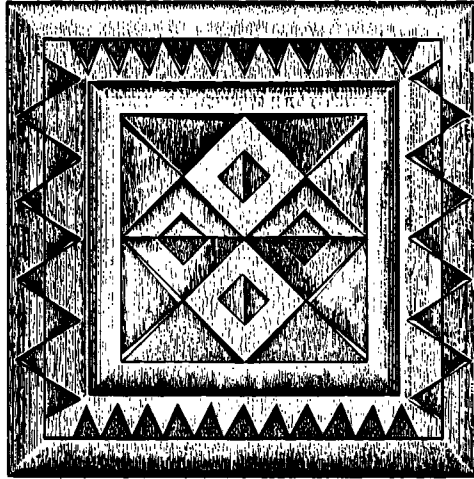


LANGUAGES OF THE GUIANAS



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LANGUAGES OF THE GUIANAS

Edited by Joseph E. Grimes

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PREFACE

Team research is well established in science. A coordinated effort is often the best way to do the job where there is much ground to be covered, since nowhere in the world are there ever enough trained people to cover it.

In the Summer Institute of Linguistics we have worked out a pattern for field investigation of little known languages that makes use of the team concept. Usually two people are given the primary responsibility for field work in a language. They learn to speak it by living in a community where it is the main language spoken. They interact with members of the society that speaks that language in everyday life and function as mediators of information from the outside. Along with using the language they are trained to organize information on its phonology, grammar, and semantics for linguistic analysis.

The work of the field investigators is, however, supplemented by that of linguistic consultants who periodically go over the conclusions arrived at in the field with the people who made them. They criticize the work that has been done and help the field worker lay out lines of investigation to follow from that point. They also give assistance in the mundane matters of organization of field notes and presentation of conclusions. Sometimes a consultant works at a field location with the investigators for a period of time. In recent years, since there is usually only one senior consultant available for about every ten field projects of the Institute, it has become common for several investigators and their informants to meet for two to three months in a place that is removed from the ordinary interruptions of life in the bush. In such a field seminar or workshop it is possible to accomplish much.

Most of the papers in this volume came out of such a joint effort. The field work of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Surinam got under way in the latter part of 1968, under an agreement between the Institute and the Government of Surinam. In February and March of 1969, about the time people had their feet thoroughly wet in their field work, the director of the Institute in Surinam, Joel D. Warkentin, arranged for the editor to conduct a workshop. George and Mary Huttar, Edward and Joyce Peasgood, Naomi Glock, and Catherine Rountree, all members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, took part. Frances Tracy of the Unevangelized Fields Mission, who had begun the study of Wapishana in Guyana at about the same time

as the Surinam group began their work, was able to participate as well. Hubert and Joanne Traugh of the Pilgrim Holiness Mission in Guyana, working on Guyanese Carib, participated for the first few weeks. Morgan Jones, Ivan Schoen, and others of the Surinam Interior Fellowship of the West Indies Mission, who have made studies of the Cariban languages of the interior of Surinam, were present for a week. The papers by Jones and by Schoen's colleague Jackson were already near final form before the workshop began and were simply gone over for details during the brief time available (which even included some editorial checking by radio after Jones had to return to the Tapanahonij). All the other papers, though based mainly on observations and hypotheses made in the field before the workshop, took their present form during the workshop and include material that was elicited from informants during that period.

Special recognition for excellent handling of the logistic details of having so many people working intensively in one place goes to John and Shirley Larson of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, who took care of everything from visas to baby sitting and thereby made it possible for the participants to devote full time to the seminar. I am also indebted to George Huttar for sharing the consultation with me.

There are four layers of languages in the Guianas. First are the Cariban and Arawakan languages of the aboriginal peoples of the area, represented here by Carib, Trio, Wayana, and Wapishana. Second are the creole languages that came into prominence during that sad epoch when people from various parts of West Africa were forcibly uprooted and brought to the new world as slaves. These were the languages around which the societies of escaped slaves in the interior, represented here by Djuka and Saramaccan, crystallized; others like Sranan and the patois of French Guiana became the informal means of communication in the city-oriented societies of the coast. Third are the languages brought from Asia by contract laborers a century ago after the slaves were emancipated: Javanese, Chinese, and dialects related to Hindi and Urdu. None of this group is represented in this volume, though the changes in each since their transplanting certainly merit special study. Finally there are the languages of commerce and government, of education and wider communication: Dutch, French, English, and to a lesser extent Portuguese, Spanish, and Lebanese Arabic.

This collection is a step toward understanding that linguistic complexity. Further studies are already under way to complete the documentation of the languages on which work has just begun. The Summer Institute of Linguistics also plans to allocate teams of field workers to languages that are not yet being studied, thereby broadening the coverage.

Two of the papers in this volume cover the same area as work done on Saramaccan by Voorhoeve and on Carib by Hoff. Rather than being duplications, however, they build on the earlier studies in a significant way.

First, they give an independent corroboration of most of what the earlier authors said. Second, they call attention to parts of the earlier studies that really needed further work: the relationships among vocoids in the high to mid range, and certain restrictions on segment sequences, in Saramaccan, and the whole question of underlying versus surface phonological form in Carib. In this sense they constitute a healthy critique of the work that has gone before, confirming most of it. Other papers, like the Huttars' evidence on tone in Djuka and Glock's work on semantic relationships in Saramaccan, break new ground.

As a result of the workshop the team of field investigators have also developed a perspective on the pace of their work and on where they need to concentrate their efforts at different phases of it. This should increase the efficiency of their time in the field. Inasmuch as all of them have in mind applied linguistic projects, the teamwork approach they have worked out will help them toward those goals as well.

Joseph E. Grimes
Paramaribo, 30 March 1969

CARIB PHONOLOGY

Edward T. Peasgood

1. **The Carib Language.** Carib (Ahlbrinck 1931, De Goeje 1946, Hoff 1968) is a language of the Cariban family spoken by approximately 6,000 Amerindians who live in the north of South America from the Orinoco River in Venezuela to the Oyapok River in Brazil. There are two main dialects. The eastern dialect is spoken by 250 to 500 inhabitants of Brazil,¹ by 1,200 in French Guiana, and in the Marowijne River area of northeastern Surinam. The western dialect is spoken in the center and west of Surinam (2,400 speakers of both dialects in Surinam), in Guyana by 450 people, and in Venezuela by 1,500 people. The western dialect contains two subdialects: one in central and western Surinam, and another in Guyana and Venezuela.

This study is based on field work carried out from September 1968 to January 1969 among western dialect speakers in the village of Bigi Poika, fifteen miles west of the Saramacca River in north central Surinam. The principal language helper there was Mr. E. Paranawari. From January 1969 until the end of March, investigation continued in Paramaribo with Mr. A. Vanderbos.

2. **Foot.** A foot in Carib consists of from one to four (and possibly more) syllables. In feet of more than one syllable there is a point where the pitch rises markedly from one syllable to the next. The syllable after this rise is considered to bear a pitch accent; it is symbolized here with a circumflex instead of the dieresis over *i* as in *kī:rī* 'younger brother', and with an acute accent over other vowels, as in *pe:rú* 'dog'. If there is no marked pitch rise within the foot, then the pitch accent is considered to fall on the first syllable of the foot. This occurs only in interjections like *só:* 'so'. The boundary between the end of one foot and the beginning of another involves a slight decrease in speed and decrease in loudness of the voice at that point. Within the foot it is possible for the accent to fall on the foot final syllable as in *are:pá* 'cassava bread', *tuku:maú* 'variety of *awa:rá* palm tree (*Astrocaryum segregatum*)', or on the prefinal syllable as in *ja:kóno* 'friend', *ihpo:riri* 'creek'. Apparent cases of earlier accent may correspond to grammatical words that consist of more than one rhythmic foot; these have not been investigated yet. In feet consisting of only two syllables, however, the pitch accent always falls on the final syllable as in *pe:rú* 'dog'.

3. Syllable. The syllable patterns are V, VC, CV, CVC, where C represents a consonant and V represents a single vowel or a diphthong. The following examples include all these patterns. A dot in the examples indicates syllable boundary. a.re: pá 'cassava bread', ih.mé 'my son', ru.po.tá.e 'I am becoming tired', noh.póh.ko 'old woman', aj:ma.rá 'anjoemara fish (*Hoplia macrophthalmus*)', maj.náh.wa 'to the garden', and kajh.ku.sí 'any variety of bush tiger including jaguar and ocelot'.

Long and short syllables are distinct in the rhythmic pattern of feet except before pause, where all syllables are short. Long syllables include syllables that contain a lengthener (:) with either a vowel or a diphthong and syllables that end in h or a nasal following a vowel or a diphthong.

Three-syllable words in which the second syllable begins with a resonant and the third syllable begins with an obstruent show vowel length contrast. L represents a long syllable and S represents a short syllable. Forms are cited as they occur nonfinally in phrases. ye.rutí: (LSL) 'woman's sister-in-law', kare.tá: (SSL) 'paper', ware.sá: (SLL) 'pot for brewing kasiri', are:pá (SLS) 'cassava bread'. Although not completely satisfactory, aj:mará (LSS) 'anjoemara fish' and kujjahkén (SLL) 'white-throated toucan (*Ramphastos tucanus*)', are at present the best evidence available to show contrasting length with diphthongs. pehtokó (LSS) 'kiskadee flycatcher (*Pitangus sulphatus*)', kajhkusi (LSS) 'bush tiger' and samburá (LSS) 'drum' illustrate long syllables of the kind that end with h and nasals.

4. Phonemes. Syllable initial consonants are divided into two groups: obstruents and resonants. The obstruents are voiceless stops p, t, k (labial, coronal, dorsal), voiced stops b, d, g (also labial, coronal, dorsal), and fricative s. The resonants are nasals m, n (labial, coronal), liquid r, and semivowels w, j, h. h occurs in syllable initial position only in interjections.

These distinctions are illustrated in foot initial position by pa:mí [pa:mí] 'brother-in-law', ta:mí [ta:mí] 'cigarette', kami:sá [kami:sa] 'cloth', bani:ri [bani:ri] 'bush vine with edible fruit', dán [dán] 'then', guruntú [guruntú] 'vegetable', sa:nó [sa:nó] 'mother', mata:pi [ma'ta:pi] 'cassava squeezer', na:pi [na:pi] 'napi tuber (*Dioscorea trifida*)', re:ré [re:ré] 'bat', wahwá [wa'wa] 'older sister', ja:kóno [ya:'kó'no] 'friend', hén [héñ] 'oh'.

In foot medial position they are illustrated by pa:pá 'father', mata:pi 'cassava squeezer', ja:kóno 'friend', ara:bó 'eel-like fish (*Gynmotus carapo*, *Ramphichthys rostratus*, and *Sternopygus macrurus*)', wo:di 'girl', pa:siwa 'hand broom', amo:ró 'you (singular)', sa:nó 'mother', porí:ri 'branch', awa:sí 'corn (*Zea mais*)', kojo:wá 'greater ani (*Crotaphaga ani*)', a:há '(interjection) all right; here, take it!'. k and g do not contrast medially.

Each consonant has a palatal allophone which occurs when i or a diphthong that ends in j precedes it and a vowel other than i follows (s

palatalizes when it is both preceded and followed by *i*). *i* does not affect *h* or a nasal occurring before a consonant, but palatalizes the following consonant. The palatalized counterpart of *j*, [j], has a more fronted tongue position than the nonpalatal allophone [y] and has slight friction. [y] or [j] are written after consonants in the examples that follow to indicate consonant palatalization with no friction or with friction respectively. *maripá* [marɪ:ʔpyá] 'maripa palm (Maximiliana maripa)', *majhpuri* [maɪppyuli] 'tapir (Tapirus terrestris)', *ihángó* [ixtjángoʷ] 'you must go', *pitó* [pi:ʔtjéʷ] 'little brother, little fellow', *nikái* [ni:ʔkjái] 'he pulled it out', *kaihkusí* [kaɪkkjuxsi] 'bush tiger', *paribín* [pari:byĩŋ] 'strong man', *simboká:e* [simbyeʷká:eʷ] 'I loosen it', *indo:ké* [ɪndjəʷ:kéʷ] 'therefore' ~ *iro:ké* [ɪ:djəʷ:kéʷ], *ingáhna* [ɪngjá:ʔna] 'behind him', *pojngó* [poʷɪngjéʷ] 'white-lipped peccary (Dicotyles pecari)' (g never occurs except after *ŋ*), *pisu:rú* [pɪxsu:rú] 'white snipe (Leucophoyx candidissima)', *pihpisi* [pɪxpɪxʃi] 'little bird named after its call', *símó* [si:myéʷ] 'bush vine', *ihmémbo* [ɪʔmyémboʷ] 'little one', *ehkĩĩni* [ɛxkiĩni] 'smoke', *karihná* [kariʔná] 'Carib, person', *irómbo* [i:ɾjéʷmboʷ ~ ɪ:djéʷmboʷ] ([ɪ:dzéʷmboʷ] in Guyana) 'then, next'. (*d* and *r*, however, contrast elsewhere: *wó:di* [boʷdi] 'girl' and *pori:ri* [pori:ɾji] 'branch'. [*dj*] after *i* in could be considered an allophone of *d*, and an allophone of *r* in other palatalizing environments: *indo:ké* [ɪndjoʷ:kéʷ] 'therefore' ~ *iro:ké* [ɪ:djoʷ:kéʷ].) *pa:siwa* [pa:hsɪbya ~ pa:hsɪvyá] 'hand broom', *ihwá* [ɪʔbyá ~ ɪʔvyá] 'to or for him', *iju:kú* [ɪju:ʔkú] 'large black ant', *kujjahkén* [kuijakkéŋ] 'white-throated toucan'.

In words that begin with *i* in a short initial syllable, the *i* may fuse with the following palatalized consonant. *ine:kú* [iñeʷ:kú ~ ñeʷ:kú] 'poisonous root for fishing (Lonchocarpus spec.)', *ipo:tiri* [ɪʔpyeʷ:tiri ~ pyeʷ:tiri] 'his lip', *itu:biri* [ɪʔtju:biri ~ tju:biri] 'woman', *ima:ró* [imja:ró ~ mja:ró] 'with him'. However, fusing does not occur when *r* follows initial *i*: *iro:mí* [ɪrjəʷ:mí] 'dry season'.

The nonpalatal allophones of the consonants are [p, t, k, b, d, g, s, m, n, y, h], as in the first set of examples given.

r is an alveolar tap following *e* or preceded by and followed by *i*: *e:ró* [eʷ:róʷ] 'this', *kasiri* [kaAsiri] 'kasiri, alcoholic drink made from cassava root'. *r* after *u*, *o*, *i*, and *a* is a reverse flap [ɾ] varying freely with a flap having slight lateral opening [l]. *pahporó* [pappoʷʔóʷ ~ pappoʷlóʷ] 'all', *kĩ:ri* [ki:fi ~ ki:li] 'older brother', *ara:bó* [aʔa:bóʷ ~ ala:bóʷ] 'eel-like fish'.

Allophones of *t*, *k*, *s* are backed when they follow the back allophones of nonfront vowels: [t̠], [k̠], and [s̠]. *pĩ:tí* [pĩ:ʔt̠i] 'wife', *iju:kú* [ɪju:ʔk̠ú] 'large black ant', *tuhkusí* [tux̠kux̠ʃi] 'one-headed arrow'.

Automatic glottal constriction in medial position of vocoids that precede syllable initial voiceless stops gives the allophones [ʔp], [ʔt], [ʔk]. In vocoids preceding voiceless stops the glottis constricts, and before the following stop is articulated, a very brief pause occurs while the glottis is closed. *kono:ʔó*

[kðnoːʔpóː] 'rain', ta:tá [ta:ʔtá] 'mother', apu:kúj:ta [aʔpu:ʔkúj:tja] 'paddle' where [ʔ] indicates glottal constriction of the preceding vocoid.

Automatic devoicing in medial position of vocoids that precede syllable initial *s*, and automatic devoicing in medial position of nasals that precede syllable initial voiceless obstruents, parallel glottal constriction of vocoids. *s* has additional allophones represented by [Vs], where *V* is the devoiced counterpart of the preceding vocoid. kīno:sán [kīnoːʔOːsán] 'he is coming', pisu:rú [piIsu:rú] 'white snipe', ku:sá [ku:Usá] 'crab (*Brachyura*)'. Similarly, voiceless obstruents have additional allophones represented by [NO], where *N* is the devoiced counterpart of the preceding nasal and *O* is the voiceless obstruent. tampo:hko [tamMpóʔxko] 'old man', ya:mekuntá:no [ya:meʔkunNtá:no] 'wrist band', tansi [tanNsí] 'grandfather'. (*k* never occurs after nasals.)

Two allophones of *w*, [b] and [v], are in free variation. wa:nó [ba:nó ~ va:nó] 'bee', pa:siwa [pa:Asiɓya ~ pa:Asivya] 'hand broom'.

Glottal constriction separates contiguous vowels. However, when the accent of a word is on a long open syllable, and that syllable precedes a vowel, glottal constriction does not intervene. One exception to this is a:í [a:i] 'old grandmother', ká:e [ká:eː] 'I say', a:á [a:ʔá] 'yes', ko:í [koːʔí] 'quickly', sajmá:e [saimyá:eː] 'I smoke', nepu:í [neʔpu:ʔí] 'it is grown', ru:potá:e [ru:ʔpoʔtá:eː] 'I am becoming tired', kape:seú [kaʔpeːEːseʔú] 'wasp', ara:ári [ara:ʔári] 'black-necked aracari (toucan: *Pterolossus aracari*)'.

Syllable nuclei include the vowels *i*, *e*, *u*, *o*, *ɪ*, *a*. They contrast word initially: i:ró 'this one, this thing', e:ró 'this', u:pi 'to look for', o:po:nó 'black-bellied tree duck (*Dendrocygna autumnalis*)', i:rapá 'bow', a:ró 'to bring along'.

Word medially: pi:tó 'little brother', pe:rú 'dog', mutú 'bill-crowned motmot (*Momotus momota*)', wo:tó 'fish', pi:ti 'wife', pa:ri 'brother-in-law'.

Word finally: aku:ri 'agouti (*Dasyprocta cayanus*)', aka:ré 'alligator, cayman', i:mu:rú 'my son', tono:ró 'any large bird', je:mí:ri 'my daughter', samburá 'drum'.

The other seven syllable nuclei are diphthongs. They consist of vowels followed by the semivowels *j* and *w*: *ej*, *uj*, *oj*, *ij*, *aj*, *ow*, and *aw*. With reference to rhythmic patterns they behave like the single vowels. Only three of the diphthongs contrast word initially: ijjó 'my husband', aj:mará 'anjoemara fish', awhtó 'house'. Elsewhere they all contrast: awejhni 'honey', apu:kúj:ta 'paddle', pojhtó 'nice, beautiful', paj:ri 'older sister', kīnowroján 'he (dog) barks specifically at something', kīnowroján 'he (dog) barks (general)', pi:yéj 'shaman', i:rúj 'older brother', na:pój 'napoj tuber', wo:rij 'woman', ongáj 'comb', sa:káw 'sand'. There is no known final occurrence of *ow*.

The contrastive features of the vowels are height, frontness, and rounding. Rounding is distinctive for only the nonfront vowels. Although the traditional contrastive system (Hoff 1968) distinguishes front, central, back, and high, mid, low, this is redundant for Carib. The proposed contrastive system reflects the vowel contrasts adequately, it is useful for the morphophonemics, and reflects the allophonic variations more realistically, since *i* is central only in the environments in which *u* and *o* are also central.

High front *i* has the allophone [i]. It is a tense vocoid in close high front position. *pitó* [pi:ʔtjéʔ] 'little brother'.

Nonhigh front *e* has as allophones [ẽ], [ɛ], and [ɪ]. Lax [ɛ] and [ɪ] vary freely in closed syllables: *uwémbo* 'stomach' [ubémbó ~ ubɛmbó], *kuijahkén* 'white-throated toucan (*Ramphastos tucanus*)', [kuijahkéŋ ~ kuijahkɪŋ]. [ɛ] also occurs in short open syllables: *nepu:i* [nɛʔpu:ʔi] 'it grew', and in diphthongs: *pí:jéj* [pí:yéi] 'shaman'. *e* is tense in long vowels and is articulated just below mid tongue position: *we:wé* [bɛ̃:bé̃] 'wood, tree'.

High nonfront rounded *u* has as allophones back rounded [u] and central rounded [ʊ]. [ʊ] occurs only after palatalized consonants: *itu:bíri* [iʔtjɛ:bíri]. Otherwise it is [u]: *tu:ná* [tu:ná] 'water'. Slight lip rounding varies freely with moderate rounding in *u*. It is never extreme at any time.

Nonhigh nonfront rounded *o* has as allophones back rounded [õ] and central rounded [ə̃]. [ə̃] occurs after palatalized consonants: *sihkojmá:e* [sɪxkʲə̃ɪmyá:ẽ] 'I mix it'. Elsewhere *o* is a little lower than mid tongue position: *opo:nó* [õʔpõ:nó̃] 'black-bellied tree duck'. Slight lip rounding also varies freely with moderate lip rounding.

High nonfront unrounded *i* has the allophones high back unrounded [ɪ̃] and high central unrounded [i]. [ĩ] occurs after palatalized consonants: *exkijni* [ɛxkiĩni] 'smoke'.

Nonhigh nonfront unrounded *a* has one allophone [a]. It is articulated approximately half way between mid and low tongue positions and just forward of the central tongue position: *pa:mí* [pa:mí] 'brother-in-law'.

Syllable final consonants are *h* and the nasals *m*, *n*, *ɲ*. *n* is prevelar before pause: [ŋ]. The three nasals contrast only before pause and following a phoneme other than *i* or *j*: *ám* [ám] 'some', *awrán* [auráŋ] 'language, speech', *ruhmánɲ* [ruʔmánɲ] 'a weak person'. Before consonants there is no contrast among nasals; they assimilate to the point of articulation of the following consonant: *uwémbo* [ubémbó̃] 'his stomach', *sirandú* [sirjandú] 'rat', and *ongáj* [õŋgái] 'comb'. There are two words in which the nasal is in free variation with lengthening of the preceding vowel: *sumbará* ~ *su:bará* 'machete, cutlass', and *indo:ké* ~ *i:ro:ké* 'therefore'.

In word final position [n] never occurs, but [ŋ] does. Because there is only a two-way contrast of nasals in syllable initial position (see discussion of initial m and n above), no contrast at the end of syllables in word medial position, and a three-way contrast in word final position, initial [n] and final [ŋ] can be considered allophones of [n].

In final position after i only the prevelar nasal [ɲ] occurs: ohwín [oˈʔbíɲ] 'one'. Because n has the prevelar allophone [ɲ] word finally, after i the same phone is also considered an allophone of n even though there is no contrast there with other nasals.

In syllable final position glottal constriction and devoicing of vocoids occur. Glottal constriction before the resonants r, m, n, w, j, and vowel devoicing before the voiceless stops p, t, k are in complementation. hC has the manifestations [hK] and [ʔR] where K stands for a voiceless stop and R for a resonant. Glottal constriction before resonants contrasts with its absence: suhwí [su:ʔbí] 'younger sister', su:wí [su:bí] 'little tinamou (Cryptuallus)', sahrombó [sa:ʔroˈmbóː] 'leaf', a:ró [a:roː] 'to bring along', sehmosá [seˈmoːOˈsá] 'I swallow', se:mosá [seːmoːOˈsá] 'I send him', ahná [aˈná] 'we (exclusive)', na:ná [na:ná] 'pineapple (Bromeliaceae)', juhjóndí [yu:ʔyoˈndí] 'woman's head cloth', kujú:wí [kuyu:bí] 'bush turkey (Penelope marail)'. Devoicing before voiceless stops contrasts with glottal constriction: konohpó [koˈnoːpˈpóː] 'button', kono:pó [koˈnoːːpˈpóː] 'rain', ihtá [ixtjá] 'you must go', itá [i:ˈtjá] 'in it', enéhko [enéhkoː] 'you must bring it', and ené:ko [enéːːkoː] 'you must look at it'. Since [ʔR] contrasts with [R], and its counterpart [hK] contrasts with [ʔK], it is possible to interpret [ʔR, hK] as hR, hK and [R, ʔK] as R, K. Devoicing of vocoids, symbolized by [h], always occurs before medial s, and devoicing of nasals, [N], always occurs before medial p, t, s; since this devoicing is automatic, [hs], [Np], [Nt], and [Ns] are phonemically the single consonants s, p, and t. This analysis is needed to make the morphophonemics come out consistently.

h before p, t, and k does not devoice all at once at the onset of the [h], but does devoice before the stop is articulated. It may be fricative with the point of articulation of the following stop in free variation with purely vocoidal devoicing, producing [p̥, θ̥, x̥, x̥, ʃ̥]. Besides the examples above: nohpóhko [noˈpˈpóːxkoː ~ noˈOˈpˈpóːOˈkoː] 'old woman', awhtó [auθtó ~ auUtó] 'house', and parahká [paraxká ~ paraAká] 'little chachalaca (Ortalis motmot)'.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Carib population estimates, except for Venezuela, are from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1968. Hoff (1968) gives the estimate for Venezuela based on data from Helmut Fuchs and Johannes Wilbert.

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