poyanáwa	63 Avá-Canoeiro
15 Omagua	33 Korúbo	64 Akwén/Xakriabá
16 Ocaina	34 Txunhuã-Djapá	65 Krenák
17 Resígaro	35 Nukini	66 Ofayé (Ofayé-Xavante)
18 Huitoto [Muinane]	36 Katukina do Rio Biá	67 Xetá
Colombia	(Pedá Djapá)	*Bolivia*
13 Cocama	37 Katawixí	68 Pacahuara
16 Ocaina	38 Mura	69 More
19 Nonuya	39 Torá	70 Cayubaba
20 Carijona	40 Oro Win	71 Reyesano
21 Cabiyari	41 Kanoê	72 Leco
22 Pisamira	42 Djeoromitxí (Jabutí)	73 Canichana
23 Tariano	43 Arikapú	74 Baure
Venezuela	44 Aruá	75 Itonama
24 Añu (Paraujano)	45 Mekém (Sakirabiár)	76 Guarasugwe
25 Mapoyo	46 Urupá	77 Chulupi
	47 Ajurú (Wayoró)	

Notes

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   The information presented here is that which was available in 2001. The situation has changed since then. For example, much more reseach has been done on the native languages of Bolivia. A more recent accont of the study of native Brasilian languages is given in Moore 2005.

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Chapter 4
Endangered Languages of Mexico and Central America

Colette Grinevald

1. Introduction

The region to be talked about in this paper is hard to label, although it is clearly identifiable as lying between the United States to the north and Colombia to the south, and comprising the following eight countries: Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Panama. This area between North and South America partly overlaps with them both culturally and linguistically. It is subdivided into different specific political, economic and cultural subgroupings that have variously been labelled Middle America, Mesoamerica, Central America, or the Intermediate Area. This presentation will follow a straightforward country by country order, from Mexico in the north to Panama in the south, and underline the startling contrasts that characterize these countries in terms of the density of indigenous populations, the vitality of their languages and the development of programs for the linguistic training of native speakers.

It is a region where major centers of civilization flourished during the 2,500 years before the Spanish Conquest, like those of the of Teotihuacan, of the Toltec and the Aztec in Central Mexico, the Olmec on the Gulf Coast of Mexico, the Monte Alban of Oaxaca, and the Classic Maya of Chiapas in Mexico and the Peten in Guatemala (Longacre 1967).

One of the major characteristics of this area as a whole is that it was the most densely populated area of the continent before the arrival of the European conquerors and colonizers. It is estimated that the indigenous population of the region reached 25 million in 1519. The city of Tenotchtitlan, for instance, had 500,000 people, at a time when Rome had only 100,000 and Paris, the largest city of Europe had only 300,000 (Garza Cuarón and Lastra 1991:107). It is also one of the regions of the world that has suffered one of the greatest sudden losses of indigenous population: less than a century after the initial European contacts, the population had been reduced to one million people. This happened as the result of numerous converging

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