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A Note on the Derivation of the Word Cayman
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kan, M neto:na:kan. Fox also shows this contraction in at least one locative: ki:šeso:ki (ki:šesw- plus -e-ki) *in the sun.* There are also at least three good examples from stem formation. First, *kenw- *long* plus *-e-swi *be* combine to form *keno:swi- *be long:* K keno:θi-, M keno:se-, O kəno:si-. Fox kenosi- and Cree kinosi- reflect *kenweswi- (of uncertain antiquity), with the contraction leveled out. Second, *no:hsw- *follow, pursue* is replaced by *no:hso:- in C no:so:skawe:w *he follows after him* (with *-e-škaw *foot or body movement*) and in M nu:hsu:hkiwɛw *he pursues a woman* (with *-eθkwe:w *woman*). Compare M nu:hswaha:hnɛw *he pursues him by tracking* and O nosswaana (Baraga) *I follow his track.*[9] Third, *ni:sw- *two* is replaced by *ni:so:- in C ni:so:skwe:we:w *he has two wives* (with *-eθkwe:w *woman*) and in K niisookaa- *be two dancing* (with *-e-ka: *dance*).

Historically, these respective alternations of *y and *w with *i: and *o: arose from the respective contractions of pre-PA *eye and *ewe to *i: and *o: and a subsequent general loss of *e before semivowels.[10] The initial *e in these sequences is attested from Proto-Algic (ancestor of Algonquian, Wiyot, and Yurok) by its survival in Yurok. For example, compare PA *pemy-/Y pemey *oil* and PA *kenw-/Y knew- *long.* The contractions that took place before the loss of this *e result in long vowels, while those that took place after

its loss (in most of the daughter languages of PA) result in short vowels.[11]

In view of the origin of the alternations, it is hardly surprising to find some uncontracted sequences in PA: such uncontracted sequences reflect Proto-Algic *CyeC and *CweC versus contracted sequences reflecting *CeyeC and *CeweC. For example, when we compare PA *axkehkw- *kettle*/Y tkek'w(e'l) *pot,* we find no evidence of Proto-Algic *e before the *w. This explains O əkkikkonk *in the kettle* (reflecting uncontracted PA *axkehkwenki) and suggests an explanation for such evidently uncontracted sequences as those in PA *meqtekwenki *in the tree* and *eškwete:wi *fire* (see the first paragraph for cognates): PA *kw generally reflects a labiovelar stop in Proto-Algic rather than a sequence *kew. Hence, we should not expect often to find the alternation of PA *w to *o: after *k. Many PA nouns end in *kw, and their example no doubt favored the leveling out of the alternation generally in noun-final position (e.g., in locatives). Most of this leveling must date back to PA.

PA *waθany-/Y wəłəy- *bird's tail* suggests a final *ny cluster in Proto-Algic (with *n dropping before a consonant in Yurok). This explains M newa:na:nem *my bird's tail* (reflecting uncontracted PA *newaθanyemi) and Pe wálanəss *tail* (diminutive, reflecting *waθanyehši).[12]

For the present, we must content ourselves with these general insights, anecdotally illustrated. However, as more information becomes available on key languages—notably Yurok, Penobscot, and Kickapoo—we will surely be able to fill in many details.

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### A NOTE ON THE DERIVATION OF THE WORD CAYMAN

S.v. cay·man, cai·man, the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* states: "Kinds of large saurian of

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[9] R. R. Baraga, *A Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language*, 2d ed. (Montreal, 1878).

[10] This explains the odd PA doublet *wečye:wa/o:čye:wa *fly* (the former attested by C oce:w, M oci:w, Sh hoče, Ch hese, Ab wjawas (dim.), and the latter by O o:ci: and uD ú:ce). The latter is a reduplicated counterpart of the former, and pre-PA *wewe gave first *wo: then *o: (by the regular loss of *w before *o:—see Bloomfield, "Algonquian," sec. 18). The names of winged creatures are often reduplicated. The diminutive suffix reconstructed as PA *-e-yens must postdate the contraction of *eye. Perhaps pre-PA *-yens was preceded by connective *-e after some stems but not others. *-e-yens contracted to *-i:ns— which explains the mysterious M -e:hs (where M *-ɛ:hs was expected)—but was often restored by analogy with *-yens.

[11] Long and short high vowels merge in some languages, and in Delaware the merged vowels are written i: and u:.

[12] See Siebert, no. 214.

crocodile family...probably from Carib *acáyouman.*" Dutch kaaiman, French caïman, and Spanish caiman are given very similar glosses in dictionaries of those languages; and there can be little doubt that all are loan words, having had as model a Carib or a Cariban word which Breton, in his two-volume dictionary of Island-Carib, wrote "acáyouman" and glossed (without comment): "*un Caiman, Crocodil.*"[1] For all that, there is reason to think that Breton's interpretation of this word was inadequate, if not mistaken. There are not—nor are there known to have been—any caymans or crocodiles in Dominica; and in Guiana and Central America, where they abound, they are called /aka:re/ by the Karina and /agáre/ by the Black Carib (cf. Tupí yakare).

On the other hand, Black Carib /agáiumạ/ and Cariban Karina /oko:yumo/ (eastern dialect) or /oko:yumbo/ (western dialect) both refer to a *water spirit*, which, in its dealings with mankind, usually assumes human shape, but is said to be otherwise like a boa. Moreover, the latter Karina form contains, together with the noun oko:yu *snake*, a suffix -mbo, which in this context may be rendered *extraordinary, abnormal, not to be identified with the ordinary creature so called.* And if the suffixes -mạ of agáiumạ and -mo of oko:yumo can be shown to be dialectal variants of Karina -mbo, as seems to be the case (e.g., compare Black Carib mábiiga and Karina mo:pii ko *have you come?*—a greeting), it becomes easy to understand how the same word can refer to a *water spirit* in any guise, to an *anaconda*, and even (in some Cariban languages) to the *rainbow*.

So, Bouton was told that: "there is in Dominica a snake which makes itself now big, now small; that it has in the middle of its forehead a carbuncle or very brilliant stone which it removes when it wants to drink, and then puts back in place."[2] And an anony-mous *Relation* of 1647 reports:[3] "They all say that their first Kallinago [Carib] father, having left the mainland together with his family, settled in Dominica. There he had a long posterity, and saw the nephews of his nephews, who, in their extreme cruelty, killed him with poison. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akáyouman, and is still quite full of life in their river."

Akáyu (not listed in Breton's dictionary) was given to me as the Carib name of the river, now called Raymond or Madjini (the latter is creole patois for the manchneel tree), in which the Maître Tête-Chien *Master Boa* is still said to live; and Akáyu clearly is the Dominican form of modern Karina oko:yu *snake*.

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## TAINO BURÉN *Griddle* AND ITS CONGENERS

The complex operation by which the highly poisonous tubers of bitter manioc are transformed into staple food, drink, and condiment has given rise, in the languages of those who practice it, to a number of words designating the instruments employed (such as the *cassava-grater, press, sifter, griddle*) and their products (such as *juice, meal, bread*). One would expect the process itself, together with at least some of the words relating to it, to have been borrowed widely; and it may be possible in some cases to distinguish not only borrowed from inherited forms, but also the direction of the borrowing.

The Taino name for the *cassava-griddle,* according to our meager record of that language, was burén; and Breton's copious

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[1] Raymond Breton, *Dictionnaire françois-caraïbe* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 13, and *Dictionnaire caraïbe–françois* (Auxerre, 1665), p. 96.

[2] Jacques Bouton, *Relation de l'establissement des Francois depuis l'an 1635 en l'isle de la Martinique* (Paris, 1640), p. 108.

[3] Reproduced in Joseph Rennard, *Les Caraïbes; la Guadeloupe* (Paris, 1929), p. 46, and again in the *Bibliothèque de'histoire antillaise,* no. 3 (Guadeloupe, 1978), p. 52.