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Iwana ~ yuana iguana

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be no doubt that the two sets of suffixes are cognate; but their very limited use in the former language is sufficient to account for the petrification of -na (which later became quite obsolete) in seemingly unanalysable kalpuna.

Furthermore, in Lokono, according to de Goeje, clan names are formed by suffixing -na (or, for individual members, -di or -do as explained above) to the name of a place + -io, to that of a plant + -fo, or to that of an animal or plant + -ka. So, from *haiuaa incense tree* comes *haiuaafona incense-tree clan*, and from *barakata armadillo* comes *barakatakana armadillo clan* (cf. *aruajaguar* and the name *aruaka Arawak*). It therefore seems plausible to suggest that Lokono *kalifi-Carib* contains (or contained) *kaoi bitter manioc* as stem, together with a variant (or residue, whose vowel may have been assimilated to preceding /i/ after petrification) of -fo as in *kaiauaafona*. Lokono *f* (< *p* within the past hundred years) corresponds to Dominican Island Carib *p*, and the complete petrification of *kalpuna* in the latter language is to be explained by the fact that in it *manioc* was *káhi* (< **káli*). This last word, like Lokono *kanekidi manioc cuttings*, correspondences with Taino (see above) and a majority of the Arawakan names for manioc point to **kaniri* or *kanili* as a proto-form. The final morpheme of Taino *kanibal* is obscure, but may well have been cognate with Island Carib -ri and Lokono -di (see above).

So that, if the hypothesis outlined above should be correct, our 'cannibal' and 'Carib' go back to Arawakan designations describing some tribe or clan as *manioc people*. Had the original name been pejorative, as those applied to foreigners often are, it would not have been widely adopted, as it has been, by the people so designated. And this in turn suggests that those arch-enemies of historical times, the Arawaks and the Caribs, were once close friends, as their traditions indeed relate.

DOMINICA, B. W. I.

iwana ~ yuana iguana

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

Perhaps most native speakers of English have what amounts to a prejudice against identifying the initial and second phones of 'woo' and 'ye' as belonging to the same linear phonemes; and it is hardly surprising if similar non-English sounds have often been wrongly identified as *w* and *y*; for, as Sol Saporta has recently pointed out (in IJAL 23.110), 'surely there are at least some languages where they may be considered members of /u/ and /i/.' This appears to be or to have been the case in several Arawakan languages such as Taino, Lokono (True Arawak) and Island Carib (for the latter, v. 'Phonemes of the Hopkins Dialect of Island Carib' in IJAL 21.233-241). Such wrong identification may lead, in the case of loan-words or place-names, to the emergence of two distinct forms from what was one in the source language.

Spanish (and English) *iguana iguana* comes, we are told in the COD, 'f. Carib *iwana*'. The source language was of course Taino, which we believe to have been Arawakan, but [iɣána] was most probably what the first Spanish recorder of orthographic 'iguana' heard. On the other hand, we also find *yuana*, with the same meaning, recorded for the same language (Taino); while de Goeje gives *iuwana* as the name of the same animal in modern Lokono (in which stress is not distinctive). The Island Carib of Dominica (which lies midway between what were Taino and Lokono territories) seem to have called the *iguana* by a borrowed Cariban term, but what must have been its native name appears in Breton's dictionary as the stem (-yoána-) of a derived verb: *ayoánaca* (niábou) (*je vais à la chasse aux lézards*, and probably in the island-name: *Iouánacaéra Martinique*, which contains *acaéra île, pays*). It seems clear that the model for Spanish *iguana iguana* was, phonologically speaking, neither *iwana* nor *yuana*, but *iuana*; though why 'yoanna' should have

prevailed in Australia, and 'iguana' in the rest of the English-speaking world, I cannot say.

Of purely local interest is the identity of the St. Vincent place-name, Owia, with the Dominica river-name, Aóya (so spelled in Breton's dictionary, and today pronounced [aúja]—in three syllables); but it is a good illustration of the same phenomenon. The meaning of this work, /aúia/ or /aúia/, is *defence, guard, protection*; and stress must have wavered or shifted (with context, locality or time) so that now /u/ and now /i/ might be heard with syllabic peak, and the other high vowel as marginal.

DOMINICA, BRITISH WEST INDIES

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