

Dr. Crevaux's Wayana-Carib Pidgin of the Guyanas: a grammatical sketch

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Abstract: In this paper, we look at the notes gathered by the French medical doctor and explorer Jules Crevaux on the language he calls “Roucouyenne” and which is today known as Wayana or Oayana, a Cariban language spoken by between 500 and 900 people in Suriname French Guiana, and Brazil. We give some background information about Jules Crevaux and his notes on the Wayana Pidgin (which he believed to be Wayana proper). Then we give some information about Wayana Pidgin and Pidgin Carib in general, we compare some select properties with equivalents in the Wayana language. We identify some points of continuation between Crevaux and other sources of Carib Pidgin. Finally we provide some information about pidgin users and include some comments that other authors had on Crevaux's materials, and we provide a grammatical sketch of his version of Carib Pidgin.¹

Keywords: Wayana, Wayana-Carib pidgin, Cariban languages, Guyanas, Crevaux, grammar

1. Introduction

The French medical doctor and explorer of South America Jules Crevaux gathered a number of vocabularies and sentences of Amerindian languages during his trips through South America in the 1870s and 1880s. It is clear from the published text material that most of what he gathered were actually simplified forms of these languages, or even stable pidgins based

¹ The materials can be found online at <<https://cl.ly/0z0y3P1z1v0a>>

on these Amerindian languages, and not the daily language of the ethnic groups he encountered.

In this paper, we will look at his notes on one of these languages in detail, namely the language he calls “Roucouyenne” and which is today known as Wayana or Oayana. Wayana is a Cariban language spoken by between 500 and 900 people in Suriname, French Guiana, and Brazil. In his French-Wayana dictionary (1882) with some 350 entries, Crevaux lists 175 phrases and sentences. Another 25 or so can be found in his travel account (1883). The ordering processes and morphological patterns are quite consistent throughout the materials, indicating that he documented a pidgin with a high level of stability. Even though a number of traits (words, patterns of simplification) clearly go back to traits found in 17th century sources of Pidgin Carib, another pidgin used in the same region, it is a distinct pidgin. The influence of the Wayana language is clear and dominant, especially in phonology, lexicon and syntax. Crevaux’s Pidgin Wayana is not just a variety of Pidgin Carib.

We will first give some background information about Jules Crevaux (section 2) and his notes on the Wayana Pidgin (which he believed to be Wayana proper). Then we give some information about Wayana Pidgin and Pidgin Carib in general. We will compare some select properties with equivalents in the Wayana language. We identify some points of continuation between Crevaux and other sources of Carib Pidgin, we provide some information about pidgin users and include some comments that other authors had on Crevaux’s materials. Many of them have recognized the pidginized nature of his materials. In section 4, we provide a grammatical sketch of his version of Carib Pidgin. In section 5 we end with a brief conclusion.

2. Jules Crevaux and his linguistic notes

Jules Crevaux was a medical doctor, born in France in 1847. He made several trips to South America, the first one in 1876-77, the second in 1878-1879, the third one in 1880-1881 and the fourth and last one in 1882, which ended abruptly when he was killed.

He published several popularized accounts of his travels, in which he shows the eye of a keen observer. Some of his publications were signed as “*Médecin De Première Classe de la Marine Française*”. In his accounts, he describes animals and plants, as well as physical characteristics, habits and religious practices of the ethnic groups he encountered. He often mentions the names that the local people give to plants and animals, and occasionally he quotes literally what was said to him. His travel accounts are still being printed, and Crevaux even has a fan-site on the internet (<http://jules-crevaux.com/>).

During his explorations, he collected linguistic material from the indigenous people he met, as well as from the Eastern Maroons (speakers of an English-lexifier creole) residing in French Guiana. He also quoted a few brief narratives in French creole (the *lingua franca* of French Guiana) as used by an Aluku (Boni) Maroon. In a few cases, he included linguistic quotes and observations in his travel accounts. Almost all linguistic observations and notes were published separately.

One of these sets of “fieldnotes” relates to what he refers to as the “Roucouyenne” language, and which appears to be a pidgin based on Wayana and Pidgin Carib. Crevaux’s fieldnotes on this pidgin were published in Crevaux, Sagot, Adam (1882). In this book, Lucien Adam (1882) also provided a grammatical sketch of *Roucouyenne* based on Crevaux’s materials, supplemented with observations from earlier sources. At the time, no proper descriptions of Cariban languages were available, so there was not much to base it on.

In addition, Crevaux contributed with materials from three other Cariban languages to this book: (1) a brief word list of the Apalai, a Carib language spoken by a group from Brazil, but many of the words are so close to Carib and Wayana Pidgin that it is not likely to be pure Apalai; (2) the Carijona language, a Carib language spoken in Colombia, which is quite different from Carib and Carib Pidgin but the few sentences show influence from the Pidgin as well;² (3) a brief Trio word list. But the two

² For example, *aoui maré maïconé* “come with me” uses the pidgin personal pronoun *aou/eu* and a postposition *maré* “with” that is identical to the Wayana one. The verb “to come” is different, though. The sentence *otisé oté moké* “what is he/it called” contains the Carib/“Roucouyenne” interrogative *ete* “what”, known from 17th century pidgins as *oté* or *eté*, and the demonstrative

sentences are in fact from the Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin (*cf.* Huttar & Velantie 1996, Meira & Muysken 2017; they were already identified as pidgin in De Goeje 1906: 38 n. 2). There is also a word list of the Oyampi or Wayampi language, a Tupi-Guarani language of Guiana, a brief word list of the Emérillon language, likewise a Tupi-Guarani language, but it appears to display a mixture of Emérillon and Pidgin Carib (Françoise Rose, p.c.). Finally, he lists a dozen words from the now extinct Tama language, a Tucanoan language of Columbia (Crevaux 1882: 32-52).

2.1. Authorship of the language materials

An observer with eye for detail would have noticed that many of the words that Crevaux had collected from the different Amerindian groups were similar in form and meaning. In his own account of the two voyages, during which he must have collected most of these materials, he only mentions language work on the language of the Galibis (a Cariban group), perhaps based on written material rather than work with speakers, and the Boni (Aluku) or Eastern Maroons (speakers of an English-based creole). No Galibi/Carib word list was published by Crevaux, but his Boni list was published as part of his travel account (Crevaux 1876-1877: 374-375), and not separately. Crevaux mentions making notes on the creole language of the Alukus: “During this forced stay of one month in the middle of these people, I collected many notes on the history of Bonis, their habits, their religion and their language, notes that I transcribe verbatim here”³ (Crevaux 1883: 30; our translation from French; also the following).

Crevaux may have been a speaker of the French creole of Guiana as well, since he quotes some texts verbatim, and also dialogue, but he does not usually cite himself speaking Creole. Among the quotes that he noted, the following is worth repeating here, where he speaks simplified French in response to Creole:

documented in 17th century Carib Pidgin as *moc*, *mocé* or *moncé*, and it was also used as a third person pronoun. The first word could be *oti* “what?” and *se* “this”, *cf.* “Roucouyenne” *séné*. A more synthetic form is also found with the same meaning: *etékenäi*. The analytic form of *aoui chiti* “my wife” is also suspicious; most languages of the region indicate possession with affixes, and not separate possessive pronouns.

³ *Pendant ce séjour forcé d'un mois au milieu de ces sauvages, j'ai recueilli de nombreuses notes sur l'histoire des Bonis, sur leurs moeurs, sur leur religion et leur langage, notes que je transcris ici textuellement* (Crevaux 1882: 354-355).

October 18. - We meet around noon a group of Indians taking a bath in the river next to their canoes. One of them comes just in front us swimming, and shouts to me in the Creole language:

Where you will go?

– Amazon, I replied him. You come, knives, shirts [Spanish word], a lot.⁴

Crevaux's response is in broken French rather than creole.

We have to assume that it was Crevaux himself who collected these Amerindian language materials, even though he does not explicitly doing so at any time in his travel. This contrasts with his Aluku (Ndyuka) English creole materials, included in his narrative, where he also describes when and with whom he elicited the materials. Evidence in support of this comes from other travel narrative where he and his crew members explicitly mention his data collection (e.g. Crevaux 1883: 360, 508, 535, 544 and Le Janne in Crevaux 1883: 612). But Roucouyenne/Wayana is not included here.

In his travel account, he describes, for instance, that he sat down to make notes on the language of the Galibi: "I took advantage of my leisure at the Salut Islands to indulge in research on the language of the Galibis"⁵ (Crevaux 1876-1877: 344; 1883: 12-13). The Salvation Islands are tiny islands off the coast of French Guiana. He does not mention the company of Carib speakers, but he does mention an earlier author on the Galibi, Biet, who had spent time in Guiana in the mid-1600s and who also included materials on "Galibi", which is actually Pidgin Carib. He may have had a copy of Biet's book of 1664.

Interestingly, none of the 25 phrases and sentences in Wayana Pidgin that figure in his two travel accounts are included in his dictionary. Crevaux quoted one sentence in Pidgin Carib in his travel account of his first trip, *Séné oua?* "Vois-tu?", or "Do you see?" Strangely enough, this translation is wrong, as it should be "Don't you see" (Crevaux 1883: 122). The first word *séné* means "to see", and the word *oua* is a negative marker,

⁴ 18 octobre. – Nous rencontrons vers midi une bande d'Indiens prenant un bain dans la rivière à côté de leurs pirogues. L'un d'entre eux vient audevant de nous à la nage, et me crie en langage créole :
Où qu'à allez?

– Amazone, lui répondis-je. Toi venir, couteaux, camisas, beaucoup.

⁵ J'ai profité de mes loisirs aux Iles du Salut pour me livrer à des recherches sur la langue des Galibis.

given as meaning “*non*”. The second person singular is given under “*toi*” (you) as *amolé, amoré* (Crevaux 1882: 14, 20). This sentence cannot be found in the language materials in Crevaux (1882). This raises questions about how the word list came about. Perhaps Crevaux did not really get a grasp of the Amerindian languages, pidginized or not. Did perhaps someone else from Crevaux’s party compile the materials?

In his account of his second trip, along the Oyapock River, he quotes some 25 utterances in Wayan Pidgin. Again, none of these sentences are found in the Wayana word list in Crevaux (1882), and not all words from these sentences are included in the word list. This discrepancy suggests that the compiler of the word list and the author of the travel accounts were different persons. Coudreau (1893: 102) claimed that his Aluku friend and companion Apatou⁶ was his source for the reduced form of Wayana, but there is no mention of this in Crevaux’s writings.

We must assume that Crevaux’s Wayana words and phrases were collected in 1876-1877, and in 1878-1879, during his first two trips (*expéditions*) into the interior of South America because he devotes several sections of his travel account first published in the journal *Le Tour du Monde* in 1876-1877 to his stay and travels with the Wayanas. The linguist Lucien Adam who edited Crevaux’s Amerindian language materials was also aware of Crevaux’s popularized travel accounts and could have easily included these sentences.

2.2. Pidgin speakers in Crevaux’s account.

There is no information on the users of Wayana Pidgin in the vocabulary, but there is a surprising amount of information on this topic in Crevaux’s first two travel accounts. He supplies quotes in Wayana from a few people about whom we also receive information such as their name and their ethnic identity.

Araouata is the name of a Wayana chief who uses a couple of Pidgin Wayana phrases (Crevaux 1883: 237, 241). Araouata has a dialogue in pidgin with a man called Gongo, who is an Aluku Maroon. The dialogue is

⁶ For an account of Apatou’s life and reputation in France (which he visited) and at home, see Bilby (2004).

embedded in a story told by Apatou, also an Aluku Maroon. Crevaux further quotes some anonymous Amerindians from upstream who use some compounds, but we do not take them into consideration here because its pidgin status is ambiguous. An Amerindian of unclear ethnicity called Yacouman is also quoted using pidgin when speaking to Crevaux.

An Amerindian of unknown ethnicity called Poumari addresses Crevaux in Pidgin. An anonymous Amerindian is recorded using one word, but its pidgin status is not quite clear. Later Crevaux visits a community where there are only women. He addresses one of them in Wayana Pidgin, and they reply in pidgin. Crevaux reports a brief dialogue in pidgin between chief Alamoïké and himself. Alamoïké's wife, who is Trio, is also quoted using Pidgin Wayana. Later, they arrive in a seemingly abandoned village, where they do locate some women after some searching, and the dialogue there takes place in Trio-Ndyuka pidgin (see Huttar & Velantie 1996), not in Wayana Pidgin. Later, Yacouman, an Indian chief, is quoted again in Wayana Pidgin. And an anonymous woman, probably Wayana, also uses Wayana Pidgin. Yelemeu, a Wayana, warns Crevaux in Pidgin. Later, two shamans called Apipa and Tiou of the Apalai/Aparai nation also address Crevaux in Wayana Pidgin (Crevaux 1983: 250-301). The Apalai language is close to Wayana (*cf.* Koehn & Koehn 1995).

In short, Wayana Pidgin was used by some ten known individuals who belonged to at least two Amerindian ethnic groups (Wayana, Apalai), and by persons of both sexes, as well as Dr. Crevaux himself. The Amerindian speakers also have different roles in society, including chiefs and shamans. It can be safely assumed that knowledge and use of Wayana pidgin was widespread in interior French Guiana at the time.

2.3. Conclusion

There is a striking lack of overlap between the quotes in Wayana Pidgin in Crevaux's travel accounts and the sentences that illustrate the Wayana words in the word list. In principle, that could have been the result of a coordinated effort to avoid overlap between the travel account and the lexical description of the language. However, this is unlikely as there is no scientific or other reason for separating the two. In contrast, the brief Trio-

Ndyuka narrative is found both in the travel account and in the language materials.

There are a few other possible explanations, though. It is possible that the lack of overlap between the two is due to the fact that Lucien Adam, who edited the language materials, only had access to the purely linguistic material. He must have been aware, however, of the existence of the travel account, as it is mentioned on the first page of Crevaux, Sagot & Adam (1882). Being a travel account, Adam may have judged it irrelevant, or perhaps his access was internally or externally restricted, or he simply forgot about it.

Another possibility is that the word list and the quotes were collected by different persons. As Crevaux does not mention in this account when and where he collected his word list and phrases, the absence in the language materials of the sentences in Pidgin Wayana, opens the possibility that he did not in fact collect the materials himself. In that case, we could have expected that sentences from the travel account to be part of the language corpus as well.

But if it was not Crevaux, who else could have been the collector? There are no obvious candidates, but a closer scrutiny of the text might reveal a potential fieldworker in Crevaux's company.

Evidence in favor of the two sets of materials originating with the same author is that there are no striking differences between the two sources, not in word choice, grammar or spelling.

The lack of overlap between the two sources is not readily explainable. There is no reason to have doubts about the authenticity, as all the materials are clearly original and not copied from other published sources, not even from the Pidgin Carib materials in Biet, which Crevaux probably studied before arriving in mainland Guiana. As such, the dictionary and the travel account are important sources for Wayana Pidgin, and it is of less importance whether it was Crevaux himself or a crew member who made the language notes.

3. Wayana, Carib Pidgin and Wayana Pidgin

Crevaux's Roucouyenne materials are clearly pidginized, used in quotes by several Indians, and structurally consistent. Apart from significant structural simplifications, there are quite a few words that are not Wayana.

3.1. Wayana and Crevaux's "Wayana" materials

Wayana is a language of the Cariban family spoken in French Guiana, Suriname and Brazil. It is a morphologically complex language, with several sets of agreement markers on the verb, possessive prefixes, noun incorporation, nominal aspect marking, negation marking on nouns, etc. (*cf.* De Goeje 1946a, Jackson 1972, Tavares 2005). Suriname and French Guiana varieties of Carib show a similar morphological complexity (Hoff 1968, Courtz 2007).

In Pidgin Carib and Wayana Pidgin, almost all of these complexities have been removed or lost. Whereas most words in Carib and Wayana texts are complex, virtually none are in the two pidgins.

Pidgin Carib is based on Carib varieties spoken in the Guyanas, notably the Kalinã/Kariña variety of French Guiana and Surinam. The lexifiers of Carib Pidgin and the Wayana language are thus fairly closely related, but distinct enough to note that roughly a third of the "Wayana" forms are actually Carib pidgin. The forms that are not independently attested for Pidgin Carib, are also pidginized forms of, in this case, Wayana. Table 1 lists Wayana Pidgin words with their Wayana meaning equivalents (from Jackson 1972; see also Camargo & Tapinkili 2010). The letter J with a number refers to Jackson (1972) with the page number, the number in the Crevaux column refers to the number in the Wayana Pidgin data set (see note 1).

Crevaux	Modern Wayana	Meaning
-ken (115)	-ken (j73)	also, in addition
-poc	-po (j48)	(causative suffix)
-psic (129)	-psik (j73)	(diminutive)
akéré (20)	akëlë (j67)	with (company)
akinamé	iwalip (j68)	behind
amamhac (p. 3)	ëmëm-hak (j61)	greedy
amentai "below"	ametai (j68) "downstream"	down(stream), under
amole (155)	ëmë (j65)	you

amou (80)	akono (j64)	other
anoumalélé (49)	anu-malë (j61)	tomorrow
ouempo (146)	-ënat- (j60)	finish
ouini “one” (150)	akena (j65) “first”	one, first
appoi (29) “very”	ahpoi (j68) “higher”	very, high
apsic (113)	apsik (j61)	little, a little
canoua (7)	kanawa (j76)	canoe
chapiri (35), soupi (46)	-upi- (j56)	search
chapoui	-epeka- (j49)	buy
chicapoui, aket	-ï- (j50)	make, fix
chimalélé (163), couchi (26)	wantë (j53)	soon, in future
chiri (63)	-ëkalë- (j60)	give
coconé (96)	kokone (j61)	yesterday
colé (144)	kole (j61, j65)	many, a lot
enepta (89)	-enep(i)- (j49)	bring
enic (139) “which”	ënik (j65)	who
éou (4)	ïu, yu (j60, j65)	I
etati (124)	-etat (j49)	hammock
etè, eté	ëti (j65)	what
etè, eté	ta (j65)	what, how
hélé (41)	helë “this” (inanimate) (j65)	this
inele (77)	inëlä (j65)	he, she, it
io (30)	ïhi, ëhë (j77)	yes, ok
ioti “meat” (32)	kot (j63)	meat
irapa, iroupa (29)	ipok (j61)	good
iroupa oua	ipok-ela (j62)	bad
itengmé (p. 12)	teng-me (j61)	heavy
léken (153), liken (3)	lëken (j76)	only
machiriké “for that reason” (123, 124).	masike (j66)	therefore
malé (126)	male (j67)	with, and
maria (157)	maliya (j65)	knife
mompalélé (21)	mïnpalë (j63)	possession
moro (32) “to be”	molo (j68) “there”	be, there
mounou (144)	mïwu (j70)	blood
mourou (72)	mumu (j64)	son
nepo (119, 120, 121),	tëna (j65) “whereto”, ëltë “where” (j65)	where
nompoui	-umëk- , -umuk- (j50, j60)	come
oua (40)	uwa (j77)	no (negative)
ouapott (85)	wapot (j48)	fire
oupac (114)	uhpak “long ago”, upak “early” (j48)	long time
pacolo (61)	pakolo (j57, j66)	house
papa	yum (j70)	father
pati (17)	ëütë (j67)	village
peïto (155)	peito (j70) “servant”	servant, warrior

pepita (111)	pepta (j76)	big
pétoucourou (99)	pëtuku (j61)	beautiful
pitani (100)	pëi (j65)	child
saré	-alë-, ïlï (j49, j60)	carry
sékéteï (54)	-oko- (j49)	cut
séné (96)	-ene- (j49)	see
senéli (28)	-eli- (j49)	drink
séré (44) “this one”	sïn “this” animate (j65)	this
sétaï (73)	-(i)panangma- (j54, j71)	hear
tachiké (122), tachioriqué (137)	talasike (j65)	why
tale (153)	tale (j68)	here
tamaminé (159)	-emaminum- (j52)	work
tamouchi (9) “chief”	tamu (j65)	elder
taouanaï (p. 3)	awaina (j60)	dawn
tiniksé (25)	ïnik (j49), ïningma (j57)	sleep
toaké (53)	tawake (j61)	happy
toppé (p. 8)	t-apïk-he (j61)	hard
toppé (p. 8)	anum-hak (j61)	strong
touna (143)	tuna (j67)	water
trané (47,48), enimi	ta-phele (j65)	how many

Table 1: a list of words in Wayana Pidgin and Wayana proper (from Jackson 1972). Numbers refer to example number in dataset or to the page number in Crevaux (1882).

3.2. Crevaux's “Wayana” materials

Crevaux's chapter on the Wayana language is basically intended to be a French-Wayana word list (*Vocabulaire Français-Roucouyenne*), but in fact, it is a dictionary of a Wayana-Carib Pidgin, with example sentences. Crevaux's dictionary of *Roucouyenne* (Wayana) is alphabetized according to French, and it contains ca. 350 French words, with one or more equivalents in *Roucouyenne*. Apart from that, cognates are also given in other, related languages. These languages include *Galibi*, i.e. Carib from the Guyanas (Kalinha/Kariña), which in fact are often Pidgin Carib, (from Biet (1664), Boyer (1654)) or partly pidgin (from Pelleprat 1655a,b), or *Caraiibe*, presumably the Carib component of the language of the Island Caribs. It is not clear whether all these extra bits of information were part of Crevaux's notes (which would imply that he had access to 17th century books), or whether these observations on cognates were added by Adam, who has edited Crevaux's notes. Crevaux remarked that he studied *Galibi* (as Carib, of its pidginized form, was called in the 1600s) before he actually embarked on his first trip into the interior of French Guiana. Whatever the written materials he had access to when he prepared Crevaux's notes for publication, they did not

influence his recordings, as there is no overlap beyond the level of chance. The differences are clear both in the transcription and in the selection of words (see Table 2). Table 2 lists words from Crevaux's Pidgin Wayana and the meaning equivalents in Carib Pidgin from the mid-1600s, and Wayana Pidgin from 1946. The similarities are striking, but there are also clear differences.

It is worth noting that there are almost no variations in spelling in Crevaux's materials, which may point to a process of standardization, either by Adam or the collector of the words. Note that the vocabularies were published in the year that Crevaux was killed, after he had arrived in Bolivia in December 1881.

Two centuries before Crevaux (1882), Antoine Biet (1664) wrote a grammatical sketch of what he thought was the Carib language, but which was in fact Pidgin Carib. The sentences he provided are remarkably similar in vocabulary to those from Crevaux who produced his word list 250 years later. In Table 2, we list a number of word meanings and the forms of the words in Biet (1664), Boyer (1654) and Crevaux (1888), and from 20th century Wayana Pidgin Carib sources (Nimuendajú 1929, De Goeje 1946b). Comparison of the different sources shows that many forms have a history of almost 400 years. This is remarkably long for a pidgin to exist, and may even beat the documentation history of the Mediterranean *lingua franca*.⁷

The identical forms of the verbs indicate most likely a shared history, as it is not likely that pidgin creators in different times would choose exactly the same inflected forms among hundreds of available ones, to cover the basic meaning of a state or action. An exception is the word for "to break" *natambouti*, *natanbouti* in Biet and Crevaux, and *sambutí* in Nimuendajú. The *n-* verbs are derived from intransitive inflected verbs, and the *s-* verbs from transitive ones (see 4.2.7.); both conceptualizations make sense in the case of "to break".

⁷ cf. <<https://pantherfile.uwm.edu/corre/www/franca/go.html>>

	<i>Verbs in Crevaux (1882)</i>	<i>Equivalent in Biet (1664)</i>	<i>Equivalent in Boyer (1654)</i>	<i>Equivalent in Nimuendajú (1929)</i>	<i>Equivalent in De Goeje (1946b)</i>
	Wayana Pidgin	Carib Pidgin	Carib Pidgin	Carib Pidgin	Wayana Pidgin
acheter (buy)	chapoui	sibégati	cibegati	sepekatana	š-apui
aller (go)	ita, nissan, touté	nisan, itanque	itanesue		n-isan
apporter (bring)	enepta	ameneque	cenebi, amenique		
arriver (arrive)	natapui	natapoüi			
boire (drink)	senéli	sineri	sineri, ceneury		s-eneli
bouillir	touroua	timoca	nimocen		
casser (break)	natambouti	natanbouti, toupoukaï	natanbouty	sambutí	
chercher (search)	chapiri	soupi	soubi		
couper (cut)	sékéteï	chiqueté	cicoté	sïkïti	š-eketei “fight”
courir (run)	takané	tegané, ticané	nissente-cossi	takani	t-akan-e “vite”
cuire, faire cuire (cook)	* <i>touroua</i> “to boil”	sibouli	icommaque	turapok	
donner (give)	chiri	iaré	epeman		š-iri, š-ili
dormir (sleep)	tiniksé, tinicsé	temené, nanegué	anaquay		
entendre (hear, understand)	setaï	secouti	sicouti	setáu “listen!”	š-etai s-ukuti
faire (make)	chicapoui	chicassan, ou chicapouï	cicoura, bogué, seicapouï		š-ikapui
fini (finished)	aouempo			šimakau	awempo
Manger (eat)	soné	aminé	aminé		s-one
mourir, mort (die, dead)	natati	niramboüi	ironboüy		n-atati
porter (carry)	saré	saré			s-alei “carry, transport”
regarder, voir (see, watch)	séné	sené	seney, ceney, senes		s-ene
tomber (fall)	namaï	nomé	nomayé		n-amai
venir (come)	nompoui	noboüi, seneboüi	népoüi, nobouy, nebouy		n-ompui
travailler (work)	tamaminé		mansiremé, cicouramai		
tuer (kill)	soueï		sibogué		
laver, baigner (wash, bathe)	soucoumouti “wash”		opitò, opiboussay		s-ukumuti “bathe”

Table 2: comparison of verbs in Pidgin Carib and Pidgin Wayana from five sources

3.3. Crevaux's Wayana as a pidgin

The identification of Crevaux's materials as pidginized or a "trade jargon" is not new. The simplified or pidginized nature was already mentioned by Adam (1882: 25),⁸ Adam (1892a), Coudreau (1893) and more recently by Huttar & Velantie (1996: 119). Crevaux himself did not reveal any awareness of the fact that the speech he recorded differed from the way the Wayanas must have spoken among themselves. Neither did he seem to realize that many words recurred in his recordings among different groups, despite otherwise quite different lexicon (e.g. Emerillon, which belong to an entirely different language family than Wayana and Carib), but there are also some typical Pidgin words of Cariban origin.

Henri Coudreau, who spent four years in the interior of Guiana fifteen years later, was aware that some of Crevaux's language materials were not what they were intended to be. According to Coudreau, the Trio word list was in fact the Trio-Ndyuka pidgin, or "a trade jargon invented by the Boni negroes" (Coudreau 1893: 79-80). Coudreau also identified the *Roucouyenne* materials collected by Crevaux as pidginized, and he suggested that it was in fact a pidgin as used by the Maroons, speakers of an English-based creole:

Others [collectors of vocabularies], in perfect honesty, are only able to collect truncated and distorted word lists, dictated by some ignorant interpreter, who does not understand the indigenous language well and neither understands that of the traveler well. Crevaux's *Roucouyenne* vocabulary, for example, has been carefully compiled from the dictation of Apatou [a Boni maroon]; but the method of hasty travel that the unfortunate explorer had decided for, prevented him from seeing that what he took for the true Wayana dialect was really a trade jargon, of which the inventors are the Boni Negroes⁹ (Coudreau 1893: 102).

⁸ "Indeed, even though he pidginizes his speech, the *Roucouyenne* can not completely remove himself from the grammatical environment that he is used to". French original: *En effet, alors même qu'il jargonne, le Roucouyenne ne peut s'abstraire complètement du milieu grammatical qui lui est propre* (Adam 1882: 25). Adam (1882: 24) also mentioned that the Indians made "use of an instinctive grammar" rather than the complex system of their mother tongue.

⁹ *D'autres [collectionneurs de vocabulaires], parfaitement honnêtes, ne peuvent recueillir que des vocabulaires tronqués et défigurés, dictés par quelque interprète ignorant, qui comprend mal la langue indigène et qui comprend mal celle du voyageur. Le vocabulaire roucouyenne de Crevaux, par exemple, a été colligé consciencieusement sous la dictée d'Apatou; mais la méthode de voyager précipitamment qu'avait adoptée l'infortuné explorateur, l'a empêché de voir qu'il prenait pour le véritable dialecte roucouyenne un patois de traite dont les inventeurs sont les nègres bonis.*

Coudreau repeats this characterization later in his book where he brags that he would do a better job, namely collect data on the “real Wayana” language rather than the “jargon”:

I use my stay in the quaint town of the intelligent and complacent Marière to learn the true Roucouyenne language, pure Wayana. The Boni-Wayana jargon reported by Crevaux is so different from pure Wayana that Indians like Marière, who have had much contact with these negroes, say they do not completely understand it. It is “a jargon that the Bonis have fabricated on the basis of pieces of mispronounced Galibi, and which they have imposed on the Wayanas when selling them knives, swords and axes. I am using this jargon with Marière in order to get vocabulary and phrases of the real Wayana language¹⁰ (Coudreau 1893: 530-531).

Still, Coudreau was not much more successful in obtaining “Pure Wayana” data. He quotes *iroupa-tinicksé* for “good night” (1893: 137), which is also pidgin, consisting of the words “good” and “sleep”. In fact, his materials published in 1892 also mostly represent pidginized Wayana.

Lucien Adam also noted the pidginized nature of Crevaux's materials in his introduction to Crevaux's and other people's vocabularies. “Mister H. Coudreau confirms that this speech is a fabricated trade jargon”¹¹ (Adam 1892a: 612). He repeated this statement a few years later: “In fact, that what was noted down by Crevaux and which he assumed was pure Roucouyenne/ Wayana, does not differ substantially from the trade jargon that Biet, Boyer and La Sauvage have taken for being Carib”¹² (Adam 1892b: 4).

3.4. Carib Pidgin with Wayana influence, or Wayana Pidgin with Pidgin Carib influence?

We mentioned Pidgin Carib several times, as having influenced Wayana Pidgin. What is the connection between the two?

¹⁰ *J'utilise mon séjour au coquet village de l'intelligent et complaisant Marière à apprendre la véritable langue roucouyenne, le ouayana pur. Le jargon boni-roucouyenne rapporté par Crevaux est tellement différent du ouayana pur, que des Indiens comme Marière, qui ont beaucoup fréquenté avec ces nègres, disent qu'ils ne l'entendent pas complètement. C'est "un jargon que les Bonis ont fabriqué de toutes pièces avec un galibi mal prononcé pour base, et qu'ils ont imposé aux Roucouyennes en leur vendant des couteaux, des sabres et des haches. Je me sers de ce jargon pour prendre avec Marière un vocabulaire et des phrases de vrai ouayana.*

¹¹ *M. H. Coudreau affirme que ce parler est un patois de traite fabriqué.*

¹² *en effet ce que le Dr Crevaux en a noté le prenant pour du Roucouyenne pur (ouayana) ne diffère pas sensiblement du jargon de traite que **Biet, Boyer et La Sauvage** ont pris pour du Galibi.*

Carib Pidgin has been documented since the 1650s, in supposedly Carib (“Galibi”) materials collected by Biet (1664) and Boyer (1654) in what is now Cayenne and French Guian. In the mid 20th century De Goeje and Nimuendajú collected some trade language data (De Goeje 1946b). The label *Galibi* was used for the Carib language of French Guiana, even when it is in fact a pidginized. Pidginized forms can be easily distinguished from non-pidginized forms in that all inflections from Carib have been eliminated, as is usual in pidgins (Parkvall & Bakker 2013).

Obviously, there are discrepancies between the different sources from the 17th century and Crevaux’s materials 220 years later, and these differences warrant a separate study. Below, we provide a sketch based on all of the 200 phrases and sentences that were in Crevaux’s materials, all of them in Pidgin Wayana. The pidgin of the 1650s was documented from speakers of Kalinha Carib, and Crevaux’ materials from the late 1800s from people who were believed to be speakers of Wayana.

Not all the words are derived from the Wayana language. There is also clear influence from Pidgin Carib in the materials. Pidgin Carib is a pidginized form of Carib documented from the mid-1600s to the mid-1900s from the Guyanas and Brazil. There are also clear differences between Crevaux’s pidgin and the earlier attestations of Pidgin Carib. It is difficult to decide whether Crevaux’s pidgin is a Wayana pidgin with influence from Carib Pidgin, or a Wayanized version of Carib Pidgin. It is not the goal of this study to make a thorough comparison. De Goeje characterized Wayana Pidgin as basically (pidginized) Wayana with some Carib Pidgin words. Huttar & Velantie (1996) devote some attention to Wayana Pidgin. They compared the vocabulary of Wayana Pidgin with that of Wayana, and they found that “very few of the forms given for the jargon are in fact traceable to Wayana. Two or three times as many correspondences, on the other hand, can be found with Trio forms as given in de Goeje (1906:71-87) and Leavitt (1971). Since even a cursory check of the above list against Hoff (1968) and Aloema *et al.* (1987) shows even more correspondences with Kalinha [Carib], it appears that de Goeje's list shows more of the “mixing” with Kalinha words than of the “very simplified Wayana” he mentions.” (Huttar & Velantie 1996: 119). Thus, there are two views, De Goeje who suggests a Wayana Pidgin with Carib

Pidgin intrusion, and Huttar & Velantie who consider it more Carib Pidgin with intrusion from Wayana. Still, the clear differences justify calling Crevaux's pidgin not Pidgin Carib but Pidgin Wayana.

4. Grammatical sketch of Crevaux's pidgin Wayana¹³

The sketch in this section is based on Dr. Crevaux's *Roucouyenne* language materials as edited by Lucien Adam in 1882, and Crevaux's travel account *Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud* (1883), notably the accounts of his first two trips. No systematic attempt has been made to compare the pidgin with its lexifiers Carib and Wayana, or to other sources of Wayana Pidgin. We do point out occasional parallels, differences as well as source forms when we have the information and find it useful to include. The pidgin must be described in its own right. The other pidginized materials collected by Crevaux are not included in the sketch, and neither are Pidgin Carib materials from other sources. We do devote some attention to the historical connections with Pidgin Carib.

Examples are presented as written in the source. The glosses are based exclusively on internal evidence with regard to their meanings, i.e. either given explicitly in the vocabulary, or confidently deducible from the context.

The first line in each example contains the sentence as it is found in the sources. It ends with a number, which is the number of the phrase/sentence that we gave in our corpus. The second line is a gloss. The third line is an English translation based on the words of the gloss, and in line with the meaning given in the original French text. Sometimes the meaning of the given translation deviates from what can be deducible from the meanings of the individual words, and then we also translate the pidgin sentence based on knowledge of the individual words. An example where the two deviate is sentence 65, in which the two words simply mean "here sleep", whereas the French sentence translates as "Let's stop here to camp" (example 8 below).

In the examples we will give here, we will refer to the numbered sentences in our database, based on the materials in Crevaux. These

¹³ All materials with glosses can be found online at <<https://cl.ly/0z0y3P1z1v0a>>

numbers correspond with the following page numbers in Crevaux (1882): 1-8, p. 1; 9-12, p. 2; 13-25, p. 3; 26-34: p. 4; 35-46, p. 5; 47-55, p. 6; 56-65, p. 7. 66-81, p. 8.; 82-94, p. 9; 95-100, p. 10; 101-106, p. 11; 107-117, p. 12; 118-124, p. 13; 125-129, p. 14; 130-141, p. 15; 142-150, p. 16; 151-156, p. 17; 157-165, p. 18; 166-174, p. 19; 175-176, p. 20; and in Crevaux (1883): 177-181, p. 237; 182, p. 241; 183-184, p. 251; 185, p. 254; 186, p. 262; 187, p. 270; 188, p. 271; 189, p. 280: 190, p 285; 191-192, p. 298; 193-194, p. 299; 195-196, p. 300.¹⁴

4.1. Lexicon

The lexicon seems to be overwhelmingly from the Carib language and the related Wayana language, but without its inflectional markers. Some nouns and verbs do contain inflectional markers, but these have become part of the stems of the pidgin (see 4.2.7 below for examples).

A few loanwords from European languages can be identified: *parica* “belly” is the Portuguese or Spanish word *barriga* “belly”, *parachichi* “French(man)” is probably from French *français*, or more likely Spanish *frances*, or Portuguese *francês*. Finally, *arcabousapoc* “shoot with rifle” is clearly a gallicism derived ultimately from Dutch *haakbus* “hookrifle”, via French *arquebuse* or Spanish *arcabuz*, German *Hakenbüchse*, all meaning “hookrifle” by phonetic loan either from Dutch or German.

4.2. Parts of speech

It can be difficult to identify parts of speech in a pidgin. The word classes suggested here should therefore not be taken as a definite or theoretically motivated statement. In contrast to many other pidgins (see Parkvall & Bakker 2013), there are no forms that are used both as verbs and nouns. Nouns that are used as verbs, have a class-changing morpheme. Also, many adjectives seem to have a limited set of endings that characterizes them as a group. We start with minor classes, and then major classes.

¹⁴ The following abbreviations are used: INTERJ “interjection”, IO “indirect object”, LOC “locative”, O “object”, PL “plural”, POSS “possessive”, S “subject”, SG “singular”, V “verb”.

4.2.1. Personal and possessive pronouns

The following personal pronouns are found, and they are used as subject (S), indirect (IO) and direct object, and also as possessive pronouns (POSS).

- (1) Pronouns in Pidgin Wayana
 1SG Éou/eou (4 S, 17 POSS, 40 POSS, 66 IO, 134, 159, 161 S, 163), you (44 S, 122, 165 POSS), ou (2 S, 65 S, 79 S)
 2SG amolé (2 POSS, 39 POSS, 87 S, 106 POSS, 120 POSS?, 121, 126 POSS, 129 POSS, 132 S, 133, 160), amolita (66)
 3SG inelé (82 POSS, 88 S, 113)

The third person pronoun is based on a Carib demonstrative form *ini* (Adam 1882: 26). There are no examples of plural pronouns in the material. The absence of plural pronouns is also known from other pidgins (Parkvall & Bakker 2013). There is a slight possibility that a first person plural exclusive suffix is present in the following, otherwise not completely transparent, example. Here the ending *-mna* is reminiscent of the exclusive first person pronoun plural pronoun *emna* found in Wayana (Jackson 1972: 65) or *amna* found in the Chayma dialect of Carib (Adam 1882: 26). The given translation “I have no name” is probably wrong.

- (2) ehetimna amolé-ken (121)
 eheti-mna amolé-ken
 name-1PL? 2-also
 “I have no name, and you?” or alternatively “our name, and yours?”

There are also emphatic possessive prefixes, e.g. *inelé-malé* “he himself”, French *lui-même*.

The personal pronouns are also used as possessive pronouns in Crevaux. No possessive prefixes are used, in contrast to the lexifiers Carib and Wayana, with the possible exception of example (2). Some examples of the use of possessive pronouns:

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------------|
| (3) | éou papa (17) | (4) | amolé étati (2) | (5) | inelé pati (82) |
| | 1SG father | | 2SG hammock | | 3SG village |
| | “my father” | | “your hammock” | | “his village” |

4.2.2. Demonstrative pronouns

There are two attested demonstrative pronouns:

- (6) séré “this one” (44)
 hélé “that” (41, 42, 123)

The forms are used independently and not attributively; there are no examples of the forms as part of a noun phrase. The meaning difference between the two forms is possibly based on distance, as *hélé* is translated all three times with *cela* (“that”) and the only case of *séré* with “this”.

4.2.3. Deictic adverbs

The particle *tale* or *talé* means “here” (68, 116, 161). There is no equivalent in the material meaning “there”. The Wayana-derived word *moro*, whose original meaning is “there”, appears only in sentences without a verb. Crevaux gives its meaning as “to be, to have”. See 4.2.7.2.

- (7) pepita couissa tale (116)
 big swamp here
 “Here is a big swamp” “There is a big swamp here”
- (8) **talé** tiniksé (68)
 here sleep
 “let us sleep here” (given translation: “Let's stop here to camp”)
- (9) **talé** léken nissa éou (161)
 here only go 1SG
 “I go only here”

The different positions of the deictic adverbs probably reflects variation and different forms of pragmatic functions, as found in many other languages. See also 4.2.7.2 for connections between deictic elements and locative verbs.

4.2.4. Interrogative pronouns

The following interrogative pronouns can be found in the material:

- (10) Question words
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| enic | “which?” (43; X N, 147; X N, 176; X N) |
| etè, eté | “which, how, what?” (42, 123) |
| trané | “how many?” (47, 48) |
| enimi | “how many?” (Crevaux 1882: 15) |
| nepo | “where?” (127, 128, 129), “what” (120) |
| tachiké | “why?” (130, 144) (<i>cf.</i> 131, 132 <i>machiriké</i> because”) |
| tachioriqué | “why?” (145) |

The form *enic* “which” always precedes the noun it is connected with, but in one case it is not immediately adjacent, unless the meaning is rather

“which one of the thieves is Indian?” or “which thief is Indian?”, which deviates from the given translation, which is “which Indian is the thief”:

- (11) enic mounamé calina (176)
 which thief Indian
 “Which Indian is the thief?”
- (12) enic maria icé (43)
 which knife want
 “Which knife do you want?”

The only case of *etè/eté* is ambiguous between a meaning “which”, “what” and “how”:

- (13) **Etè** éhed hélé (42, 123)
 Which/how name that
 “What name has this? How is this called? What is its name?”
- (14) **trané** okiri (47)
 How.many man
 “How many men?”
- (15) **trané** mecoro nompoui (48)
 how.many negro come
 “How many negroes have come?”

The form *nepo/népo* means “where”, but also “whereto”, “from where”, and may contain the locative element *-po* (see 4.5.2).

- (16) **népo** amolé papa (129)
 where 2SG father
 “Where is your father?”
- (17) **népo** nissa (127)
 where go
 “Where do you go?”
- (18) **népo** nompoui (128)
 where come
 “Where do you come (from)?”

There are three sentences with “why”. The question word *tachiké* and its variant *tachioriqué* are no doubt connected to *machiriké* “for that reason” (131, 132).

- (19) **tachiké** amolé nissa (130)
 why 2SG NEG
 “Why do you go?”

- (20) **tachiké** nompoui oua (144)
 why come NEG
 “Why don’t you come?”
- (21) **tachioriqué** chiri oua (145)
 why give NEG
 “Why don’t you give?”

4.2.5. Nouns

Nouns denote entities, often more or less stable in time. Nouns are not inflected for case, number or gender, and there are no particles either with such functions. In Wayana, there are many nominal suffixes (Jackson 1972). In the pidgin there is a locative suffix *-po* (see 4.5.2, for example in No32 (4CR), No35 (5CR), No82 (9CR), No84 (9CR), No102 (11CR).

Biet (1664) had remarked in his grammatical sketch of (Pidgin) Carib two centuries earlier that plurality could be expressed with *papo* “all”, but not a single example can be found in his own primary materials. In Crevaux, a cognate of this form is found but with a meaning “all” rather than plurality:

- (22) papourou peïto chapoui (166)
 all servant buy
 “I buy (take) all of the servants”

There is also a diminutive suffix *-psic* (see 4.5.3): No103 (11CR) and No137 (15CR) and a verbalizing suffix *-poc* (4.5.4), generating a meaning “to do something with N”. these can be found in the appendix as No13(3CR), No14(3CR), No14(3CR), No34(4CR), No97(10CR), No98(10CR), No105(11CR), No114(12CR), No133(15CR), No134(15CR).

4.2.6. Adjectives

A fair number of words with translations as adjectives are found in the material, but there is no hard evidence that there is a separate word class “adjectives”. Meanings like “blue”, “small”, and “other” are attested, and they always precede the noun.

There is, however, an element that may indicate adjectival status of a form. A handful of forms with adjectival meanings are followed by *-mhac*, most of them indicating a physical sensation.

- (23) parica tou**mhac** (173)
belly bad
“I have a stomach ache” (Wayana *etum-hak* “hurting”; Jackson 1972: 62)
- (24) parachichi amam**hac** (18, also 19)
French(man) miserly
“Is the French(man) miserly?”
- (25) échim**hac** (45)
hot
“it is hot”

Two additional forms are found in the dictionary: *yétou-mhac* “ill, sick”, *anou-mhac* “tired”. In addition, we find *capsac* “fat”, *crepsac* “far”, *akipsac* “lazy”, *alamphac* “scared” (Crevaux 1882: 10-15). All these noun modifiers with adjectival meanings end in *-hac* or *-sac*.

As Adam (1882: 31) observed, a similar phenomenon can be found in the earlier materials in Biet (1664) and Boyer (1654), where all words which end in *-mbe* have an adjectival meaning. We found the following ones in 17th century materials ending in *-pe*, *-mbé*, *-nbé*:

- (26) adjectives with affixes in Pidgin carib of the 17th century.
acolopé “far, tired” (Biet 420); Crevaux (1892: 9) *anou-mhac* “tired”;
amembé, *amonbé* (Biet 432, Boyer 394), “bad/villain”; Crevaux *amamhac*;
amotchimbé “healthy” (“heavy?”) (Pelleprat 25), “heavy”;
amounbé “teasing” (Pelleprat 25)
anquinopé “lazy”, (Boyer 420, Biet 424)
assimbéi “hot” (Biet 429), “long”, “massive”;
etombé, *yétombé* “sick/ill” (also: sickness, pain) (Biet 409, 413, 420, Pelleprat 23); Crevaux has *yétou-mhac*;
mancipé “long” (Biet 418);
maucimbé, *mochimbé*, *mosimbé*, *mossimbé* (Boyer 410, 411, 414, 415, 416, 420, 421, Biet 425); *maucipé* “narrow” (Boyer 404);
polipé, *balipé* “strong, harsh, rough, angry” (Biet 408, 412, 421, 431, Pelleprat 8, 28);
Toppé, *pope* “hard” (Biet 411, 413, 431, Boyer 420).
Crevaux has *coutampé* “angry” (1882: 9) and *tipongné* “smelling” (1882: 14).

Similarly, in Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin a suffix *-me(e)* was used in similar functions, parallel to a similar suffix in other Cariban languages (Trio: *-me*). Even though the shapes of the suffixes differ in the three pidgins

(Pidgin Carib, Pidgin Wayana, Trio-Ndyuka Pidgin), the functions are surprisingly similar (see Huttar & Velantie 1996: 113).

4.2.7. Verbs

There are two main characteristic features for verbs in this pidgin. First, as in all pidgins, there is only one uninflected form for each verb. Thus, pidgin verbs differ dramatically from the highly complex verbs in Wayana, Carib and other Cariban languages. Second, and that is specific for the different forms of Pidgin Carib, the initial consonant indicates whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. This was observed perhaps first by Taylor & Hoff (1980; see also Hoff 1995), for Pidgin Carib, and it turns out to be true for Wayana Pidgin as well. Adam (1882: 28) was maybe the first to observe that the initial consonants of the verbs in Carib Pidgin and Wayana Pidgin had their source in inflected forms and were “traces of synthetic conjugation”, even though he did not link it to transitivity. The following verbal roots (i.e. roots with a verbal meaning in the French translation) are found in the sentences in Crevaux’s material:

(27)	Verbal roots	
	aket	“to make” (1)
	alicolé	“to wait” (11)
	aouap	“to stop” or “stop!” (11) (or: moment? <i>cf.</i> 19)
	aouempo	“to finish” (59, 72, 93, 154)
	caiké	“to call” (9), “to sing” (p. 14)
	calisétaï	“to wait” (16)
	carachimeu	“to discuss, dispute” (p. 8)
	chapiri	“to search, to get” (35)
	chapoui	“to buy” (2, 39, 146, 166)
	chicaï	“to untie” (61)
	chicapoui	“to make” (33, 36, 85-89, 172)
	chimaï	“to burn” (p. 13)
	chinaï	“to throw out, to reject” (e.g. water from canoe) (71)
	chiri	“to give” (66, 67, 132, 145)
	courouapoc	“to close” p. 18 (from couroua “rope” + verbalizer –poc)
	coussiouar	“to draw (a picture)” (p. 7)
	enepta	“to bring” (10, 94, 108, 136, 137, 164)
	icari	“to lie” (p. 13)
	icé	“want” (p. 20)
	ita	“to go” (6, 7, 64 FUT, 73, 80, 155)
	namaï	“to fall” (165)
	natambouti	“to break” (38)
	natapui	“to arrive” (12)

natati	“to die” (26, 111, 119)
nissa	“to go” (4, 5, 6, 17 PAST, 20 IMPER, 63 FUT, 65 PRES, 112, 117, 127, 130, 143, 156, 171, 175 HORT)
nompoui	“to come” (23, 48, 77, 128, 144)
saleï	“to pull in, to haul” (100)
saré	“to carry” (142, 143)
sékéteï	“to cut” (56, 57)
séné	“to see” (59, 101, 139, 140)
senéli	“to drink” (28)
setaï	“to understand, to hear” (52, 78, 126)
soné	“to eat” (93, 115, 131)
soucoumouti	“to wash” (108)
soucoupoc	“to urinate” (soucou “urine”) (Crevaux 1882: 19)
soucouti	“to understand/to know” (51, 53, 54, 106)
soueï	“to kill” (170)
soupi	“to seek” (46)
takané	“to run (???)” (58)
tamaminé	“to work” (167)
tanissa	“to climb” (96)
ticoré	“to smell, to stink” (p. 16)
tinamoï	“go back, return” (p. 17)
tinéné	“to hurry” (p. 7)
tiniksé, tinicsé	“to sleep” (25, 31, 68, 102)
toupoukaï	“to break” (37)
touté	“to leave” (?) (62)

The verbs starting in /k/ (<c>) are transitive, and so are the verbs starting in sibilants /s/ and /ʃ/ (<s>, <ch>). All the verbs starting with <n>, on the other hand, are intransitive, and so are the verbs starting with <t>. In Wayana, stative verbs start with *t-* (Jackson 1972: 60).

It is typical for all sources of pidginized forms of Carib that the verbs have invariant forms, and that they almost always start with these consonants, which are indicative of (in)transitivity. This is also true for Wayana Pidgin. The verbs *enepta* “to bring” and *ita* “to go” are the only clear exceptions.

There are also four verbal forms in the list that start with *a-*. There is reason to assume that these are not verbs, or not originally verbs. Note that almost all other verbs end in a high front vowel *-i* or *-e*. Only one of the four “verbs” starting with *a-* does that. The form *aket* “to make” only occurs once, and its source is unclear. There is another, more frequent verb with the same meaning, *chicapoui*. The form *alicolé* “to wait” also has a

meaning equivalent in which the sequence *-ali-* is also found: *calisétaï*. The form *aouap* may be a command meaning “stop!” or “moment”. Based on similar internal evidence, the form *aouempo* may have a non-verbal source as well, but its source is unclear.

4.2.7.1. The verb(s) “to go”

The verb “to go” requires some extra attention, in that it is attested with three different forms: *nissa*, *ita* and *touté*. It is an exception to the observation that verbs have only one form. The form *touté* is the least frequent. It only appears once in the sentence material:

- (28) *anoumalélé touté* (62)
 tomorrow go
 “We leave tomorrow“

Crevaux’s dictionary lists *toutey* with the meaning “let’s go” in the entry: “*partons! – aï, toutey*” (Crevaux 1882: 15).

The form *ita* appears at least six times (in a few cases it seems the form *ita* seems to be attached to other words), and *nissa* 15 times. In theory, these forms could be functionally different or not. If they would have been different, the most obvious distinctions would be mood (e.g. imperative *vs.* indicative), tense (e.g. past, present, future), number (singular *vs.* plural).

Both *ita* and *issa* are used for hortatives: *oma ita* (155) and *oma nissa* (156) are both translated as “Let’s follow the path”. Thus, all three forms (also *toutey*) are used for hortatives.

Also, all three forms are used in sentences with future reference: *anoumalélé touté* (63) “we will leave tomorrow”, *anoumalélé cocopsic nissa* “we will leave tomorrow morning”, *coropo pacolo ita* (64) “tomorrow we will go to the dwelling”.

In short, no meaning distinction between the three forms can be found.

4.2.7.2. Other grammatical verbs

In addition, there are a number of verbal elements that have a more or less grammatical function:

- (29) functional verbs
 icé “to want” (146, 147, 153, 157, 158)
 icé-pa “to refuse, not want” (150)
 moro “to have, to be (locative)” (32, 82, 83, 84)
 tapé “to be”??? (40)

Here are some examples with these verbs or auxiliaries:

- (30) ioti moro yara-po (32)
 meat BE smoker-LOC
 “Is there any meat on the barbecue?”
- (31) tamouchi **moro** inele pati-po (82)
 chief moro 3SG village-LOC
 “The Tamouchi (chief), is he in his village?”
- (32) io **moro** (83)
 yes moro
 “Yes, he is”
- (33) **moro** ourou canaoua-po (84)
 BE manioc boat-LOC
 “There is manioc in the boat”

The form *moro* is a locative verb “be (at), (in)”. It is derived from a deictic pronoun *moro* “there” in Wayana. There is one example with *tapé*.

- (34) Oua éou etati **tape** (40)
 no 1SG hammock **tapé**
 “No, it is not my hammock”

The meaning of *tapé* cannot be deduced from this single example. It may be a deictic element, or a locative verb. In this connection we can also mention the deictic pronoun *tale* “here” (116) (see 4.3), as there seems to be a connection between deictic pronouns and locative verbs.

4.2.7.3. Non-verbal predicates

The category “copula” should not exist, as it is not uniform, not universal and confusing. We prefer the term “non-verbal predicates”, which is more open to diversity. Nevertheless, we will give some examples beyond those in the preceding section, of sentences where French and other Western European languages would have a copula.

In existential constructions, there is often no copula:

- (35) apsic touna (70)
 little water
 “There is little water”
- (36) touna tepou colé (151)
 water rock many
 “There are many rocks in the water”

In section 4.2.7.2, we gave some examples with locative verbs or copulas with *moro* and *tapé*. In locative sentences, the copula can be lacking, however.

- (37) népo amolé papa (129)
 where you father
 “Where is your father?”

No difference in meaning or function can be deducted between presence and absence of *moro*.

In identificational sentences and sentences with class inclusion, there is no copula:

- (38) enic mounamé calina (176)
 which thief Indian
 “Which Indian is the thief?” (see also (11) above)
- (39) Macouipi etati hélé (41)
 (name) hammock this
 “This is Macouipi’s hammock”
- (40) parachichi amamhac (18)
 French(man) miserly
 “Is the French(man) miserly?”

In stative sentences, there is no copula:

- (41) chichi ouayameu (162)
 sun dangerous
 “The sun is dangerous”

4.2.7.3. Verbal modifiers and adverbs

Verbs can be modified by adverb-like elements. The particle *appoi* “very, completely” follows adjectives (29, 104, 138) and verbs:

- (42) parana aouempo **appoi** (154)
 salt finish very
 “The salt is completely finished”

The same is true for the element *ohamna* (30, 54, 55, 58):

- (43) *io* *soucouti* **ohamna** (54)
 yes know very
 “Yes, I know very well”
- (44) *yèpé* *toaké* **ohamna** (55)
 comrade happy very
 “Comrade, (I am) very happy”
- (45) *yépé,* *acouri* *takané* **ohamna** (58)
 comrade hare run very
 “Comrade, the hare runs very (fast)”

This element is undoubtedly connected to the Wayana suffix *-(V)mna* meaning “very” (Jackson 1972: 72). It is not clear whether there is a functional difference between the two forms *ohamna* and *appoi*.

There are also temporal adverbs, as in:

- (46) **coropo** *pacolo* *ita* (64)
 tomorrow house go
 “Tomorrow we go to the house”

Their position will be discussed below in 4.4.2.8.

4.2.8. Discourse markers and interjections

The terms for “yes” and “no” are *io* (30, 54, 83, 86) and *oua* (40) respectively. No other function of *io* “yes” is known. The particle *oua* is also used to create negative sentences, usually appearing sentence-finally (see 4.3.3). As anaphoric negation, the forms always appear sentence-initially.

In addition there is an interjection *hé*, which seems to be a way to get the attention of a potential interlocutor (33, 34, 39). In all three cases, the HE element is preceded by a vocative (name of generalized “friend”) and followed by a command or request, as in the following examples:

- (47) *yépé* **hé** *yara* *chicapoui* (33)
 comrade HE barbecue make
 “Hey comrade, make a grill”
- (48) *Yelemeu* **hé** *amole etati* *chapoui* *ice* (39)
 (first name) HE you hammock buy want
 “Yemeleu, I want to buy your hammock”

The only exception may be the following sentence, but here the meanings of the words are uncertain:

- (49) alicolé **hé!** aouap (11)
 stop? HE wait
 “Stop, wait”

4.3. Tense, aspect, mood, negation

Tense, aspect, mood and negation play an important role in the genesis of pidgins and creoles, and in the history of their study. Almost all creoles have a set of preverbal and sentence-final markers indicating tense, mood and aspect (but not evidentiality), and pidgins typically have no obligatory means of expression tense, mood and aspect (TMA) (Parkvall & Bakker 2013). Pidgins optionally express tense and mood (but rarely aspect) through separate markers, often sentence-initial, with concrete meanings like “soon”, “some/long time ago”, “tomorrow”, “yesterday”, but they are grammaticalized in that the meanings in the pidgin are broader than in the lexifier. For these reasons, we devote special attention to TMA marking. As negation is connected to this, we also deal with it in this section.

4.3.1. Tense and aspect

No aspectual distinctions are made in the material. There is no morphological tense.

In the few cases where several verb forms are used with the same basic meaning (“to go”), there is no indication that tense, aspect, mood (or person) distinguish them (see also 4.2.7.1).

Sentences with a present, past or future translation usually have no elements at all referring to tense, be it affixes, auxiliaries or particles, as in:

- (50) amou calina soueï (170)
 another Indian kill
 “He has killed another Indian” (past reference)

However, the element *ita* is sometimes written attached to other elements in sentences, for example here the second person pronoun:

- (51) eou amol-ita chiri (66)
 1SG 2SG-go give
 “Are you going to give (it) to me?” or: “are you going to give me?” (future ref.) (French: “*vas-tu me donner?*”)

Other examples may be *méné cocouita* “skilled at paddling” (99) and *amole oli amolita chiri*, with an unclear meaning: “you will give it to the woman”

In rare cases, a marker can be found, as in the following where an adverb or particle meaning “soon” seems to indicate future reference (171, 172):

- (52) chimalélé chicapoui (172)
 soon make
 “I am going to make it”
- (53) couchi natati (26)
 soon die
 “He will die soon”
- (54) coropo pacolo ita (64)
 tomorrow house go
 “Tomorrow we will go to the house/settlement”
- (55) anoumalélé touté (62)
 tomorrow go
 “We leave tomorrow”
- (56) oupac nissa eou (115)
 long.time go 1SG
 “I go for a long time”

The following future markers are found: *couchi* “soon” (*bientôt*) (26), *chimalélé* “immediately” (*tout à l’heure*) and perhaps also *oupac* “long time” (also: “long time ago”) or just future tense (171, 172), *coropo* “tomorrow” (64), *anoumalélé* “tomorrow” (62) and *anoumalélé cocopsic* “tomorrow morning” (60). The following meaning equivalents can be found in Suriname Carib (Courtz 2007): *koròpo* “tomorrow” (pp. 217, 300), *kokoro* “tomorrow” (p. 298), and in Wayana: *anu-malë* “tomorrow” (Jackson 1972: 61), *uhpak* “long ago”, *upak* “early” (p. 48), *upake* “long ago” (Tavares 2005: 353) *hëmalë* “today” (Tavares 2005: 353). *Coconé* means “yesterday”, but it is not used with reference to time of an event. It is from Wayana *kokone* (Jackson 1972: 61).

4.3.2. mood: “want”

Modal references are few, no meanings in the material relate for instance to possibility, ability, obligation. The only mood marker found in the material is “to want”. Desire is expressed with the particle *icé* which follows the verb and precedes the subject pronoun, if present, otherwise it is sentence-final. The same marker is found in all Pidgin Carib sources from the 1600s to the 20th century.

- (57) Amolé étati chapoui **icé** ou (2)
 2SG hamac buy want 1SG
 “I want to buy your hammock”
- (58) séré **icé** you (44)
 this want 1SG
 “I want this one”
- (59) Yelemeu hé amolé etati chapoui **ice** (39)
 NAME INTERJ 2SG hammock buy want
 “Yelemeu, (I) want to buy your hammock”
- (60) enic maria **icé** (43)
 which knife want
 “Which knife do you want?” (also 115, 146, 147, 153, 157, 158)

The negative of “want” is expressed as *icé-pa* “want not” or “refuse” (150). This form is also widespread in Pidgin Carib sources. The similarity with the French negator *pas* is most likely incidental.

4.3.3. Negation: sentence-final <oua>

Negation is usually marked with a sentence-final *oua*, both with verbal and nominal predicates, and both with subjects and objects, and in transitive sentences.

- (61) nissa **oua** (5)
 go NEG
 “I am not going”
- (62) mompalélé **oua** (21)
 luggage NEG
 “I don't have any luggage”
- (63) amamhac **oua** (19)
 miserly NEG
 “He is not miserly”

- (64) amolé omili soucouti oua (106)
 2SG language know/understand NEG
 "I don't understand your language"

There is one exception, where a personal pronoun follows the negator:

- (65) ehed oua you (122)
 name NEG 1SG
 "I don't have a name"

There is one negative sentence where <oua> is not used, but the meanings given of two components are negative. The meanings of two of the components are somewhat unclear. The element *-imna* may be first person plural (see 4.2.1) or a particle meaning "without", and *ken* is probably "also".

- (66) ehetimna amolé-ken (121)
 ehed imna amolé ken
 name 1PL? without? 2SG and?
 "I have no name, what about you?"

If this interpretation is correct, the form *imna* is probably the Wayana adverb *imna* "without" (Tavares 2005: 353). Adam (1882: 29) thought *-imna* was a negative element, but he was not aware of any equivalent in any Cariban language. If (*i*)*mna* indeed has a negative meaning, then it conforms with another source of Wayana mixed with Pidgin Carib a decade later, as in *anou-mna* "not strong" (Coudreau 1892: 42).

The same form *oua* is used for anaphoric negation:

- (67) **Oua** éou etati tapé (40)
 NEG 1SG hammock BE?
 "No it is not my hammock"
 See also 52/78, 67, 126, 131, 132, 134, 147, 148.

Perhaps the sentence-final particle *oua* "no" can be understood also as a marker for questions, in that "not" is perceived as something facultative, and thus induces a question (like "you did it, didn't you?" or Dutch *jij deed het, niet?*). This assumption is based on the fact that phrases of the same structure but without the *oua* particle at the end are mostly translated in the first person of singular, while those who have it tend to be translated as questions directed towards a second person (*cf.* No.139).

4.4. Constituent order

We will first deal with the order of elements in the noun phrase, then with order in intransitive sentences, then sentences consisting of an object and a verb and finally sentences with two arguments.

4.4.1. Order of elements in the noun phrase

Possessive pronouns precede the noun:

- (68) Yelemeu hé **amolé** etati chapoui ice (39)
 NAME INTERJ 2SG hammock buy want
 “Yemeleu, I want to buy your hammock”

Numerals precede the noun (only one example):

- (69) **Aouini** calina icé (158)
 one Indian want
 “I want one Indian”

Adjectives or noun modifiers of nouns precede the noun:

- (70) **chériman** cachourou (27)
 blue necklace
 “blue necklace”
- (71) **apsic** okiri (135)
 little man
 “a small/little man”
- (72) **yanemeu** poupourou (140)
 recent track
 “a fresh/recent track”
- (73) **pepita** couissa talé (116)
 big swamp here
 “Here is a big swamp”
- (74) éou papa nissa **amou** pati (17)
 1SG father go another village
 “My father went to another village”

Adverbial modifiers follow the adjective:

- (75) iroupa **appoï** (29)
 good very
 “very good”

The modified adjective may follow the noun, if this one case can be interpreted as such:

- (76) oli pétoucourou **appoi** (104)
 woman beautiful very
 “a very beautiful woman” (French: “*une femme très jolie*”)

Alternatively, this latter example would not be a modified noun phrase, but rather a sentence meaning “the woman is very beautiful”. This would otherwise be the only exception to the ADJ-N order.

4.4.1.1. Quantifiers

Quantifiers follow or precede the noun, except that a numeral precedes the noun (see ex. 69). The meaning “much/many” follows the noun, and “little, few” precedes the noun. It is conceptually unlikely that this differentiation in order is systematic and dependent on the meanings of the quantifiers, but it is consistent in the corpus.

Note also that there is a diminutive suffix derived from a preverbal adjective meaning “small, little” (see section 4.5.3.).

- (77) touna tepou **colé** (151)
 water rock much/many
 “There are many rocks in the water”
- (78) mounou **colé** (152)
 blood much/many
 “much blood, haemorrhage”
- (79) **apsic** parana icé (153)
 little salt/sea want
 “I want a little salt”
- 80) **apsic** touna (70)
 little water
 “There is little water”

Examples (81) and (82) have a quantifier and a diminutive, but the meaning given is the same:

- (81) **apsic** ourou enepta (136)
 little manioc bring
 “Bring a little manioc”
- (82) ourou**psic** enepta (137)
 ourou-psic enepta
 manioc-little bring
 “Bring a little manioc”

- (83) **cocopsic** (63)
 cocone-psic
 morning-little
 “morning”

The form *colé* is probably also part of this verbal root “to be many”:

- (84) **colépsi** eou peïto (163)
 many 1SG warrior
 “My warriors are quite big in number”

4.4.1.2. Adpositions

There are postpositions, not prepositions. The following postpositions are found: *akéré* “with”, *malé* “for, with” and *amentai* “under”.

- (85) éou **akéré** nissa (20)
 1SG with go
 “Go (come) with me”
- (86) éou **malé** omili-poc oua (134)
 1SG with language-CAUS NEG
 “You don't speak with me”
- (87) nompui cololo **malé** (23)
 come bench with
 “Come with (your) bench”
- (88) parana touna **malé** tépourou (24)
 sea water with head
 “salty water to the head”
- (89) ippouï **amentai** tiniksé (25)
 mountain below sleep
 “(to) sleep below the mountain”

4.4.1.3. Possessor precedes possessed

- (90) Oyampi omili (51)
 Wayampi language
 “the language of the Wayampis”
- (91) alimi ticaké (95)
 spider-monkey grease
 “spider monkey grease”
- (92) maïpouri poupourou (139)
 tapir track
 “track of a tapir”

Neither the possessor nor the possessed noun is modified in form.

4.4.1.4. Nominal compounds

It is not always easy to distinguish between compounds and possessive constructions. Compounds are always right-headed:

- (93) ouapott ouéoué (90)
fire tree
“firewood”
- (94) ouéoué yomset (92)
tree hair
“leaves of tree” (<yomset> in the dictionary form is also spelled <yemcetti>, p. 5)
- (95) ouuoc éré (144)
hoco (bird species?) feather
“hoco feather”
- (96) ouéoué catori (168)
tree hole
“a hole in a tree”

One compound does not have a head: *ouapott-ouané* “honey fly” (Crevaux 1882: 13).

4.4.2. Order of elements in the sentence

The order of elements appears to be quite consistent throughout the material.

4.4.2.1. Intransitive verbs

In intransitive sentences, the nominal subject precedes the verb:

- (97) yanemeu mourou nompoui (76)
recent/new child come
“A child was just born”

Simple sentences with a pronoun and a verb will have the verb first and then the subject pronoun (VS):

- (98) nissa éou (4)
go 1SG
“I go”
- (99) talé léken nissa éou (161)
here only go 1SG
“I go only here”

4.4.2.2. Order of Object and Verb is Object-Verb

There are quite a few phrases with only verbs and objects. In some case, they are clearly commands, in other cases the translation suggests more a general, infinitival phrase. The order is always Object-Verb as found in e.g.

(100) maïna aket (1)
garden/entanglement build
“(to) build a garden/entanglement”

(101) etati chicaï (61)
hammock untie
“(to) untie the hammock”

(102) yépé, tamouchi caïké (9)
comrade village.chief call
“Comrade, call the village elder!”

(103) yamourou sékéteï (57)
arm cut
“(to) cut the arm”

(104) ouéyou enepta (94)
torch bring
“Bring a torch!”

4.4.2.3. Intransitives with locations and directions

In imperatives and infinitives with a location, the verb follows the location:
LOC-V:

(105) ippoui tanissa (96)
mountain climb
“to climb up a mountain”

(106) touna ita (73)
water go
“to go to the water/river”

If there is a locative expression with a subject, the order may be S-V-LOC, both in statements and questions:

(107) éou papa nissa amou pati (17)
1SG father go another village
“My father has gone to another village”

(108) ioti moro yara-po (32)
meat BE grill-LOC
“Is there any meat on the grill?”

A locative expression will follow the object and precede the verb (O-LOC-V) or follow both object and verb (O-V-LOC):

- (109) ourou catari courouapoc (15)
 manioc basket tie
 "Tie the manioc in a catouri basket"
- (110) ioti moro yara-po (32)
 meat BE grill-LOC
 "Is there meat on the grill?"
- (111) coropo pacolo ita (64)
 tomorrow dwelling go
 "Tomorrow we go to the dwelling"

The use of a locative case marker on locations seems to be optional.

4.4.2.4. Comitative

A comitative expression (where the order is: noun-comitative) may precede or follow the verb in an imperative sentence:

- (112) éou akéré nissa (20)
 1SG with go
 "Go with me"
- (113) nompui cololo male (23)
 come bench with
 "Come with a bench"

4.4.2.5. Intransitives with adjectival predicates

In intransitive sentences with an adjectival predicate, the subject precedes the predicate. No copula is used.

- (114) chichi ouayameu (162)
 sun dangerous
 "The sun is dangerous"
- (115) parachichi amamhac (18)
 French(man) miserly
 "Is the French(man) miserly?"

4.4.2.6. Vocatives

Vocatives (which are morphologically unmarked) can appear sentence-initially (also 12, 36, 37, 56, 145) or sentence-finally:

- (116) yépe écou malé mompalélé saré (142)
 comrade 1SG with luggage carry
 “Comrade, carry the luggage with me”
- (117) coloho yepe (22) [*coloho* is probably a typo for *cololo*]
 bench comrade
 “Here is a bench, comrade”

4.4.2.7. Sentences with subject, object and verb

In transitive sentences with a first, second or third person subject, the order is O-V, and the subject does not appear in the following sentences:

- (118) amolé étati chapoui icé (2; OV) (39, also 146)
 2SG hammock buy want
 “I want to buy your hammock”
- (119) courachiri icé (157, also 158; OV)
 hen want
 “I want hens”
- (120) yanemeu poupourou séné (140; OV)
 recent track see
 “I see fresh tracks”
- (121) papourou peïto chapoui (166; OV)
 all warrior buy
 “I buy/take/hire all of the warriors”
- (122) éou malé omili-poc oua (134; also 132)
 1SG with language-CAUS/speak NEG
 “You don't speak with me”
- (123) enic maria icé (43, also 147; OV)
 which knife want
 “Which knife do **you** want?”
- (124) Oyampi omili soucouti oua (51; also 139; OV V NEG)
 Oyampi language understand/know NEG
 “Don't **you** understand the language of the Oyampi?”
- (125) oupac oman soucouti (53; OV)
 old path know
 “Do **you** know the old path?”
- (126) amou alina soueï (170; OV)
 another Indian kill
 “**He** has killed another Indian”

In one case, an object is lacking and a subject present (SV):

- (127) amolé panari sétaï oua (126; SV)
 2SG ear hear NEG
 "Don't your ears understand?"

The verb can also be missing:

- (128) mompalélé oua (21)
 luggage/trade.item NEG
 "I don't have any luggage"

- (129) parica toumhac (173)
 belly bad
 "I have a stomach ache"

Omission of the subject is also common in Wayana.

In a few cases, the subject and the object are overtly present, and then the order may be SOV or OVS:

- (130) séré icé you (44; OVS)
 THIS want 1SG
 "I want this (one)"

- (131) eou maïna tamaminé (167; SOV)
 1SG entanglement work
 "I work on my entanglement"

However, the *eou* element in (131) may also be a possessive pronoun in the last example, yielding an OV order.

The following sentence can be analyzed as two sentences, and then the orders would be S-V and LOC-O-V, or as one sentence with the order S-AUX-LOC-O-V. In the first interpretation, the verb "to go" would be an indicator of movement, in the second case possibly an indicator of future tense. The latter meaning, however, is not otherwise attested for Pidgin Carib.

- (132) eou nissa calaïouas pati mompalélé saré (143)
 1SG go Brazilian village luggage carry
 "I am going to carry some luggage to the village of the Brazilians"

The alternative translation for the two-sentence interpretation would be:
 "I will go. I carry some luggage to the village of the Brazilians"

In short, in sentences with subject, verb and object, there is a strong tendency to omit subject, verb or object, most often the subject. The order is OV or SV, and in rare cases with two arguments OVS and SOV.

4.4.2.8. Temporal expressions appear sentence-initially

Temporal expressions meaning "tomorrow", "tomorrow morning", "soon" appear sentence initially:

- (133) **anoumalélé cocopsic** nissa (63)
 tomorrow morning go
 "We leave tomorrow morning" (also 64)
- (134) **chimalélé** chicapoui (176)
 soon make/do
 "I do it soon, I will do it"

4.5. Morphology

There is very little morphology in Pidgin Carib. Nominal and verbal inflection are absent, except for a locative suffix. There are a few derivational morphemes in Pidgin Carib, and one locative suffix.

The initial consonants in the verb, as discussed in 4.2.7, even though indicative of transitivity, should not be considered synchronically as morphological markers, as they have no grammatical function being just part of invariable verbal forms. They are fossilized remnants from a Cariban verb paradigm.

4.5.1. Verbal inflection is absent

There is no verbal inflection. This can be illustrated with the form *chicapoui*, which appears as an imperative, with personal pronouns, with different time reference, with no personal pronouns, but always in the same form.

- (135) amou catouri chicapoui (85)
 another basket make
 "Make another basket!" (also 33)
- (136) io chicapoui (86) "yes I make"
- (137) amolé chicapoui (87) "you make"
- (138) inelé chicapoui (88) "he makes"
- (139) pacolopsic chicapoui (89) "make a hut!"
- (140) chimalélé chicapoui (172) "I am going to do it"

4.5.2. Locative suffix *-po*

There is a locative suffix on nouns in *-po* (*yara-po* “on the grill/barbecue”, 32), *maïna-po* “in the garden” (35), *inele pati-po* “in his village” (82), *canaoua-po* “in the boat” (84), *paon-po* “on the island” (102). This suffix is also found in Wayana, and may be derived from the postposition *polo* “on top of” (Jackson 1972: 67). In 17th century Pidgin Carib, there was also a locative suffix, with the shape *-bo* or *-bonne* (Biet 1664: 398, 401).

4.5.3. Diminutive suffix *-psic*

If we can rely on the spelling, there would have also be a diminutive suffix: *pacolopsic* (89) “hut”, from *pacolo* “house” and *apsic* “little”, *amontapsic* (103) from *amonta* “island” and *apsic* “little”, *ouroupsic* (137) “some cassava”, from *ourou* “manioc” and *apsic* “little”, and *cocopsic* (63) “dawn” from *coco* “night”. In the dictionary entries, we also find *olipsic* “girl”, from *oli* “woman” (Crevaux 1882: 9).

The diminutive suffix is derived from the quantifier *apsic/epsic*, which in turn is derived from an adjective *apsic* “little, small”. In its adjectival function, it seems to precede the noun, as in **apsic** okiri (135) “a small/little man”. See also the examples in section 4.4.1.1.

4.5.4. A verbalizing suffix *-poc*

A few additional verbal forms seem to have been formed with a suffix *-poc* which can be attached to nouns and turns them into verbs, similar to what causative suffixes do in many other languages. It is only used with nouns, not with verbs.

(141) verbalizing suffix *-poc*

aracabousa-poc	“shoot rifle”, derived from <i>aracabousa</i> “rifle, musket” (134)
couroua-poc	“to tie”, derived from <i>couroua</i> “rope” (13, 14, 15)
omili-poc	“to speak”, derived from <i>omili</i> “language” (133, 134)
paria-poc	“shoot arrows” derived from <i>paria</i> “arrow” (114)
sousou-poc	“breastfeed” (from <i>sousou</i> “milk”; cf. French <i>allaiter</i>) (105)
toto-pock	“wage war against” (from <i>toto</i> “enemy” (Crevaux 1883: 236)
touroua-poc	“boil” (transitive), from <i>touroua</i> “cooking pot” (34)

The last one is also found in Nimuendajú's (1929) rendering of Pidgin Wayana as *turapok*.

Adam (1882: 29) links the suffix to the verb *bogué* "to make", which, if we can rely on spelling in Boyer (1654: 404) may have been a suffix already before in Pidgin Carib, as in *oütabogué* "make a fire", from *ouato* "fire" (Crevaux: *ouapott*). The grammaticalization of a verb meaning "make, do" into a causative is of course a common process.

4.6. Sentence types

The materials contain declarative sentences, imperative/hortative sentences, and question sentences (both yes/no questions and question word questions).

No formal differences can be spotted between the sentences, in the form of different word orders, or particles marking speech acts, except for the obvious presence of question words in one type. We can assume that intonation plays some role in distinguishing between questions and statements, but there is no evidence for this in the text.

WH-questions always have the question word in the beginning of the sentence.

4.6.1. Clause combining

There are almost no complex sentences in the materials, as is often the case in pidgin materials. Clause combinations in pidgins are often not formally marked with e.g. conjunctions or other indicators of the semantic relation between the two clauses. There are only two multi-clause utterances in the word list, but there are a few that could be combinations of clauses, at least if we take the translations as a point of departure, in the travel account. Sometimes, we have a sentence that translates as a complex sentence, but the original appears not. This sentence translates as "let us stop here to stay overnight", but the words just mean "here sleep":

- (142) talé tiniksé (68)
 here sleep
 "(Let us) sleep here" (French: arrêtons-nous ici pour camper)

Otherwise there are no complex sentences in the dictionary materials, neither in the pidgin texts nor in the translations. There are a few in the second travel account. Some sentences express a form of causal relation between two clauses, but the nature is not marked with a conjunction, there are just two main clauses.

- (143) yepé, ippouĩ aouempo, polili séné (59)
 comrade mountain finished creek see
 “Comrade, the (crossing of the mountain) is over, I see a creek”
- (144) nissa oua, ippoui colé (183)
 go NEG mountain many
 “Don’t go, because there are many mountains” (In simplified French: *aller pas, montagne beaucoup*)
- (145) nissa, aptaü, omà ita natati (184)
 go ?? road go dead (French: *Aller, dis-je, en chemin mort*)
 “If you take the path, you will die” (?)

This is a purpose clause without formal marking:

- (146) piay ice, amou Câlina souéi ice eou. (185)
 shaman want other Indian kill want 1SG
 “I want a shaman as I want to kill another Indian”
 (French: *J'ai besoin d'un piay, c'est-à-dire d'un remède pour tuer un autre Indien.*)

And finally a complement clause after a verb of perception:

- (147) sene oua inele peĩto capsac? (280)
 see NEG 3SG soldier fat
 “Don’t you see that his soldier is fat” (or: “that all of his soldiers are fat”)
 (French: *Ne vois-tu pas, me dit-il, que ces soldats sont tous gras?*)

If we can generalize over so few examples, we can observe that (1) there is no overt marking through conjunctions (2) and that the embedded clause follows the matrix clause.

4.7. Phonology

It is not easy to make a phonological assessment on the basis of exclusively written materials. If there are special speech sounds, the author may have missed them because of his lack of perception and training.

There are probably five, six or seven vowels: /a i u e o/, to which may be added a schwa (written as <e>), and another vowel, probably high

central one written as <eu> (76). The grapheme <é> could mean that there is a phoneme /ɛ/, which could imply also the presence of /ɔ/.

There is no indication of length, nasality, glottalization, etc. for any of the vowels. A few words end in *-n*, which may or may not indicate vowel nasalization, e.g. *chériman* (27).

There may be following diphthongs: /ai/ (35) /ui/ (12) /io/ (32), /oa/ (58), /ei/ (56). Some may be digraphs, reflecting a special vowel rather than a diphthong, however.

There are the following consonants: /p t k m n s š h r l j w/.

A few words are written with double consonants, e.g. *ippouï* (25), *nissa* (63), *ouapott* (90) but it is not likely that these indicate geminates.

Most words end in a vowel, or in one of the consonants /p t k/ (34)(75), perhaps also in /n/ (27), if this is not an indicator of vowel nasalization.

The predominant syllable shape is a simple CV sequence, and we can assume the following consonant clusters: /pw/ (2), /pt/ (10), /ps/ (63), /mh/ (18), /mp/ (21), /mb/ (38), /mn/ (30), /ms/ (92), /nt/ (103), /ks/ (25), /tr/ (47), /mph/ (138).

If we compare this with the inventory of Wayana as given in Jackson (1972) and Camargo (1996), we can assume that the inventory is more or less identical. Wayana has seven vowels /a, i, u, e, o, ɨ, ə/, which is compatible with above. Vowels before nasal consonants tend to be nasalized.

As for the consonants, it appears that in Wayana /s/ and /š/ are allophones. Camargo's Wayana (1996) has only one liquid, /r/, and Jackson's Wayana has only /l/. Jackson describes the phoneme as "reverse flap with a lateral opening". This may mean that there is dialectal variation, or that /r/ and /l/ are allophones, or a phoneme bordering /r/ and /l/, perceived differently by speakers of French and English.

Phonotactically, Wayana is mostly CV(C) but consonant clusters can be observed, both with nasal as first members, with two stops and also /ts/ and /ps/.

5. Conclusions

Based on the ca. 200 *Roucouyenne* phrases and sentences in Crevaux, we were able to establish that his materials constituted a stable pidgin, used by Wayanas in their contacts with outsiders, and also other Amerindian groups and some Aluku Eastern Maroons.

Pidgin Wayana is structurally unusual among pidgins in having SV, OV, VSpro, SOV and VSO constituent order and postpositions. There are three bound morphemes: a diminutive, a verbal and a locative suffix. Most properties are typical for pidgins, such as the use of personal and possessive pronouns rather than person inflection, and the use of tense and mood adverbs. Adjectives may have special endings. Phonologically, Pidgin Wayana follows its lexifiers closely. The Pidgin also displays influence from Pidgin Carib.

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