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NOTES AND REVIEWS

A NOTE ON THE ARAWAKAN AFFILIATION OF TAINO

Taino, the name given to the language or languages spoken throughout most of the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas at the time of Columbus' discovery and for some decades thereafter, has generally been accepted as belonging to the Arawak family. This classification is certainly supported, though hardly confirmed, by such evidence of a lexical nature as can be adduced at the present time. According to de Goeje, who has rendered a service to all interested scholars by bringing this evidence together, 'Le matériel de cette langue se compose de deux cents mots environ et de quelques phrases qui se trouvent éparpillés dans les écrits espagnols et italiens des 15^e et 16^e siècles.'¹ Unfortunately, about half of it consists of honorific titles, personal and place names, and names of more or less unidentified local animals and plants. Of the remainder, the following and perhaps as many other words have fairly obvious cognates of like meaning in Lokono and/or other definitely Arawak languages: *haba basket*; *hibuera, higuera calabash (Crescentia)*; *canoa canoe*; *aon dog*; *tua, toa, tona frog*; *xagua, hagua Genipa americana*; *hupia, opia, operito ghosts of the dead*; *cemí, zemí gods or powerful spirits*; *caona gold*; *burén cassava griddle*; *daca, daça, dacha I*; *mahiz maize*; *hyen manioc juice*; *yari ornament*; *nahe paddle*; *mani peanut*; *yayagua pineapple*; *conuco plantation*; *aji, axi red pepper (Capsicum)*; *bagua sea*;

¹ *Nouvel Examen des Langues des Antilles*. JSAP 31.1-120. Reviewed in IJAL 17.257-259. This compilation would have greater value if its author had given all divergent spellings and translations for each form and cited the sources from which each was taken. Taina forms are given sometimes as in the sources, sometimes in a 'normalized' spelling. All Taino forms cited here are given by de Goeje, but I have restored the original spellings whenever possible.

buhuitihu, buhiti, bohiti shaman; *hibiz sifter*; *ciba, ziba stone*; *batea trough*; *arcabuco woods*. Most of such cognates belong, however, to the cultural rather than to the basic vocabulary, and so may well have been borrowed.²

Under these circumstances it is especially important to obtain as much additional evidence as possible by an attempted analysis of complex forms. So 'Ahiacauo Guarcoel' has been variously translated *let us instruct our grandfather about this, let us know this our grandfather, and we know our grandfather*, and it is not possible to say whether *ahia(ca)-* of the first word is or is not cognate with Island Carib *ariaka* and Lokono *adia to speak*.³ But the comparison of the second word with Island Carib *uárukuti*, Lokono *uadukuti*, both meaning *our grandfather*, makes it clear that all three of these forms consist or consisted of a prefix marking first person plural, a stem (itself complex in Lokono, according to Hickerson) meaning *grandfather*, and a suffix (also complex in Lokono) defining the noun and marking it as masculine. We

² Taino *conuco plantation* apparently corresponds to Lokono *konoko woods*, while Taino *arcabuco woods* appears to be related to Island Carib *arabu woods* or, in the modern dialect of the Black Caribs, *plantation, bush*. Although unknown in modern Lokono, the latter term probably contains, as underlying form or member of a compound, IC *ara-* (not attested as a free form), K L *ada tree*.

³ The three translations of 'ahiacauo guarcoel' are taken from Sven Loven's *Origins of Tainan Culture* (Göteborg, 1935), Bourne's *Colombus, Ramon Pane, and the Beginnings of American Anthropology* (Worcester, 1906), and de Goeje, *op. cit.* Lokono forms are given in the transcription employed by Nancy P. Hickerson, *Ethnolinguistic Notes from Lexicons of Lokono*, IJAL 19.181-190. Island Carib forms are given in my own transcription except when they are placed between inverted commas, in which case the spelling used in R. P. Raymond Breton's 17th century dictionaries is retained.

may therefore say that Taino had a prefix *guA-* *our* (or, more probably, *uA-*, the *g* having no more value than in modern Spanish Araguaco *Arawak*; cf. also the spellings *hibuera* and *higuera* for the word meaning *calabash*, corresponding to Island Carib *uira*, Lokono *iuida*), corresponding to Island Carib and Lokono *uA-*; and when we find Taino *guatiao* and *datiao* both translated as *friend*, we may be fairly confident that the former had in fact the same meaning as Breton's Island Carib 'ouatignaom' or 'ouatfoan' *our friend*. Likewise, since Taino *daca* (or *daça* or *dacha*) *I* corresponds to Lokono *dai* (with the same meaning), and since the prefixed marker of first person singular is *dA-* ~ *dV-* in Lokono (cf. *datilikiti my brother*, from the stem *-tiliki-* *sibling of opposite sex*), it is altogether plausible to suppose that Taino *datiao* meant *my friend*. Further, on comparing Lokono to Goajiro, *dai* : *taya I*, *bui* : *pia thou*, *lira* : *nia he*, *uaiko* : *waya we*, etc., we are tempted to set up Taino *nV-* as prefixed marker of third person singular masculine gender, which then would explain such alternatives as are illustrated by 'Dio Aboria *dacha*', and 'Dios naboria *daca*', both translated by *yo soy siervo de Dios*; or "'Tayno, tayno," que quiere decir bueno,' but 'sus caziques y principales ó nitaynos'; so that *naboria* would be translated *his servant* (cf. Breton's Island Carib 'aboúyou' *serviteur*), *nitayno his nobles* (underlying *tayno good, noble* having no obvious cognate, so far as I know, in another Arawak language).

Taino, like both Lokono and Island Carib, not to mention other Arawakan languages, appears to have had the prefixes *kA-* *attributive*, *mA-* *privative*. As I have stated elsewhere,⁴ Taino *caracaracol scabby person*, 'buticaco' *zarco de los ojos* 'xeyticaco' *negro de los ojos*, are almost certainly phrases containing attributive denominal adjectives; *cara having skin*, *caracol it has*

⁴ A Note on the Derivation of the Word "Tobacco." AA 54.278.

scabies, being almost identical to Island Carib *kara karakuti* (with the same meaning), in which *kA-* *attributive* is prefixed first to *ura skin*, then to *uraku scabies*. Similarly, *xeyti-caco black-eyed* is apparently analogous to Breton's Island Carib 'kacou illirócuti' *squint-eyed*, whose first term is derived by *kA-* from his 'acou' *eye(s)*.⁵ The privative *mA-* appears to enter into Taino *mahite toothless*, *mayani don't*, and *manicato courageous*. The first of these (which compare to Lokono and Island Carib *ari tooth, teeth*) is given as a term of abuse; the second occurs in the utterance 'mayanimacaná, Juan Desquivel *daca*' *no me mates, porque yo soy Juan de Esquivel*; while the Taino bride is said to have emerged from her marriage trial waving a clenched fist and proclaiming "'Manicato, manicato": que quiere decir esforcada ó fuerte é de grande ánimo.' If, as I believe, this last term is related to Breton's Island Carib 'manicouati' *forbearing*, 'kámanirátiti' *he is very patient*, the meaning of the Taino word is rather *without fuss, restrained, enduring*. Taino *marima* and *tarima* are both given as meaning *buttocks*; but a comparison to Island Carib *arúma* (with the same meaning) suggest that the first of these forms may bear the privative *mA-*, and the second some other prefix, perhaps that of the third person singular feminine gender.

The presence and meaning of suffixes are harder to detect in this material. Such a pair as Taino *turei heaven*, *tureigua resplendent*, recalls stative *-gua* of Island Carib; while the alternatives *buhuitihu* or *buhiti shaman* are reminiscent of Lokono *-hu* which besides deriving nouns from verbs appears to occur optionally with some noun stems. The form *mahite toothless* (see

⁵ So also Taino, and now general European, *cacique* (or *cazique*) almost certainly contains attributive *kA-*. Brinton related this word to Arawak *kassiquan*, from *ussequa house, to have or to own a house* or houses (see Loven, fn. 3, page 504), while de Goeje compares it to Lokono and Island Carib *ísiri nose*. A more plausible cognate is IC *isíke*, *L isí head* (cf. also *ísika to lead, to give*).

above) probably contains a suffix *-te* corresponding to subordinate or possessive *-te* of Lokono and Island Carib; while *guariquen*, which I take to mean *our ears*, probably contains a suffix *-n* corresponding to subordinate *-n* of Lokono. This last example occurs in an utterance 'usada por una India de Haiti para decir a su principal o encomendero que mirsase una veta o piedra de oro': *ocama guaxeri guariquen caona yari*; and its stem may be compared to Island Carib *arikaē*, Lokono *-dike-ear(s)*. Taino numerals are disappointingly unlike those of other Arawak languages; those recorded are (in de Goeje's spelling): *heketi one*, *yamoka two*, *kanokum three*, *yamonkobre four*. Though far from obvious, these show some resemblance to Breton's Island Carib 'ligueti' *alone*, and to Lokono and Island Carib *biama two*, Lokono *kabun* (or *kabuin*) *three*; while Island Carib *biamburi four* (also recorded as *biabri*) has definite analogy to its Taino equivalent, so that we may confidently assign the same origin and 'multiplicative' function to Taino *-bre* as to Island Carib *-buri*, although its Lokono correspondence is obscured or lost in modern Lokono *bibiti four*. Finally, Taino *anaiboa flour, starch of manioc*, and the names (or rather titles) of *Anacaona*, translated *flower of gold*, and *Caonaboa* (elsewhere spelled *Caonabó*) suggest the presence in the first and third of the Lokono suffix *-Eboa*, which Hickerson translates *by extension*. If, as we are told, Taino *ana* meant *flower*, then *flower*, in Tiano, was *flower by extension*.

The cognate material is far too slight for the finding of phoneme correspondences; yet we may note that in Taino as in Island Carib *r* often corresponds to *d* in Lokono, so: T *guarocoel*, IC *uárukuti*, L *uadukuti our grandfather*; T *cara-*, IC *kara-*, L *kadahaving skin*; T *guariquen*, IC *uarikaē*, L *uadike-our ear(s)*; T *hibuera / higuers*, IC *uíra*, L *iuida calabash*; T *burén*, IC *búrēle*, L *budali cassava griddle*. On the other hand, Taino agrees with Lokono and with Goajiro in having a prefixed marker of

first person singular with apical stop (T *dA-*, L *dA-*, G *tA-*) instead of nasal, as is the case in Island Carib (*nV-*), in Campa, and probably in a majority of Arawakan languages (whence the designation of the family as Nu-Arawak).⁶ Such systematic differences may prove to be of value when the grouping of Arawak languages on a linguistic basis is undertaken. But, among the several languages considered here, *n*, *l*, *r*, and *h* seem to be particularly unstable, and to be replaced one by another or by zero without apparent regularity; so, compar: T *-ahi-*, IC *ári*, L *ari tooth*; T *mahiz*, IC *márisi*, L *marisi maize*; T *nahe*, IC *néhene*, L *nalihe paddle*; T *bagua*, IC *baláua*, L *bara sea*.

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ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA INVENTORY. Prepared under the Chairmanship of A. L. Kroeber. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xv + 966.

AN APPRAISAL OF ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY. Edited by Sol Tax, Loren C. Eiseley, Irving Rouse, and Carl F. Voegelin. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xiv + 395.

These two volumes are the report of the International Symposium of Anthropology. The Wenner-Gren Foundation, on the occasion of its tenth anniversary in 1951, initiated the intricate planning necessary for this vast cooperative enterprise, in which the efforts of more than eighty anthropologists from all over the world were to be integrated for the purpose of surveying their discipline. It is to the credit of the Symposium's administrators that they managed to deal wisely and efficiently with the many delicate problems which would inevitably arise in a complex venture of this kind: to select outstanding scholars to plan the outlines of the conference, to

⁶ See Mason, *The Languages of South American Indians*, BAE-B 143, 6.209.