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Patterns of language, patterns of thought: the Cariban languages

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Citation

Carlin, E. B. (2002). Patterns of language, patterns of thought: the Cariban languages. In A. J. Carlin E.B. (Ed.), *Atlas of the Languages of Suriname* (pp. 47-81). Leiden: KITLV Press. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/14817>

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

CHAPTER II

Patterns of language, patterns of thought

THE CARIBAN LANGUAGES

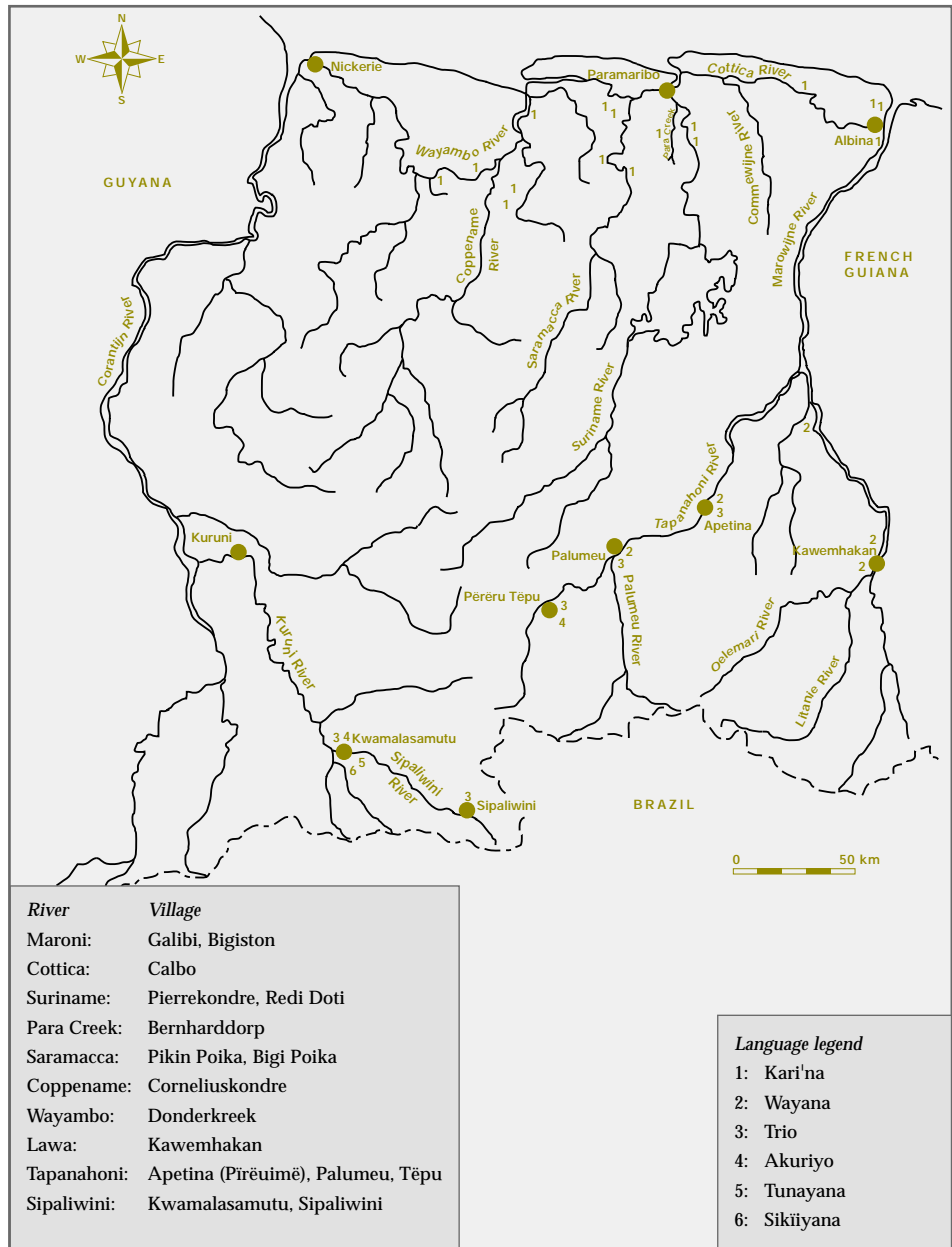
Eithne B. Carlin

Introduction

We saw in the foregoing chapter that the historical and cultural experiences of the three unrelated coastal groups, the Arawaks, Waraos, and Kari'na (Caribs) were much more similar to each other than those of the Kari'na have been to the related groups of the interior. Not so their languages. Indeed, though the Caribbean languages are many in number, somewhere between 34 and 60 languages, and widespread in location, from Colombia through Brazil, Venezuela, French Guiana, Guyana, and Suriname, they all share a common lexical stock as well as an inventory of grammatical morphemes that exhibit different stages of development resulting in vast grammatical differences. The six Caribbean languages spoken in Suriname, these being Kari'na, Trio, Wayana, Akuriyo, Tunayana, and Sikiiyana, will serve in the following as a cross-section of the language family. In view of the dearth of data available on some of these languages, for Tunayana and Sikiiyana we have no more than a few short, partially published wordlists and some wordlists and a text for Akuriyo, the present typological overview leans more heavily on Kari'na, Trio, and Wayana than on the other three. The analysis presented here is based on my own data for Trio, Tunayana, Sikiiyana, and Akuriyo, except where indicated otherwise. The Wayana data are from my own notes and from C.H. de Goeje (1946), Walter Jackson (1972), Karin Boven (1995), and Eliane Camargo (1999) and the Kari'na data are from Berend Hoff (1968, 1986), Odile Renault-Lescure (1987), and Henk Courtz (1997).¹ When examples are given in this chapter, they are followed where necessary by a letter in parentheses to indicate from which language the example is taken: (Ak) stands for Akuriyo, (K) for Kari'na, (T) for Trio, (W) for Wayana, (Tu) for Tunayana, and (S) for Sikiiyana.

This chapter does not assume to give a full overview of the grammars of the Caribbean languages, interesting as that might be, since Amazonian languages in general exhibit typological features that are found but seldom in the languages of the world – the Caribbean language Hixkaryana of Brazil shot to fame because of its unusual basic word order, Object-Verb-Subject (OVS). Rather I have chosen to point out a few features of the Caribbean languages, namely those that will give the reader some insight into the world or the philosophy of the Caribbean groups as discernible through their languages. That is to

say, we shall look here at how the members of this language family categorize, classify, and label the world around them. This chapter looks at the sound systems, the structure of the main word classes, that is, nouns, verbs, and postpositions, and their place in a sentence, and how the languages encode evidentiality, truth, and knowledge.



Map 2.1. Approximate location of the Cariban languages with the main settlements

What's in a word?

From the beginnings of negotiations with the white men, the Amerindians were not only confronted with languages and ideas foreign to them, but these European languages also lacked the most relevant distinguishing feature that characterizes Native American languages in general, namely the grammatical marking of reality and truth, knowledge, and speaker's attitude, categories that are not marked by means of grammatical morphemes on the verb or noun in Standard Average European languages. In order to communicate successfully as well as speak grammatically in the Cariban languages, it is of paramount importance to include information that encodes the evidence one has for claiming that an event has occurred, that is, whether one witnessed an event or not (in linguistic terms called evidentiality marking), and also to use grammatical morphemes that indicate the truth or non-truth of the event as well as the speaker's attitude to the truth value of the utterance. In addition, the speaker is bound to include all relevant information relating to the event, such as whether the intended outcome of carrying out an action was achieved or not. Not including everything relevant to the utterance amounts to wilfully holding back information, in which case optimal communication cannot be achieved. Successful communication is indispensable for living a successful life, which is defined by one's ability to live in harmony with one's surroundings and one's community, and it is precisely this that the speakers of Cariban languages strive to achieve. In the words of Joanna Overing and Alan Passes (2000:1-2) most Amazonian societies 'desire above all else a high degree of emotional comfort in daily life, a stress substantiated by the political and moral one that sets as first priority the achievement of conviviality in the productive relations of community life'. Living one's life successfully as an individual within the community brings with it some responsibilities, the most important is that of being as cooperative as possible, not only in communal life but in particular in the communicative sphere. The Cariban peoples too see the community as a collective of autonomous individuals, and consonant with that fact, it is the individual and s/he alone that has insight into, knowledge of, and responsibility for his/her behaviour. It is precisely this worldview that is reflected in the grammars of the languages these groups speak.

Another salient notion in the philosophy of speakers of Cariban languages, and again one that has a direct correlate in the grammars, is that appearances can be deceptive, that not everything is as it seems to be, and that in principle everything in the world we live in is transformational in nature. In the words of Peter Rivière (1994), 'WYSINWYG (What You See Is Not What You Get) in Amazonia', partly because the Amerindian world views the soul as the unifying element that is manifested in physical diversity. That is, the outer casing of an *anima* can have various forms, that of a human or of a range of animals. To elucidate this point, I give an example taken from the philosopher A.I. Goldman (1988) that concerns Henry, who is driving in the countryside with his son. As they proceed, Henry identifies and calls out to his son the names of the objects they pass, in the manner of 'that's a cow, that's a rabbit, that's a barn', since that is what he knows these objects

or creatures to be. However, what Henry doesn't know is that he has just entered a district where papier mâché facsimiles of the objects Henry has just identified as rabbit, cow, barn, and so forth, have been set up (perhaps for making a film). In fact what Henry has just seen are not real rabbits, cows, and barns but facsimiles thereof. The point of this example is to show that what we see in daily life may not be what we think it is. For Henry, these were real creatures and objects because he believed them to be so and had no evidence to the contrary, but the fact remains that the objects Henry saw were not intrinsically rabbits, cows, and barns. Had Henry possessed the evidence that we have, namely that there were papier mâché facsimiles in that district, and had he been a speaker of a Cariban language he could have expressed this discrepancy between appearance and reality by means of a grammatical marker, namely *-me*, attached to the noun he was using, to indicate that the objects or creatures he saw were facsimiles, in other words, not intrinsically that which is denoted by the nouns cow, rabbit, or barn. Compare the Trio and Kari'na examples in (1a-c) where (1a) refers to a 'real' human being and (1b) could, for example, refer to a spirit that has taken on a human form. The sentence in (1c) refers to a dog, a man's familiar, who transformed into a woman while he was out hunting, in order to prepare food and drink for him.

- (1) a wītoto nērē (T)
 human.being he
 he is a human being
- b wītoto-me nērē (T)
 human.being-FACS he
 he's manifestly a human being (he is a human being but not inherently so,
 he's a facsimile human)
- c wolii-me ko-n-onulima-no (K) (Mauricia Tiouka in Lescure 1987:10)
 woman-FACS UNCERTAINTY-3-transform-TNS
 it (the dog) changed into a (facsimile of a) woman

In addition, there are several areas of grammar which are dealt with in more detail below where the Cariban languages make more nuanced distinctions than Standard Average European languages, for example, in their marking of how an object is located in space. The basic locative concept IN comprises at least a three-way system in Cariban languages, depending on the constitution of the space involved. That is to say, space is subcategorized into 'open spread-out space' as in a village or savanna; 'contained space' as in a house or the forest; 'aquatic space' as in a river, water, or beer; some of the Cariban languages have an additional category of space in or near fire. Thus for each of these subcategorizations a different grammatical marker is used to translate the English preposition 'in'.

Another way in which the Cariban languages differ is in their encoding of information

and word formation. There are three major word classes in these languages, noun, verb, and postposition, and there are several ways of increasing the membership of these classes, namely by deriving nouns from verbs and postpositions, and verbs from nouns by means of verbalizing suffixes. Thus while we easily assign to a noun in English such features as time-stable, concrete or abstract, a noun in the Cariban languages may have quite different

properties, that is the semantic equivalents of many nouns are not definable in the same way. In these languages there exists an all-pervading idea of causation: objects do not just exist, they are caused to be there, or they are the result of a process: for example, where we see the noun phrase 'my child' as an entity in and of itself, the Trio, for one, see it as the result of the process of conceiving and giving birth and encode it accordingly as *ji-n-muku* (literally: my borne one).

Keeping such ideas in mind while reading this chapter should allow the reader a glimpse into the construction of the world through Amerindian eyes, helping him to understand how complex the European/Amerindian encounter actually was, and in most cases still is.

First, in order to facilitate reading the examples that are given below, I give a summary of the sound systems found in these languages.



The village of Tëpu from the air

Sounds, sound patterns, and spelling conventions

The distinctive sounds of these languages are quite similar, though orthographic conventions differ from one language to the next. The consonants are given Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p	t		k	(')
Fricative	ɸ	s	(š)	(x)	h
Flap		r			
Nasal	m	n			
Glide	w		j		

The phonemes given in parentheses indicate that this sound unit (phoneme) is not found in all languages, for example, the glottal stop /'/ is found in Kari'na, for example, in the ethnonym Kari'na itself, and in Akuriyo, for example, *serē-me'awē* 'now, today', but it is not found in Trio or Wayana; the velar fricative /x/, pronounced like the *ch* in the Scottish word *loch* 'lake', is only found as a distinctive phoneme in Kari'na, for example, *uxku* 'to try' (Hoff 1968:124). The phonetic realization of /s/ in many of the languages is as the alveolar affricate /tʃ/, especially in Tunayana and Siküyana, for example, Tunayana *tšoro* 'heat'. Most of the languages represent the flap /r/ by the grapheme *r*, with the exception of Wayana which uses *l*. The orthography of Kari'na used in French Guiana also uses *l* for this phoneme – compare the following: *wo:rü* (K, Suriname), *wo:lü* (K, Fr. Guiana), *wëri* (T), *wëli* (W), *wëri'i* (Ak), all of which mean 'woman' and all of which are pronounced in almost the same way. Kari'na stands out as a system which has a palatalized and a non-palatalized allophone of the obstruents, for example, š (sh) versus s, the former occurring if the segment is preceded by an *i*, *ĩ*: or an *i*-diphthong. Thus, for example, the word *itu* /itu/ or /i:tu/ 'forest' which is found in most of the languages is realized in Kari'na as /i:tšu/. In addition, Kari'na has voicing of the stops following a nasal or an unstressed syllable, for example, *irómpo* is pronounced as *irómbo* 'and then' (Courtz 1997:vi).

The majority of the languages have a seven-vowel system, namely,

i	ĩ	u
e	ẽ	o
	a	

The vowels *ĩ* and *ẽ* are the high and mid central vowels respectively. The latter vowel, *ẽ*, which is pronounced approximately as the *a* in the English word *about*, but with spread rather than rounded or semi-rounded lips, seems to be lacking in Kari'na. The high central vowel *ĩ* does not have an equivalent in the standard European languages, but is pronounced with the tongue high in the mouth and with spread lips. Kari'na has a six-vowel system with rule-governed prosodic lengthening of vowels. Long vowels are also found phonemically in Trio but these are few, and most seem to be the result of syllable elision. For example, the Trio word *maakē* 'mosquito' has a Wayana counterpart *mahak* 'mosquito'.

Karinya (= Carib) of Suriname

CARIBS, KARINYAS, AND SYLLABLE REDUCTION

A Carib is an Amerindian who speaks Carib – that identification should and would have been sufficient if anthropologists and linguists had been more careful in the way they expressed themselves. Unfortunately, however, the name Carib has become the object of endless confusion. The rise of the Island Carib, as a new society with a language of its own, has created a problem apparently too difficult to solve (Renault-Lescure 1999); and more problems still have been generated by the practice to bestow the famous old name on many other nations who themselves never would have cared to claim it. Against this background we must understand the popularity in professional circles of an alternative name: *Karinya*.

Now let us exploit the name Carib and its competitors to explore some aspects of the sound system of Carib and of its grammar. Besides *Karinya*, there are several other alternatives: *Caraïbe*, *Galibi*, *Caliban* (Malkiel 1957:8), *Kalinya*, *Karinya*, *Kari'nya*, and *Kari'na*.

The first one, *Caraïbe*, is not interesting from a linguistic point of view. It was borrowed by the French from a Brazilian language and taken by them to their new Antillean colonies, when they had to leave Brazil. Its similarity to Carib is completely fortuitous.

The next three, *Galibi*, *Caliban*, and *Kalinya*, differ from the last three and from Carib itself, by containing the letter *l* where the others have an *r*. The explanation is simple. The actual sound in Carib is produced by a quick downward flap of the tip of the tongue, which on its way touches the ridge behind the upper teeth. Foreigners can seldom produce or perceive this sound properly: sometimes they mishear it as their own *r*-sound, sometimes as their own *l*-sound. And it has been written by them accordingly.

A much larger story is hidden behind the letter *b*, present in Carib itself and also in *Galibi* and *Caliban*, but absent in *Kalinya* and its three variants. Here we have a historical difference between an older form and a more recent form, of what in fact is one and the same name. Many centuries ago, the name contained four syllables: *karipona*. Like a great many other Carib words, it has been shortened by a historical process of sound change. Loss of the *o* produced *karipna*, which by assimilation immediately became *karibna* (De Goeje 1939:10). Still later, the Caribs also dropped the *b*. But this sound left a trace of its former presence in the shape of a slight glottal catch. Modern linguists refuse to ignore this glottal catch, and that is the motivation for the apostrophe in *kari'na*. The first European seafarers, however, arrived early enough to witness the intermediate stage, when *karibna* still had its *b*. Therefore they wrote *Caribe* and *Carib*, and I am continuing that original practice.

When we again compare earlier *karibna* with modern *karinya* and *kari'nya*, we find still another change. A *y* has been inserted after the *n* to show that in the modern language the nasal is an *ñ*. This fact is the result of automatic palatalization. Not just the nasal but all Carib consonants are modified in a similar manner when they follow the vowel *i*: *p* becomes *py*, *t* becomes *c* (like Dutch *tj*), etcetera. The last version of the name, *Kari'na*, expects the reader to have knowledge of this palatalization rule.

In the paragraph on syllable reduction, I presented it as a purely historical phenomenon: *karipona* became *kari'na*. But in fact it is more than that, because history lives on in today's Carib grammar. Take, for instance, the word *ukuti* 'to know'. When the suffix *-neng* is added to it, to derive a word that means 'possessor of specialized knowledge, expert', the result is not **ukuti-neng* but *uku'-neng*. *Ukuti* apparently is the continuation of a word that during the past centuries escaped reduction. But the predecessor of *uku'-neng* was similar to *karipona*, and suffered the same reduction. *Uku'neng* therefore is like *kari'nya*, but many of its grammatical partners have retained the syllable it lost; for instance *ukuti* 'to know', *s-ukuti-i* 'I do know it', *ukuti-ri s-ekano-sa* 'I think that I know it'.

The phenomenon is quantitatively important. All over the grammatical paradigms of Carib, syllables are vanishing and popping up again according to rules that are far too complicated to summarize in a few lines. I shall mention just one point. Besides the glottal catch, other compensations for lost syllables do occur: a fricative, and under specific circumstances also a lengthening of the vowel that preceded the lost syllable. These long vowels by compensatory lengthening join long vowels which Carib already has from other origins. And they all interact together in the system of Carib word stress and accentuation, which therefore is highly complicated. This is especially the case in the most conservative Carib dialect, that of Cornelis Kondre in Western Suriname.

Sound symbolism

One area of grammar where the arbitrariness between a sound and its meaning is greatly decreased is that of sound symbolic expressions. Sound symbolic expressions are those parts of speech that imitate a sound. For example, in English the sound symbolic word 'boom!' is used to describe an explosion. Likewise, sound symbolic expressions can express states or actions, such as Trio *koin* 'swallow', or some aspect of an action, like the duration or completion of an action. Sound symbolic words are not random strings of phonemes, rather they are conventionalized words. The Cariban languages abound in such words, as can be seen from the list in (2), which is certainly not exhaustive, of Trio sound symbolic expressions. Sound symbolism often allows a phonetic realization of sounds not otherwise found in the language. For example, although Trio does not have aspirated plosives, such sound symbolic words as *tʰupʰuw* 'sound of someone falling into the water' do allow these sounds, which are then strongly aspirated; likewise, the palatal fricative /ç/ which sometimes occurs as an allophone of *ht* following a high front vowel, occurs syllable-finally in the sound symbolic word *tũç* in Trio which is used to indicate 'people standing around waiting'. In Kari'na some sound-symbolic words may consist of sounds that are otherwise not found in the language as a phoneme, such as the *f* in *tofee*, to express a 'bird falling head over heels on a branch'; in addition, this word deviates in its prosodic pattern. Lengthening any of the elements of a sound symbolic word generally correlates with intensity or degree, for example, the final nasal in the Kari'na *tũŋŋ* which expresses the sound of 'pulling someone's belly', and the vowel of the Trio sound symbolic word *tora* that expresses 'arrive' can be lengthened to *toora* to indicate that someone arrived slowly, as shown in the example in (3).

- (2)
- | | |
|----------------|--|
| <i>koin</i> | swallow |
| <i>kon</i> | arrive from air (also arrive by boat) |
| <i>kwatĩm</i> | arrow departing from bow string |
| <i>kwe</i> | running |
| <i>kron</i> | cutting open stomach |
| <i>kwiiçta</i> | sound of arrow moving through air (whizzing through air) |
| <i>pukan</i> | burning, also arrows flying around you and hitting you |
| <i>sapan</i> | touching something |
| <i>kwçii</i> | water splashing |
| <i>tah</i> | throw with force |
| <i>tak</i> | hit |
| <i>tara(n)</i> | giving something/completion of action |
| <i>tẽŋ</i> | penetration, shallow |
| <i>tʰupʰuw</i> | falling into water |
| <i>tũĩç</i> | standing around waiting |
| <i>tik</i> | penetration, deeper than <i>tẽŋ</i> : arrow penetrating bamboo |

tika	action completed
tip	killing someone
tome	grab
top	grab (and run off to take prisoner)
tora(n)	arrive
tšuhko	throw onto surface
tun/ton	completeness, entirely
turu	fall, mostly after being killed (also if killed by a curse over a distance, the moment the curse 'hits' them, they fall dead <i>turu</i>)
wajan	flap flap (flying through air)

- (3) *tooor*a tepatakae ija (T)
*tooor*a appeared by.him
*tooor*a he slowly appeared

As can be seen in (2), sound symbolic words can be performative, and they are mostly imitative words, see example (4). Not only do such words give a vivid description of what is happening, but they are also used to express grammatical information such as aspect, or some salient features of the semantics of the verb. For example, it is in the sound symbolic word that durative and inchoative processes can be distinguished as shown in the Trio example in (5), where the lengthening of the vowel in *tuuun* indicates a durative process, namely that of surrounding the village. Sound symbolic words can also stand on their own in a sentence, sometimes replacing a verb, as shown in (6), where the sound symbolic word indicates killing the enemy. Many sound symbolic words are used with the verb *ka* 'say, do', as in the Wayana and Trio examples in (7a-d).

- (4) *ijeta tuna tiwēese kwçii* (T)
much water came *kwçii*
a lot of water splashed up *kwçii*
- (5) *tuuun* pata apuru-ja-n (T)
tuuun village close-PRES-UNCERTAINTY
tuuun they surrounded the village
- (6) *irēme tun, tun, tun* (with increase in intensity) (T)
so *tun, tun, tun*
so they killed them all
- (7) a *tohtohtoh* wikei (W) (Jackson 1970)
tohtohtoh I.say
I am coughing (I am saying *tohtohtoh*)

- b *tonton* nkan (T)
tonton he.says
 he is coughing
- c *sip* tikai (W) (Jackson 1970)
sip it.said
 the boat sped by (it said *sip*)
- d *tumhalaphalap* tikai (W) (Jackson 1970)
tumhalaphalap he.said
 he jumped (he said *tumhalaphalap*)

The structure of words

The Cariban languages are extremely rich in their morphological marking. Each of the word classes can be expanded by derivation. That is, verbs and postpositions can become nominalized and can then take any morphology that a noun can take, and verbs can be derived from nouns by means of verbalizers. The result is that words, of all three classes, can be very long but they are also neatly segmentable into smaller meaningful parts. The Cariban languages are thus agglutinative languages. Indeed, the equivalent of an entire



Visitors come by boat from near and far to Galibi to participate in the *omanga:no* mourning ritual

sentence in English may be encoded in one word in any of the Cariban languages, as in for example, the Kari'na word *kīni:kó:mapoya:ton* 'they had him called' (Hoff 1968:290); the Trio *toonapipajesato* 'they have slightly flat noses', and Wayana *kuwipakoloptyyai* 'I am providing you with a house'.²

The Cariban family is predominantly suffixing: the only prefixes they use are those to mark person and also to mark valency on the verb root. Most of the Cariban languages distinguish four persons, namely first (I, the speaker), second (you, the addressee), first and second together (you and I, henceforth 1 + 2), and third (s/he/it, one being talked about), whereby in the set of pronouns a distinction is made in the third person regarding the distance s/he is relative to the speaker (near, not-so-near, and far), given in Table 2 as proximal, medial, and distal. Unlike Arawak (see Patte, Chapter III), the Cariban languages do not make any gender distinctions. In Trio the third person also distinguishes a referent that can be heard but not seen, and is used, for example, to ask *akī mēkī* 'who is that?' if one hears a human or animal noise, or when one answers a call on the radio or telephone, or for noises that are not from a human or animal source: *atī mēn* 'what is that rattle, bang?' The second, 1 + 2, and third persons can be pluralized by means of a pluralizing suffix. The personal pronouns, which are generally only used for emphasis or contrast, are given in Table 2. The Cariban languages also distinguish a person first and third (I and someone else) meaning 'we', excluding the addressee, given in Table 2 as person 1+3. Thus the concept WE can be expressed by means of the 1 + 2 person singular 'you and I', or by the 1 + 2 person plural 'you all and I' whereby the addressee(s) is included, and by means of a first plus third person, whereby the addressee is excluded 's/he/it/they and I'; although logically the exclusive pronoun, *ainja* (T), *emna* (W), *a'na* (K), and *anja* (Ak), is plural in meaning, it behaves morphosyntactically as a singular category. Compare the examples in (8a-c).

Table 2.2: Personal pronouns

	Trio	Wayana	Kari'na	Akuriyo
1	wī(rē)	iu/yu	au	wī
2	ēmē	ēmē	amo:ro	ēmērē
1+2	kīmē	kunmē	kixko	kīmērē
3 animate				
- proximal	mēe	mēi	moxko, mo:se	mē'e
- medial	mēērē	mēklē	mo:kī	mēkīrē
- distal	ohkī	—	—	—
- anaphoric	nērē	inēlē	ino:ro	nērē
- audible/nonvisible	mēkī	—	—	—
1+3	ainja	emna	a'na	anja

- (8) a poto-pona kī-tē-ø-e (T)
town-to 1+2-go-TNS-CERTAINTY
we (I and you) are going to town
- b k-ih-sa-:ton paramuru 'wa (K)
1+2-go-TNS-PL Paramaribo-to
we (I and you pl.) are going to town
- c emna n-ene-yai (W) (Jackson 1970)
1+3 3S/3O-see-TNS.EVID
we (I and s/he or they but not you) see him

Each exponent of the category of person has a set of corresponding personal prefixes to mark a possessor on a noun or nominalization to indicate ‘my, your, his/her/its’ etc., or an argument on a verb to indicate ‘I Verb, you Verb, he/she/it Verbs’ etc. The possessive prefixes on nouns are almost identical to the personal prefixes of intransitive verbs. The possessive personal prefixes are given in Table 2.3.³ As can be seen in this table, all the languages distinguish between a third person coreferential and non-coreferential possessive form. The third person coreferential prefix *tī-* is used to mark an object, the person of which is identical to that of the subject of the sentence. For example, in the Trio sentence in (9a), the prefix *tī-* is used to express ‘his own father’ as opposed to someone else’s father as shown in (9b); the subscripted letters in the English translation show coreference or non-coreference.

Table 2.3: Personal possessive prefixes

	Trio	Wayana	Kari'na	Akuriyo
1	jī-	ī-/j-/īw-	j-/ø	j-
2	ē-/:-	ē-/ēw-	aj-/o-/a-	ē-/:-
1+2	kī-	ku-/kuw-	kī-	kī-
3	i-/ø	i-/iw-/a-/aw-	i-/ø	i-/ø
3coreferential	tī-	tī-/tīw-	tī/u-	tī-
1+3	ainja + i-/ø	emna + i-/ø	a'na + ø	anja + i-/ø

- (9) a tī-papa in-eu-se-wa nai (T)
3COREF-father 3O-answer-NF-NEG he.is
he_i didn't answer his_i father (his own.father him-answering-not he.is)
- b nērē i-papa in-eu-se-wa nai (T)
he 3POSS-father 3O-answer-NF-NEG he.is
he_i didn't answer his_j father (someone else's father)

In genitive constructions of the type N's N (possessor noun followed by possessed noun), the possessed noun is obligatorily marked with a pronominal prefix, as shown in the Trio example in (10a), with *i-* before a consonant and with apparent zero realization of the prefix before a vowel. In Kari'na the prefix is also zero preceding a consonant, as shown in (10b), but its presence is marked prosodically, revealing the trace of the historically elided prefix *ĩ-*.

- (10) a *ainja i-mama i-wëi ø-eemi-hpë* (T)
 1+3 3POSS-mother 3POSS-older.sister 3POSS-daughter-PST
 our (excl.) mother's older sister's daughter (now deceased)
- b *y-eemĩ-rĩ ø-to:pu-ru* (K)
 1POSS-daughter-POSS 3POSS-stone-POSS
 my daughter's stone

Both Wayana and Kari'na, and to a lesser extent Trio too, require a possessed noun to be marked with a possessive suffix *-rĩ* (orthographically represented as *-li* in Wayana, and in both languages as *-ru* or *-lu*, respectively following a noun ending in *u* as shown in (10b) above); Wayana has an additional possessive suffix *-n* which according to De Goeje (1946: 104) and Camargo (1999:98) may mark the possession of alienable concepts. In Trio, the use of the suffix *-rĩ* is being lost so that it now generally only occurs when the possessed noun is followed by a postposition as shown in (11e). Compare the examples in (11a-e).

- (11) a *y-e:ma-rĩ* (K) (Hoff 1968:78)
 1POSS-path-POSS
 my path
- b *ji-mumku-lu-psik* (W) (De Goeje 1946:146)
 1POSS-son-POSS-DIM
 my little son (said by mother)
- c *ĩ-malia-n* (W) (Camargo 1999:102)
 1POSS-knife-POSS
 my knife
- d *ji-pawana* (T)
 1POSS-friend
 my friend
- e *ji-pawana-rĩ-ja w-ekarama-ø* (T)
 1POSS-friend-POSS-GOAL I/it-give-PST
 I gave it to my friend

Unlike most languages which only directly mark tense on verbs, the Cariban languages can mark a noun for past tense, by means of the suffixes *-hpë* and *-npë* in Trio and Akuriyo, *-tpë* (*-tpi*) and *-npë* (*-npi*) in Wayana, and *-mbo* and *-po* in Kari'na. The nominal



Sita, talking on behalf of the Wayana

past markers carry the meanings 'former, deceased, or old and useless' as shown in examples (12a-d). When tense is marked on a non-possessed noun or a pronoun, it expresses that the object in question, which existed in the past, no longer exists, or that it is old and dilapidated and/or useless. When a noun or nominalized verb is possessed and marked with a past tense suffix, the pastness can refer to either the noun itself or to the possession. That is, a tense-marked noun such as 'boss' can refer to someone's

former boss or to his boss who died; see a similar example in (12a). The past markers are obligatory whenever either the referent itself no longer exists, like the deceased, or whenever the relationship between the possessor and the possessed has ceased to exist. Thus, in referring to the head of a dead monkey, the head is obligatorily marked with the past marker as in the Trio example in (13).

- (12) a *ji-piti-npë* (T)
 1POSS-wife-PST
 my ex-wife (or my late wife)
- b *ë-n-ekale-tpë sin* (W) (De Goeje 1946:109)
 2POSS-O-give-NOM-PST this.one
 this is what you gave me (your past giving thing)
- c *auxto-mbo* (K) (Hoff 1968:222)
 house-PST
 dilapidated house (also fish sp.)
- d *ë-piipi-npë* (Ak)
 2POSS-older.brother-PST
 your (former) older brother (brother acquired a new relation to possessor)
- (13) *arimi i-putupë-npë* (T)
 spider.monkey 3POSS-head-PST
 spider monkey's head (spider monkey deceased)

The classification of animal and vegetable food in Wayana

Many concepts of cultural thought are reflected linguistically, and ‘eating’ among the Wayana has caught the attention of ethnologists because of its singularity. Daniel Schoepf (1979) described the Wayana ethics of eating, dealing with the preparation of foods and their components. Lucia van Velthem (1990, 1996) discusses the relationship between food and the cosmology of the group, looking in particular at the water world, which provides the staple of these fishing people. The Wayana classify their foodstuff according to whether it is of animal or vegetable origin and have different expressions at their disposal to indicate the type of food being consumed. Animal foods are subsumed under the term *têhem* ‘one to be meat-eaten’ which refers to both meat and fish. Meat and fish are the main foods among the Wayana, and only those can constitute a proper meal. Vegetable foods are somewhat more complex in that they are classified along the lines of tuber versus fruit whereby knowledge of the consistency of the food is also essential. The direct vegetable counterpart of the animal food term *têhem* is *têkhem*, the main representative of which is *ulu* ‘cassava bread’. Of all the vegetable foods, *ulu* ‘cassava bread’ has a special status because it is the ideal food to complement the animal food in one meal; eating the combination of these two foods is expressed by the verb *-ëtuk*. The vegetable term *têlihem* refers mainly to food of a liquid consistency, that is, the broth of boiled meat or vegetables, and fermented drink such as *kasiri* ‘cassava beer’ and the stronger variant *sakura*, and *tuna* ‘water’. The class *takhem* includes all raw vegetables such as carrots, and other vegetables that can be consumed in their raw state such as peanuts, and of more recent date, boiled sweets. The *têpihem* class consists of vegetable foods cultivated in the fields, such as *asikala* ‘pumpkin’ and *napëk* ‘yam’. When prepared these vegetables often have a granular or lumpy consistency, referred to by the term *takaka*, and are consumed cooked as porridge or soup-like. The class *têmehem* groups together succulent fruits such as *pelesina* ‘oranges’, *oloi* ‘cashew nuts’, and *malasia* ‘water melon’. While the verbal form *-eme-* means ‘to eat fruit’, some fruits such as oranges are more often sucked than eaten, in which case the verb *-sukma-* ‘suck in, breathe in’ is used. The verb roots from which the six classificatory terms given above are derived are listed in the table below.

Food Type	Consistency	Verb
animal food	cooked meat, fish	-ë-
vegetable food	manioc, cassava bread	-ëk-
vegetables cultivated in the field	cooked: solid vegetable or <i>takaka</i> (lumpy porridge)	-ëpi-
	liquid, thin porridge, soup, juice	-ëli-
	raw tubers, corn, unripe fruits	-ak-
fruits	liquid, soft (e.g., orange)	-ëme-
	hard, tough (e.g., sugar cane), or fruit that can be sucked	-sukma-
mixed animal and vegetable food	cooked meat, fish with cassava bread (considered to be the only ‘real meal’)	-ëtuk-

Eliane Camargo

Most of the languages also permit past marking on the nominal subcategories, such as personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns, to indicate that that person or thing being referred to is dead or has left – (T) *nêrê-npê* ‘the one (we were talking about) who is now dead’; (W) *ênik-(a)tpê* ‘who, which past person?’ – or to allow a speaker to refer to the time after s/he has died, for example, (Ak) *wîrênpê* ‘former me, (that is, when I am dead)’.

Nouns in the Cariban languages are not marked for gender, but a distinction is made

between animate and inanimate nouns. This distinction is important when referring to a noun by means of an interrogative pronoun or a third person demonstrative pronoun. Animate referents are those nouns that refer to humans and other living creatures such as animals and in Trio, for example, to the moon and the stars, which are treated as animate in view of the myth of their origin where the moon was a man and the stars his sisters. The interrogative pronouns are similar in the Cariban languages, with the animate forms *akī* (T), *nokī* (K), and *ēnik* (W) meaning ‘who?’ and the inanimate forms *atī* (T), *o:tī* (K), and *ētī* (W) meaning ‘what?’. Thus, asking a hunter what game he shot requires the animate interrogative pronoun ‘who?’ as in the Trio example in (14) – using the inanimate question word *atī* ‘what?’ would imply that the hunter had been shooting at rocks or trees.

- (14) *akī mīwē*
 who you/it.shoot.PST
 what did you shoot?

Another distinction that is made in the demonstrative pronouns, as was given for the third person animate pronouns in Table 2.2 above, is that of distance of a referent from the speaker, for which the parameters used are those of proximal (close by, this), medial (a bit further away, that), and distal (far, yonder), and distance in discourse. When a referent has already been mentioned in discourse, it may be referred to thereafter by means of an anaphoric pronoun. The inanimate demonstrative pronouns are given in Table 2.4. The Kari’na and Wayana demonstratives given in Table 2.4 are pluralized by means of the nominal pluralizing suffix *-kon* (K) and *-kom* (W), the Trio demonstratives by the nominal plural marker *-ton* (*-tomo*). Trio again has an additional category of demonstrative pronoun, namely that which is used to refer to something which can be heard but not seen. Thus, if one hears a noise (bang, rattle) one asks *atī mēn* ‘what is that thing I hear but don’t see?’; the animate counterpart of the audible non-visible demonstrative *mēn* is *mēkī*, as given in Table 2.2 above. Unfortunately we do not have the relevant data as to whether an audible non-visible pronoun exists in Wayana or Kari’na.

Table 2.4: Third person inanimate demonstrative pronouns

	Trio	Wayana	Kar’ina
Near	<i>serē, sen</i>	<i>helē (sīn)</i>	<i>e:nī, e:ro</i>
Medial	<i>mērē</i>	<i>mēlē</i>	<i>mo:nī, mo:ro</i>
Far	<i>ooni</i>	—	—
Anaphoric	<i>irē</i>	<i>inēlē</i>	<i>i:ro</i>
Audible/nonvisible	<i>mēn(i); mēn</i>		

Number marking on nouns

All of the languages distinguish at least two and often three plural markers, namely one that pluralizes nominal entities (nouns and nominalizations) as in (15a,c,e,h), one that pluralizes the possessor of a nominal entity (15b,d,f), and one that designates a collective set of certain human beings (15g,i).

- (15) a maja-ton knives (T)
 b ë-maja-kon your (PL) knife/knives (T)
 c kaikui-tom jaguars (W)
 d ëw-ekī-kom your (PL) pet (W)
 e wo:to-kon fishes (K) (Hoff 1968:228)
 f k-o:ma-rī-kon our path/paths (K)
 g wolii-yan women (K) (Renault-Lescure 1987:20)
 h toto-komo men (S)
 i tamu-san leaders (T)

Nouns and some nominalizations can also be suffixed by any one of a number of verbalizers to form a verb stem. The benefactive verbalizer, *-ptë* in Wayana, and *-htë* and *-ntë* in Trio, carries the meaning 'to provide someone with Noun', as shown in (16a-b). The reversative verbalizer *-ka* has the opposite meaning, namely to 'un-Noun someone', as shown in (17a-b). The verbalizers often carry an aspectual or causative meaning: for example, the verbalizer *-ma* found in all the languages has a stative, or inchoative stative meaning in Trio, to indicate being or entering into a state, as shown in (18), and in Kari'na the verbalizer *-ma* functions as a causative whereby the verb *karīna-ma* means 'to make s/o a person or a Kari'na' (Hoff 1968:238).

- (16) a kuw-ī-pakolo-ptë-yai (W)
 I/you-TR-house-BEN-PRES
 I am providing you with a house (I am house-providing you)
- b w-i-po-ntë-ø (T)
 I/him-TR-clothes-BEN-PST
 I dressed him (I clothes-provided him)
- (17) a n-eu-ka-ø pilëo-ke (W)
 he/him-eye-REVERS-PST arrow-INST
 he caused him to lose an eye with an arrow (he un-eyed him with an arrow)⁴
- b w-i-po-ka-ø (T)
 I/him-TR-clothes-REVERS-PST
 I undressed him

(18) t-e-toto-ma-e (T)

COREF-MID-human.being-INCH.STAT-NF

he became a human being (or: he became an Amerindian) (non-witnessed)

Participant identification in Carib

Transitive verbs describe events that involve two participants: a more active one and a less active one, as for instance in English *Mary knows John*. In virtually all languages, grammars provide machinery to enable their speakers to keep these two apart. We are familiar with devices of three kinds: word order, case endings on nouns, and morphological indications within the verb. In Carib, the last one (verbal morphology) does the greater part of the job. The contribution of the first one, word order, is at the same time restricted and essential, but case endings play no role at all.

Let us have a look at verbal morphology first. It is based on the principle that one prefix identifies both participants, the more active one as well as the less active one. Compare, for instance, the examples given in (1) and (2) where besides its personal prefix, the verb contains a modal suffix, -i. It indicates the involvement of the speaker, who expresses either his *affirmation* of the reality of the state of affairs he is speaking about, or his wish that it may become a reality. Other temporal or modal suffixes may take the place of -i. The set contains nine of them and one of these, like -i in our example, must be present.

- (1) y-ukuti-i she or he does know me
 (2) s-ukuti-i I do know him, or her, or it

The other options for the prefixes are the following (1,2,3 standing for first, second, and third person; the more active preceding the less active one):

- | | | |
|------|-----------------|--|
| ay- | 3>2 | he (knows) you |
| m- | 2>3 | you (know) him |
| kis- | 1+2>3 | the two of us (know) him, |
| n- | 3>3 | he or she (knows) her, him, or it |
| k- | 2>1, 1>2, 3>1+2 | you (know) me, I (know) you, he or she (knows) the two of us |

As shown above, k-, has to serve three different statements. This inherent vagueness, however, is not likely ever to cause confusion in real life, because the concrete situations in which speech occurs will always help the addressee out. The real Achilles' heel of the system is another prefix: n- 3>3. If used together with two third person nouns or pronouns, it would fail to express which one is the more active participant (the first 3) and which the less active one (the second 3). In Carib grammar, this problem has been solved by means of a special rule, which only permits the occurrence of a single noun, the one that identifies the more active participant, as in examples (3) and (4):

- (3) Mary n-ukuti-i Mary does know him, or her, or it
 (4) n-ukuti-i Mary Mary does know him, or her, or it

To identify the less active participant, additional machinery is needed, that is, another verb form, and word order, as shown in (5):

- (5) Mary ukuti-i he or she does know Mary
 (6) *ukuti-i Mary not a possible utterance

Here, and only here, word order is fixed. *Mary* must precede the verb, but may be separated from it by certain other words; for instance *terapa* 'already'. We know that the verb form of (5) once contained a prefix of its own, which was lost in the modern language – in some verbs (not in that of the present example, *ukuti*) this prefix has left a trace of its former presence, namely by the fact that the first vowel of the verb has to be long.

Apart from the configuration exemplified in (5), there is no fixed order between participant nominals and verb. To native speakers (3) and (4) are equally acceptable, and both sequential orders do occur in spontaneous speech. Yet there is a preferential order, which is shown in example (7): first the noun referring to the more active participant, then the noun referring to the less active participant, and finally the verb.

(7) *au John s-ukuti-i* I do know John

All other sequential orders are permitted and do occur, but they only produce very slight stylistic effects (see Hoff 1995).

B.J. Hoff

Verbs

All verb forms, whether nominalized or not, must be marked for person. The basic form of the finite verb is made up of the components given in Table 2.5; some examples are given in (19a-c).

Table 2.5: Structure of the finite verb

person	valency	STEM	tense/aspect	number	evidential
(19) a	w-i-pono-ja-e (T)				
	I/it-TR-tell-PRES-CERTAINTY				
	I am telling it				
b	si-ku:pi-ya (K)				
	I/him-bathe-PRES				
	I am bathing him				
c	w-oko-ya-i (W)				
	I/it-burn-PRES-CERTAINTY				
	I am burning it				

With transitive verbs both the subject and object are expressed in a portmanteau prefix in the first slot. For example, the personal prefix *w-* in Trio and Wayana, and *si-* in Kari'na encodes both the first person subject and the third person object, that is, these express both the *I* and *him* in the sentence 'I am washing *him*.' With intransitive verbs where there is only one argument, the personal prefix on the verb marks the subject, as shown by the *j-* in the Trio verb form given in (20).

- (20) j-anota-e (T)
 I-fall.PRES-CERTAINTY
 I am falling (or: I nearly fell)

When an action is carried out on oneself, that is, for example, 'to wash oneself', the verb is marked with either a reflexive or middle valency marker, the choice in part being lexically determined. The difference between reflexive and middle lies in the affectedness of the person, either emotionally or physically, hence in Trio many postural verbs have middle marking, as shown in the examples in (21a-b).⁵

- (21) a s-e-pana-ma-ø-e (T)
 1-MID-ear-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERTAINTY
 I am turning around
- b s-e-pari-ma-ø-e (T)
 1-MID-joints-INCH.STAT-PRES-CERTAINTY
 I am bending my joints (arms and knees)

Verbs can also be nominalized to form nouns in much the same way as in European languages, for example, the English noun 'singer' is derived from the verb 'sing'. The Trio nominal *jarimikane* 'the person who raised me (and who is still alive)' is likewise derived from the verb *arimika* 'raise s/one', the Wayana noun *apëine* 'taker, person who takes' is derived from the verb *apëi* 'take', and the Kari'na *y-ene-neŋ* 'person who sees (or: takes care of) me' from the verb *ene* 'see'. Abstract nouns and nouns used to indicate circumstances are formed by means of the nominalizer *-to*, *-top*, or *-topo*, as shown in the examples in (22a-c).

- (22) a weitopo life (way of being, place of being, village) (K)
 b pëtuku weitop beauty (being beautiful) (W)
 c ëmume wehto sadness (being sad) (T)

Postpositions

The Cariban languages have postpositions rather than prepositions. In other words, where European languages have the form 'he was in town' or 'he hit him with a stick', the Cariban languages have the form 'he was town in' 'he hit him stick with'. An extensive range of postpositions is used to mark location (LOC), direction (DIR), source (SOU), instrument (INSTR), and comitative (COM) among others. Many of the postpositions can be inflected for person. One of the remarkable features of the basic locative postpositions in the Cariban languages is the manner in which they distinguish between different kinds

of spatial fact, that is, between location in a flat, spread out space, contained space, space in liquid, such as water, and space in or near fire. Thus the translational equivalent of the English preposition ‘in’ can be one of several postpositions depending on the spatial properties attributed to the noun to which it is attached. A list of the basic spatial distinctions is given in Table 2.6. This list does not include the extensive range of derived postpositions. In all of the languages being considered here, location in a horizontal or flat, spread out space, such as a town or village, is encoded by means of the postposition *-po*, a postposition which is found in many place-names in Suriname today, for example, Paramaribo and Washabo, see also the examples in (23a-c). Reference to contained space, such as ‘in a house’ or ‘in the forest’, is by means of the postpositions *-tao* and *-ta* in Trio and Kari’na respectively, as shown in (24a-b). According to Jackson (1972:66), Wayana has several locatives for container or interior location. Besides *-tao*, which it has in common with Trio, Wayana also has the interior locatives *-yao*, and *-nao* as given in (25a-b). Unfortunately the author does not state whether *-yao* is used to express location in an elongated object, nor exactly what kind of location is encoded in *-nao*. Space in liquid is expressed in Trio and Wayana by means of the postpositions *-hkao* and *-kuwao*, respectively, as shown in (26a-b). Kari’na differs from the latter two languages in that it does not have a separate postposition for location in liquid, rather, the postposition *-ta* is used, as in *tun-ata* ‘in the river’. Trio has an additional locative postposition, *-renao*, to refer to space in or near a fire, as in *mahto-renao* ‘in (or near) the fire’.

Table 2.6: Basic locative postpositions

Location	Trio	Wayana	Kari’na
general, spread out, horizontal	-po	-po	-po
container, delimited area	-tao	-yao, -nao	-ta
liquid	-hkao	-kuwao	—
fire	-renao	—	—

- (23) a ji-pata-po (T)
 my-village-in
 in my village
- b ëutë-po (W)
 village-in
 in the village
- c Paramuru-po (K)
 Paramaribo-in
 in Paramaribo

- (24) a *itu-tao* (T)
 forest-in
 in the forest
- b *auxto-ta* (K) (Hoff 1968:249)
 house-in
 in a house
- (25) a *kanawa-yao* (W)
 boat-in
 in the boat
- b *kapu-nao* (W)
 sky-in
 in the sky
- (26) a *tuna-hkao* in the river (T)
 b *tuna-kuwao* in the river (W)

An additional basic locative is used to specify whether two objects are in contact in a spatial configuration. The moon in the sky *kapu-pē* [sky-CONTACT.LOC] (T), for instance, is perceived as being stuck onto the undersurface of the sky and hence is visible to us. Likewise, to express the idea of being ‘on the water’ rather than ‘in the water’ Kari’na and Wayana use the expressions *tuna-tupo* and *tuna-polo* respectively. Furthermore, all the languages have numerous derived postpositions, some of which have very specific meanings. For example, a postposition based on the noun *pana* ‘ear’ and the contact locative *-pē(kē)* in Trio is used to express the notion of two vertical objects in space which are in contact, namely *-pana-pē* [-ear-CONTACT.VERT.LOC]. This postposition is also the source of the derived noun for ‘co-wives’, namely *ēi-pana-pēkē-n-ton* [REFL-ear-CONTACT.VERT.LOC-NOM-PL], which literally means ‘ones with their ears side-by-side’.

The instrumental postposition *-ke* is found in most of the Cariban languages and expresses the notion ‘by means of’, such as the Wayana *hapa-ke* ‘with (by means of) a machete’ (Jackson 1972:67), the Akuriyo *pakira-ke* ‘with peccary’, the Kari’na *pīrī-wa-ke* ‘with an arrow’, and the Trio example given in (27).

- (27) *pīreuke watirēe ija* (T)
 pīreu-ke wa-t-irē-e i-ja
 arrow-with NEG-COREF-do-NF 3-GOAL
 he killed it with an arrow

Many postpositions can be inflected for person, such as the comitative *-akërë* (T), *-ëkërë* (W) which expresses 'with, along with', and the desiderative *-se* (also *-he* in Wayana), which expresses want or desire. In Kari'na this latter postposition is increasingly taking on more verbal properties and as such can be marked by the verbal negation marker *-xpa* (Hoff 1968:258). In order to express the notion 'I want him', the third person personal prefix is the object of the postposition, and the person who wants is encoded on the verb 'be', resulting in the literal form 'him-wanting I.am', as shown in the examples in (28a-d), where in Trio the form of the inflected postposition is *-je*, and in Wayana *-se*. The overt nominal counterparts are given in (28a,c). The desiderative postposition is also used with verbs as shown in the Kari'na example in (28e). The type of sentence given in (28a-d) can be negated by means of the negative suffixes *-ta* (T), *-la* (W), and *-xpa* (K), as shown in (29a-c). Plural marking of the person marked on a postposition is formed by means of the suffixes *-ne* (T), *-ine* (K), and *-he* (*-wëhe*) (W), as shown in examples (30a-c).

- (28) a jinjose wae (T)
 j-injo-se wae
 1POSS-husband-DESID I.am
 I want a (my) husband (my-husband-wanting I.am)

- b ije wae (T)
 i-je wae
 3-DESID I.am
 I want him/her/it

- c pampilahe wai (W)
 pampila-he wai
 book-DESID I.am
 I want a book

- d ise wai (W)
 i-se wai
 3-DESID I.am
 I want it

- e e:ne se man (K)
 him.see DESID he.is
 he wants to see him

- (29) a isela wai (W)
 i-se-la wai
 3-DESID-NEG I.am
 I don't want it (it-wanting-not I.am)

- b jotīpisiseta wae (T)
 j-oti-pisi-se-ta wae
 1POSS-meat-DIM-DESID-NEG I.am
 I don't want a piece of meat
- c i-se-xpa man (K)
 3-DESID-NEG he.is
 he doesn't want it
- (30) a a-akērē-ne ji-tē-ø-se wae (T)
 2-COM-PL 1POSS-go-NOM-DESID I.am
 I want to go with you (pl.) (with.you my.going-wanting I.am)
- b kalakuli tēpēihe e-ja-he (W) (Jackson 1970)
 money taken 3-GOAL-PL
 they received money
- c a-wa:ra-ine (K) (Hoff 1968:253)
 2-LIKE-PL
 like you (PL)

Evidentiality, truth, and knowledge

As indicated above, an all-pervasive notion throughout the grammars of the Cariban languages is that of evidentiality, of stating the evidence one has for one's assertions. The underlying philosophy borders on the solipsistic notion that one can only know for sure what one sees or does oneself. As soon as one begins to talk of someone else (the third person), the particular kind of egocentric knowledge one has about one's own actions or states is lacking, and one lands in the domain of uncertainty. It is this difference between certainty regarding one's own actions or states and uncertainty about someone else's actions or states that is marked grammatically on verbs in the Cariban languages. For example, in Trio, a distinction is made in the non-past form of a finite verb between the actions or states of a first, 1 + 2, and a second person, that is, the speech act participants (SAPs) and the third person, in the form of a suffix on the verb after the tense marker, with *-e* expressing certainty and *-n* expressing uncertainty: compare the examples in (31a-b). In the third person the uncertainty suffix is used, since the actions or states of a third person lie beyond one's egocentric knowledge. Most instances of evidential marking in the second person use the uncertainty marker *-n* to form a question, as in (32). For the Trio it is redundant to tell someone what they are doing, since presumably they know that themselves. Rather, they ask, 'are you X-ing?' When a speaker asks a rhetorical question,

such as ‘should I tell this, am I really telling this?’, then s/he can use the uncertainty marker *-n* as in (33).

- (31) a serë wiponojae (T)
 serë w-i-pono-ja-**e**
 this I/it-TR-tell-PRES-CERTAINTY
 I am telling this
- b irë niponojan (T)
 irë n-i-pono-ja-**n**
 that he/it-TR-tell-PRES-UNCERTAINTY
 he is telling that
- (32) miponojan? (T)
 m-i-pono-ja-**n**
 you/it-TR-tell-PRES-UNCERTAINTY
 are you telling it?
- (33) serë wiponojan? (T)
 serë w-i-pono-ja-**n**
 this I/it-TR-tell-PRES-UNCERTAINTY
 am I telling this? / should I tell this?

The Cariban languages of Suriname differ somewhat in their evidentiality systems; the evidentiality system of Wayana has not yet been studied in any detail. However, an analysis of the evidentiality system in Kari'na can be found in Hoff (1986) where the author makes a distinction between extraspective and introspective evidentiality. According to Hoff (1986:51), extraspective evidentiality indicates ‘that evidence about the truth of the statement [...] is directly available in the vicinity of the speaker, or at least in the world as it is objectively given to speaker and hearer alike’ and is marked in Kari'na by the absence of the suffix *-n* and in the third person by the absence of the prefix *kĩ-*. Introspective evidentiality is morphologically marked by the suffix *-n*, and in the third person the prefix *kĩ-*, ‘indicates that the speech situation contains no evidence, and that therefore the other source of evidence has to be tapped: the mind of the speaker or that of the hearer’ (Hoff 1986:53-4). Compare the Kari'na examples from Hoff (1986:51, 54) for the first person in (34a-b), and for the third person in (35a-b), in which the addition of the prefix *kĩ-* in (35b) indicates that the speaker is claiming to have strong introspective evidence for his assertion.⁶

- (34) a sene:ya (K)
 s-ene:-ya
 I/him-see-PRES.EXTRASP
 I see him (extraspective)
- b sene:yan (K)
 s-ene:-ya-n
 I/him-see-PRES.INTROSP
 do I see him? (introspective)
- (35) a nene:yan (K)
 n-ene:-ya-n
 he/him-see-PRES.INTROSP
 does he see him? (introspective)
- b kīnene:yan (K)
 kī-n-ene:-ya-n
 CERTAINTY.he-he/him-see-PRES.INTROSP
 he sees him (introspective)

In the past tense, Trio, and possibly Wayana, uses a non-finite verb form of the type *tī-√-se* to indicate that the speaker did not witness the event about which s/he is making an assertion.⁷ The past tense inflected form of the verb is used to describe events or situations in the past which were witnessed by the speaker. If an event or situation has not been directly witnessed by the speaker, then the *tī-√-se* construction is used. This construction indicates that an event has taken place in the past but that the speaker was not there to witness it. Unlike some other languages that can express doubt about the occurrence of an event or the coming about of a state on the verb, the *tī-√-se* construction does not question the validity of the statement that the event actually occurred. Rather, it simply states the existence of an event; in Sasse's (1987:526) terms, it is an event-central thetic expression. Thus, with transitive verbs in this construction, what is shown is that the event was not personally witnessed, and with intransitive verbs, the construction indicates that the subject is an experiencer and that the event is happening to the experiencer without any control on his/her part. This is the case in Trio with verbs such as *ipijuhta* 'have diarrhoea' or *erana* 'laugh' for example, a person can laugh when s/he is drunk or asleep, whereby the experiencer has no control over the event encoded in the verb. Thus, the meaning of the construction in Trio is such that the speaker is making an assertion about a third person while at the same time stating that s/he did not witness the action given in the assertion. In Kari'na the construction *tī-√-se* has been analysed by Hoff (1968:196) as a perfective form that is used to express the notion of 'having undergone (transitive verbs) or having performed (intransitive verbs) the action designated by the corresponding monomorphemic verb.' Compare the examples in (36a-c).

- (36) a tētae pījaija (T)
 t-ēta-e pījai-ja
 COREF-hear-NF shaman-GOAL
 the shaman heard it and I the speaker did not witness him do so
- b tēlēi eya (W)
 t-ēlē-i e-ya
 COREF-take-NF 3-GOAL
 he took it
- c penaro mo:ro tuku:sembo (K) (Hoff 1968:198)
 penaro mo:ro t-uku:-se-mbo
 long.ago that COREF-know-NF-PST
 that was known long ago

Since the various Cariban languages differ in their use of this construction, I shall take Trio as just one example of how the system works there. If a Trio is asked to translate the sentence ‘the man went to town to talk to the government’, he has several ways in which s/he can do so. Some of these are given in (37a-d). The first choice the speaker has to make is between the witnessed (37a) or the non-witnessed form (37b). The examples in (37a,c) show only one past tense form, but a Trio speaker has the means to distinguish between recent and more distant past. By choosing the witnessed past form, the speaker expresses that s/he witnessed the man leaving. By choosing the non-witnessed form, s/he is stating that s/he does not have first-hand knowledge of the event of the man leaving, and thus has an escape clause in case it should emerge that the man did not go at all, that is, s/he is distancing her/himself from the veracity of the utterance. The second choice the speaker has to make is whether or not to encode any extra information relevant to the utterance, namely whether or not the man in question was successful in his talks with the government. If the man was not successful, then the speaker can state this by means of the frustrative suffix *-re* (*-lep* in Wayana as shown in [37c,d]), if he was successful or if the speaker does not know one way or the other, then no suffix is required.

- (37) a lantija ēturēe potopona **kīntēmī** kīrī
 lanti-ja ēt-urē-e poto-pona **kīn-tēmī**-ø kīrī
 government-GOAL REFL-talk-PURP town-to he-go-PST man
 the man went to town a while ago to talk to the government and I the speaker
 witnessed his going
- b lanti-ja ēt-urē-e poto-pona **tī-tē-e** kīrī
 government-GOAL REFL-talk-PURP town-to COREF-go-NF man
 the man went to town a while ago to talk to the government and I the speaker did
 not witness his going

- c lanti-ja ët-urë-e poto-pona **kîn-tëmĩ-ø-re** kîrĩ
 government-GOAL REFL-talk-PURP town-to he-go-PST-FRUST man
 the man went to town a while ago to talk to the government, I the speaker
 witnessed his going but he went in vain because his talks with the government
 were not successful
- d lanti-ja ët-urë-e poto-pona **tĩ-të-e-re** kîrĩ
 government-GOAL REFL-talk-PURP town-to COREF-go-NF-FRUST man
 the man went to town a while ago to talk to the government, I the speaker did not
 witness his going but he went in vain because his talks with the government
 were not successful

It is precisely such evidentiality marking that is notoriously difficult to translate into a European language (as evidenced by the translation of the examples above), and yet this is one area that causes the greatest confusion and misunderstanding when ignored or not translated. The frustrative marker is obligatory if a speaker is talking about something s/he promised to do but did not actually do. Thus in explaining to a Trio or Wayana ‘I said you could sleep in that house but now it’s not possible because someone else needs it’, it is of paramount importance to add the frustrative marker to the verb ‘say’, because otherwise one is contradicting oneself, or even worse, one is actually lying. Thus, information is packed differently in a European and a Cariban language. The order of the information in one of the latter languages is first to state the current state of affairs and then to give the reasons for not having kept one’s promise.

It is not only within the verbal systems that a speaker must state the kind of reality within which his utterance is to be placed. Rather nouns and adverbs can also be marked with the frustrative marker *-re* or *-lep*, as shown in the examples in (38a-b), and in Kari’na with the suffix *-rĩpo*, as shown in (38c). When suffixed to nouns and nominals, the frustrative marker indicates that the meaning of the noun falls short of the mark with regard to at least some semantic feature of that noun. That is, the expectations conjured up by that noun are not fully met. For example, a woman who cannot have children is *wëri-re* in Trio. That is, she is inherently a woman but has not fulfilled at least one of the functions that women have, namely that of bearing children.

- (38) a ranti kure-re (T)
 government good-FRUST
 the government is not good (the government does not fulfill the expectation we have of it that it be good, that is, one expects from a government that it helps its own people)
- b ipok-lep (W)
 good-FRUST
 almost good (not completely good)

- c lanti-rïpo yu'pa man (K)
 government-FRUST good it.is
 the government is not good

A further grammatical marker within the truth and knowledge systems in Trio, Wayana, and Kari'na is *-me*, which was mentioned in the introduction where it was stated that the basic function of the marker *-me* is to indicate that that which is encoded by the noun is not inherently so but is only manifestly so. The marker *-me* has often been translated as 'like, being, as, serving as'. A short description of the function of *-me* in Trio can be found in Carlin (1999), where I term this marker a facsimile marker. When suffixed to a noun, the meaning is that of being manifestly that encoded by the noun, but not in behaviour. Thus, its meaning is 'like' in the sense of 'looking like' or 'having the outer casing of', but not *like* in behaviour, for which all the languages use a different postposition, *apo* in Trio, *-wa:ra* in Kari'na, and *katip* in Wayana. Behaviour, especially in eating practices, is in Cariban cultures often a determining factor in who or what one is or can become. One Trio tale, for example, tells of a man who had changed into a jaguar and who was able to change back into a human being until he, in his jaguar state, tasted animal blood. After he had 'eaten' animal blood, he was unable to change back to a human again: see example (39).

- (39) Tarëno-me-pa e-se-wa t-e-se
 Trio-FACS-again be-NF-NEG COREF-be-NF

 munu ø-aame-hpë-ke i-ja
 blood 3POSS-taste-PST-INST 3-GOAL
 he wasn't becoming a Trio again because he had tasted blood

Many adjectival expressions are found with the facsimile marker *-me*. For example, in Trio many colour terms are formed by means of a noun plus the suffix *-me*, as shown in (40a-b). In many cases these terms have become lexicalized, and it is difficult to determine exactly the meaning of the noun synchronically; some Wayana and Kari'na examples are given in (41a-b).

- (40) a tawame brown (manifestly earth, earth colour) (T)
 b pakokome green (manifestly a six o'clock cricket) (T)

 (41) a wayame round (W) (Jackson 1970)
 b api:pime shallow (K) (Hoff 1968:261)

Word order

The Cariban languages differ from European languages not only in their information packaging structures, but also in the linear order of elements in a sentence. Trio is an OVS language. That is, the object stands before the verb which is followed by the subject, as shown in (42a). Both Wayana and Kari'na tend to have the basic word order SOV, yet like Trio they show a great deal of variation due to pragmatic considerations, and thus also exhibit an alternative word order OVS (see Hoff 1995, Camargo, in press).

- O V S
- (42) a *ë-karakuri apë-ja-n ë-papa ë-pata-hpë-po* (T)
 2POSS-money take-PRES-UNCERTAINTY 2POSS-father 2POSS-place-PST-LOC
 your father is taking your money in your place (instead of you)

- S O V
- b *pi:pi a-yu:mĩ ø-ukutĩ-i* (K) (Hoff 1995:353)
 grandmother 2POSS-father she-know-AFFIRMATION
 Granny has known your father

- S O V
- c *eluwa kaikui ene-ja-i* (W) (Camargo, in press)
 man dog see-PRES-UNCERTAINTY
 the man sees the dog

Trio and Wayana exhibit a similar word order pattern when the *tĩ-√-se* (non-witnessed) form of the verb, described above, is used. That is, the object comes before the verb and the subject is marked on the goal postposition *-ja*; compare the examples in (43a-b). Kari'na differs somewhat in that the subject, marked on the postposition *-wa*, often occurs before the verb, and the verb 'be' always follows the non-finite verb thus resulting in a passive-like construction, as can be seen in (43c).

- (43) a *kana t-ëma-e pahko-ja* (T)
 fish caught my.father-GOAL
 my father caught fish (non-witnessed)
- b *emsi t-ëpëi-he eluwa-ja* (W) (Boven 1995:16)
 her.daughter taken man-GOAL
 the man took her daughter
- c *tamu:si:-wa tĩ-ka:-se man* (K) (Hoff 1968:364)
 God-GOAL made it.is
 it was made by God

Text excerpts

The following three short abstracts were chosen to show the many lexical similarities and the vast grammatical differences between the three largest Cariban languages in Suriname, Kari'na, Wayana, and Trio. Some similarities are the directional markers, *ta:ka* (K) and *-tak* (W) 'into (the forest)', the locative and directional *-po* and *-pona* (K) and (T), the personal and demonstrative pronouns, and the past marking on nouns, *-npē* (T and W) and *-mbo* (K).

Kuru:pi as teacher: excerpt from a Kari'na text narrated by J. Mande
(taken from B.J. Hoff 1968:290-1)

Kari'na uwambo iweitopo pena:ro man. Irombo aki:nuru po:ko ta:rombome i:tu ta:ka a:saka:rikon wa man. Irombo kinixsa:ton wota:roto:to me, kinixsa:ton teee i:tu ra:naka. Irombo: 'e:ro po ko:ro aixko hen' kinga:ton i:wa. 'We:ka a'na nī:sa.' Irombo mo:ro po man ere'ma kini:momo:sa:ton. Iwo:pīri:kon eka:no:san ra:pa tī:wa. So. Kini:ko:maiyan mo:ro po.

Once there was a Carib who was worthless. Because of his laziness he was taken to the forest by his fellows. Then they went off to hunt, they went on, far into the heart of the forest. Then they said to him: 'you must stay here, mind! The two of us are going to defecate.' Then he stayed there, not moving from the spot, and waited for them. He believed that they would come back to him. So. Darkness overtook him there.

Glossary

a:saka:rikon	his fellows	ko:ro	please, you may
a'na	we (excluding you)	man	he is
aixko	you must be	me	as, serving as
aki:nuru	his laziness	mo:ro	that
e:ro	this	nī:sa	as you see, we're going
eka:no:san	he believed it	pena:ro	long ago
ere'ma	motionless	po	at
hen	mind!	po:ko	occupied with
i:tu	forest	ra:naka	into the middle of
i:wa	to him	ra:pa	again
irombo	then	so	so (Sranan)
iweitopo	his manner of being	ta:ka	into
iwo:pīri:kon	their coming	ta:rombome	taken then
kari'na	Kari'na	tī:wa	by himself
kinga:ton	they said	uwambo	worthless
kini:ko:maiyan	it is getting dark on him	wa	to, by
kini:momo:sa:ton	he waited for them	we:ka	defecate
kinixsa:ton	they go	wota:roto:to	one who goes hunting

Wohaimë, spirit of the forest: excerpt from a Wayana narrative told by Iliwa
(taken from Karin Boven 1995:22)⁸

Wohaimë eitoponpë helë.

Titëi Wajana itutak. Tupkë Wajana tēhalēi itutak. Wēliham malë molotot ituhtao tihwilepsik. Moloinë tumëkhe Wohaimë. Wohaimë tīpananmai ejahe wēlihamoja. 'Eu!' tīkai, 'kan kan kan kan' tīkai.

'Mëk ënikpaneha?' tīkaitot wēliham. 'Këken ipananmatëk', tīkai. Tīpananmai ejahe. Mejela tētīhe. Tēhelephe wēliham.

This is the story of Wohaimë.

A Wayana went to the forest. Many Wayana went hunting in the forest. They went with their wives, and they spent a long time (in a camp) in the forest. It was to there that the forest spirit Wohaimë came. The women heard Wohaimë approach. 'Eu', he said, 'bam, bam, bam, bam,' he went.

'Oh dear, who is that?' the women said. 'I've no idea, listen!' said another. They listened. He came closer. The women were afraid.

Glossary

eitoponpë	former manner of being	molotot	they
ejahe	by them	tēhalēi	hunt (went hunting)
ënikpaneha	who on earth?	tēhelephe	became afraid
helë	this	tētīhe	came
ipananmatëk	listen! (Plural)	tihwilepsik	spent time
itu	fores	tīkai	said
itutak	to the forest	tīkaitot	they said
ituhtao	in the forest	tīpananmai	heard
kan	sound of someone walking heavily	tītēi	went
këken	no idea	tumëkhe	appeared
malë	also	tupke	many
mejela	closer	wajana	Wayana
mëk	oh dear	wēliham	women, wives
moloinë	then	wēlihamoja	by, to the women
		wohaimë	proper name, forest spirit

Excerpt from a Trio text about going to the spirit world, told by Tēmenta of Tēpu

Ma wītēne, Akaraman tamu jarēne. Akaraman tamu nai karime. Akaraman nai tītamuke pananakiri apo, nērī jarēne. Atīnapona jarēne? Mapatarukupona. Ma Wakapumīn wapo ainja Wakapumīn kīnirētē. Tīwēnīseta ainja, ikomainjewa nai irēpo. Pata irēpona ainja kīntēn. Ma irēpo kīnahkē tunaimē, tunareru mīnī kanto. 'Moououono tunaimē' kan nērē Akaraman; mono serē tuna kan Akaraman. Irēme ekame nai Tunareru. Kawē nai tīnepuke nai, serē apo nai inepu, kaaaaawē. Tēntuke nai, wītoto nai entume, entume nai wītoto. Nērēja nepekajan, 'kaita apēhkē' kan. Irēme 'kaitase wae,' nkan. Irēme kaita ekaraman ija. Ma kure irēnpēpēe irēmao ainja nītēn. Irēpo nai pata Mapataruku, amorīnpē ipata. Irēpona ainja nituntan, omorīnpē ipata, omorīnpē iwēewetorēken ikanpurēken.

Ma 'karime ēpo tīrise wae,' nkan, 'ēpo tīrise wae karime, karime pepe iweike,' nkan. 'Ma sehken tīnotī karime iweike.' Irēmao jipontē karime.

Ma pijasa ainja nereta tapimerēken; ikomanjewa nai pata irēpo, ikomanjewa irēpo, serē apota.

I went, Akaraman (king-vulture) took me. Akaraman leader is strong. Akaraman has a leader, like the white people do, he took me. He took me to whatyemacallit place? To Mapataruku. First we went through Wakapumīn. We didn't sleep, it doesn't get dark in the village there. That's where we went. There is a big lake there (and it has been there for all time), it is called Tunareru. 'It's a huge lake', says Akaraman; 'this lake is big'. That's why its name is Tunareru. It has a high bridge, this is the way the bridge is, it's really high. It has an owner, someone in charge of it, a person is in charge of it, its owner is a human being. He (Akaraman) asks him (how to get onto the bridge), 'take a ticket' he says. So he says, 'I want a ticket'. So (the person in charge of the bridge) gives him a ticket. Well, o.k. then we went on. There is a village there called Mapataruku, a village of spirits. We entered there, the spirit village, it's just the place where they eat, just their camp.

Well, 'I want to make your clothes strong', Akaraman says, 'I want to make your clothes strong, because the wind is strong', he says. 'And also because it's very cold'. Then he dressed me in warm (strong) clothes.

Well, we rested a bit, just sitting (not lying down); there is no night in that place, it doesn't get dark there, it's not like here.

Glossary

ainja	we (excluding you)	Mapataruku	proper name, place
akaraman	vulture sp.	Mapatarukupona	to Mapataruku
amorinpē	spirits	mīnī	hut
apēhkē	take!	mono	big
apo	like	moooooono	very big
apota	not like	nai	s/he/it is
atīnapona	to whatyemacallit place	nepekajan	he asks (buys)
ekame	name	nērē	he
ekaraman	he gives it	nērēja	to, by him
entume	owner	nereta	he rest
ēpo	your clothes	nītēn	he goes
ija	to, by him	nituntan	he arrives
ikanpurēken	just their camp	nkan	he says
ikomainjewa	it doesn't get dark	omorinpē	spirits
inepu	stairs	pananakiri	white people
ipata	his/their village	pata	village
irēmao	then	pepei	wind
irēme	so	pijasa	a little
irēnpēpēe	after that	sehken	also
irēpo	there	serē	this
irēpona	to there	tamu	leader, grandfather
iwēewetorēken	just their eating place	tapimerēken	just sitting
iweike	because	tētuke	having an owner
jarēne	he took me	tīnepuke	having stairs
jipontē	he dressed me	tīnotī	cold (n.)
kaaaaawē	very high	tīrise	wanting to make
kaita	ticket (card)	tītamuk	having a leader
kaitase	wanting a ticket	tīwēnīseta	don't (can't) sleep
kan	he says	tuna	water
kanto	they say	tunaimē	lake
karime	strong	Tunareru	proper name, lake
kawē	high	wae	I am
kīnahkē	there was	Wakapumīn	proper name, place
kīnirētē	(we) crossed through	wapo	first
kīntēn	(we) go	wītēne	I went
kure	good	wītoto	human being
ma	well (discourse marker)		

Notes

- ¹ I am deeply indebted to Berend Hoff for discussions on Kari'na and for providing me with several of the Kari'na examples in this chapter. Where my analysis differs from those of Hoff and the other authors from whom I have taken examples, any resulting errors are entirely my own.
- ² The Wayana example is from Ivan Schoen's unpublished manuscript, section 6.3.1.
- ³ In Wayana and Kari'na the spelling of the glide is *y*, in Trio it is *j*, for the purpose of showing the similarities between the prefixes in Table 3 I have made uniform the spelling of the glide as *j*.
- ⁴ The Wayana examples in (8) and (9) are taken from Schoen's manuscript.
- ⁵ In Wayana and Kari'na, the verb *-panama* which is derived from the noun *pana* 'ear', means 'hear, listen to', and according to Courtz (1997:72), in Kari'na the verb *panama* also has the meaning of 'turn'.
- ⁶ I have adapted the interlinear glosses here.
- ⁷ The suffix *-se* (or *-he* in Wayana) is a non-finite marker on the verb; the prefix *tĩ-* is a semantically bleached third person (coreferential) marker that in this construction is used to fill the person slot on the verb. The possible origin of this construction using the prefix *tĩ-* and the non-finite marker *-se* in Trio is given in Carlin (2001).
- ⁸ I would like to thank Karin M. Boven for help with the translation of this text.