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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

TRIO PHONOLOGY

Morgan W. Jones

West Indies Mission

Trio is a Cariban language closely related to Wayana. It is spoken in the region formed by the headwaters of the Tapanahonij and Sipaliwini rivers in Surinam and of the West Parú River in Brazil.

There are seven vowel phonemes. They are divided into front vowels i, e, and nonfront vowels, which are in turn divided into rounded u, o, and unrounded ï, ë, a. High front i is close: soni 'vulture', mikiri 'wapu palm', ipata 'his place'. Mid front e is open [ɛ]: mure 'small child', përe 'species of fish', entu 'owner', epu 'stem, post', serere 'species of small bird'. High nonfront rounded u is close: uru 'bread', maru 'cotton', paruru 'banana', urutura 'bright star'. Mid nonfront rounded o is also close, unlike its front counterpart: moromoro 'house fly', pakoro 'house', oraken 'quiet, still', oroi 'cashew fruit'. High nonfront unrounded ï is back. It is the only vowel that cannot occur utterance initially: imamarï 'his real mother', pïï 'hill', ipï 'his wife', wïwï 'axe', wïrïyae 'I am fixing it'. Mid nonfront unrounded ë is central: tëpu 'rock', ëmuku 'your child', irërë 'really that one'. Low nonfront unrounded a is central: arï 'contents', tanë 'far away', pakara 'box', anpo 'where?'

There are fifteen clusters of two vowels. All vowels occur cluster initial. All vowels except ï and ë occur finally in clusters of dissimilar vowels. Long vocoids, which take longer to utter than clusters of dissimilar vowels, are considered to be vowel clusters as well. All vowels occur in geminate clusters. In word final position geminate vowel clusters occur only in descriptive words (onomatopoetic words and interjections).

ae: tïïkae 'said', wae 'I am', aenenkërë 'living', aerë 'true'
ai: nai 'he is', pai 'tapir', aina 'slow', aipïme 'rapid'
ao: -tao 'in', anao 'daylight', aoya 'crooked', ekatao 'next to'
au: pau 'island', aunkë 'get up!', aunto 'airstrip'
eu: meu 'species of red bird', euhto 'an answer', eune 'one who answers'
ei: wei 'sun', nei 'he was', yeiranopï 'my scolding', pepei 'wind'
iu: piriuta 'man's name', yipiuhta 'I have stomach problems'
oi: oroi 'cashew fruit', moi 'spider', koi 'palm tree'

oe: -koe 'desiderative plural', tënoe 'act as if with eyes', epoe 'above'
ui: nakuikan 'it hurts', uhtukuima 'a dove', kaikui 'dog'
ëu: tëuse 'answered', ëuru 'your bread', wëuyae 'I remove'
ëe: tïtëe 'went', mëe 'him', ëturëewa 'unanswered', ëenta 'you awoke'
ïi: wïi 'cassava', tapïime 'many', pïike 'timid', -nahkïi 'onto'
ël: ëire 'fierce', këi 'fever', ëihtao 'in your midst'
oa: koama 'species of jungle flower'

ii: piito 'brother', compare pito 'to spit'
ee: eemi 'daughter', tee expression of understanding, weenae 'to draw a bow', compare wenae 'after'
uu: wituukae 'I hit it', compare wituhkae 'I break an arrow'
oo: moowe 'species of tree', witookae 'I pat a child with my hand', compare witohkae 'I break it open'
ïï: pïïpo 'on the hill', tïïkae 'said', compare tïkae 'dug'
ëë: ëëmori 'species of tree', pëë expression of surprise, tëëkae 'chewed', compare tëkae 'stripped'
aa: paatu 'species of bird', maa descriptive word indicating distance, paaru 'banana-like plant', compare paru 'Parú River'

The initial vowels in the stems of some verbs are lengthened morphophonemically in the dual and first person inclusive plural forms: keetae, keetati 'you and I hear it, we all hear it' from eta 'hear'; keene, keeneti 'you and I see it, we all see it' from ene 'see'. The initial vowel of reflexive verb stems that begin with e is also lengthened morphophonemically in the stative or impersonal form: teekonkae 'stuck' from ekonka 'to stick oneself'.

There are nine syllable initial consonants in Trio. They are divided into stops p, t, k, fricative s, nasals m, n, flap r, and semivowels w, y. By point of articulation the stops divide into anterior, further divided into noncoronal p, m, w, and coronal t, s, n, r, and nonanterior k, y. The obstruents p, t, k, s are voiceless; the resonants m, n, r, w, y are voiced.

The anterior noncoronal stop p is bilabial and unaspirated: ëpi 'medicine', papotï 'daughter', pahko 'father', panapipapa 'name of a village'. In unstressed syllables the Sipaliwini River Trios have a voiceless bilabial fricative in free variation with a stop: kapu [kapu ~ kapu] 'sky'. The anterior coronal stop t is dental and unaspirated: tëpu 'rock', atïtome 'why?', pata 'place'. The nonanterior stop k is palatal before front vowels and velar elsewhere: keene 'you and I see it', kori 'friend (feminine)', tunuku 'species of tree', wïkatae 'I will say it'. The fricative is dental and voiceless in nonemphatic speech: samu 'sand', wisukae 'I wash it', marasi 'species of bird'. In emphatic speech s is an alveopalatal affricate: samu [tsamu] 'sand!', sikiman [tsikiman] 'black!', insaikaewa [intsaikaewa] 'not missing it!'.

The anterior noncoronal nasal **m** is bilabial: **mope** 'species of fruit', **wimëyae** 'I wait for it', **wakamae** 'I forbid it'. The anterior coronal nasal **n** is alveolar: **napi** 'potato', **naru** 'caught', **wenae** 'after'. The flap **r** is a reverse flap before the front vowels **i e**: **meri** 'squirrel', **kori** 'friend', **ariwe** 'alligator', **resime** 'much, many'. Before other vowels there is lateral opening during the flap: **maru** 'cotton', **arï** 'contents', **pakara** 'box', **ituru** 'rapids'. The anterior semivowel **w** is a high back rounded vocoid: **wiweme** 'slippery', **ëpawana** 'your partner', **wirinae** 'sloth', **iyuwë** 'upon it'. Before front vowels the Sipaliwini River Trios have a voiced bilabial fricative in free variation with the vocoid: **wewe** [ɓɛɓɛ ~ u̯ɛu̯ɛ] 'wood', **wikuyae** [ɓikuyae ~ u̯ikuyae] 'I try it'. The nonanterior semivowel **y** is a high front unrounded voiced vocoid: **yako** 'friend', **wiyahkae** 'I burn it', **wimëyae** 'I wait for it', **meinyara** 'now', **winyae** 'I am tying it'.

In syllable final position a nasal consonant, whose point of articulation is determined by what follows it, and a devoiced segment, whose phonetic characteristics are also determined by the environment, are the only consonants that occur. The nasal, which is symbolized with **n**, is velar before pause: **neuyan** [neuyaŋ] 'he answers him', **nkan** [ŋkaŋ] 'he says'. Elsewhere it has the point of articulation of the following consonant: **wenpae** 'I teach', **anpo** 'where?', **yunme** 'wise', **wiwanmae** 'I teach him', **entu** 'owner', **antai** 'which way?', **manko** 'mother', **aunkë** 'get up!'.

Syllable final devoicing, which is symbolized with **h**, follows a single vowel or a dissimilar vowel cluster: **wïhtëe** 'I shoot it', compare **wïtëe** 'I go' and **tïïkae** 'said'; **ëihtao** 'in your midst'; **sihkë** 'tree sap', compare **sikë** 'species of small worm'; **mahto** 'fire', compare **mato** 'something to hammer with'. **h** never occurs word finally.

Because of the variation among dialects that is described later, it is useful to consider **h** to be in contrast with vowel gemination: **witohkae** 'I break or bite open', **witookae** 'I pat a child with my hand'; **wipuhkae** 'I open cotton bolls', **wipuukae** 'I blow on a fire'; **wituhkae** 'I break arrow cane', **wituukae** 'I hit something'; **witihkae** 'I decorate his skin', **witiikae** 'I hit a stone'; **witïhkae** 'I scare someone', **witïïkae** 'I finish it'; **witahkae** 'I lose something', **witaakae** 'I hit a tree trunk'.

The occurrence of **h** is independent of the position of stress (which is not otherwise discussed in this paper). The first vowel of the stressed syllable is indicated with a circumflex on **ï ë** and with an acute accent on other vowels in the following examples: **nipêrëhkan** 'the dog chases it', **nipêrëkan** 'the rain blows in it', **tunátae** '(movement) by water', **tunáhkao** 'in the water', **iwêturu** 'conversation', **iwëturúkon** 'their conversation', **iwëturukomóhtao** 'during their conversation', **iwëturukomohtáonkërë** 'still during their conversation', **akëmíhton** 'younger brothers', **akëmihtomohtáonkërë** 'still in the midst of the younger brothers'.

Morphophonemically h replaces the final consonant of a stem in Class 2 verbs, which includes most of those that end in a stop or r followed by ï or ë. Before certain suffixes the vowel drops and the consonant becomes h: enehpo 'to cause to be brought' from enepï 'bring' and -po 'causative', or enehpïn 'one not brought' from enepï and -pïn negative nominalizer. Verbs of other classes do not drop the stem final vowel: enepo 'to cause to be seen', enepïn 'one not seen', from ene 'see' (Class 4) and -po, -pïn.

In the possessed form of nouns an h sometimes appears at the end of the stem: wëri-ton 'women', i-wërih-ton 'his women'; imoitï-ton 'friends', y-imoitïh-ton 'my friends'. In nouns that begin with e and a the possessive is zero; in those forms h ends the stem in the nonpossessed forms of the plural: eemih-ton 'daughters', akëmihton 'younger brothers'. [It is possible that these words have underlying forms that end in h. Because h cannot occur word finally, it would drop except before suffixes. J.G.] h is also introduced at some other morpheme boundaries: sasame-pah-të 'go away happy!' with -pa completive; ema-se-reh-to 'they wanted in vain to throw it' with -re 'in vain'.

The description just made of the occurrence of h holds for the speech of the Trios of the Sipaliwini watershed. They distinguish single vowels from geminate clusters, and distinguish vowel followed by h from both: yeka 'my name', yeeka 'he bit me'; sikë 'species of small worm', sihkë 'sap from a tree'. In the Parú watershed, however, Vh and VV have fallen together as VV; so that siikë 'sap from a tree' has the same phonological pattern as yeeka, which is the same in both dialects. In situations where the Sipaliwini dialect has h arising morphophonemically, the Parú dialect has vowel lengthening: P eneepo 'to cause to be brought' from enepï 'bring', enepo 'to cause to be seen' from ene 'see', but S enehpo 'to cause to be brought', enepo 'to cause to be seen'. The Sipaliwini dialect is also the one that has both fricative and stop allophones of p. In the Tapanahonij watershed some speakers follow Sipaliwini rules and others follow Parú rules.

Syllable patterns are of ten types: V, VV, VVC, VC, CV, CVV, CVVC, CVC, C, and a highly restricted kind of CVC. Vowel initial syllables occur only at the beginning of words: V ituru 'rapids', ëpata 'your village', etainka 'run!', with any vowel but ï; VV eeku 'liquid', ëire 'fierce', eune 'one who answers', ainya 'we but not you'; VVC (only with dissimilar vowels) aunkë 'get up!', ëenta 'did you wake up?', ëenpan 'he teaches you', euhto 'an answer'; VC entu 'owner', anpo 'where?', inta 'his lips', insaikaewa 'not making a mistake', uhtukuima 'a dove'.

Consonant initial syllables, except for C by itself, occur in all positions within words: CV pata 'village', yiyomi 'my talk', pakoro 'house'; CVV weuyae 'I answer', pïipo 'on the hill', weneyae 'I bring it'; CVVC (only with dissimilar vowels) iwëturukomohtaonkërë 'still during their conversation', yeinya 'my hand', yipiuhta 'I have stomach problems', wïkaihta 'I really said

it!'; CVC **wenpae** 'I teach him', **wikuhtuntëe** 'I measure it', **yenpan** 'he teaches me'.

A syllable that consists of a single consonant C, always **n**, occurs word initially: **npa** 'let's go!', **nkan** 'he says it', **nna nai** 'that is just how it is', **nnarïpï** humorous expression, **nnë** 'so!', **nnarëto tese** 'there were just that many'.

In descriptive words, both onomatopoetic words and interjections, there is a contrast between **m**, **n** [ŋ], and stops at the end of CVC syllables that is found nowhere else: **tum** sound of a tree falling, **kin** sound of an axe ringing, **pon** sound of putting the head down for sleep, **kap** sound of a machete cutting.