

**Hiwatahia Hekexi Taino Ahianiwa,
Grammar, History, and Vision Part 1 of 3
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December 25, 2023**

First note: How this paper came to be.

This paper derived from a compilation of notes taken throughout many years as I took on the challenge of Taino language revitalization.

Before I continue, I think I should state the obvious: I am not a linguist, expert, or scholar by any stretch of the imagination. I cannot pretend to be what I am not, and the fact that I have bad English grammar! I am, however, a pretty good researcher. I am also lucky to be good friends with a fantastic researcher, Rene Liciaga Perez. His attention to detail and ability to remember everything he reads is uncanny. His input is tremendous.

The fact that I am not a linguist kept me from attempting language work for a long time. For over 30 years, I investigated and dutifully recorded every Tainan word I could identify. Eventually, it became clear that I was running in circles. After reading academic papers online and purchasing several books, I contacted renowned linguists Dr. Alexandra Aikhenvald and Dr. Konrad Rybka. They opened their fantastic world of linguistics to me without prejudice or hesitation, and I positively realized how fascinating, albeit highly complex, linguistics is.

A thought crept into my mind. With all its confusing grammar, syntax, and complexities, languages were developed and evolved by ordinary people such as me, not by linguists. Most fluent speakers in the Amazon, for example, know less about the technical aspects of language than I do, yet they developed their languages naturally, which is a very comforting thought. I had always imagined I needed a Ph.D. in Linguistics to attempt such an audacious project. I soon discovered all that is required is honest guidance and perseverance.

Initially, I contacted Dr. Aikhenvald because I disagreed with a small comment in one of her books. I wrote to her and to my surprise she responded. We became fast friends. Through her, I met Dr. Konrad Rybka, another fantastic scholar. I imagined proto-Arawak's origins on the banks of the Orinoco and its subsequent movement up and down the river, through the jungles and savannas, gradually changing, evolving through time, and ultimately morphing into new dialects, languages, and branches. What drives a person or people to change the pronunciation of a word? I'm sure the experts have the answers. I was, however, careful not to bother my new friends too much.

While the COVID-19 epidemic was horrible, it was also the perfect time to work on Hiwatahia.

The Zoom App. was taking off, and we took full advantage of it. I began introducing Higuayagua members to my ideas on language. Admittedly, I was somewhat hesitant at first. They were expecting the familiar, while I considered an entirely different approach to language development. Each day showed me how flawed the surviving language was.

The interest and enthusiasm were extraordinarily high, and the excitement was contagious. We formed eleven groups of 4-5 participants each. Each group was tasked with learning pro-nouns first, followed by simple phrases, such as:

Good morning, my wife. - Usa mauka da eneneri (Ooh-sah-mah-oo-kah-dah-eh-neh-neh-ree)

I see you –D’arikawa bu (dah-ree-kah-wah-boo)

Good morning, my husband. --- Usa mauka da eixin (Ooh-sah-mah-oo-kah-dah-eh-ee-shin)

I see you too – D’arikawa bu ke (dah-ree-kah-wah-boo-keh)

Are you hungry? Do bu hamu'ei? -- (Doh-boo-hah-moo-ei)

Members could not get enough! Soon, the questions became positively overwhelming. I felt evolution at work; Hiwatahia was morphing into something new. It was an unexpected turn of events. I often joke that my people went from asking, "How do we say "spider" to "How do we say antidisestablishmentarianism?!"

Some individuals soon pulled in front of others. Those with an overabundance of questions seemed to learn slower than those who trudged forward. During this time, we formed an additional language team to help document what we had learned:

Susan Yon-Rodriguez de Hilt - created nursery songs in the language.

Jesse Hurani Marrero - added all the grammatical bits and pieces to the words, n.-adv.- adj.-v etc.

Mellisa Kae Marin created Excel spreadsheets for all word groups.

Elba Iris Spires- made flash cards with phrases or individual words on an app called Quizlet.

Nelson Kaomarix Zayas was always ready to support by providing language material, and advice on English grammar.

Luis Jaime Rodriguez Reynoso – provided technical support as well as graphic design. We lost more than half of the participants within the first three months. But this was anticipated; learning a language that hasn't been created yet is not easy! Those who continued participating and asking questions helped iron out inconsistencies and other details. Hiwatahia began taking its current form from that moment on.

The Hiwatahia Language Project

The Hiwatahia language began as a modest project by this author and Higuayagua Taino community members. The goal was simple: revitalize the Taino language, albeit limitedly, so that our community could understand how our ancestors spoke and communicated. In addition, the community wanted to, at the very least, share in a native language, however restricted it may be. There were no wild expectations.

The project got underway with a collection of Taino books on hand containing extensive word lists or books on Taino language analysis (none written by actual linguists). It was not the first attempt. Taino groups had been struggling to revitalize the language for years. This hunger for a Native Caribbean language stretched back several decades.

Journeying through the Arawak language was enlightening but inevitably disappointing. Although most community members were bilingual, none were linguists. Navigating Arawak language books taught us how beautiful the language family truly is. It also gave the community a sense of pride.

It is a humbling experience when extensive research and due diligence reveal how limited the answers to your query genuinely are.

The more we understood Arawak, the less Taino linguistic continuity was to be found in the Caribbean.

The Spaniards blundered in how they recorded Classic Taino from the very beginning. Edward Gaylord Bourne states the following in his English translation of Fray Ramon Pane's "An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians" :

*At best the spelling of these names offers much perplexity. Ramon wrote down in Spanish the sounds he heard, Ferdinand, unfamiliar with the sounds, copied the names and then still later Ulloa equally unfamiliar with the originals copied them into his Italian. In such a process there was inevitably some confusion of u and n and of u and v, (Spanish b.) In the Italian text v is never used, it is always u. In not a few cases the Latin of Peter Martyr and the Spanish of Las Casas give us forms much nearer to those used by Ramon than the Italian.*¹

In other words, many recorded words are wrong. Words have either been mispronounced, Hispanicized, or misinterpreted and in some cases, non-Tainan words have been masqueraded as indigenous.

¹ Columbus, Ramon Pane and the beginnings of American Anthropology. pg. 9 by Edward Gaylord Bourne

A brief history of the Taino reclamation movement-

The Taino identity reclamation movement began like a sudden, powerful lightning storm. It started in the late 1980's with a small group of Puerto Ricans in New York City and spread like wildfire to every corner of the Caribbean and its diaspora. As more and more people associated themselves with this forbidden identity, the stronger the hunger and desire to revive our native culture and language became.

But how? The Classic Taino (CT) language had ceased to be spoken several hundred years before. Literature on the subject always begins with the tragic narrative "Taino is an extinct language."²

Excluding the Garifuna people, who managed to retain their language and were forcibly removed and transplanted from St. Vincent to Central America by the English, the Spaniards had thoroughly erased the languages of all the Indigenous peoples of the Caribbean they subjugated.

Even imported enslaved Africans were subject to language erasure. African dialects arriving to the region, such as Igbo, Ibibio, Kongo, Fon, Yoruba, and Akan (Ashanti, Akyem Fante, and Bono), were erased by the colonizers who forbade Indians and Africans from speaking their tongues. Cimarron (runaway) Indians and Africans did preserve some words. However, Spanish became the forced, dominant, unifying language. In addition, it was the only written language. Therefore, Hispanicized Taino words were audibly and visually ingrained in the population during and after the colonial period, roughly 528 years.

In the 1980s, I compiled a list of Tainan words from books and the rural areas of Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico. Within a few short years, nearly 3200 words had been amassed. Hundreds of words were found in Emilio Tejera's "Palabras Indigenas de Santo Domingo," Cayetano Coll y Toste's "Prehistoria de Puerto Rico" and "Cuba Indigena" by Nicolas Fort y Roldan. Soon after, books such as "An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians," by Fray Ramon Pane - Edited by Jose Juan Arrom, and Irving Rouse's "Taino: The Rise and Decline of the People Who Met Columbus," as well as several other notable works surfaced.

What is Classic Taino?

The Taino language is a Ta-Maipurean language. Linguists have established that Maipurean languages are part of the broader Macro-Arawak language family, the most widespread Amerindian language group in Latin America and quite possibly the Western Hemisphere. The name Arawak was applied to native peoples from Venezuela, Guyana, Suriname, and French Guyana. The people call themselves Lokono, and their language is Lokono dian. In time, the term Arawak became associated with the entire language family.

² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ta%C3%ADno_language

Filippo Salvatore Gilij first recognized the language family in 1780 –1784.³ According to Dr. Aikhenvald “The highest number of recorded Arawak languages is centered in the region between the Rio Negro and the Orinoco. This is potentially a strong linguistic argument in favor of the Arawak proto home having been located there.”⁴

Macro-Arawak classifications are grouped by regions, (Dr. Alexandria Y. Aikhenvald)⁵:

: North of the Amazon- N=North		
N1 Nuclear Uapi	N1a Baniwa of Icana-Kurripako N1b Tariana N1c Guarequna N1d Piapoco N1e Kawiyari N1f Resigaro	
N2 Circum-Uapi	N2a Achagua N2b Yucuna N2c Guaru	
N3 Xie Guainia	N3a Warekena of Xie N3b Baniva of Guainia N3c Yavitero	
N4 Bare Guinau	N4a Bare N4b Guinau	
N5 Bahuana N6 Kaishana N7 Maipure N8 Manao		
N9 Oiapoque	N9a Palikur N9b Marawan N9c Aruan/Aroa	
N10 Rio Branco	N10a Wapishana N10b Mawayana	

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Gilij, Filippo Salvatore. 1780–1784. *Saggio di storia americana; o sia, storia naturale, civile e sacra dei regni, e delle provincie spagnuole di Terra-ferma nell'America Meridionale descritto del abate F. S. Gilij*. 4 vols. Rome: Iluigi Perego.

⁴ <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199772810/obo-9780199772810-0119.xml#obo-9780199772810-0119-bibItem-0004>

⁵ **Alexandra Yurievna "Sasha" Aikhenvald** (*Eichenwald*) FAHA is an Australian-Brazilian^[1] linguist specializing in linguistic typology and the Arawak language family (including Tariana) of the Brazilian Amazon basin. She is a professor at the James Cook University.

		N10c Atorai	
Ta-Arawak and Caribbean			
Ta-Maipurean, uses the pronominal prefix Ta			
N11 Venezuela to Suriname		N11a Wayuu-Naiki N11b Añun Parauhano N11c Lokono	
The N12 classification is also known as nu-Arawakan. It uses the common Na pronominal prefix			
N12a		Dominica – Kalinago/Igneri	
N12b		Garifuna	
South of the Amazon- S=South			
S1 Piro-Apurina		S1a Piro or Yine S1b Apurina-Ipurina-Cangati S1c Iñapuri	
S2 Chamicuro-Yanesha		S2a Yanesha or Amesha S2b Chamicuro	
S3 Kampa	Southern Kampa	S3a Nomatsiguena or Nomatsigenka S3b Nanti S3c Machiguenga or Matsigenka	
	Northern Kampa	S3d Caquinte S3e Asheninka S3f Ashaninka S3g Perene	
S4- Pareci-		S4a Pareci or Haliti S4b Saraveca	
S5 Xingu		S5a Wauja or Waura S5b Mehinaku S5c Yawalpiti S5d Custenau	
S6 Southern Brazil		S6a Terena S6c Kinikinao S6c Guana or Layana S6d Chane or Izoceño S6e Saluma, or Enawene-nawe	
S7 Bolivian Arawak		S7a Baure S7b Mojo languages S7c Pauna languages; Paunaka-Paikoneka	

Classic Taino (CT) belongs to N11 Ta-Maipurean Arawak branch. Shebayo and Coquetio are believed to have been N11 as well.

While speculative, Nu-Arawakan may have been spoken to a limited degree on the larger islands. On several occasions, Christopher Columbus observed regional tonal differences among the Taino people on Hispaniola. The people in the southern region spoke softer, in more melodic tones, while in the North, it was rougher and guttural, yet they all understood one another.

Dr. Aikhenvald, arguably one of the top Arawak linguists in the world, explained to this author during a private conversation that "Arawak languages vary wildly in their syntax. It is a vast family based on the rigorous comparative method. Arawak languages can be compared to Indo-European in terms of diversity and time depth. So, you can appreciate – those languages such as English, Spanish, Hindi, and Farsi do not have the same syntax. Arawak does not either. Arawak languages share pronouns and pronominal markers that are very clearly traceable to the proto-Arawak language and a few other markers of grammatical categories (e.g., possessive markers and gender markers). Taino has enough of them to be recognized as Arawak, plus - there is lexicon.

Taino is undoubtedly Arawak in grammar and lexicon, but little to nothing is known of its syntax! Arawak languages have between 300 and 400 shared lexemes; Taino has kept a few."

As with many Arawak dialects, Classic Taino was agglutinating, meaning a word with several morphemes could be changed to create a new word. An example in Hiwatahia:

English – Milky way
Hiwatahia - Harutukuma
From- white- haruti , star- tukuya, road- uma

English – Refrigerator
Hiwatahia – Kurusibadilo
From - Cold-kurula, Ice – kusiba, box – badi- er suffix- lo

English: This is a big dog.
Beginner Hiwatahia- Toho le aba b'aon
Advanced Hiwatahia - Aon ba toho le

Aon=Dog + Li = male + Ba= big/abundant
B'aonli= Big male dog
Aon li ba= male dog big

Classic Taino was also slightly polysynthetic. A single big word can contain many smaller words. An example of a polysynthetic word is the Yupik *tuntussuqatarniksaitengqiggtuq*, which translates to "He had not yet repeated that he was going to hunt reindeer."

Caribbean street Spanish tends to do this same thing.
Proper Spanish- "como estas hermano, esta todo bien??"
Caribbean street" que lo quemantato?"

This example is not to suggest that Caribbean Spanish is polysynthetic but rather that our people find it easy to speak in this manner.

The Spaniards had no way of knowing that CT was so complex. Thus, they may have been recording an entire sentence as one word! In addition, there is an orthographical problem, which makes it easy to conclude that words recorded by Spanish chroniclers are highly unreliable.

Problems and solutions on the road to construction

After many decades of a relentless search for Taino language words, it became increasingly evident that there were certain limitations surrounding Taino language revitalization. The most abundant Taino words still used today are topographical; Caribbean wide, they number in the thousands. The problem, however, is that colonizers usually adopt the place names of the people they conquered.

It is true, however, that some place names were retained by the descendants of the Indigenous peoples, who passed them down to their children. According to this author's grandmother, Olympia Estevez's recollection of the family's hometown, "My grandparents moved from Cruce de Guayacan, to a place named "Guabal" (indigenous word). At some point, a road was built through the middle of the village, dividing it in two. One side became Jaibon (Indigenous word), and the other became Laguna Salada (Spanish). We have family on both sides." While it is true that invaders will continue to use native place names, it is rare for them to rename a place with an Indigenous word; this is especially true with the Spanish, who enthusiastically Christianized people, places, and things.

Problem # 1

The Classic Taino language is extinct, academically, an undeniable fact. The language or languages spoken during the contact period are gone. Many Taino descendants find this hard to accept; after all, people have conjugated continuing Taino words in ever-creative ways with limited success for decades.

Some people in the Taino community are so accustomed to Hispanicized Taino words that they cannot recognize the same term if spelled using different syllables. They wholeheartedly prefer the Hispanicized words, a great deal of which are the result of linguistic transculturation.

The colonizers adopted Taino words for things unfamiliar to them. Some Classic Taino words did get passed down due to unions between Indigenous women and Spanish or African men. In addition, many words believed to be indigenous are not.

One good example comes from the Dominican Republic. The term "Pariguayo" describes a foolish person. It is an example of a Hispanicized English phrase, "party watcher." It evolved from party watcher, eventually morphing into pariguayo. The familiar "guayo" in the word makes it appear as if it were indigenous when, in fact, it is not. The Taino "Wayo," spelled guayo by the Spanish, makes Pariguayo incorrectly appear indigenous. This word was coined in 1965 during the American occupation of the island. What is remarkable is that in 40 years, this word has encroached on every corner of the island.

The solution to the 1st problem

While academia states that Classic Taino is extinct, Taino descendants maintain the language is merely asleep. What is certain is that all languages evolve and change over time. Had CT survived intact, it would not be the same today as before colonization. Languages are always in a state of fluidity. Continuing migrations to the region drove linguistic and cultural changes. Before European arrival, the Cariban/Kalina peoples were moving up the island chain, conquering, absorbing, or being absorbed by Arawak groups in the region. Thus, it is not hard to imagine what Taino would have been like if more numerous and powerful Arawak nations had migrated to the area before European arrival.

But arrive they did, disrupting an Indigenous melting pot 6,000 years in the making. Continuing Indigenous languages such as the Garifuna/Garinagu (N12b) were already a mixture of Arawak and Cariban/Kalina. Soon after contact, African languages, as well as English and Spanish, were absorbed into the mix, giving rise to the Garifuna of today, one of the most unique languages in the world. Spanish, English, and Garifuna evolved from the 15th century to modern times.

This language became the inspiration for Hiwatahia. In the same way, other indigenous languages absorbed English or Spanish, creating a new dialect, we could absorb closely related Arawak languages. Of course, this meant closely studying all available literature on the subject. In addition, we dare not forget, like it or not, that we have 528 years of Spanish/English/African influences, meaning that some words may not have an indigenous origin, e.g., the word for dog in Wayuu-naiki is Peero, which comes from Spanish perro for example. We decided to Indigenize words wherever possible; others we left as they were.

Ultimately, as noted earlier, 3200 CT words were collected. 193 campesino (rural) words of probable Arawak origin were uncovered and added as well. A seemingly enormous number of words, but not enough to revitalize a dialect. It was apparent that adopting words from closely related languages was vital.

Some polemics in the Taino community revolve around which Arawak language is closest to Classic Taino.

1) Some baseless beliefs suggest that Nu-Arawakan is closer to Taino, an erroneous assumption that posits Kalinago (Kalina/Igneri) is the result of "Caribs" intermarrying with captured Taino women.

The Facts: The so-called Carib raids could not have been as frequent as imagined by the chroniclers. The Taino in Boriken (Puerto Rico) successfully drove out invading raiders. The apparent reason for their success was fierceness and population size. The invaders needed stealth and numbers to overwhelm their intended victims. That is hard to do on the larger islands.

In Kiskeya (Dominican Republic) the population was higher than that of Boriken. How many Carib canoes would it take to invade an island with 100,00 people?

The Kalina most likely intermarried and were absorbed by the archaic Igneri people (this name was applied to them in modern times).⁶

⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Igneri>

2) Still others believe the Igneri/Iyeri who lived in lived in AD100 (2000 years) are the people who lived in Dominica when the Kalina (Caribs) arrived:

The Facts: Iyeri/Igneri is an archaeological term, not necessarily cultural or linguistic. There is no way to know these people we call Igneri or Iyeri were one single ethnic/language group. We face this same dilemma in the Taino community, where many believe Tainos are one single ethnic group when, in fact, archaeological evidence reveals much diversity within a single island. Archaeological investigations in the area between Isabela and Puerto Plata in the Dominican Republic have shown that a multitude of cultures can be recognized within the same strata.⁷

3) Still, others incorrectly claim that Taino was closer to N12b Nu-Arawakan than N11 branches.

The Facts: According to most experts, Classic Taino is in fact Ta-Mapueran N11.⁸

It's possible that perhaps, after splitting, some groups rejoined, creating yet more branches, using different variations of the Ta or Na for the first-person singular prefix. This author feels that it is indeed possible that both forms were spoken in the larger islands, but without definite evidence this is speculation.

What we know for certain is the following:

Caribbean Indigenous languages with substantial documentation, such as Garifuna/Garinagu, Kalinago/a.k.a Island Carib/Igneri, and the limited Classic Taino, are all closer to Lokono than they are to each other.

Dr. Silvia Kouwenberg, states that Classic Taino shares more cognates with Lokono than with any other Arawak Language.⁹ Historically, the only trained linguist ever to study Classic Taino was Douglas Taylor. He studied Taino superficially and only in comparison to Kalinago, as his area of expertise was Creole languages, Island Carib, and Garifuna. His analysis also confirms this.

Choosing languages for our experiment

Our first choices, of course, were N11c Lokono, N11a Wayuu, and N11b Añun Parauhano. Both N11a and N11b are closely related. We also borrowed from N10a Wapishana and even a few words from N10b Atorai. N1a Baniwa and N1b Tariana. The most complex decision was choosing between N12a Kalinago/Igñeri and N12b Garifuna. The latter was ultimately selected due to its historical evolution. Lastly, S5a Waura/Wauja and S5c Yawalpiti contributed little, but were valuable, nonetheless. Three to four words were borrowed from Akawaio, a Kalina language.

Personal note-

⁷ Private conversation with this authors niece, Diana Peña-Bastalla, phd UCSD

⁸ Private conversation with Dr. Konrad Rybka.

⁹ Taino's linguistic affiliation with mainland Arawak. 2010 Silvia Kouwenberg University of the West Indies 2010

Our native ancestors were subject to attempted genocide; they were raped and robbed, pillaged, and plundered, and endured horrible diseases, slavery, and ultimately assimilation, but we survived. The Taino people are strong and resilient; descendants can survive correcting past mistakes and Euro-centric narratives. The modern-day Taino had accepted the extinction myth, ultimately rising and challenging the narrative. We also received versions of our language and spirituality exactly how the colonizers "dutifully" recorded them, yet most of us never questioned the validity and integrity of these Eurocentric narratives, until now.

Problem # 2

History occurs in the blink of an eye when reading it from a book, but it takes a lifetime, if not several when actual events occur. The Caribbean was not subjugated overnight. The Taino language did not die out within a single generation. We know from the Spanish chronicles that 40% of the recognized wives (not counting concubines) Spanish men were, in fact, Taino women. Taino men and women were needed to explore the island's interiors, caves, and mountains.¹⁰ Yet transculturation occurred in only one direction, from Taino to Spanish. The colonizers were not interested in learning Taino. According to Friar Bartolome de las Casas, a first-hand eyewitness, the only words the Spanish learned in the Native tongue were "give the bread here," go to the mines, take out gold. "(site). He mentions only one man who learned to communicate with the Indians, a sailor from Palos or Moguer called Cristobal Rodriguez, the interpreter.¹¹

Sadly, only a few Taino sentences and phrases were ever chronicled by the Spanish. That sentences and phrases recorded by the Spanish are incomplete is a vast understatement. There is no way to verify whether the translations were exact, approximate, or even understood. The spelling alone makes these words suspect and nearly impossible to verify. The following are the only known recorded Classic Taino sentences and phrases:

- (a) O, káma, waxeri, wariké Caona yari. (O, hear, sir, we see gold jewels.
- (b) Waiba, sinato makabuka wamekina. (Let us go; it is not important that our lord is upset.)
- (c) Ahiacabo, Arocoel. (You have spoken, grandfather.)
- (d) Mayani macana, Juan Esquivel daka. (Do not kill me, Juan Esquivel I am.)
- (e) Dios naboria daka. (God, His worker I am) * note* "Dios" appears in Spanish.(f) Teketa sinato wamechina. (Our lord is very upset.)¹²

¹⁰. From Lynne Guitar's "Cultural Genesis: Relationships between Indians, Africans and Spaniards in Rural Hispaniola in the first half sixteenth century" dissertation, December 1998, Nashville, Tennessee.

¹¹ Fray Ramon Pane "An account of the antiquities of the Indians" see pages 54-67 by Bartolome de las Casas

The sentences above are obviously flawed. Some words are Spanish, and others are heavily Hispanicized.

Unlike North America, where audio recordings for indigenous languages exist, there are no Taino audio recordings. Mainland tribes who held on to their tongues into the 19th century recorded many songs, prayers, and stories. Among the earliest known ethnographic field recordings are Passamaquoddy songs and narratives by Joel Josephs and Peter Selmore, recorded by Jesse Walter Fewkes in Calais, Maine, in March 1890. In 1925, Francis Densmore recorded is Pigeon's "Menominee Stories of the cultural hero Manabus."¹³ In more recent times, wax cylinder recordings of the Ohlone and Matsun peoples of California helped these tribes revitalize their language, which had not been spoken since 1930. The Taino have neither audio nor written accounts of the language.

Personal note: Lead Higuayagua researcher Rene Liciaga Perez and this author have identified a disturbing amount of possible Catalan or Hispanicized words masquerading as "Taino Words" in Friar Ramon Pane's "An Account on Antiquities of the Indians." We will publish our findings after conferring with trained linguists soon.

The solution to problem # 2

Perhaps believing the extinction narrative, some linguists, although curious, were not inspired enough to work exclusively on the intricacies and mysteries of the language. Was there indeed a single Caribbean-wide language understood by all? Or were there several closely related languages? Columbus certainly believed there was a universal language in the Caribbean. It may have been a trade pidgin, or a single language spoken by a diverse Arawak people. Having arrived at a crossroads after realizing how little is known of Classic Taino, its grammar, and syntax, we decided to explore the possibilities of adopting verbs, nouns, and grammar from other Arawak dialects. In a private conversation with our friend and advisor, Dr. Konrad Rybka, advised -" Linguists can help you document, explain how linguistics works, or even help revitalize endangered languages, but we cannot help you create a new native tongue. Whatever you decide must come from you."

Rather than appropriate the grammatical rules of another language, we decided to develop our grammar subject to its own laws. By creating our own rules, we freed ourselves from being subject to the laws/regulations of other languages and giving us full language autonomy.

Personal note:

It is pretty apparent today that our rural people have retained Taino words, cadences, and some syllables. In Cuba's eastern regions of Camaguey and Baracoa, Lares, Boriken (Puerto Rico) and

¹² Voces de Bohio- Vocabulario de la Cultura Taina by Rafael Garcia Bido- Segunda Ediciom (ampliada y corregida) 2014.

¹³ <https://blogs.loc.gov/folklife/2013/11/indigenous-american-cylinder-recordings-and-the-american-folklife-center/#:~:text=Among%20these%20are%20the%20earliest,%2C%20Maine%2C%20in%20March%201890.>

in particular the Cibao region of Kisikeya (Dominican Republic) rural peoples tend to convert R's and L's into I's for e.g. :

Spanish - Vamos a ver que se va hacer y que aye de comer.

Dominican/Caribbean - Vamo a vei que se ba hacei y que se va comei.

In the Caribbean version, dropping the S's and converting the V sound to B is probably of African inheritance. But converting R & L to Ei is probably Indigenous. The closely related Wayuu'naiki does this, too, as many words in that language end in this sound. However, in the Dominican Republic, it is erroneously suggested that this peculiar "ei" sound is due to Galician Spanish influence.

Problem # 3

Most Taino words recorded by the Spanish are heavily Hispanicized. 15th-century Spanish orthography complicates the search for root words because Spanish orthography was not standardized until 1750. For 258 years, chroniclers, historians, academia, etc., spelled and respelled Taino words without phonetic guidance. Each time they did, vowels changed or were moved around. U's became V's, V's became B's, etc. It is challenging enough to identify a word, let alone attempt translation, when we do not know the correct sound. Taino words with syllables such as GUA- AO-OA EL sound Spanish even to non-Hispanics because they are! A more accurate way of pronouncing these syllables should be WA-AWO-OWA-EI.

A glance at any Ta-Arawak language dictionary, be it Lokono Dian, Wayuunaiki, or a Rio Branco branch such as Wapishana Paradan, or the more distantly related Tariana of Uapui branch, reveals that none of these Arawak languages contain words that begin with the letter G to make the Gua sound. All recorded Classic Taino words rely heavily on these Spanish syllables.

Examples:

Spanish words with Gua	Hispanicized Taino	Hiwatahia Taino
Guata	Guanabana	Wanabana
Guardia	Guaiza	Waisa
Guante	Guama	Wama
Guapo	Guamao	Wamao
Guarida	Guaitiao	Waitiao
Guarismo	Guabancex	Wabansex

Solutions to problem # 3

All borrowed words were strategically chosen. The reasoning was simple: change the spelling of all surviving Taino words, rural words of Indigenous origin, and borrowed words based on their phonology. e.g.,

Hispanicized Taino – Caguana vs. Hiwatahia Taino - Kawana

Hispanicized Taino- Canoa vs. Hiwatahia Taino-Kanowa

Hispanicized Taino – Caona vs. Hiwatahia Taino - Kawona

Hispanicized Taino – Cibao vs. Hiwatahia Taino – Sibawo

Personal note:

Our community used and regurgitated Hispanicized words for nearly 40 years. Dutifully, we read anything and everything from Caribbean archaeology, culture, art, and history. But there was little language for obvious reasons.

The insatiable hunger for language was powerful. During this time, poetry and songs were written, sung, and narrated using words just as the Spaniards had recorded them. What little we had strengthened our identities and community.

Few of us considered that these words were barely studied, in some cases even verified, at least not by trained linguists. They were taken at face value by all of us. But somewhere in our minds and hearts, we knew something was wrong. Why was there so much difference?

Discarding the upper layer, looking profoundly, and searching for truth became our war cry.

Problem #4

Aside from a few recorded sentences that reveal little of the Taino language, most existing words are names for material objects, topography, or native flora and fauna. Those working on language revitalization hit a wall when confronted with this reality.

Indeed, a few verbs may be embedded in some of these classic words; however, considering the aforementioned orthographical issues, a broader word list is needed to analyze and possibly partially decipher CT.

Solution to problem # 4

The most straightforward argument that can be made for an early loss of the Taino language is the fact that 98% of all Tainan words today are nouns. It demonstrates that the Spanish adopted words for unfamiliar items rather than Taino linguistic continuity.

We have already concluded that the only way to reconstruct Taino was to create a new modern Tainan language, created by descendants for descendants. Whatever can be salvaged will be integrated into Hiwatahia in honor of our ancestors.

Personal note:

The only way for descendants to develop language is to let go of an unclear language past and embrace a new modern path rooted in the past yet looking towards the future.

Problem # 5

Spanish syllables drastically altered CT word pronunciation during the colonial period; this and other realizations prompted us to make tough decisions. However, as daunting as this appeared, we decided to look at language reconstruction from a different vantage point.

Solution to problem # 5

Unless a long-lost Taino language manuscript appears to guide us, what remains of Taino is all that there is. Having abandoned hope on a straightforward route, we sought inspiration by other means.

The original goal was to have an easy, everyday language for members of Higuayagua. We quickly found that our people's commitment to language unwavering.

Nested-Identity

Refers to the idea that a person or community can have interconnected and interdependent identities. It emphasizes the multifaceted complexity of people's natures. This concept fascinated this author after reading about it in Alexandra Aikhenvald's "Languages of the Amazon." It was especially intriguing in terms of language origin and development.

During the rubber boom of the early 20th century, Brazilian rubber trappers routinely kidnapped Indians and made to work gathering wild rubber. These Indians, often from different tribes, were forced live together. In time, many intermarried, leading to the emergence of new tribal identities. The children of such unions develop pidgin speech amongst themselves. Soon, these pidgin dialects can merge into new languages, similar yet distinct from the original languages where they came from. This scenario may occur often across native America.

With only a handful of Classic Taino words, multiple Arawak language dictionaries, and guidance from linguists and native speakers, we began our language journey in the spirit of what is described above.

But what is the impetus to choose one word over another? If, for example, we sought a verb such as "drift," would we choose the Lokono word for drift or the Wayu word? We decided that the word most effortless to pronounce was the best bet in some cases.

Personal note

In addition to the 3200 Classic Tainan and 193 rural words, 16,000 adopted Arawak words were chosen and respelled. By understanding the agglutination and polysynthetic nature of the Arawak language in conjunction with a new orthographical style and combining verbs and additional nouns from closely related dialects, Hiwatahia began taking shape. It required 11-hour days, five to seven days a week, for nearly three years. The work took place during the COVID-19 epidemic.

Problem # 6

How do you teach a language no one speaks? Learning a new language for people over 35 years of age is hard enough. It becomes monumental when the language has not been spoken before. According to Dr. Eleanore Smalle, children outclass adults in their ability to learn new language rules.¹⁴ This statement concerned me. Most people I picked for this project were between 40 and 70 years old. Learning a new language would be hard enough for people of this age group, and learning new language rules would discourage them.

Solution to problem # 6

The solution to this problem created a series of new issues; the author's answer to this was to work language in two stages: 1) Learn it in the same word order that we learn English or Spanish, Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) 2) Once this is accomplished and individuals become accustomed to the words, progressively switch to Subject-Object-Verb word order e.g.,

Beginner - I am rowing the canoe = Da traha naheati'ni ka Kanowa

Advanced - I am rowing the canoe = kanowa naheata'ni Da traha

Beginner - I am rowing the big canoe- Da traha naheati'ni ka ba Kanowa

Advanced- I am rowing the big canoe = kanowa ba naheata'ni Da traha

Creating affixes to mirror English/Spanish grammar

Modern Taino/Caribbean people, especially those in the United States, speak English, Spanish, or both, sometimes even in the form of "Spanglish."

Learning another language, especially one whose word order differs from English or Spanish, is extremely hard. More problematic still is learning a brand-new language.

We rationalized that the SOV word order would certainly confuse people. Those who spoke Spanish, English, or both would find it difficult. One solution was to develop Affixes to mirror English grammar. We created syllables for past tenses, present participles, pluralizers, etc., to add to root words. In some cases, we kept traditional affixes. People began learning Hiwatahia right away. But it came with a warning: these root word modifiers may not be necessary as we know more. Indeed, this approach did not mirror traditional Ta-Arawak, but it did modernize it.

Personal note

¹⁴ <https://unric.org/en/why-do-children-learn-languages-more-effortlessly-than-adults/#:~:text=Our%20research%20shows%20that%20children,ability%20to%20learn%20under%20awareness.>

While gathering words from various languages, the author did not add parts of speech. The original goal and dimension of this project were much smaller. As it grew, it became evident that we needed to add n./v./adj./adv./. 11 language teams of five to seven people each were formed so that our people could practice the language and develop it. What works? What doesn't work? And any necessary changes that needed to be made. One of our members volunteered to add the parts of speech to all the words.

Problem # 7 Discarding non-Tainan words.

Today, there are scores of non-Taino words mistakenly used by modern-day people. Our friend Dr. Konrad Rybka, asked this author, "What is the word for fire in Taino"? Guatu, of course, responded this author without hesitation. Dr. Rybka then asked, "Can you give me a source?" Right then, I knew I had made a colossal mistake. Like most, I had accepted this and many other words without question for decades. I asked him to clarify, which he did. He said Guatu is a Kalina (Carib) word; the very root of the word should tell you it is Carib!"

Solutions to problem #7

One must have the courage to discard what is no longer valid, or at the very least adopt the actual words in addendum to those we now know are false. And there are many:

1) Taino means good people- False - This misconception has existed since the colonial period. Spaniards categorized Caribbean natives into two classes: friendly natives or those subjugated were Taino, the good ones. Those who were bellicose were Carib, Canibals, bad.

Another unsubstantiated theory is that Columbus and his sailors may have mistakenly confused the words Ni-Taino or Taino with the name of an Italian commune; this is known as a false cognate or false friend in linguistics.

In the Province of Varese, a region of Lombardy, Italy, there is a commune named Taino, sometimes Tainesi. Some believe the town got its name from the Roman god Taginus, while others maintain the name comes from the ancient eastern Celtic words Tavyn, Ta (good), and vyn (wine).¹⁵

It is easy to imagine that Columbus, supposedly Italian and having origins in Genoa, merely 138 kilometers from Lombardy, may have mistaken the Celtic word for good wine with Taino.

There is no dialect in the entire Macro-Arawak language family where "Tai" translates to the word "good." It simply does not have a cognate. However, the term probably meant relatives or family. The Kalinago word "ne'tegnon" (relatives) appears to be a true cognate of the Taino "Nitaino."¹⁶

Good in Ta-Maipurean languages are as follows:

¹⁵ <https://freepages.rootsweb.com/~bobevas/genealogy/taino.html>

¹⁶ https://www.researchgate.net/publication/296694496_Origins_of_the_word_Taino

N11a Wayu-Anaa = good

N11b Parauhano-Anaa = good

N11c Lokono-Usa = good

N10a Wapishana- Kaimanaa'o = good

Derivative terms such as these below are further.

- 1) Taigüey (good sun)- This word is wrong because "GUEY" does translate to sun, but not in Arawak. Taicaraya (Good night) Caraya/Karaia translates to reveal, not moon, as many in the Taino community believe.

While many Taino agricultural practices survived, such as planting to moon and sun phases, curiously, the Spanish never recorded our words for sun or moon.

2) Pariguayo means sucker- False, this word's etymology is 1965 Dominican Republic. US soldiers partying on the beaches were watched by Dominican natives who had only seen these dances on television. The soldiers called the "Party watchers" which in time was corrupted to Pari watchel, and in time Pariguayo. This is an example of how prevalent the Spanish syllable GUA is in Hispanicized Taino, and quite commonly mistaken for Classic Taino.

Personal note

Initially, the Taino identity movement didn't have adequate resources. We often relied on outdated or poorly researched material. Most literature focused on archaeology and history, both extreme proponents of extinction. What little information there was contained discrepancies or romantic notions of indigeneity. Naturally, mistakes were made, copied, and passed down. This lack of knowledge created a chaotic void. Oppositional camps grew out of this mess.

We must have the courage to admit we were often wrong and correct these mistakes or, at the very least, acknowledge them.

Modernizing words- creating affixes

Pluralizer =no –

In CT, the suffix "no" is a pluralizer used primarily, if not entirely, for family relations e.g., Itu (sister), Itu'no (sisters), Atiao (brother), Atiao'no (brothers), Taino (relatives).

Proto-Arawak uses "na" and "ni" as pluralizers, according to Dr. Alexandra Aikehenvald. We opted to keep the classic pluralizer, as too many would be confusing. It also functions in some cases as an S.

Past tense- We adopted "**aki**" as our syllable for past tenses. e.g., Kona = walk, kona'ki=walks

Present participle- we chose "ni" as a suffix for present participle. However, "ni" as a prefix relates to water. On its own, it translates to water.

"**Ma**" is a prefix for negation/absence. e.g., Value= Ayuana. Without value= M'ayuana. This prefix comes from CT.

"**Ki**" is a prefix meaning less, e.g., Skin=Ura, Skinless= Ki'ura. This prefix comes from CT.

Lo = er -We use "Lo" for all of the above purposes. For example, "XEITI is our word for black-

In beginner Hiwatahia, we use Xeitilo or with the Prime symbol "Xeiti'lo, for blacker.

In advanced Hiwatahia, however, we can use "Xeiti ba." Ba on its own translates to many words ,e.g., big, more significant, abundance, etc.

The affixes in Hiwatahia are semi-permanent. They were only created to help our people, accustomed to English or Spanish grammar, speak in a way familiar to them while also using Arawak words.

In total, 34 affixes were created. However, it is important to remember all words using affixes mimicking English grammar are mostly tools to help beginners learn to speak Hiwatahia.

Personal Note:

Perhaps it is a noble idea to attempt to recreate our traditional/ancestral language. Regularly, our research uncovered inconsistencies, discrepancies, and shortcomings in the available data.

Revitalization of the Classic language was impossible.

But we were not dismayed or disheartened.

Five hundred twenty-seven years of colonization and African enslavement are also our people's story. Caribbean Indigeneity is forever linked to the region's entire history. Our grammar will always reflect these influences. In this author's opinion, claiming that this work is the recreation of Classic Taino would be dishonest.

Hiwatahia Contractions, truncation and symbols

Hiwatahia shortens words wherever possible. We call it truncating. When the last vowel of a word is the same as the first vowel of the preceding word, the terms are connected by using the "Prime symbol (') like an apostrophe. The last vowel of the first word is dropped.

Some examples:

I see = Da arikawa, becomes, D'arikawa

I forget = Da abutisia, becomes, D'abutisia

Although Hiwatahia adopted the polysynthetic model, we soon realized that connecting too many terms would be problematic. Hence, we opted not to join more than three words simultaneously.

Some examples

We see arms = Wa arikawa atuna'no, becomes W'arikaw'atuna'no

Take a jump = Anuka ab'a akurata, becomes, Anuk'ab'akurata

Grammatical note

Hiwatahia has already borrowed forms and some grammar from several Arawak languages, as well as English and Spanish. But we also felt that we wanted to create our own, without straying too far.

Prime symbol ' used between truncated words.

Prime symbol ' causes the vowel to hang e.g., Akidahawa'ni (Ah-kee-dah-hah-waaah'- nee)

The last vowel of a word is truncated with prime symbol if preceding vowel is the same.

Tilde symbol ~ used for a single word A~ = To

No more than three (3) words or less are truncated at a time. However, this rule can be broken when creating personal names or describing several concepts. A combination of words such as black sky jewel woman, for example, would be, Xeitureyarinaru (Sheh-ee-too-reh-ee-yah-nee-nah-roo), derived from Xeiti-Black/sky- Turey/ jewel-yari/ woman-inaru. In addition this rule can also be broken if the first word is a pronoun for example A~d'atia'om'anxihi (to my brother with love).

All vowels can be truncated.

However rare, consonants are truncated as well.

Phoneme changes and adaptations

Words that end in consonants, L or R although rare in Hiwatahia are pronounced 'ei" (ay)

The letter X makes both SH and CH sounds depending on the word.

All soft C's sounds were turned into S's e.g Cemi = Semi

All hard C sounds were turned into K's e.g Caguana = Kawana

Q's sounds also became K's

Oa was turned into owa. e.g Canoa = Kanowa

Ao was turned into awo.. e.g Cibao = Sibawo

Gue was turned into Weh., e.g .Higüey = Hiwei

Gua was turned into Wa. e.g Guaitiao = Waitiao

Que was turned into ke. e.g Casike = Kasike

Beginner Hiwatahia uses the SVO word order.

Advanced Hiwatahia will be spoken using the SOV word order.

The word “to” =A~ is spelled with a capital A and a tilde

Gender markers

A) Female - Ta, Ro, Ru

B) Male – Li,

Exceptions

Truncating prefixes and suffixes:

Walk = Kona

Walked = Kona'ki

In this example, the prime symbol is placed after the last vowel.

Walk = Kona

Walks- Kona'no

Walking - Kona'ni

This example is typical of how we use English grammar to modernize the language.

Hiwatahia anomalies:

Adding the past tense “aki, to words ending with "Ka" syllables presented a pronunciation challenge.

e.g,

Wreck = Amohuka

Wrecked = Amohuka'ki- the Kaki sound was a bit distracting. The solution was simple. On the rare occasions where this happens, Kaki or Ka'ki, the spelling stays the same, but the word makes a G sound instead, Kagi (Kah-gi).

The question of autonomy as Hiwatahia grammar evolves.

Adopting and later modifying words from various languages is one thing. But taking too many from any one language feels inappropriate, in this author's opinion.

The matter is further compounded when confronted with grammar and syntax. If, for example, we borrow 60% Lokono words and use 100% Lokono grammar, all we have accomplished is diluting an already beautiful language.

The Hiwatahia project's goal was to create something uniquely ours. The Garifuna language is an example of a new language born out of several very different origins. It is roughly 45% Arawak, 25% Carib (Kalina), 15% French, 10% English, and 5% Spanish and operates on VSO word order, which differs from all the languages it derives from.

Creating words and concepts that did not exist prior to contact.

The number of everyday modern words has grown exponentially since the colonial period. All languages worldwide either adopted new terms from other languages or created new ones by recombining their own words. Some Arawak dialects, such as Wayu, Lokono, or Garifuna, adopted English or Spanish outright. Take this Garifuna sentence, for example:

Garifuna - Aderegara musalagu al budigu.

Spanish - Entregara murcielago la bodega.

English – Deliver bat the store.

Although this is very bad Garifuna grammar, the point is that sometimes native languages adopt words and then “indigenize them”, like Spanish Hispanicizing Taino words.

The same can be said for words such as television, refrigerator, radio, cell phones, etc. Many native tongues have recreated such terms. Hiwatahia did the same. Some in our community were perplexed, angrily stating that our ancestors did not use such words! One person shouted at me, "Our ancestors did not have television!" And I remind them that we were communicating on a cell phone. Such irony!

Translator App

Alexander Tekinakule Addams is a Networking Administrator, Cyber Security Specialist and Lead Technical Engineer. He joined our collective 2 months before our first publishing attempt. Determined to help us succeed, he designed and created the first known Indigenous to English translation software. Starting by uploading it to a website and eventually creating an Android App. After issues were presented with certain Social Networks used by the tribe, he then also created an entire Indigenous Social Network site and one of the largest online Indigenous Libraries. He is currently working on the upcoming Spanish to Hiwatahia App and Apple/Iphone applications as well as a Windows standalone app. All of which he creates and maintains in his spare time. He is our Director of Linguistics Technology and Site Administrator.

Community Goals

The goals below are.

- 1) Practice daily.
- 2) Focus on simple everyday words rather than long winded sentences.
- 3) Practice with family and amongst Higuayagua people.
- 4) Introduce the language to non Higuayagua if requested.
- 5) Have 10-20 fluent speakers by the end of the 3rd year.
- 6) Remember there is 528 year African/Spanish influence in the Caribbean.
- 7) Hiwatahia is in its infancy and will go through changes as time goes on.
- 8) Create a list of phrases to use in practice.
- 9) Do not get hung up on words. Better cognates will replace less appropriate ones.
- 10) Create songs in Hiwatahia
- 11) Create prayers in Hiwatahia.
- 12) Infuse Spanish and English with Hiwatahia
- 13) Self-publish a 1st edition Hiwatahia language reconstruction book- Goal-Sell 200 copies.
- 14) Create a Facebook page to practice Hiwatahia, neither English nor Spanish will.
- 15) Self-publish an updated 2nd edition by the end of the 3rd year.
- 16) Publish a professional academic version of Hiwatahia by the end of the 5th year.
- 17) Raise funds to send the academic version to universities, libraries, and prominent linguists.
- 18) Personal goal- one day, Hiwatahia will be listed among Macro-Arawak languages as "N11d" or N13a. Major objective!

Last note

The Macro-Arawak classifications demonstrate just how vast the language family is. Many communities have lost their language or dialects, while others are endangered. Others are working alongside linguists to preserve and revitalize what they have. Classic Taino did not fair as well. But our communities are full of solid enthusiasm, and our people persevere. Hiwatahia is one of several Taino language efforts.

Hiwatahia, adequately called "Hiwatahia Hekexi Taino Ahianiwa," translates to Hiwatahia New Taino Language. We dare call it a language because the sheer number of those learning is unexpectedly astounding; we feel it's here to stay.

It is not the revival of the Classic Taino language. We never made such an irresponsible claim. Nor did we adopt another Native tribe's language and claim it as ours. all the while, using circular rationalizations to justify blatant appropriation.

In the South American Andes, Quechua and Kichwa speakers speak the language of the so-called "Incas". The Incas assimilated many Andean and low-land peoples, allowing them to keep their cultures and customs but requiring them to learn Quechua. The strategy is simple: if you speak my language, you become me. Thus, many Quechuas or Kichwa peoples identify with this language/dialect today, even though their ancestors spoke entirely different tongues. Many of

these Andean peoples often comment that they were colonized twice, first by the Incas and later by the Spanish.

Latin Americans today, "Latinos," speak Spanish and identify with Spanish culture, some even going as far as calling Spain the motherland; this is the issue I have with adopting some other tribes' language.

While I find Garifuna the most beautiful of all Arawak languages, it has a history and a people. It belongs to them. Same goes with Kalinago/Igneri, Lokono, Wayu etc., etc.

Decolonizing history begins with rejecting Eurocentric narratives, which is exceptionally challenging. Taking back our language is indeed a step in the right direction. However, we must understand that going backward in time is impossible and impractical. We are not more "real" or more "authentic" because we continuously throw words around, such as traditional or ancestral. Hiwatahia reflects this present moment so that our descendants know we were audacious and dared to be here in the current time. We took all that was left of the classic tongue, borrowed from the best and closest related languages, an effort rooted in Greater Antillean history and breathlessly anticipating the future. We created something no one can take from us. Hiwatahia is the essence of Caribbean Indigenous resistance.

Hiwatahi'akidahawa'ni (Learning Hiwatahia) Beginners

Hiwatahia Pronouns #1

I, My	Da
Myself	Da'waya
Mine	Da'taya
Me	Daka
You	Bu
Yours	Bu'taya
Yourself	Bu'waya
Yourselves	Bu'waya'no
You all	Bukia
He, Him	Li

Himself	Li'waya
His	Likiya
She	Ta
Her	Tiya
Her's	Tiya'ya
Herself	Ta'waya
Them/They	Naya
Themselves	Naya'waya'no
Their	Hanai
Theirs	Hanaiya
We	Wo
Us	Wakiya
Our	Wa
Ours	Wataya
Ourselves	Wa'waya'no
It	Tura
Its	Tura'iya
Itself	Tura'waya
Self	Waya

Beginner Hiwatahia

Am	Are	Is	Was	Were
Traha	Do	Le	Koba	Kobai
(trah-hah)	(Doh)	(Leh)	(Koh-bah)	(Koh-bah-ee)

I am	Da traha
I was	Da Koba
You are	Bu do
You were	Bu kobai
He is	Li le
He was	Li Koba

She is	Ta le
She was	Ta koba
Her's is	Tiya'ya le
Her's was	Tiya'ya koba
We are	Wo do
We were	Wo Kobai
Ours is	Wa'taya le
Ours was	Wa'taya koba
Ours were	Wa'taya kobai
It is	Tura le
It was	Tura koba

See	Smell	Hear	Taste	Touch
Arikawa	Himisa	Okama	Yieyu	Akuna
Sees	Smells	Hears	Tastes	Touches
Arikawa'no	Himisa'no	Okama'no	Yieyu'no	Akuna'no
Saw	Smelled	Heard	Tasted	Touched
Arikawa'ki	Himisa'ki	Okama'ki	Yieyu'ki	Akuna'ki
Seeing	Smelling	Hearing	Tasting	Touching
Arikawa'ni	Himisa'ni	Okama'ni	Yieyu'ni	Akuna'ni
Sleep	Eat	Walk	Run	Talk
Atunko	Eika	Kona	Eibawa	Ahia
Sleeping	Eating	Walking	Running	Talking
Atunko'ni	Eika'ni	Kona'ni	Eibawa'ni	Ahia'ni
Slept	Ate	Walked	Ran	Talked

Atunko'aki	Eika'ki	Kona'ki	Eibawa'ki	Ahia'ki
Sleeps	Eats	Walks	Runs	Talks
Atunko'no	Eika'no	Kona'no	Eibawa'no	Ahia'no
Good	Bad	Yes	No	Maybe
Usa	Aboa	Ahan	Uwa	Aniama
Was	Were	Can	Can't	Will
Koba	Kobai	Iyara	Ma'iyara	Koba

I see you	D'arikawa bu
I saw you	D'arikawa'ki bu
She sees you	T'arikawa'no bu
He is seeing you	Li le arikawa'ni bu
I smell you	Da himisa bu
I smelled you	Da himisa'ki bu
She was smelling you	Ta koba himisa'ni bu
They were smelling you	Naya kobai himisa'ni bu
He smells you	Li himisa'no bu
I heard them	Da okama'ki naya
They can hear you	Naya iyara okama bu
She hears us	Ta okama'no wakiya
I was hearing them	Da okama'ni naya
They taste good	Naya yiey'usa
We are tasting it	Wo do yieyu'ni tura
She tasted it	Ta yieyu'aki tura
It tastes good	Tura yieyu'no usa

Practice pronouns # 3

Myself	Mine	Me	Yours	Yourself
Da'waya	Da'taya	Daka	Bu'taya	Bu'waya
Yourselves	You all	Him	Himself	His
Bu'waya'no	Bukia	Li	Li'waya	Li'kiya

By	is	did	With	
Anai	le	Anika	Oma	

By myself	Oma da'waya
Mine did	Da'tay'anika'ki
With me	Oma daka
Yours did	Bu'tay'anika'ki
By yourself	Oma bu'waya
By yourselves	Oma bu'waya'no
You all did	Buki'anika'ki
With him	Oma li
By himself	Oma li'waya
His did	Li'kiy'anika'ki
Hers did	Tiya'y'anika'ki

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