

## Problem 5. Tariana (15 marks)

Tariana is an endangered language spoken in the Vaupés river area in Brazil, close to the border with Colombia. There are about 100 speakers left of Tariana, while there are a further 1,500 Tariana people, who no longer speak the language.

One morning, Antônia, Cândido, Margarida, João, Maria, and Emílio were playing a detective game, in which they had to discover who just “poisoned” their sleeping friend Ismael! They very quickly decided that he had drunk poisoned manioc-flour, a mixture of cassava (or tapioca) flour and water. When asked why, their responses were as follows:



Speaker	Tariana Statement	English Translation	Evidence for the Claim
Antônia	<b>Diha kahwi-nuku diiraka.</b>	<i>He drank manioc-flour.</i>	She saw him drink it before he fell asleep.
Cândido	<b>Mayē kahwi-nuku diiranihka.</b>	<i>Ismael drank manioc-flour.</i>	He saw some manioc-flour on his upper lip (like a “milk moustache”).
Margarida	<b>Diha kahwi-nuku diiramahka.</b>	<i>He drank manioc-flour</i>	She had heard him slurping his manioc-flour in the room next door.
João	<b>Mayē kahwi-nuku diirasika.</b>	<i>Ismael drank manioc-flour.</i>	He knew that he took some of his sister’s manioc-flour every morning.
Maria	<b>Diha kahwi-nuku diirapidaka.</b>	<i>He drank manioc-flour.</i>	Ismael told her (before falling asleep) that he had drunk some.
Emílio	<b>Mayē kahwi-nuku diiramahka.</b>	<i>Ismael drank manioc-flour.</i>	He could smell manioc-flour on Ismael’s breath.

First, they suspected José, so went to his house to investigate. They all concluded José was innocent – he had an alibi! When asked why, their responses were as follows:

Speaker	Tariana Statement	English Translation	Evidence for the Claim
Antônia	<b>Juse irida dimanikaka.</b>	<i>José was playing football.</i>	She saw him playing football on the field over the road.
Cândido	<b>Juse irida dimanikanikhka.</b>	<i>José was playing football.</i>	He saw that both José and his football kit were missing.
Margarida	<b>Juse irida dimanikasika.</b>	<i>José was playing football.</i>	She knew it was time for his weekly football match.
João	<b>Naha irida namanikaka.</b>	<i>They were playing football.</i>	He could see José playing football with his brother.
Maria	<b>Naha irida namanikapidaka.</b>	<i>They were playing football.</i>	She was told by José’s mum that he was playing football with his brother.
Emílio	<b>Naha irida namanikanikhka.</b>	<i>They were playing football.</i>	He saw that José’s football and both sets of football boots were missing.

Next, they went to Ismael’s house. Again, they looked around, and spoke to a second key witness (Ismael’s sister, Olívia). They agreed she was acting very suspiciously, as she wouldn’t say what she was doing at the time of Ismael’s “death”. This time, they didn’t all agree. When asked what they thought had happened, their responses were as follows:

Speaker	Tariana Statement	English Translation	Evidence for the Claim
Antônia	<b>Óli dukwasika.</b>	<i>Olívia was sleeping in the hammock.</i>	She believed that Olívia always sleeps all morning.
Cândido	__(a)___	<i>She was swimming.</i>	He saw that her clothes were wet.
Margarida	<b>Duha duayhamahka.</b>	<i>She was swimming.</i>	She had heard her in the river earlier.
João	<b>Óli kahwi-nuku dunimahka.</b>	<i>Olívia was making manioc-flour.</i>	He could smell manioc-flour in the kitchen.
Maria	__(b)___	<i>She was making manioc-flour.</i>	She was told by Ismael's dad that Olívia had been making manioc-flour.
Emílio	<b>Duha hinipuku dumeyutanihka.</b>	<i>She was raking the garden.</i>	He saw that the garden had recently been raked.

When João and Maria shared their information, they told Olívia “\_\_(c)\_\_\_ **mayẽ piinunihka!**”  
*You killed Ismael!*

**Q 5.1** Fill in the gaps (a) and (b) by giving Maria and Emílio's statements in Tariana.

**Q 5.2** What Tariana word should replace (c)?

They began explaining all of the things they had come across that morning. They established that Olívia had also gone swimming, and that their father Leonardo had raked the garden before going to lie down in the hammock.

**Q 5.3** Fill in the gaps (d)-(i) below with the correct Tariana statement. You do not need to translate the names in brackets.

Speaker	Tariana Statement	English Translation	Evidence for the Claim
Cândido	__(d)___	<i>You (Olívia) were swimming.</i>	He had overheard Olívia confirm that she had gone swimming.
Margarida	__(e)___	<i>He (Leonardo) was raking the garden.</i>	She saw that Leonardo's clothes had bits of grass and leaves on them.
Olívia	__(f)___	<i>He (Leonardo) was sleeping in the hammock.</i>	She knew that Leonardo always lies down in the hammock after gardening.
Antônia	__(g)___	<i>You (Leonardo) were drinking manioc-flour.</i>	She saw a dirty cup next to the hammock where Leonardo had been sleeping.
Olívia	__(h)___	<i>They (José and brother) were playing football.</i>	She had heard a football going on while she was swimming.
João	__(i)___	<i>Olívia was swimming.</i>	He had seen Olívia swimming in the river.

### Problem 5. Tariana Answers

**5.1** (a) **Duha duayhanihka.**

(b) **Duha kahwi-nuku dunipidaka.**

**5.2** (c) **Piha**

**5.3** (d) **Piha piayhapidaka.**

(e) **Diha hinipuku dimeyutanihka.**

(f) **Diha dikwasika.**

(g) **Piha kahwi-nuku piiranihka.**

(h) **Naha irida namanikamahka.**

(i) **Óli duayhaka.**

**Q 5.1** Max 4. Per sentence: 2 pts if fully correct; 1 pt with one word incorrect. Ignore spaces between words.

**Q 5.2** Max 2. 2 pts if correct.

**Q 5.3** Max 12. Per sentence: 2 pts if fully correct; 1 pt with one word incorrect. Do not penalise missing diacritics. Names in brackets can be ignored. Ignore spaces between words.

## Problem 5. Tariana Explanations

### 1. Evidentiality

Tariana is a language with a highly developed evidentiality system. Evidentiality is a linguistic feature that indicates how a speaker knows the information they are talking about. Tariana shares evidentiality with lots of other languages, but as a linguistic feature, evidentiality is unknown in Indo-European languages, such as English.

In English, we can say: “*It was raining*” and we do not have to indicate how we know this. Of course, we can add the “evidence” for our statement, e.g. “*It was raining, because I saw it*” or “*It was raining, because the pavement was wet*”, or “*It was raining, because I could hear it*”. In English, this is merely extra detail and not an essential part of the language’s grammar. However, for languages like Tariana with evidentiality as part of their grammar, their speakers have no choice, they have to indicate how they know something – a Tariana speaker simply cannot say “*It was raining*” on its own, as this is not an existing grammatical structure in Tariana.

Instead of adding another clause (as the English examples do) Tariana adds special endings on its verbs. The evidentiality markers used in this problem are all for the recent past tense and are as follows:

Tariana evidentiality verb ending in recent past tense:	Meaning in English:
<b>-ka</b>	the speaker(s) saw it with their own eyes
<b>-mahka</b>	the speaker(s) experienced it in person with some other sense than seeing, e.g. they might have heard the sound of rain or they might have smelt it, when stating that it rained
<b>-nihka</b>	the speaker(s) have clues to work out what is going on (e.g. seeing that the pavement is wet is a good clue to assume that it has been raining)
<b>-sika</b>	the speaker(s) use what they already know to work out what is going on (e.g. seeing that someone’s football kit is missing makes a good basis for assuming that they are playing football or if someone always does a certain thing at a particular time, then it is logical to assume that they would have been doing that same activity at the specified time as usual)
<b>-pidaka</b>	the speaker(s) have none of the evidence or useful knowledge that allows them to work it out for themselves, but instead they have been told by a third party or they have read about it etc

### 2. Pronouns, verbforms & word order:

For the sake of the problem, the word order was kept the same (Subject-Object-Verb). Normally, Tariana verbs mark person by the appropriate person prefixes.

While Tariana also has independent pronouns, these tend to be used for emphatic reasons (and don’t tend to come as subject at the start of the clause) – however, to keep the problem mainly focused on the evidentiality, the independent pronouns were also used.

	Prefix	Pronoun
1 <sup>st</sup> singular	<b>nu-</b>	<b>nuha</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> singular	<b>pi-</b>	<b>piha</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> singular masculine	<b>di-</b>	<b>diha</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> singular feminine	<b>du-</b>	<b>duha</b>
3 <sup>rd</sup> plural	<b>na-</b>	<b>naha</b>

References and further reading:

- Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2004) *Evidentiality*. Oxford: OUP
- Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2006a) The Adjective Class in Tariana. In: Dixon, R.M.W. & Aikhenvald, A.Y. (Eds.) *Adjective Classes*. Oxford: OUP. pp. 97-124.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2006b) Complement Clause Types and Complementation Strategies in Tariana. In: Dixon, R.M.W. & Aikhenvald, A.Y. (Eds.) *Complementation: A Cross-Linguistic Typology*. Oxford: OUP. pp. 178 – 203.
- Aikhenvald, A.Y. and Storch, A. (2013) Linguistic expression of perception and cognition: a typological glimpse. In: Aikhenvald, A.Y. & Storch, A. (Eds.) *Perception and Cognition in Language and Culture*. (pp. 1 – 45) Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill N.V.
- [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tariana\\_language](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tariana_language)