



B. Hoff

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## THE LANGUAGES OF THE INDIANS OF SURINAM AND THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE CARIB AND ARAWAK LANGUAGES

**I**n Surinam four languages are each spoken by a fairly large number of Indians. A fifth language is used by very few people in Surinam, but by a great number in the neighbouring countries to the West. A sixth language is possibly spoken by a small group that is only known through brief contacts with expeditions in 1937 and 1938, while the last woman, who spoke a seventh language, probably died in 1938.

The two languages, used by the greatest number of speakers, Kalina (Carib, Caribisce, Caribe, Galibi) and Lokono (Arawak) are found in the lowlands of Surinam and in the countries by which it is bounded to the East and West: the other two Guianas, as well as in Venezuela where, according to Nimuendajú, both languages are still current. Warau, a third language spoken in the lowlands, is now used by only a few speakers on the Surinam bank of the river Corentyne, but it is an important language in the country surrounding the mouth of the river Orinoco.

In the uplands two languages are used by a few hundred speakers each: Wayana and Trio. The Wayanas live in the Eastern half of the uplands, in two, geographically divided, groups: along the river Litani, which to-day runs along the frontier, and more to the West, along the Tapanahoni and the Paloemeu. Wayanas are also found south of this area, in Brazil, along the upper reaches of some northern tributaries of the Amazon. The villages of the Trios lie on either side of the Surinam-Brazilian frontier, the easternmost village being situated on the upper reaches of the Paloemeu, the most westerly one near the source of the Corentyne.

A small number of Wamas lives or used to live in the forests near the Oelemari, between the two groups of Wayanas, where they were found in 1937 by members of the frontier expedition and in 1938 by the Ahlbrinck expedition. The same area used to be inhabited by the

Triometesem (Wayarikule, Oyaricoulet), who have died out in all probability. Information has been received, although unconfirmed so far, that Wayarikules as well as Pianagotos have settled anew in Surinam (De West 7, X 1952).

No maps exist that give a satisfactory idea of the linguistic situation in Surinam; particularly that of the lowlands, where Kalina- and Lokono-speaking villages alternate in one and the same district, is nowhere given in detail, not even on the map which, on the whole, gives by far the best survey: the ethnographical map of Guyana according to Nimuendajú (10).

It is true that the great atlas of Surinam by Bakhuis (4) as well as the outline maps, based on this atlas, indicate the sites of a number of Indian villages, but they are inadequate in view of the present situation, neither do they indicate which language is spoken in each particular village. Although these details are given on the small map (2), this has also become obsolete. A fairly recent report on the number of people per village and per river who speak Kalina and Lokono is to be found in Abbenhuis (5, p. 6—8). Apparently the two languages occur side by side along the same rivers, except for the Corentyne, where no Kalinas are found. As to the Trios and Brazilian Wayanas, Schmidt (6) gives a small, detailed map, including a list of villages and the numbers of inhabitants. The abovementioned map according to Nimuendajú (10) shows the old situation, as far as it is known, beside that of to-day. This may also be said of the map accompanying with an article by de Goeje (8) which deals with the data yielded by early sources. One of the conclusions is that Indians of the Trio group (Trio, Triometesem, Wama) were the first inhabitants of Southern Surinam, called Acouri by the occupants of the lowlands (p. 342) and that in the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century the Wayanas crossed the frontier in the south-east corner (p. 338), succeeded later by the Upuruis who have now merged in the Wayanas.

On the strength of investigations which were begun 75 years ago. the Surinam languages, except for Warau, are assumed to be cognate with a considerable number of other languages of South America. Kalina, Wayana, Trio, Triometesem and Wama all belong to the Carib family, Lokono belongs to the Arawak family.

A bibliography for all the languages of these families are to be found in de Goeje (Arawak 3, p. 9 and 216; Carib 1 and 9), and in the recently completed bibliography for the whole of South America by Loukotka (7), supplemented in 1952 (12). Mason (11), too, gives a com-

prehensive bibliography. De Goeje's Carib bibliography (9) also comprises the linguistic contents (which are in most cases of inconsiderable length) of the books mentioned. Mac Quown's tables (13) make it possible to find the classification and geographical situation of a language without delay.

In the following lines an attempt is made to give a survey of the nature and the quantity of the material that has been collected in connection with the languages of Surinam and cognate languages, and of the way in which it has been used for comparative linguistic studies. The order in which the material is dealt with, is primarily chronological. The division into five chapters has been chosen so as to class together works which show similarities in character or origin. The chapters that will be discussed successively are the following:

- I. The first classifications: Gilij (1782) and von Martius (1867);
- II. Flowering of linguistic interest in France and Germany: the congresses of Americanists, reprints of old sources, ethnographical expeditions. Systematic comparative studies and determination of the families of the Arawak and Carib languages (1875 to about 1925);
- III. Continuation in Surinam
- IV. and in the surrounding countries (1906 up to the present);
- V. Work under the influence of N. American linguistic methods.

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### I.

Both the Arawak and the Carib linguistic affinities were discovered as early as 1782 by the missionary Gilij who, after having worked in the Orinoco territory, wrote a book in which he discusses the languages of present Venezuela at considerable length (19). Gilij mentions 39 languages which were spoken there in his time. Concerning some of them he provides such data as vocabularies, paradigms, short religious texts and a considerable number of observations in summarizing chapters. To-day some of these 39 languages are still known under the names used by Gilij, others have disappeared or are probably called

by different names. Tavera-Acosta made several attempts at identification. The material used, however, was so inconsiderable as to render the results uncertain (110, p. 229—242).

By means of deliberate comparison Gilij discovered that the majority of these languages had similarities to some others as well as a number of differences. He regarded this similarity as the result of genetic relationship. The example which he adduced for this phenomenon was the relation between the Romance languages and Latin (p. 201, 197). His theory on the prototype differed from the later conception, Gilij maintaining that an absolute difference between languages results from a complete separation at the time of the confusion of tongues, whereas a partial difference exists between dialects that derive from one and the same "Grundsprache". Consequently, there is a fundamental difference between a language which is a direct continuation of one of the original languages (*matrice*) and a dialect, originating from such a language (*figlia*). This difference is emphasized in Gilij's statement, which formulates his discovery as a revision of the number of Orinoco languages: instead of the supposed number of 39 they amount, in fact, to only 9 (p. 204, 206), the others being dialects of these 9 languages.

Thus he regarded some twenty languages, including Tamanaco, Mapoye, Cumanagoto, Palenque, Maquiritare, as dialects of Kalina, which, in Venezuela as well as elsewhere in Guiana, is called Carib (Caribbean, Caribisce) and this name has continued to be used for the entire family of languages. To Maipure Gilij attributed seven dialects in the Orinoco territory and he discovered an eighth in Mojo in Bolivia, some 1500 miles to the South (p. 205, 344—5). The name of Maipure for this family of languages has been kept deliberately by Adam and de Goeje. Von den Steinen, however, called these languages Nu, and after the Nu group had been joined by a smaller family, which was called after Arawak (Lokono) by von den Steinen, the name Arawak was used for the whole group. Arawak as well as Warau had been classed separately for the time being by Gilij, since the available material concerning these two languages was insufficient at the time.

Gilij had computed the number of original languages for the Orinoco territory at 9, for the whole of North and South America he regarded the number as being very considerable, but not "almost innumerable" (p. 282). All these "Grundsprachen" were dealt with elaborately in connection with the possibility of linguistic relations between the old and the new world and the origin of America's inhabitants. Gilij concluded that after the confusion of tongues, the original languages had reached

America while still in a state incompleteness, and that in the course of centuries, they were developed and added to by the speakers (p. 274—5, 288). A resemblance to the languages of the old world is not to be expected if *all* speakers of a Grundsprache settled in America at the time. The opposite, however, is equally possible (p. 138). The few similarities, Gilij believes, may have been derived from the old world and taken over after the conquest or even before, when incidental contacts took place (p. 349, 415).

In contrast with the conception of others, Gilij maintained that the American languages had a history of their own, independent from Europe (p. 275, 349).

On their extensive journeys in Brazil, von Martius (29) and his travelling-companion Spix collected biological specimens as well as a large number of vocabularies which, together with material borrowed from other authors, amount to about one hundred filling the second volume of von Martius' book. This collection also includes languages of Guiana: Lokono (Arawak), with a glossary according to the missionary Quandt, a small comparative vocabulary of the languages of British Guiana by the explorer R. Schomburgk (treated more elaborately in (22) and a fairly extensive vocabulary of Kalina (Galibi) according to the compilation made by La Sauvage, of the work of the 17<sup>th</sup> century French missionaries in Cayenne and Venezuela. Of the latter work Pelleprat (15) had, moreover, written a small grammar, while Biet (16) described a morphology which evidenced adaptation to the contact with foreigners.

The collection of vocabularies by von Martius was used as a source for comparative studies, by himself in the first place. Von Martius took the view that the peoples and languages of S. America had become interblended to a considerable extent (p. 768): thus the Caribs were supposed to have been Tupis originally, who adopted a "Guck" language after having penetrated into Guiana (p. 752).

Therefore he regarded linguistic classification as the only method to create order in this case, to be applied because a better solution, namely the discovery of a common (biological) origin, was impossible. The problem of the Ursprache and the Urvolk had to be left undiscussed (p. 768—770).

Von Martius' classification has been of great importance, particularly because of his Tupi- and Ge-family. (Vol. I, map and p. 777). His classification of the Carib and Arawak languages, however, was a step

backward: together with a few other languages they were classed by him in one family, called Guck, thus named after a term for "uncle", on which the classification was largely based. Lokono was classed separately and so was Arawak Paressi (p. 359—360, 355, 780).

## II.

The definite classification of the Arawak and Carib languages known at the time was drawn up independently both by von den Steinen and Adam; it was the result of a revival of the study of these languages which had taken place in France and Germany.

In 1884 von den Steinen travelled to the upper reaches of the Xingu, one of the major southern tributaries of the Amazon, and there came across Arawak and Carib languages. In an account of his expedition (47) he published a new Arawak classification, based on the criticism of van Martius' Guck-family. Although the substance of his comparative vocabulary of 46 languages (p. 294) was still founded on the collection of von Martius, von den Steinen attained better results by choosing different criteria, viz. the pron. prefix 1<sup>st</sup> person singular *nu-* and seventeen words, largely used for various parts of the body. The Lokono of Surinam, known since 1822 from a larger grammar and vocabulary, was classed by von den Steinen in a separate group together with Goajiro, on account of the use of a pron. prefix other than *nu-*, in spite of the evident lexical resemblance. He called the whole family Nu-Aruak.

The linguistic map accompanying p. 298 also includes the Carib languages, although their classification is not discussed. This map shows that the two families of languages and their geographical boundaries had been determined in substance as early as then.

Carib languages are dominant in a rather well-defined territory in Guiana, bounded to the West by the lower Orinoco, while Arawak languages are spoken along the coast of Guiana, and Nu-languages to the West and South-West of the Carib country. Still further westward there is an isolated Carib language, Carijona, and within Carib territory there is an enclave of two Nu-languages: Uapixana and Atorai. Finally 10 Nu-languages and 3 Carib languages are shown far away to the South, scattered over Bolivia, Peru and Brazil.

Shortly afterwards a very similar solution, though founded on a greater amount of material, was published by Adam (34). He left the

difference between Nu and Arawak unmentioned and gave the family the same name as it had been given by Gilij: Maipure. Adam had already read similar papers at former congress meetings and on those occasions he had stated his views on classification. In (31) he turned against haphazard comparison and pointed out that comparison is of value only on two conditions: if regular correspondences are found (p. 45) or if the affinity of the compared languages has already been established on the strength of grammatical similarity (p. 41). The second criterion was always preferred by Adam. In those cases where no grammar was available, Adam considered the occurrence of the few affixes that may be left occasionally in vocabularies, in words where the collector did not recognize them as such, sufficient reason for the provisional supposition of affinity. He attached particular importance to personal affixes and personal pronouns (32, p. 311); compare the use of the personal prefix *nu-* in the Nu-classification by von den Steinen.

Classification in spite of a bare minimum of data was but one of Adam's initial results. He continued his comparative study of new material. In fact, new material had only started to flow in after the classification by von den Steinen-Adam had appeared.

Under Adam's supervision the Bibliothèque de Linguistique Américaine (BLA) published a number of older works by missionaries, and vocabularies that had been collected by the explorers Crévaux and Coudreau in the Northern half of South America. Besides the BLA-publications, some more Arawak and Carib vocabularies, contained in itineraries, appeared; by H. Coudreau in (45: Rio Blanco) and in (46); by his wife O. Coudreau in (60, 61, 62: affluents of the Amazon); by Chaffanjon in (55: South Venezuela).

Crévaux reached the Amazon from French Guiana across the watershed; later he visited two of the sources of the Amazon and eventually travelled along the major rivers of Columbia and Venezuela. He died while travelling in the South of Brazil. On his six months' expeditions he used to cover enormous distances. This accounts both for the considerable number of languages for which he supplied (and occasionally even was the first to supply) vocabularies and for the slender size of his vocabularies.

The impossibility of being engaged on the study of one language for any length of time more or less applies to all explorers. On the other hand, they came into contact with unknown, or very little known, languages. The comparison of word-material from various sources in



Adam's bibliography (35) and in (48, p. 250) gives the reader an impression of the, often inevitable, lack of accuracy in noting down words, and so do the criticism by Nimuendajú (123, p. 238) and Williams (130, bibliography) of the Macuchi-, Ipurukoto- and Crichana vocabularies by Barboza Rodrigues (44).

The volumes of the BLA in which vocabularies or grammars of Arawak and Carib languages have been published, will be discussed now.

Volume 8 (30) contains Crévaux's vocabularies and vol. 15 those by Coudreau. Both authors give a vocabulary of Wayana, unknown so far, since an earlier vocabulary by van Heerdt and Cateau van Rosevelt had remained unpublished (74, p. V). Coudreau added a vocabulary of the closely allied Apalai; Crévaux included some Trio words and gave, moreover, vocabularies from Colombia and Venezuela of Warau, Carib Carijona, and of a number of Arawak languages (the latter supplemented by vocabularies by a Venezuelan official, the rest of which was afterwards published in (51).

BLA 8 also contains vocabularies of Kalina (Galibi) and Lokono (Arrouage) from French Guiana by Sagot. The most important items are undoubtedly the great Lokono vocabulary and the elaborate, but uncompleted, grammar of that language after a ms. from Herrnhut. The 18<sup>th</sup> century mission of the Moravian Brethren in Surinam had been discontinued when, after an initial period of prosperity, it had met with a number of disasters. However, a great deal of linguistic work had already been completed by then. As early as 1807 the missionary Quandt included a chapter on the language in his book, which was in part taken over by von Martius (29) and entirely by Schomburgk (22). It was published separately afterwards by Platzmann (54).

Mss. of Quandt's predecessor Schultz had found their way to America: a grammar with a vocabulary and a translation of the Acts of the Apostles which was printed by the American Bible Society. The vocabulary in BLA 8 was probably collected by him, while the grammar was written by a third missionary, Schumann. Williams has written about the published and unpublished Lokono mss. in Germany and America (128).

In addition, BLA published four volumes on various Arawak languages, three of which are reprints of older works by missionaries. Number 3 (30) is Breton's grammar and catechism of Island-Carib, an Arawak language which has adapted a considerable number of Carib elements.

BLA 7 contains two grammars of Baure, a language closely allied

to Mojo, whose affinity to Arawak had already been discovered by Gilij, and which was spoken in the same province of Bolivia. A vocabulary of a later date has been added. BLA 13, on Anti, contains a grammar and catechism with two vocabularies, also of a later date, one of which is a comparative vocabulary. According to von den Steinen the work was written in 1734/5 by Juan de la Marca (14<sup>th</sup> Int. Am. Cong. Stuttgart, II, 603).

BLA 5 is a first publication and contains a grammar, a catechism and a large vocabulary of Goajiro, an Arawak language of the peninsula that lies to the West of the Lake of Maracaybo. Together with Lokono this language is remarkable for having a personal prefix *da-*, which led von den Steinen to class the two in a sub-group.

Adam also discovered the work of the English missionary Brett, whose two text-books had been printed in Kalina, Carib Akawai, Lokono and Warau (23, 24); Brett had, moreover, translated parts of the bible into Akawai and Lokono (25, 26). Adam based the first, slight descriptions of Akawai (38) and Warau (37) on Brett's texts. A Lokono grammar by the hand of Brett himself appeared in Guiana in a magazine (27). The Leiden University Library possesses a copy of it by de Goeje.

In Germany it was Platzmann who saw to the re-editing of books. His collection includes Breton's great dictionary of Island Carib (54). Unfortunately, it is not to be found in the Dutch libraries; neither is the grammar, published in the BLA. As to Arawak literature, he published a comprehensive "arte" of Mojo (Bolivia) and Quandt's chapter on Lokono. His reprint of five works on two languages of Cumana, west of the mouth of the Orinoco, was of eminent importance for the study of Carib comparative grammar.

The knowledge of several Carib languages had greatly increased owing to these activities and this enabled von den Steinen to revise the method of comparative linguistic study which he had followed so far. When, on his first expedition to the upper reaches of the Xingu in South Brazil, he came across people who spoke Carib and Arawak languages and had not come into contact with European colonization, he hoped for an opportunity of tracing the original Carib culture and the paths of Carib migrations (7<sup>th</sup> Int. Am. Cong. Berlin, p. 787). The Nu-Aruak classification which he drew up then was, however, still based on the supposition (47, p. 287) that neogrammatical methods in any form whatsoever were impossible in America because, in contrast with the Indo-European example, the separation of the Grundsprachen had taken place at a primitive stage and had been followed by interblending,

a conception reminiscent of that of von Martius. Therefore von den Steinen deliberately limited himself to the comparison of a "basic vocabulary" of words used for various parts of the body and some natural phenomena.

On his second Xingu expedition, however, he was not only able to collect the usual vocabularies such as those of Carib Nahuqua and Arawak Kustenuu, Waura and Paressi (49), but he also had an opportunity to study the language of his Bakairi travelling-companion. The book, based on these studies (48), contains a grammar, an extensive vocabulary with comparative material from other Carib languages, and texts; part of these is related to mythology, while the majority consists of sentences, translated from the Portuguese. A chapter was added (p. 256—318) on historical phonetics introducing sound law and sound shift in the study of a south American language (p. IX; 259).

Von den Steinen's researches are concerned in particular with the initial consonants of the stems, which show considerable diversity in otherwise corresponding forms in the various languages. The result may be summarized as follows (p. 317): the original unvoiced initial consonants *p-*, *t-*, and *k-* have changed into voiced occlusives, fricatives, affricates, sibilants, semivowels and finally into *zero*; *m-*, *n-*, *r-*, and *l-*, too, underwent changes. The extent of these changes varies for the various languages (p. 296, 261).

The divergent "weakening" of the original unvoiced occlusives von den Steinen ascribed to the influence of the prefixes, which play an important part in Carib morphology. With regard to *p-* he illustrates this phenomenon by an example from Bakairi, where *p-* at the beginning of a word varies with *-w-* after a prefix (p. 260, 270). In the case of *t-* he attributes it to palatalization (271).

A special argument, supporting the reconstructions, is based on the phonematic structure of the stems in present-day Bakairi, e.g. on the fact that, in the case of the verbal stems, the vocabulary does not show one single initial *p-*, *t-*, or *k-*.

An objection which may be raised because the investigation was limited to the initial consonants, is that the influence of the prefixes cannot be distinguished from any other possible tendencies to change, for sound-shifting also occurs in the other positions, if to a less extent (p. 310).

In a book which appeared a year later (36), Adam contested von den Steinen's method for the reconstruction of *\*t-*. From Tamanaco *japa*, *i-tapiri*; Cumanagoto *dapue-*; Kariniaco *-dapa-*; Bakairi *sawö*,

*awö*; (meaning: arm, branch, wing) von der Steinen deduced a form \**tapa* (p. 271—273). For a number of verbal stems, hence stems with different prefixes, he deduced a \**t-* along similar lines (p. 291).

Adam, on the other hand, maintained that the form with initial vowel was the primary one and that a *-y-* — and from that the other consonants and last of all the unvoiced occlusive — must have originated under the influence of a prefix 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular *i-* (35—41, 53—57).

This controversy has never been solved; the formulation of the two points of view may have been premature and too comprehensive. De Goeje, the only person to publish comparative studies of this kind after von den Steinen and Adam, did not mention it again. Some of the reconstructions in *Etudes II* (91, p. 52 dent, oeil, p. 53 bras) show a preference for Adam's solution, but no complete acceptance (e.g. p. 19, personal prefix *s-* from an older *w-*, whereas von den Steinen assumed a prefix *t-* and Adam a prefix *iy-*).

Except where he criticizes von den Steinen, Adam gives no reconstruction in his book, which he emphatically calls a collection of material. The grammar, Adam's favourite subject, consists of paragraphs under general headings such as gender, number, personal prefixes etc., in which the pertinent morphology of the various Carib languages has been collected. Of particular importance is the elaborate paradigm of the personal prefixes, which Adam borrowed from the Cumanagoto-grammars by Tauste (54, p. 73) and especially Yangues (54, p. 6—7) and inserted into his book as being original Carib. In fact, de Goeje (74, p. 115—119) and Ahlbrinck (126, p. 66, article a, paragraph B, c) later found similar paradigms for Kalina.

The lexical part gives under their French translations the cognate words from the various languages, adding to each an enumeration of the phonetic correspondences, without deducing any general phonetic laws from them.

In later publications this was done only to a limited extent by Koch-Grünberg (69), Rivet (117, on some Arawak languages) and de Goeje (74, p. 73—74, 84, 89).

Meanwhile new languages were added to the classification drawn up by von den Steinen-Adam.

Ernst extended the territory of the Carib languages to the Northwest by adding Motilone from Venezuela and Colombia (50). Von den Steinen's travelling companion Ehrenreich stated that a number of Arawak languages were spoken in the area between the Arawak territory of the Northwest and the isolated southern Arawak languages

(58). He was the first to use the name Arawak for the whole family of languages. He also collected a vocabulary of Carib Arara, half-way between Bakairi and the northern Carib language (57).

Vocabularies of Carib and Arawak languages and of Warau of Venezuela were included in a book by Tavera Acosta (110), of which they constitute the most important part, and also in a later article (111).

After von den Steinen's travels the best and most extensive investigations were made by Koch-Grünberg on his two expeditions in North-west Brazil and the neighbouring countries. On his first expedition in 1903—1905 he visited the western basin of the Rio Negro and the Rio Yapura where many Arawak languages and one Carib language, Carijona, discovered by Crévaux, were known to exist. Koch-Grünberg now established the fact that 9 Arawak, 1 Carib and 20 languages of other affinity were present and gave for these languages a comparative vocabulary with a map in (66), and a more elaborate one, with 60 terms, in the book on his expedition (70). The Arawak languages are especially dealt with in (71).

An article (69) on the one Carib language, Hianakoto, Umaua or Carijona, contains a vocabulary, some notes on the grammar and on borrowings from other families of languages, and a rule concerning sound-shifting which was already known in principle to von den Steinen: *p*- and *-p*- in most Carib languages are in Bakairi *w*, *x*, *h* or *zero*, in Nahuqua *v*, *x*, *h*, in Apiaka or Arara *w*, in Carijona and probably in Maquiritare *h* (p. 952). The article also suggests ideas as to the paths, along which migration took place. Later de Goeje pointed out the close lexical resemblance between Carijona and Trio, which, however, has *p* (74, p. 88—89).

On his second expedition in 1911—1913 Koch-Grünberg visited the east basin of the Rio Negro: setting out from the Amazon he travelled westward via the Rio Branco and Rio Uraricuera and after having crossed the frontier mountains, he reached the Orinoco via the Ventuari. The fourth of the five volumes in which he narrates this expedition (72) contains only linguistic descriptions: a very elaborate and thorough description of Carib Taulipang (p. 5—232; vol. II, p. 155—255 contains texts in Taulipang), and a shorter description of six other Carib, five Arawak and eleven isolated languages. The Carib languages belong in particular to the west part of the restricted Carib Area, the Arawak languages to South Venezuela.

The author concludes the volume by giving a linguistic map for the country through which he travelled on both expeditions.

## III.

These years saw the beginning of a period of linguistic activity in Surinam. De Goeje's activities covered the whole of the period from 1906 to 1947, in which the publications of A. P. Penard and Ahlbrinck also took place.

Since the 18<sup>th</sup> century mission of the Moravians only two small vocabularies, both Kalina, had been added, one by Kappler (53) and one by van Koolwijk (40), besides a catechism in Kalina by van Coll (52), of which a Lokono version also exists.

De Goeje started his activities when, as a member of a geographical expedition, he visited the uplands of Surinam, where no travellers had been since Crévaux and Coudreau. After his first expedition he published an ethnography (73) with vocabularies of Trio (the first list that was serviceable), of Wayana and of Kalina.

The material of de Goeje's second expedition to the uplands was collected in a separate volume, wholly devoted to linguistic studies, together with some papers based on already existing works (74). The descriptive part contains new vocabularies of Kalina, Wayana and Trio, which last vocabulary is the best list available for that language so far, and small grammars of the two upland languages.

Of Kalina there is a large grammar, compiled from his own material, the catechism by van Coll, Adam's comparative grammar, and all earlier literature on Kalina, especially a ms. of Brett and one by an 18<sup>th</sup> century inhabitant of Venezuela, Himenez (19). The comparative part begins with a comparative grammar and vocabulary which continue and add to Adam's work (36). Unlike Adam, de Goeje sums up the results of the lexical comparisons in general formulas; in the table on p. 73—74 the sound shifts have been arranged in series. The fact that *p*, *t*, and *k* have been placed at the beginning of three long series is in agreement with von den Steinen's theory. It had also been von den Steinen who introduced a very elementary examination of frequency (48, p. 257—259), which was now applied by de Goeje in a slightly more elaborate form in order to test some of the sound-shifts that he had found. Using the available vocabularies of 12 languages as random samples for those 12 languages, the proportions between the examined sound in initial and final positions were computed in percentages (p. 81, 83), after which the fact was established that the differences, observed in the frequency of these sounds in the various languages could be accounted for by the assumed sound shifts (p. 82, l. 8; 84).

Paragraph 20 discusses the position of Kalina, Trio and Wayana in the Carib family: Wayana shows a closer affinity to Chayma, Cumana-goto and Tamanaco of Venezuela; Trio to Pianakoto and Hianakoto-Umaua; Kalina stands somewhat apart but shows resemblances to both groups.

This provisional division of de Goeje is the best that has been made so far. No subdivision, which has been arrived at methodically on a genetic basis exists at present, any more than it did at the time. In *Les langues du monde* (12, p. 1127) Rivet and Loukotka gave the same classification as de Goeje. About the close affinity between Trio and Hianakoto, and the sound correspondences between the two languages and some others de Goeje makes a few more remarks in this paragraph. The remaining paragraphs of chapter 2 have no historical implication, but deal with such subjects as adaptation of borrowed words (par. 7), vowel harmony (par. 18) and accent (par. 19).

De Goeje published a second volume of *Etudes* 37 years later (91). It contains a new and very comprehensive vocabulary and grammar of Wayama, a vocabulary of Triometesem from a woman who was probably the last speaker of that language, and a vocabulary of Wama, collected by Ahlbrinck on his expedition of 1938. No other sources exist of Triometesem and Wama.

The first volume of the book is again occupied by an elaborate supplement to the comparative vocabularies and grammars found in Adam (36) and the first volume of *Etudes* (74).

The three books are to be used together and systematic references are given for that purpose. The vocabulary differs from the two preceding ones in that it gives reconstructed forms, marked with \*. They are not explained and their value is to be appreciated by means of the table of corresponding forms in volume I (p. 73), the two older lists and the vocabularies themselves.

In later years de Goeje concerned himself with Lokono (Arawak), for which he used bible translations, particularly Brett's translation of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles (26). De Goeje's description of Lokono in (77) is his only linguistic description; here he reasons from his conception of the fundamental connection between the significance and the sound by which it is expressed. One of his articles (79, p. 17) describes how he examined Brett's text systematically, in search of the smallest formal-semantic units and then discovered that he might carry the analysis so far as to apply it to the separate sounds. An explanation of this low level connection between form and meaning

was sought in a direct and necessary connection between the motor peculiarities of the articulation of a sound and a sensation, felt by the speaker, of which the sound is both the result and the expression (p. 239—240). If the larger units are regarded as series of sound gestures, each of which retains its own meaning (this view is indeed given on p. 67), it may be said that: "there is an inner and essential connection between the idea and the word" (p. 241). De Goeje admits, however, that "*the habit of speech*, the use of certain affixes, context and the situation in general" (p. 68, 69) also play a part. In a later article (83, p. 115) he supposes that the larger units may have been conventionalized at a later stage, when the sense of the significance of the separate sounds had weakened.

The author briefly discussed the same subject in a number of articles on various Indian languages (79, 81, 83) and on the Dutch language (78), also in (90). In later descriptions he always limited the discussion of sound-symbolism to a separate paragraph, added to an otherwise more conventional grammar (80; 91, par. 60).

Neither was this kind of grammar totally absent from the description of Lokono: though there seems to be no place for an analysis of words into morphemes when both units will ultimately be reduced into the elementary units in exactly the same way, morphology is kept apart as much as possible. Of course this contributes greatly to the usefulness of the book, as does the rendering by hyphens of the morpheme boundaries within the words.

One more item of great practical value is the complete index to the texts of Schultz and Brett (p. 15—47).

Moreover, there is an appendix with recent Lokono from Surinam: vocabularies, mythological and other texts (p. 246—309). More of these texts were published in (89).

Finally the book contains a section on comparative linguistics: a comparative Arawak vocabulary, preceded by an enumeration of the languages compared with bibliographic references (p. 213). This is the most elaborate vocabulary that has been published for the Arawak family of languages.

A supplement on this vocabulary was given in (87, p. 5) to which were added a number of words of Taino, the earlier Arawak language of the Greater Antilles, compiled anew in this volume from the works of Las Casas and some others.

The rest of this article mainly consists of a study on the former languages of the Lesser Antilles which is still spoken to-day on the



east coast of Central America: Island-Carib, also an Arawak language, and remarkable for what was called a difference between the language of the men and that of the women. According to the local tradition this state of affairs was due to a conquest by Caribs, and Adam had confirmed this view by finding that words of Carib affinity predominated among the words used exclusively by and to men, whereas Arawak words prevailed among those used by women and children (33). When material that was more suitable for comparison had become available, de Goeje carried out the investigation anew.

The most important source for Island Carib is the 17<sup>th</sup> century dictionary and the grammar by Breton (30, 54); for the later stages of the languages many less comprehensive sources are available, including two translations of one of the Gospels (21, 59).

De Goeje compiled a vocabulary from this material with references to the various Carib and Arawak vocabularies. The numerical ratio between the component parts is given in a table on p. 3, the Carib constituent is identified with Kalina, the Arawak component Iñeri is not identical with any known Arawak language.

So besides the family of Carib languages and Kalina there is one more language that is called (Island-) Carib. Herlein (18) fell a victim to this confusion of names when he added to his book on Surinam the Island-Carib vocabulary by Rochfort (17), assuming this language to be identical with Surinam Carib, Kalina.

It may be observed here that formerly an Indian language was also spoken on the Lesser Antilles, notably on Aruba. In Van Koolwijk's time (40, 41, 42) people still remembered some of it, mostly geographical names and a number of formulas, with the use of which they were acquainted, though not with the significance. In the same period Gatschet obtained exactly the same material from Aruba, with slight differences in spelling and the division of words (43).

De Goeje's publications on Arawak languages were continued by an article on Manao, an extinct language of the Rio Negro, only known from a vocabulary by von Martius (29) and the small ms. of a catechism. The volume of the latter work that had not yet been edited by Brinton was published by De Goeje and provided with grammatical notes and a comparative glossary (92, see also 173). On the third language of the Surinam lowlands, Warau, a small grammar was published by De Goeje (80), which included a paragraph on sound symbolism and a number of lexicological notes. Two texts have been added. The Leiden University Library possesses an extensive, un-

published Warau vocabulary. Finally an article on the Wayanas contains a few formulas in their language (88).

The borrowing of words between members of different families of languages is discussed in (75), while a short list of Tupi-Carib examples occurs in (82, p. 524 cc, ff and 85, p. 28). The latter paper adds a summary of some morphological and syntactic characteristics of a number of South American languages, seen in connection with elements of the non-material culture and the conception of the world.

Shortly after the first publications of De Goeje in 1906, F. P., A. P. and occasionally T. E. Penard started theirs. As their first work, a highly esoteric discussion of Kalina (106; II, III), though never finding much favour, remained by far the best known of their publications. It should be stressed that in later articles they detached themselves entirely from this speculative approach. This applies both to a number of smaller articles and to a large, for the greater part unpublished, description of Kalina by A. P. Penard. An old Lokono vocabulary from Trinidad is compared with modern Lokono by T. E. Penard in 110; 109 and 108 (with A. P. Penard) discuss borrowing from European languages. Small Lokono texts are to be found in 136.

After F.P. Penard had died en T.E. had left Surinam, A.P. carried on the study of Kalina. The publication of his description began in a series of short articles in the periodical "De Periskoop" (99), but was discontinued after ten issues, after which the text was sent in instalments to de Goeje. Penard had already become blind by then and dictated his work bit by bit to an assistant. Consequently it consists of a rather unsystematic collection of observations which prove, however, that Penard's knowledge of the language was considerable and independent of earlier publications. His numerous notes which are not to be found in other descriptions, probably contain valuable data.

Penard died before the completion of his work and thus the publication, on which de Goeje was working in concert with the author, was prevented from being carried through. The extensive ms. is now in the library of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde; of part of it copies made by de Goeje are in the Leiden University Library. In an article on the initiation of the medicine-man texts in Kalina are to be found (98). More or less contemporaneous with A. P. Penard were the activities of the missionary Ahlbrinck, also concerned with the study of Kalina, and resulting in

his *Encyclopaedie der Karaïben* of 1931 (126). This work combines in one book a dictionary, an ethnography, and a morphology as both subjects are treated within the scope of the articles. The book is no doubt unique among the descriptions of the various Carib languages, not only on account of this unusual arrangement, but also because of its combination of wide scope, thorough morphological analysis and accurate spelling (according to the *Anthropos* alphabet, see also 124). The fact that the book was published in the form of an encyclopaedia is probably connected with the author's wish to publish his material quickly and completely when he was forced to leave his work among the Indians owing to ill health.

As a matter of fact, this form is not unsuitable for lexicology; in the case of morphology the disadvantage is that the information is scattered over a great many articles, which is, however, compensated by an index and very many references. The morphological analysis in itself multiplies, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the existing knowledge of the subject, acquired due to the activities of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century authors and of de Goeje, summarized by the latter in his grammar of 1909 (74). These not very extensive sources emphasized such categories as personal inflexion, tense, number etc. Ahlbrink succeeded in detaching himself from this limitation and systematically looked for regularity. He draws from an abundance of examples; as a rule they are complete sentences associated with concrete situations.

Some minor Surinam publications must be mentioned: Trio-vocabularies by Ahlbrinck (125) and Käyser (112), the *Flora* by Pulle (134) who gives many Kalina and Lokono names for plants (compare 167), an article by Stahel on Lokono names of plants (143).

Recent works are a new Kalina catechism by K. Klinkhamer (175) and a concise edition of the purely linguistic section of Ahlbrinck's encyclopaedia (176). An inscription on a rock in the Marowyne was examined by Hellinga (182). His article vindicates the sacral character of the inscription and endeavours to interpret it on the strength of Carib mythological motifs, regarding the inscription not as a number of pictures, but as a sequence of signs. The interpretation was guided by partial symmetry of the text and differences in detail between otherwise similar signs; also by de Goeje's conception of the position of the parts of speech in the sentence. The list of consulted works is an extensive bibliography of this subject.

This concludes the description of activities in Surinam with regard to Carib and Arawak linguistics, completed since the time of Adam

and von den Steinen. It will be followed by a brief account of what had been achieved in the neighbouring countries during this same period.

#### IV.

Some years after Koch-Grünberg, the American Farabee also entered Guiana via the Rio Branco. He left it again, however, via the Corentyne. In the interior of the country, between the upper reaches of the two rivers, he covered enormous distances and while doing so he collected vocabularies of some hardly known languages. In the volume on Arawak of his travelling-account (114) Uapixana is the most important item, in the Carib volume it is Macuchi (115). The latter volume further includes vocabularies of Diau, Urukueña and Kumayena which, according to de Goeje (76) show evidences of an identity with Trio of the Surinam-Brazilian frontier; the same applies to Pianagoto and to Saluma, collected by Käyser. De Goeje admits that it is possible that Trio spread so widely only as a commercial language, in which case actual Saluma might yet be identical with Taruma, also collected by Farabee (comp. 169). The Carib volume contains a vocabulary of Aparai, cognate with Wayana and collected by Nimuendajú.

The missionary Williams worked in British Guiana. His article on the existing Lokono ms. (128) has been mentioned already. His article on Warau (129) contains a vocabulary, a translation of the Questions of his predecessor Brett (24) and a bibliography. On Carib Macuchi he wrote the best book that has been made available so far (130). The vocabulary includes the earlier sources; the grammatical notes are elaborate and the bibliography is very comprehensive. A number of Macuchi texts were published later by Mayer (174).

Gillin has given a few paradigms and a short text of the Kalina of British Guyana (137). A list of Lokono names of plants with translation into English and into botanical terminology was published by Fanshawe (167).

In Venezuela, Oramas (113) compiled a vocabulary of Goajiro from his own material and that of others, providing it with references to the sources. Later Holmer wrote about Goajiro (168), giving texts and a grammar. An entirely new description of Warau, intended as a manual, was given by the missionary de Olea (132); his colleague de Armellada (142) wrote a grammar and dictionary for Pemon (i.e. Taulipang, 72), in which language a short catechism had been published previously (139).

Three 18<sup>th</sup> century mss. from Venezuela and Trinidad were published in Madrid in 1928 (131): a Lokono (p. 197—212) and a Warau vocabulary (p. 441—451), the latter including two pages of Lokono (de Goeje, *West-Indische Gids* 11.287. 1929); and a vocabulary of Kalina with a catechism and a grammar by de Taradell (p. 213—305). The grammar consists mainly of the description of six verbal conjugations (p. 284—305).

Febres Cordero (145) edited a small Kalina vocabulary from Venezuela of 1847.

Of Motilone, a language spoken in the area along the frontier between Venezuela and Colombia, we mention a vocabulary by de Booy (133). The most recent and rather elaborate work is the vocabulary with a few texts and some comparative observations by Reichel-Dolmatoff (144).

The Arawak languages between the large Northwest group and the isolated cognate group in Bolivia and Peru have been classed in a sub-group, called Pre-Andine, by Rivet and Tastevin. The articles which deal with the subject contain new descriptive material (166, 118), besides comparative work and a bibliography of these languages. Comparing a small vocabulary of Marawan, spoken along the east frontier of French Guiana, Rivet and Reinburg (117) found the greatest number of correspondences not within the same area, but with a member of the abovementioned Pre-Andine group. A number of regular sound correspondences were found at the same time.

Nimuendajú collected a number of vocabularies, i. a. of some Arawak and Carib languages. Arara (122, p. 116—119; and 121, p. 547—551) is Carib, Kuniba (with do Valle Beñtes, 119), Baniva and Bare (121, p. 590 seq.) are Arawak. His book on the Palikur (Paricuru) Indians in East French Guiana, speakers of an Arawak language called Marawan by Rivet and Reinsburg (117), also contains a vocabulary and a short list of Arawak Arua and a few words of Galibi (Kalina) as spoken by a small group in north east Brazil (120).

Rice gives a vocabulary for Aparai (127), closely related to Wayana.

Small vocabularies for the same language by Mense, Fernandes and de Aguiar (147, 178, 141) are not available in this country. For the languages in South Brazil, Krause gave a comparative vocabulary of Yaruma, a Carib language of the Xingu (136) and Baldus furnished material in the form of texts and a vocabulary of Tereno (138), the same language as Schmidt's Guana (63), and the southernmost Arawak language. Many years after his first expeditions, Schmidt himself edited a series of articles on the southern Arawak- and Carib-speaking

peoples with extensive vocabularies, to which he added vocabularies of closely cognate languages collected by von den Steinen (65).

An article on the Arawak-speaking Paressi which appeared in Paraguay is not to be found in Holland (64). Rondon published a vocabulary of the same language (148), followed by a more elaborate study by his hand in co-operation with de Faria, containing grammar, vocabulary and text (149). The same authors edited a collection of vocabularies (150) in which three Carib languages are represented: Maionkong (Maquiritare), Kalina and Taurepan.

M. de Lourdes Joyce published a small Manao catechism which is the most important source of this extinct Arawak language (173). Photographs of the complete text are given. The annotations are based on the article by de Goeje which contains part of the catechism (92).

A very comprehensive work by Perea y Alonso (140) which was published at Montevideo, is based on the writings on Lokono by the 18<sup>th</sup> century Moravian missionaries in Surinam. The book begins with three articles on languages — probably Arawak —, formerly spoken in Uruguay, in which the sources are discussed and some lexical material is given. They are followed by a series of sentences, borrowed from Schultz's translation of the Acts of the Apostles (28), which fills the greater part of the book and may prove useful as a key to this text, besides de Goeje's index in (77), which incorporates Schultz's text together with Brett's (26). Perea y Alonso's list of sentences has been arranged so as to bring together sentences that share one word, the Spanish equivalent of the word being used as a heading. The author ends by giving a version of Schumann's grammar (30 VIII), supplemented by borrowings from Quandt (54) and his own analysis of Schultz's text.

## V.

Since the last war a number of studies have been published inspired to a greater or lesser extent by North American linguistic methods. Most of these have appeared in the *International Journal of American Linguistics*.

Descriptive articles of moderate length are those by Harden on the syllable structure of Arawak Tereno or Guana in south Brazil (146), by Hanes on the phonemes of Carib Motilone (177), and by Dirks on those of Arawak Campa of Bolivia (179).

Hawkins describes a correlation between stress and the phonematic

form of the morphemes used in a stressgroup. The description is formulated by means of an artificially constructed form of the morpheme content of the stressgroup with a regular alternation between vowels and consonants. From this form the odd vowels are said to be lost, leaving the actual form of the stressgroup. E.g. \**u-wanamari-ri*, used as a stressgroup, produces the actual form *wanmarri*. Dependent on its place within a word, morphemes therefore may have two different phonematic forms. The word is the smallest stretch of speech that may constitute a stress contour, but a contour may embrace more words. If two words together fill a contour and if there are primary consonant clusters (and in a few other cases), then complications will arise (177, p. 88).

In (171) the phonemes of Waiwai (in the South of British Guyana) are discussed by Hawkins partly in acoustic, partly in articulatory terms. Two more chapters follow on phoneme distribution and on a number of processes such as vowel loss and consonantal loss, vowel harmony and palatalization. A morphology of the substantive will appear in the *Boletim do Museu Nacional de Rio de Janeiro*, as is announced in the introduction of 170. An article on the verb has appeared (172, with R. E. Hawkins), discussing morphophonemics and the morphology in a decimal arrangement.

On the strength of her own lexicological material and de Goeje's index (77), N. P. Hickerson (180) discusses those sections of the Lokono lexicon that denote kinship, the number system, colours; furthermore, the words that have been introduced under Spanish, Dutch and English influence. Her second article (181) gives two versions of a small story in Lokono: first as dictated by the informant, then according to a wire-recording made some months afterwards. The first version has been phrased according to the stretches dictated together by the informant, the second according to pause and intonation. A comparison of the two phrasings is carried out, and a decimal description of the morphemes is given.

Taylor published a number of articles which practically all deal with Island-Carib. He introduced an important new element in the study of this language by writing a number of descriptive articles on its modern form, surviving on the coast of Central-America. Texts are given in 152; 165 deals with the phonemes, partly in acoustic terms, and 155 discusses the morphophonemics. The morphology has been treated in a number of articles. 153 deals with verbs, giving a table of the affix-combinations, in connection with a division of the stems into verbal subclasses. A later article (157) discusses the affixes in general,

arranging them according to a decimal system and denoting their functions by means of such terms as: "adverbialising", "causative" etc. A supplement to this article is 159. 154 deals with the use of the two possessive affixes for the 3<sup>rd</sup> person which distinguish grammatical gender. It appears that part of the nouns occur together with either the one, or the other affix, whereas the other nouns may be together with either, in which case the use is influenced by the sex and individual peculiarities of the speaker.

The diachronic studies on Island-Carib differ from those of Taylor's predecessors in that comparison with other Arawak or with Carib languages has been limited considerably; the old documents on the language itself are examined more systematically and more thoroughly. 158 examines the differences between the modern language of Central America and that spoken on Dominica in 1897. The article 161 opens with the express statement that Island-Carib is an Arawak language, after which the author proceeds to examine a number of words, mentioned by Breton as men's language, for what may have been Carib affixes. A recent article (166) starts from modern Island-Carib and attempts to determine the consonant phonemes as well as the transitions between the consonant systems for the various earlier periods of the language for which sources are available. An article on the words borrowed during the various periods and their adaptation (151) had already meant a step in this direction, whilst a provisional discussion of these diachronic problems, together with a vocabulary, had already been given in 156.

In an article, which combines lexico-statistics and archaeology (163), an investigation is undertaken as to the time when the Arawak-speaking peoples settled down in the Lesser and Greater Antilles. It is curious that the old distinction, already made by von den Steinen, between Arawak languages with pron. prefix *nu-* (Ifieri and most other Arawak languages), and those with *da-* (Taino, Lokono, Goajiro) should have cropped up again here. 162 treats of Taino of the Greater Antilles, and analyses some complex forms found in the scanty 17<sup>th</sup> century material.

Finally there is an article on the Lokono numeral "three" (164), and a comparison of some words belonging to the Arawak languages Lokono, Goajiro and Island Carib, with Carib words (160).

This description of American literature on the subject provides another opportunity of stressing the value of Mason's contribution to the Handbook of South American Indians. This is a recent work



incorporating all that has been achieved so far in the way of classification of South American languages. It has already been mentioned in the present article because of its bibliography (11). A number of studies, which have been left undiscussed here, are dealt with in extenso in Mason's work. There are, in the first place, the classifications on which Mason founded his studies, notably that made by Brinton (56) and the classifications that appeared afterwards. The present article, on the other hand, deals with the authors previous to Brinton, who laid the foundations for the Arawak and Carib classifications and who, in contrast with the later authors, usually published the material on which their conclusions were based. For these later classifications the reader is referred to Mason (p. 169).

Another, fairly large group of publications mentioned by Mason and not discussed in the present article, are those which classify various languages among the Arawak or Carib families of languages on the strength of similarities which, at least in view of our present knowledge of the subject are very slight. It is not the intention of the present article to question these classifications in general or to deny their importance as indications of historical connections or as lines for future research. For the time being, however, their value lies in the extension or determination of the area within which the influence of the family of languages under survey has been at work, and not in an increase of purely linguistic knowledge of this family. For these more general articles the reader is referred to the bibliographies (see introduction) and particularly to Mason's work where these debatable classifications are dealt with in separate paragraphs.

The present author hopes that in the foregoing he has been able to attain the object mentioned in the introduction, namely the description of the literature on the languages of the Surinam Indians, of the development of comparative studies of Carib and Arawak languages and of works that have been of value in this field.

B. J. HOFF.

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