



Spanish Hamaca and Its Congeners

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tions would reduce the degree of arbitrariness which characterize many typologies.

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SPANISH HAMACA AND ITS CONGENERS
DOUGLAS TAYLOR

In his book *The Arawak Language of Guiana* (Amsterdam, 1928; p. 235), the late C. H. de Goeje wrote:

It does not seem at all impossible, that the first European who saw an Indian hammock and asked the name for it, got the answer 'to sleep', A.M. *imaka, and that the word hamaka, which is met in a few vocabularies of A.M. languages, is really the Creole word. The Arawaks, though they know the word hamaka, have also a word of their own for a hammock.

This word, variously spelt 'ukura', 'okura', 'okora', though clearly cognate with its Island Carib equivalents, ékora (XVIIth-century Dominica) and -ógora (XXth-century British Honduras), is quite unlike Spanish hamaca *hammock*, which was borrowed from Taino. On the other hand, while I do not agree with de Goeje's reconstruction of the proto-form, his assemblage of Arawakan words for *sleep* makes it evident that most of them are cognates, and highly probable that Taino hamaka, whatever its meaning, is related to them. Compare: uatümaka (Manao), atüka (Goajiro), itiemeka (probably /itemeka/; Saraveca), temeka (Marauha), timana (Ariti), timka (Araicu), uatsima (probably /uatima/; Yavitero), tsima (Baniva), himaka (Palicur), himeka (Guana), hamaka (Ipeca), demakaini (Guinau), domakari (Bare), domakale (Arua), dau (Wapisiana), adonka (Lokono), arúka (Dominican Island Carib, XVIIth C), arúmuka (Dominican Island Carib, XXth C), arúmuga (British Honduran Island Carib, XXth C), remöka (Cujisenajeri), manimaka (Adzaneni), nui-maka (Amarizana), nimata (Passe), pikiemato (/pikemato/ by metathesis from /pitemako/? Yucuna), wemakya (Cauixana), uymaka (Jumana), iemaka (Tari-ana), imaka (Carutana, Ipurina, Piapoco,

Siuci), imakaua (Catapolitani), imoko (Baure, Mojo), imake (Mandauaca), amahe (Campa), imama (Arequena), maka (Ariti, besides timana), magha (Mariate), mka (Piro),—all meaning *sleep*.

Now in Island Carib all verbs are derived (primary or secondary) words, consisting of a base, which may or may not also occur as a free form of another class, together with verbalizing prefix and/or suffix. And if I am right in assuming this to have been true of the proto-language (in which all such bases presumably might occur also as free forms), I take it that -ka of the words for *sleep* in so many Arawakan languages is or was a verbalizing suffix, and that base and verb coincide in Baniva tsima *sleep*. Moreover, comparison of these with other cognates belonging to the same languages (e.g., Palicur aha:Lokono ada:Yavitero *ata tree, stick or wood*; Palicur tipa:Lokono, Mandauaca and Yavitero siba:Baniva, Carutana and Yucuna hipa *stone*; Palicur isiki:Mojo iciki:Lokono and Campa itika *excrement*; Palicur tiket: Saraveca tik(i)ahi: Mapidian čikasi:Goajiro sikh:Lokono hikihi *fire*) makes it probable that the proto-language had at least two and possibly three apical stops, *d, *t, *th, and that the base of the verb meaning *sleep* contained the first of these. Tentatively, I should reconstruct this base as *-duima-, giving Lokono -don- (< *-doma-) and Island Carib -ru- ~ -rumu- (< *-ruma-).

This immediately calls to mind, semantic difficulties notwithstanding, the themes: Lokono -(o)doma *because of*, Goajiro -(u)-tuma *by (the agency of)*, Island Carib -(u)-ruma *by (the agency of), because of, for the sake of*, and Lokono -(o)ma, Goajiro -(u)ma, Island Carib -(u)ma, all meaning *together with*; both sets combining with the person-marker prefixes to form what in the last-named language are morphological nouns. If, as seems possible, members of the first set contain those of the second set, they may also contain a morpheme in common with Lokono -doli *root* and -dora *rib*, Island

Carib úrule and urú(h)ule (which have the same meanings). Elsewhere we find Lokono -hodo- *bent* or *bowed down* and Island Carib uru- *sunken* ('*enfonceé*'). Merging of the concepts 'lower level' and 'determining principle, support' is common in many languages, as in the English verb to found and its derivatives; and it is at least possible that a morpheme having both these senses combined with another meaning *in company of or relation to* to form the bases of what have become modern Central American Island Carib arúmuga *to sleep*, burúma *because of thee* (or *by thy agency*), together with these words' equivalents in many Arawakan languages, including Taino hamaka, whence borrowed Spanish hamaca and our English hammock.

DOMINICA, BRITISH WEST INDIES

LANGUAGES AND GHOST-LANGUAGES
OF THE WEST INDIES: A POST-
SCRIPT

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

In a note recently published under the above title, I said (IJAL 22, p. 182) that what little was known of the languages of Trinidad appeared to be contained in de Laet's short word-lists of Arawak, Shebayo, and Jaoui (or Iaoui). Fortunately, I was mistaken; for no sooner had I dispatched that ms. than R. W. Thompson of the U.C.W.I. (Jamaica) very kindly sent me copies of other lists and data, relevant details of which are given below.

In THE VOYAGE OF ROBERT DUDLEY . . . TO THE WEST INDIES, 1594-1595 (Ed. George F. Warner; Hakluyt Soc. 2nd series No. 3; London, 1899), Dudley lists on p. 78 of his narrative 'certaine wordes of the language of Trinidad which I obserued at my being there' (67 entries); and Capt. Wyatt, who took part in the same voyage, gives 27 words of 'Aroaca, *sermo Indianus*' on p. 65 of his own narrative, contained in the same volume. The words of both these lists (as well as those of one of the three

recorded in 1598 by de Laet) evidently belong to the same language, which appears to be identical with that called Lokono or True Arawak, now spoken in British and Dutch Guiana.

On the other hand, A. Vazquez de Espinosa gives scraps of various languages in Chapter XVI of his COMPENDIUM (published in 1629); and on p. 95 we find: 'La nacion de los Indios de la isla Trinidad, llamada Nepuya, y los de la Provincia de Guayana, hablan casi una misma lengua', followed by ten short phrases and words apparently belonging to a Cariban language. He then goes on to 'La nacion Arauaca que habita cerca de la bocas del rio Orinoco', and gives (there and on p. 186) twenty-one words of their language, which appears to be Lokono of an only slightly (if at all) different variety from that recorded by Dudley and Wyatt in Trinidad.

Since not all of the above-mentioned sources may be easily accessible to the interested reader, this material (except for the Jaoui list, a copy of which I have not got) is reproduced below. Native forms are given in the spelling of their recorder, as are Vazquez' Spanish translations; but Dudley's English and Wyatt's and de Laet's Latin are rendered into modern English. Nor do I list all the items in their original order. Abbreviations employed are: D (Dudley), W (Wyatt), L (de Laet), V (Vazquez). Forms given in parentheses without other mention are modern Lokono; those preceded by IC are Island Carib of XVIIth-century Dominica.

Shebayo of Trinidad, L: heja *father*, hamma *mother*, wackewijrrij *our heads* (Goajiro ekiwi *head*), wackenoey *our ears*, noeyerri (*my?*) *eyes*, wassi (uasiri) *our noses*, darrymailly (*my?*) *mouth* (IK iuma, Uirina luma, *mouth*), wadacoely *our teeth* (Wapisiana dako, Atorai dak, *tooth/teeth*), watabaye *our legs*, wackehyrry *our feet* (Atorai kheti *foot/feet*), ataly (ada) *tree*, hoerapallii *bow*, hewerry *arrows*, kyrtzyrre (Mapidian